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"The Independent Voice of the Foreign Service"

The FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL is the magazine for professionals in foreign affairs, published monthly except August by the American Foreign Service Association, a private non-profit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the official views of the foreign affairs agencies, the U.S. government, or AFSA. The Editorial Board is responsible for general content, but statements concerning the policy and administration of AFSA as employee representative under the Foreign Service Act of 1980 in the ASSOCIATION NEWS and the ASSOCIATION VIEWS, and all communications relating to these, are the responsibility of the AFSA Governing Board.

JOURNAL subscriptions: One year (11 issues), \$15. Overseas subscriptions (except Canada), add \$3 per year. Airmail not available.
Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C.,

and at additional post office. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

Microfilm copies: University Microfilm Library Services, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 (October 1967 to present).

The JOURNAL welcomes manuscripts of 1500-1000 words for consideration by the Editorial Board. Author queries are strongly urged, stamped envelope required for return. All authors are paid on publication.

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January 1986. Volume 63, number 1. ISSN 0015-7279.

ASSOCIATION VIEWS

Nominations on Hold

This Association has frequently admonished the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to place greater emphasis on the qualifications of nominees for ambassadorships and senior departmental positions. We are pleased that several senators, representing both parties, have recently agreed to be advised by the American Academy of Diplomacy. Like the panel run by the American Bar Association, the AAD process fits within the constitutional structure of advice and consent, while supplying senators helpful information to avoid putting unqualified appointees in important posts.

In the past year, however, more than 30 appointees have had their confirmations delayed inordinately by a few senators who have had questions about the appointees' qualifications or were trying to influence department policies in non-related areas. Despite the delays and holds, in each case the nominee has been voted out of committee and approved on the Senate floor by overwhelming majorities. Meanwhile, important posts have at times gone unfilled for months, while careers hung in limbo.

We recognize and respect the right of each senator to reflect carefully on the qualifications of a nominee, occasionally requiring reasonable delays for further questioning. AFSA believes, however, that the past year has shown that delays and holds are being used by a tiny minority against nominations that the vast majority of the committee and the chamber find extremely qualified. The final votes have demonstrated this.

We hope the Senate will find ways of voting up or down on nominations more expeditiously. The Senate traditions that permit these undemocratic delaying tactics should not be allowed to leave our ambassadorial and senior departmental posts uncovered for months.



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LETTERS

Remembering Code Clerks

I could not let the recent letter "Crucial Communications" [July/August] and the reference to "code clerk" go unnoticed. I was originally employed as code clerk—FSS-13 in November 1949. At the time, I joined a rather elite group of colleagues including authors James Thurber and Herbert O. Yardley, diplomat Charles Thayer, and a host of career Foreign Service officers who once performed code clerk duties.

Never in my long career, which ended in December 1981 and took me to Kabul, London, The Hague, Port-au-Prince, and Accra, did I witness a scene similar to "late 1940s Bogart movies with naked light bulbs and green eye shades." What I did witness and had the honor to work with were a highly educated and motivated group of women and men who served as code clerks, often under adverse conditions. Somehow in the 1960s this title ended when we all became communications clerks, communications supervisors, or communications officers. Since then the titles have been changed again to reflect more technical change. It reminds me that garbage collectors are now sanitary engineers.

I hope Ambassador Reed will remember "code clerks" from the period they existed and provided communications with Washington before the era of high tech, satellites, optical character readers, automated terminal systems, and other up-dates.

GRAHAM R. LOBB
Code Clerk, retired
Washington, D.C.

Burton Berry

Word of the recent demise in Switzerland of retired Ambassador Burton Y. Berry moves me to write of my first experiences in the Foreign Service and my contacts with this fine U.S. diplomat. From 1952–54, I was serving at my first post—Baghdad—and Burton Berry was my ambassador. In my first encounters with him, I was, quite frankly, intimidated by what seemed to be a stern and formal manner. On a closer acquaintance, however, I



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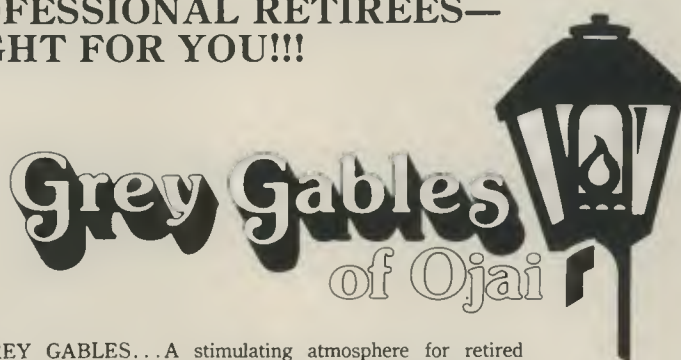
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found that this was merely the outer manifestation of his strong sense of rectitude and an invincible dedication to service. To Burton Berry, the "bottom line" always was whether a particular position or decision would benefit the United States or was in conformity with its laws. So often I recall hearing him ask, "But how does the U.S. benefit from this?" All of us who served with him received daily lessons in that. Yet, he also displayed an understanding of the 'greenness' of his younger officers, a keen appreciation of the culture of the region in which he had specialized—the Near East—and a willingness to learn from all experiences.

He was a skilled diplomat for the United States and a role model for all officers seeking to excel in that profession. Above all, he was dedicated to the advancement of U.S. interests and never confused his preferences with his cold judgment of what was necessary for this country. He will be missed.

VICTOR WOLF JR.
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Washington, D.C.

Retired Directory

As far as I am aware, there exists no regular procedure for locating the address of a retired Foreign Service employee. The Retirement Division in the State Department, probably properly, declines to furnish this information because of the Privacy Act. Nor is there any current published alumni directory.

It is curious that schools, colleges, and even armed forces war and staff colleges publish and circulate such directories. Yet the organization to which most retirees have given 20-30 or more years of their lives apparently does not possess a mechanism for keeping track of old friends and colleagues. When we retire we disappear into the void.

I wonder if this might not be an appropriate project for AFSA, perhaps on an advance-subscription basis, if need be, to cover start-up costs. AFSA as an organization is sufficiently interested in retirees to elect three to its Governing Board and to solicit their continuing membership. Individual listings would, of course, be on a voluntary basis, and there would doubtless be a charge for the resulting directory to cover printing and mailing costs.

In many areas of the country there are local informal groups of retirees who meet periodically. Perhaps these groups might be listed for the benefit of travelers, or at least they might be contact agencies for the gathering of initial listings. Ideally, retir-

ees living abroad should also be included, for the benefit of colleagues who may have an opportunity to look them up while traveling.

I believe that a large number of retirees would welcome such a directory. It might even be quite useful to those still on active duty, for such purposes as lining up speakers, or for volunteers for welcoming certain foreign visitors.

RAYMOND PERKINS
Foreign Service Officer
Washington, D.C.

Readers should be aware that each fall AFSA publishes a directory of its retired members, provided free to each of them. Retirees may take advantage of this service by joining AFSA, which provides other benefits to retirees such as lobbying in Congress on issues concerning the Foreign Service retirement program. —ED.

Lamenting the Logo

I would like to register, from this far side of the planet, a belated complaint about the sudden change of logo of our Association. I do not recall being consulted, but must assume that AFSA polled its Washington membership before taking such a step.

The new symbol chosen does not, in my opinion, reflect well the purposes of AFSA or lend dignity to our calling. In pure design terms, it is certainly not an improvement and looks more like something hastily chosen by and for a Third World travel agency.

I confess to having long admired the stylized eagle of yore and would be pleased to see it return to the masthead. It was a clean, modern design, reflected the special pride we take in the high standards of our disciplined Service, and (dare one say it) also conveyed pride in our country. The State Department is, after all, the custodian of the Great Seal of the United States.

Taste is a very subjective thing, as the French are fond of pointing out. Perhaps other readers feel the same way about the change of symbols. I believe that AFSA might discover a "silent majority" for returning to the eagle if they seek a wider range of opinion.

MILTON L. IOSSI
Counselor for Public Affairs
Dhaka, Bangladesh

The JOURNAL welcomes letters to the editor but reserves the right to edit for clarity and for space considerations.

All letters must be signed and must include the writer's name and address.



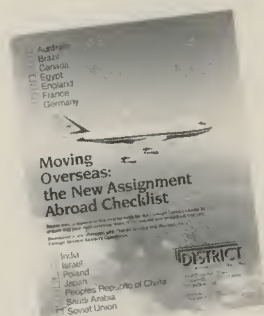
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*Signed Confused and
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Roland Kates
Vice President

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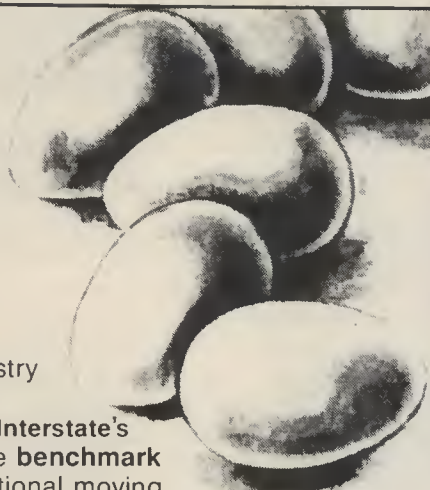
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By JOHN D. STEMPEL

All Fall Down: America's Tragic Encounter with Iran. By Gary Sick. Random House, 1985. \$19.95. *American Hostages in Iran: The Conduct of a Crisis.* By Warren Christopher et al. Yale University Press, 1985. \$25. *Ethnocentrism in Foreign Policy: Can We Understand the Third World?* By Howard Wiarda. American Enterprise Institute, 1985. \$3.95.

The reader may shudder at the thought of yet another book on Iran, let alone two or three, but these volumes offer important new information with implications for the general conduct of foreign relations. *All Fall Down* is an excellent insider's view of the Iran crisis. The "insider," former navy captain and NSC staffer Gary Sick, has done a comprehensive research job and writes precisely and with a definite viewpoint. He also appears in the *American Hostages* volume, with a chapter on military options. Other contributors to that book include then-Deputy Secretary Warren Christopher, then-Assistant Secretary Harold Saunders, and prominent Treasury and legal officials involved with the hostage crisis.

American Hostages provides a host of details about carrying out policy in extraordinary situations. The chapters by Carswell and Davis and by Hoffman and Owen on the economic and legal aspects of the hostage release are must reading for anyone involved in crisis management. They are first rate all the way. But the chapters on policy formulation in *American Hostages*, in contrast with Sick's forceful presentation, are disappointing. They say little about policy consequences that flow from various positions.

Sick's forthright assessment—whether one agrees with him or not—of the Carter administration's strategy in terms of political costs and benefits is extremely interesting: The policy did get all the hostages back alive, and the U.S. unwillingness to

John D. Stempel is consul general in Madras. He served in Iran for four years just prior to the embassy takeover.

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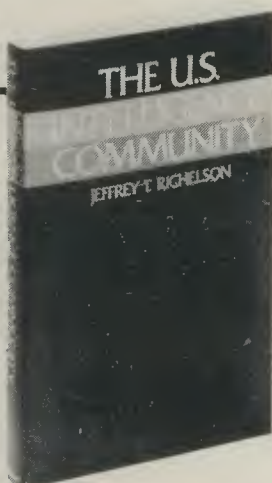
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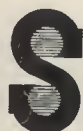
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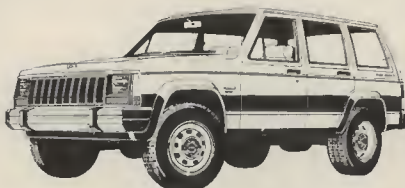
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oppose the revolution militarily (with the exception of the aborted mission to rescue the hostages) has left open the possibility of future relations with an evolving revolutionary government. Sick elaborates more circumspectly on the costs of the Iranian debacle to U.S. prestige as well as to other foreign policy goals, but there is still more balance and self-examination in his book than in *American Hostages*. There is also more trenchant criticism of earlier strategic decisions, including those on weapons supply, which placed the United States so firmly in the shah's camp.

The major flaw in Sick's analysis of the crisis is in his description of Ambassador William Sullivan's role. After a balanced, though retrospective, criticism of the problems involved in reporting and information flow, Sick comes down harshly on Sullivan for failing to "make the call" that the shah was not well and U.S. policy should shift away from supporting him. Yet Sullivan, in his memoirs and elsewhere, has bemoaned the lack of policy guidance from Washington, particularly just prior to the revolutionary takeover. I would agree with Sick that communications failures, certain personal animosities, and what were considered more pressing problems (the Camp David talks) diluted high-level concentration and action. Still, he has stuck it to Sullivan more severely than the facts warrant, particularly in view of Sick's discussion of the chaos in Washington at the time ["Admitting the Shah," June].

Both the Sick and Christopher volumes tend to be thin on analysis of Iranian perceptions. Both books have a Washington bias, natural under the circumstances, but also visible evidence of the tendency of policymakers to discount reliable U.S. mission reporting when it clashes with preconceptions.

Ethnocentrism in Foreign Policy speaks directly to these issues of communication and perception. Wiarda explains the "ethnocentric gap" between the United States and the Third World, including Iran, by arguing that Americans have a built-in block against understanding Third World developments because of our own unique experience and the political concepts that have developed from it:

The theory and assumptions we have applied to the developing nations have often led us to expect certain trends to occur and institutions to develop that have, in fact, not consistently developed. We have expected, and perhaps hoped, that modernization would produce more pluralist and secular societies when, in fact, in Iran and elsewhere, powerful religious revivals are taking place that are monistic and theocratic.

tic and that proclaim a single right-and-wrong way to do everything, which seems appallingly oppressive to most westerners. We celebrate democracy and pluralism in our theories in the political sphere as well, when the real question is which form authoritarianism will take.

All Fall Down and *American Hostages* show Iran to be a clear illustration of Wiar-da's thesis. Both books clearly depict that the root of U.S. problems in Iran was the failure of policymakers at the highest levels to make the intellectual adjustments necessary for dealing successfully with the crisis, even in its later stages. Sick calls this "talking past each other." Saunders in *American Hostages* raises the question directly: How does one deal with leaders who view the world so differently than we do?

All three books suggest certain lessons for the future: The necessity of understanding how other cultures think; the importance of the Foreign Service in providing accurate information—and especially analysis—to make the important cultural distinctions clear to policymakers; and the need to think through more thoroughly the potential clash between the human dimension of a policy problem (potential deaths of hostages) and the policy impact of chosen courses of action ("waiting out" Iran versus more direct pressure).

Finally, the best valedictory on the U.S. experience in Iran to date belongs to Gary Sick:

The Iranian revolution was neither immutable nor inevitable in the form it assumed, and the fact that it proclaimed a religious rather than a secular doctrine is in itself no assurance that it ultimately will prevail.... The religious origins and doctrine of the Iranian revolution set it apart from all revolutionary movements of modern times. ... In the absence of any relevant analogies, predictions and policies proved to be not so much wrong as irrelevant. Both the best-case and the worst-case expectations were confounded. ☐

Reviews

The British in the Sudan 1898-1956.
Edited by Robert O. Collins and Francis M. Deng. Hoover Institution Press, 1984.
 \$29.95.

This fascinating, well-written book does more than describe the early history of the Sudan. It contains a wealth of information on the period of British rule there, including many interesting excerpts from the memoirs of officers who served in the Sudan.

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pire, members of the Sudan service customarily spent their entire careers there. The officers, usually recruited from the most promising graduates of British universities, provided a generally high level of administration for the Sudan, though some shared the paternalistic attitude of one British writer, who described the Sudanese as one of the "child races" and the Europeans who worked with them as "self-sacrificing and inspiring."

This book is highly recommended to the specialist on the Sudan and on British colonial administration. It is also called to the attention of the more general reader

who would enjoy harking back to an era whose last vestiges are rapidly disappearing from the world.

—BENSON L. GRAYSON

The Central American Crisis: Sources of Conflict and the Failure of U.S. Policy. By Kenneth Coleman and George Herring. *Scholarly Resources, Inc.*, 1985.

Central America: The Real Stakes. By Lester D. Langley. *Crown Publishers*, 1985. \$15.95.

The authors of both these books apparently believe North Americans are ignorant of Central America. They attempt, therefore, to provide guidebooks explaining the crisis which has beset the isthmus. Langley's book is the more coherent and thoughtful of the two. Both, however, cause the reader to worry more about the state of Central American scholarship in the United States than about U.S. policy toward this troubled region.

The Central American Crisis is a collection of essays presented as part of a symposium on Central America sponsored by the Latin American Studies Program of the University of Kentucky. The editors make no bones about the purpose of their book. They state in the preface that they "reject" the assumptions underpinning existing U.S. Central American policy and seek to bring to the public "ideas that they will not hear from the Reagan administration."

Unfortunately, the thoughts put forth are about as fresh as yesterday's fish. According to the essayists, Central America's problems are primarily the product of the wealthy's unwillingness to permit the poor a meaningful voice in government. The United States bears much of the responsibility for this sad state of affairs, claim the authors, because of its alleged tendency to support right-wing dictators and its failure to urge Central American strong men to pursue "enlightened and timely" policies.

The essayists charge the United States with aggravating the situation by ignoring the "internal" origins of the area's troubles and pushing for a "military solution" to problems that are social and economic in nature. They close their indictment by claiming that the Reagan administration has exaggerated U.S. interests in Central America. They assert that the United States has no vital interests in the region other than keeping out Soviet military bases and state that we could live quite nicely with a "Marxist, non-aligned" Central America.

This caricature of U.S. policy in Central

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America offends informed readers and confounds the rest. *The Central American Crisis* does not even have the redeeming quality of offering new information. Though the essayists claim to be scholars of the region, they never get much beyond quoting the American press, a resource readily available to the public.

Lester Langley does not claim that *Central America: The Real Stakes* is a scholarly work, though he has the credentials to do so. Langley is a professor of Latin American and U.S. diplomatic history at the University of Georgia and the author of many books about U.S. involvement in Latin America.

He tells his story in anecdotal fashion. He travels from one Central American country to the next, characterizing the problems of each as the product of a region at war with itself and its history. He goes on to describe U.S. intervention in the area as inept, never accomplishing its goals, and usually causing the opposite of what it set out to do. This tour of the region is supposed to be a warning. Langley concludes that "Central America's problems are so entrenched and seemingly immutable" that there is nothing the United States can do about them. In short, there is "no American solution to Central American problems." He instead asserts that the proper place for the United States is outside the conflict. Though he admits that the future of Central America holds little more promise than a return to interstate rivalry and warfare, with the consequent bloodshed, Langley argues that the United States must permit this to happen in the expectation that from this conflict will emerge a Central American nation.

Though an interesting suggestion, it comes about 100 years too late. If the best advice scholars can give policymakers is to go sulk in their tents, one wonders what they have to offer the present debate on Central America.

—THOMAS A. SHANNON JR.

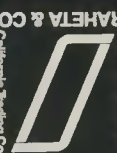
War, Foreign Affairs, and Constitutional Power: 1829-1901. By Henry Bartholomew Cox. Ballinger Publishing Co., 1984.

Judging by the heat of debate the issue generates, one would think the struggle between the president and Congress over war powers originated with the Tonkin Gulf resolution and came to a head with the bombings of Cambodia. However, as Henry Bartholomew Cox exhibits in *War, Foreign Affairs, and Constitutional Power*, the second volume of a study commissioned by the American Bar Association,

this difference of opinion over where the power to initiate and wage military action resides has been around for quite some time.

Cox chronicles numerous instances during the 19th century when Congress tried to exert its influence over the conduct of foreign affairs, and the president attempted to circumvent it. He recounts specific events in exhaustive (and at times exhausting) detail: "Ashmun's amendment was thereupon narrowly adopted, 85-81. An attempt to expunge it was laid on the table on 14 February by a vote of 105-94, but the main resolution of 3 January and the

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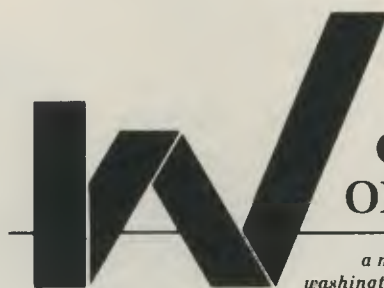
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Ashmun amendment did not come up for consideration again."

Cox breaks down his analysis into sections according to the form of executive-legislative maneuvering. This approach unfortunately does not result in smooth transitions or reveal a common thread—if one exists. There is also no mention of Supreme Court decisions during the period. Still, *War, Foreign Affairs and Constitutional Power* shows that today's problems are not so new and provides a useful backdrop for future analyses.

—GRAY MCCALLEY JR.

The Blood of Abraham: Insights into the Middle East. By Jimmy Carter. Houghton Mifflin, 1985. \$15.95.

The dust cover describes this book as "informed and compassionate." It is indeed compassionate in its analysis of the frustratingly difficult issues that must be resolved if there is to be peace between Israel and the Arab states (apart from Egypt, but definitely including the Palestinian Arab national movement). It is also generally well-informed, though rather simplistic, in describing the historical antecedents of and current factors determining the positions of the major actors in the region. And it offers a reasonable U.S. viewpoint on problems and possible solutions in an arena where, too often, objectivity takes a backseat to passion and prejudice. This is a book for persons who want to know more about one of the major political disputes of our era; specialists will find very little new in it apart from insights into the thinking of our most recent ex-president.

The Blood of Abraham is, to a substantial degree, an account of President Carter's visit to a number of Arab countries and Israel in 1983. He proves to be a good reporting officer in recounting key aspects of his journey, including his sessions with various political leaders (especially with Syrian President Hafiz al-Assad and then Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin). If he were still president, these memoranda of conversations would still be classified, even if no real secrets emerge. As it is, Carter is refreshingly frank in his accounts of these meetings and his analyses of the various leaders' positions.

Most interesting are Carter's recollections of his dealings with Begin at Camp David and after. He takes the former prime minister to task for being unwilling to carry out Camp David "commitments" regarding the Palestinian Arabs and withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza. Their differences on some issues (such as new settlements) were substantial, and

Carter's complaints bring out their personal incompatibility.

Not surprisingly, Carter aims some barbs at the Reagan administration for its alleged failure to pursue the Arab-Israeli peace effort on the basis of his accomplishments. He tosses in some criticism of the United States' "ill-advised military action in Lebanon and the announcement of a U.S.-Israeli 'strategic alliance' late in 1983."

Informed readers will be fascinated by Carter's handling of the future of the Palestinian Arab national movement. At one point, he lists "self-determination" for the Palestinians as an explicit U.S. goal, and elsewhere in the book he refers to self-determination as a right that must be protected, as it is under U.S. and international law. At other points he refers to the phrase invented at the time of his visit to Egypt in 1978, when a joint statement called for observance of the rights of the Palestinian people "to participate in the determination of their own future." One wonders whether Carter possibly does not recognize the vast conceptual divide between self-determination (a buzzword for area specialists connoting an independent political entity for the Palestinian Arabs) and participation in the determination of their own future (a deliberately ambiguous formulation, crafted to meet the limitations of U.S. and Israeli policy, which by no means includes independence as a necessary or acceptable end).

Other major questions raised by Carter involve official U.S. dealings with the Palestine Liberation Organization and feasible U.S. pressure on Israel. While he castigates the PLO for a variety of its policies and methods, he accepts that no one else can usurp its responsibility for negotiating Palestinian rights. But he stops short of suggesting that the United States seek any change in the Kissinger commitment to the Israelis on dealings with the PLO. As for Israel, Carter says it must reconfirm its willingness to withdraw from occupied territories "as required by U.N. Resolution 242 and reconfirmed in the Camp David accord." He acknowledges no fault of the Camp David framework on this account, nor does he offer suggestions as to how Israel is to be led to this position—a matter crucial to one side of the Arab-Israeli equation.

—SIDNEY SOBER

Contending with Kennan. By Barton Gellman. Praeger Publishers, 1984.

The author of this collection of essays and theories about a self-styled pragmatist and elitist does indeed "contend" with Ken-

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nan. From his vantage point as an undergraduate at Princeton University, Gellman—like the rest of us—admires Kennan's intellectual achievements, creative mind, independence of thought, and brilliant writing style. But he has serious reservations about some of Kennan's views, such as his extremely pessimistic assessment of the future of the United States and his doubts that the United States can conduct a mature and consistent foreign policy.

Gellman feels that Kennan's containment policy, proposed in the famous "X" article in *Foreign Affairs*, has been misunderstood. Containment, he says, was to be mainly political, not military. Kennan believes peace will be maintained through a balance of power, but that conflict and change are the essence of international life. Containment means we must restore the balance of power, exploit tensions in the communist world, and moderate and negotiate Soviet behavior.

According to Gellman, the central theme of Kennan's life and work has been that the United States and the Soviet Union can and must coexist. At one stage of the mid-1950s, Kennan even promoted the disengagement of U.S. and Soviet troops from Central Europe—an unworkable idea. With this exception, however, Kennan's views on relations with the Soviet Union have been prudent, sane, and sensible.

—DAVID LINEBAUGH

U.S. Foreign Policy and the Third World: Agenda 1985-86. Edited by John W. Sewell, Richard E. Feinberg, and Baleriana Kallab. Transaction Books for the Overseas Development Council, 1985. \$11.65.

U.S. Foreign Policy and the Third World analyzes in detail four issues of importance to both the United States and the developing world: trade and industrial policy, international finance, development cooperation, and foreign policy. While our policies in these areas have had successes, they have also created long-run difficulties and costs to vital U.S. interests.

The book begins by providing a base in traditional economics and rapidly moves to other areas. The most illuminating section concerns the relation between politics and economics. The authors consider the social and institutional processes through which certain economic and political elites influence the allocation of scarce resources. These concepts are constantly related to the four major themes of the book, so the reader is not inundated with economic concepts at the risk of losing sight of the larger picture.

John Sewell, Christine Conte, and Anthony Lake deal with the economic, social, and institutional mechanisms needed to create rapid, large-scale improvements in the standards of living for the populations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The authors' are especially concerned with bringing about rapid structural and institutional transformations in the most efficient manner, so that the broadest segments of the population can enjoy the fruits of economic progress. Excellent statistical annexes and graphs are included.

Yet this book does have a major shortcoming. The political and economic forces of underdevelopment are analyzed but little is written about the social forces, internal and external, responsible for the poverty, inequality, and low productivity that usually characterizes Third World nations. Any successful pursuit of development will require an alteration of the present economic and social order to make it more responsive to the needs of Third World countries. AID personnel have learned this through numerous errors in project design, yet this book omits any discussion of these factors. Still, this is an excellent and succinct primer on economic development and should be required reading for all AID personnel and others interested in U.S. relations with the Third World.

—ROY A. HARRELL JR.

From the Think Tanks

Guidelines for International Election Observing. Edited by Larry Garber. *International Human Rights Group*, 1984. 99pp. \$7.95. This report attempts to provide guidelines for monitoring and assessing elections around the world, with particular emphasis on the promotion of human rights. It contains a number of very specific suggestions, such as a possible outline for an election observer's report, and also includes some material from a recent conference on the international monitoring of elections.

Gulf Cooperation Council: Problems and Prospects. Edited by Shireen Hunter. *Significant Issues Series, Vol. 6, #15, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University*, 1984. 33pp. This slim volume contains a few brief papers on the Gulf Cooperation Council and its progress since being established in 1981. The authors conclude that although the motivations behind this cooperation have been largely defensive—concern over Iran's revolutionary zeal and the state of the global petrochemical market—the organization does have the potential to become a successful regional venture.



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CLIPPINGS

Lectern Lectures

"The business of the State Department ought to be persuasion of other governments, not conversion of the heathen. Diplomats can better persuade when we demonstrate some understanding of a foreign leader's dilemmas. Public lectures [delivered as statements preceding the noon press briefing] contradict that effort...."

"Abolish the State Department's '12 O'Clock Follies': the sermons don't help except to make us feel better, and they stimulate defiance, not self-improvement. Diplomats make poor preachers."

Samuel W. Lewis in Newsweek, November 4

Going Native

"A diplomat represents his home country and at the same time he must get to know the country he's serving. When he falls in love with that country, a conflict arises with all the dangers involved in 'going native.' But without that sympathy, without that love, how can he effectively serve in that country?"

Edmund Keeley in the Princeton Alumni Weekly, October 23

Policy Options

"There are the pressures of having to explain before endless congressional committees the various aspects of foreign policy, and of being supported by an able, dedicated bureaucracy which, however, is convinced that no secretary of state in their memory could have passed the Foreign Service examination. And, therefore, at the end of every day, unless it has recently changed, the secretary of state finds on his desk a list, a sheaf of papers, containing three options: nuclear war, unconditional surrender, or what the Foreign Service recommends."

Henry Kissinger at the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, October 2

Plus Ça Change

"The distinguished career diplomat's memo to the secretary of state, stamped

secret, was blunt and bitter in describing the Pentagon's feelings toward Foggy Bottom's professionals.

"'In the minds of the military,' he wrote, 'the State Department Foreign Service officials are grouped in a single and uncomplimentary category. In their eyes, we are "slick salesmen," glib, starry-eyed, tricky, devious, irresponsible, blood-thirsty finaglers, fuzzy thinkers...the catalogue of terms, of course, ends with perverts.'..."

"The memo was written in 1950 to then-Secretary of State Dean Acheson by a senior career diplomat, G. Lewis Jones."

Jack Anderson, November 2

Selective Security

"Washington's heightened attention to the funding and organizational requirements of ensuring the safety of diplomats is welcome and overdue. It is important, though, that equally wise policies appropriate to public diplomacy—the mission of USIA—also be adopted.

"This can best be achieved by selective and flexible application, on a case-by-case basis, of State Department security standards. In many instances this will mean waivers for USIA's libraries and centers in countries where U.S. embassies are being relocated."

Edwin J. Feulner in the Washington Post, October 7

No Stomach

" '[The "Briefing Book," published by the Heritage Foundation for use by the White House Staff in preparation for the Geneva summit meeting], copies of which have been hand-delivered to senior White House officials, was prepared,' a Heritage Foundation spokesman said, 'because the State Department and some others who advise the White House do not appear to fully understand the Soviet global threat, nor do they have the stomach for dealing firmly with the Kremlin. Under the circumstances, the American people have no reason to have confidence in the advice the president will be given in his official summit briefing book.' "

Associated Press, November 6

Truncated Careers

"A quiet revolution is under way in the most unlikely place: the Foreign Service. It is being fomented not by employees but by management. And no one in the State Department is quite certain where it will lead...."

"Under the new changes, there will be fewer top-level jobs and fewer top-level officers needed to fill them. That will make it more difficult for a career diplomat to rise to the top—into the new Senior Foreign Service—and many more careers will end after 20 years, and at lower levels.

"This is a fundamental shift, and it is causing morale problems in the Foreign Service, particularly as its effects begin to be felt: Because of changes under the [Foreign Service Act of 1980], an estimated 90 high-ranking officers who in former days would likely have been promoted to the Senior Foreign Service will probably be forced to leave the Service in the next two years."

Christopher Madison in the National Journal, October 5

Diplomatic Genealogy

"[Ambassador to Egypt Nicholas] Veliotis: Leon Klinghoffer was murdered by the terrorists off of Tartus when they were trying to get the attention of the Syrians.

"Embassy: I've got that.

"Veliotis: I want you to do two things: In my name, I want you to call the [Egyptian] foreign minister, tell him what we've learned, tell him the circumstances, tell him that in view of this and the fact that we and, presumably, they didn't have those facts, we insist they prosecute those sons of bitches.

"The second thing, I want you to pick up the phone and call Washington and tell them what we've done. And, if they want to follow it up, that's fine."

Associated Press, September 10

Generous Contributor

"The U.S. ambassador to Pakistan was a political appointee named Joseph Farland. ...Farland had held several small ambassadorships in Latin America during the Eisenhower administration. By virtue of his diplomatic experience, enhanced perhaps (or so Farland told me) by a generous contribution to Nixon's campaign, he had obtained the appointment to Pakistan...."

"He knew little about the Indian subcontinent and didn't really like the place or its people. He did, however, have two virtues. Conscious of his limitations, he left the running of the embassy largely in the hands of his deputy, a talented career officer with decades of experience on the Indian subcontinent. And Farland wasn't around much, spending most of his time on vacations and incessant 'business trips' back to the United States."

Edward C. Ingraham in The Washington Monthly, October

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10-25-50

Foreign Service Journal, January 1976:
"It was my experience that nominations for career minister and career ambassador had to be discussed by me in some detail with members of the Senate. There were senators in those days who objected in principle to the very existence of these two ranks in the Foreign Service. A secretary of state cannot adequately support such nominations if his own role is merely that of a robot and he cannot say in good conscience that he strongly recommends confirmation by the Senate."
Dean Rusk

Foreign Service Journal, January 1961:
"As the foreign news trickled in during December from Laos, Ecuador, Cuba, and the Congo, showing the members of the Foreign Service under fire, it became abundantly clear that today's diplomats are indeed in the front lines. To the thousands of young people taking the written examinations the news reports must have underlined again that a career in the Foreign Service offers an adventurous and challenging life, not to be assessed in the too-usual patterns of income, security, and things acquired."
Gwen Barrows

Foreign Service Journal, January 1936:
"The stage is set...for the Foreign Service to play a conspicuous part in the life of the next generation, but the possibilities for acquiring wealth remain in favor of business, causing the Foreign Service still to be handicapped when competing with more lucrative careers in the annual contest to draw outstanding recruits. The handicap is not insurmountable, however, and has been overcome to a considerable degree by the permanent basis on which the Foreign Service has been established....No matter how alluring the opportunities of the Service might be for the achievement of glory and fame, few young men would desire to enter it if their careers might be blasted at any moment by a dismissal having no connection with efficiency and depending merely upon the capricious winds of politics."
George V. Allen

10-25-50 records excerpts from previous issues of the JOURNAL with an eye toward how things have changed for the Foreign Service—or how they remain the same.

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QUESTIONNAIRE: CAREERS

What follows is the third in a series of questionnaires on topics of concern to our Foreign Service readers. It is not intended as an official study but as an informal sampling of opinion. All replies will be confidential. The results will be tabulated and presented in a future issue of the JOURNAL. Please complete this page and send it to FSJ Questionnaire #3, 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20037. Thanks!

1. How long have you been in the Foreign Service?
☐ 5 years or less ☐ 6-10 years ☐ 11-20 years ☐ more than 20 years ☐ retired
2. What is your current (if retired, most recent) rank? (Please note that FS includes both FSO and FP groups, and under the pre-1981 system included FSO, FSS, FSR, FSRU, and FSIO groups.)
☐ SFS-CA or CM (pre-1981: CA or CM) ☐ FS-1 or 2 (pre-1981: FS-3 or 4) ☐ FS-5 or 6 (pre-1981: 7 or 8)
☐ SFS-MC or OC (pre-1981: FS-1 or 2) ☐ FS-3 or 4 (pre-1981: 5 or 6) ☐ FS-7-9 (pre-1981: 9 and below)
3. Please indicate your agency (retired respondents should indicate agency with which they were associated at the end of their careers).
☐ State ☐ Aid ☐ USIA ☐ Agriculture ☐ Commerce
4. Please indicate your career category (retired respondents please indicate appropriate category at retirement).
☐ SFS ☐ FSO (includes FSIO, FSR and FSRU retirees) ☐ FP (includes FSS retirees)
5. Are you male ☐ or female ☐?
6. Are you currently married? yes ☐ no ☐ If yes, has this affected your attitude toward staying in the Service? yes ☐ no ☐
7. Do you have dependents? yes ☐ no ☐ If yes, has this affected your attitude toward staying in the Service? yes ☐ no ☐
8. Indicate your attitude toward the Service as a career under each of the following circumstances (select only one answer in each column): When you first joined the Service (answer in first column); your attitude toward the Service as a career now (answer in second column); and your attitude toward the Service as a career for those entering it now (answer in third column).
 _____ a lifetime profession until retirement in my sixties.
 _____ a long-term job with early retirement and a second career.
 _____ a job to do for a limited period, but not as a career.
 _____ an experiment that might last a few years or indefinitely.
9. When you joined the Service did you expect to reach the senior ranks (or the highest grades in your category)?
☐ yes ☐ uncertain ☐ no
10. Do you now expect to reach the senior ranks (or the highest grades in your category)?
☐ already there ☐ yes ☐ uncertain ☐ no
11. Have you ever considered leaving the Service voluntarily before retirement?
☐ yes, did resign ☐ yes, am considering it seriously now
☐ yes, considered it seriously ☐ no, did not seriously consider resignation
12. If yes, please check the two most important factors that led you in that direction.
☐ monetary considerations ☐ worries about health or safety
☐ stress on marriage and family ☐ wanted more chances for advancement
☐ reluctance to go abroad ☐ other (please specify) _____
☐ wanted more professional challenges
13. Check the two most important factors that kept you in the Service or delayed your resignation.
☐ challenging assignments ☐ opportunities for promotion
☐ enjoyed Foreign Service lifestyle ☐ monetary rewards
☐ non-portability of retirement funds ☐ other (please specify) _____
☐ lack of opportunities outside the Service
14. Had you worked in another profession before joining the Service? ☐ yes ☐ no
 If yes for how long? ☐ less than a year ☐ 1-5 years ☐ 6-10 years ☐ more than 10 years
15. How did that profession compare to the Foreign Service as a possible lifetime career (check one)?
☐ less of a career than the Service ☐ the same as the Service ☐ more of a career than the Service
16. What makes a particular profession suitable as a lifetime career (check the two most important factors)?
☐ challenging work ☐ opportunity to involve spouse/family in profession
☐ opportunities for promotion ☐ opportunities for training/improvement of skills
☐ monetary reward ☐ opportunities for increased responsibilities
☐ opportunity to do different jobs during a long career ☐ other (please specify) _____
17. Indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following statements (1: strongly agree; 2: agree; 3: undecided; 4: disagree; 5: strongly disagree).
 — An FSO career *should* end in the senior levels.
 — There are more Senior Foreign Service employees than are needed.
 — The usual Service career *will* end in the mid-levels.
 — Having members of the Service who are committed to staying in the Service for a career, not just a few years, is essential.
 — Having adequate promotion opportunities is essential to maintaining the career Service.
 — The Service should be run on a rigorous up-or-out system.
 — A shortage of senior-level jobs will affect the mid- and lower levels.

Please feel free to comment further.

DESPATCH

Holding Penalties

Since the Reagan administration came into office five years ago, many appointees for top State Department and ambassadorial posts have had to run a punishing gauntlet en route to confirmation: harsh questioning and delaying tactics by Foreign Relations Committee member Jesse Helms (R.-North Carolina) and other Senate conservatives. The senator has often said that he is only trying to ensure that the president's foreign policy mandate is carried out by culling appointees whom he accuses of not supporting Reagan's policies. Helms has also said publicly that his numerous holds have produced several victories by changing policy, and claimed privately of finding foreign-affairs jobs for like-minded conservatives. How much he has actually changed policy or won appointments is not entirely clear, since neither the White House nor the State Department will concede defeat or claim victories when it comes to Congress's role in the appointment process. Both colleagues and columnists, however, have said his tactics smack of "McCarthyism" and declared that they have hurt the candidates personally, the Foreign Service generally, and the national interest as well.

The most recent holds delayed the arrival at post of two ambassadors by at least three months. When Vice President Bush landed in Peking on the eve of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit, for instance, the ambassador-designate to China was in New York waiting for Senate conservatives to relinquish a hold on his nomination. Helms said he had no problem with the nominee, Council on Foreign Relations president Winston Lord, but with AID's supposed support for Chinese population-control practices said to involve forced abortion and sterilization. And as a Tamil insurgency raged in Sri Lanka, jeopardizing a country whose stability the United States considers important, designate James Spain was living out of a suitcase in Washington, also on hold. Helms's problem with Spain, a career minister in the Foreign Service, was a series of articles written while on leave at a think tank. Two of the articles criticized the role of the Foreign Relations Committee in the ap-

pointment process.

Helms's actions are clearly within the Constitution's provision for advice and consent. In a letter to Secretary Shultz, however, he and his allies have sought to extend that right by asking Shultz to clear nominees with them before they are even sent to the committee. Helms has said that the president must not be aware of just whom Shultz is appointing because the secretary has been taken over by "the foreign policy system." To date, however, no presidential appointee for a departmental or ambassadorial position has been rejected by the committee or the Senate. (Ernest Lefever, who was supported by Helms, withdrew his nomination when it became clear his nomination as assistant secretary for human rights would not clear the committee.) The senator's tactics have displeased some of his colleagues. Committee Chairman Richard Lugar (R.-Indiana) said that Helms's charge that Rozanne Ridgway, appointed assistant secretary for European and Canadian affairs, had driven some refugees into the hands of the communists while she was ambassador to East Germany was groundless. And Alan Cranston (D.-California) said that "not since the time of Joe McCarthy have we seen such attacks on the professional Foreign Service."

Helms may not have stopped any nominations once they reached the committee, but in the past he has won concessions from the department through his delaying tactics. He held about a dozen of Secretary Haig's first batch of appointees through June 1981, apparently forcing several personnel changes in the department as a price for freeing them. In the round of appointments that followed Reagan's re-election, the senator delayed 29 nominees until promises were made that several conservatives would be offered jobs or retained in their current ones.

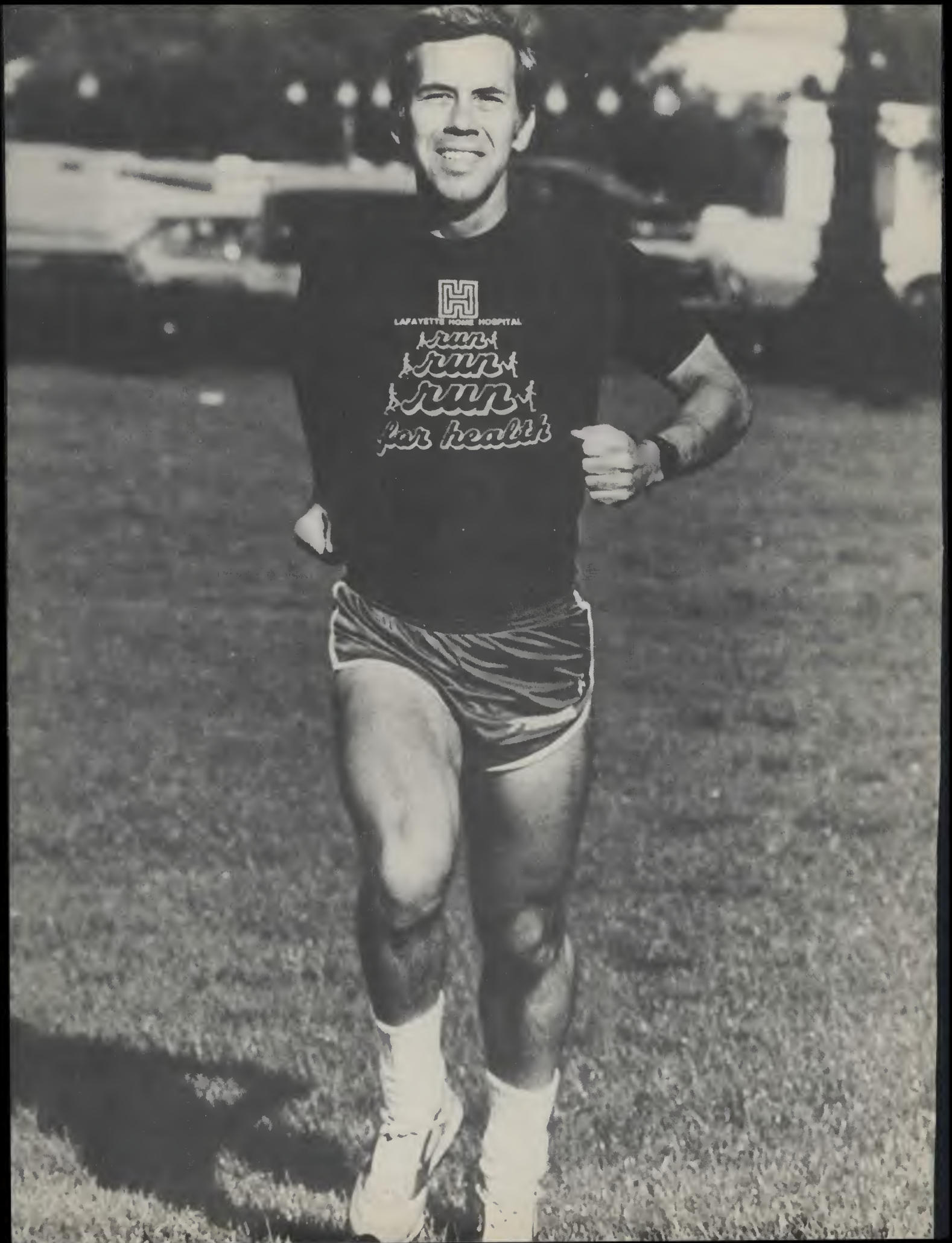
What Helms achieved in the latest holds appears to be far less. Both men are highly qualified and were predicted to clear the Senate without problems. Lord, a former FSO, helped Henry Kissinger pave the way for President Nixon's opening to China. Spain had already held two ambassadorships. Helms had problems with the two, however, and he put a one-week delay on their approval in the committee in the closing days of the summer session in July, thus putting them off to the fall. Both nominations were resubmitted, and both cleared the committee. Spain's nomination passed unanimously; only Helms opposed Lord. At that point, they were delayed by the hold on the Senate floor. Minority Leader Robert Byrd (D.-West Virginia) had put on thousands of appointees to protest

President Reagan's use of recess appointments. When the hold came off in mid October, all the nominations were cleared except two—Spain and Lord—because of another hold placed by Senate conservatives. The holds were lifted on November 5, and both men were confirmed.

On the floor that day, Helms said he was allowing the nominations to go forward because he had achieved his objectives. Spain had admitted he "overspoke" himself, Helms said, and the senator's long list of questions had been answered. "Today we got some straight answers and an apology." In addition to other criticisms, Spain had written that the committee occasionally permits unqualified appointees to advance, and Helms aide James Lucier had said that the nomination would go forward if Spain named the supposed incompetents. Spain declined on the grounds that he was writing about a process, not individuals, and apparently no names were ever given. Spain did tell the JOURNAL that there were "certainly things I wrote then [in 1982] that I would not write now in exactly the same way," but he also said, "I am not saying I was sorry I wrote the articles or sorry I was wrong, but sorry the senator was offended." On the floor, Helms said that "we want to discourage that kind of writing." He added that Foreign Service officers should not make "any specific reference to members of the Senate." A message had gone out, he also said, that future nominees had better give straight answers.

On the Lord nomination, Helms said that that afternoon he had reached an "understanding" in a phone call with the president about the senator's problems with the U.S. contribution to the United Nations Fund for Population Activities. Funding for the agency had already been cut off by a provision known as the Kemp-Inouye-Helms amendment, which became law in August, but the senator wanted to ensure that AID would not resume funding if China announced reforms or UNFPA ceased participation in the management of the Chinese population program. The senator preferred that the fund pull out of China completely. Both Helms's office and the White House refused the JOURNAL's request to elaborate on the nature of the understanding, and one month after Helms's declaration the director of AID's Office of Population told the JOURNAL that "we don't know what the president told the senator."

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



CHAIRMAN ON THE RUN

*New Foreign Relations head Richard Lugar
is off to a fast start at reestablishing the Senate
panel's role in the foreign policy process*

LAWRENCE LAUDER KNUTSON

WITH THE ENDURANCE of a long-distance runner—which he is—and the face and manner of a professional poker player, Richard Lugar is presiding over the renewal of one of the most prestigious forums of U.S. foreign policy, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. One year after taking the helm of a panel many had come to call “the faded flower,” Lugar can count several tangible achievements and considerable political clout.

On Capitol Hill, he forged an alliance with the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Dante Fascell (D.-Florida), to steer through the Senate the first foreign aid authorization bill to be approved by Congress in four years, thereby reclaiming the committee's eroded policymaking role. Outside the chamber itself, he convinced the White House that its policy of constructive engagement toward South Africa was no longer politically viable and sketched out for Secretary Shultz, who took notes, a series of ideas that eventually became the principal themes of President Reagan's address announcing limited sanctions. After that he effectively blocked attempts to continue a series of Senate votes on tougher sanctions legislation by walking to the rostrum of the president of the Senate, demanding the bill's official papers, and putting them in his pocket, thus blocking further action. The incident was the most rancorous in Lugar's first year as chairman and drew calls of “foul” from supporters of the bill, but the papers remained in Lugar's safe and the legislation stayed off the floor.

Lugar staved off a certain and imminent White House defeat of a White House proposal to sell \$1.9 billion of arms to Jordan by winning a broad Senate consensus for a four-month delay. At least 74 senators had been prepared to vote against the sale if it had been pressed at that time. Lugar's plan cleared the Senate by 96 votes. Earlier, the chairman had successfully steered through a less controversial package of \$250 million in economic aid for Jordan.

The chairman is seeking a publisher for a book outlining his foreign policy views written in an attempt, a staff member says, to “fill in the blanks” in the foreign policy agenda. That agenda starts with the

president's goal of building an America that is militarily strong and economically viable. To that end, Lugar's aims have been consensus and the rebuilding of a bipartisan foreign policy, albeit one that generally fits comfortably within the framework erected by the White House.

The unexpected choice to take over the committee after Charles Percy (R.-Illinois) was defeated in 1984, Lugar has won unexpected praise after less than one year at the helm. A laudatory profile in the *Washington Post* carried the headline: “Virtuoso Performance Surprises Hill.” But Majority Leader Robert Dole (R.-Kansas) says, “It comes as no surprise to anyone who knows Dick Lugar that his intelligence and rare gifts of conciliation and judgment would again prove him to be the one to tackle an enormous task in a masterful way.” Even more surprising, many Democrats agree with that. Fascell, for instance, calls Lugar “a great man, dedicated, obviously intelligent.” An equal partner in the passage of the foreign aid package, Fascell says of Lugar: “He wants to forge a bipartisan foreign policy, which I can appreciate and understand. Dick prepares intensely and gets the job done. And when he says he's going to do something, it gets done. Without Dick I'm not sure we would have had an authorization bill and preserved our role as policymaking bodies.” Adds a close observer of the foreign policymaking process in Congress: “He's a good poker player. He's an expert legislator. He protects the administration.”

Lugar is obviously pleased about the successes of his first year. “We've had a great year in terms of the committee coming together on very tough issues,” Lugar says. “We have been able to frame issues in ways the Senate found appealing.” He cites compromises and consensuses on South Africa, Jordan, aid to the contras, and the myriad of details, some of them quite controversial, that compose the foreign aid bill. “It seems to me, in each of these instances, we've had very strong bipartisan support of basic policies, which made it much easier for the Senate as a whole to give a very strong vote so that when the policy was adopted, the rest of the world knew that it had that kind of consensus, and the president knew he had that going for him.”

One factor that adds luster to the new chairman's achievements is the nature of the unwieldy beast in his charge. The philosophical spectrum of committee members remains broad, reaching from Senators Alan Cranston (D.-California) and Christopher Dodd (D.-

Lawrence Lauder Knutson, former State Department correspondent for the Associated Press, covers foreign policy and national security issues for the AP on Capitol Hill. He is the author of this magazine's CONGRESS column.



The chairman and the president. Lugar staved off a certain and imminent White House defeat on an arms sale to Jordan by winning a broad consensus for a four-month delay.

Connecticut) on the liberal side, to Senator Jesse Helms (R.-North Carolina) on the right. Lugar, who leaves no doubt that he supports the basic thrust of administration policy and who often votes with the conservatives, has nonetheless positioned himself, at least in style, as a man of the center, an accommodator and balancer.

ALTHOUGH Lugar said at the beginning of his tenure as chairman that he would put a stop to some of the committee's more contentious practices, the one-man war against the State Department waged by Helms has continued. The senator from North Carolina has used his position to subject nominees for ambassadorships and executive positions to ideological purity tests, especially on such issues as abortion and family planning. In many cases he has delayed confirmation for months. The chairman, by and large, has let Helms proceed unimpeded, though a total logjam never quite develops. When asked about the impact of the attacks and delays on the Foreign Service, Lugar responds, "The morale of our people, the capability of those people, are the essence of our foreign policy. I agree we have some senators who are more or less dissatisfied with our ambassadors and our Foreign Service, but those differences are being aired and we're resolving them. I've indicated throughout that we were going to reach decisions in the committee. We would have a full airing by everybody, but we would come to conclusions. And we have. And when we have, I have said I would support those conclusions on the Senate floor. And that has also occurred. I don't see questioning or probing as alarming. We've had constructive results, in a reasonably timely manner."

Does that apply to ambassadors? "Yes," he replies. "We've had almost a complete changeover in the entire ambassadorial corps, we've had hearings day in and day out. The right of every member is going to be protected. And that right includes some degree of delays, questioning, and written questions. But after all is said and done we're going to have votes. And the majority is really going to continue. And we have."

When Helms permitted a vote in early November on the nomination of Winston Lord to be ambassador to China—Lord would have been at post in August except for two holds put on his nomination by Helms and another general hold by Minority Leader Robert Byrd (D.-West Virginia)—he praised Lugar as "one of the finest chairmen and most cooperative senators I have known." And Helms once introduced the Indiana senator to a North Carolina audience with the words, "This young man's going to be president some day, so listen up." Lugar also worked closely with Helms in framing a group of reservations and understandings to the long unratified international convention branding genocide a crime against humanity. Those changes won Helms's reluctant support for the pact after years of opposition to it on technical grounds. The convention was voted out of committee in a watered-down form and, at this writing, awaits further action.

If the administration succeeds in fashioning an

arms control agreement with the Soviet Union, the role of the Foreign Relations Committee will become central. Lugar has been measuredly optimistic on the prospects, saying, for example, that the Soviet offer of a 50-percent reduction in nuclear arms, although imperfect, puts both countries "miles down the road" toward eventual agreement. He said early in his chairmanship that he believes the United States "is on the verge of a workable formula for our relationship with the Soviet Union" and that the country "must remain open—always—to the possibility of an equitable and verifiable arms control agreement" with the U.S.S.R. He concedes there are some in the Senate who would put the entire arms control process in the graveyard of history and mark its tombstone with the words, "You can't trust the Soviets." Lugar responds that the concept that arms control is impossible because the U.S.S.R. will always cheat is "nonsense. They may have different interpretations and they may try to exceed it from time to time—and you better have some pretty good stopgaps in there—but I'm not one who believes that you make impossible demands for the sake of making sure you don't have a treaty." On the other hand, he says, "There are some persons who are so nervous over the arms control procedures that they are afraid that each discouraging aspect may lead to the demolition of the whole process." The insurance policy against getting a bad treaty, Lugar says, is that President Reagan wouldn't sign it and neither party in the Senate would vote to ratify it.

Lugar believes that the process is impaired both by overly enthusiastic supporters and by those who hold that the interests of the United States are better served by erecting a strategic defense shield than by signing treaties with the Soviets. A case in point is the administration's reinterpretation last year of the restrictions imposed by the Antiballistic Missile Treaty of 1972. The White House asserted the legal right under the treaty to actually develop and test the components of a strategic defense system against incoming missiles, rather than limit its efforts to research only. At the same time, it said that for the moment it would continue to abide by the traditional and more restrictive interpretation. This satisfied neither side: arms control supporters contended the reinterpretation threatened a foundation stone of arms control, while Star Wars advocates claimed the program had been threatened by the decision not to move ahead at once with development and testing. In addition, the State Department came under attack by Helms and a band of conservative senators who declared that the decision to stay within the traditional limits of the treaty had originated with State "bureaucrats" whom Helms contended had "instigated" the United States' "appeasement minded" allies in Europe to seek the reinstatement of the old policy.

Whether the committee actually will play a lead role in arms control is a matter for the future. In 1985, the benchmark was the successful enactment of a two-year, \$25-billion foreign aid authorization bill, whose adoption ended the legislative stalemate that resulted in four years of continuing resolutions. "There is little natural constituency in the United States for foreign assistance programs," he says. "And since Vietnam the debate has become very divisive in

Congress, so much so that action became impossible." Lugar adds that, to him, the bill marks an important move away from "the so-called Vietnam paralysis in foreign policy." It sets a new tone for foreign policy by "actively supporting democratic resistance efforts against Soviet totalitarianism, and by combating terrorism and narcotics organizations."

The bill provides \$27 million for the anti-Sandinista rebels in Nicaragua, \$15 million for anti-Soviet rebels in Afghanistan (actually the tip of the iceberg since other much larger financing is provided secretly), and \$5 million for anti-Vietnamese resistance fighters in Cambodia. It also repeals the Clark amendment, which barred the United States from aiding anti-communist groups in Angola. "These provisions show that there is a growing bipartisan consensus in Congress and among the American public to actively support movements in the world which are demanding freedom and democracy and an end to Soviet totalitarian domination," Lugar says.

THE CHAIRMAN may be forging consensus between the left and the right, but he is an avowed conservative who once ranked himself as "about an 80" on a scale of 100. He supported Reagan's controversial nomination of Ernest W. Lefever to be assistant secretary of state for human rights, voted against the Panama Canal treaties, and declared against SALT II on grounds that its verification mechanism was too weak. In recent years he has voted to allow chemical weapons production, in support of the MX, and to retain funds for Star Wars research. Lugar attracted the wrath of some conservatives, however, when he voted for U.S. aid to the Sandinista regime in 1980 in an attempt to woo the new government away from Moscow. He defended that action as "good for American business" and as an attempt to help the West "compete in the private sector for the hearts and minds of that nation's people." Admitting that the vote hurt him with the right, Lugar displayed the wry sense of humor he sometimes shows when he said at the time, "I could have hid in the weeds. That has since occurred to me."

To reestablish the committee as the place where foreign policy is debated and a bipartisan consensus forged, Lugar began his tenure as chairman with a series of hearings on a broad range of foreign policy issues. They turned out to be standing-room-only affairs, attracting reporters eager to smoke out the views of the new chairman. "There's nothing that lights up all of our members more, I think, than seeing a full chorus of electronic and print media there paying attention to them," Lugar says. The new chairman moved quickly to put his own stamp on the internal workings of the committee, firing nine staff members who had been hired by Percy and installing his own crew.

The second-term senator had taken the helm of the panel wearing the mantle of a Republican compromise around his shoulders, his choice a bit accidental. He had served for the previous two years as chairman of the Republican senatorial campaign committee and began eyeing a race for the majority leader's spot after Howard Baker (R.-Tennessee) retired to concentrate



THE SAYINGS OF CHAIRMAN LUGAR

On the status of relations with the Soviet Union:

"The relationship has become much more vigorous, but have the gaps narrowed? It is obvious that there is still a lot of disagreement on most issues. But for the first time we are listening to each other's point of view rather than reading formal statements at each other that may miss each other. This has led to interchange, to sharp interruptions. There is some grappling with what is being said. There is a style which is distinctly different. That doesn't mean that positions have changed. But it does mean that if you are seriously trying to negotiate or even to understand, or get some point of view across, you have a chance. I think that is encouraging."

On Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev:

"Giving credit where credit is due, the fact is the new Soviet leader has been prepared to be more forthcoming and to mix it up...and to the extent that he does more of that, it's sort of a new ballgame in terms of the kinds of questions that will be asked, the kinds of issues that will be faced. Not only arms control issues but human rights issues, issues of how people cope in the Soviet Union. That's pretty different from leaders in the Kremlin [operating] through many many layers of screening out their views and appearing very remote. So I think there are some possibilities."

On arms control:

"There are all sorts of complex manifestations. But both countries probably want to make certain that their strategic deterrent is as safe as possible. To the extent that you can have greater safety, and can do it for less money, or with less devotion of resources and priorities, that's desirable both ways. That would take some doing and I'm not certain you can, but it's not inconceivable. And that's one reason why an arms control treaty might occur at some point, because it does appear to be mutually beneficial."

On relations with China:

"I think there will probably be disagreements and some unhappy discussions about Taiwan because the United States will be faithful about its agreements. On the other hand, we are on the threshold of nuclear cooperation and we are involved in many more areas of cooperation, so relations are likely to grow even as we retain our faithfulness to Taiwan."

On the prospects for U.S. aid to anti-communist guerrillas in Angola:

"I could very well envision that we might want to assist the anti-communists in Angola if in fact there does not appear to be a prospect of change without that assistance....The long and short of it is that we're not entertaining any proposals for the moment, although there's lively debate, clearly, as to what our policy ought to be. I think it's fully consistent with our Reagan Doctrine idea that we help people who want to bring about democratic institutions...and it seems to me that by lifting the Clark amendment, Congress indicated for the first time in 10 years that it is fully prepared to accept that kind of proposition."



El Salvador President Duarte meets with ranking minority member Clairborne Pell and Lugar. The forging of a bipartisan foreign policy is central to Lugar's stewardship of the committee.

on his law practice and presidential politics. Then Percy's defeat opened up the Foreign Relations chairmanship. There was widespread uneasiness over the two most likely candidates to succeed him. Helms was viewed by some as too militantly conservative. Besides, he had told his constituents during a tight reelection race that he would stay on as chairman of the Agriculture Committee and not seek the Foreign Relations chair. Charles Mathias (R.-Maryland) was seen by other Republicans as too liberal to head a committee that had often been viewed as more liberal than the Senate as a whole. Lugar was already a member of the panel and chairman of its European affairs subcommittee. In the resulting compromise, Dole was elected to succeed Baker and Lugar was tapped to follow Percy. "It was not a chairmanship I sought or could have predicted would come to me by the decisions of others," Lugar says.

The chairmanship in recent decades has proved a political albatross. Not only Percy but chairmen Frank Church (D.-Idaho) and William Fulbright (D.-Arkansas) have gone down to election defeat. Lugar is determined not to follow them. "Richard Lugar is not going to let the Foreign Relations Committee make him lose the election in 1988," says a Senate aide. "As he said early on, he is going to be in Indiana more than on Embassy Row. Last year the French wanted to give him an award and the senator said no, he couldn't accept then because that was the weekend of the Indiana high school basketball championship."

Lugar, who has maintained his position on the Senate Agriculture Committee, attempts to convert his chairmanship from a potential deficit to a solid asset by constantly pointing out that 40 percent of the jobs in his state depend on international trade to sustain them. "Foreign policy is a pocketbook issue in Indiana," the senator says. "I spend a good deal of time making certain I am in touch with state officials and party organizations, including ward chairmen and precinct captains. It is important to maintain a solid political base if you are to have the political longevity to deal with long-term foreign policy issues."

Aides describe the Lugar style as one of "patient but calculating brokering." They note he was instrumental several years ago in shaping loan guarantee legislation for the Chrysler Corporation and for New York City. "Lugar is a person who can build consensus, broker a compromise in a rather tough fashion," one admiring staff member says. "He's a tough, hard-nosed, pragmatic politician, bright, intellectual. He's no back slapper, he's very reserved. But he has a subtle sense of humor. He sits there poker-faced. He tries to bring everyone in, he listens to everyone's arguments, he doesn't freeze anyone out. But then he makes a decision. He thinks that there was a mood that people were ready to stop fighting with each other on foreign policy. He is a put-it-together person." Lugar's own description of himself is of "someone who makes things happen."

When he is not putting it together and making things happen, Lugar is probably reading. He takes a stack of reading material home with him each night. He will occasionally improvise on the piano. And he once played the cello. But even more likely, he is

running. Every day if he can. A large homemade chart on one of his office walls is labeled "The Lugar Running Majority" and records his recent mileage: 918 miles in 1981, 862 miles in 1982, 804 miles in 1983, and 1004 miles last year. A small plaque announces that he was the "No. 1 Senator" in a recent marathon. And a photograph shows him in full stride, bare chested and flab free. "That's his cheesecake shot," says an aide.

Lugar doesn't smoke. He rarely takes a drink. He favors dark blue suits, red ties, and tassled black loafers polished to a gleam. But some political observers say he doesn't project well, that he comes across to audiences as stiff and, well, perhaps just a little boring. At a recent Washington roast, William Ruckelshaus, the former director of the Environmental Protection Agency who has counted Lugar as a friend since kindergarten, joked that "Dick has maintained that childhood capability of walking into an empty room and blending right in."

LUGAR'S ROOTS go deep in Indiana. The senator's first American ancestor, Adam Lugar, came here from Frankfurt in 1775 as a Hessian soldier, enlisted to fight for the British cause. But he deserted, joined the American revolutionaries and, according to the chairman, fought in the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. His son, George Lugar, the senator's great-great-grandfather, gravitated to Indiana's Grant County in 1828 where he operated a farm. George Lugar's son was a Union captain in the Civil War who, in later years, "made a great deal of money" in Indiana natural gas and cattle. "He apparently lost most of it," Lugar says. The Lugars concentrated on farming for a hundred years or more, and the senator's father was born on a Grant County farm in 1904, moving to Indianapolis when Richard was a teenager to run a livestock commission business at the local yards.

An Eagle scout who later won a Phi Beta Kappa key, Lugar was elected co-president of the student body at Dennison University. He later married co-president Charlene Smeltzer. A Rhodes scholar in the mid-1950s at Oxford, he became the first American to be elected head of the Pembroke College student body. He studied political science with a professor who earlier in his career had taught William Fulbright, who also won a Rhodes and headed the Foreign Relations Committee.

After Oxford, Lugar joined the Navy, spending his entire tour at the Pentagon as an intelligence briefer for Admiral Arleigh Burke. According to an aide, Burke required his intelligence lieutenants to brief from memory. "Lugar would go into the Pentagon early in the morning and memorize the incoming intelligence reports," the aide says. "He still has an incredible memory. I spend half my time shoveling information into him that he wants to consume." Lugar considered making the Navy a career but returned to Indiana after his father died to help manage the family farm and the Thomas L. Green Company, a manufacturer of industrial cookie and cracker cutters and bakery ovens that was founded by his maternal grandfather. The success of the once-faltering firm

has given Lugar the independence for a political career free of financial worries.

Lugar gained local visibility after winning a seat on the Indianapolis school board. He parlayed that into a successful campaign to become the city's first Republican mayor in two decades. His sights widened after he pulled off an upset to defeat New York City Mayor John Lindsay as chairman of the National League of Cities. And he is credited with laying the foundations for a renaissance that has transformed Indianapolis. He pushed a consolidated city-county government plan known as Unigov through the state legislature over the opposition of labor leaders who feared the addition of suburban voters would diminish their influence. He started the rebuilding of downtown, cut taxes, and balanced the budget.

WHEN Lugar sought Birch Bayh's Senate seat in 1974, he was handed his only election defeat to date. It was the year of Richard Nixon's resignation, and Bayh, trying to link his opponent to the disgraced former president, repeatedly used the line that Lugar was "Richard Nixon's favorite mayor." Lugar's chances worsened after President Ford pardoned Nixon. His attempts to recover by declaring that the Oval Office tapes had disclosed "a moral tragedy" in the White House only made matters worse by alienating Republican conservatives. The results were close enough, however, that in 1976 Lugar seemed the right choice, in a calmer political season, to take on the more vulnerable Democratic incumbent, Senator Vance Hartke. Lugar won with 59 percent of the vote, earning re-election six years later with a 54-percent score against Democrat Floyd Fithian. The senator proved his ability as a fundraiser in that race, amassing a \$3-million war chest compared to only \$870,000 for his opponent. In his concession speech, Fithian said he now knew what it felt like "to be buried by a mountain of money."

Does Lugar have ambitions beyond the Senate? He certainly used to, and there is little sign he has abandoned them. As early as the 1972 GOP convention in Miami Beach he was being mentioned as a possibility for the 1976 vice presidential nomination, telling reporters, "I suspect we are testing the waters." In 1980, when he addressed the Republican convention in a speech members of his own staff describe as "wooden," Lugar was reportedly one of eight men under consideration to be Ronald Reagan's running mate. "I would like to be his running mate," he said then. "I could bring balance to the issue. I'm pleased to be considered. I would like very much to be part of it."

Aides now try to turn aside speculation about Lugar's future, saying only that he plans to run for reelection in 1988. But when pressed, one says, "I think he's smart enough to be president of the United States. Indiana is a tough state to run in. People who come out of Indiana are good politicians. He might be vice president. He might be secretary of state. Or he might evolve into one of the most powerful men in the Senate."

"He's only 53." □



MORE SAYINGS OF CHAIRMAN LUGAR

On the proposal of Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro that the nations of Latin America renounce their huge debt to the West:

"He wants to start at zero with a new score sheet. He completely obliterates the idea of lending and repaying—the basic system is obliterated. Latin American countries realize the basic rules of the game must be preserved. [There can be stretchouts and other adjustments but] a plan for the maintenance of the general debt system is worthy of our first-class attention. We must work toward a system where they are able to get back to the market again and buy from us."

On the Middle East:

"I remain optimistic about the peace process. I think clearly there are so many ways that hearts are broken in the Middle East that if you were a pessimist you'd have a lot of people standing behind you....It would appear that Mubarak and Hussein are still active in trying to stir the sparks and trying to get something going....There will have to be a genuine willingness to take substantial risks."

On the Atlantic Alliance:

"I think the alliance is very healthy. The deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles proves they can implement a policy decision. The alliance withstood the 1983 Soviet walkout from the arms control talks, and the Soviet attacks on the strategic defense initiative and criticism implying that our degree of interest was suspect. As an alliance we have done fairly well economically. And it is important that good friends have been able to discuss some very tough questions. I appreciate that in the longer term, because of slower European growth, there are some fears for the future, especially concerning jobs for young people. And I am concerned that not enough money is being spent for conventional weaponry."

On world trade and protectionism:

"The forces of naked protectionism have probably lost ground. A healthier economic era will depend on the Group of Five and Japanese cooperation on the yen-dollar relationship. If that relationship is successful we can diminish somewhat the price advantage, and we will then get to other factors not related to the currency thing. We're going to be moving vigorously with some of our trading partners to move to freer trade. But even as we do that, with vigor on the part of the administration, we are likely to have a year in which the strength of the new administration policies is felt, and the repercussions likewise. I hope 1986 can be a year in which agricultural subsidies are diminished in Europe....And that may lead to less subsidies in other areas as well."

On the role of the United States:

"I think the fact is that people are looking to our country for leadership. They become disappointed with us when they don't believe that leadership is forthcoming or imaginative enough. But they want it and I think we must respond. And when the president does respond he has the high ground."

GALBRAITH VS. EAGLEBURGER: LOYALTY AND GUTS

AN IMPORTANT face-off between one of the Foreign Service's most vocal critics and one of its staunchest defenders occurred last summer, when former Ambassador to France Evan Galbraith debated former Under Secretary for Political Affairs Lawrence Eagleburger on William F. Buckley's PBS television show *Firing Line*. Michael Kinsley, editor of the *New Republic*, also questioned the two former ambassadors. The main point of contention was Galbraith's earlier statement that a president is better served by political ambassadors than by Foreign Service officers because the former are more in tune with his philosophy. In attempting to convey the foreign policy of a free-market American president in socialist France, however, Galbraith repeatedly infuriated his host government, receiving reprimands from the Quai D'Orsay on four separate occasions. His critics have called that record an example of meddling in internal politics, and an ineffective one at that. His supporters have said that he left no doubt in President Mitterrand's mind on where Ronald Reagan stood.

In claiming the superiority of the political ambassador, Galbraith said that "foreign policy is too important to be left up to Foreign Service officers" because "there's something about the Foreign Service that takes the guts out of people," manifesting itself in "a difference between carrying [policy] out mechanically, ritualistically, and really pushing the president's line." The remark caused a furor in Foggy Bottom, leading Secretary Shultz to say "somebody ought to tie his tongue for him." At that juncture, Galbraith said he had only been repeating a remark made in the November 1984 JOURNAL by Eagleburger. When the JOURNAL asked Eagleburger about that, he took exception. What follows are edited excerpts from their television confrontation on that topic and others in the perpetual debate over career versus political appointees. (By permission of Southern Educational Communications Association.)

Buckley: Mr. Eagleburger, in saying that "the most significant quality" in the making of a Foreign Service officer is "guts," didn't you mean to suggest that there was less of this quality than you would like to see?

Eagleburger: There's no question there's less than I would like to see. It is a quality, however, that is lacking in any number of professions. I am inclined to

believe from my own experience that there are in fact a number of very good Foreign Service officers with guts. And by the way, guts without some brains is a dangerous quality. You have to have the two.

Buckley: But it seems to me that you were complaining of the same thing Mr. Galbraith was complaining of and yet you found somehow a very sharp distinction. Could you elaborate?

Eagleburger: What I said in the JOURNAL is that guts is a terribly important element in the Foreign Service, we need more of it, it is something we have to try to encourage, because the system—as with any system—tends over the years to drive it out of people who don't really work at keeping their sense of strength. Where I have a problem is that he was making a general statement that by and large the Foreign Service lacked guts. I think we lack it to the degree that we have to have more, but on the other hand, I do not characterize the Foreign Service as lacking in guts as an institution.

Galbraith: They are a group of people who are very bright—to get into the Foreign Service is not easy—and they are very dedicated, very anxious to do something. But they do donkey-work for so long, they are taught to be non-confrontational, they are taught not to take initiative, they are taught not to stick their necks out. That's the way you get ahead. So after a period of time, these bright people become unable to commit themselves and to take a point of view with the type of guts that I think we're both talking about.

Buckley: It is true, as some of us know, that John Kennedy complained bitterly about the State Department. He told Arthur Schlesinger that he wouldn't rely on State to remove the garbage. We know that Lyndon Johnson said roughly the same thing. We know that Truman once told a biographer that he couldn't get something moved from Rio to a suburb. Lyndon Johnson at one time said, "The only thing I can do in foreign policy is to start a nuclear war."

There is a sentiment that's been built up by chief executives in the last generation that the department has a life of its own, inclinations of its own, presumptions of its own, a *Weltanschauung* of its own, which they have not been able to harness—one of the reasons obviously why Richard Nixon gave Kissinger in effect

the principal formative role in foreign policy even though he had a perfectly conspicuous secretary of state. So given that people other than Galbraith have acknowledged this difficulty, what, Mr. Eagleburger, do you think ought to be done?

Eagleburger: First we need to examine the complaint. Almost any president, when he first comes into office, has great frustration with the State Department. But most by the time they leave office probably use the department more than they did in the first stages—and have more respect for it. Example: Henry Kissinger when he was with Richard Nixon in the White House as against Kissinger as secretary of state, where he did in fact use the system, had more Foreign Service officers in senior positions in the department probably than any previous secretary. He felt that the department could perform for him. One of the important questions here is the degree to which you can get good performance out of the Foreign Service and the State Department if you have the right kind of leadership, both political appointees and career.

Buckley: There has been an awful lot of talk about the extent to which the Foreign Service is in the process of "taking over George Shultz." This doesn't mean that George Shultz has lost his independence, but it does suggest that there are forces that tend to pull him in a particular direction, and that these tend to reflect the doctrinal inclinations of the Foreign Service. Is this or is this not a problem?

Eagleburger: Of course it's a problem. It is to some degree a problem in any structured institution. I don't deny that the Foreign Service and the Department of State have views of their own—God help us if they don't. But the department has demonstrated that it can be loyal if properly led and challenged.

There is another side to this coin, however. There has to be some continuity in our foreign policy. You cannot shift everything you do every four years. We are, after all, leaders. The department provides some of the necessary continuity.

Galbraith: Continuity means that there is a consensus about what it is that's being carried forward. But there is a sharp distinction these days in the platform between contending presidents. We saw it between Reagan and Mondale. Mondale was sharply critical of President Reagan in Nicaragua, sharply critical about our Strategic Defense Initiative. You had a Nixon and McGovern; you had a Carter and Reagan. You even had it within the Democratic party: Humphrey-Johnson. You cannot have a foreign policy that survives notwithstanding the election.

Buckley: I don't think Mr. Eagleburger said that. I think he said that whoever comes in in January 1989 has got to know what has been happening during the preceding four years. An awful lot of foreign policy doesn't change from president to president.

Galbraith: It's up to the duly elected president to decide whether it changes or not.

Eagleburger: Evan, you have grossly oversimplified this. In the mid-1970s, Henry Kissinger agreed with Israel that the United States would not talk to the Palestine Liberation Organization unless they first recognized the existence of the state of Israel and accepted U.N. Security Council Resolutions 235 and 338. There have been people since who have felt that was a mistake. But the United States did commit to it. The president can change U.S. policy when elected. But if you go from one policy to another every four years, you soon have no followers. One of the roles of the State Department and the Foreign Service is to remind the new president that there are commitments by the last one.

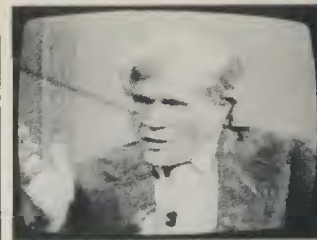
Galbraith: I don't agree with that at all. There are distinctions to be made in the type of agreements. If you have a formal treaty, that's one thing. If you have an executive agreement that has the effect of a formal treaty, that's another. But a man who is secretary of state making an arrangement can only speak for his existing administration. I don't think the State Department should come in and berate the president and say, "Okay, you can change it, but in doing so, you are putting the United States' word on the block."

Buckley: You two are on collision courses I think perhaps unnecessarily for this reason—Mr. Eagleburger is saying that an ambassador to the United Nations who decides to chat with the PLO in the Waldorf-Astoria in a secret room ought to know that he is charting a different policy from one made by a previous administration. I agree. Mr. Galbraith is saying that the second administration ought not to be bound by executive commitments of the previous administration. I also agree, and so does the history of the United States.

Eagleburger: And so do I, but with one qualification. And this is my point about the value of the Department of State and the Foreign Service, and it is where, in fact, we disagree. Of course the president can say Henry Kissinger's agreement with Israel no longer stands. But there needs to be an institution that can say to the president, "Mr. President, if you make that decision, there are some things that are going to follow from it, and we, therefore, recommend against it."

■
Kinsley: So far we have only talked about a part of Mr. Galbraith's complaint about the Foreign Service. I'd like to ask a little bit about the other dimension, which is that the Foreign Service is dominated by liberal Democrats. The facts are, you said in one of your controversial interviews, that most of the people in the Foreign Service vote Democratic. "I can't verify it, it's just a feeling I have." I would like to ask Mr. Eagleburger if he agrees.

Eagleburger: I think there has been a change in the last 10 years, but I would suspect that there are still more Foreign Service officers that vote Democratic than Republican. But I don't know what that leads you to conclude, other than that when you are a



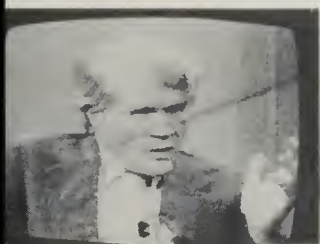
They are bright and dedicated, but they are taught to be non-confrontational, not to take initiative, not to stick their necks out



The system tends over the years to drive the guts out of people, but I don't think the Foreign Service lacks guts as an institution



I don't deny that the Foreign Service has views of its own, but it has demonstrated that it can be loyal if properly led and challenged



I don't think the department should berate the president and say that if he changes policy, he would be putting the U.S.'s word on the block

Republican president, you fire everybody and put Republicans in, and when you are a Democratic president, you do the opposite. But you can't run a career Service that way. Maybe you can run a sycophantic Service, but not a career Service.

Galbraith: I've heard it said from the White House recently that they would like to appoint more career Foreign Service people to ambassadorships, but they have the sense after talking to them, looking at the record, hearing what is said about them, that these people are not, generally speaking, supportive of Ronald Reagan and would be more at home with a Mondale administration. They have trouble finding their kind of guy.

Kinsley: It sounds to me, if what Mr. Eagleburger says is correct, as if the Foreign Service basically reflects the country. It was predominantly liberal 10 years ago. Now it's probably still just barely Democratic.

Galbraith: But as an ambassador you have to be a 100 percent Reagan man or a Jimmy Carter guy. You can't go around and be the reflection of the entire mixture of the country.

Kinsley: The last time this came around it was in completely the opposite context. In 1979, there was a woman named Sally Shelton, whom Carter wanted to appoint as ambassador to Barbados. A lot of conservatives objected that Carter was trying to make the ambassadorships too liberal and liberals were complaining that the Foreign Service was inherently conservative. That was what the people arguing for political ambassadors were saying six years ago.

Galbraith: I think the Foreign Service should be more elite.

Eagleburger: You mean more Republican.

Galbraith: No, as long as they are identified as what they are. But I would like to separate the Foreign Service from the Civil Service, which was done in 1954 under the Wriston law, which changed the character of the Foreign Service. I would make it more elite, not less.

Eagleburger: That's not acceptable to the body politic any more, nor should it be. The Foreign Service, to some degree at least—I am going to agree with you, hang on—has to be representative of the country from which it comes. I want intelligent, gutsy people. I don't want an elite.

Galbraith: Just to make it clear, I'm thinking about an intellectual elite, an elite that is confident in itself, a group of people who are confident that their career is going to be devoted largely to what they set out to do. This is opposed to shuffling them off for four years to issue visas in some obscure consulate post, or to sit in an office in the State Department that has nothing to do with their career. I think that Foreign Service talent is dissipated by doing a lot of donkey-work.

They should be focused, they should be selected as those who are good in Western European affairs, for instance, and trained in that direction.

In my four years, I had four different office directors for Western Europe. Once I tried to get a guy to be my consul general who had a lot of experience in France. He knew a lot of people, spoke the language perfectly. But I was told, "No, you've got to take this guy from Mexico who has never been in France because we've got to give him a chance. He deserves to go there." Well, I think that the country deserved to have the specialist.

Eagleburger: I've been with the Foreign Service for 27 years. These arguments have gone on at least all the time I was there and a long time before that. And your argument about what was called the Wriston program is also absolute nonsense. But there is no argument that specialization and expertise is important. It is also, however, important that Foreign Service officers have some sense that there is a world out there other than Bordeaux or Western Europe. Again an example from Kissinger's time: He decreed that every year we would move 10 percent from one bureau to another simply because he ran into too much narrow vision. He did not consider narrow vision to be the kind of career training that would promote people to be generalists at a senior level.

The whole purpose of what was called the Wriston program, when they took the Foreign Service and put it in Washington as well as abroad, was to break away from a kind of elitism, an elitism of Harvard and Yale, with all respect, a Foreign Service that was East Coast establishment, that was white Anglo-Saxon Protestant. In those days all the Foreign Service did was live abroad. It did not understand its own country, which is the reason you are now citing as to why we ought to have more political appointees.

Galbraith: I say four years abroad, two years back in Washington. I want them to come back; obviously they have to come back.

Kinsley: One of the things that pulls FSOs on and keeps them dedicated is the idea that at some point they might get to grab the brass ring, which in their career means to be an ambassador in a top slot. Now, what are you saying to them when you tell them, "Sorry, you will never have the top jobs in your own profession?"

What about the idea of a review board like the American Bar Association's for passing on ambassadors to make sure they're qualified? This could eliminate from the equation those people who happen to have given the campaign many thousands of dollars.

Galbraith: The president has got to make that decision. He has any number of reasons for wanting a person out there and I don't think anybody should interfere with his prerogative. It's a constitutional point. The Constitution talks about the president appointing ambassadors with the advice and consent of the Senate, and I think the Founding Fathers meant to have someone who was the president's boy for right or wrong. □

SPOUSE EMPLOYMENT: MUCH CONCERN BUT LITTLE CONSENSUS

FRANCES G. BURWELL

THE RESULTS of a JOURNAL survey on spouse employment at overseas posts have revealed widespread concern about the issue but no general consensus on how to cope with it. Instead, there seems to be recognition that the conflict between two-career families and the dictates of Foreign Service life is basic and likely to be long-lasting. In an interesting—but characteristic—paradox, more than 70 percent of the Foreign Service employees who responded agreed with the statement that the Foreign Service is incompatible with two-career families, while 97 percent agreed that having spouses and families overseas is important for the Service. The survey results also suggest that as the current junior and mid-level employees—including more women—move up through the ranks, the conflict between assignments and family will become even more significant. Our readers seem under no illusions about the seriousness of the issue. As one person wrote: "If we don't solve this, we won't have a Foreign Service."

Drawing definite conclusions from this survey can only be done with caution, however. The sample size was small—169—and, as with any questionnaire of this type, those who are most concerned with the problem are most likely to fill out and return it. Moreover, none of the results are so clear that they could be used to recommend a particular course of action; more than anything else, the responses demonstrate the high emotions surrounding this issue and the need for more information and study.

According to the survey, working spouses are far more common than non-working ones: currently, 56 percent of all the respondents' spouses work while 38 percent do not (although almost half of that group would like to be employed). When last stationed overseas, 52 percent of spouses worked and 42 percent did not. When last stationed in the United States, however, 58 percent worked and only 33 percent were non-working or primarily volunteers. When asked which approach should be given priority in resolving the issue of spouse employment overseas, opinions were divided—29 percent opted for the spouse receiving a percentage of the employee's pay; 17 percent for arranging bilateral agreements; 45 percent for making more efforts to employ spouses in the mission; and 26 percent believed that resolving the issue was primarily the responsibility of the individual rather than

the foreign affairs agencies. As for the Foreign Service Associates spouse-employment proposal that has been advanced by the Association of American Foreign Service Women ["Associates of the Service," March], 67 percent were familiar with it and an additional 18 percent were "somewhat" familiar with it. Of both categories, slightly more than half were in favor, with the rest evenly divided between undecided and against.

The survey also demonstrated paradoxical attitudes toward spouse employment: the section that asked respondents to indicate their level of disagreement or agreement with particular statements was primarily useful in drawing attention to the confusion and strong feelings surrounding this issue. As mentioned above, 73 percent agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that the Foreign Service is incompatible with the two-career family, but at the same time, almost all agreed or agreed strongly with the statement that having spouses and families overseas is important for the Service. There was a general consensus that spouses who go overseas should receive some remuneration (62 percent agreed or strongly agreed). The polarization among our readers became clear, however, when they were asked about having spouses do representational work and other activities without pay: almost half agreed or strongly agreed, while an equal number disagreed or strongly disagreed.

This general perspective, however, changed significantly according to gender and number of years in the Service. Again, however, once the general sample is divided into groups, the numbers become so small that the results must be treated with caution. The distinctions revealed by our questionnaire should be examined further to see how widespread they are.

The female Foreign Service employees who responded to the questionnaire were a small group—17 percent of the total—but their replies differed dramatically in certain key aspects. First, 80 percent of their husbands currently work, and those that identified themselves as non-working would prefer to be employed. Moreover, the difference for their spouses between being overseas or in the United States was even greater. When overseas, just over half of husbands work, but when in the United States, almost all are employed. And, although the percentage of respondents overall who were part of a tandem couple was 10 percent, 35 percent of the women were part of a tandem. The female respondents also placed more importance on the availability of spouse employment

"Somewhat paradoxically, I believe the two-career family is a solutionless problem that should continue receiving attention. In our case, with my husband in international banking, we will continue to tough it out."

"I believe the foreign affairs agencies should make some effort in assisting wives who wish to work overseas, but I don't think they should be responsible for finding jobs. The Foreign Service is not an employment agency."

"Except for tandem couples, the Foreign Service is essentially a career for only one spouse. We should continue to facilitate employment for spouses, but realistically we can only provide mission employment to a few. We should not unfairly raise expectations."

Frances G. Burwell is senior editor of the JOURNAL.

when bidding on a post—when asked whether this factor was a major, moderate, or minor influence on post bids, the respondents overall were evenly divided among the three choices, but the women overwhelmingly identified it as a major factor. As for the options for dealing with spouse employment, the female respondents were far less likely than the group overall to give priority to the spouses' automatically receiving a percentage of the employee's pay, but somewhat more likely to see finding more jobs within the mission as a possible solution. Although the number of women in the Foreign Service is still relatively small, as more women enter the Service and rise through the ranks, their tendency to be part of a tandem couple and make spouse employment an important factor when bidding on posts could have a significant effect on the assignments process.

THERE WERE ALSO DIFFERENCES when the respondents were identified according to the number of years in the Service. When the retired respondents are factored out, there are fewer non-working spouses. As might be expected, the retirees' spouses had generally not sought employment, and so the availability of employment for spouses had been a minor consideration for that group when bidding on posts. However, when the active-duty respondents are divided into categories based on years of service, it becomes clear that the percentage of working spouses and the importance of available employment increases with the younger employees, although even among those who have served more than 20 years, the majority of spouses work. The exception to this trend is the group that has been in the Service five years or less. Perhaps because first tours are often overseas, where spouse employment can be limited, or because of the demands of very young children, this group has a smaller percentage of working spouses, and places less importance on available spouse employment when bidding for posts.

The group that seems to be most affected by the issue of spouse employment is that which has been serving for 6-10 years. Currently, 74 percent of their spouses work, compared with slightly more than half overall, and 17 percent of the group is part of a tandem—a significant increase over the 10 percent figure overall. Moreover, 72 percent indicated that the availability of spouse employment was a major consideration during the assignments cycle. This group was also fairly evenly divided as to what approach should be given priority: spouses receiving a percentage of pay, bilateral employment agreements, employment within the mission, or letting the individual resolve the difficulty. However, they were generally in favor of the Associates proposal: almost all the respondents were at least "somewhat familiar" with the proposal, and two-thirds supported it (most of the remainder were undecided, and very few were actually opposed). As with the female respondents, if these findings hold across the entire group, we can expect a significant impact on the assignments process, especially on willingness to serve at posts where spouse employment opportunities are limited.

Our respondents have not been alone in being con-

cerned about spouse employment. During the year before our survey, several methods of addressing the issue received attention in the press, including Marlene Eagleburger's suggestion that spouses receive a percentage of the employee's pay and the Association of American Foreign Service Women's proposal for a Foreign Service Associates program. AAFSW's report, *The Role of the Spouse in the Foreign Service*, released in the spring of 1985 and based on extensive questionnaire responses by the spouses themselves, also demonstrated the importance of spouse employment. The need to improve overseas employment activities was the most frequently voiced concern about Foreign Service life that the spouses had, with 77 percent expressing a desire to work. The AAFSW respondents also made clear their perception that the Foreign Service had not been good for their careers: 58 percent believe that the constant moving and lack of employment opportunities abroad had been the primary causes of disruptions in career patterns. The respondents to the spouse questionnaire identified four specific areas for improvement: the expansion of substantive job opportunities overseas; the expansion of training for mission-oriented work; the establishment of a permanent system that would allow spouses to advance to greater pay and responsibility in mission jobs; and the establishment of an active system to place qualified spouses in jobs outside the mission.

One result of all this was that Congress, as part of the State Department's appropriations bill, adopted an amendment offered by Senator Charles McC. Mathias (R.-Maryland) that instructed the secretary of state to establish a pilot project for a Foreign Service Associates program. That project is to test appropriate ways of increasing employment opportunities for qualified spouses of U.S. personnel that could be used to further the interests of the mission and the United States. In accordance with the law, the department has established an office, directed by former ambassador Sam Hart, to design the pilot project and select suitable posts. A report on the design phase is to be given to Congress February 1. According to Hart, the proposal is still in the draft phase, but is approaching its final form. It contains a variety of specific items, which Hart says should be viewed, not as a list of options, but as a package, all of which should be implemented. First, the State Department awards program will be expanded to make dependents of U.S. personnel overseas eligible. Any dependent who has performed volunteer services that advanced the foreign policy interests of the United States could be nominated for the Meritorious, Superior, and Distinguished Honor awards and for cash awards. Second, a pool of permanent, full-time, officer-level jobs would be established for which qualified spouses could compete. All of these positions would be additional to present ones, and could include vice consul, assistant budget and fiscal officer, intelligence analyst, and assistant program officer, among others. Qualified spouses would also have the opportunity to identify and propose projects that advance the U.S. interest but that lie outside traditional Foreign Service tasks. Third, the program would compensate the spouses of ambassadors, deputy chiefs of mission, and principal officers for the duties they perform.

"I see spouse-related issues coming to a head in the next 5-10 years. Most, if not the majority, of new officers I speak with enter the Foreign Service on a somewhat experimental basis, largely because of spouses' concerns about their own careers."

"[The Foreign Service Associates] proposal will cause repercussions in military and other services.... Any family who is unwilling to serve and give to their country should not be considered to represent my country."

AT PRESENT, Hart expects that the pilot program will involve 30-50 positions at 5-10 posts. Those posts have not yet been identified from the many that volunteered, but Hart stresses that this program will not be limited to State Department spouses; it is an inter-agency program, and spouses from participating agencies will be eligible. The pilot program will cost between \$1-1.5 million, depending on its final size. Money is likely to be requested for fiscal year 1987, but until then participating agencies will probably fund it from their existing budgets.

When the respondents to the JOURNAL's questionnaire sent in their responses, most of them had not yet seen the State Department's proposal, which was distributed to all posts in a management cable last autumn. Yet they did address some of these matters in their comments. Unfortunately for the department's efforts, if their responses are anything like the comments we received, they will find much concern about the issue, but little consensus—and, in fact, much polarization.

Several of our respondents made clear that the difficulties surrounding spouse employment had severely affected their willingness to go overseas and perhaps to even stay in the Service. One wrote: "My spouse is a professional. She has little chance of getting remuneration overseas equal to that at home. If she cannot also enter the Foreign Service, I will have no choice but to resign." Another commented that many of the approaches listed as possible solutions were all right for spouses who wish to work as secretaries, but not for those with more substantive ambitions. He went on to say, "I will not go overseas again, mainly because of my wife's inability to carry on her career."

Others, however, seemed resigned to coping with what had become a difficult situation. One employee who will soon be part of a tandem couple wrote, "My fiancée and I have been separated for a year and face another 3-9 months' separation after our marriage. The Foreign Service should be more sensitive to the emotional anguish this causes." Another wrote: "Although not yet in divorce court, my marriage has been deeply damaged by the stress of Foreign Service life, personal danger, and sacrifice of my spouse's career. Overseas service is nearly incompatible with marriage." Several others, however, suggested that more flexible tours of duty—perhaps an occasional one-year tour, for example—could help.

When it came to permanent solutions, however, no one suggestion received overwhelming endorsement. As one respondent put it, "It's surprisingly hard to decide. Some remuneration seems fair, but single people are expected to cope on their own. The agencies can do only so much, and most couples have to make some very hard choices."

The approach that received perhaps the most attention in the comments—certainly the most emphatic—was that of spouses receiving remuneration for representational duties. As one ambassador wrote: "My wife would appreciate having her services abroad better recognized—perhaps monetarily—but not to the extent of demeaning performance appraisals by an administrative or other mission officer." Several single employees voiced their reservations about paying

for representational duties: "As a single FSO with representational responsibilities, I use my weekends to prepare for entertaining. I am not being paid extra for this work any more than my colleagues' spouses, and I am not sure I wouldn't feel cheated if they were paid for it and I was not."

The idea that spouses could work in missions provoked mixed comments. A few who believed employment in the mission was the answer suggested that the policy of hiring host country nationals be reconsidered and spouses be hired for all appropriate positions. Another respondent argued that training spouses to assume secretarial positions would save the government money on transportation, housing, and allowances, while enhancing morale. Others, however, were less sanguine about the opportunities offered by mission employment. One wrote, "The only jobs available are glorified secretarial positions. My wife has a Ph.D. in economics and Southeast Asian studies and yet there is no interest in her as a professional." Another wrote in stronger terms: "Mission employment, currently, is second class, demeaning, underpaid, and seen as a favor to the spouse." But the suggestion that more substantive work would be open to spouses also provoked disagreement: "If spouses wish to do the work of an officer, that is exactly what they should become, passing the same entrance requirements as all other officers."

Bilateral agreements that would allow American diplomatic family members to work in the host country in exchange for reciprocal privileges in the United States also came under fire. Although many respondents thought these would be a potential solution, others questioned how well they actually worked. One respondent wrote: "The bilateral agreement is of no help at our post. Jobs are not available, and even if they were, salaries would hardly pay transportation costs to and from the job."

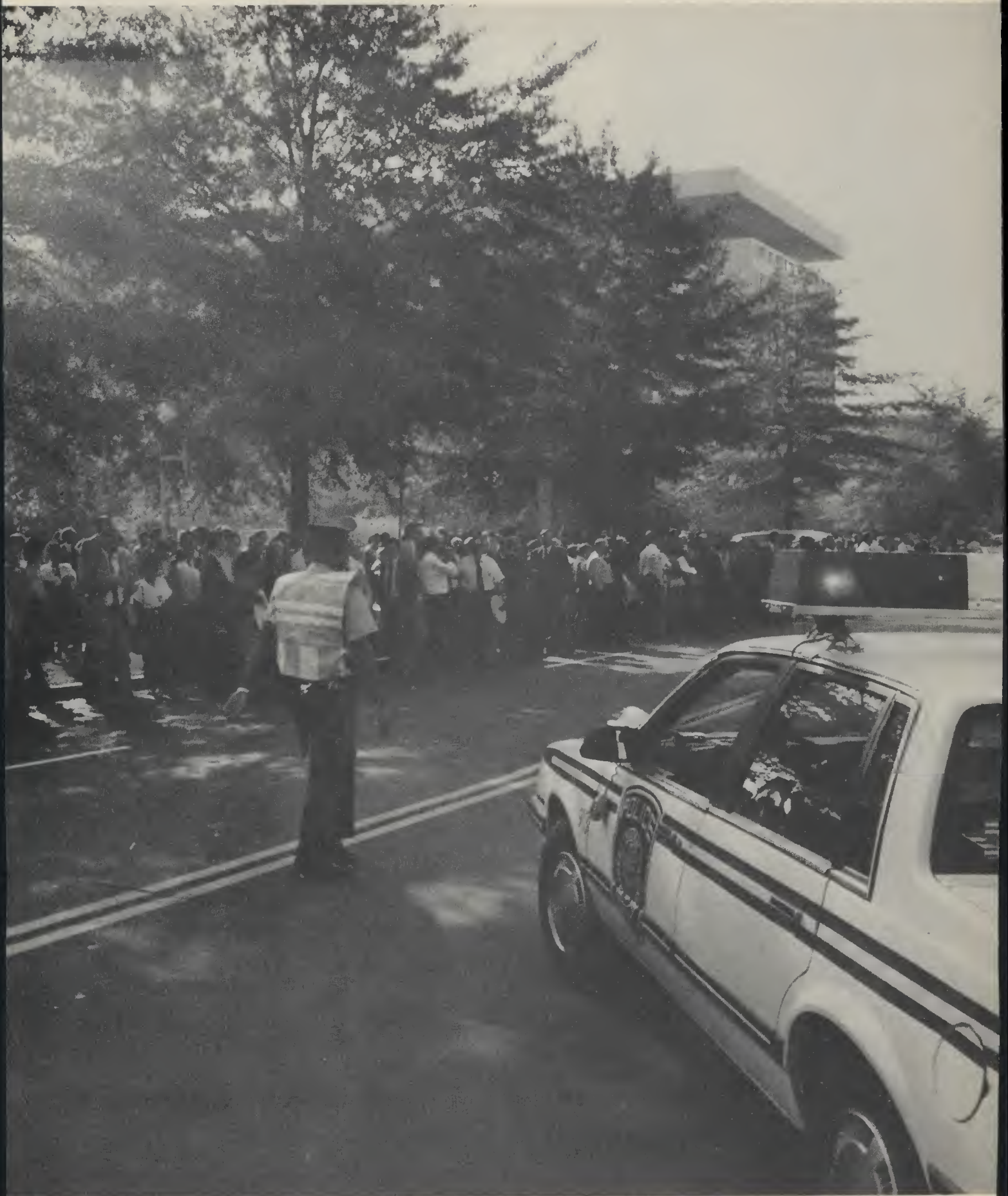
A few did comment specifically on the Foreign Service Associates proposal, and the attitude seemed similar to that regarding bilateral arrangements. While applauding the intention and theory behind the proposal, most were skeptical of its workability. How would it be administered, they asked, and how would nepotism and favoritism be avoided? Who would evaluate individuals? As one respondent remarked: "While the intention is noble, I think the Associates proposal would result in an unworkable bureaucratic monstrosity."

In sum, our respondents demonstrated much concern, but no consensus. A few were enthusiastically behind a particular option, but, like as not, just as many would be passionately against it. And those who held a more analytical viewpoint found little to support and many dilemmas to face. Above all, the survey showed that no easy answers exist for the Foreign Service on the matter of spouse employment. As one person wrote: "'Make do' work is not the answer. At the larger posts, jobs on the local market may be a partial answer. In most developing countries, there may not be a truly satisfactory answer and efforts to provide employment in the mission may be the best of many unsatisfactory responses. If both members of a couple want professional satisfaction, they would do best to look outside the Foreign Service." □

"Following completion of graduate school, my wife plans to start her own career and she plans not to accompany me overseas again unless she can continue that career."

"My answers reflect the attitudes of an old-line officer who believes compatible couples, working together, can best represent the U.S. and fulfill representational and management functions."

Crowds of people wait outside State during October 15 fire drill.



FOGGY BOTTOM SMOKE SCREEN: IMPROVING FIRE SAFETY AT STATE

SANFORD WATZMAN

A "QUIET REVOLUTION" is said to be sweeping the Department of State. Its herald is Ronald I. Spiers, the under secretary for management, who revealed, as the speaker at a dinner in Washington last September, that management finally is coming into its own in the department. Until now, he said, "The Foreign Service culture has confused management with 'housekeeping' and relegated it to second place [behind] brilliance in political or economic analysis."

So quiet, though, has been this revolution that the full scope of it has not yet come into focus. It is not yet certain, for instance, that the new order includes a heightened concern for managing the safety of the employees who work in the Main State building. It is true, of course, that security procedures have been tightened since the shooting of Carole Doster on the seventh floor last spring. But there is no sign yet of urgency about another sort of peril—the potential for fire, smoke, and panic. Several recent events show that this peril looms large enough not to be dismissed as merely theoretical:

■ On May 1, about 7 p.m., a fire that the District of Columbia Fire Department classified as "suspicious" broke out. It burned in a trash cart on a seventh-floor staircase, on the D Street side of the building. The blaze did not trigger an alarm—it was discovered by chance. Frank Fluitt, who worked in the old Gulf station on Virginia Avenue, happened to look up and see flames shimmering in a window at State. When city firefighters arrived, they took the building guards by surprise. The guards, not knowing there was a fire, were unable to direct the fire officers to it. So the city firefighters went to the gasoline station, to ask Mr. Fluitt to identify the window. When they returned to the building, they found that the flames had been contained in the cart. The *Washington Times* asked rhetorically the next day: "If the State Department caught fire, would anybody there know it?"

■ On June 12, about 10 a.m., the building was partially evacuated in a bomb scare. A small box had been found, across the street on the 21st Street side, with what appeared to be ingredients for a makeshift bomb. The order for the evacuation was spread unevenly, by word of mouth and by telephone. Most employees were not aware of it. Some tried to exit through the Diplomatic Lobby, only to be turned back because of a demonstration just outside. They were redirected to the D Street exit, where they were

joined by others who, similarly, had not been permitted to exit at 21st Street. No panic resulted, of course, but there was widespread confusion among the employees who gathered outside. They exchanged stories about others in the building who had elected to remain there, and still others who, like them, had been uncertain about which route to take to get out. Now the evacuees were uncertain about when to re-enter the building. Within a half hour or so, most of them did re-enter, in small groups.

■ There have been small fires in the building over the past year and a half. On January 15, a trash can caught fire. On April 30, smoke came from a transformer in a fluorescent light. The dates of at least three similar incidents in the second half of 1984 are not available, though building personnel speak freely about them. One recurring story is about the discovery of charred paper towels in a dispenser on the wall of a men's room. Officials say they can find no reports documenting the putative 1984 fires, though they add such fires are not always reported to guards. In every instance, documented or not, the fires were described as occurring after working hours. This is considered by professionals to be the time of greatest peril. It is a time when flames can take hold and spread without being discovered on time because that section of the building might be relatively deserted, though there is no time, of course, when the building is really empty.

It is easy, to be sure, to exaggerate the danger of fire. The historical record shows that, for all the trash cart fires and such, no one has ever been burned to death or overcome by smoke in the State Department building. And the building itself, despite fears voiced by some employees from time to time, is a structure that, compared with others of its kind, is considered by professionals to be relatively secure. Yet it is just as easy to *underestimate* the danger of fire and, effectively, to dismiss it. As one of Spiers's predecessors, Jerome W. Van Gorkom, pointed out in 1983, luck can be decisive. He said this on January 24 of that year in a memorandum to the assistant secretaries, only hours after an electrical fire filled the basement and parts of the upper floors with smoke, forcing a partial evacuation of the building. Despite the lack of casualties that morning, Van Gorkom wrote, there was reason for "a great deal of concern."

Two other memorandums from that time tell why. The authors were staff members of *State* magazine, who work in a basement office. Asked to relate their

The State Department requested and was granted the opportunity to respond to this article in this issue but later declined.—Ed.



New sign indicates exit route from State. The author and his staff had trouble finding a means to escape during a minor fire in 1983.

experiences in the fire to management, this is what they wrote:

On arriving in the building that morning, I proceeded down a basement corridor to our office. The corridor lights were blinking and, by the time I arrived at our door, they'd gone out. I entered the office to find Donna [Gigliotti] and Cathy [Lawson] ready to evacuate...[We] went into the hallway, where we encountered some people from Visual Services. They suggested we could get out of the building via an exit in their office complex. This was the first time I had heard that such an exit even existed; neither Donna nor Cathy nor I knew just where it was. By this time, there was smoke in the corridor. We entered Visual Services and were directed toward the exit, some distance away. When we arrived there, I noted that at least one of the doors appeared bolted [locked] from the inside. But a Visual Services employee was right there, it turned out, and he opened a door so we could get out. We found ourselves on the loading dock, in darkness—not sure of our footing. We went from there to 21st Street. We stayed outside the building for a while, then re-entered....

Cathy and I were alone in our office when the lights started flickering and a series of explosions rang out from somewhere nearby...Granted, no one was hurt, but the potential for catastrophe was certainly there...As you know, we work very near the paint and carpentry shops, areas that are especially susceptible to fire...Just as the explosions stopped and the lights blinked off, Whitey [Sanford Watzman] came into the office to find Cathy and me heading for the door...We headed through the hall, which was beginning to fill with smoke. Just then, we saw a Visual Services employee, who said that their employees had left through their office's back door. I had no idea a back door existed, but said we'd like to go out that way, too. The alternatives were to roam past the vulnerable paint and carpentry shops toward the loading dock, or try the steps which may have been smoke-filled. Whitey, Cathy, and I walked through Visual Services with Rich Florence, who directed us toward the back door. I would have had a difficult time finding that door on my own...Once we went through the door into darkness, it took me awhile to realize that we were on a loading dock. I stumbled around while my eyes adjusted and then also realized that I could easily have stumbled off the edge of the dock. We then walked up the ramp leading from the dock up to 21st Street...We were literally in the dark about how and where to exit the building during an emergency....

Concern was voiced at the time, too, by doctors in the Office of Medical Services, then headed by Jerome Korcak. He and Charles E. Brodine, director for environmental medicine, said in a Department Notice:

...The intensity of the smoke for an extended period was sufficient to create symptoms of discomfort and concern to a number of building occupants....It is fortunate that the fire was not associated with the release of toxic smoke. Many employees milled around the smoke-filled corridors instead of leaving the building promptly....Over 80 percent of fire fatalities result from smoke inhalation....Become familiar with your evacuation route....

Dr. Brodine reiterated his concern only a few months ago. He said in a Department Notice last August 20:

...Leaking PCB-containing transformers at the Smithsonian have prompted inquiries about the transformers at Main State. The department has a total of 36 transformers, all of which contain liquid PCBs...There are no leaks. These transformers will either be replaced or drained and filled with non-PCB liquid in accordance with the recently issued EPA rule...by the end of fiscal 1988, two years ahead of the EPA deadline.

Then followed the point that Dr. Brodine wanted to drive home:

The primary health concern to building occupants is exposure to PCB breakdown products which are released during a transformer fire. As stated in a previous Department Notice [February 1983], all occupants are advised to *evacuate the building promptly* in the event of fire [emphasis added].

But Dr. Brodine readily acknowledged that he himself did not leave the building promptly during the 1983 fire. "I went to the cafeteria," he said in a recent interview, "because I saw other people going there, too, to get away from the smoke. I didn't get a sense at the time that there was anyone telling us to go here or not to go there." Dr. Brodine contrasted this 1983 experience with one he had earlier this year. In the latter, he said, he arrived at the Department of Housing and Urban Development building to attend a meeting. He entered the lobby. Within seconds, because a small fire had broken out elsewhere in the building, he found himself taking part in an orderly evacuation. "There were people about who directed us in no uncertain terms to leave, and we did," he said. "It was all handled very calmly and efficiently. There was someone posted in front of the door, and he wouldn't permit anyone to re-enter. I was very impressed."

THE IMPORTANCE of an orderly evacuation was emphasized, too, by Van Gorkom. He told the assistant secretaries: "In order to ensure that any future incident...will also be injury-free, a fire drill will be held in the near future." Indeed it was held, on March 16, 1983. Officials said it was the first complete fire drill ever conducted at State, resulting in the first general evacuation of the building. The exercise fulfilled a promise made a year earlier, when the department, as required by the General Services Administration, which has responsibility for the building in Foggy Bottom, adopted an "Occupant Emergency Plan." The plan had said drills "will be held at reasonable intervals, *at least once a year*" [emphasis added]. But it was the fire, not fealty to the plan, that triggered the 1983 drill.

The record shows that it is not easy to motivate State's management to order such an exercise. There were no further drills in 1983. And there were none in all of 1984. Nor were there any in 1985—until last October 15. By that time, interviews for this article were being conducted and management officials, of course, had become aware of them.

One interview was with Ted C. Leininger, a former embassy general services officer in Ethiopia and Somalia, now a ranking official at GSA. He said on Sep-

tember 26: "GSA has advised State many times to conduct a fire drill. And I would say, yes, that advice constituted urging, so far as I'm concerned. State had adopted an evacuation plan but, until you test it, you don't know how the plan is going to work. You have to test it at least once a year, particularly in a place like State. You people have a large personnel turnover every year involving the floor wardens, the hall monitors, and so forth. I don't know what your problems are at State—I realize that security is one of them—but when you have that many employees, you take a chance with a lot of people's lives. Other agencies which also have security problems, such as the Pentagon and the CIA, conduct fire drills. It seems to us that State could do it also." At the time of the interview, Mr. Leininger had just learned of the scheduling of the October 15 exercise. Asked to comment on this, he replied: "We ask State every year. They finally agreed."

The October 15 drill, foreknowledge of which had spread through the building, appeared to go off as well as the exercise conducted 19 months earlier. Employees responded good-naturedly, evacuating the building in short order. There were no apparent major complications. A careful observer, however, would have noted some problems. For example, in one office on the third floor, an employee finally opened the door after many rings of the alarm. She peered out into the corridor and, seeing little activity at that time, she closed the door again. No one emerged from that office for a least three more minutes, after which this observer left his station to join others who had begun streaming to the staircase. Meanwhile, across the hall, another door had opened. Here a male employee emerged, glancing first right, then left. "Which way?" he asked me. Without waiting for an answer, he went left when he saw other employees heading for the staircase. Nearly two minutes later, the same door opened. Three more employees emerged, joining the exodus.

Outside, I questioned a dozen employees selected at random. Most of them said they wouldn't have known where to go, "but I followed the crowd." One man said: "I'm not sure I did the right thing. I followed everyone else out, but maybe I should have stayed. The fact is that I'm a hall monitor, I think. At least I *was* one. But I haven't heard anything about that for a long time, so I'm not sure whether I've been replaced. There have been no meetings that I know of. Maybe I should have stayed to direct others out."

There had, in fact, been a meeting for floor wardens and their deputies shortly before the drill. The last previous meeting had been on March 7 when, according to the attendance sheet, only four persons from the list of wardens and deputies showed up. Two were from the first floor, one from the fifth floor, and one from the basement. There was no one to represent the second, third, fourth, seventh, or eighth floors.

One new feature of the drill was the testing of a building-wide public address system that had just been installed. The need for it had been established by the 1983 fire, and it is one of many improvements that have been made recently. Some of the improvements were recommended in an October 1984 building survey conducted for GSA by Lee-Thorp Consult-

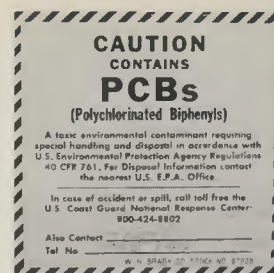
ing Engineers, Inc. Such surveys are made at five-year intervals at all government buildings. The report on State said: "A most urgent need is the improvement of life safety features for the occupants of the building. Design and construction should be started immediately."

Work recommended by Lee-Thorp that has been completed includes such items as exit lighting for the basement and, for the building as a whole, illuminated exit signs as part of a separate emergency lighting system. Work is scheduled to begin in January on replacement of obsolete panelboards, old wiring, and inadequate circuitry. But no decision has been made yet on the most extensive project recommended by Lee-Thorp—installation of a sprinkler system for the entire building, including new lighting and ceilings, at an estimated cost of \$16.5 million.

UNTIL NOW, GSA has been responsible for such projects in the building. But that agency is in the process of surrendering control of government buildings to the agencies that occupy them. State having asked to be included in this program, it will become its own landlord at Foggy Bottom early next year. It will acquire authority and responsibility for making further improvements. The department will be on its own, with GSA no longer in the role of gadfly as to fire drills. State will have only its own inner determination to fall back on as to heeding other recommendations, including those of its own experts. Will State, for instance, finally go forward with some inside advice it received one month after the 1983 fire? It came from the professional fire marshals that the department had retained on contract, to survey fire safety in the embassies and consulates overseas. Van Gorkom asked them also to make an assessment at Foggy Bottom. "It is recommended," they reported to him, "that a full-time, professional fire protection administrator with a strong background in fire suppression, fire engineering, fire inspections, and instruction be assigned to the Main State building for the purpose of fully developing a comprehensive fire-protection master plan. The estimated time resources necessary for the development of this program is one full work year." That officer's work would include "a complete and detailed office-by-office fire prevention survey," development of "a comprehensive fire evacuation plan," and an "education and training program for all building occupants."

Anyone who has any doubt that a sweeping education program is needed ought to reflect on two recent letters to the editor in *State* magazine. The first writer voiced fears for the safety of art treasures on the eighth floor. In the second letter, the curator asserted that safeguards for the objets d'art were adequate—and, further, that they were covered by a \$30-million insurance policy. Neither writer cited any possible danger to the *people* in the building. There is no doubt about it. An awakening is needed at State. Perhaps it will come as part of Under Secretary Spiers's "quiet revolution." □

Sanford Watzman is editor of State magazine.



Warning sign signals the presence of carcinogenic PCBs in a transformer closet. The 1983 fire started in this closet and flooded portions of the building with smoke. Fortunately, no PCBs were released.

The Shaman of Silicon

IT WAS OVER 100 degrees, and even the insects crawling on the air-conditioning unit outside the window were barely stirring. The general services officer was, for the third time that day, looking through the massive manual that had accompanied the embassy's newly installed computer and word-processing system.

"I don't understand it, Mr. Huang," he snorted, "it worked perfectly after installation and during the two weeks the company representative and technicians were here. One week after they leave, the administrative officer goes on home leave, we turn it on, and all it does is flash 'malfunction' on the screen. I've followed the system-check procedures precisely—everything should be fine—but the damn thing just sits there and blinks its lights at me!"

"Perhaps, sir, the technicians could be recalled," Mr. Huang suggested politely in his ever-respectful voice. In 39 years at the embassy, he had worked his way up to his position as chief embassy trouble-shooter, able to do everything from repair a faulty generator to arrange for a last minute purchase of 73 floral arrangements for a diplomatic function. With only one year until his retirement, Mr. Huang hoped he could now survive the embassy's new marriage to the computer.

"I called the State Department last night from my home," the GSO snapped. "No technician can make it back here for at least a month. I also got the strong impression that they think I'm just not following the manual. Hell, I've nearly memorized most of it after this last week! Just because I've been here only two months..."

"The ambassador's secretary just called, sir," the receptionist announced. "He wants to see you right away."

Steven Halter is a Foreign Service officer currently serving in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

*When spirits invade
an embassy's
new computer system,
a witch doctor makes
a house call*

STEVEN HALTER

Barely suppressing a groan, the GSO tightened his tie, put on his jacket (the ambassador barely tolerated the sight of shirt sleeves, even when making unexpected visits to his subordinates' offices), and headed for the elevator.

Half an hour later, Mr. Huang looked up to see his grim-faced boss march back into the office. "Bad news, sir?"

"The ambassador is *unhappy*," snarled the GSO, as he threw his jacket at the coat rack, missing it by several feet. "He had to pull a lot of strings to get this new system before any other post in the area, the system worked fine until last week, I'm an 'expert,' so why can't I fix it? Why I ever told him I took those two correspondence courses in computer basics is beyond me. Besides that, he's decided it would be too embarrassing to ask for a technician to return, so it's up to me to do something and do it fast. Thank God he is playing golf this afternoon and has a formal dinner scheduled for this evening. That gives me a few hours."

"Sir, isn't he also leaving first thing tomorrow morning on that trip with the prime minister?" Mr. Huang interjected with a smile.

"That's right! We have the rest of the week to get this mess straightened out. Now, let me read chapter three again..."

By Thursday, the GSO was so tense he could barely eat. His wife looked at his

untouched plate and sighed. "Bob, you *have* to eat something. Starving yourself isn't going to help matters."

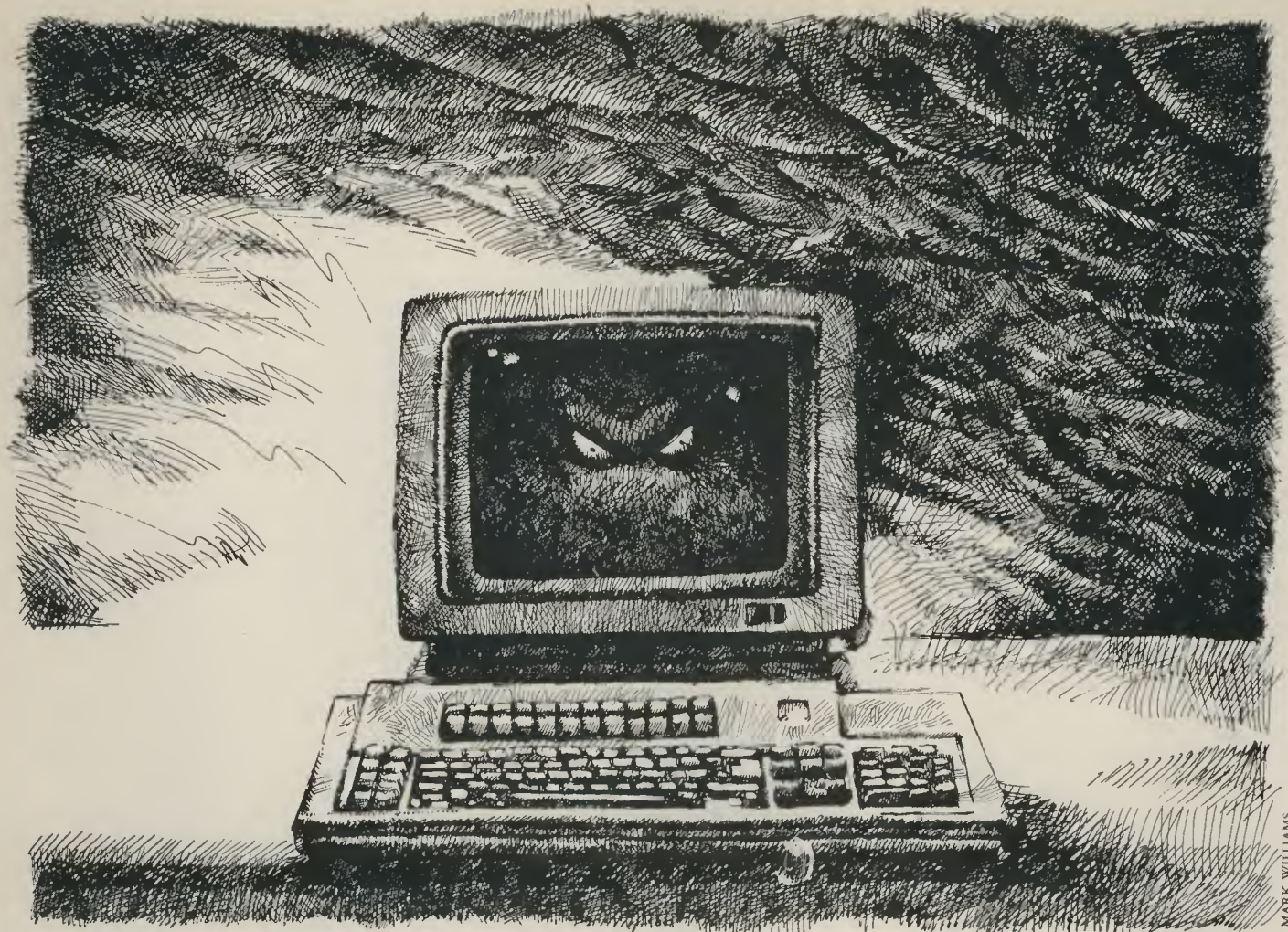
"I'm sorry, Barbara, but this malfunction is driving me crazy. I've tried everything. Mr. Huang even checked out the electrical lines all the way out to the street, and everything is okay, but the computer still doesn't work."

"I don't see why the ambassador blames you."

"He doesn't have to have a reason, for pete's sake! He's been here for less than a year and already gone through two DCMs and one PAO, the consul is on her way out, and I'll be next on the list. He's been satisfied this far only because Mr. Huang has kept Mrs. Ambassador happy, and she thinks I'm the one antcipating her every need. Give this ambassador enough time and we'll have a complete personnel turnover without having to wait for the scheduled ETDs. It's funny, he's a nice enough guy, except for being pretty much a stuffed shirt—putting a perfectionist in this part of the world was a horrible mistake."

"Why did he want this post, anyway?"

"He visited here in his college days and fell in love with the 'atmosphere.' And when you're a major contributor to every campaign of Reagan's since he ran for president of the Screen Actor's Guild, know him well enough to call him Ron, and you want a 'minor' embassy, nobody, and I mean *nobody*, is going to say no. Good lord, when those USIA big-wigs were here, the ambassador flew in a concert grand piano at his own expense for one lousy night, just so Wick could play on something first-class. This is not a man who will live with a malfunctioning computer; he barely stood for the air-conditioning at the residence being off for 15 minutes when we did that minor rewiring of the circuit breakers. I'm going back to the embassy; I won't be able to sleep tonight, anyway," he shouted and, ignoring his wife's protests, marched out the door.



MARK WILLIAMS

WHEN MR. HUANG arrived at the embassy Friday morning, he was greeted by loud snores, as he saw a disheveled GSO sleeping on the rug in front of the computer. Thirty minutes and three cups of coffee later, the GSO had to admit defeat: "I even called the department again and talked with somebody who's done maintenance on these units, but we still couldn't figure anything out. It's hopeless, Mr. Huang."

"Perhaps not, sir, there is one other method we could try."

"What's that?"

"I don't know if there is an exact word in English, sir. You might call the man a 'shaman.' He can see if any spirits are involved."

"Spirits? Are you crazy? We get a witch doctor for a computer and..." Seeing Mr. Huang stiffen, the GSO softened his tone. "Please excuse me, I don't mean to disparage your beliefs, but how could this person help us?"

"I realize it sounds silly from a western point of view, sir, but I have seen these 'spirit doctors' do amazing things."

At two o'clock, Mr. Huang proudly entered the GSO's office escorting an elderly man wearing an ancient double-

breasted suit, a worn sport shirt, and a thin black tie. "Mr. Dang said this is his first call at an embassy and insisted on wearing his 'modern' clothes, sir."

"That's fine," the relieved GSO replied, since he had had visions of a seminaked aborigine bedecked with feathers. "What does he need to do?"

"He just wants to look at the computer and walk around the embassy grounds, sir."

After half an hour, the 'doctor' had been outside, gazed at all the terminals and run his hands several times over the main unit, never uttering a word. He then turned to Mr. Huang and gave an impassioned dissertation.

"What does he say, Mr. Huang?"

"It's hard to translate these concepts into English, sir, but, essentially, he says that our installation of the computer, and the way we removed the trees on the embassy grounds to run the new conduit to the street have disturbed the local spirits."

"Wonderful, we've got unhappy spirits! What is his solution?"

Mr. Huang briefly questioned the 'doctor,' received a lengthy reply, and again translated. "He says he could appease the spirits, but that would take

months. Since I told him how urgent this matter is, he says he can deflect the spirits' anger elsewhere. I don't think he ordinarily would do this, but he's quite honored to be called in by an embassy, and assures me it will work."

"How long will it take?" the GSO asked, trying to keep the skepticism out of his voice.

"About three days, sir, and since Monday is a U.S. holiday, that means the system should be working when the ambassador returns."

That night, the GSO recounted the day's events to his wife. "I must admit, darling, the man was impressive. He didn't even want payment, although Mr. Huang told me that once word gets out about this in the local community, the 'doctor' can raise his consulting fees. Ordinarily I'd worry about looking silly, but I was willing to try anything."

"Does the computer work now, Bob?"

"We won't know until Tuesday morning. The 'doctor' told us not to turn on the computer until then. I've got nothing to lose, so why not? If his method actually works, somebody, someplace, will have some angry spirits, but I can live with that, as long as we have a functioning computer."

Tuesday morning, the GSO and Mr. Huang were staring intently at the main computer terminal screen after turning the system on. Just then, the ambassador walked in. "Good morning, Bob, Mr. Huang. I trust the computer is working; my wife needs the complete list of contributors to every charity she's sponsoring, and she wants it by early this afternoon."

"It's coming on-line right now, Mr. Ambassador," Bob said, trying to keep the anxiety out of his voice. Hearing a "beep" just then, he whirled to see the screen showing that access to the system was possible. "We'll have that list out to the residence in just a few minutes, sir."

"That's fine, Bob. I'm glad you were able to put your computer skills to good use. It's good to know that *somebody* in this embassy is efficient."

THAT NIGHT, the GSO had just finished telling his wife about the day's events. "The computer has run perfectly. We got that list out, cleared out a huge backlog of work, and I even was able to tell Mr. Huang to take the afternoon off. It's enough to make you believe in the supernatural, and...now what?" he said as the maid rushed in.

"It's Mr. Foo—emergency at residence, sir."

"Why would the electrician be calling me? Oh, Mr. Huang probably took his time getting home. I hope that rewiring job isn't causing problems."

Five minutes later, the GSO stalked back into the room.

"What's wrong, Bob?" his wife asked. "Is it the wiring?"

"That's what the ambassador thought, that's why he called Foo directly. The air conditioning won't work, but it's not the wiring. Foo called in our senior maintenance man, but he can't find anything either. Everything in the electrical system and the air-conditioning checks out, but there just isn't any cooling effect. All their tests came up negative. I can't understand it and OH NO!"

"Now what, dear?"

The GSO was ashen-faced as he headed for the door. "I knew I should have asked that 'doctor' for more details about *where* the spirits would go. I'm going to the residence. Keep calling Mr. Huang's home. As soon as you get him, tell him to meet me at the residence, and honey...."

"Yes, Bob?"

"Tell Mr. Huang to see if the 'doctor' can make a house call tonight." □

PEOPLE

AFSA Scholarship Applications Available

Complete information on the Merit Awards and Financial Aid Grants offered to dependent children of career Foreign Service personnel (active, retired with pension, or deceased) is now available for eligible students by writing to Dawn Cuthell, AFSA Scholarship Programs, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

The following letter was published in this section one year ago. Because it gives sound advice to students and parents regarding the Merit Awards, we are publishing it again to assist applicants in 1986.

DEAR PARENTS:

At a point where you are struggling with college applications and financial aid forms, it is a bit daunting to bring another

AFSA/AAFSW Scholarship Programs 1986-87

Who? For dependent students of Foreign Service personnel who are serving or have served abroad for foreign affairs agencies covered by the Foreign Service Act.

What? *Merit Awards* for graduating high school students in 1987 only, based on academic merit. *Financial Aid Grants* to fulltime undergraduate students in the United States, based on need.

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When? IMMEDIATELY. All applications must be completed and materials returned before February 15, 1986.

Children of Foreign Service personnel in the lower grades are especially encouraged to apply.

topic before you. Nevertheless, if the high school senior in your household has not applied for the AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards, it could be rewarding to encourage that application.

Briefly, the Merit Awards are \$500 each, and about 22 are awarded annually. These awards are determined by a total scoring of academic average, class standing, College Board scores, extracurricular activities, letters of recommendation, and a short essay on one of three suggested topics.

The first five categories will already have been established at the time of application. The final determinant—the essay—has not. A good essay is in itself a delight. The best capture and communicate with special freshness an experience or view of life unique to the writer. It is a crucial element in the scoring and can make the difference between a winner and just another applicant. We arrange for publication of the best of these essays (perhaps you have already enjoyed some of the selections) regardless of the final standing of the applicants. In recent years, however, we have noted a rather casual approach taken toward the essay that frequently affects final placement of the candidates. Many submissions are characterized by poor organization, elementary errors in spelling and punctuation, and hackneyed phraseology or comment. This is *not* to suggest heavy "parental guidance." (Adult authorship is fairly easy to identify.) Discussion with your student beforehand, however, could be rewarding for both of you in recalling shared Foreign Service experiences or gaining a fresh perspective of your child's reaction to changing school experiences. Urge your student to review carefully his or her submission for spelling and grammar to present its best face to a judging panel. We hope the experience will be as interesting for your family in its creation as it will be for us to review.

A final thought: Not everyone can be a winner. Your student may have the SAT scores of a genius and the extracurricular achievements of a Michelangelo, but so do a lot of others. If disappointment comes, it can be a valuable experience in learning "good loser-ship."

Good luck to all your students.

DAVID T. JONES
State Member

AFSA Committee on Education

Deaths

PHILIP J. CONLEY, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of a blood disorder on August 10 at Fairfax Hospital. He was 73.

Adapting Techniques to Changing Moods

CONTINUING THE SERIES of rotating art shows in the Foreign Service Club, a collection of oil paintings by Francine Faulhaber is now on display in the Club's main dining room.

Faulhaber, widow of Foreign Service Officer James H. Faulhaber, is a retired art teacher who earned her master's in arts education from Florida State University. Her style is to adapt brush techniques to changing moods. Her studio in Arlington, Virginia, contains numerous works in oil and water. Her

paintings have been exhibited in Asia, Africa, Europe, and North and South America.

Ms. Faulhaber is also known for her stone rubbings made in 50 countries of the world, samples of which appear in the East and West rooms of the Foreign Service Club.



Mr. Conley earned a bachelor's and a master's from Harvard University. During World War II he served with both the Navy and the Office of Strategic Services in the Mediterranean theater. He joined the State Department in 1946. He served in Belgium and Italy and retired in 1970 as cultural attaché in Argentina and moved to Sarasota, Florida, in 1984.

His first wife, Mary E., died in 1972. Survivors include his wife, Carroll, of Sarasota; three children by his first marriage, Philip Jr., of San Francisco, Mary Beth, of Fairfax, and Gail M., of McLean; three sisters, Betty Fraser, of South Portland, Maine, and Helen Sullivan and Katherine Haley, both of Portland; two half-brothers, Joseph Kelley, of Cape Elizabeth, Maine, and William E. Kelley, of South Portland; and two grandchildren.

WILLIAM B. FITZGERALD, a retired Foreign Service officer, died September 13 of lung failure at the Carriage Hill nursing home in Bethesda, Maryland. He was 84.

Mr. Fitzgerald was graduated from Fork Union Military Academy in Virginia and the University of Richmond. He earned a master's degree in economics from Yale

University. He worked in New York City for the *Literary Digest* and the *Encyclopedia Americana*. During World War II, he was a staff economist on the War Production Board.

He joined the Foreign Service in 1944. He served on the staff of the U.S. ambassador to the Netherlands in London, where that government was in exile, until 1945, when he went to Amsterdam. Mr. Fitzgerald later became an economist for the American Zinc, Lead, and Smelting Company of St. Louis. He retired in 1970.

He is survived by his wife, Louise Snyder Fitzgerald of Washington, and three sisters, Ethel Matheny of Waynesboro, Virginia, and Velma and Mabel Ramsey of Raphine, Virginia.

WALTER RAMBERG, a retired scientific attaché with the embassy in Rome, died of a stroke October 22 at his home in Sparks, Maryland. He was 81.

Mr. Ramberg was graduated from Cornell University and earned a doctorate in physics from the Technische Hochschule in Munich. He moved to Washington in 1931 and joined the National Bureau of Standards. He transferred to the State De-

partment in 1959 and retired in 1970.

He received the Washington Academy of Sciences Award for outstanding achievement in the engineering sciences in 1942 and the Richard L. Templin Award from the American Society of Testing and Materials in 1957. Mr. Ramberg was a member of the Cosmos Club and a former president of the Philosophical Society of Washington.

Survivors include two daughters, Julia Hall of Alexandria, Virginia, and Lucy Cadogan of Culworth, England; a son, Walter D., of Sparks; a brother, Edward, of Southampton, Pennsylvania; a sister, Lucy Ramberg of Patagonia, Arizona; and seven grandchildren.

Award

ANDOR C. KLAY has been named a laureate of the Abraham Lincoln Award of the American Hungarian Foundation. The award recognizes his contributions as a Foreign Service officer, scholar, author, lecturer, and journalist to enhancing the appreciation and understanding of the Hungarian culture and heritage in the United States and abroad.

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ASSOCIATION NEWS

Problems of seniors will affect others too, Lamberty tells meeting

"There has been divisiveness in our reaction to personnel policies," AFSA President Gerald Lamberty told an audience of about 200 at AFSA's first open meeting on personnel issues, on October 21 in the East Auditorium. "Junior officers are saying, 'Close the six-year window so I can get ahead'; O1s are saying, 'Fewer limited career extensions for seniors so I can get over the threshold'; seniors are saying, 'Fewer stretch assignments for juniors so we can preserve our own positions.' That doesn't benefit anyone."

Lamberty cited a "great deal of unhappiness" in the Foreign Service as a symptom of a greater problem that affects all levels. "Resignations at the mid and lower levels are running at a rate some 200 percent higher than the 10-year average. That indicates that people are not happy. They don't see the Service as a career. They are getting out while they can still do so."

The size of the senior corps has dropped from 21 percent of the Service to 16 percent, "and it is heading further down," Lamberty said. This will ultimately affect even the most junior officer. "We have been told very clearly by management that only 20-30 percent of those now in mid-ca-

reer can expect to reach the Senior Foreign Service. Most careers will end 20 years after passing the junior threshold. Most people will be forced to find new jobs when they reach their 50s."

This problem affects more than the officers themselves, Lamberty said. "When more than half of your top officers, O1s and the SFS, are within three years of facing the senior threshold or time-in-class limits, when you place this group of leaders on such a short tether, how can you expect them to supply the kind of dissent and forthright presentation of facts" needed for effective policy judgments? "How can we then fulfill our role of supplying policy advice to our political leadership?"

Lamberty criticized the trend toward "civil-servicization." The rank-in-officer concept "has been one of the best assets of the Service, because it lets us keep the best and brightest continually challenged and in the best possible positions," he said. "As we become more like the Civil Service, it will be difficult to do that. With the number of stretch assignments being reduced, how are we going to keep our Tom Enders, our Steven Bosworths, challenged and



Lamberty addresses first open meeting. "I want to make it clear I am raising an objection" to current personnel policies.

productive?"

In fixing the blame for this problem, Lamberty said that "there is nobody from the outside imposing this on us. Congress is not to blame. They may have passed the recent act, but in that law there is no requirement to reduce the size of the Senior Service." Lamberty cautioned that, rather than react to budgetary pressure from the Office of Personnel Management and the Office of Management and Budget by "beating on ourselves before they do so, we would be wise to explain to them why we have to preserve a separate system." He noted that the

Foreign Service had stayed relatively constant in size while the Civil Service, congressional, and private bureaucracies have "blossomed."

Lamberty said that his criticisms of management did not mean he considered it "an evil empire." He said that the current management team was the best he had seen in 30 years. On the other hand, he concluded, "If anyone looks back at this period from the future, they will find it very difficult to understand why we allowed this to be imposed on us without raising objections. I would like to make it clear that I am raising an objection."

Association strikes accord for SFS back pay in State, AID

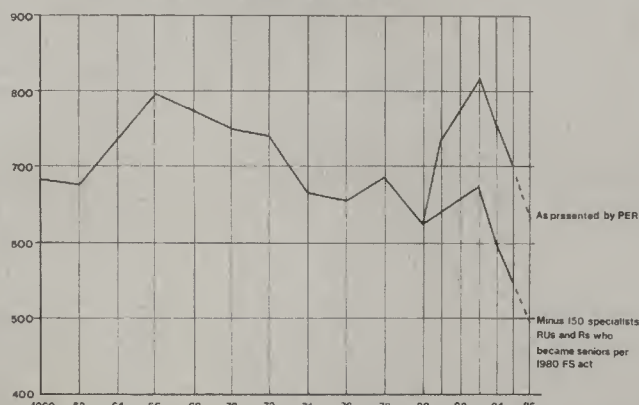
AFSA has secured an agreement from the State Department and AID that they will make back payments to Senior Foreign Service employees who were affected by the Senior Executive Service pay caps between October 1980 and October 1981.

Since June, AFSA has pressed the agencies for back pay due SFS employees under the decision of the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals in *Squillacote v. United States*. The court held that the salaries of members of the Senior Executive Service were improperly capped in fiscal years 1980 and '81. Al-

though the SFS was not technically covered by the decision, AFSA argued that SFS employees were entitled to back pay for fiscal 1981, when the SFS was created under the Foreign Service Act. The act provides that SFS pay be adjusted in the same manner as SES pay.

The department should be contacting all affected employees in the near future. The SFS repayment will be from State Department funds and will be made subsequent to the final resolution of all SES legal issues. As yet, this date is undetermined.

NUMBER OF SENIOR FSOs 1960-86



The decline of the Senior Foreign Service becomes clear when specialists and others who have recently been integrated into the SFS are eliminated from the base for comparison purposes.

Questionnaire shows FS career expectations in flux

Two-thirds of the respondents in a recent informal poll conducted by AFSA say their expectations about reaching the senior ranks have changed in the last five years, and nearly as many say they have considered leaving the Service as a result of personnel changes. Some 97 persons responded to a questionnaire distributed at the Association's first open meeting on personnel issues [see related story].

More than three-fourths of the respondents said they had in-

sufficient information about the personnel system to evaluate how changes in its administration could affect their careers. A similar number were unaware, for instance, that the size of the Senior Foreign Service had shrunk dramatically in the last two years.

Only one-third felt that the six-year window for senior officers should be continued. The principal reason cited by the others was that the window made it difficult to retain expertise.

Secretary named to HQ staff

Myriam J. Parker has been named secretary in the AFSA headquarters building, Director for Administration Sue B. Schumacher announced in November. She replaces Kathy Saunders, who has returned to University of Maryland to pursue a bachelor's degree.

Parker comes to AFSA from ASI, a management, engineering, and environmental consulting firm. She is experienced in



word processing and data entry and has worked in executive and conference management support. She majored in computer science at Montgomery College.

Bookfair gross a record \$79,600



AAFSW's Meryl Steigman (left) and Barbara Huso examine a pewter cup at the Bookfair '85 Art Corner. The Art Corner contributed nearly \$15,000 to the \$79,600 gross collected by the women's organization. Proceeds benefit the AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards and community projects.

AFSA briefs retirees in Connecticut

The prospects for future changes in the Foreign Service retirement system was the topic of the day when AFSA Congressional Liaison Robert Beers addressed the September meeting of the Foreign Affairs Retirees of New England at the Groton,

Connecticut, Submarine Base Officers Club. Approximately 100 FARNE members, spouses, and guests were present for the luncheon and Beers's talk.

Foreign affairs agency retirees living in New England who are interested in being included in FARNE's luncheon meetings should address their inquiries about membership to Ms. Ovsanna Harpootian, 170 Highland Street, #216, Taunton, Massachusetts 02780.

AID Standing confers with management on communications

In AFSA's recent discussions with AID management, a key issue has been the allocation of time to carry out the open assignments process; three months appears to be too long, two weeks too short. But the success of the process also depends on effective communication. Most complaints are that members either do not receive open assignments cables, or they are so delayed that a meaningful response is impossible. The ad hoc solution suggested by AFSA's AID Standing Committee to alleviate this year's problems—more time for submission of Completion of Assignment Reports—would have only a limited impact on this situation [see related article].

One office discovered that management's recent open assignments update, for example, was sent October 21 but not put into its reading file until October 26, with all four office copies in the same file. Reading files in this office often receive low priority and take as long as three weeks to circulate among a staff of 10 persons.

"Both on the management and the AFSA side, communication can be improved," said AFSA AID Standing Committee Chairman Bill Ackerman. "We intend to work with management to develop a process where open assignments communications receive special attention by both recipient AID/W offices and overseas missions. AFSA will use its own system of REDTOPS and cables to inform employees, especially about the open assignments process."

The standing committee and agency management have agreed to analyze their respective communication processes and exchange information with the objective of creating a more accurate and timely distribution of important information. To this end, the standing committee will be looking into the Association's own methods of communicating with its members and the bargaining unit. Readers should already have noticed the increased prominence of the AID Standing Committee in the ASSOCIATION NEWS, and work is underway to expand the distribution of circular cables and REDTOPS to the bargaining unit.

The standing committee welcomes suggestions from members to agency communications problems, particularly regarding the open assignments process.

In a previous REDTOP, AFSA inadvertently requested members to communicate by cable. Letters are also encouraged, whether directly from constituents or through AFSA reps at posts.

Look for AFSA's Tax Guide

AFSA's annual FOREIGN SERVICE TAX GUIDE—one of its most popular services—will be published in the February issue of the ASSOCIATION NEWS. An annual compendium of the latest tax information, it is written specifically to meet the needs of the mobile, overseas, government-employee family.

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Assignments concern AID Standing

AFSA's AID Standing Committee has been involved in a series of meetings with AID management regarding both open assignments and directed assignments, the forced placement of persons on the complement or in "D" ("delete") positions. Management assured the standing committee that this latter exercise is completely integrated with the open assignments process.

AFSA remains skeptical but lacks concrete examples. If you know of situations where posi-

tions were filled via a directed assignment and not advertised, please advise the committee by cable addressed to Alice Shimo-moura.

One positive outcome of the discussions was the deferring of Completion of Assignment Reports until last November 15. AFSA believed it was the best alternative under the circumstances. The standing committee hopes to use its collective experience to negotiate a new open assignments agreement for the next cycle and welcomes suggestions on appropriate terms, conditions, deadlines, time spans, etc.

AFSA briefs JOs on taxes



The Foreign Service is a taxing profession that affects your income tax position too, AFSA Members' Interest Coordinator Sabine Sisk tells a group of junior officers at an orientation session in the Association's offices in the State Department. Sisk writes the annual AFSA FOREIGN SERVICE TAX GUIDE, which will appear in the next issue.

Management offers assurances of lid on CAPPs problems

AFSA has won management's assurances that the problems with the new Consolidated American Payroll Processing System will be resolved soon. Since its implementation in May 1985, CAPPs has caused a number of delays in retroactive salary adjustments, non-accrual of annual leave, and faulty state or city tax designations.

CAPPs enables the central pro-

cessing of payroll checks for over 21,000 American employees. The conversion to the system began in May and was completed in September. Management feels that since the conversion is complete, the overall efficiency of the system should improve. The Office of Financial Systems states that it can now "concentrate on improving the maintenance and

service aspects of CAPPs and try to accomplish a 100-percent accurate and timely record."

For those who have experienced payroll difficulties, the Office of Financial Systems suggests that all problems continue to be directed to the Regional Administrative Management Centers. Additionally, management assures AFSA that employees who have suffered overdraft penalties or had their credit ratings affected will receive assistance in resolving these difficulties with financial institutions.

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Legislative Update

Retirement Bill Nearing Finish Line

By **ROBERT BEERS**, *Congressional Liaison*

On November 7, the Senate passed by a vote of 96-1 the Stevens-Roth bill establishing a new retirement system for all federal employees recruited since January 1, 1984. This legislation has been referred to the House, which at this writing is about to report its own bill out of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee. Since the Senate bill, for technical parliamentary reasons, was enacted as an amendment to a minor, non-controversial bill that had already been passed by the House and referred to the Senate, both chambers can proceed directly to a conference, thus bypassing a House floor vote on its own version of the new retirement plan.

Presumably the conference would seek to resolve the differences between Stevens-Roth and the bill that has cleared the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, with the resulting compromise version referred back to each house for a final vote. The chances thus appear favorable for the new supplemental retirement system to be in place before this session of Congress adjourns in December, although the system itself may not become operative until January 1, 1987.

The original Stevens-Roth bill applied only to federal Civil Service employees. Since the basic structure of the new system was designed to apply to all federal

employees, however, it seemed that the best course was to have the Foreign Service included in Stevens-Roth as a separate title rather than to add new language to the Foreign Service Act. Accordingly, this was done in the form of an amendment during the floor debate that brings those employees entering the Foreign Service after January 1, 1984, under the general provisions of the Stevens-Roth bill—with three important modifications:

- Retirement eligibility at age 50 with 20 years' service on an unreduced annuity is retained;

- The Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System will continue to be administered by the Department of State, and

- Foreign Service payments to the retirement fund will continue to be deposited in the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability Trust Fund.

A detailed description of all of the provisions of Stevens-Roth is not practical at this time inasmuch as the bill itself is almost 130 pages in length and the final version surely will incorporate changes resulting from the Senate-House conference. In brief, however, it provides for a three-tiered system: social security; a defined benefit plan with the annuity calculated on .9 percent of average high-five salary for the first 15 years of service and 1.1 percent for all years thereafter,

and a "thrift," or capital accumulation, plan under which an employee can contribute up to 10 percent of salary, tax deferred, with a portion of this amount being matched by the government.

Stevens-Roth also provides for two optional programs. Employees would have 60 days to make an irrevocable selection between options "A" or "B." Essentially, the differences between the two, as summarized in the Governmental Affairs Committee report, is that "option A contains more flexibility and portability through a richer thrift plan while option B contains more security with a richer and inflation-protected defined-benefit plan."

The bill being reported by the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee is somewhat more generous than Stevens-Roth. It uses the high-three rather than the high-five as a salary base; it provides for full rather than partial COLAs; and (for Civil Service) it continues retirement eligibility at age 55 with 30 years' service on an unreduced annu-

ity rather than imposing a penalty for each year a retiree is under age 62.

Estimates prepared by the Congressional Research Service indicate that the Stevens-Roth plan would cost the government 21.9 percent of payroll while the House plan would cost 25.5 percent. It appears unlikely that the administration would approve a program as costly as the House proposal, so the expectation is that the final product will cost out somewhere between these two figures.

Obviously a number of questions remain to be resolved before anyone can speak with certainty about many important aspects of the new supplemental retirement system. Still the hope remains that a final version will be enacted before this session of Congress adjourns in December and, since the system probably would not become operative until January 1, 1987, there will be ample time to publicize all of its provisions and answer any questions before employee decisions must be made.

JOs told about "civil-servicization"



Graduates of the latest junior officer course at the Foreign Service Institute listen to an address by AFSA President Gerald Lamberty at a luncheon in their honor at the Foreign Service Club in September. Lamberty told the new officers of Association efforts to avoid the "civil-servicization" of the Foreign Service as a result of new trends in government personnel administration.

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