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These teenage children of Foreign Service employees are (clockwise from top left) Martha Jones, H.T. Jennings, Steve Fouche, and Sara Telkins. Beginning on page 28, James Prosser and Sheila Austrian explore the lessons learned from an overseas upbringing by AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award winners, while Nancy J. Piet-Pelon, beginning on page 32, considers what can be done to minimize the special problems teens face when returning from abroad. Photograph by Dick Slease.

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"The Independent Voice of the Foreign Service"

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ASSOCIATION VIEWS

"For the Good of the Service"

During this year's Foreign Service Day celebration, a number of retired officers commented that current FSOs seem less committed to the Service and more concerned about their personal advancement than used to be the case. This lament, rather than being a normal product of different generations, unfortunately is based solidly in reality.

In the past, FSOs were confident that, if they were doing a good job, they could look forward to a full career. They knew they could pass up a job likely to enhance their career to take a different position "for the good of the Service." Perhaps their particular skills and expertise were needed in a job off the fast track, or perhaps an unanticipated change in programs or policy required a shift in personnel. Whatever the reason, doing something for the good of the Service did not mean risking their career.

Today, however, with career windows ever narrower and hurdles ever higher, stepping off the fast track can mean stepping into oblivion. Officers no longer have the luxury of taking anything but optimal, career-developing assignments. Instead of merely postponing their advancement, taking a job for the good of the Service can mean ending it altogether.

FSOs are generally disposed to doing things for the benefit of their country. If they were only seeking their personal advancement, they would not have joined the Service in the first place. It is unfortunate that current personnel practices have created a Service that, in its turn, has demonstrated much less commitment to its employees than they deserve.



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LETTERS

Developing Experts

I found many useful ideas in John Maresca's article on the Foreign Service ["Leaders and Experts," March]. How the Service's isolation from the larger foreign policy community can be decreased is well worth considering. In particular, we should reduce the inhibitions to publishing and encourage the development and utilization of expertise. I have always been struck at how little systematic use the department makes of outside knowledge on particular foreign policy problems. Changes such as these will make for better Foreign Service officers, a stronger State Department, and a sounder foreign policy.

DAVID ADAMSON
Foreign Service Officer
Panama City, Panama

John J. Maresca has put a discerning finger on the problem the Foreign Service faces in doing its foreign affairs job intelligently in benefit of our country and has made worthwhile recommendations on how to go about choosing the kind of people who will best serve our interests. While he does not mention the Department of State, one should assume that it must also be included, since the two cannot operate independently and both must interrelate in developing and achieving foreign affairs objectives. For argument's sake, let us divide the kind of general categories of persons required in these two organizations: the service people who have nothing to do with formulation of foreign policy (secretarial, communications and messenger, maintenance, etc.); those in special fields who dedicate themselves to a given endeavor which may be required by a government policy decision and which may, in its course, contribute to the formulation of policy (very specialized economic people with knowledge in subjects such as natural resources, navigation, medicine, refugees, immigration, who report on their findings but leave to those charged with formulating country policy the use of information developed by the specialists); and those in Washington and in the field who have the ability to develop a discriminating knowledge of all at home and abroad that influ-

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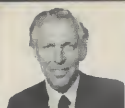
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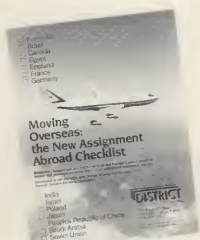
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ence the making of an intelligent foreign policy and have the skill to apply it.

Since the subject we are dealing with is having able leaders formulating intelligent foreign policy, the following observations have primarily to do with the third category and much less with the second category. Those in the first category are not considered here.

In staffing our foreign affairs operation dealing with policy formulation, the important thing must obviously be to bring into this field, through a very conscientious method, only those who have, or can develop, an interest and ability to learn "what makes Johnny tick," wherever they are to serve abroad, and who are able to recommend how to deal with the people who represent Johnny. What are the kinds of qualities that make a person best able to understand other societies? Certainly among them must be service-mindedness, interest in finding out why a person or society thinks as it does, curiosity in studying foreign cultures, customs, and languages, interest and pleasure in mixing with foreign societies at all levels, ability to work with satisfaction in difficult living situations without requiring all the comforts of home.

We sorely need excellent observers and interpreters of all foreign activities who, at the same time, are outstanding persuaders by inductive method of what would be best for our foreign friends. This last is of great importance, for experience shows that foreign countries resent and reject being told what is good for them, but if they are led to discover that the idea originated with them, they become eager developers of it.

John Maresca must be congratulated for calling for a vital examination of the Foreign Service's leadership quality, its method of attracting the quality needed, and its assignment policies. There should be room in the Service only for persons of the extraordinary talent required of those who are to gather and put into execution the information essential to formulating and carrying out effective foreign policies. Our country deserves and must insist on no less. Let us hope that this vital subject will engage the minds of all those who have an interest in assuring that our country will be led intelligently in foreign affairs during these very difficult years.

ADOLPH B. HORN JR.
Consul General, retired
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I am sure that many others will respond to the curious article by John Maresca. Mr. Maresca's view of the character of Foreign

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Service officers is wildly different from my own, based on 28 years in the Service.

Mr. Maresca states that "when nominating Foreign Service officers for top policy positions, we should respect the criteria of our political leaders and identify candidates accordingly." Surely this is one of the more naive statements that has appeared in print. The "criteria" of our political leaders have most often been financial and other support for individual candidates. One need only glance at the ambassadorial appointments over the last 20 years or so to recognize that the majority of political appointees have been clods with essentially no background in foreign affairs and nothing in their history or character that would lead one to expect that they would be effective representatives of U.S. interests.

Furthermore, the clods are not the worst. Far more damaging to U.S. interests are those persons—some career but many more political appointees—who seek ambassadorial positions for their personal aggrandizement. These objectives can be either political or to feather their own nests before returning to the world of business.

Lest I be misunderstood, let me record that while in the Service I worked with any number of political appointees who were outstanding. These included James Conant, David Bruce, Douglas Dillon, Ellsworth Bunker, Sol Linowitz, George Ball, Lincoln Gordon, Bedel Smith, Thomas Finletter, Randolph Burgess, and John McCloy. I worked very closely with most of the above and knew them all as people with splendid backgrounds in international relations, a strong critical sense of U.S. interests, and a devotion to effective conduct of foreign affairs.

These individuals and many Foreign Service officers as well were most certainly "loyal" to their president, but they were not simply pollyannaish cheerleaders for every policy of the U.S. government. All of them had a fine critical sense of U.S. interests that was reflected in their reporting, which was far different from what Mr. Maresca calls "writing carefully constructed essays, which make nice reading...." Mr. Maresca is writing about a type of reporting that may exist occasionally but is not the essence of the Foreign Service system. I could go on, but I am sure others will cover other aspects of this odd article.

JOHN WILLS TUTHILL
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Washington, D.C.

Author John J. Maresca responds:

My article was not primarily about political appointments versus career appoint-



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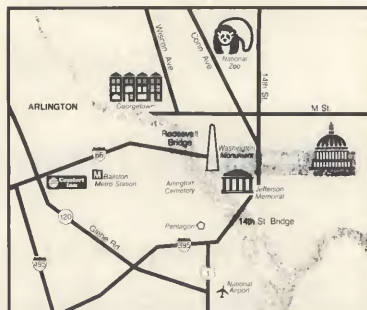
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ments. Like others in the Foreign Service I can cite cases of political appointments made for the wrong reasons. But we should also recognize that some are made purely because the persons concerned have built reputations for themselves as experts in their fields. I named two such in my article; there are more.

Of course Foreign Service officers cannot compete for appointment with political activists or large campaign contributors. But we can with people who have become recognized experts in specific foreign policy fields, if we encourage our officers to become recognized experts. The Foreign Service too often blames all its problems simply on the fact that there are political appointees. Many of our problems are of our own making, and they are perhaps more broadly important than that of political appointees. The priority given to generalists is just one; it has contributed to a process by which whole areas of foreign affairs have been ceded to non-Foreign Service officers, while growing numbers of FSOs are forced to leave the Service without a recognizable skill in the form of a field of specialty. Meanwhile, the emphasis on generalists, which is supposed to develop people for senior positions, has not noticeably enhanced our ability to fill those positions. Foreign affairs needs are changing, and maybe it's time to revise our attitudes.

Selling Out Vietnam

In his review of *No More Vietnams* by Richard Nixon [February], Robert Hathaway dismisses the view that the United States won the Vietnam war but then proceeded to throw away the peace. The facts, he says, do not support the thesis that "Congress sold the Thieu regime down the river." Instead, U.S. power proved insufficient to "stem the long-term forces that coalesced so dramatically in the spring of 1975."

Perhaps those who share Nixon's view lack sufficient understanding, but certain facts seem clear to me. When I served in the Navy around Da Nang in 1967, one could not have driven 10 miles out of town without an escort. When I returned with the Foreign Service in 1973, one might have ventured to drive to Saigon. The guerrilla threat was not eliminated, but it had been reduced to more than manageable proportions, and the "battle-hardened enemy troops occupying a quarter of the South" were no serious threat, given the forces arrayed against them.

The real danger to the country was elsewhere and a little more specific than "long-term forces" coalescing dramatically; it

was the prospect of a classic invasion from the North, which the South Vietnamese government was unable to counter, given that Cambodia and Laos were ruled off-limits and that we had refused to give the government of Vietnam a strategic-air capability. However, the South Vietnamese had the administration's pledge that we would maintain solid air levels and would deter an invasion with our own air power. I and many others who believed that U.S. honor and interests remained engaged thought this a reasonable deal.

It may be that we were wrong; perhaps those long-term forces would have done us in, even if we had met our commitments. But, in fact, we never found out. Whatever chance the South Vietnamese had under the understandings reached with the administration, they had no chance once the Congress began to cut the aid and withdrew the possibility of air support.

It was, we are told, unrealistic to expect Congress to act much differently. Perhaps true, given the era and the extraordinary misperceptions that had gathered around the whole subject of Vietnam. But that is not to say Nixon's thesis is wrong. It is, in fact, to support it. There might well have been an independent South Vietnam today, as there is an independent South Korea had a larger portion of the U.S. political elite acted more responsibly.

GERALD W. SCOTT
Foreign Service Officer
Mbabane, Swaziland

Audrey Robert Hathaway responds:

Gerald Scott wishes that Americans had "acted more responsibly" in the spring of 1975, when South Vietnam's defenses crumbled in the face of Hanoi's offensive that ended the war. The question, of course, revolves around how one defines "responsibly."

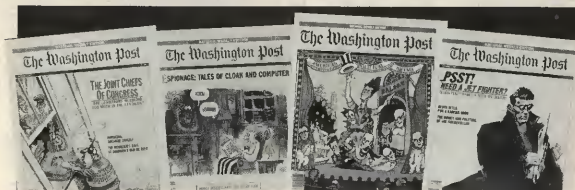
My own sense is that Richard Nixon had no authority—constitutional, political, or moral—to offer the Thieu government assurances of renewed U.S. bombing should the South Vietnamese prove unable to defend themselves. Having labored at such length to extract ourselves from Indochina, having with our blood and our treasure bought Saigon valuable time to win the allegiance of its people, we had more than fulfilled our responsibilities to the Republic of Vietnam. Fifty-seven thousand Americans had made the ultimate sacrifice—for a cause only marginally related to U.S. national interests. To have added to that tragic number by reentering the hostilities would have been, at bottom, an act of supreme irresponsibility.

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**"There was the
door to which I
found no key...."**

Edward Fitzgerald

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Saigon a strategic air capability. And yet at the time of the 1973 ceasefire, South Vietnam possessed the world's fourth largest air force—thanks to U.S. largesse. Here, too, it is difficult to argue that an American niggardliness shortchanged our allies. Nor would additional U.S. aid in those final months have made a difference. A Pentagon study later revealed that of the \$700 million in aid allotted Saigon for fiscal 1975—a sum Nixon decries as woefully inadequate—less than half had actually reached Vietnam at the time of the final collapse. Even this "inadequate" amount had proved too large for the Thieu government to absorb easily.

In the spring of 1973, the Republic of Vietnam had more than a million men under arms. Two years later, that impressive force disintegrated—in many cases without offering even token resistance. And that, not congressional "betrayal" or "irresponsibility," explains the U.S. "failure" in Vietnam. In the final analysis, "their" Vietnamese fought with greater tenacity than "our" Vietnamese. Richard Nixon's refusal to ask why this was so severely limits the usefulness of his book.

Implementation, Not Law

"The Foreign Service Act at Five" [February], an interview with Bill Bacchus and Tom Boyatt, was interesting to me not only because I respect the views of both individuals but because as a then-member of the AFSA Governing Board, I participated actively in the formulation of the act. While both respondents made interesting points, Tom Boyatt, in particular, made some good points about "worthy objectives." In my opinion, however, he overstates the alleged "tradeoff" between benefits and other provisions.

Interestingly, neither respondent went into the background of the making of the Act. I think this is important because, as in any legislative endeavor, there is not one set—but a variety of—tradeoffs that reflect the mood and tenor of the time. For example, how many remember that this was a time when the very existence of a Foreign Service independent from the Civil Service was seriously in question? Following passage of the Civil Service Reform Act, there were many in Congress who believed that we should homogenize the bureaucracy by bringing it all under the Civil Service umbrella. Members of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, among others, pointed out that the Foreign Agricultural Service—to name but one—found no difficulty in operating with a completely Civil Service cast. Serious questions were also raised about the

question of 50/20 retirement. The board felt very strongly—and polls indicated equally strong support from the field—that once management had made its determination known to pursue a new bill, we would have to fight to preserve what we felt to be critical as much as to create improvements to the existing legislation.

In an attempt to prioritize goals, we polled the membership and held Washington meetings of constituents. A consensus formed around the following goals:

- retain the historic separateness of the Foreign Service recognizing the necessity of a rank-in-person system with discipline as a requirement for effective conduct of foreign policy;
- retain the separate Foreign Service retirement system;
- reexamine the up-or-out system both to provide for true career longevity and to move people through the system in a credible and equitable manner generating sufficient promotions to ensure regular intake at the bottom;
- realign Foreign Service pay scales to Civil Service levels;
- halt the erosion in the staff corps;
- have our bargaining rights codified;
- reexamine the entire allowance and benefit package to include *inter alia* danger pay and travel for children of divorced parents and recognize the changing role of families; and
- expand the openness of the assignment system.

How well we achieved any of these goals is, of course, open to discussion, and there are, I know, a variety of opinions. The single most contentious point seems to be the manner in which the members of the Service believe the act handles "up-or-out." I think it deals with it well in that it provides management with the mixture of tools required to operate a rational and predictable personnel system. It does not ensure that management will always use those tools as we might wish. This law does provide some degree of discretionary power to management as well as provide a legal basis for employee representatives to balance that power. This is as it should be, since overly specific law would inevitably become inflexible and, over time, deleterious to our goals.

The explicit purpose of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 as stated in its preamble is "to strengthen the Foreign Service of the United States." Recent management decisions to reduce the number of positions in the Senior Foreign Service, in my opinion, not only fly in the face of that bipartisan goal but also are the root causes of the painful personnel choices now being faced by the Service. Curtailment of promotion

opportunities forces management to overuse the limited career extension as a substitute for senior promotions. It has reduced predicted promotion into the SFS and has perpetrated a gross injustice on those FSOs who "opened their windows" on the basis of management projections.

I do not believe that the act is, in itself, the root of the problem. It provides a great deal of authority and flexibility for our use; how well we use that authority is—to my mind—the real issue.

ROBERT H. STERN
Foreign Service Officer
Washington, D.C.

Selecting Ambassadors

Andrew Steigman's article, "A Difficult Matter" [April], is both revealing and instructive. It also confirms two conclusions I drew some time ago: first, that USIA FSOs have consistently been discriminated against in the State Department's ambassadorial nomination process and, second, that AFSA has not adequately represented its USIA membership in addressing this.

USIA's FSOs are selected, appointed, and promoted on the basis of the same criteria and standards as the department's FSOs. Yet it is rare indeed that the department will send to the White House the nomination of a USIA FSO for an ambassadorial appointment, and when it does it is usually the result of one of the exceptional circumstances cited by Mr. Steigman. A case in point is that, with only a couple of well-known exceptions, all career ministers—selected until recently by a department-chaired inter-agency Career Minister Board—have, on the other hand, served as ambassadors in only a handful of cases during the past 20 years, and almost all of these were not promoted to CM until after they had completed their chief of mission assignments. My contention is that there is obviously something wrong with the nominating system when some of the Foreign Service's highest-ranking career officers are not even considered for ambassadorial appointment.

My second point is that while AFSA has been admirably alert in taking issue with some discriminatory practices in the Foreign Service, it has, to the best of my knowledge, never addressed the discrimination to which USIA's FSOs are exposed in the ambassadorial nomination process, even though some members have called attention to it on several occasions.

HANS N. TUCH
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Bethesda, Maryland

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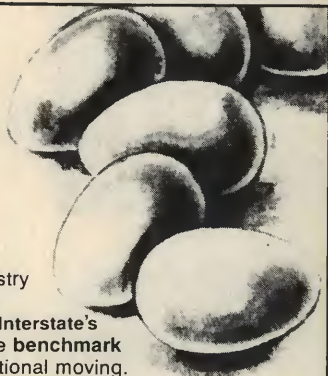
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PERIODICALS

By MICHELLE MAYNARD

"The Ethical Fulcrum in Soviet-American Negotiations." By Jan L. Perkowski. *America*, Vol. 154, No. 15, April 19, 1986. U.S. understanding of deeply ingrained Soviet values such as the "collective," the "fortress," and the "intruder" could increase the chances for successful U.S.-Soviet negotiations, writes Perkowski. All three values have their roots in pre-Christian times and make up an ethical code that acts as the fulcrum in dialogues between the two states.

Every Soviet negotiator views himself as the representative of the collective; each negotiating team functions as a miniature collective with an appointed leader who has the final say. U.S. negotiators must organize themselves in a similar fashion. Moreover, any formal negotiation begins with the establishment of an agenda, and it is customary for the Soviets to invite the Americans to make the first proposals, by which they try to determine the "intruder's" intentions. Given the Soviet fortressmentality, U.S. negotiators must be sensitive to what could be perceived by the Soviets as boundary breaches.

"Interest and Conscience in Diplomacy." By Abba Eban. *Society*, Vol. 23, No. 3, March/April 1986. Diplomacy suffers from a conflict between interest and conscience, writes Eban. Three sets of changes that have occurred in the practice of diplomacy since World War II highlight this struggle. First, there has been a collapse of reticence and a misapprehension—largely due to the mass media—that silence is a sign of conspiracy. Second, the specialized structure of diplomacy has collapsed due to summitry. Third, the myth of multilateralism and international cooperation that was popular for the first two postwar decades has begun to decline; national interest has proven too strong.

In light of these changes, more attention must be paid to regional conflicts, diplomacy must be judged by what it prevents as well as what it achieves, and diplomats must find a middle ground be-

Michelle Maynard is working on a master's of Foreign Service at Georgetown University.

tween excessive skepticism and exaggerated hope.

"The Guns of July." By Stephen S. Rosenfeld. *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 64, No. 4, Spring 1986. Last summer, U.S. foreign policy moved into a new phase with the so-called Reagan doctrine, which is intended to provide both military and humanitarian aid to anti-communist "freedom fighters." That doctrine received a higher profile as a result of congressional votes on Nicaragua, Angola, and Afghanistan, writes Rosenfeld.

A response to the appearance during the 1970s of a wave of alleged Marxist states, the doctrine is in theory a universal policy. Its actual implementation, however, has been confined to a relatively few places, and the costs have been quite modest. The doctrine's greatest benefit is its positive influence on strategic conditions and national interest; to Secretary Shultz, the doctrine is also appealing for its moral principles. While it is designed to obviate the need for directly involving U.S. military forces, the moral commitment it implies would not end if our guerrilla proxies founder.

On the surface, the president's policy appears to be a low-risk, low-cost way of performing a moral duty and fulfilling a strategic purpose. Actually, the doctrine has involved the United States more deeply in open-ended conflicts on three continents. Questions about the administration's policy remain, including the amount of resources needed, the democratic character of the rebels we support, the possibility of stalemate or defeat, and the credibility of the administration's desire for negotiated settlement. Moreover, it is uncertain how the doctrine fits in with the goal of improved U.S.-Soviet relations.

The paradox is that, to the extent that the Reagan doctrine is prudently managed, it fails in its stated purpose of liberation. But if it were managed with the goal of achieving prompter local successes, the costs and risks could become unacceptable.

"National Security for Whom?" By Norman Bailey and Stephen A. Halper. *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 1, Winter 1986. The National Security Council staff is one of the most vital, yet most misunderstood government institutions, according to Bailey and Halper. An essential ambiguity is whether the NSC staff serves the council itself or the president through the national security adviser.

Seven of the eight national security advisers since 1961 have believed that the staff should serve the president through

themselves. But Brent Scowcroft, and in some respects Robert McFarlane, saw the staff as primarily serving the council. In this case, the staff acts in a subordinate role, and is dominated on matters of policy options and personnel appointments by the State Department.

McFarlane sought to stem his staff's declining influence relative to the CIA and Defense by trying to gain almost total control over the flow of national security information to the president. For this, he relied on State and the career Foreign Service. Despite its one major advantage—staff control—such an arrangement has its limits. The NSC staff fails to assert itself apart from State or come up with innovative solutions to policy problems. Reliance on career bureaucrats weeds out key members of the foreign affairs community who reflect the president's instincts and priorities. Finally, successful control of national security information does not make a successful National Security Council. To be most effective, the staff should act as a referee, guide, and police officer to the other foreign policymaking bureaus, rather than as a policy partisan.

"Why We Should Stop Studying the Cuban Missile Crisis." By *Eliot A. Cohen*. *The National Interest*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Winter 1986. The U.S. security community has a dangerous fixation with the Cuban Missile Crisis as a model for crisis management, argues Cohen. Policymakers and academics remain fascinated with the subject because of the quantity and quality of available data, the event's drama, and the fact that it is the last major, widely applauded success of U.S. arms.

The Cuban Missile Crisis is not an appropriate model for those studying or conducting policy, however, because the circumstances under which the crisis occurred were unique. Nuclear war was perceived as imminent; the United States enjoyed conventional and nuclear superiority; no force was actually used, although threats were made; and the clash between the United States and the Soviet Union was brief and direct. A theory of crisis management has emerged from the incident to dominate policymaking even in non-crisis situations. It has shaped the policies of successive administrations and has led to a dangerous self-satisfaction within the security community. Instead of accepting the Cuban Missile Crisis as the decisive model for crisis management, policymakers would do well to study such elements of international conflict as the problem of overextended commitments, coalition warfare, the middles and ends of wars, and small wars. ☐

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CONGRESS

Budget Brouhahas

By LAWRENCE L. KNUTSON

After a nearly trouble-free start, the Reagan administration's \$4.4-billion five-year plan to bolster security at U.S. missions overseas ran into choppy waters in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in late April. Restive senators, upset at the bite the Gramm-Rudman deficit-reduction bill is having on domestic programs, launched a series of raids on what they said are the bulging coffers of the federal government's foreign-operations accounts.

Although legislation authorizing the first installment of the embassy security program cleared the House with ease, Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Richard Lugar (R.-Indiana) dispatched committee staff members to a number of embassies around the world to take a closer look at security enhancement plans. Their report—which set off a round of grumbling about excessive costs, possible waste, and alleged “gold-plating”—specifically noted the \$2.7 million budgeted for an ambassador's residence in Mogadishu; \$6.7 million for 10 senior-officer residences there; land-acquisition costs of \$250,000 an acre for a 40-acre embassy site in Uganda; and \$33.5 million for a new embassy in Belize. It also questioned the \$107 million budgeted for furniture and computers, an expense that had some senators muttering that security money was being spent for “interior decoration.”

Senator John Kerry (D.-Massachusetts) complained that the \$4.4-billion program breaks down to “a \$275,000 expenditure for each overseas employee under State Department jurisdiction.” Kerry asked, “Aren't we just getting suckered in here to a process we can't control?” Other senators warned that public confidence in the security program could be eroded if there is evidence of waste and extravagance.

Testifying before the committee, Under Secretary of State for Management Ronald I. Spiers said that most of the seemingly out-of-line expenses relate to land acquisition costs in underdeveloped countries,

Lawrence L. Knutson covers Capitol Hill for the Associated Press.

where there is no real estate market and a negotiation with the country's rulers or local potentates is necessary to obtain land. The new embassy in Belize, he said, is not for security reasons but because the capital of the country is being moved. But he said that Secretary of State Shultz has ordered all new construction to meet the security standards set by the Inman commission, which recommended the security-enhancement program. Secure structures cost about twice as much to construct as an ordinary office building, he said. Spiers also said that only about half of the \$107-million furniture account is actually for furnishings and that some is earmarked for such mundane items as electric fixtures.

Regarding the \$2.7 million for an ambassador's residence in Mogadishu, Spiers told senators that Somalia is an extremely expensive country to build in because virtually everything has to be imported. “It is a place that doesn't have many accoutrements of civilization,” he said. “But I can tell you we wouldn't spend that kind of money on an ambassador's residence. ... We are not going to build an ambassador's residence that costs \$2.7 million. We just won't do it,” Spiers told the committee that, in the end, “We won't ask for or spend any more money than we need.” But if the program is underfunded, there will be “an undesirable degree of risk.”

Lugar said later that he believes there will be “some modifications” in the security budget. “They admitted that they had to make some ballpark estimates, especially on land,” he said. “I think there will probably be an accommodation on this, a meeting of minds. I think there could be a scaling down of the size of the money.”

As the committee examined the security budget, Lugar had other problems on his hands. The Senate was debating its version of the federal budget, and the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee was busy fighting off amendments to pay for domestic programs by transferring money from the foreign operations account known as function 150, which includes funding for almost all State Department, USIA, and AID activities as well as other international spending. He won one battle but lost another; both votes were relatively close, and Lugar said they are clear warning signs of what may lie ahead for foreign aid and other programs. “It does give a show of hands of where priorities are,” the senator said. Lugar's success came as the Senate voted 49-46 to table and thus kill an amendment by Dale Bumpers (D.-Arkansas) to take \$25 million from the foreign-operations account and add it to a program to immunize American children against diseases. But a week later the Sen-

are ignored Lugar's advice and approved, 55-42, an amendment by Dennis DeConcini (D.-Arizona) to take \$163 million from the foreign-operations account and use it to bolster efforts to crack down on narcotics trafficking and combat domestic terrorism. "If senators honestly want to come to the floor and suggest that we disrupt our alliances, that we renege on our obligations, that we do not want to defend that country..., then that's fair enough," Lugar told the Senate during debate on the Bumpers amendment. Noting that foreign-operations spending already had been reduced 14 percent by the Senate Budget Committee, Lugar added: "I see no purpose in having one senator after another survey the entire budget and conclude that the 150 account is out there ready to be attacked." He said, "There will be consequences as senators are asked to decide in terms of whether they want to weaken our embassy security or which country programs they want to reduce."

But DeConcini contended that such programs as foreign aid have experienced enormous growth since the beginning of the Reagan administration and could easily absorb a \$163 million cut. He said outlays for foreign aid are up 113 percent since 1980, with military assistance grants up 580 percent, foreign military-sales credits and grants up 96 percent, and economic support cash transfers up 80 percent. Moreover, the USIA budget has been increased by 87 percent. "The opponents of the pending amendment argue quite skillfully that a cut in function 150 is a threat to our national security," DeConcini said. "All of a sudden foreign aid has become a national-security issue. It was not so a few years ago. It was foreign aid and a 'big giveaway.' I say these charges are nonsense and I suspect that my good friends on the other side know full well that our international-security programs—including aid to Israel and Egypt, and our war against terrorism—will not lose a nickel by this amendment." He added: "I hope that the smoke screen and cloak of national defense thrown around foreign aid—which I must say is a new and innovative approach for the foreign aid giveaway program—is not taken seriously."

But Warren Rudman (R.-New Hampshire), a co-author of the Gramm-Rudman law, said that the DeConcini amendment "could sacrifice the safety of American citizens overseas for programs that could be funded from other areas in the budget." And Ernest Hollings (D.-South Carolina) told his colleagues: "While I would expect that the State Department could be trimmed back some, we need anything that we can save for the protection of our

posts overseas." Lugar said he saw signs that the foreign-operations fund was becoming a congressional "community chest" and braced himself for further onslaughts. "I just hold my breath from hour to hour," he said.

Meanwhile, the Foreign Relations Committee in April voted for the first time ever to turn down a presidential nomination for an ambassadorship—that of James L. Malone as envoy to Belize. In a 9-7 vote, the committee refused to confirm Malone after hearing testimony that he had lied to the senators during his nomination in March 1981 as assistant secretary of state for oceans and international environ-

ment and scientific affairs. Before confirming him that time, the committee required him to promise that he would not handle any matters relating to Japan, Taiwan, or West Germany, since he had worked as an attorney on behalf of business ventures in those countries. After a three-week delay, he made the promise, but was later found to have continued to deal with his former clients. Jesse Helms (R.-North Carolina), Malone's chief backer, vowed that he will "absolutely pursue this nomination" by asking the committee to reconsider or by seeking Senate action to bring the nomination out of committee, according to an aide. □

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John Hughes in TV Guide,
March 1-7

A New Protocol

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Lloyd Shearer in Parade magazine,
March 30

Security Statistics

"Between 1968 and 1983, there were approximately 460 recorded attacks on diplomats, most occurring in Lebanon, France, and the United States. The victims were most often U.S., Soviet, Turkish, Israeli, or British citizens, in that order. The attacks have increased in violence since 1968, rising from approximately 28 killed or injured in 1968 to 225 in 1982."

Michael J. Barrett in
Journal of Defense & Diplomacy,
March

Diplomatic Boogie

"Even more graphic evidence of decadent splendor, Marcos-style, was afforded by a

private collection of more than 500 videotapes unearthed in Manila and New York. ...[One] video chronicles an abandoned bacchanal aboard the presidential yacht, celebrating the birthday of the youngest of the three Marcos offspring, Irene Araneta, last year. A man in a baby bonnet bursts out of a cake. The first lady jives under flashing strobe lights with an American consular official dressed in Bermuda shorts."

Time, March 24

Honest Mistake

"State Department officials were a little anxious over the call from an Indian businessman. He said he would be delivering two tigers to the department later in the day, and would they like them at the front entrance or the side entrance? Turned out, he had got the State Department confused with the Washington National Zoo."

John Hughes in the
Christian Science Monitor,
March 21

Pique at Perks

"The State Department's Foreign Service seems determined to preserve its prized perks, even at a time when the department, like other agencies, is being forced to make budget cuts. The State Department defends benefits for Foreign Service officers, saying they are often exposed to substantial risks in their jobs abroad. Nevertheless, complains Representative Jack Brooks, a Texas Democrat, the attitude of some of the striped-pants set toward some perks and uses of taxpayer money is 'not only unjustified but outrageous as well.'"

Robert S. Greenberger in the
Wall Street Journal,
April 3

No Wimp

"Some people in the ornate, 100-year-old U.S. embassy in the old sector of downtown Bucharest found [former ambassador to Romania David] Funderburk a charming, vigorous fellow—a beer-drinking, back-slapping kind of guy," says one. He played ping-pong with the diplomatic

corps, basketball with the embassy Marines, and poker with the staff. And most Americans didn't doubt his concern about human rights abuses and lack of religious freedom in Romania.

"He was no wimp," says one former embassy staff member. "If he was, they [the Romanians] would have crapped all over us."

"But many people found Funderburk's charm superficial. They believe he entered his new job with a chip on his shoulder. They perceived a distrust toward the Foreign Service that was born of Funderburk's strong conservatism and confirmed when he returned last year to Washington and called for Shultz's ouster."

*Bill Arthur and Ken Eudy
in The Charlotte Observer,
March 16*

Lone Rangerism

"President Reagan thinks William Wilson, his longtime friend and ambassador to the Vatican, is 'doing an excellent job' despite a free-lance diplomatic trip to Libya that was contrary to U.S. policy, his spokesman said yesterday....

"[White House spokesman] Larry Speakes said he was 'aware of other times' when Mr. Wilson had engaged in diplomacy outside his immediate sphere of influence at the Vatican.

"There have been reports Mr. Wilson was reprimanded by Secretary of State George P. Shultz for his mission to Tripoli."

United Press International, March 25

"When word got out of [his] diplomatic Lone Rangerism, [former ambassador to the United Nations Andrew] Young had to do the honorable thing: he resigned. The principle that ambassadors follow instructions was reaffirmed; our envoys do not set up shop for themselves in making policy that foreigners have a right to believe comes from the president of the United States.

"Comes now William Wilson, U.S. ambassador to the Vatican, given that coveted political plum because he was President Reagan's longtime friend and money manager....

"When Andy Young was caught breaking the rules, and his continuance in office became a challenge to his president's policy and the secretary of state's authority, he had the good grace to quit. To maintain any kind of chain of command, Mr. Reagan must tell his old friend to do the same."

*William Safire in the New York Times,
March 24*

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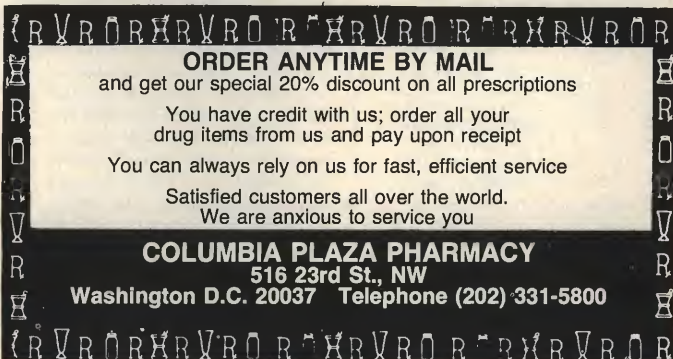
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Foreign Service Journal, June 1976: "I have experienced, on the one hand, the attitude expressed by Henry Ford II who, when I was introduced to him as the chargé in Brasilia two years ago, turned to our mutual host, the Brazilian minister of commerce and industry, and remarked that the last person he would go to see if he had any problems in a foreign country would be the American ambassador...."

"On the other hand, one also encounters the American corporation head who, before he flies into town...demands that the ambassador arrange private interviews with the president and various ministers, asks for a full CIA briefing, and then suggests in the strongest terms that he take over the ambassador's residence for a reception."

Hans N. Tuch

Foreign Service Journal, June 1961: "The secretary's recent message discouraging large-scale Fourth of July receptions is a necessary step to help stretch representation allowances to their utmost utility. All posts have been urged to reduce July 4th expenditures to those essential for diplomatic purposes, thereby to relieve representational allowances of an almost crippling burden."

Editorial

Foreign Service Journal, June 1936: "Our State Department is nothing if not progressive. In order to keep American diplomatic and consular representatives abroad currently informed of what is going on at home, the department is preparing to establish a globe-circling news service of its own...."

"Every day the State Department will broadcast over the powerful naval radio station at Arlington, near Washington, a news bulletin of about 1500 words. It will consist of a summary of important events, including pending legislation in Congress, administration policies, economic reports and conditions in this country, and important announcements by the president, secretary of state, and other officials...."

"It would be a gracious gesture, we think, to include a little social news for the ladies and by all means the football and baseball scores."

Galveston Tribune

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DESPATCH

The Cruellest Month

■ April 3: A small bomb causes \$6000 in damage to the USIS Binational Center in Lima. A guard is hospitalized with minor injuries;

■ April 7: Revolutionaries bomb the Binational Center in Chiclayo, Peru;

■ April 10: A dynamite bomb causes minor damage outside the Binational Center in Trujillo, Peru;

■ April 16: A burst of gunfire severely injures a communications officer riding home from the U.S. embassy in Khartoum. The embassy evacuates dependents. Danger pay begins. The employee, William J. Calkins, is still in critical condition;

■ April 17: A grenade explodes in front of the U.S. consulate in San Jose, Costa Rica, injuring four persons, none connected with the U.S. government. The consulate receives minor damage;

■ April 17: A gasoline bomb destroys the car of an American diplomat in Tunis parked in a neighborhood in which many of the embassy staff and dependents live;

■ April 18: A recently built perimeter wall detours an angry mob attempting to storm the embassy in Accra to protest the Libya attack. Rocks and other objects cause minor damage, and a Ghanaian policeman guarding the embassy of gunshot wounds;

■ April 21: A car bomb explodes outside the U.S. ambassador's residence in Lima, blowing a hole in the masonry wall that protects the building;

■ April 22: A homemade bomb thrown from a car shatters the glass facade of the U.S. consulate in Songkhla, Thailand;

■ April 25: A communications officer at the U.S. embassy in Sanaa, North Yemen, is wounded by several bullets as he drives home from church. One bullet enters the upper body of Arthur L. Pollick, another

the head. He is able to walk home after the attack to seek help;

■ April 28: A car bomb is discovered and defused outside the U.S. embassy in Mexico City. According to embassy sources, it was "a powerful, sophisticated device" that could have brought down the entire side of the building;

■ April 29: The wall surrounding the U.S. ambassador's residence in Santiago is breached by a small dynamite bomb during several days of anti-government riots. Two windows crack in the residence, but no one is injured;

■ April 30: Mason Breon Williams finishes engraving the Memorial Plaque in the State Department lobby with the names of the latest Americans posted to overseas missions killed in the line of duty. Some 28 terrorist victims have been added in the last three years alone.

April was a cruel month for America's diplomats. While the murder of a U.S. serviceman in a West Berlin discotheque and the retaliatory raid against Libya received worldwide headlines, less noticed was the fact that there was an attack against a Foreign Service employee or installation nearly every other day. The spate of bombings and shootings started before the raid on Libya and worsened after it. By the end of the month the number of credible threats directed against U.S. diplomatic facilities had doubled to nearly a dozen a day, and some 30 embassies were considered to be active Libyan targets.

While the symptoms of terrorism have never been more clear, there is no consensus on the cure. Leaders throughout the world are grappling with the issues of retaliation and sanctions. Within the beltway, there is another debate on how to protect one of the terrorists' favorite victims. The centerpiece of the administration's diplomatic-counterterrorism program—the \$4.4-billion embassy-security package—is at the center of that debate.

As previously reported in these pages, the plan calls for rebuilding or replacing most diplomatic facilities, increasing anti-espionage measures, and providing protection for personnel in their residences and while traveling in their host countries. When it was first proposed last summer, it received wide support by the administration, and legislators at one point chided the State Department for not implementing it quickly enough. Then came the Gramm-Rudman deficit-reduction legislation. Suddenly Congress began talking

about massive cutbacks in foreign aid and in Foreign Service personnel and programs [See CONGRESS].

While the House approved every penny of the administration's emergency \$702-million supplemental security request for the current fiscal year, the Senate authorization is likely to be much smaller. As for fiscal year 1987, the House Foreign Affairs committee has sent to the floor a bill authorizing \$1.1 billion of the \$1.4-billion administration request, but the Senate FY '87 budget resolution only provides \$491 million. The ultimate '87 authorization is likely to be in the middle. "Another tragedy" at an embassy was the result foreseen by Secretary Shultz, who pledged to fight for the full amount.

Most of the critics focused on the \$107 million in the package to pay for furnishings—some security related—to go in the new facilities. The department responded that the cost was high because of buy-American laws, and that, while furnishings in good condition would be transferred, new buildings need new light fixtures, wallpaper, etc. But some legislators found the request excessive, amounting to "feathering already well-appointed nests," in the words of Senator Edward Zorinsky (D.-Nebraska). "Please explain what relationship there is between new office furniture...and protection against terrorism," chided Senator Jesse Helms (R.-North Carolina).

Another debate arose over the roles of the various foreign affairs agencies in implementing and running the program. State has insisted on being in charge, and the coordinator for diplomatic security, Robert Lamb, has said that USIA Director Wick and AID Administrator McPherson have no problem with that. But at an AFSA debate, recently retired career minister Hans Tuch repeated complaints made by him and by the independent U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy that USIA should have its own security budget and program. Both also feared that inclusion of USIS facilities in protected embassy compounds in suburban locations—necessitated in many cases by required 100-foot setbacks—would inhibit the agency's ability to reach its audience [See "A Separate Piece of the Security Pie," page 27].

Tuch and the commission generally favor the security plan, although both hope that Gramm-Rudman won't mean it will be paid for by reductions in programs. The department has pledged not to do that. And, in the middle of April, Admiral Bobby Inman wrote that "the question is not whether we can afford to do this but whether we can afford not to."



NOT A FORTRESS

The new diplomatic facilities meant to thwart terrorism need not be unattractive nor interfere with the mission of the Foreign Service

THOMAS VONIER

WILL THE UNDERSTANDABLE emphasis now being placed on security for U.S. diplomatic missions lead to the construction of fortresses? Will their occupants be perhaps safer from the threats of terrorism, but at the expense of livable work surroundings and the appropriate representation of the United States? Could the State Department's tradition of fostering architectural excellence in its foreign buildings be subverted by well-intentioned security measures?

These are among the pressing questions that confront the foreign affairs agencies as they launch a major initiative to upgrade the security of their diplomatic missions. The secretary of state has wholeheartedly endorsed the recommendations made last year by his Panel on Overseas Security—the Inman commission—and a \$4.4-billion security-enhancement bill based on the panel's report is on its way to congressional approval. A majority of the funds would go toward renovating or replacing existing facilities to protect them from the dual threats of terrorism and espionage. Few would disagree that security needs the attention, but the prospect of constructing hundreds of buildings is daunting. In addition, the strict requirements the facilities will have to meet—as well as any possible restrictions on the activities of the people who will work in them—raise the question of whether the mission building of the future will affect the ability of the United States to conduct its overseas affairs.

There are other aspects of security than the design of the work environment. Residential security will be upgraded by the agencies under the new program, and personal security will receive a large portion of the new funds as well. But because their presence in foreign capitals and other cities is so important to the image the United States projects abroad, and because they are the place where Foreign Service personnel spend the majority of their working lives, the possible effect of security enhancement on our overseas buildings has raised a chorus of concern.

Part of the problem may stem from disagreement

about priorities; some people are staunchly opposed to allowing the threats of terrorism and espionage to interfere with the sense of openness and pleasant architectural design that has traditionally been an aspect of the official U.S. presence abroad. They worry that the nature of the diplomatic mission could be jeopardized by too great an emphasis on security. "I didn't join the Foreign Service because it's the safest profession, or because I wanted to live and work only with other U.S. citizens," says one veteran of several overseas assignments, expressing sentiments he believes are shared by many colleagues. He frets over the imagined prospect of windowless offices accessible only to U.S. citizens, and over the possibility of American-only residential enclaves. On the other side are those who believe that all necessary steps must be taken to prevent injury to U.S. citizens, the compromise of vital information, or the perceived humbling of a great power that may follow an attack on a foreign post—even if added security against such threats means sacrificing architectural principles.

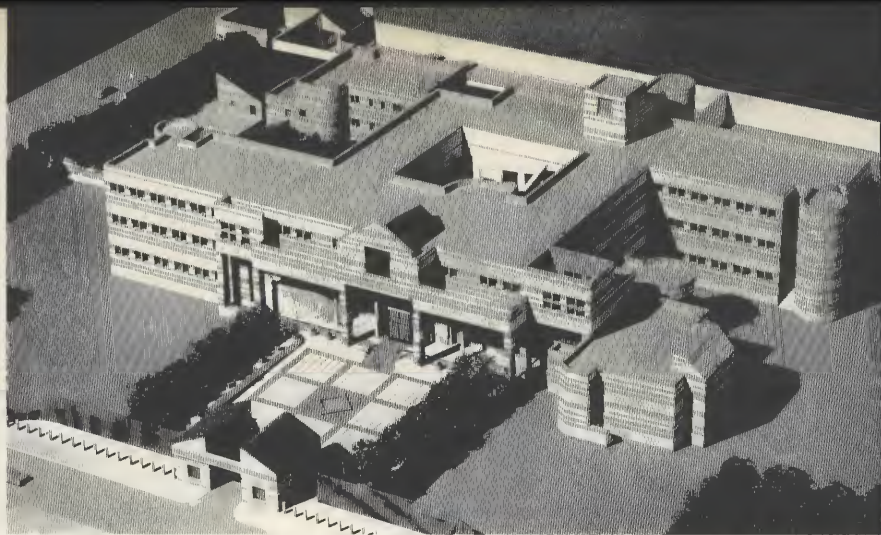
Each side appears to hold the mistaken view that good architectural design means poor security, or that better security will lead to less attractive buildings. Although few would oppose good architecture, some observers believe too much emphasis has been placed in the past on aesthetic appearances and distinctive design in the agencies' foreign buildings. Perhaps overstating their case, yet not without a certain element of truth, critics say that concerns for design excellence and aesthetics have overridden other issues during the past two decades, including those related to the security of Foreign Service personnel and sensitive information. Architects and other designers are often caught in the middle of this conflict.

Some architects whose firms have been hired by the department find occasion to complain about what they see as the insensitivity of security personnel to issues of design and appearance. "I don't want to hear about architecture," one agent was said to have insisted recently, in connection with a security upgrade at an embassy in South America. "You just worry about how secure it is," he was reported to have told the architect, "not what it looks like." In recent congressional hearings on budget outlays for the building program recommended by the Inman panel, one subcommittee member scoffed at the claim by an architect that security must be provided within the context of satisfactory functional design and aesthetic appearance. "We're not considering a program of this mag-

U.S. embassy, Lisbon (facing page). Built well before the advent of new physical-security guidelines, this complex nonetheless conforms to many of the design requirements that are now in place. The Lisbon embassy has been subjected to a number of attacks and, most recently, a car bombing, without serious damage or injury. (Fred Bassetti and Company, architects).

Thomas Vonier, AIA, served as consulting project director to the Committee on Research for the Security of Future U.S. Embassy Buildings, a group empaneled by the National Academy of Sciences Building Research Board to provide recommendations to the State Department on future embassy design. The opinions expressed in this article are the author's and not necessarily those of the U.S. government.

Designs for U.S. embassies in Damascus (this page) and Manama (facing page). The plan for the mission in Syria features relatively small exterior windows, a secure perimeter, and substantial setbacks from the edge of the site. Interior courtyards provide light and views in office areas. (Titian Papachristou, architect.) The facility proposed for Bahrain, a relatively small post, uses the same features, including secure perimeter walls and small areas of exterior glass. (ROMA, architects.)



itude to make our buildings prettier," the representative said.

This attitude that good design and good security are mutually exclusive, fortunately, is not based on fact. The challenge of providing both can be met. It is a challenge of balance: How can future embassies be designed to assure that their occupants are secure, without sacrificing the qualities we would prefer to associate with a U.S. presence abroad? While not simple, easy, or even definitive, there are some answers. It is possible to provide attractive buildings that are appropriate to their surroundings, properly representative, and more secure.

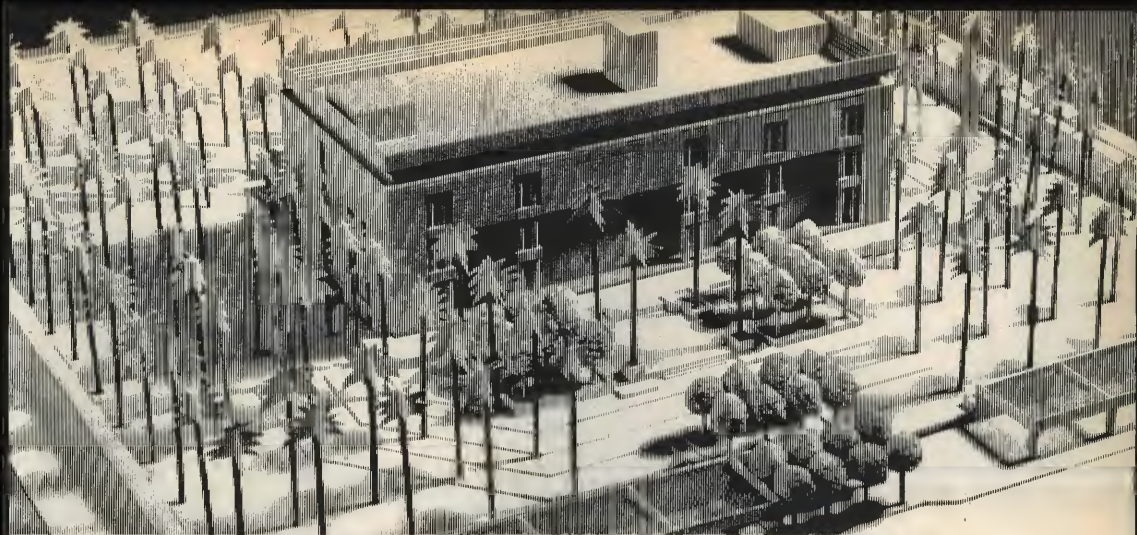
THE SEARCH for solutions begins with questions about where embassy buildings are located and how sites are designed. Bomb-laden motor vehicles are a prime concern today, in all parts of the world; employee and visitor parking has already been proscribed at many posts, amidst some grumbling but a consensus that this is a necessary step. One possibility is to provide parking off-site in areas that are physically protected against vehicle tampering and unauthorized access. In such schemes, employees might be shuttled by bus or other means between the parking area and the compound. Yet, even when vehicles are prevented from coming onto a site, or are carefully inspected before they enter, what can be done about attacks launched from outside the perimeter?

The effects of vehicle-bomb blasts and other attacks can be mitigated significantly by larger sites and the consequent increase in distance between occupied embassy buildings and a controlled perimeter. The effects of explosions diminish exponentially as a function of distance, so the first objective is to keep potential trouble away. This is the rationale behind new department standards requiring a standoff distance of at least 100 feet between occupied buildings and a secure perimeter. To many, this appears to be the only vehicle-bomb defense that is both effective and affordable.

Critics charge that the setbacks will dictate suburban settings, well away from the government, cultural, and commercial life found only in the urban center of most foreign capitals. This issue has been raised, occasionally in public forums, also with regard to USIA and AID. In an article that appeared recently on the op-ed page of the *Washington Post*, the head of the U.S. Commission on Public Diplomacy, Robert Fuelner, argued that USIA's basic mission would be seriously hampered by a move of its facilities to areas outside the central cities.

There are probably as many views on the subject of who should be in the embassy or chancery compound as there are members of the Foreign Service, but it is clear that State policy will call for security to be enhanced for all official Americans abroad. This includes even the smallest posts and the many agencies whose employees are under the ambassador's authority. To meet the need for greater contact with host-country citizens—as required by AID, USIA, consular officers, and others—complexes can be designed to have highly secure areas, accessible only to U.S. citizens with the requisite security clearances, as well as relatively accessible areas that are open to the general public. The challenge is mainly one of appropriate functional zoning, to remove the areas that are most sensitive from representational and other functions that act as magnets for visitors. Even busy consular sections can be handled in this manner. In all cases, however, basic protection must be extended to U.S. citizen employees, Foreign Service nationals, visitors, and guests. In my opinion, AID missions, consular offices, and USIS facilities should be in the compound, albeit with greater ease of public access. Consular offices in other cities should be held to the same standards.

Though greater security cannot be provided without some compromise in the sense of architectural openness, basic access control can be accomplished unobtrusively. The best method is to design access control when the building is on the drawing board, not after it has been completed. Fortunately, in today's world most people recognize the need for such



measures. Air travelers, for instance, accept and even appreciate airport security measures; visa applicants and visitors to cultural centers will appreciate them no less.

The concerns about forced suburbanization may eventually prove to have been much ado about little. In the first place, sites of the requisite size can be found, even in the most teeming of downtowns. In a large and extensively developed capital like Paris (where, incidentally, nobody appears to be talking seriously about replacing any embassy facilities) it would be difficult and expensive—but not impossible—to assemble a parcel of land that would accommodate a chancery of relatively large scale. And many large cities in the developed world and in the less-developed countries have redevelopment aims similar to those that have reshaped such inner cities as Baltimore's. It should not be too difficult for the United States to fit its construction plans into such schemes.

In some cases, acceptable alternatives to central city sites may exist. For better or worse, many foreign cities are experiencing the same sort of development and urban exodus found in the United States. New residential developments and government and private enterprise centers are springing up around Lisbon, Paris, Athens, and many other foreign cities.

Experience suggests that the presence of a U.S. consulate or embassy tends to attract new development. Some of this may not be desirable, and some people believe that additional measures are needed to control future development adjacent to U.S. installations. But it also leads to the possibility that, with planning, the agencies can find their facilities in the middle of an important non-central hub. "We can buy sites today that in 10 or 15 years will make us look prescient," says one observer. "We'll have to live with these decisions for a long time. This building program is a big opportunity. Let's not think just about today; for once, let's think about tomorrow."

Future embassy buildings will clearly be characterized by larger sites than are now typical. Once sites large enough to provide the required standoff distance have been found, keeping the perimeter secure be-

comes the concern. There is little doubt that strong, relatively tall walls and fences—probably used in combination—will be required. Many posts already have attractive fences that are designed to provide both a vehicle barrier at the base and a deterrent to climbing above, while maintaining views into and out of the embassy grounds.

THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS AGENCIES also need to identify and isolate sources of potential security trouble. Why, for example, should future embassies have such areas as automobile repair and maintenance stations, or furniture painting and storage warehouses, placed within or directly adjacent to buildings housing busy and sensitive offices? Such security nightmares are typical and perhaps necessary arrangements at many posts today but could be eliminated with proper planning in future facilities.

Simple, common-sense planning measures that would be onerous, cumbersome, or impractical to implement in existing buildings can be conceived as part of the original design in a new building. Security-conscious planning, site design, and landscaping can help reduce the easy opportunities. Great care is needed in the layout and design of vehicle sally ports and pedestrian entryways, to assure that these necessary elements are compatible in appearance and function smoothly.

Vehicle approaches and views to surrounding areas for guards must be taken into account in planning new, more secure access arrangements. Such steps as concealing entrances and walkways from view outside the grounds also can help to diminish opportunities for sniper or drive-by attacks and hostile observation. None of these planning and landscaping measures is objectionable and few are even discernible.

Once sites are designed to maximize safety and security, and plans are sensibly organized to isolate the most hazardous or vulnerable areas, attention must turn to buildings themselves. It is here that people seem most worried about the possible consequences of greater security, but research and recent



U.S. embassy, Pretoria. This project, which meets the new guidelines for setbacks, also employs a compact overall form with rooftop and high-wall daylighting techniques to minimize exposed glass. (Eduardo Catalano, architect.)

experience suggest that there are few grounds for concern.

While some new building measures will be required, sensible interior layouts and an integrated design approach to security should mean little apparent difference. The larger setbacks from local streets, although difficult to arrange, lower the requirements for blast-proofing. Except in extraordinary circumstances, there should be no need to resort to super-thick walls or windowless buildings. It will be necessary, however, to be more judicious about where windows are located, and what they look into and onto. There is no need to expose building occupants to the full brunt of a potential blast or remote sniper fire, when careful planning and design can orient windows and work areas away from such threats. As castle-builders knew centuries ago, various building design approaches are intrinsically more secure from outside attack than others. Contemporary buildings can use sheltered atriums, internal courtyards, and other devices that admit sunlight and air and provide pleasant, open surroundings without presenting easy avenues of attack. There are many everyday examples, both old and recent, of buildings that are highly secure, while remaining inviting and attractive. In Washington, for example, people are intrigued to find out that the original building of the National Gallery of Art—a structure most regard as pleasant, airy and inviting—has no windows. Designs that are still on the drawing boards for new posts show promise of much greater security, with no discernible loss in architectural character or appeal.

Today there are many ballistic-resistant window glazing products available, and even a few (some using films applied over or sandwiched between glazing materials) that will resist the tremendous pressures produced by bomb blasts. But these are very expensive and difficult to install, and they aren't available everywhere in the world. Such glazings have to be used in relatively small areas and they're generally not very good as windows for views or ventilation; they're too thick and lose their protective quality if they're allowed to open. None is known for certain to resist the kind of force with which objects and fragments are

hurled in an explosion, although the State Department is carrying out experiments to test various composites. All of these are reasons why there is more promise in design approaches that put windows in locations that are out of harm's way. Entryways too must be strengthened to resist stress and siege. Doors must now resist forced entry attempts by determined intruders using hand tools, for 15 minutes, to provide those inside with valuable time to retreat to safer places. This level of protection is reasonable, although not easy or inexpensive to provide.

Ancient castles and fortifications—and recently more than a few contemporary buildings, including many public high schools—use the concept of concentric circles of security; some employ “impenetrable” gates and doors that drop into place under siege conditions to trap or thwart the progress of intruders or attackers. These principles can be incorporated unobtrusively in building design and could be remotely controlled by security personnel.

All of this needs to be done in concert with the designation of a safe haven for besieged building occupants. This haven should accommodate all personnel, not just some or a handful of “key” individuals. It should not be the post communications center, which will normally be too small to house all building occupants and should in any case remain an area that is accessible only to persons with suitable security clearances. Meeting rooms, cafeterias, and groups of offices can be designed so that they can be sealed off (with fire-resistant walls and ram-resistant doors, for example) in emergencies, and outfitted with basic emergency provisions and communications equipment.

NO BUILDING that is expected also to serve as an essentially public diplomatic building can be designed to thwart all possible terrorist threats. If anything can be said with certainty about terrorism, it is its uncertainty, and surely the stakes are continually growing higher. This does not, however, mean that we should do little or nothing to make embassy buildings more secure against those attacks that can be reasonably anticipated.

There are many steps that can be taken and, yes, such steps probably ought to be extended also to the places where U.S. citizens abroad live and raise their families. Perhaps residences, too, ought to become a part of the embassy compound; that question is worthy of careful study on a case-by-case basis. Many people in the Foreign Service may resist this notion, and surely most will lament the fact that the step might be seen as necessary. But it has to be considered, and will be.

Extraordinary security measures are called for by the repeated acts of international terrorism directed against U.S. citizens and facilities abroad—acts which, by all accounts, seem likely to grow in number and severity. With careful attention to all aspects of design, these measures need not seem onerous. They will seem only the reasoned and proper response of a country concerned for the welfare of its people serving in foreign lands. □

A SEPARATE PIECE OF THE SECURITY PIE



Tuch (left) and Lamb at USIA debate.

"The U.S. embassy...is being moved seven miles out of the city center to a new, secure diplomatic enclave the host government is developing. Hundred-foot setbacks are easily obtained, as are new, custom-designed structures with state-of-the-art security features. The embassy pressures USIA to join it in the move."

"There is only one thing wrong with this. USIA's public affairs officer knows that by retreating to the suburban enclave, the agency will become inaccessible to most of the people it is trying to reach."

TELLING AMERICA'S STORY to the world will become increasingly difficult as a result of new proposals to upgrade diplomatic security, according to the independent bipartisan U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. In the words of its chairman, Edwin Feulner, quoted above, meeting the new security standards mandated by the Inman commission will decrease USIA's overseas audience, and paying for the recommended improvements and new construction will mean cuts in important agency functions.

Briefly, the State Department is recommending that Congress fund a \$4.4-billion program to enhance the security of its overseas missions. The department wants to take the lead role in what it calls a previously fragmented approach to security by the half dozen agencies represented at U.S. missions abroad, and it would prefer that all mission components be within the same protected compound. Although architects say that consular and USIS facilities in the new, more secure enclaves will be walled off into separate compartments with easier access [see main story], Feulner and others are afraid that the setback requirements will mean suburban locations remote from the journalists, academics, and other host-country citizens who now use USIS facilities.

Security needs for practitioners of pub-

lic diplomacy are different, says Feulner, because USIA's mission is different from that of the other foreign affairs agencies. The advisory commission has welcomed the increased emphasis on security but, Feulner points out in an opinion article in the *Washington Post*, "in the case of USIA, the issue of 'security' is not as clear-cut as it is for the Department of State. USIA, unlike State, is an agency whose efforts are directed primarily at foreign people....To be effective, USIA's officers and facilities must be accessible. Its centers, libraries, and press offices must be convenient to those they are intended to serve." The solution, according to Feulner, is separate standards for the agency. In a similar article in the *Wall Street Journal*, Feulner also asked whether threatened congressional cutbacks in USIA funding to pay for the security program within the context of Gramm-Rudman would mean that the agency would have to "settle back into mediocrity." The agency itself has not backed Feulner's criticisms, stating through a spokesperson that Director Wick supports the administration's security recommendations.

State's coordinator for diplomatic security also disagrees with the criticisms. At a debate on security and USIA sponsored by AFSA in April, Robert Lamb recalled a recent visit to the embassy in Khartoum (before the bombing of Libya and the assassination attempt of an embassy employee in Sudan) when demonstrations forced the temporary closing of the USIS facility. "That's not because of security measures but because we don't have security," Lamb said.

Opposing Lamb at the debate was a consultant who helped the advisory commission prepare its critical report, Hans Tuch, a retired USIA career minister. Responsibility for security must be shared by all agencies, Tuch insisted, and USIA should have a "discrete securi-

ty budget which it controls." He called for the formation of an interagency committee to coordinate security, but insisted that State "participate" in it, not "dominate" it. He questioned the ability of the department to measure security needs from Washington and mandate upgrades for overseas missions, saying that the country team should have "primary responsibility." The "bottom line," according to Tuch, is that "the threat of terrorism should not be allowed to deter us from conducting public diplomacy, on the one hand; we should avoid leaving the field to terrorists by closing our programs and facilities. And on the other hand, we should also avoid distancing ourselves from our audiences and thereby not being able to conduct our programs adequately."

Lamb countered that input from overseas missions was vital to security decision-making but, he added, embassy personnel often don't perceive the full extent of the threat, while security experts in Washington will be able to make unbiased assessments. When a member of the audience asked about the cutbacks Congress is making in USIA's budget (as well as other agencies') to pay for security upgrades, Lamb downplayed that possibility. "When a program is this large, you can't speak in terms of trade-offs. We have managed to keep this program separate from our program activities so far." The security supplemental the department is asking for fiscal year 1987 is nearly as large as State's traditional operating budget [See CONGRESS]. Concluded Lamb: "I don't see an adversarial relationship but a partnership. I think that the question is not whether security and public diplomacy can coexist, but whether public diplomacy can exist without security."

—STEPHEN R. DUJACK

REENTRY FOR TEENS

*For Foreign Service children,
the entire overseas experience should be
a preparation for coming home*

NANCY J. PIET-PELON

"The most devastating feeling in the first few weeks is loneliness. During the first weekend (of college) I was one of two people on my floor who did not go home. I guess that all I can say is to be prepared for this."

"My friends and I discovered...that we all missed our families very much—even our younger brothers and/or sisters—which says a lot considering how glad we were to leave them behind. I think living overseas strengthened our family bonds more than we believed."

"I truly miss the closeness which is unobtainable with the average American friend that I have enjoyed with several people throughout the years I have lived overseas."

AS FOREIGN SERVICE members, we raise our children overseas. Many articles, much research, and our own formal and informal discussions have probed the experience of the child raised abroad. Particular concern focuses on teenagers. This is partly because they can articulate—often very forcefully—their own distress, and partly because it is in the teen years that they leave to pursue their future careers. Often they return to live in the States on their own, and their struggles to adjust are poignant and real.

Unfortunately, by the time our kids are teenagers, it is too late for us to undo the harm that Foreign Service life may have done them. Or is it really harmful to raise our children abroad? People have been doing it for years. Many children raised overseas are now our peers in the Foreign Service.

What do we really do to our teenagers when we raise them overseas? What does that experience mean for their future? Does it make them international people, ready and able to understand all cultures and appreciate the differences around them? Does it make them successful in the American scene, able to absorb and accept American values? Or could it be that raising our children overseas hurts their development, that it makes them unable to assimilate the American culture? Do we create individuals who drift, unable to find a niche or to feel completely happy in one country

or culture? If we knew what would happen to our children before we embarked on an overseas career, it would make it easier to decide whether raising them in other cultures carries too high a price. Unfortunately, despite studies done on children raised overseas, it is still impossible to say whether the experience will be a positive or negative one for our own children.

Ruth Useem, long a student of the overseas-raised child, has coined a name for them: TCKs, or third-culture kids. The implication is that our children are the products of more than one culture, and that they assimilate and accept something from each of the cultures to which they have been exposed. Useem feels that the overseas experience is a mixed one for children, particularly teens. On the positive side, the children are often bi- or tri-lingual. They have developed many cross-cultural skills, particularly the ability to accept differences in others. They have a three-dimensional world view, one that accepts that the world has many sorts of people in it, all with needs which should be met. And the TCK can be very mature, as much as two to three years more mature than his or her peers.

On the negative side, TCKs can have streaks of immaturity, most often shown in their need for a close, dependent parental relationship. Their mobility sometimes makes them need to be rootless, and it is not uncommon for the college-age TCK to change universities more than once, seeking excitement in a different environment. The insecurity resulting from constant moves puts all relationships in jeopardy. Thus, the TCK often feels that no relationship can be lasting or meaningful. Grief is a part of mobile children's lives, as they experience loss of friends, pets, community, and too often, parents who place their jobs ahead of their family. TCKs often feel unbalanced, which increases their feeling of loneliness and not belonging. They simply do not fit in.

As parents, it is unsettling to read that our children will have "a sense of membership in more than one culture, but ownership of neither," which is the opinion of David Pollock, executive director of Interaction Incorporated, who recently held a seminar at the Overseas Briefing Center on Foreign Service teenagers in transition. It is of concern that our children may be excluded from U.S. teenage society because they are "different," and American teenagers love to exclude that different person, as Sydney Werkman writes in *Bringing Up Children Overseas*.

Nancy J. Piet-Pelon is a Foreign Service spouse who is an international-population/family-planning consultant and writer with a second book in progress for teens on living overseas.

WHAT CAN WE DO for our children so that they do not spend their entire life paying for our overseas assignments?

The teenagers themselves have much to say on this subject. The Jakarta International School has instituted orientation programs for all incoming junior and senior high school students and a reentry program for graduating seniors. From 1984-85, I assisted the counseling department of the school with these programs.

All seniors participated in the 1984 reentry program. This group of more than 100 included about 50 Americans. The majority of them were planning to return to the States and attend college. They were about 18 years old and had lived overseas for an average of eight years. Most of them had attended neither junior nor senior high school in the States. They planned to return to the States alone, while their parents either remained at their present post or moved on to another country. Before the reentry program the students were asked to express their concerns about their future. Most were worried about academic issues, but also with fitting in, making friends, making decisions on their own—and daily survival.

The reentry program was designed to meet two objectives: to make the students aware of reentry issues, and to share practical ways of preparing for it. In addition to two sessions with the students, there was a meeting for parents to discuss reentry, their children's concerns about it, and suggestions for preparing their children. General reaction to the program was positive, but many students felt they needed more personal attention to discuss their specific situation. The counseling staff filled that need.

The majority of the students left Jakarta in June. We sent them a follow-up questionnaire concerning their reentry experience about five months later. The questionnaire probed a combination of issues that had been discussed during the program and also provided an opportunity to react to comments made by a previous class. The results provide useful insights for concerned parents.

Basically, the teenagers did experience culture shock, though they had thought—and hoped—they would not. They all missed living overseas but felt that their foreign experiences had been a "dream world," with few worries. They felt strongly that they could not dwell on the past, since it made it too hard to adjust. They also felt that their high schools should have had more emphasis on learning about other cultures. The vast majority were very glad that they had grown up overseas and felt the experience helped them to be more open-minded and to grow up faster. However, they did feel out of touch with kids at home. When asked to describe themselves, using a set group of attributes, the students said that they "knew more about the world than the rest of my peers"; "have a good basic understanding of human nature"; "are eager to live overseas again"; and "had an ability to make friends easily." They most often described their best friend as a person with an international viewpoint.

The most revealing comments came in open-ended statements the students were invited to make about their own reentry which might benefit the program



planners for the class of 1985 (the comments that start this article are taken from this section). Their responses were candid and showed the level of maturity that previous research has highlighted. They were also clearly able to make an intelligent analysis of their own situation. These are some of their comments on their initial adjustment and their thoughts for future graduates:

People in the States who have never lived overseas don't know what it is like. Try to explain it to them in simple language and don't dwell on it too long because they tend to get bored quickly. Know off-hand that you have experienced something that they will never experience, but don't let it make you big-headed or cocky. Be glad you experienced it. I am.

Don't be afraid to take risks or experience new things. Be prepared for periods of depression. Don't expect too much—the USA is not the greatest place.

Be aware that because you have lived overseas you are different and many people you will encounter don't understand you or the way you think. Being aware of this may help you cope with it better.

Go slow. Don't expect to be familiar with everything

right away. Give yourself time to adjust.

It will be difficult at times, but you can never give up. Be your own best friend, and it will help you to find others.

The comments of others repeat the same themes. The students' level of maturity and self-awareness is notable. Their expressed loneliness is a concern. Overall, the survey shows that the teens see their growing-up experience as a positive one, but one they must put aside in order to succeed.

AS PARENTS, we need to think about how we can make reentry an experience that our children can look forward to and yet be pragmatic about. There are some useful suggestions. To begin, the entire overseas experience should be, in a sense, a preparation for reentry. While adjusting to new cultures, parents have the responsibility of teaching American values through comparison and contrast. Keeping in touch with American trends—not to mention sharing in them—is essential. Long distance family ties need nurturing as well. Though we should never expect our children to be as close to stateside family members as their home-bound peers might be, we can share the joys and sorrows of the extended family with them.

A reentry program for teens before they leave post is an adjustment must; such a seminar after arrival in the States is less useful since a successful reentry depends on good preparation prior to departure. The high school setting is the most comfortable for teens, and using the school for the program allows its staff members to be aware of what is occurring and to assist students with follow-up questions. It is beneficial to use an outsider as the organizer of the program, but that person should include the school community in both program planning and execution.

As parents, we need to share our expectations with our children. Many of us grew up in the States and chose the Foreign Service life as adults. Our children did not choose it at all. They are born to it, which means that they see the United States differently than we do. They have experienced it on home leave—when all is harried chaos—and know it through our sharing with them. We have to understand—and let them know that we understand—that their feelings for their country will be different than ours. And that is all right.

Home leaves and other sojourns to the States have to be times of preparation for reentry. Many Foreign Service families have adopted the habit of sending dependents home every summer, with the employee joining them when possible. Despite annual exposure to the States, most of our teenagers have never had a job, do not drive or have a license, do not have any sense of one place that the family calls "home." As parents we must help our children gain the survival skills they will need to feel less different. Summers should be used to pursue a driver's license or to hustle summer jobs. Home leaves spent gathered around the television at grandma's house will not prepare our children for reentry later. The most helpful parents

are those who plan to stay in one location for a series of summers so that the children can find both friends and summer positions. Alternatively, allow your children to be with their peers for the summer—at camp, if they are young, or in an environment where other young people gather.

As the end of high school approaches, help your teenagers choose their college carefully. As one reentry survey respondent put it: "I think it's very important when applying to colleges to find out as much about them as possible. The one you finally choose should be one that will accommodate your needs and reflect your interests. [The college I attend] has the highest percentage of international students in the United States. The general outlook of the school reflects this. People are very open minded and welcome a large variety of people representing different geographical and cultural backgrounds." There are many attributes to consider when looking at colleges, but one of the important ones is the college's appeal to international students and its international focus, which can be seen in the curriculum.

In addition, parents should plan a support system *before* their children need it. Often parents assume that those people who support *them* in times of crisis will also be the best supporters for their children. Thus they encourage their children to talk with "grandma" or "aunt and uncle" when problems arise. This usually does not work. Look for supportive people on the college campus, or a family member or friend that *both of you* trust. This person or group will be the immediate support if a crisis occurs.

Communication within the family should also be planned. Letter writing is important but simply not done by many teens, so arrange telephone calls on a regular basis if possible. Also plan for the time when you will see each other, so all family members have a date or occasion to look forward to.

Finally, spend some time before your family separates talking about American cultural values and what they mean to you. Share how you have felt on reentry at various times in your career. Through discussions like this, you let your children know that if they do not like Americans or the States, it is understandable. At the same time, help them set a perspective. Whether they like the States or not, what can they get from this country and how long will it take? I have known young people who have returned for an education with a burning determination to go back overseas at the first opportunity, and they have done just that. Others have rebelled against the mobile lifestyle of their parents, found a place to live in the States, and set down roots so deep they will never be pried out. We cannot know in advance which way our own children will be. That is why it is essential that we let them know that either way is okay, as long as it is good for them.

We have to remember that when we raise children in one culture after another, they will be different—and special. At a minimum, we have to accept that as our responsibility, remembering that their lives have been irretrievably altered so that we could pursue the life and career we wanted. Thus it is essential that we take their concerns—particularly their reentry concerns—seriously and handle them with care. □

THE EXPATRIATE CHILD

*Foreign Service kids must accept
being different, and parents
must recognize their children's needs*

JODY FOSTER

THE GENERAL ASSUMPTION is that growing up abroad is a great experience for children. I started to question that assumption after reading my daughter's master's thesis on her overseas rearing. It was a blow. There, in black and white, were a hundred failures of understanding, a hundred instances of overlooking problems.

"One day, at school in fifth grade, in Accra," I read, "I was summoned to the principal's office and informed that I was to leave school and go right home. My grandmother in New York had had a heart attack and we were returning to America. I went home, helped my mother pack my things, and was on a plane to New York that night. I never saw my house again, I never saw my room, I never even said 'goodbye' to my best friend." I remember that day well. Today—with 16 years' hindsight—I realize that I didn't take my daughter home, I took her away from home. Although Foreign Service parents try to create homes abroad, to them home is always stateside. My husband and I had done our work too well, and worse, we had completely failed to recognize our daughter's needs. She was catapulted out of a warm, familiar nest into New York in November. She didn't even own a winter coat and remembers to this day the humiliation of having to wear her grandmother's coat to her first day of school.

Through the course of my daughter's research for her thesis, I learned the universality of the kinds of experience she

had had. She interviewed kids of international business executives, government personnel, employees of philanthropic foundations—the whole gamut of the overseas American. Perhaps the most frequent complaint is that of feeling unprepared. One young woman described returning to college in the States after eight years in India and standing before the dormitory Coke machine without an idea of how to work it. Another young man, an outstanding soccer player in his South American school, recalled his chagrin and embarrassment at not understanding American football. At his state university, if you don't follow football, you are automatically classified "weirdo."

The expatriate child feels unprepared for U.S. life. One student confessed it took him an entire semester to get the hang of the college laundromat. Expatriate kids often find that they are out of it in cultural terms. They mispronounce the names of musical groups or lead singers. They have often missed the milestones, like the *Rocky Horror Picture Show*. And so they go warily, uncomfortable much of the time, feeling they don't quite fit in.

Most painful of all are the misperceptions they encounter about overseas life. The striped-pants and cookie-pushers concepts die hard. Perhaps worst, they frequently meet ridicule or a total lack of interest in what has been, for them, real life. ("Afghanistan? What are you, a wise guy?") So expatriates learn to shut their mouths. They gravitate to foreigners, or other expatriates.

From my daughter's thesis, I learned that returning Americans are becoming so numerous, and their problems so evident, that some organizations now exist solely to prepare corporations' employees for reentry. Books are being written about it. Seminars are being given. But perhaps my daughter's advice is the best, "If you've grown up overseas, you are different. Expect it. Learn to live with it. And then build on it." □



Jody Foster, not to be confused with the actress, was a Foreign Service wife for almost 23 years. She lived overseas from 1962-85 in Athens, Tehran, Kabul, Accra, New Delhi, Amman, Manila, and Durban. Now retired with her husband in New Hampshire, she writes and continues her work in parenting her three adult offspring.

TEN YEARS OF SCHOLARS

*AFSA/AAFSW award winners find
some drawbacks but mostly merit
in their Foreign Service upbringing*

JAMES PROSSER AND SHEILA AUSTRIAN

MOST FOREIGN SERVICE families are convinced that living abroad offers their children worthwhile opportunities for enrichment—at least until they reach high school. Then we begin to ponder the supposed drawbacks: limited academic offerings, lack of extra-curricular activities, difficulty in applying to college, and most serious of all, deprivation of a “normal” adolescence. But if the results of a questionnaire circulated by the AFSA Committee on Education are anything to go by, we have little to worry about.

Since the AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards began in 1976, 223 outstanding Foreign Service dependents have received \$500 scholarships in recognition of their academic and extra-curricular achievements. Almost half of them responded to this survey (last year's winners were not included because the questionnaires were sent out in early summer). Most of the respondents made additional comments about growing up in an overseas environment. Undeniably, these individuals represent an academically elite group, but their comments will surely be of interest to all families planning to be overseas while their children are in school.

The Merit winners have not yet produced a member of the Foreign Service, but many of these young adults do expect to include an international component in their future plans. About 15 are seriously considering the Foreign Service, one is a Peace Corps volunteer in Tanzania, and another five may join the Peace Corps after graduation. More surprising are the 25 others who hope to combine their profession with foreign residence and travel, frequently in occupa-

tions where there is no natural match. Monique Morrissey, now at Swarthmore College, comments that “traveling around made me get itchy feet every two years.... The main reason I would want to be a high school math teacher is because of the mobility it affords.” John Rogers, a Princeton student, says, “I plan to major in physics or electrical engineering and am considering entering the Peace Corps immediately after graduation. Also, because my childhood has promoted my interest in foreign affairs and foreign cultures, I would like to find a career which will involve posts in other countries and extensive travel outside the United States.” Gerry Donohue, a magazine editor and writer who graduated from Allegheny College, admits to suffering from the “job-a-year flu. ... Travel is an oft-used word in my vocabulary. I am enamored of the Foreign Service life and if there were opportunities for writers in this field I would have joined. As it is, I write in the United States and dream of Ireland.”

To date the Merit Award winners include five medical students, 10 in law school, and five military officers. Many of the respondents are still studying, but the employed include an architect, a free-lance writer, a baker, an environmental activist, a fledgling novelist, and several engineers and bankers. Before entering universities, the students ranged from those who had spent their formative years in the States, to those whose knowledge of this country was based on little more than the occasional home leave. About two-thirds of them graduated from domestic high schools, with some of these attending boarding schools while their families were posted abroad. Almost without exception, they are satisfied with their choices for high school education. Very seldom did a student express any regrets about preparation, and a few even thought their decisions had prevented prob-

James Prosser and Sheila Austrian are members of the AFSA Committee on Education. A list of all Merit Award winners, 1976-85, appears on page 44.



Lesley A. Wang (1976): “If one excels in schools abroad, there is a great opportunity to gain admission into the best colleges and universities in the States because the experiences of living abroad add a special dimension to a young person's life that all institutions desire.”



Frank Bennett (1976): “People raised overseas should go explore their own country. Malaysians asked us about the United States and Americans, and I never had seen anything but Washington and California. In my first year with IBM I spent four months in Dallas and then went on to Denver, Miami, Seattle, Boston, and Tucson.”



Paula Smith (1978): “It's great to read Spanish and Latin American literature in the original, and to keep up correspondence in Spanish with friends from Peru, ... but even more important is the global perspective you gain from having lived (no just visited) in Third World countries and behind the Iron Curtain.”

lems or facilitated college acceptance.

Those who spent four years in one school usually (but not always) appreciated the continuity, while those who moved almost every year enjoyed the diversity. Carey Rappaport, now completing his Ph.D. at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is glad that he spent his final two years of high school in the United States, commenting that "applying to college while in the U.S. was also fortunate. Although it is wonderful to live overseas, often the red tape involved in official communication is dealt with better from within the U.S." Nancy Nenno, now at Brown University, agrees that coming back to the United States made things easier, writing that "there were also no hassles upon applying to college, in terms of my requirements, since they had all been taken in one school. It was hard staying in one school for such a long time, but in the long run, I am glad." Kristin Hoganson, a Yale student, describes the advantages of extended stateside education: "I had more scholarship opportunities, a wider course selection, and a large and relatively stable group of friends... Without moving, I was able to become deeply involved in school activities which new students found difficult to enter. I was also able to visit colleges and speak to local college representatives." Christopher Landau, who graduated from Harvard, writes that despite initial homesickness he believes his boarding school offered vital links with his own society, for "as long as some process of coming to feel at home in the United States has taken place, one can truly realize the full potential offered by living abroad, which sharpens the vision of what it means to be an American and provides the raw materials for enhanced cultural and intellectual sophistication."

GRADUATES OF OVERSEAS SCHOOLS were even more enthusiastic about their pre-college education. Although there may have been deficiencies in certain subjects, the personal attention and opportunities for cultural enrichment seemed more important. "I...never thought for one second that my education was any less good than that I would have gotten in the States," says Dan Teven. "In fact, I've seen the emphasis that 'preppies' at Brown placed on the fact that they had been to the 'right' schools, and I just don't understand what all the fuss is about." "The high schools I attended were smaller than most, so I never went to a school with extensive physical facilities (labs, gyms, computers, etc.). [They] compensated for this, however, by hav-

ing exceptional teacher-student contact. The personal attention I got from my teachers overseas made learning more fun than it would have been in a large school," says Richard Jacoby, an Amherst College graduate. Tim Keiter, who graduated from Hamilton College and Harvard Law School, says he couldn't imagine any more useful learning experience than growing up abroad, attending schools which ranged "from the sublime (Athenae Royal d'Ayvalle, in Belgium) to the ridiculous (a Pakistani grade-school in Baida, Libya). Overall, I'd say that foreign primary and secondary schools far outshine their counterparts in the U.S." Leslie Wang, a Williams graduate, thinks U.S. preparatory schools are superior to overseas American schools because there is less student and teacher turnover, but she comments that "if one excels in schools abroad, there is a great opportunity to gain admission into the best colleges and universities in the States because the experiences of living abroad add a special dimension to a young person's life that all institutions desire. Although I found myself ill-prepared to 'ace' my courses at Williams, I doubt I could have [entered] without my Foreign Service-dependent background." Halsey Rogers, a senior at Princeton, had a slow and unhappy introduction to an American school in Mexico where Spanish was the predominant language. "But before long," he writes, "I had discovered both a new circle of friends and an appreciation for Mexico's unique gifts. The experience was a trade-off: the school was academically weaker than the education available in the Fairfax County public school system... On the other hand, I learned a great deal about Mexico: its culture, resources, social stratification, history, and such seemingly unimportant (but satisfying) things as common slang words..."

Several students stressed the "big fish in a little pond" aspect of international schools. Randall Lee reflects that "the opportunity to achieve a lot of recognition in sports and other student activities because of [this] opened a big door to help in admittance to West Point, which is also a big door ready to open for something else." And Anna Lea Florey, now a graduate student at Virginia Polytechnic Institute after receiving a degree from Colorado State, concurs: "I believe my overseas education was a tremendous asset and an advantage.... I received a very high quality of education in American schools overseas, as well as an opportunity to participate in school activities such as sports and student government which I may not have had in stateside schools."

Students were frank about problems, too. Wendy



Stephen Higginson (1979): "Life abroad was a thrill. So much adventure and novelty does gymnastics with a child's imagination. Attending schools abroad forces quick maturity.... Perhaps most important is the exposure to diversity."



Daniel Teven (1980): "The high schools I attended were smaller than most, so I never went to a school with extensive physical facilities (labs, gyms, computers, etc.). [They] compensated for this, however, by having exceptional teacher-student contact."



Christian Coleman (1981): "My advice to college-bound teenagers overseas is to prepare themselves not only for an adjustment to stateside life, but also to separation from their families."

Cohen, a Brown graduate, described the trauma of leaving the close-knit and even snobbishly insulated overseas environment for a large American high school. Overseas, she commented, "We shared the bond of being strangers in a strange land. How difficult, but wonderful, to come back to the U.S. and just be one of the many...looking like everyone else my age, rather than standing out as the foreigner. ...Suddenly, I was not limited to choosing friends just because they were from the U.S. but could look for people with whom I had common interests and common values." Peter Whiting, who graduated from Carleton College and is now a graduate student at Berkeley, comments on the trade-off in the Foreign Service "brat corps," which provides formative and unusual experiences that "can lead to a sense of loneliness, a sense of being an outsider. All in all, however, the worldly opportunities are worth it."

Our often-sheltered overseas lifestyle can present temporary problems when teenagers come back for college. Christian Coleman, a graduate of Newcomb College, says she was not prepared for the acute feelings of separation from her family and familiar support systems. "I had never paid rent or an electric bill (or seen my parents do it either), and found myself separated from [their] advice and support...by a two-week lag in the mail. My advice to college-bound teenagers overseas is to prepare themselves not only to an adjustment to stateside life, but also to this separation from their families." And some Foreign Service assignments pose special difficulties. Maria Williams, who went on to a happy experience at the Hong Kong International School and Stanford, moved to Canton at age 12. She appreciated the unique cultural experience but writes that, "Twelve is a pretty crummy age to leave your brother, friends, and dog; to move to a place with no other American kids; and to embark on the correspondence school 'experience.'" Frank Bennett, a University of Virginia graduate, found growing up overseas extremely beneficial, but ruefully notes, "I can remember being willing to trade it all for a decent junior prom."

MANY RESPONDENTS CONTRIBUTED valuable comments on the difference between merely living abroad (and perhaps trying to duplicate a U.S. educational environment) and really experiencing another country. What comes across most strongly is how curious and resilient our children are. If the remarks of these young individuals are anything to go by, perhaps we should be making greater efforts to expose them to

foreign cultures instead of worrying about what they might be missing in terms of courses and other strictly academic qualifications. Liane Hirabayashi, a Reed College student, criticizes the relative isolation of U.S. communities abroad, "I realize that in several of the countries in which I lived, sentiment toward Americans or foreigners was somewhat hostile, and that a certain amount of barrier-building was necessary for our own 'good.' At the same time, I think there are some negative aspects to being 'official' Americans which prevent us from breaking some of the cultural barriers that already exist between us and the 'locals.' What concerns me is the existence of an attitude among many Foreign Service people which results in 'little Americas' being built." Sheila Moore, a University of Virginia student, says, "So much can be learned from living overseas if only people have the initiative or are forced to take advantage of it. When we lived in the Ivory Coast, I went to a French school, and when we lived in Italy, although I attended an American high school, I made sure I learned Italian and tried to get the most out of living there. I have been told that I missed all sorts of 'Americana'—ranging from music to cartoons to the whole experience of growing up with the same set of friends for 15 years. I don't think I've missed anything that I haven't made up a thousandfold." Chris Landau believes that "being an American in South America heightened my sensitivity to differing personalities and situations and increased my flexibility in adapting to change....My bicultural lifestyle became a source of strength and confidence. The ability to see events from the perspectives of insider and outsider in both societies is invaluable."

The overseas experience can make us more aware of deficiencies in the U.S. education system, as Christopher Lehfeldt, who graduated from Georgetown and is now studying dentistry at the University of Maryland, notes: "I have never taken anything for granted in U.S. society after living overseas. I'm appalled at the lack of knowledge of geography, foreign affairs, politics, and international business that many high school graduates in the U.S. have." Paula Smith, who graduated from Swarthmore and is now a graduate student at Cornell, appreciates the advantages of being bilingual, "It's great to read Spanish and Latin American literature in the original, and to keep up correspondence in Spanish with friends from Peru, ...but even more important is the global perspective you gain from having lived (not just visited) in Third World countries and behind the Iron Curtain. Of course it was always (and still is) difficult to answer the question, Where are you from?...My collection of



Halsey Rogers (1982): "The Mexican school I attended was academically weaker than the education available in the Fairfax County public school system. ...On the other hand, I learned a great deal about Mexico: its culture, resources, social stratification, history, and such seemingly unimportant (but satisfying) things as common slang words."



Sheila Moore (1982): "So much can be learned from living overseas if only people have the initiative or are forced to take advantage of it. I have been told that I missed all sorts of 'Americana'....I don't think I've missed anything that I haven't made up a thousandfold."



Kristin Hoganson (1983): "I was acutely aware of my Foreign Service child status during my freshman year of college....Mom and Dad missed parents weekend. My phone bills almost equaled tuition, and my calls only connected after frustrating half-hour or 50-minute attempts."

short stories for the master's degree in fine arts in creative writing is about characters who feel 'foreign' in various ways." Stephen Higginson, a Harvard graduate now at Yale Law School, remembers that "there were moments overseas when I was lonely for the United States—like Snoopy, behind enemy lines, wondering why he ever left Daisy Hill Puppy Farm. But life abroad was a thrill. So much adventure and novelty does gymnastics with a child's imagination. Attending schools abroad forces quick maturity. ... Perhaps most important is the exposure to diversity. Strict learning may lag, but a far richer education is had from contact with the enormous variety of people, customs, and beliefs. The challenge is whether, from this contact, a diplomat's child develops a generous, tolerant, and principled sense of judgment."

SOME OF OUR award winners made perceptive comments about our own country. Sylvia Smith, who graduated from Carnegie-Mellon, found that early travel actually facilitated a more settled lifestyle, "giving me a lack of roots that leads me to be happy and complacent in a relatively non-cosmopolitan area like Durham, North Carolina. My colleagues who were born and raised [in the area] have expressed a feeling of being 'locked in,' desperately craving to move somewhere but not being psychologically capable. I've moved; I know it *can* be done, so peculiarly I am very happy staying right here." Frank Bennett urges that "people raised overseas should go explore their own country. Malaysians asked us about the United States and Americans, and I never had seen anything but Washington and California. In my first year with IBM I spent four months in Dallas and then went on to Denver, Miami, Seattle, Boston, and Tucson. What an experience! The U.S. could be as different as Southeast Asia and the people who looked like me could be as varied as any I met overseas." Lesley Wang, a Williams graduate, puts it well: "The more I have seen of this world, the more I love the U.S. It's a rare and precious existence we have in America—the opportunities, the wealth, the sheer beauty of our country is something we too easily take for granted. This kind of education doesn't come from books—it comes from being there—and I would encourage every Foreign Service family to reach out and *live* in their host country—embrace its culture and lifestyle, if only to learn how to appreciate American life, but more importantly, to develop that global or cosmopolitan vision of the world."

A strong sense of family also came across in the questionnaire responses. These young people obviously appreciated their parents' involvement in overseas schools and their own opportunities to feel directly concerned with world events. The special nurturing quality of the overseas community is obvious. Paul Hughes Jr., a Princeton senior, writes: "More important, though, in my successful weathering of the occasional storms of Foreign Service life, has been my close and caring family. Always open and loving, my parents and sister have been a tremendous blessing to me in growing up and in living the Foreign Service life." Stephen Higginson notes, "A Foreign Service career compels families to forge close bonds," and David Johnson, a Harvard graduate, says, "My parents are due the credit for ensuring continuity of learning and motivation when frequent changes of schools might have jeopardized these critical aspects of a child's education." Gregory Coxson, a University of Virginia graduate now at graduate school at the University of Wisconsin, writes, "Your parents usually have chosen the Foreign Service, and at least one parent has wanted it badly enough to be tested, trained, and prepared for the job. So naturally you have an experienced adult or pair of adults to open your eyes to what is around you. Next to the parents in importance are the other families on post. What great role models!"

Kristin Hoganson puts it all together beautifully: "I was acutely aware of my Foreign Service child status during my freshman year of college. I had four times as many boxes to unpack as my roommates, because everything I left behind was packed for four years in storage. Mom and Dad missed parents weekend. My phone bills almost equaled tuition, and my calls only connected after frustrating half-hour or 50-minute attempts. I ate Thanksgiving dinner with an aunt and received enrollment notices and other college publications after they had traveled the length of the hemisphere. But, on the other hand, I spent Christmas vacation on a silver series of Uruguayan beaches, and letters from 'home' described political rallies, gauchos, and Marine Guard balls. When I read about Uruguayan elections in the newspaper, I was already familiar with both the candidates and the issues. Even though my separation from home must have been greater than those of most classmates, meeting new people and adapting to new areas was neither new nor traumatic. Now I am concerned for the safety of my parents, and I am aware of the distance between us, but at the same time, I value my knowledge of other cultures, look forward to letters and vacations, and I continue to develop my independence." □

1986 AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award Winners

Robert Hazen Bell
Carolyn M. Brady
Rebecca M. Buchanan
Diana I. Burson
Laura H. Butcher
Teresa A. Duffy
Philip B. Ellis
Susan J. Friedland
Elizabeth S. Graham
Laura V. Harwood
Nancy H. Hearne
David E. Johnson
Eric A. Johnson
Alice M. Jones
Erik G. Linton
Duncan E. Manville
Thomas McLean
Stephen R. Pastorino
James M. Pringle
James D. Rachmales
Rufus J. Smith
Elizabeth R. Wilcox

Honorable Mention

Natalya M. Baldyga
Linda M. Bastiani
Elizabeth S. Canning
Tanya A. Kienzie
Mary A. Kamoi Lee
Valerie M. Levin
William A. Moede
Alexandra S. Penner
Timothy N. Turner
Rebecca C. Winder

(Pictures and biographies of the winners will appear in the September issue.)



Nancy Nenno (1983): "Coming back to the United States for high school made things easier; there were also no hassles upon applying to college, in terms of my requirements, since they had all been taken in one school. It was hard staying in one school for such a long time, but in the long run, I am glad."



Liane Hirabayashi (1983): "I think there are some negative aspects to being 'official' Americans which prevent us from breaking some of the cultural barriers that already exist between us and the 'locals.' What concerns me is the existence of an attitude among many Foreign Service people which results in 'little Americas' being built."



Maria Williams (1984): "Twelve is a pretty crummy age to leave your brother, friends, and dog; to move to a place with no other American kids, and to embark on the correspondence school 'experience.'"

LEADERS & EXPERTS: FITTING INTO THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE

DAVID D. NEWSOM

THE FOREIGN SERVICE now faces problems and questions fundamental to the nature and integrity of a diplomatic corps. The issues that have converged to bring about this period of crisis and self-examination include: personnel policies resulting from the 1980 Foreign Service Act; basic sociological and economic factors affecting assignments overseas; and technological changes creating new procedures and issues. These are all important to the preservation of a professional diplomatic corps, but none more so than another issue that looms large today—the question of the appropriate relationship between the Service and the nation's political structure. Relations between the Foreign Service and its political masters have long affected the morale and effectiveness of the Foreign Service. Suspicion toward the professional diplomat has been endemic in our national life. Moreover, Foreign Service officers have often put forward analyses of international situations that vary from the domestic and ideological premises of the administration's foreign policy. Today this issue has become particularly pronounced, since we are once more in a period of ideological emphasis in policymaking.

John Maresca, in his article "Leaders and Experts" [March], opens up the issue in a challenging way. He argues that the Foreign Service should react by assuming a more public, advocacy role in the policy debate. He believes members of the Service should develop publicly identifiable areas of expertise and individual points of view. This would, in his mind, strengthen their ability to speak effectively to the Congress and the press. Such effectiveness is, of course, to be desired, but Maresca also hints that members of the Service should be speaking to audiences as individuals rather than as part of an official structure.

Maresca suggests in his article that the diplomatic corps needs experts with "a real, in-depth knowledge of a specific subject." He also believes that the Service needs "leaders" with "passion, a confident belief in their ideas, and the ability to bring these ideas to fruition."

These assertions and the argument they have engendered focus on a very basic issue: what is the role of

the Foreign Service? Is it a collection of individual foreign-policy scholars—a sort of floating university within the government? Or is it part of the policymaking element of an administration? Or, is it really a "service" and no more?

Over the years, much of the debate on this subject has been confused and has served to make the issue even cloudier. Many of the highly qualified persons who have joined the Service, especially since the 1960s, have had ambitions to help make policy—and in some cases actually to lead the policymaking process. Their views toward elected officials and those appointed by them have often been ambiguous at best. Leadership in the Foreign Service has come to be associated with a substantial role in guiding policy; the realization that, in most cases, the role of the FSO as that of a subordinate to the politician has been a cause of anguish and frustration. The prevalence of this attitude has complicated relations within the executive and with the Congress.

The confusion is compounded because members of the Service often hold positions, whether as ambassadors or as under secretaries and assistant secretaries, at higher levels than the career personnel of any other executive department. Those in the upper reaches of the State Department walk a thin line between giving professional advice and becoming politically involved. Despite their best efforts to remain non-political, these FSOs may well be held to account by future administrations, who judge them as involved simply because they served in such high positions. The individuals who have continued working for more than one administration at this level have been able to do so precisely because they avoided creating individual points of view that varied with the administration of the moment. Call it "lack of leadership" or "timidity"; I call it an essential element for a professional career Service.

In my view, the Foreign Service should be seen as a cadre of experts in various aspects of foreign policy whose mission is to serve the executive branch and, primarily, the secretary of state. Call it a staff function. In the view of the broader foreign policy community, including those who follow international issues in the Congress and the press, the Service is identified with the secretary. In theory, of course, the Service works for the president, but in the delicate balance of relationships at the higher echelons of the executive, what the Foreign Service does is seen as a reflection of the position, the attitudes, the strengths,

David Newsom is a retired Foreign Service officer who served as under secretary for political affairs and as ambassador to Libya, Indonesia, and the Philippines. He is now director of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University.

and the wisdom of a particular secretary. Traditionally—although not always—the secretary has been not only the principal user of the Foreign Service, but its strongest defender. Even when secretaries voiced doubts about the Service as a whole, they increasingly came to respect and rely on its individual members.

IF THE MISSION of the Service is primarily to serve the secretary of state, what do secretaries want from the members? They want loyalty. Creating and conducting foreign policy is difficult enough in the complex arena of the U.S. government; secretaries do not need nor want those who, for either reasons of personal ambition or ideological differences, act on their own.

To be sure, secretaries want knowledgeable experts who can predict, assess, and interpret events abroad from both the field and Washington. One of the principal challenges facing the U.S. diplomat is to explain the realities of a world outside that is often incomprehensible and unacceptable to a large part of the domestic political realm. Whether or not they will always agree with the professional assessment, high officials of the government do not wish to be surprised by events. Furthermore, when they meet with their foreign counterparts, they want to be prepared for the personalities and issues they will face. Thus the reporting function that the Service has performed for many years remains significant.

Beyond this, secretaries of state want problem solvers. They want those who, within the broad outlines of the nation's defined interests and the administration's premises and policies, can be effective in dealing with crises, in resolving conflicts, and in proposing long-range solutions to chronic issues.

The making and implementation of foreign policy in the United States is a process of constantly adjusting political, bureaucratic, and economic interests. Secretaries of state want those who can effectively represent the department in this process; they must be skilled in the art of presenting and defending the secretary's assessments and views in the corridors of national power.

Finally, secretaries of state want FSOs who are experienced and sophisticated in communicating with foreign governments. In the politically oriented ambassadorial appointments process, secretaries may not always be able to place the best communicators abroad, but they will often fight hard to do just that in the countries they consider most critical; in this battle they will, more often than not, champion those in the Foreign Service.

A stronger assertion by FSOs of their personal views in their relationships with Congress and the publics abroad would seem to run counter to the only possible role for the Service in our government, that of an unbiased but expert adviser. It would threaten, rather than enhance, the Service's broad acceptance as a professional arm of the policy community. Its members should develop—and be helped to develop—expertise. Public statements by those in official positions, however, cannot be detached from policy. Individual expressions by senior subordinates that seem to be at variance with policy can undercut the effective-

ness of the secretary and will be seen as such by a press and a Congress always alert to nuances of division within an administration. The Service is not a university in which points of view can be established and publicly expressed independent of the views of the government. Its members can certainly improve their capacity to promote and defend policies at home and abroad, but the policies they must argue for are those of the administration, not those of an individual.

Mr. Maresca's article appears to suggest that those who advance in the Service are the "safe, well-rounded ones, who have stayed out of trouble and can write mellifluous reports." If this is intended to suggest that successful officers lack ideas or initiative, that has not been my experience as a member of the committees that choose senior officials to serve secretaries of state. Those from the political realm are looking for those who will have the ideas and courage to challenge the conventional wisdom within the walls of the department, the talent to manage the process, the ability to write and speak succinctly and cogently, and an understanding of the political environment in which the secretary and the president must operate. Such persons are not easy to find, but they do exist. In administration after administration, secretaries of state have gradually turned away from the political appointees placed in key positions and come to rely more on the Foreign Service people who have earned their trust as discreet and knowledgeable advisers.

However the Service is structured, the system should work to promote those who combine demonstrated discipline with initiative and courage. If the Service can do this, secretaries of state will continue to turn to its ranks for the most critical tasks and will continue to defend its mission and its capacities to doubters in the White House and elsewhere. A demonstrated capacity to speak effectively to publics and the Congress will be welcomed, but only if such expressions can be accomplished without detriment to official policies. A more public identity for the Foreign Service officer should not necessarily be avoided, but it must be developed within the traditional Service role, not as an alternative. □

*Secretaries of state want loyalty
from the Foreign Service;
they do not need nor want
those who, for either reasons
of personal ambition or ideological
differences, act on their own*

THE UNIVERSALIST MYTH

*Assistance agencies look for one strategy
that will succeed everywhere, but the Korean case
demonstrates the futility of that search*

DAVID I. STEINBERG

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE is plagued by a myth that masks—sometimes even perverts—the lessons that can be learned from the operation of aid programs. That myth is universality: the concept that the situation in one developing country can be extrapolated to others. Universality affects both the process of analyzing a country's condition and the resultant recommendations. But as the U.S. experience with South Korea demonstrates, the elements that enable a country to develop successfully are usually unique.

Faith in universality is widespread in the development community. Indeed, an international folklore of development is being created as donors, recipients, and observers search for simple formulas of success. Quick fixes and instant solutions are sought and sometimes proclaimed. These may range from the panacea of state ownership, the efficiency of the private sector, the validity of technology, the unquestioned value of training, and the importance of heavy industry, to the desirability of import substitution and export promotion. Likewise, when countries stagnate or decay, observers are quick to provide explanations based on earlier experiences: that money was lacking or overabundant, that policy or planning was inadequate or inappropriate, that support was given to the wrong political, social, or economic groups.

Neither the political left nor right is immune from this universalist creed. The left accuses the multilateral assistance agencies of carrying out an international capitalist conspiracy, while the right criticizes the same organizations for placing insufficient emphasis on the private sector. When support is bilateral, the liberals may focus on dubious security interests, while the conservatives want to reward political friends.

The universalist myth has several roots. In part it results from the popularity of scientific methods of inquiry within the development community. Unfortunately, these methodologies are too often applied to amorphous social issues for which they are unsuited. Technical evaluations and quantifiable results have little validity when attempting, for example, to de-

termine the various human motivations behind economic production. But it also is due to the quite natural desire to find one solution that will work under a variety of circumstances. Such a solution would be academically rewarding to the theorists and administratively attractive to the practitioners. Administering aid programs, is much easier if one assumes a universal—not particularistic—response to development is appropriate. It allows AID to have a single worldwide personnel system, single contracting and procurement criteria, and a single set of policies.

AID has followed the State Department's worldwide personnel pattern, which may be questionable in itself but is especially disturbing in the context of development assistance. It may be argued that the design of steel mills or fertilizer plants is universal, and that those who design or manage such activities may operate worldwide. The evidence, however, suggests that dealing with the poor and understanding their problems—let alone acquiring the ability to intervene successfully—is best done on a case-by-case basis, since each country is likely to be culturally, socially, economically, and politically distinct. Admittedly, any bureaucratic system designed to implement each program as effectively as possible would be exceedingly complex to administer, perhaps requiring a different set of managers and distinct operating precepts.

But even if a genuinely particularistic administrative system is not possible, development agencies and professionals must overcome the trap of universality. They must continually question whether the latest policy does have genuine, universal applications or whether it is merely a fad, based on the experience of the most recent significant success. All too often, the development community identifies a country (or group of countries) that has grown at a faster-than-average rate as a potential model. If only these countries could be cloned or emulated, it is believed, our development dilemmas would be resolved.

The focus of the preachers of development universality has recently centered on the East Asian "Gang of Four"—South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore. Adulation is most often concentrated on South Korea, for the other three have striking problems as models: Hong Kong is a colony, Singapore a city state, and Taiwan regarded by both Taipei and Beijing as the province of a larger national entity.

Perhaps no other country has inspired more devel-

An international folklore of development is being created as donors, recipients, and observers search for simple formulas of success

David I. Steinberg is president of the Mansfield Center for Pacific Affairs. This article is based on research sponsored by the AID Center for Development Information and Evaluation. The views expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily represent those of AID or the Department of State.



opment mythology—much of it inaccurate—than Korea, yet, ironically, no other developing nation has had its rate of economic growth studied so extensively. As Korea has grown, so have analyses of its economic change. Articles on the Korean economy appear at a seemingly inexorable, almost geometric, rate, and there are more doctoral dissertations on the Korean economy than on any other aspect of that nation.

THE PHENOMENON OF Korean growth is no myth, however much it may spark them. The increase in per capita income from \$57 to \$2000 since the Korean war is without parallel, and the rise in exports from \$50 million to \$23 billion in 25 years is phenomenal. Since 1961, there have been significant improvements in real income, nutritional levels, housing, clothing, and access to education. This success has been used by the donors (principally the United States) to demonstrate the effectiveness of their bilateral programs, and by the international community to show that assistance can work—a valuable lesson at a time when enthusiasm for foreign aid is at an ebb. South Korean officials have naturally touted their accomplishments. Economic growth has given the South the edge over the North, and at the same time it has provided political legitimacy for its leaders.

The development community is justified in studying and praising the Korean experience so thoroughly, but we should be cautious about automatically applying this example to other countries. Some elements of Korea's political development should not be emulated, but even if the discussion is related solely to economic matters, we must remember that what succeeded in Korea is unlikely to have the same effect elsewhere, even if it could be duplicated exactly.

Nevertheless, development theorists have followed their ideological proclivities, arguing that strong centralized governmental control, or the right economic policies, or the Confucian culture, or some other characteristic of Korean society is the primary cause of that country's economic expansion. But, in fact, Korea's success results from a complex combination of factors that defies pat theoretical molds. There is not only the Confucian ethic itself, but also ethnic and cultural homogeneity, education, the concept of a meritocratic state, and land reform. To these must be added the more specifically Korean characteristics of the search for political legitimacy and competition with the North.

The most distinctive feature of Korea is the ethnic unity and cultural homogeneity of the populace. Korea is the only developing country in Asia, and perhaps one of the few in the world, that has no significant minority group. Korea has not had to cope with problems such as those of the overseas Chinese in Indonesia, the Tamils in Sri Lanka, or the myriad minorities of Burma. Korea even lacks the Eta of Japan. Development has not been hindered by nationalistic jealousies, by a need to balance economic and political power among several rival ethnic groups, or by the creation of marginal groups that serve as ethnic underclasses or castes. Difficulties over minority lan-

guages have not been present to slow economic mobilization or limit access to education. Some regional differences have surfaced in the political process, most notably in the Kwangju riots and massacre of 1980, but, in comparative terms, these differences have been modest.

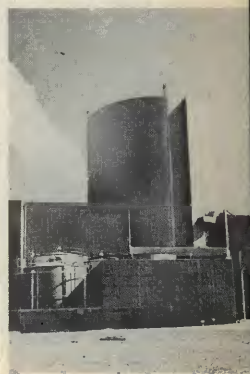
Some observers argue that Korea has prospered because of certain social qualities, chief among them the Confucian ethic. Yet, official and unofficial analyses written in the 1950s portrayed Korea as a basket case, an unfillable leaky trough into which foreign assistance was—seemingly unendlessly—poured with less than obvious and desirable results. This well-documented fact effectively counters the myth of a Confucian ethic as the sole factor in Korean growth, although it undeniably did give the country distinct advantages in its developmental endeavors, supplying an unexpectedly strong underpinning on which to build.

Only 30 years ago, the Confucian heritage was regarded in western academic circles as a deterrent to economic progress. Not only was it believed to support the political status quo, it also seemed to downgrade the status of trade and commerce, along with that of the entrepreneur. Many scholars—from both East and West—considered the overthrow of such hierarchical attitudes a prerequisite for economic progress.

Nevertheless, modern governments have embraced Confucianism whenever they considered it sympathetic to their interests. Thus, in China during the 1930s, Chiang Kai-shek founded the short-lived New Life Movement, which advocated a return to classical Confucian teachings. More recently, Lee Kwan-yew is currently reintroducing the teachings of Confucius into the Singapore school system. In Korea during the 1970s, President Park Chung Hee stressed Confucian educational values and revived the concept of loyalty to the state with the New Heart Movement. But the primary benefit that the Confucian tradition brought Korea was that, although it is sometimes simplistically characterized as pragmatic and this-worldly, it nevertheless effectively prevented the development of powerful, conservative religious groups that might have retarded developmental innovation. Enshrined as official state dogma in the early stages of the Yi Dynasty in the late 14th century, Confucianism, at least in its present incarnation, seems to have encouraged the development of a sense of personal effectiveness that is a hallmark of modernity and development. It also brought with it two other critical elements in the developmental process: an emphasis on education and the concept of the meritocratic state.

Korean education was not known as an ivory tower, but rather a "cow-bone tower," a system built on the sacrifices by Korean farmers of their cattle to pay for the education of the children. Carried to a remarkable and unrealistic extreme, the public demand for education in Korea exceeds all other familial priorities and is pursued with a vigor also demonstrated by the success of Korean students in the United States. This drive, pent up under the Japanese colonial occupation, exploded on liberation and continues to thrive. Korea created a highly literate labor force even before

It may be argued that the design of steel mills or fertilizer plants is universal, but dealing with the poor is best done case by case



Korea had
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foreign debt,
and it entered
the world
market at a
time conducive
to the
expansion of
exports

the post-war demand for educated workers in industry existed.

Confucian society also invented the meritocratic bureaucracy, based on the concept of advancement through an examination system that rewarded competence as defined by the culture. Although often breached in practice and traditionally restricted in Korea to the gentry, it did provide a favorable milieu in which the drama of development could be played. Although patron-client systems exist, as they do in the U.S. Foreign Service, the deeply entrenched system does allow entry to the power structure on merit and pushes forward the best and the brightest—or the proper faction—to powerful heights. Many other post-colonial societies, whose peoples were denied entry into administration and lacked such a tradition, have found establishing an effective bureaucracy extremely difficult.

Land reform was also a significant factor in Korea's development success, although it contributed more to equity than to growth. Sponsored by the Americans, who based it on their experience as an occupying power in Japan, the land reform has given Korea, a nation of small land-owners (although tenancy once again is expanding), a relatively favorable income distribution. It is significant that those non-communist nations in Asia with the best income distribution—Japan, Taiwan, Korea, and Burma—have all experienced extensive land reform.

To this catalogue of economic factors encouraging development must be added two political ones: the competition with North Korea, and political legitimacy. As Dr. Johnson is said to have remarked, "Depend upon it, sir, when a man knows he is to be hanged in a fortnight it concentrates his mind wonderfully." South Korea under Park Chung Hee and after has been encouraged to pursue economic growth by the perceived threat from North Korea, which in the 1950s had expanded faster than the South was able to.

When Park Chung Hee came to power through a military coup in 1961, the first successful such coup in Korea since 1392, he had none of the traditional prerequisites for leadership and so had to earn his political legitimacy by leading Korea toward economic success. He was not known as a patriot (he had been an officer in the Japanese army), had been involved in the Yousu-Sunch'on communist uprising in 1948, and was suspect to the Korean right and to the United States, which supported the democratically elected government he overthrew. He was from a non-gentry family in a strongly hierarchical society and was a military man, an occupation then discouraged by the elite. In contrast to Syngman Rhee, the first president of the Republic of Korea, whose legitimacy rested on his long anti-colonial struggle, Park had to create his own legitimacy by succeeding in economic development. The current president, Chun Du-whan, started from a higher economic base and has the onus of the Kwangju insurrection to overcome, so his search for legitimacy will be more formidable.

Korea also succeeded because of the favorable circumstances that existed when it started its development drive. It had virtually no foreign debt, since the United States had provided support through grants.

Moreover, it entered the world market at a time when the international economic climate was conducive to the expansion of exports. It profited from its geographic proximity to Japan after normalizing diplomatic relations with its former colonial master in 1965 and turning the new relationship into a major investment and trade opportunity. And, it used the Vietnam war as a means to garner foreign exchange and train its construction industry.

THUS, THE UNIQUE milieu in which Korea is attempting to develop its economy transcends the attributes it shares with its "Gang of Four" colleagues. Yet the lure of universalism remains. Observers are all too willing to take one factor that contributes to Korean development and elevate it to the status of fundamental principle, suggesting that, if it could be duplicated in other countries, success would be assured. Donors find such universal prescriptions especially attractive, as they make it easier to decide which programs and projects should be funded and to assess the likelihood of success. Unfortunately, these generalizations are usually no more than myths; even if they were the necessary and sufficient condition for Korean development, and they could be duplicated elsewhere, their success in a different context is far from assured. Usually they are the result of serious and genuine attempts to determine the crucial factors in development, but sometimes they are little more than expressions of ideological or bureaucratic preferences.

One of the most popular myths currently being spread about Korean growth stems from an ideological preference for the private sector. Korea is often cited as an example of the private sector's efficacy in the development process. Yet a review of the real situation in the Korean economy demonstrates that the government has been able to control the private sector to a degree that would be tolerated in few capitalistic societies. The government exercises that control by manipulating virtually all institutional credit for businesses and rural development, setting export and import quotas, encouraging monopolistic practices in certain industries and competition in others, and maintaining the ability to hire and fire the leadership of critical private companies. If we are to use the term private sector in the United States, some new term should be coined to describe this very different Korean scene. Just as Confucius called for the "rectification of names," so should we heed that advice in the context of Korea. Moreover, the large public sector in Korea is efficient and well-run, indicating that even the common generalization that such developing-country bureaucracies are by nature inefficient is open to considerable question.

The most prevalent of donor myths is that of "leverage"—if enough money is applied, the donor should be able to convince the recipient government to overcome its inertia, changing policies and improving projects according to the donor's criteria for success. The political overtones of "leverage" are apparent, since it rests on the premise that effective change can be bought. Inherent in the process is an element of donor arrogance about the correctness of its policies



and the power of the purse—attitudes that are often shared by the multilateral organizations, but not by all recipients.

The Korean case demonstrates the simplistic nature of the leverage myth. After the war, when the government of South Korea was utterly dependent on the United States for its survival and the feeding of its population, the United States found that it had little influence on critical development policy issues. For a number of years, the foreign aid establishment was unable to convince the Syngman Rhee government to rationalize its exchange-rate policies, improve its public or private administration, or reform its urban and rural sector policies.

UPON EXAMINATION, the reasons for this discrepancy become clear: when U.S. interests are sufficiently important to warrant large amounts of foreign aid, the relationship is usually considered too important to risk over a disagreement about development policy. Often, over-reaching security relationships and political needs are the final determinant in U.S. policy. Moreover, the relationship is usually diverse, with constituencies in State, AID, Defense, Agriculture, Commerce, and perhaps others. Getting all of these bureaucracies to cooperate in using their leverage to secure a change in recipient policy would be a formidable task, especially since any perceptive foreign leadership can play one U.S. bureaucracy off against another. Thus, exchange-rate reforms became impossible to implement for years, decentralization of power in any field difficult to accomplish; all are held hostage to security interests. Similar situations existed in Vietnam at the height of the U.S. effort, perhaps exist in Egypt today, and certainly do in Israel.

A more accurate assessment might be that foreign assistance of any amount from any source (with the exception of nations on the verge of default) will not cause a regime to give up some of its political or administrative power. But technical assistance will allow a nation to pursue more effectively those policies it has already determined will serve its interests.

In the context of extreme donor-recipient dependencies, a policy dialogue between governments (such as AID advocates) is almost a contradiction in terms. Dialogue between individuals, however, is possible, and one of the purported, although unquantifiable, successes over prolonged periods has been the discussion that takes place between members of an AID mission and the responsible officials and intellectuals within a recipient society.

In the Korean case, policy reform took place when it was no longer perceived as the scheme of another government, but as a proposal emanating from within the bureaucracy in Seoul. Under these conditions, progressive officials were able to use strictures imposed by a World Bank structural-adjustment loan to prevail over rival bureaucrats and eventually implement some reforms.

Korea's economic success also brings into question one of the primary tenets of AID's universalist devel-

opment philosophy: that agricultural productivity should be expanded for both growth and equity considerations. AID works on the explicit assumption that agriculture is the first priority, and surpluses from that sector will help fuel overall economic growth.

Korea, however, represents the opposite situation. There, the export drive emphasized urban growth and light industry (heavy industry came later), while the rural sector was allowed to vegetate. The United States, through a massive PL-480 "Food for Peace" program, enabled the Syngman Rhee and Park Chung Hee governments to ignore the rural sector. As a result, the peasantry suffered real economic hardship and became a source of surplus industrial labor. The Korean government only began to deal comprehensively with rural growth when it became a political necessity. In 1971, Kim Dae-chung almost upset Park in a very close election, forcing Park into an intense program of rural control and subsidization. The government also created the Saemaul (New Village) Movement, probably the most comprehensive attempt at rural mobilization in the non-communist world. The extensive subsidization of the rural infrastructure and rice prices (in opposition to U.S. market-oriented development strategies), along with the initial focus on industry, call into question the universal applicability of present U.S. development policies.

Korea also illustrates that the previous American preoccupation with citizen participation and the present emphasis on decentralization may not be universally suitable. After the 1961 military coup, Park proceeded to centralize all functions of that government. He eliminated elected local government (even today local officials are appointed), centralized decision-making in Seoul, and turned an amorphous administration into an effective instrument that allowed the central government to reach down to the village level. There is no question that the integration of local government, rural credit, agricultural extension, and the Saemaul Movement have created an effective top-to-bottom administrative mechanism, one that other governments might well envy but would have difficulty copying. Of course, Seoul's ability to push through decisions to all levels worked as well for wrong decisions as for correct ones. The failure of the 1980 rice crop, for example, was the result of the successful spreading of new technology—in this case, seeds—that happened to be inappropriate to the particular situation.

The myths of foreign assistance—and above all the belief that these myths have universal applications—interfere with AID's effectiveness and the achievement of U.S. economic and foreign policy objectives. These failings do not, however, destroy the inherent usefulness of foreign aid as an appropriate development, foreign policy, or humanitarian mechanism. These failings can be overcome, although the ideal of AID programs specifically designed for each individual recipient—and based on specific, not general, assumptions—may never be reached. Nevertheless, an attempt in that direction should be made. And it is the donor, by virtue of its position as the source of funds, that has the responsibility to lead the way. □

Land reform was a significant factor in Korea's development success, although it contributed more to equity than to growth



Retirement Day

SIT OVER HERE in the easy chair. It has a few broken springs, but it's the only comfortable one in the office. I don't have many visitors. I'll pour you a small brandy against the cold while I put a few things in this suitcase. It will only take a few minutes.

Yesterday was officially my last day in the office. It's hard to believe that retirement day has finally caught up with me. Where did all of those years go? Like water through a sieve. I came in this morning only to clean out my desk, pack a few things, and say a final goodbye to the local staff with whom I've worked so well for the past year. I hate saying goodbyes, even though they are a large part of life in the Foreign Service. "Comes with the territory," they say, but I never got used to it, especially with the local staff. With fellow American employees it was different. There was always a chance that you would run into them in Washington or at some other post. With the locals, you realize that you will probably never see any of them again.

Cards have been sent to all of my diplomatic colleagues, as required by protocol. My bills have been paid, the apartment closed, and Pipi, the cat, given to a neighbor who promised not to have him castrated. The going-away parties are all finished. There's been one every night for the past week, but the one at the ambassador's last night was a real killer. I'm still not feeling too steady. Here, have a look at this. It's a silver cigar box with my initials on the lid (I don't smoke). It was given to me last night by the ambassador, and this silver tea pot (I don't drink tea) with my initials on the side is from the local staff. The ambassador made a very nice little speech, even said—without much conviction—that he envied me and promised to visit me and my wife sometime at our retirement home in Florida.

See that photo there on the desk—the one in the silver frame? That's Margaret.

*A diplomatic
career ends
amidst pictures
from the past*

FRED GODSEY

It was taken in Barranquille, Colombia, my first post as a young vice consul. She was 25 and, as you will note, very pretty. I was 26, and we had just been married. We were both fresh out of the university and very much in love. Seems only yesterday.

Margaret didn't come with me to this post. I had only one more year to serve before retirement, so she remained in Gainesville to supervise some repairs to the small house we bought there several years ago. Here, this is a picture of the house. That's Margaret standing in the garden. I planted all of those flowers myself. See the little water fountain there? I built it with my own hands. We decided to retire there to be near our son, Tony, who is now a professor at the University of Florida. Over the years I finally managed to save enough to pay off the mortgage and build up a nice little bank account. Margaret and I reckoned that we would both still be relatively young when I retired, and that I would be able to get a teaching job at the university, and she would open a small shop of some sort.

This picture here—in the wooden frame—is of our son. It was taken when he was five years old. He was born in Vienna, and we almost lost him a couple of times. The first was at his birth, shortly after World War II. The baby got an infection at the hospital and almost died. I managed to get the hospital some penicillin—which was in short supply—and

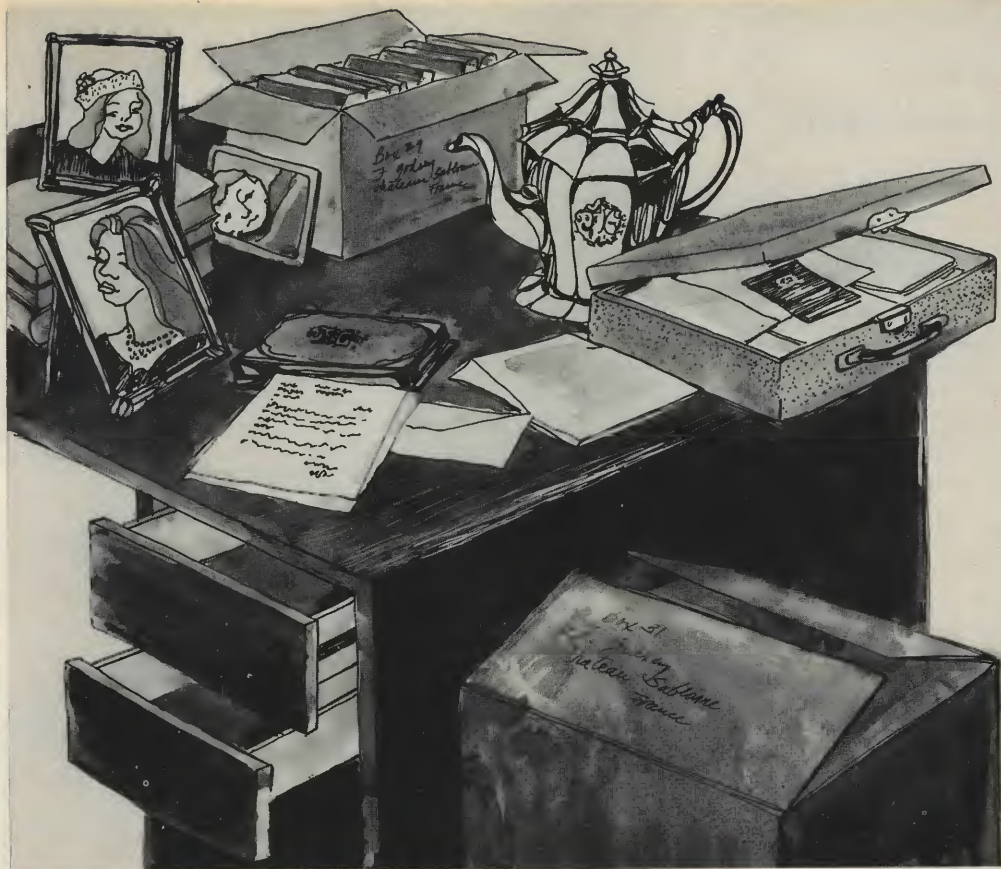
his life was saved.

Another time, in Jakarta, Tony came down with some kind of fever. There was only one western-trained doctor on the island of Java at the time—an Italian—and he was sick and unable to help us. We called in a local Chinese herb doctor, and prayed. It took a month, but Tony recovered.

Shortly after the boy's recovery from this illness, I noticed a subtle change in Margaret. It was nothing that I could define exactly, but it was as if she had lost all interest in her surroundings and current events. She even began to neglect the boy, leaving his care almost entirely to an Indonesian nurse, and once suggested that things might be better if we resigned from the Service and returned to the States. She also began to drink heavily.

The transfer to London came just at the right time and was apparently good for Margaret. She stopped the heavy drinking, took a greater interest in the boy, joined a club, and seemed happy in the English-speaking environment. But just when I thought things were returning to normal, I learned she was having an affair with an employee of the French embassy. Most everyone in the diplomatic community knew about it, and I now know that it hindered my career. To stop the affair, I arranged for Margaret and Tony to return to her mother in North Carolina for an extended visit.

After London came more of the "less attractive" posts, where my family rejoined me. Sometimes living conditions for us were harsh—and even dangerous—but Margaret busied herself with Tony's education and local charity organizations, and we lived a more or less normal life. Oh, there were other little affairs that Margaret thought she kept hidden, but the diplomatic colony is usually abreast of such things: the tennis instructor in Singapore; the U.N. scientist and the Australian businessman in Rangoon; and the horse trainer in Mexi-



MAGDA FRENCH

co City. For Tony's sake I did everything I could to keep our marriage intact, and hoped that Margaret would finally come to her senses.

We grew older, and along with my promotions came better posts in Europe. Tony went to a boarding school in Massachusetts and later the University of Pennsylvania, where he earned a degree. He spent the summers with us in Europe and the holidays with his grandparents in North Carolina. There were no more open scandals involving Margaret, and I began to look forward to a happy retirement with her in Florida—until six months ago.

THE FIRST DISQUIETING LETTER I received was from the vice president of our bank in Gainesville. The bank was supposed to send all canceled checks to Margaret at our retirement address, but since

the vice president is my old friend and a former classmate, he took the liberty of mailing a stack of canceled checks, along with a very informative letter, to me here. The letter said our joint savings account had been changed by Margaret to a checking account, which was dangerously low. The canceled checks were even more ominous. Most of them were for cash—in large amounts—and others were made out to plush hotels in New York, Miami, Palm Springs, and San Francisco. There were still more made out to various airlines.

But it was the second letter, from an old friend and retired Foreign Service officer living in Miami, that put the icing on the cake. He reported having seen Margaret with "a very handsome man who looked like a gigolo" at various times in several Miami night clubs.

And then there's this letter. It came last week from my lawyer. He says that he now has all of the necessary evidence

constituting grounds for divorce, and that he will file my petition next week. I'm giving Margaret the house in Gainesville and, of course, she'll also get a part of my Foreign Service pension.

What about me? Well, as you can see, I'm packing my bags now. They will be shipped to me at the Chateau Sablonne in a small village near Paris. The Countess de Sablonne is waiting for me outside in the Rolls. We will drive from here to the Riviera and spend the rest of the winter in her villa in the hills above Cannes. As soon as my divorce is final, we will be married there, then return to the chateau for the summer, where I will busy myself learning viticulture and other aspects of the wine business. Incidentally, that's a photo of the countess there—the one with the gold frame. □

Fred Godsey, a regular contributor to the JOURNAL, is a retired Foreign Service officer.

PEOPLE

Scholarships

To honor the 10th anniversary of the AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award college scholarship program, the AFSA Committee on Education surveyed all but the last class of winners to see how they have fared. An article based on that survey appears on page 28. Below is a list of all the Merit Award winners. Asterisks indicate those who responded to the survey.

1976

Frank C. Bennett III*
Henry E. Bovis Jr.
Thomas J. Cizauskas
Gregory E. Coxson*
Elizabeth M. Dwyre*
Nancy C. Eiselt
Rosemary Fei*
Debra Ann Hughes
Rachel W. Jourdin
Stephen W. Milton*
Marie R. Moore
Elizabeth Morefield*
Carey Rappaport*
Marlene J. Sakaue
Alfred K. Schlomann
Dwight W. Sipprelle
Sylvana V. Smith*
Siobhan M. Sullivan
David R. Turner
Lesley A. Wang*

1977

Paul A. Baker
Michael C. Brower
Thomas L. Cheney*
Harry A. Cooper
Gerard A. Donohue Jr.*
Matthew J. Engelhart*
Karen L. Ericksen*
Linda P. Esposito*
David L. Felsenthal*
Moiria C. Holly
Marc D. Johnson*
Christina I. Jones
Timothy S. Keiter*
Corinne Mull
James M. Piret
Steven J. Sartorius

Mark S. Sherwin
Stuart K. Stephens
Douglas J. Werner
Leo J. Whelan

1978

Teresa Bastiani
Wendy Nea Cohen*
David B. Glazer*
Laurie Grant
Richard A. Jacoby*
Susan Janicki*
David C. Johnson*
Daniel E. Leader
Anne Nicolle Lyon*
Douglas James McMahon*
David W. Murto
Andrew Cooke Nelson*
Michael A. Olson
William Frederick Polik*
Katherine Lela Quainton
Matthew Dinsdale Smith III
Paula Vene Smith*
Kathryn Noel Toussaint
Nina Weinberg
Peter Whiting*

1979

Bruce A. Aylward*
Gregory R. Andrews*
Evelyn T. Cohen*
Christine Marie Courtney
Scott Dolgoff
Claire P. Engelhart*
Marc Ericksen
Karen Marie Flaten
Anna Lea Florey*
Susan A. Fritts
Laura Gaudian*
Brian Heaney
Kenneth F. Hewes-Manapol*
Stephen Higginson*
Natalie Hulen
Elizabeth Kiss*
Randall H. Lee*
Christopher W. Lehfeldd*
Laura Montgomery
Becky J. Segall
Susan C. Sigda

1980

Daniel F. Birn
Dean F. Bland*
David G. Brown
Carol Ann Cizauskas
Juliet A. Davison
Tatyana J. Day
Sheila Dols*
David B. Edwards
Karen Cecile Eisner
James F. Elfers*
Kenneth C. Harris*

Lisa Anne Jackson
Timothy James McCarron
Christine McHale
Michael H. Meresman
Paul D. Ozzello
Wendell A. Piez
Caitlin J. Porter
Anne Sprightley Ryan
Lester Paul Slezak Jr.*
Marc W. Taubenfeld*
Daniel J. Teven*
Ann M. Weber*
Michael David Whiting*
Pamela Wilkinson

1981

Michael J. Abramowitz
Ruth Ellen Baker
Dina Patricia Barbis
Joan Charlotte Becker*
Cynthia Samar Carr*
Marc Andrew Cohen*
Tamara Lee Cohen
Carol Christian Coleman*
Landreth M. John Harrison
David Norbert Kockler*
Christopher Thomas Landau*
Leonard Lattanzi*
Sheri G. Lyman
Joan Midthun*
Kathleen K. Olson
Scott Mills Sipprelle*
Marie J. Sullivan
Bruce Jon Swenson*
Elizabeth Baker Teare*
Margo True
Katherine Elizabeth Watkins*
John Sisk Willems*

1982

Anne Birn*
Karen Bofinger
Christopher P. Bolster
Louise Brown
Susan Lee Duncan*
Sonia E. Flaten
Robin Lynn Fritts*
David R. Heatley
Paul R. Hughes Jr.*
Gretchen Lamb
Richard James Lyne
Sheila Moore*
Steven Morefield
Michelle Jacqueline Nadeau*
Brian King Nelson
Catherine Alison Piez*
Jerome David Sayre*
Frederic Halsey Rogers*
Christopher Douglas Rowell
Andrew G. Russell
Jennifer Leigh Smith*
Jonathan E. Tarrant

1983

Peter L. Barry
Gillian Burlingham*
Anthony A. Diggle*
Diana L. Edensword*
Catherine J. Edwards
Ralph W. Falzone*
Jeffrey D. Giese
Michael J. Goff
Kristin Hoganson*
Liane Hirabayashi*
Stephen F. Howland
Michael A. Jones*
Trevor Kienzle
Mark Kockler*
Jana S. Lee
Anne Lorimer
Jeffrey S. Moeller
Nancy P. Nanno*
James W. O'Brien*
Catherine S. Teare
Hilary A. Wilkinson*
Thomas E. Williams Jr.

1984

Douglas Chang*
Robert S. Chase
Michael C. Friedman*
Susanne A. Hauger*
Maria M. Isaacs
Darrell Martin Kienzle
Jonathan D. Kulick*
Liesl C. Leach
Indra A. Levy*
Kimberly Linton
John F. Moran
Monique M. Morrissey*
Claudia G. Nanno*
Donald J. Planty Jr.*
John H. Rogers*
Julia Lundy Rogers*
Michael Rubenstein
Amy C. Russell*
Mary A. Sarros
Michael Schwartz
Stratton C. Strand

Alzada J. Tipton
Sarah Lindsay Turrentine*
Maria C. Williams*
Alex Bong Wright*

1985

Mitchell Grarwick Baker
Alison Louise Becker
Matthew Tobias Diamond
Thomas Victor Diamond
Claudia Anne Edwards
Charles William Henebry Jr.
Edward Tai Hoganson
Charles Evan Iceland
Sharman Ellen Jacoby
Lisa Fox Langhaug
James Walter LeBlanc
Maria Consuelo Maisto
Christopher David Marin
Thomas Samuel Rackmales
Nina Valerie Ragone
Benjamin Francis Raley
Stephanie Elizabeth Schollaert
Peter DuBois Seymour
David Foster Stearns
Deborah Ida Sutter
Claudia Maria Taylor
Mark Conrad Thormann
Johnna Boulds Tipton
Bertina von den Steinen
Sarah Manth Winder

Deaths

MARY DIRNBERGER SUNDBECK (formerly Mack) died January 14 at her home in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. She was 79 years old.

Ms. Sundbeck was graduated from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. She worked for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, the Office of Price Administration, and the Department of Agriculture before joining the State Department in 1948. She served as an information and editorial specialist with the Office of Public Affairs and

with the UNESCO relations staff before being integrated into the Foreign Service in 1955. She served in Rome until 1962 and retired in 1963.

Survivors include her son, Charles R. Mack, of Columbia, South Carolina; four stepchildren, Andrea Sundbeck and Mrs. Rikki Buck, of Laguna Hills, California, and Peter and Lacey Sundbeck, of Durham, North Carolina; a granddaughter; and two step-granddaughters.

MARGARET S. TURKEL, widow of Harry R. Turkel, a former Foreign Service officer and executive secretary of AFSA, died March 27 in Washington. Ms. Turkel accompanied her husband to posts in Mexico City, Lima, Athens, and Bonn. She is survived by a son, William C., of Darien, Connecticut; a daughter, Mrs. Michael Tippet, of Reno, Nevada; and five grandchildren.

ELMER E. YELTON, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of a heart attack on January 9. He was 71.

Mr. Yelton was graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Hamilton College in Clinton, New York. He also earned a master's in mathematics and astronomy at the University of Cincinnati and in African studies at Cambridge University. He served in the Navy during World War II.

In 1946, Mr. Yelton joined the Foreign Service. He served at posts in Africa, Europe, Southeast Asia, and Latin America. He was consul general at Buenos Aires and Hermosillo, Mexico.

Following his retirement, he moved to Tucson, Arizona, where he collected rare books. He lectured on book restoration and binding, and volumes from his collection are on display at the University of Arizona.

Survivors include his wife, Jo, of Tucson, a daughter, a sister, and a brother. Contributions may be sent to AFSA's Scholarship Fund.



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ASSOCIATION NEWS

Letter to Shultz requests halt to policies

Secretary Shultz has denied a request by the Association to call a halt to personnel practices that the Association views as being harmful to the Foreign Service until outside experts can evaluate their impact. The measures, the subject of four open meetings reported previously in the ASSOCIATION NEWS, will likely result in the dismissal of more than 300 officers at the O1 and Senior Foreign Service levels in the next three years and the prospect of forced retirement at approximately age 50 for 90 percent of the officer corps in the future.

The letter to the secretary was sent "after making no progress on this issue with your subordinates and with full confidence that no well-run private firm would force out 170 of its key employees" this year alone, the letter stated. "Our request is be-

ing driven not only by concern for our individual members who are being treated inequitably but by a conviction that the department is managing the Foreign Service personnel system to the detriment of our national interest."

The letter went on to challenge management's claims that the Foreign Service Act mandates the new personnel policies and that they are necessary to reduce expenditures. To the contrary, the letter stated, the drafters of the act "would be very surprised to learn that they were responsible" for the forced retirements, and costs will rise rather than fall when contractors are brought in to replace retired officers drawing annuities.

"I do not think it would make any sense at this time to suspend the regulations just when they are beginning to have the intended impact on promotions and attrition," Shultz responded. "None of the arguments I have heard to date have convinced me that the system has been mismanaged."

Current postings will be unaffected by TOD changes

The Association has received assurances from State Department management that employees at post will be unaffected by proposed changes in the length of tours of duty. The changes, if implemented, will extend the basic two-year tour to three years. The department contends that the proposal is a cost-saving response to lower expenditures required under the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit-reduction legislation.

Management's original proposal included a basic three-year tour of duty for all but 20- and 25-percent-differential posts, with no extensions beyond four years permitted at non-differential posts. The proposal would also limit first tours for junior officers and mid-level entrants to two years, and extend tours to three years for officers filling Senior Foreign Service positions at 20- and 25-percent-differential and danger-pay posts. Management later suggested that all communicators and secretaries, regardless of post of assignment, would have their curtailment requests considered on the same basis as any other employee's request. Under the management proposal, "automatic" curtailments for communicators and secretaries serving at 20- and 25-percent-differential posts would no longer be granted. Curtailments to less than the standard tour of duty, whether two or three years, will be considered an exception for all employees, and assignment panels will approve them only if justified on compassionate grounds or because of staffing needs. After strenuous objections from AFSA—and strong input from the field—management also changed the implementation date so that employees currently at affected posts would not be subjected to the new policy.

The responses from the field

requested by the Association objected to changing the policy mid-tour, citing what they felt was a breach by the department of the implied contract under which they accepted their current assignments. A number of posts also questioned three-year tours at 25-percent-differential and danger assignments. Some cables charged that the department was ignoring health concerns in its attempt to effect budget cuts.

AFSA received clarifications on a number of concerns raised by post chapters. Employees will receive two R&R's during three-year tours at designated posts. Those assigned for three years to differential posts not authorized R&R will serve 18 months, take home leave, then serve another 18 months. The department has not made a decision on tours of duty for non-differential, health-hazard posts or Washington assignments.

Strikes to follow AFSA challenge

Strikes are a distinct possibility as AFSA has challenged management "to clear all bases and settle all disputes on a different green table, the ultimate field of arbitration: the baseball diamond." The challenge came in a letter from AFSA President Gerald P. Lamberty to Chief Management Negotiator Robert Sherman.

"AFSA and management have struck out at the bargaining table," Lamberty wrote. "Despite AFSA's best intentions, errors abound and matters continually go foul, with management out in left field." Both parties will be asking the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board to umpire the softball game. A report on the contest will appear soon.

Three years later, more names



Three years after the bombing of the U.S. embassy in Beirut, mason Breon Williams engraves the names of the latest Americans posted at an overseas mission who have died under "tragic or heroic circumstances." Flowers honoring the victims of that bombing are at lower left. The five names being added to the memorial plaque maintained by AFSA in the diplomatic lobby include the four Marine embassy guards who were shot by terrorists in an outdoor canteen in San Salvador last year. There is only space for six more names on the second memorial plaque, but AFSA and the State Department have already expanded it for future additions.

Managing Your Money

Real Estate Limited Partnerships for Tax Planning

By Stephen Hammer, President, Mount Vernon Equity Sales, Inc.

Investors have historically used real estate limited partnerships because they serve as a tax shelter without the headaches of management and personal liability. The tax benefits are in the form of depreciation, mortgage interest, and possibly tax credits for equipment or qualified rehabilitation expenses of older structures. These deductible items can be used to offset the income from the property, and any excess "losses" can be applied directly to the limited partner's personal income tax returns to reduce tax liabilities—hence the shelter. On the other side are the freedom from the need to manage the property, the use of "non-recourse" debt financing (this is a mortgage that is only secured by the real estate without any personal liability on the part of the limited partners), and increasing purchasing power through the pooling of funds from many investors, which can allow the investor to own a piece of a much larger property than if he or she were to acquire it individually.

To make the concept easy to understand, the following example will show how the benefits are derived. Let's assume that a limited partnership is formed to acquire a building valued at \$10 million. The partnership will consist of a general partner and 30 limited partners. The general partner is an individual with a good deal of knowledge about the local real estate and motel markets and the management and selection of income-producing real estate.

The limited partners will each contribute \$50,000 to the capital of the partnership. Since \$50,000 is a great deal of money, they are allowed to make their contributions in five equal installments. To accomplish this, each investor will contribute \$10,000 when the partnership is formed and a promissory note for the remaining \$40,000. The general partner will then take the

TABLE 2

Hypothetical Limited Partnership Projection of Sales Proceeds Assuming Sale on January 1, 1991

Sale Price	\$12,150,000
Mortgage Balance	\$8,545,500
	\$3,604,500
Return of Investor Capital	\$1,335,000
	\$2,269,500
Limited Partner's Share	x 70%
Distributable to Investors	\$1,588,650
	1/30
Individual Share of Gain	\$52,955
Return of Capital	\$44,500
	\$97,455

promissory notes to a bank and borrow the full amount of the notes. In this way, the partnership starts out with a full \$1,500,000 in capital and the lender will be repaid with the future contributions made by the limited partners. Assume that the limited partners will pay interest at 12 percent on these deferred contributions. The general partner will contribute his or her time and management skill and will be compensated with a management fee of five percent of the gross revenues plus a one

percent share of the income and losses of the partnership until the limited partners have received distributions of cash equal to their total investment, and then he or she will receive 30 percent of the income and losses thereafter.

Out of the \$1,500,000 raised, assume that 12.5 percent goes to cover the costs of forming the partnership. These will include any sales commissions paid to a broker-dealer and the legal, accounting, and printing costs of putting the offering together. That leaves \$1,312,500, of which \$62,500 will be retained as reserves and \$1,250,000 will be used to make the downpayment on the property.

The general partner then arranges for a mortgage to cover the remaining \$8,750,000 of the purchase price. The mortgage is on a "non-recourse" basis, so the limited partners have no liability for its repayment other than their interest in the building. For this example, we will assume that the terms of the mortgage are 12 percent interest on a 30-year amortization schedule with a balloon payment due in ten years. The annual debt service on the mortgage will run approximately \$1,080,050.

Now, let's assume that the property generates a gross in-

come of \$1,400,000 in the first year and revenues increase each year at six percent. The operating expenses in the first year are \$375,000 and through good management, expenses only increase at five percent annually. That leaves an operating income of \$1,025,000 to meet debt service in the first year. This is not enough to cover the mortgage payments in year one, but the reserves will allow the partnership to make their mortgage payments. As revenues increase and mortgage payments do not, the debt service will be covered in year two and gradually become a smaller percentage of income each year thereafter.

For tax purposes, we will assume that the partnership was formed and the property acquired on January 1, 1986, and it sells the property for cash on January 1, 1991. The partnership will use 19-year straight-line depreciation on the property. The value of the building is assumed to be \$8,500,000 and the land is \$1,500,000. This will generate a depreciation deduction of \$447,368 annually. In 1986, the partnership will show a loss of \$470,670, of which each limited partner will be allocated one-thirtieth to deduct from his or her personal tax return. Table 1

TABLE 1

Hypothetical Limited Partnership Projected Schedule of Tax Benefits and Cash Distributions Assuming Purchase of One Unit

Year	Amount Invested	Interest Expense	Total Invested	Taxable Income (Loss)	Personal Interest Expense	Total Taxable Income (Loss)	Tax Benefit (Cost)	Cash Distributed	Net Invested	Cumulative Invested
1986	\$10,000	\$4,800	\$14,800	(\$15,690)	(\$4,800)	(\$20,490)	\$10,245	\$0	(\$4,555)	(\$4,555)
1987	\$10,000	\$3,600	\$13,600	(\$13,380)	(\$3,600)	(\$16,980)	\$8,490	\$0	(\$5,110)	(\$9,665)
1988	\$10,000	\$2,400	\$12,400	(\$10,920)	(\$2,400)	(\$13,320)	\$6,660	\$0	(\$5,740)	(\$15,405)
1989	\$10,000	\$1,200	\$11,200	(\$8,290)	(\$1,200)	(\$9,490)	\$4,745	\$2,500	(\$3,955)	(\$19,360)
1990	\$10,000	\$0	\$10,000	(\$5,150)		(\$5,150)	\$2,575	\$3,000	(\$4,425)	(\$23,785)
1991				\$71,667		\$71,667	(\$14,333)	\$97,455	\$83,122	\$59,337
	\$50,000	\$12,000	\$62,000	\$18,237	(\$12,000)	\$6,237	\$18,382	\$102,955	\$59,337	

Internal Rate of Return = 44.58%

shows the results that an investor in this hypothetical partnership would realize assuming that he or she is in the 50-percent tax bracket. The amount shown under the column headed "Taxable Income (Loss)" plus the interest expense in column two are applied directly to the limited partner's income tax return, and the investor's tax withholdings can be adjusted accordingly so that he or she realizes the tax benefits as early as possible.

When the property is sold, it is assumed to bring a price of \$12,150,000, which translates into roughly four percent appreciation per year. The sales results are shown in Table 2.

This example shows that an investor can realize significant gains through an investment in a limited partnership—in this case, an internal rate of return (IRR) of almost 45 percent. The IRR is a calculation that takes into account the time value of money and is used to determine what after-tax rate of return you would have to earn on your saving account to equal the return from the proposed investment. The property described is merely hypothetical, but the results are attainable. The concept of limited partnership investing has become increasingly accepted by the investment community over the years and is becoming a major force in the capital markets. In 1985, it is estimated that over \$19 billion was raised through limited partnership offerings. These range from offerings registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission that allow investors to contribute as little as \$1000 to private placement offerings that require investments of several hundred thousand dollars.

You don't have to be rich or in a high-income tax bracket to make money in real estate. All it takes is placing your investment in the hands of a competent general partner to do it for you. Remember, the majority of the millionaires in this country have made their fortunes in real estate; profits, of course, are not guaranteed.

Potential investors should also be aware that the tax advantages of such partnerships may disappear under some tax reform proposals.

AFSA protests administration proposal for drug testing

The Association has protested proposals by the President's Commission on Organized Crime and by Representative Clay Shaw (R-Florida) that federal employees be tested for use of illegal drugs. While insisting that drug use is wrong and a national problem, the Association objected to proposals for random urine testing because it would violate the fourth amendment's strictures on search and seizure by the government without probable cause.

"Because the work of the Service frequently involves considerations of national security," the Association said, "the govern-

ment must take steps to ensure that those who hold important public trusts are capable of competently discharging them. However, only if there is probable cause to suspect that an employee is abusing a drug—whether alcohol, a prescription drug, or an illegal substance—does the government have a right to take action, which may consist of an accurate form of drug testing and, in some cases, subsequent rehabilitation efforts." The Association said that it objected "in particular" to proposals that call for random screening of employees for drug use.

The Association also expressed concern that, where probable cause exists, only the most accurate tests known be used, and that they be handled scrupulously. "Half the samples in a recent Army testing program...were mishandled and could have damaged the careers of thousands of innocent persons. Because even the most accurate tests are not perfect—poppy seeds, for instance, are known to cause the same results as heroin use—employees who are tested as positive must be retested by a different method, and be given a chance to retake the test."

Where appropriate, AFSA concluded, employees must be offered a chance to participate in a rehabilitation program.

CLOs have grievance rights too

In agreement with the Association's position, the Foreign Service Grievance Board has concluded that a Foreign Service spouse, while occupying a community liaison officer position overseas, is indeed a "member of the Service" and that the grievance system is therefore available to him or her.

The case involved a CLO who had filed a grievance charging

the State Department with administrative oversight in denying her certain travel benefits in connection with two job interviews for positions opening in Washington. The department maintained that the act defines seven categories of members of the Service, none of which specifically includes family members, whose limited appointments overseas are covered in a separate section. In a memo to the Grievance Board, the Association pointed out that all individuals entering the Service initially serve under limited appointments. They are nevertheless

members of the Service, since the Act defines career candidates and non-career-members as "members of the Service serving under limited appointments."

The Grievance Board held that the CLO's appointment fell indeed under the seven categories, which include, *inter alia*, limited and career appointments of "all other American personnel in the Service." Unfortunately, however, the board denied the grievance on the basis that there is no provision under the regulations to authorize travel costs for job applicants.

Tandem health insurance error to be rectified

Because of an error in the language of the health insurance brochure distributed by the American Foreign Service Protective Association, a tandem couple whose members are serving at different overseas posts has discovered that it is not eligible to enroll under the low-cost Foreign Service Benefit Plan Overseas Option and has turned to AFSA for assistance.

Under the Foreign Service Act, medical expenses incurred abroad are payable by the employee's agency. The Overseas Option is possible because the foreign affairs agencies and AFSPA share medical pay-

ments. The State Department is primary payer of overseas medical expenses, AFSPA is secondary payer. The Overseas Option does not extend to employees assigned to the United States.

According to the plan's brochure, family members must be at post with the employee to be eligible. This makes enrollment for tandems serving in different countries impossible. Worse, when this particular couple decided to take out two separate Overseas Option policies, they were informed that would be illegal under Office of Personnel Management regulations

prohibiting dual enrollment for married couples who are both employed by the federal government.

AFSPA has assured AFSA that it considers all tandem couples assigned overseas as eligible. In a subsequent letter to the department, AFSPA Vice President Gregory Kryza confirmed this in writing and noted that the brochure would be amended to clarify this point. The department is in agreement with AFSPA, but OPM approval is required in all instances relating to changes of federal employee health benefits.

AFSA is interested in hearing from other tandem couples who are similarly affected by the current restrictive language in the plan's brochure.

AFSA seeks to end tax on vehicle use

The Association is working with the State Department in an attempt to have exempted from taxation the fringe benefit of official-vehicle use, particularly when the transportation is re-

quired for security reasons.

The Tax Reform Act of 1984 expanded the definition of gross income to include fringe benefits, but almost all Foreign Service allowances and benefits have remained exempt under the new legislation. The main exception is government-provided vehicles, even if used only for commuting to and from the job.

Khartoum receives danger pay—after Association protest

The State Department granted danger pay to Khartoum on April 17, reversing its original decision not to consider the pay because some dependents were still present at the post after a Foreign Service employee was seriously wounded by a terrorist bullet there a few days earlier. Both AFSA and the ambassador at the post had requested the pay.

The Association has fought—and won—other battles over awarding danger pay when all dependents have not left a post. Most important was a year-long

battle to award the pay for Beirut and San Salvador, a fight that continued after dozens of lives were lost in the former city. More recently, management has tried to reduce danger pay for San Salvador because of the presence of dependents [ASSOCIATION NEWS, April].

"We argue that if one or two dependents refuse to leave, you cannot penalize an entire mission by denying danger pay," the Association wrote in a letter of protest to management. Danger pay for Khartoum was granted that day.

Advice from AFSA: Don't waive your right to counsel

The situation can be a nightmare: an investigation at your post concerning the possibility of waste, fraud, or abuse. The investigator comes to interview you and asks you to sign a document waiving your right to legal representation. "It will look like I have something to hide if I insist on a lawyer," you think, so you sign the form.

We at AFSA see a number of individuals after it's too late—they have waived their right to counsel and incriminated themselves. At that point, we can still help, but are limited by statements the employee has already provided or documents or evidence he or she has turned

over.

Employees seem to fear that they will be penalized for failing to cooperate with the investigation if they exercise their constitutional, statutory, or regulatory right to consult with a representative or have such person present during questioning. To the contrary, it is illegal for the agency to take action against an employee for exercising this right.

Employees have also at times exacerbated their problems by giving false statements in initial interviews and having to contradict themselves in later statements when confronted with the truth. Proper representation can avoid this problem.

If you're moving let AFSA know

We have included a postage-paid Change of Address card in this issue. If you have moved recently or plan to move soon, please let us know! Many of our

members believe that when they notify their respective agencies of their address change that the agency in turn notifies us. Unfortunately, we do not receive such information. Your current address is essential to our efforts to continue providing the JOURNAL and other important notices.

Life & Love in the Foreign Service



"I never dreamed it would be this tough to get through the six-year window, did you?"—Lynn Gutensohn, Annandale

(Similar captions were submitted by Wendell W. Woodbury, Harry Coburn, Bob Fouche, Robert Maxlm, and Frank Cunningham.)

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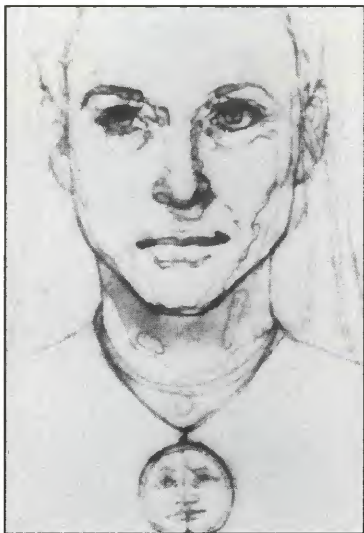
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