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1963–Test Ban Treaty

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AT MEADOWCREST, YOUR FUTURE IS WELL PLANNED.

One of the two large swimming pools at Meadowcrest in a setting of oaks and green lawns.

Stan Olsen is an unusual person who built a computer empire from a staff of three to possibly 90,000 employees and today has put that behind him to concentrate on his newest dream, Meadowcrest, a planned Florida community near Crystal River, Florida.

Stan's interest in preserving the environment — trees, water, wildlife — in his development has produced a most unusual "planned community." Focus of the community is a 15-acre park to enhance the lifestyle of the residents.

"Meadowcrest Park," as they call it, is more than a park. It's a complete, landscaped recreational area. In the park are two swimming pools, a lake, tennis courts, a picturesque bridge that goes to a botanical island in the middle of the lake, jogging and walking trail, horseshoe area, picnicking area, and a clubhouse overlooking the swimming pools and the lake.

Everything is lighted for night use. The Clubhouse with its walkways atop waterscapes, contains a number of multi-purpose rooms, a kitchen, and covered outside decks. The main room has a dance floor and the view across the lake with its lighted walkways is magnificent at night.

At Meadowcrest, they are trying to foster urban vitality in a country setting. Stan believes that people generally are urban by nature; that is, they want to be around other people, work together, socialize, etc., but they want to do it in a less stressful place than the average large city.

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• (904) 795-6600

Meadowcrest has miles of sidewalks and paved streets with curbs and gutters, all underground utilities, street lights, single family dwellings, patio homes, office buildings that blend in with the landscape, an industrial area and plans for a shopping area that will have the same ambiance as the rest of the community. "Our plans call for a shopping area that is park-like, landscaped and beautiful."

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MEADOWCREST

The patio homes, with just as many standard amenities, sell from $49,900 to $76,900. The maintenance fee is $59 monthly.

When questioned about the reason he located his planned community in the rolling hill country of western Citrus County, Olsen replied with one word, "Water."

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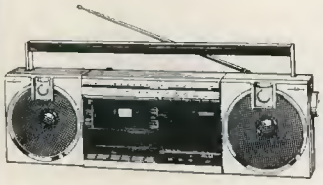

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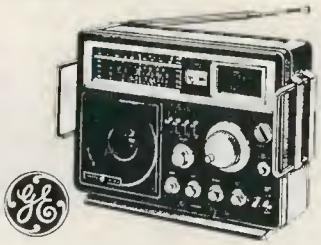

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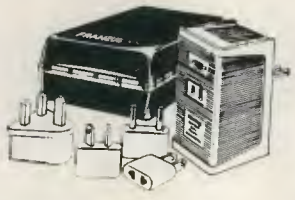

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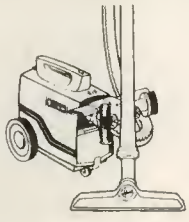

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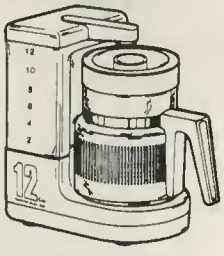

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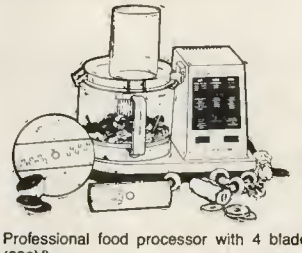

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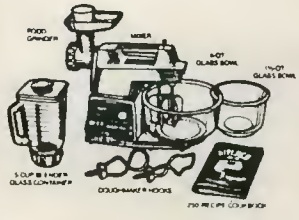

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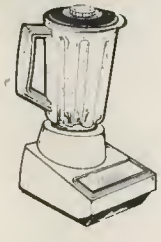

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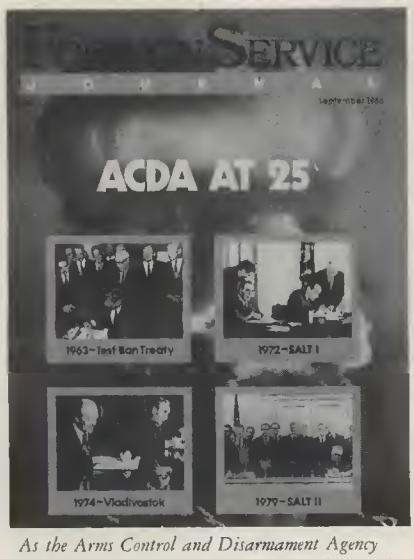

As the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency celebrates its 25th anniversary this month, its role as advocate and agent for arms agreements with our adversaries is in dispute. Half a dozen of its former directors and the incumbent participate in our forum on ACDA's impact and its role in the future, starting on page 35.

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ASSOCIATION VIEWS

Will History Applaud?

When this year's promotion panels have finished their work, the careers of 130–160 FS-1s and senior officers will be at an end. Next year's panels will lead to the involuntary retirement of a slightly smaller number of FS-1s and seniors. State Department management seems to believe that these two years of blood-letting will strengthen the Foreign Service; the current personnel system will be institutionalized, and the opposition to it will have been significantly reduced. According to management, a career of roughly 25 years, ending involuntarily as an FS-1 at age 50–55, will come to be seen as the norm. Relatively few will move on to the Senior Foreign Service, and even there, most careers will end involuntarily in the mid-50s. The supporters of this system claim that it will make the Service much more effective and competitive.

Those opposed to this system, however, do not believe it will make the Service more competitive or effective than it is now. Many support the concept of a rigorous up-or-out system, but doubt that the Service's tools for determining who should be promoted are precise enough. As a result, virtually all seem to feel that they are in danger of being eliminated at any one of several thresholds. The vast bulk believe the system already regards them as probable losers. The department should be aware that one basic tenet of modern management is that if people are treated as losers, they will perform as losers.

These policies are affecting the assignment process and thus the Service's ability to do its job. Since only "managers" seem likely to survive, employees are trying desperately to secure the positions that will give them that magic managerial experience. Area and functional expertise can no longer preserve your career, as is dramatically illustrated by the reluctance of senior officers to bid on major political and economic section-chief jobs—substantive posts that once were among the most attractive in the Service.

Management has been urging FSOs, including junior employees, to spend more time developing second careers so that they can make the transition when the time comes. But given the absence of a diplomatic-industrial complex, employees will have to invest much more time finding their second careers than do our military colleagues. Has management calculated the impact of most FSO-2s and above spending ten to twenty percent of their time looking for jobs outside the Service?

Those behind our current personnel system assure us that the Service will be much improved once the next two years are past. But for those of us who lack this faith, two other scenarios seem more likely: Either the Congress or White House will find our personnel policies destructive and absurd and move to prevent the Service from managing itself, or the current system will survive and our substantive expertise decline to the point that we become little more than housekeepers for the many other agencies with personnel stationed abroad.

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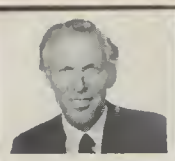

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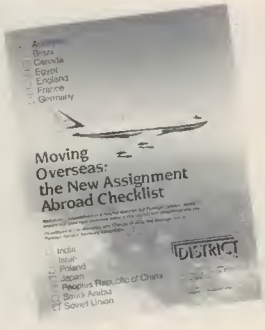

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LETTERS

More on FSI

In Frances Burwell's generally excellent article on changes in mid-career training in the May issue ["Mid-Career Corrections"], the statement is made that Under Secretary Spiers asked the committee I chaired a year ago to "review the role of professional training in the Foreign Service and assess the existing mid-level course's ability to fill that role." The latter was certainly the committee's objective under its terms of reference, and we recommended that the mid-level course be restructured. However, in the three weeks we served we did not have time nor a mandate to look at "professional training" in a broad sense. Thus, it is not accurate to state, as the article did, that our committee gave a "generally negative review of Foreign Service training..."

In addition to the members of the committee listed in the article, John B. Craig, chief of the junior officer division in personnel, was the executive secretary of the committee and made a major contribution to our work.

RAYMOND C. EWING
Dean of Language Studies
Foreign Service Institute

Author Frances G. Burwell responds:
As Mr. Ewing points out, the committee did concentrate on mid-level training, but to say that it restrained itself to such a narrow mandate is misleading. The committee's recommendations—on the timing of courses during a career, on teaching staff, and on incentives—indicate that it did not in fact restrict itself just to the old mid-level course. As Mr. Ewing wrote to Under Secretary Spiers in the letter accompanying the report: "In sum, we believe there is a demonstrable need for a comprehensive program of professional development, beginning with enhanced training at the junior officer level [and] continuing throughout the mid-career period."

As for Mr. Ewing's objection to my description of the report as "a generally negative review of Foreign Service training," I would like to respond by quoting the opening sections of the Ewing committee report: "The Foreign Service is not adequately meeting the professional develop-

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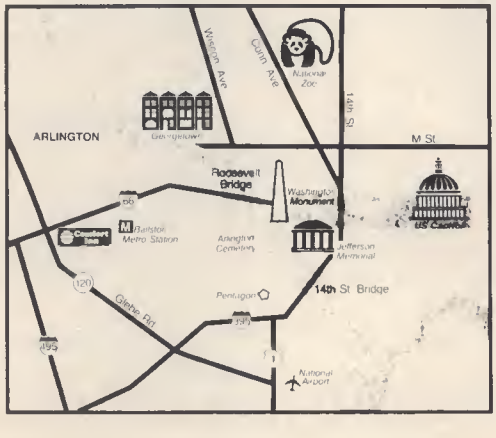

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ment needs of its officers or the operational needs of the Service itself....It is an unpalatable fact that our current in-service system of training is too often: either nonexistent or irrelevant to the immediate professional needs of our officer corps; ...taught by FSOs who are inexperienced as teachers/trainers or by those unfamiliar with Foreign Service needs; and based on course materials that are insufficiently developed, out-dated, or patently not germane to the professional development of the students."

Despite our differences, I must applaud Mr. Ewing and his committee for their attempt to address a situation that has plagued the Foreign Service for many years. It will be some time before we know whether the new curriculum succeeds or fails, but a genuine effort is being made.

As an admirer of the Foreign Service Institute, I read with interest your articles in the May issue of the JOURNAL on FSI, present and future. I missed, however, any discussion of whether FSI should provide remedial as well as continuing training/education.

Specifically, it would have been useful to have an explanation of why the department finds it necessary to provide the equivalent of an undergraduate major in economics, followed by a year at a university, when large numbers of young Americans major in economics and considerable numbers go on to graduate school in economics. It would seem that it might be more economical to recruit new Foreign Service officers with that education rather than to provide it after entry.

RICHARD J. HIGGINS
Consul General
Genoa, Italy

The May issues of *State* and the JOURNAL both feature prominent stories on FSI. Both articles stress the importance of foreign-language training. The JOURNAL's interview quotes Director Stephen Low: "Our language/area program is increasingly looked to from around the world." Mr. Low also refers to a management study underway on FSI's language training. I recommend this study include a hard look at FSI language-instructor classifications and salaries.

Currently, U.S. high school teachers' salaries average $25,000 per year for nine months work. The recent Carnegie Forum on Education Report, "A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century," recommends teachers' salaries be increased to a minimum of $35,500. The average FSI

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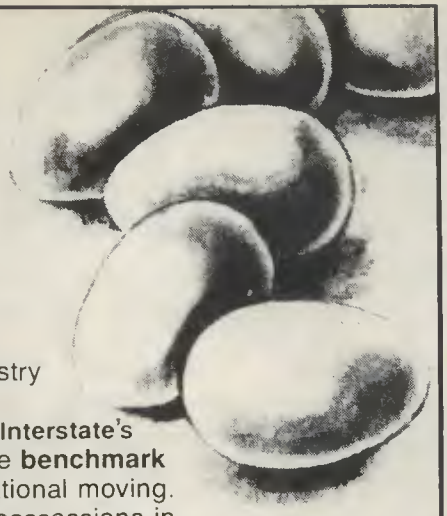

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language/area studies teacher earns a salary of $17,824-$21,804 for 12 months work. FSI language instructors perform work equally important to that of high school teachers.

Under Gramm-Rudman restrictions—should they remain despite the recent Supreme Court ruling striking down the mechanism by which cuts are made—salary increases per se will be difficult to obtain. FSI must find a way to justify increases; perhaps this can be done based on General Services Administration estimates that $30 million will be saved by moving FSI to a new facility. The immediate remedy for the instructors is to ensure that the management study focuses on upgrading instructor job classifications.

KENNETH S. JOHNSON
Foreign Service Officer
Washington, D.C.

AWAL for FS Kids

In reference to the articles on teens overseas and reentry [June], I have always felt that my upbringing as a Foreign Service brat, or to use the new euphemism, as a "third culture kid" (TCK), has been overall a positive experience with many advantages. Reentry, especially in regard to how kids are affected, is one disadvantage in Foreign Service life. I am quite moved each time I read an article on reentry because I see another positive step being taken toward understanding and dealing with this problem.

I have experienced reentry twice. My parents recognized the culture shock our whole family was going through and were very supportive. Just as importantly, however, I became involved in a very special youth group, organized and run by Foreign Service kids for Foreign Service youth (with support from AAFSW, the Family Liaison office, and the Overseas Briefing Center). Its name is Around the World in a Lifetime (AWAL). It was founded to enable Foreign Service kids to meet each other and help each other cope with reentry and living in the States.

Many reentry articles do not mention AWAL. This is frustrating because all the help and good AWAL can and does accomplish is not known to much of the Foreign Service. AWAL is a valuable resource that should not be overlooked.

LINDA GARUFI
McLean, Virginia

Teens who wish to join AWAL should contact Phyllis Habib in the Family Liaison office. —ED.

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BOOKS

Reviews

Star Wars: *Suicide or Survival? By Alun Chalfont. Little, Brown and Company, 1986. $16.95.*

In *Star Wars,* Chalfont sets out to examine the major issues in the Strategic Defense Initiative debate, but instead primarily demonstrates his own pro-SDI views and European perspective. He accepts many of the arguments supporting the program but glosses over its more serious flaws, and despite discussing a crucial and often overlooked dimension of the debate—the imbalance of non-nuclear forces in Europe—is not convincing in suggesting that the so-called "Star Wars" program would be a net strategic benefit to the United States and Western Europe.

Chalfont hints that the United States has good cause for abandoning the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty. But he does not address the tough question of how such a move would square with the likely need for Soviet cooperation in arms-control agreements (which he himself admits), if the stability of a new strategic balance in which defenses play the predominant role is to be ensured. He argues further that our fundamental strategic challenge is "to devise a system of deterrence at substantially lower levels so that, in the dreadful event that deterrence should fail, the result would not be universal annihilation." But he does not explain the role SDI would play in moving to these lower levels and ignores the possibility that it might induce a growth in offensive forces.

By contrast, Chalfont's effort to connect the current interest in Star Wars to the more pressing need for improvements in conventional defenses in Europe is salutary. He points out that using SDI to reduce the potency of nuclear weapons would leave NATO vulnerable to Warsaw Pact advantages in conventional forces. He therefore recommends that NATO acquire sophisticated non-nuclear "deep-strike" missiles to compensate. He might have added that, with or without SDI, improvements in conventional defenses would help alleviate the alliance's strategic dilemmas.

Given his primary concern with European security, Chalfont seems interested in SDI less as a defensive shield than as a means of strengthening the U.S. offensive nuclear umbrella over Western Europe. He writes that the credibility of the nuclear guarantee "would surely be enhanced by reducing the vulnerability of the American retaliatory force." However, if the point is to defend U.S. forces, there are options that are probably less expensive and risky than Star Wars. If, on the other hand, protecting cities is really the idea, Chalfont fails to show us how to maneuver safely through the transition to a new condition of "mutually assured survival." —M. SCOTT DAVIS

Superpower Rivalry and Third World Radicalism: *The Idea of National Liberation. By S. Neil MacFarlane. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.*

This book is only secondarily about superpower rivalry and the Third World; instead it is really focused on the subtitle: *The Idea of National Liberation.* And, "idea" is a key word, since the author concentrates on the treatises, articles, and speeches of Third World and European thinkers and policymakers since the early years of this century. Actual events are mentioned almost *en passant,* and then primarily to illuminate how ideas were affected by historial developments.

National liberation—as espoused by what MacFarlane calls Third World "radicals"—embraces political and economic independence, social revolution, and the renewal of indigenous culture, with the outcome being a socialist society. *Superpower Rivalry* outlines earlier Marxist thought on the evolution of the Third World, its interaction with the emerging philosophies of the "radicals," and the accommodation of Soviet theory and policy to national liberation and the requirements of the Soviet state. Since the emphasis is on the interplay of Marxist and Third World radical thought, the impact of western ideas receives little more than passing notice, perhaps understandably so.

This is a densely reasoned book, probably of prime interest to the specialist, though it is a useful *tour d'horizon* of the theoretical and philosophic underpinnings of "national liberation" as perceived by the author. —MILES G. WEDEMAN

444 Days: *The Hostages Remember. By Tim Wells. Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1985. $19.95.*

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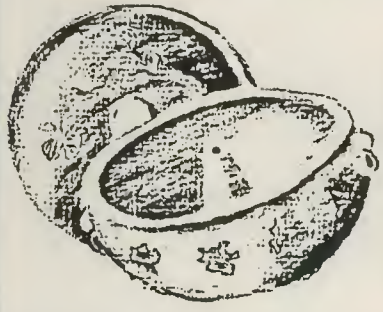

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ice life, this is a profoundly moving book. We know these people, trapped by the contortions of history in the embassy in Teheran that November day in 1979. Ann Swift and Kate Koob were in Farsi language training in 1978, just down the hall from where I did my first year of Japanese; Bill Belk and his bride, Angela, arrived in Bangkok on the same day as I in 1976; Victor Tomseth used to visit Bangkok from Shiraz, Iran. Anyone who was in the Service in the mid-1970s surely has their own personal acquaintances among the hostages. But it is not just knowing these individuals that makes reading their story a powerful experience; we *are* these people. It was only through an accident of the assignment process that it was these particular 53 persons who were taken hostage; it could have been any of us. As a USIA recruit in 1975, I placed Teheran third on my list of preferred postings.

One wants to thrust this book at those who do not automatically identify with the needs and problems of the Foreign Service and say "Read!" Would that members of Congress and the general public would read these tales and understand what it is that Foreign Service people face when tea parties and negotiations give way to the life-and-death business of political upheaval. Wells interviewed 36 of the hostages and patched together their first-person accounts of the embassy takeover itself, the freeing of most of the female and black hostages, the escape of the five people taken in by the Canadians, the daily grind of captivity and isolation, the repercussions of the disastrous rescue attempt, and finally, the release of the hostages. Along the way, there is this to ponder for those of us whom fate did not assign to Tehran then: How well would I have done? would I have been one of the strong ones, surviving 444 uncertain days with my personality unscathed? or would I, like one unidentified hostage, have tried to end the suspense and myself?

The book touches only in passing on the profound political issues, but they are inevitably in mind as one reads. Could the takeover have been avoided? What have we, as a nation and as Foreign Service professionals, learned about dealing with the extremes of other cultures? How is it that not one hostage died in a 15-month orgy of passions run amok? Was the United States really disgraced in Teheran? Have we, as a nation, backed away from a path that may have been leading us to discover new systems of conflict resolution? To this observer, there seems little likelihood that there would have been 53 survivors had the embassy takeover occurred under the Reagan administration.

These are the profundities which Wells does not discuss; he does not need to. He has produced a book that lets us see our colleagues, acquaintances, and friends live the lives of heroes. It is highly recommended as the opposite of escape literature: This is real life as it was and may be again. —MARJORIE SMITH

Camp David: Peacemaking and Politics. *By William B. Quandt. The Brookings Institution, 1986. $32.95 (cloth), $12.95 (paper).*

The Other Walls: *The Politics of the Arab-Israeli Peace Process. By Harold H. Saunders. American Enterprise Institute, 1985. $17.95 (cloth), $9.95 (paper).*

These two outstanding books complement each other, and the reader interested in the Arab-Israeli peacemaking effort would do well to read them in tandem. Quandt makes skillful use of the memoirs of senior officials (Carter, Vance, Brzezinski, Dayan, Fahmy, Kamil) to build on his own participation as a National Security Council staff member in the exchanges leading up to the Camp David accords of 1978. He also had access to key U.S. diplomatic messages and other records. The result is the best overall account to date, from a U.S. perspective, of both the preparations in Washington and the international negotiations leading to the Camp David accords.

While it is too early for any definitive assessment, Quandt provides an admirably lucid analysis of the major accomplishments and principal flaws of Camp David. The Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty remains the only major breakthrough to date in the search for peace between Israel and the Arab states. However, the priority given to the peace treaty by all the principals, and Begin's obstinacy on key questions regarding the West Bank and Gaza (e.g., withdrawal, settlements, self-determination, linkage to the peace treaty) doomed the Framework for Peace in the Middle East. It remains to be seen whether the treaty between Egypt and Israel will, in the long run, help or hinder the achievement of a broader peace between Israel and the Arabs.

Quandt's candid assessment of the roles played by the three principals at Camp David gives the highest marks to Begin, who thought in strategic terms and understood the uses of power and politics in negotiations. (It is unfortunate that we do not expect to have the benefit of Begin's memoirs on Camp David). Sadat, with his dramatic sense of history, got what he

wanted most but had to settle for a "thinly disguised bilateral peace" with Israel. Carter's contribution was his determination, positive vision of peace, and a great deal of presidential time and involvement, and the author makes the valid point that it is hard to imagine the achievement of the treaty without his personal efforts. Whether Carter would have been able to do more on the Palestinian question, as he almost certainly would have wished, was made moot by the Iranian hostage crisis and his failed bid for a second term.

The Other Walls provides a conceptual foundation for an appraisal of Camp David as a case study and, more importantly, for constructing further steps in the peacemaking process. Saunders emphasizes the political content of any pre-negotiating phase. Political leaders must be convinced that further progress is possible and then make a commitment to bring about necessary changes in the political and psychological environment—only then can negotiations be expected to bear fruit. U.S. policymakers will find in this book a valuable checklist of the essentials needed to breathe life into the moribund peacemaking process. (As Quandt notes, any future negotiations between Israel and an Arab partner will be even more difficult than those that resulted in the Egyptian-Israeli treaty.)

In separate chapters reviewing the state of play in the region, Saunders identifies the issues that are most important to the key protagonists in the Arab-Israeli dispute and in any peacemaking effort. These chapters solidify the author's reputation as an incisive analyst of the Middle East scene. One wishes his chapter on Israel were required reading for Palestinians, Syrians, and Jordanians. Likewise, his chapter on Palestinians should be a must for Israel's leaders, as well as for those Americans who sympathize with and support that country, and who are seriously concerned with its future well-being. Both of these books are worthy of their authors, who are in the top rank of U.S. professionals on the Middle East. —SIDNEY SOBER

From the Think Tanks

Between Two Worlds: *The World Bank's Next Decade. Edited by Richard E. Feinberg. Overseas Development Council. U.S.-Third World Policy Perspectives #7, 1986.* This study argues that the World Bank should better define its mission by coordinating global capital flows, mediating differences between North and South, helping to stabilize the world economy, and leading intellectual thought on development. These goals cannot be attained, however, until the Third World debt crisis is alleviated. The World Bank will need more money in order to increase the size of its missions, train its economists in diplomacy, and increase the size of some of its loans. In addition to money, however, the Bank will need stronger commitments on the part of developing-country governments and more cultural sensitivity on the part of its staff.

Spain: *Studies in Political Security. Edited by Joyce Lasky Shub and Raymond Carr. Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University. The Washington Papers #117, 1985. 134 pp.* This collection of essays by Spanish journalists, academics, and diplomats discusses how Spain's unique interests and experiences have shaped its view of the security of Western Europe. Although the country remains a member of NATO, its commitment to the alliance and its own internal stability could be shaken by the Basque problem, suspicion of U.S. policy in Latin America, and distrust of the British military presence in Gibraltar. Yet it is crucial to Spain's fledgling democracy that it remain surrounded by other democracies that can serve as models, something that is best ensured by a healthy system of western security.

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PERIODICALS

By MICHELLE MAYNARD

"National Security in the Information Age." *By Ronald H. Hinckley. The Washington Quarterly, Spring, 1986, Vol. 9, No. 2.* Concentrating on the White House under Carter and Reagan, Hinckley shows how decision-making can suffer from insufficient information. Three major elements of information handling affect decision-making: communications, management, and integration. Without adequate information at each level, the decision-maker is not apt to ask the right questions about the issue at hand.

Under Carter, there were attempts to improve information support services but most changes dealt with making offices—rather than decision-makers—more efficient. As a result, the decision-making surrounding the Iranian revolution and hostage crisis occurred in an information rich, yet poorly integrated environment. The Reagan administration, too, has focused on improving information efficiency and management at the expense of integration and interpretation. Yet, information synthesis could be the key to better decision-making by providing many decision-makers with historical data and alternate methods of analysis.

Michelle Maynard recently finished her master's degree at the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University.

"Anti-Americanism: A View from London." *By Kenneth Minogue. The National Interest, Spring, 1986, Vol. 1, No. 3.* Minogue argues that rhetoric cannot be dismissed as less important than reality as an element of European anti-Americanism. He treats anti-Americanism as a form of xenophobia and distinguishes among three separate yet interacting types: cultural, doctrinal, and political.

Culturally, Europeans demonstrate an extreme ambivalence toward the United States—they both criticize and embrace American cultural trends and fads. Doctrinal xenophobia is characterized by a dislike of another country's ideas and morals. The British in particular envy U.S. superiority and resent U.S. displacement of the British as the leader of the free world. Political xenophobia arises from a presumed conflict of national interests between the United States and Western Europe.

Even within its own borders the United States is often presented as selfish and impulsive, particularly by the media. These views, when combined with European snobbery and socialist thought, could lead to a call for disentanglement from Europe. Not all criticism of U.S. policy is a form of xenophobia, but it is clear that anti-Americanism is often linked to general hostility toward the United States, rather than simple political disagreements.

"The Reagan-Shultz State Department." *By Kirk Kidwell.* **"The Princeton Club of Foggy Bottom."** *By Jesse Helms.* **"The State Department: Four Decades of Pro-Communist Policies Must be Reversed"** *and* **"George P. Shultz: Con-**

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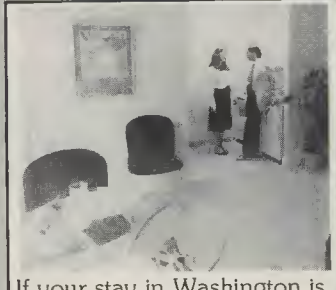

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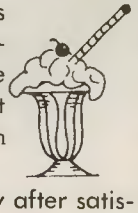

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tinuing the Policies of Appeasement." *By James J. Drummey. The New American, May 19, 1986, Vol. 2, No. 16.* This series of articles argues that the State Department is run by an elite group with pro-communist tendencies. Kidwell claims that the Reagan presidency began with the correct rhetoric but the promised realignment of U.S. foreign policy has failed to materialize. Instead, there has been a return to detente.

Foreign Service veteran James T. Hackett has chronicled 10 major instances of State Department policies' derailing the Reagan doctrine, Kidwell writes. FSOs, who, Hackett claims, appear to be in complete control of the department, have traditionally sought accommodation with Moscow. Moreover, he and the other authors argue, political appointees within the department are controlled by the Eastern establishment and the Council on Foreign Relations.

Senator Jesse Helms writes that there is a crisis in the Foreign Service that causes a privileged, Ivy League elite to control leadership positions. Inbreeding and nepotism contribute to the exclusion of the vast majority of qualified FSOs from positions of power and influence. Four steps should be taken to open up Foreign Service careers to a wider range of qualified people: First, the president should take advantage of a new law allowing him to appoint a chair of the Board of the Foreign Service from outside the Service. Second, more FSOs from outside the inner clique should be appointed to leadership positions. Third, career FSOs from Agriculture, Commerce, and USIA should be tapped for ambassadorial positions. Finally, specialists from outside the Foreign Service should become more involved in foreign policy.

Drummey uses a recent Heritage Foundation study to accuse the State Department of ignoring Reagan's anti-communist rhetoric and pursuing policies that preserve the status quo. He argues that a pro-communist mind-set that threatens U.S. security has dominated the department for the past 40 years.

Drummey suggests that there is a wide dichotomy between rhetoric and action in Secretary Shultz's dealings with communism. Throughout his career, Shultz has been accommodating to communist nations and sympathetic to the ideas of the Council on Foreign Relations. At State, he has purged conservatives and replaced them with liberal FSOs.

"Doctrine Overdose: How to Kill a Foreign Policy." *By Owen Harries. The New Republic, May 5, 1986, Vol. 194.* Doctrines have traditionally played a central role in U.S. foreign policy, writes Harries. In theory, there are several pluses to having a doctrine. A foreign policy doctrine simplifies complex ideas and makes them accessible and it sets the terms of policy debates. Presidential doctrines can help mobilize popular support, convey administration messages to foreign governments, and force the bureaucracy to fall into line behind the president.

There are several drawbacks to a policy doctrine, however. First, since a doctrine deals with broad categories and principles, it sometimes overlooks particular details and circumstances. Second, a doctrine emphasizes goals at the expense of means, priorities, and resources. Third, because a doctrine is a package deal, it forces one to accept or reject the entire theory.

While the notion of a Reagan doctrine—that aid should be given to anti-communist insurgents as a way of containing or dislodging totalitarianism—is actually the product of political commentators rather than of the administration itself, it plays a central role in this administration's foreign policy. The Reagan doctrine has been a triumph for the administration but it also suffers from the three disadvantages and, as such, is turning into a dangerous guide for policymakers.

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CONGRESS

Security Downpayment

By LAWRENCE L. KNUTSON

Congress has approved a modest downpayment on the $4.4 billion sought by the Reagan administration for upgrading security at U.S. diplomatic posts during the next four years. With the passage of a FY 1986 supplemental appropriation bill, the State Department now has available $702 million. A second payment is moving through the authorization process, but given the tight-fisted climate created by the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit-reduction act, its future is still uncertain.

Senator Richard Lugar (R.-Indiana), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, steered this second bill—a two-year authorization known as the Diplomatic Security and Anti-Terrorism Act—through the Senate, but in the process it was reduced to $1.1 billion from the original request of $1.4 billion. Lugar said that the lower amount was the most he could expect senators to approve at a time when they are being asked to reduce sharply popular domestic programs. And, he continued, some of the State Department's proposed security projects were not needed, and others were too expensive.

As passed by the Senate, the diplomatic-security bill also contains $4.8 million for anti-terrorism assistance to other countries, $2 million for counter-terrorism research and development, and $5 million for rewards for information leading to the arrest and prosecution of narcotics traffickers. It does not contain the provisions for hostage relief included in the House version, but this is expected to be resolved in conference. In fact, since the House bill simply authorized spending $4.4 billion over five years, the overall spending amounts will also have to be reconciled.

Secretary of State Shultz argued in vain for larger amounts of funds to be made available now, telling the Foreign Relations Committee that tragedy may be lurking in the wings. Shultz told reporters: "One of these days there will be another tragedy at another embassy. Then they'll come around and say 'You're being derelict in your duty because all these people got killed.' And I'm going to say: 'I'm not derelict in my duty, because you wouldn't appropriate the money to provide for the security of people who are living constantly under the threat.' " Shultz was reacting to Senate passage of a budget resolution that contained only $500 million for embassy security, a total improved upon by the later action.

As the authorization bill was being debated on the Senate floor in late June, Senator Patrick J. Leahy (D.-Vermont) argued that the lower-than-requested spending level was justified because not all funds previously appropriated have been spent. And, he said, some of the administration's goals do not directly relate to security, and others can be accomplished "with less money and better management." "This bill will ensure that existing resources are used in ways that save lives and protect American interests," Leahy continued. "We can never make our embassies impenetrable. We must resist the temptation to adopt a 'bunker' mentality, whereby our embassies become fortresses and our diplomats are cut off from the people of the countries where they are stationed. If we allow the fear of terrorism to overwhelm us, the terrorists will have won an important victory."

But Senator Paul Sarbanes (D.-Maryland), who had been defeated in committee in his attempt to increase the authorization by 25 percent, told the chamber: "This is a program with which we should be penny-wise because I believe we will end up running a very high risk. We will not only be pound-foolish in terms of the expenditure of money, but lives will be at risk." He said he hoped the House-Senate conference would provide the extra funds.

The Senate also approved a number of amendments to the bill, including one by Senator David Durenberger (R.-Minnesota) that provided increased funds for improving the security of classified office equipment and expanding information and systems security. The amendment, which also requires hiring American computer managers and operators at high-risk posts, provides $34.6 million for such activities, compared to the $12.6 million recommended by the Foreign Relations Committee. "As our embassies have adopted modern methods of communications, our adversaries have adopted modern methods to penetrate those communications," said Durenberger, who is chairman of the Intelligence Committee. "If our secrets are not to be compromised, we must improve our efforts against those hostile efforts. We must not scrimp on this

---

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

protection. The compromise of sensitive information, whether it concerns secret negotiations, instructions, or embassy security plans, can threaten American interests as severely as any terrorist bomb."

Another amendment marked the continuation of a campaign by Senator Jesse Helms (R.-North Carolina) to compel the State Department to create a truly independent inspector general. "Congress mandated an independent—and I underscore the word 'independent'—inspector general...last year despite objections from the career Foreign Service, who believe that nothing should ever be publicly known about certain activities," Helms told the Senate. "Now the fact is, and I regret to say it, that the State Department has dragged its feet for the past year and has declined to carry out the law. They are trying very hard to cripple the independent inspector general's office, which they have yet to establish..., by limiting it to audits, and that certainly was not the congressional intent." He added, "I do not believe we should allow the State Department to go forward with this massive budget expansion for embassy security without protecting the taxpayer by getting in place the inspector general's office."

The Senate also voted, 99-0, to call on State to strengthen foreign language requirements for FSOs after Senator Paul Simon (D.-Illinois) declared: "We have the only Foreign Service in the world that someone can get into without speaking a foreign language and it is costing us in all kinds of ways." Simon claimed that the diplomatic message the United States intercepted from Libya warning of the attack on a West Berlin disco frequented by U.S. soldiers "sat untranslated for several days because of the unavailability of someone to translate the telegram from Berber to English." He also said, "At the U.S. embassy in Pakistan right now, no one speaks Pashto, the language spoken by over 20 million tribesmen in Pakistan." Of 1500 employees at the U.S. embassy in Manila, he added, only one speaks Tagalog, which "happens to be the language spoken by the majority of people in the area where you have the communist revolt right now." Simon said that in the Foreign Service there are now only 30 "fully fluent" speakers of Arabic, 15-16 fully fluent in Chinese, and 10 fully fluent in Japanese. The non-binding resolution says that State should work "toward early implementation of a program focusing on acquisition and retention of effective linguistic skills throughout a Foreign Service officer's career." Said Simon: "I hope the State Department will get a signal from this and we can start improving things." □

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CLIPPINGS

Pusan Protest

"On Wednesday, 21 students broke into the offices of the U.S. Information Service and the American consulate in the seaport city of Pusan [South Korea]. Staff members escaped through a back door as angry protesters rampaged through the building. After an hour, they were driven out by 100 riot police."

Time, June 2

Losing Gamble

"U.S. Information Agency official Christopher Paddack took his family on a riverboat gambol at agency expense. The District Court for the District of Columbia ruling came on a suit against Paddack filed by USIA....

"It was the $12,760 excursion on the paddlewheeler *Mississippi Queen* that raised eyebrows at USIA....

"[U.S. District Judge Thomas] Flannery said the [grievance] board wrongly found the *Mississippi Queen* a usual means of conveyance. The board noted that more than 20,000 people have used the *Queen* and her sister ship for trips on the Mississippi.

" 'If mere numbers were the only criterion...one could well conclude that recreational transportation such as white water rafting down many United States rivers is a "usual" mode of conveyance since many thousands of people raft down those rivers each year,' wrote Flannery."

Anne Laurent in the Federal Times, June 16

Skipping Out

"A decision by the United States ambassador to Austria to skip Kurt Waldheim's inauguration as president next Tuesday has illustrated the tender state of United States–Austrian relations....

"[Ambassador Ronald S.] Lauder, a former deputy assistant secretary of defense for European and NATO policy, has served only three months in Vienna. He replaced Helene A. Von Damm, who resigned as ambassador last year after her marriage to a leading Austrian hotelier led to charges of a conflict of interest.

" 'When I informed the Austrians I intended to be away on personal business on July 8, this was met with the feeling that, as Kurt Waldheim had been elected president of Austria, it was my duty to be there,' Mr. Lauder said in the interview yesterday in the Manhattan offices of the Estée Lauder cosmetics company, the concern founded by his parents. 'The Austrian press has vilified me, saying it was an affront to Austria.' "

Samuel G. Freedman in the New York Times, July 2

Like It or Not

"President Reagan has abruptly fired his ambassador to Honduras, John A. Ferch, after less than a year in the post, officials said last night.

"Administration officials said Secretary of State George P. Shultz and other Reagan aides decided that Ferch, a career Foreign Service officer, was not the right 'field commander' to take charge of the U.S. role in the widening rebel war against Nicaragua, which will be administered largely from the U.S. embassy in Tegucigalpa.

" 'The Hondurans didn't like him, and the contras didn't like him,' a State Department official said."

The Washington Post, July 1

"In Honduras, President José Azcona Hoyo said upon hearing Mr. Ferch was fired, 'I am a little sad because he is a good friend.

" 'I was told yesterday by the ambassador himself that he was going to leave Honduras. We were not expecting this situation. We were very surprised, and we feel very sorry because Mr. Ferch was working well with us.' "

The Washington Times, July 2

True Diplomat

"Chester Bowles was not a man of the Age of Reagan. He did not serve the public in order to serve himself. The sequence was, in fact, reversed....He died last month at 85, a life lived in a more confident time."

New Republic, July 14 & 21, 1986

Budget Woes

"In public, at least, [Secretary of State George] Shultz's protests that foreign policy is being strangled with budget cuts are directed at Congress and at Congress alone. The secretary of state is in no position to point out that not only Congress, but President Reagan with his rooted dislike of the income tax, has put him in this hole. 'You want more money?' said the chairman of the House of Representatives

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Budget Committee, Mr. William Gray, when Mr. Shultz raised the subject with him; 'You tell your president to bring it by.' That is one of several trains of thought that incline Congress to be unsympathetic. Every senator or congressman would like to protect some domestic expenditure threatened by the budget ax; this hardens the endemic lack of sympathy for foreign aid, the biggest subject of Mr. Shultz's concern."

The Economist, May 24

Furtive Diplomats

"American diplomats have become a furtive species these days. In dozens of countries around the world, they avoid public places, vary their movements like fugitives, keep a wary eye on the rear-view mirror, and send their dependents away for unusually long holidays. Since the American raid on Libya, tough security measures have become even more restrictive. In Europe, the Middle East, and Central America, diplomats have been quietly urged to avoid public places that are heavily frequented by Americans. The U.S. embassy in Rome has urged diplomats' families to avoid going to the local McDonald's or to the Pasquino theater in Trastevere, the only movie theater in Rome that shows undubbed English-language films. Diplomats no longer allow their children to ride the bus to American schools, and family members have been urged to avoid visiting the American embassy itself."

Newsweek, May 19

Foreign Favorites

"Selwa Roosevelt, known as Lucky to her friends, is chief of protocol at the State Department. She has responsibilities that some women would envy, while for others the duties would be so nerve-racking that they would go into seclusion....

"Entertaining is one of the most important parts of her job. Since Ambassador Roosevelt assumed the responsibilities of the chief of protocol in 1982, she has learned a great deal about the likes and dislikes of her guests. She has discovered, for example, that the king of Jordan loves hamburgers, his highness the amir of Bahrain adores corn bread, and Mrs. Sadat fancies apple pie. All foreigners seem to love ice cream, and so Mrs. Roosevelt serves pumpkin or mango ice cream with chocolate shavings."

Vogue, August

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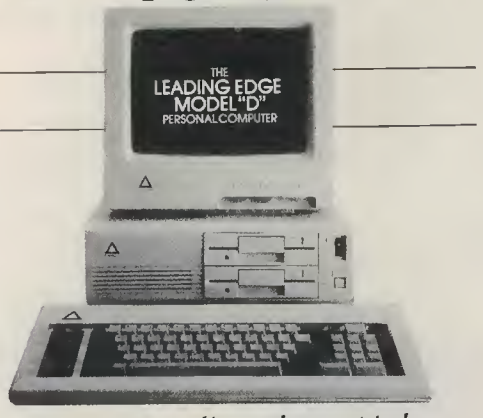

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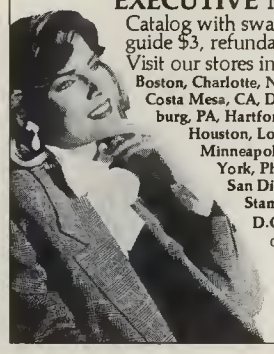

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Foreign Service Journal, September 1976: "The quickest way to improve the spirit and performance of America's Foreign Service, about which presidents have been known to grumble, would be for the next chief executive to show some respect for the State Department professionals, specifically through a new policy of reserving the top embassies for the top career diplomats.

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Clayton Fritchey

Foreign Service Journal, September 1961: "1. Never tell her about any conferences or meetings you attend because if she is kept well informed on what is going on, she might be able to answer inquiries when you are away from the office.

"2. Never ask her to compose letters for your signature because then you wouldn't get to dictate them.

"3. Never let her feel that the office is her responsibility when you're away, because she might run it very efficiently, and that would detract from your prestige."

How to Treat a Secretary

Foreign Service Journal, September 1936: "The Department of State has a vital interest in the new National Archives Building which has recently been completed in Washington, for this department has long housed some of the most important documents in our nation's history. Here are to be found organic laws, declarations that started wars, and treaties that ended them, letters from foreign rulers, and other papers that are important, not only for their historical interest, but because they are the very embodiment of precedent, so dear to the heart of the diplomat."

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QUESTIONNAIRE: DISSENT

What follows is the fourth in a series of questionnaires on topics of concern to our Foreign Service readers. It is not intended as an official study but as an informal sampling of opinion. All replies will be confidential. The results will be tabulated and presented in a future issue. Please complete this page and send it to FSJ Questionnaire #4, 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20037. Thanks!

1. How long have you been in the Foreign Service?
   ☐ 5 years or less ☐ 6-10 years ☐ 11-20 years ☐ more than 20 years ☐ retired
2. Please indicate your agency (retired respondents should indicate agency with which they were associated at the end of their careers).
   ☐ State ☐ AID ☐ USIA ☐ Agriculture ☐ Commerce
3. Please indicate your career category (retired respondents please indicate appropriate category at retirement).
   ☐ SFS ☐ FSO (includes FSIO, FSR and FSRU retirees) ☐ FP (includes FSS retirees)
4. Are you male ☐ or female ☐?
5. Have you ever disagreed with official policy?
   ☐ never ☐ rarely ☐ occasionally ☐ frequently
6. How did you express that disagreement? (check all that apply)
   ☐ orally
   ☐ in a private memo
   ☐ in a regular cable
   ☐ in a dissent cable
   ☐ by resigning
   ☐ other (please specify) _____
7. Have you ever considered using the dissent channel to express your disagreement?
   ☐ yes, did use it
   ☐ yes, considered it seriously (or am now considering it seriously)
   ☐ no, have not seriously considered sending a dissent message
8. If you did seriously consider sending a dissent message but finally did not, why not?
   ☐ issue was resolved
   ☐ unwilling to run possible risks to career
   ☐ issue no longer within responsibilities
   ☐ other (please specify) _____
9. Have you ever considered resigning because of policy disagreements?
   ☐ yes, did resign
   ☐ yes, considered it seriously (or am considering it now)
   ☐ no, did not seriously consider resigning
10. Have you ever felt inhibited from voicing opposition to a policy in a non-public setting?
    ☐ yes, that is the norm
    ☐ yes, but only under certain supervisors or circumstances
    ☐ no, have never felt such pressure
11. Do you believe that you have ever been penalized for expressing opposition to official policy? yes ☐ no ☐
12. If yes, how did that penalty manifest itself? (check all that apply)
    ☐ verbal rebuke
    ☐ written rebuke
    ☐ isolation from policy responsibilities
    ☐ advice on other matters disregarded
    ☐ unfavorable evaluation report
    ☐ lack of promotion or advancement
    ☐ other (please specify) _____
13. To what degree should principal officers impose one viewpoint in mission cables?
    ☐ they should allow only one viewpoint
    ☐ they should report alternatives only under extraordinary circumstances
    ☐ they should routinely allow alternative viewpoints to appear in reporting
14. Have you ever served overseas as a principal officer? yes ☐ no ☐
15. In Washington, have you ever served at the office-director level or above? yes ☐ no ☐

If you answered "yes" to either 14 or 15, please answer questions 16 and 17. All others go on to question 18.

16. If you have served as a principal officer or at the office-director level, how did you cope with policy disagreements among your subordinates?
    ☐ was not aware of significant disagreement
    ☐ encouraged debate within the mission/office, but cables/memos reflected one view
    ☐ reporting and memoranda included alternative viewpoints on occasion
    ☐ reporting and memoranda routinely presented variety of views
17. Did any of your subordinates ever send a formal dissent message? yes ☐ no ☐
18. Indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following statements (1: strongly agree; 2: agree; 3: undecided; 4: disagree; 5: strongly disagree).
    __ There should be a formal method of expressing policy disagreements to the highest level in the bureaucracy.
    __ Employees who disagree on policy must be willing to run the risk that their careers will be negatively affected.
    __ A member of the Foreign Service can be known as a dissenter without harm to his or her career.
    __ It is rarely worth voicing disagreement, since policy will not change anyway.
    __ There should be a formal method of voicing disagreement without being labeled a dissenter.
    __ Members of the FS should not get involved in policy arguments, but merely advise on likely effects and implement established policy.

Please feel free to comment further.

_____

_____

_____

DESPATCH

Not a High Point

Complaints that the number of non-career ambassadors is excessive have become a tradition in the Foreign Service, and now the State Department itself has confirmed that the percentage of political appointees heading missions is at a 25-year high. As a consequence, of course, the percentage of career ambassadors is at a low.

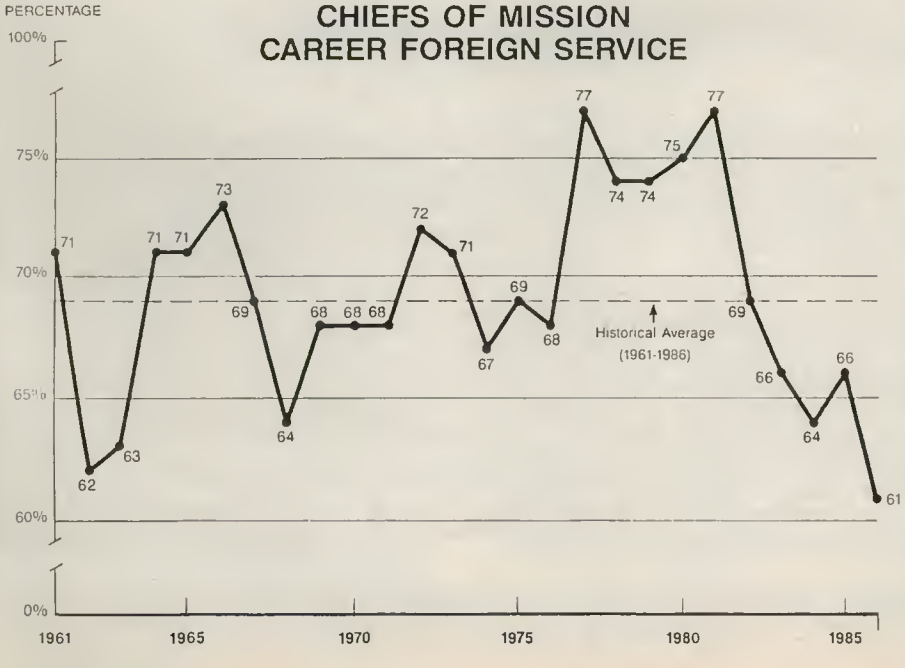
According to a chart produced by the department's Bureau of Management (see below), as of April only 61 percent of ambassadorial positions were filled by Foreign Service officers, one percent worse than the previous low of 62 percent in 1962. The current percentage represents a precipitous decrease from the most recent high during the 25-year period—77 percent, in the last year of the Carter administration. The historical average for the period is 69 percent.

From the point of view of many career officers, the department has tended to understate the number of political appointees by using a different method of counting ambassadors. In the past, the department has not considered ambassadors-at-large in the total, for instance, nor representatives to multilateral posts. Six persons are in these categories (one holding two positions), five of them non-career. Different methods of counting thus could make the number of political appointees larger.

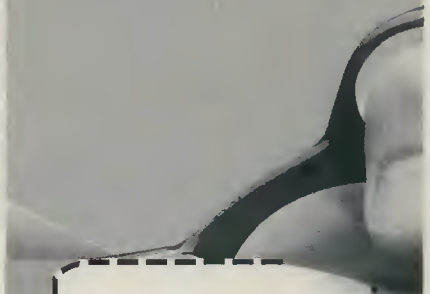
When AFSA complained at the beginning of President Reagan's first term that the number of the president's political appointments was 44 percent, the department countered that the number of non-career sitting ambassadors, many of whom were holdovers from Carter, was much lower. With the exception of Mike Mansfield in Japan, however, there are no more holdover appointments.

Former career ambassador Robert Gordon, the executive director of the American Academy of Diplomacy, a group composed of former political and career ambassadors, told the JOURNAL "that doesn't surprise me one bit" when apprised of the department's figures. For a year now the academy has been reviewing persons appointed to their first ambassadorial posting in a manner patterned after the American Bar Association [DESPATCH, May 1985]. Although Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Richard Lugar (R.-Indiana) and Secretary Shultz are still refusing to cooperate with the academy, a seventh senator on the committee has agreed to receive its findings on appointees: Larry Pressler (R.-South Dakota). One of the original six senators who agreed to participate in the process last year, and the one who was instrumental in persuading his colleagues to review the academy's reports, is Charles Mathias (R.-Maryland), who will retire from the chamber in January.

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



World leader proposes diplomatic discounts.



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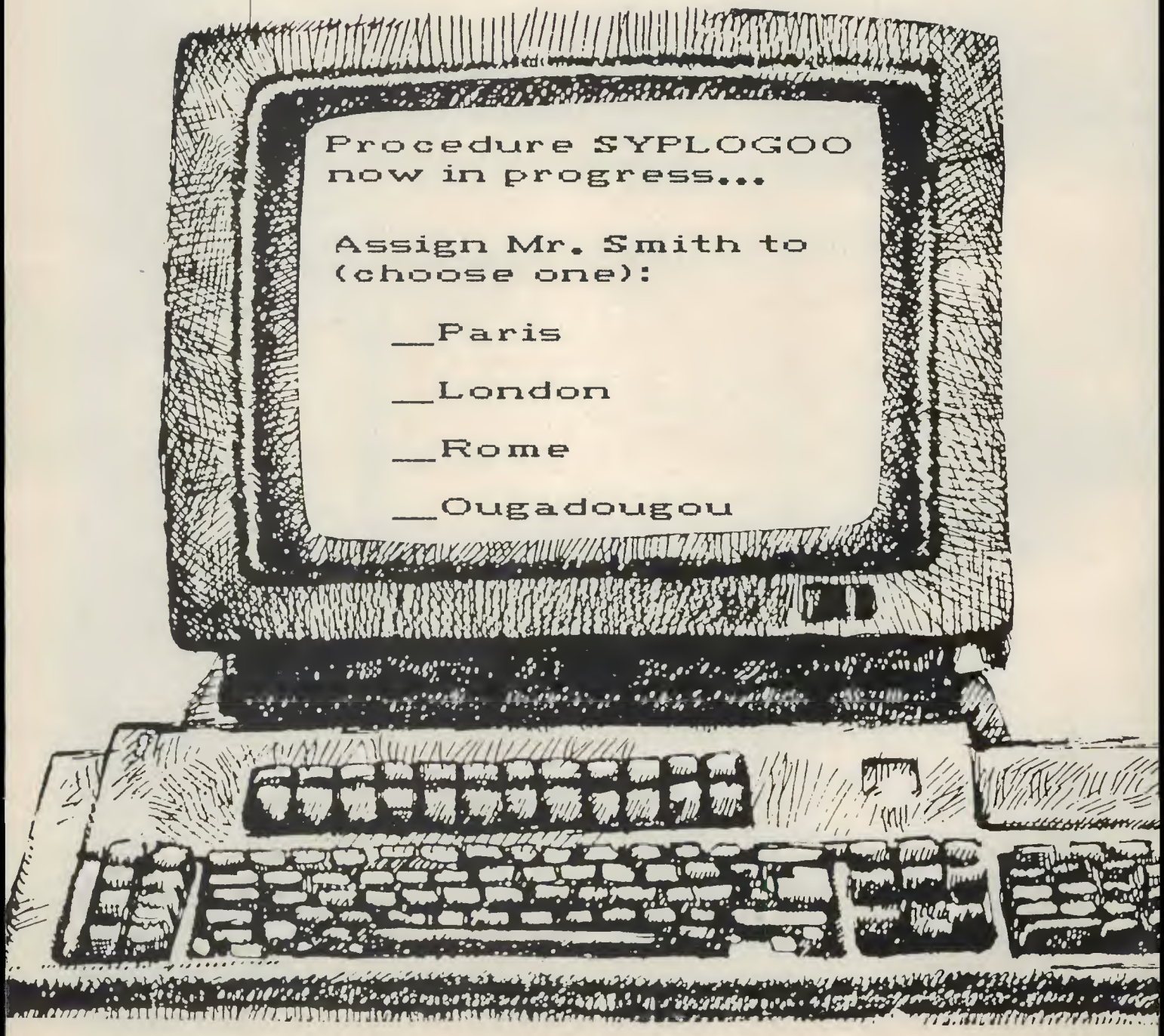
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TALKING TO MR. SYPLOGOO

This worm's eye view of the Foreign Service counseling and assignment system shows the strengths and limits of the bureaucracy

MICHAEL A.G. MICHAUD

HELLO NEW USER

The green letters blink onto the screen of your computer terminal. An identical terminal sits by the desk of each other officer in PER/FCA. They too are at their keyboards, beginning another working day.

ENTER INITIALS AND PASSWORD

You punch in your codes to gain access to the menu. With a flicker of green light, the machine recognizes you as one of the initiated.

PROCEDURE SYPLOGOO NOW IN PROGRESS

The menu now appears on the screen, offering you a variety of ways to use the power of Personnel's data processing system—Mr. SYPLOGOO, for short. You can, for example, send electronic mail to any of your office colleagues. Or you can enter another password and gain access to the data base for Foreign Service counseling and assignments: Personnel audit reports, staffing patterns, bids listed by job, and bids by officer. If you are an assignment officer, you can punch in the data needed to complete a travel message, assigning someone to a faraway post. Imagine where you could send your enemies!

YOU, THE GENERALIST Foreign Service officer, have entered an arcane subworld of personnel jargon, elaborate procedures, printouts, and forms. For the rest of the day, you will look at staffing patterns, check position numbers, enter bids, print out personnel audit reports, write travel messages, negotiate with your colleagues over the telephone or in the corridor, and take heat from bureau executive directors because the assignments panel has chosen to enforce some apparently abstract principle. You will feel removed from the policy mainstream, resented by other bureaus, and unrewarded for your effort. Yet what you do has a very real impact on the lives of your colleagues, and on the effectiveness of U.S. diplomacy. It also may be the single most popular subject for cafeteria conversations.

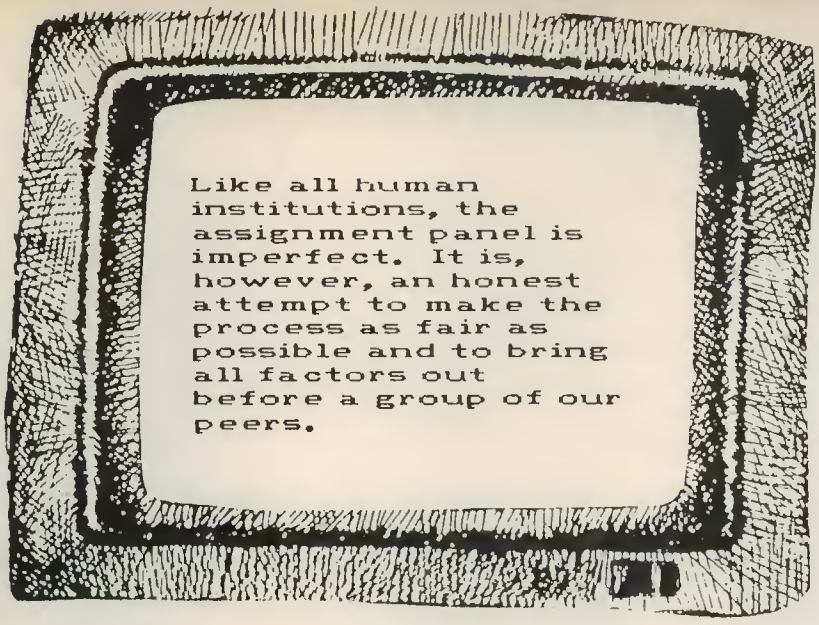
The Bureau of Personnel is a large and complex organization, with many functions. For the typical FSO, however, the heart of it is PER/FCA—the Office of Foreign Service Career Development and Assignments—with its counselors, assignment officers, and technicians. To those who have never served there, the work of FCA may seem inscrutable, if not erratic, unresponsive, or maddening. In fact, many FSOs may agree with Dirty Harry Callahan that "Personnel is for idiots."

Despite this, however, a newcomer is struck by FCA's atmosphere of collegiality. The structure of the assignment process forces people to work together as true colleagues; arrogant loners and deceitful manipulators are unlikely to succeed in a system that requires constantly shifting alliances and which punishes dishonesty. But FCA's camaraderie also reflects a sense of shared hardship. Officers (at least those outside the administrative cone) know that Personnel work has low status among their peers. They know that FCA is often resented by other bureaus and sometimes by the director general himself. They also know that the old saw, "Well, at least you'll get a good assignment after your tour in Personnel" is, at best, unprovable; later assignments almost always are the result of an officer's existing reputation and support within another bureau. At a time of very slow promotions, this reinforces the view that an assignment to Personnel, especially for FSO-1s and senior officers, is two years out of the mainstream. But leaving their individual futures aside, those who have worked in FCA see it as a place where decent, motivated amateurs, selected for their ability to work with others, struggle to operate a complicated system under a host of conflicting pressures.

In fact, FCA is designed to be schizophrenic. It is divided between career development officers, who represent the interests of individual employees, and assignment officers, who represent the interests of the bureaus. To complicate matters further, it has junior and senior officer divisions that combine the career development and assignment functions, and another division for training and liaison assignments.

The assignment officer is responsible for filling hundreds of jobs with the best possible candidates, usually as soon as possible. When the AO succeeds in getting the assignments panel to put a desirable officer where the bureau wants, he or she wins points; when the bureau's choice is turned down by the panel, the AO loses points. The AO must then translate the panel's decisions into travel messages, entering the

Michael A.G. Michaud headed PER/FCA's Political Officer Division from 1984–85. He is now director of the Office of Advanced Technology in OES.



information into the computer and checking the accuracy of the product. Many travel messages must be tailored to meet specific needs, such as training. At the height of the annual assignment cycle, when an interfunctional panel agenda can contain 20 pages of single-spaced items, this means spending Saturday at the computer terminal. And, of course, the AO can expect other officers to come in to complain about some aspect of their orders or to express interest in a particular job.

The career development officer is under a different set of pressures. Each CDO is responsible for about 300 clients, and is expected to know the strengths, weaknesses, qualifications, availability, assignment preferences, and career development needs of each one. Before moving ahead with an assignment, the CDO is expected to review the client's rank, transfer eligibility date, medical clearance, family and educational needs, language qualifications, prior hardship service, tandem status, length of service in Washington, and personal preferences. During each annual cycle, about half of a CDO's clients will submit bids—usually an initial list of 6-15, plus revised bid lists. Needless to say, the CDO is under pressure to get every client the best job possible. When the panel assigns a client to a high bid, the CDO usually gets no thanks; when the client fails to get any of the original bids, the CDO has the task of advising him or her to submit more, usually on less desirable jobs.

KEEPING ALL THIS straight would be a nightmare without Mr. SYPLOGOO. There is simply too much information to manage an open assignments system with traditional office methods. The Bureau of Personnel, faced with a rising workload and a constant staff, has turned to automated data management in a way almost unparalleled in the Department of State. A complex data base established in PER/FCA allows every officer to call up, print out, and revise a wide variety of information. Serving in FCA is perhaps the most common way that generalist officers are introduced to the power and frustrations of a computerized data base.

Personnel's management office has been a forceful advocate of automated data processing. With its access to the department's central computer system and its own personal computer network, PER/MGT can produce a wide variety of statistical material and useful lists. It is this office that generates the projections of promotion opportunities that are used by the department's senior managers to reach decisions on actual promotion numbers.

PER/MGT views itself as the advocate of rationality in the personnel system, and regards FCA as representing the unsystematic, excessively flexible, impressionistic, liberal arts approach. For instance, statistics may identify more vacancies requiring a particular skill than available officers with that skill; therefore, MGT may conclude, officers with that skill should be assigned only to those positions, not to generalist jobs. This may seem like a reasonable attempt to make the assignment process more objective. To the denizens of FCA, however, such attempts to rigidly align jobs and skills do not recognize that the system must adjust quickly to priority needs or take into account the conflicting pressures put on the process by bureaus and individual officers.

All those pressures come together at the weekly meetings of assignment panels. The entire assignments process is deliberately structured as a system of checks and balances, in which countervailing interests produce agreements through creative tension, compromise, and group dynamics. In the main, or interfunctional, panel, 12 voting members sit at the table, with the director of PER/FCA in the chair. The panel's resemblance to a court of law is more than casual. Before the meeting, each member of the panel receives a copy of the agenda, which consists mostly of a list of proposed assignments divided by bureau, plus those for senior officers, junior officers, or trainees. The AOs read these proposed assignments aloud, along with the rank of job and proposed officer, estimated date of arrival, tour of duty, new transfer eligibility date, and language requirements. Members of the panel have the right to raise questions, call for discussion, or put a temporary hold on the proposed assignment on behalf of either a bureau or a client. Career development officers can also place proposed assignments on the agenda for discussion and possible panel action.

Most assignments have been negotiated before the meeting and are acceptable both to the bureau and the officer concerned. Many are read without further comment from the panel. Some are held up because of technical inconsistencies, missing information, or unresolved issues. The most interesting cases arise when two officers are strongly advocated for the same job, or when two bureaus want the same officer. If no one backs down, this leads to a "shootout" between the advocates on the panel. In that situation, the panel becomes even more like a jury, listening to the arguments made by the "lawyers" representing opposing bureaus or opposing candidates for jobs. The panel then votes, with ties broken by the chair. The decision may be appealed, usually by a bureau, and the panel can be overruled by the director general, in whose name it acts.

Like all human institutions, the panel is imperfect. It is, however, an honest attempt to make the assignment process as fair as possible, and to bring all fac-

AID: Coping with Specialties

In AID, the assignments system is characterized by a need to cope with many more specialties—and a much more rigid differentiation between them—than exists in the State Department. Although a State political officer may sometimes serve in an economic cone job, it is almost unheard of for an AID medical officer to serve in an agricultural position. The AID system also involves many fewer individuals and positions: a total of approximately 1800, or about 500 in any one assignment cycle. (Senior FSOs in AID—of whom there are about 150—are assigned through the Executive Personnel Applicant Process or EPAP system.) Yet it is designed to work very similarly to that in State.

The process starts when AID sends out a cable listing all known vacancies. For example, in July, a cable went out listing all the positions expected to become available between May 1987 and April 1988. The employees then send in their list of preferences, which must abide by certain rules: employees must bid on at least four positions in their current "backstop" or specialty, or in a specialty for which they are approved; employees who are not currently at a 25-percent hardship-differential post must bid on at least two posts that are either 25-percent hardship or a combination of danger pay and hardship pay that totals at least 25 percent; an employee who has served four or more consecutive years in Washington must include bids on overseas positions; an employee who has served two consecutive tours in one region must bid on at least two positions out of that region; and an employee who has served eight or more consecutive years overseas must include bids on positions in Washington.

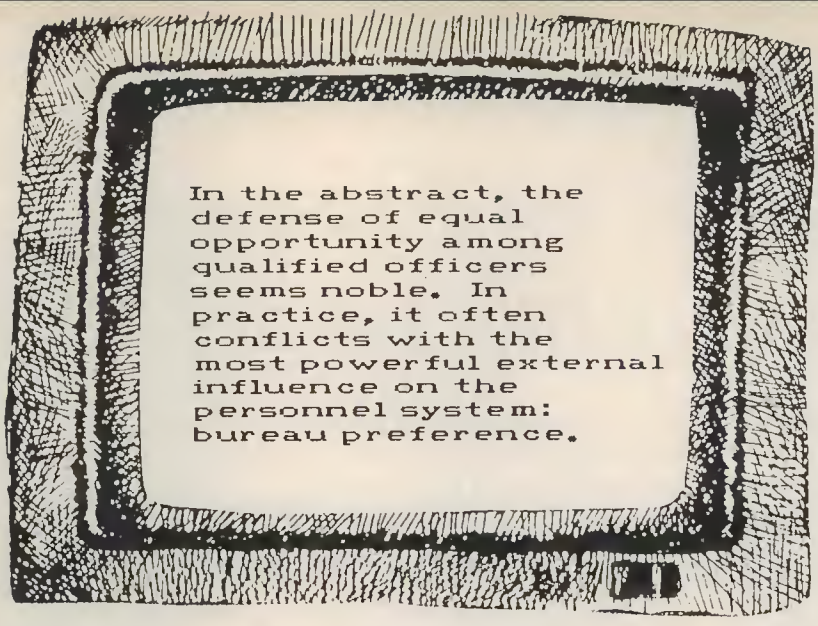
Once the bid list is received in Washington, it is entered into the computer. AID's Office of Foreign Service Personnel, which handles the assignment and counseling process, has been using a computer for 3–4 years, and is gradually adding to its functions. This year for the first time, the computer will "audit" each bid list to ensure that employees abide by these rules. If not, the bids will be rejected unless there is some overriding reason—such as health considerations. Employees whose bids are rejected are given an opportunity to revise and resubmit their lists.

Once all bids are supposed to be in, the computer, which has biographical data on all employees, draws up two rosters. The first lists all employees and their bids, and the second lists all positions and those who have bid on them. This information is reviewed by the career development officers and assignment officers in FSP. As in the State Department, the CDOs tend to see the assignment process from the individual's point of view. Usually they are members of the Foreign Service, and usually their clients are assigned to them according to specialty, i.e., one CDO represents most of the engineers, another represents most of the medical specialists. The assignment officers, also like those in State, tend to adopt a more system-oriented view. But according to the head of FSP, Francis Herder, the distinction between CDOs and AOs is not as great as in the department. They tend to work together and both must take the needs of the system into account.

Once FSP has matched an employee with a suitable position, usually from his or her bid list, the AO puts the recommendation on the Assignment Board's agenda. The board is composed of the director of Foreign Service personnel, and representatives of the three geographic bureaus and the Equal Employment Opportunity office, along with the appropriate CDO and representatives from the concerned functional office, depending on the positions being discussed. Decisions are made by consensus or, when necessary, by majority vote. If the vote is a tie, it can be broken by the director of personnel. According to Herder, "the vast majority of cases are noncontroversial," but when a problem does arise, there are several ways of handling it. If FSP is unable to agree on a recommendation, they may forward it to the board undecided. The board, in turn, can forward it to the director of personnel without making a decision, although this rarely happens. If a decision is made, but the employee, post, or relevant bureau is unhappy, it can be appealed to the director of personnel. And, although it almost never happens, the director can overturn an Assignment Board decision.

> **As in State, the CDOs tend to adopt the individual's point of view, while the AOs tend to adopt a more system-oriented approach**

Herder describes this process of matching positions and individuals as one similar to the operation of market forces. But although "the bottom line is that agency needs come first," Herder says that every effort is made to take employee needs into account. Such factors as the individual's career development requirements, language skills, family needs, and medical status are considered in the assignment process. Assignments outside a specialty are not discouraged, and at times are even encouraged, although the technical nature of many specialties makes the system rather rigid. An engineer, would not normally, for example, be qualified for an agricultural position, but he or she could perhaps do well as a project development officer. And, like the State Department, AID does attempt to promote equity whenever possible in its assignments system. French speakers should not, Herder points out, be forced to spend their entire career in Francophone Africa. It is only natural for bureaus to ask for those with whom they are familiar, but FSP makes an effort to ensure that the bureau's desires are balanced by the needs of the employee and of the system as a whole. —F.G.B.



tors out into the open before a group of our peers. Every group involved in the assignment process has an opportunity to be heard. Panel members generally act responsibly while representing their clients, though obviously some advocates are more effective than others. The discussions are definitely thorough: arguments about a single assignment can run on for as long as 45 minutes, and that item can then be brought back for further discussion the following week. During the 1984–85 assignment cycle, when new rules concerning hardship service were being implemented, panel meetings which began at 10:15 in the morning sometimes ran until 6:00 that evening.

The conventional wisdom in FCA is that the system works correctly about 90 percent of the time, balancing the needs of the bureau with the wishes and career development needs of the officer. In those cases where it does not work right, the cause can usually be found in a disagreement about the application of a personnel principle (such as assignment at grade or equitable sharing of hardship service), or in pressure from another bureau.

THE ASSIGNMENTS PANEL is the enforcer of fairness in the Foreign Service personnel system. If it did not exist, all assignments to desirable jobs would be the result of personal influence and the patronage of senior officials; officers disadvantaged by low visibility would be even more likely to wind up in dead-end jobs. It is the panel that can object when a bureau proposes the stretch assignment to a language-designated job at a non-hardship post of an officer without hardship service, the right language, or the right transfer eligibility date.

In the abstract, the defense of equal opportunity among qualified officers seems noble. In practice, it often conflicts with the most powerful external influence on the personnel system: bureau preference. The department's bureaus still have the great, decentralized power of controlling their jobs. The geographic bureaus are particularly influential, because they control access to the overseas jobs necessary for a Foreign Service career. Understandably, bureaus try to fill their significant jobs with those officers whom they believe are the best available. In practice, this tends to mean officers already known to senior bureau officials, usually officers who already have served in that bureau. That universe is much more limited than the one known to PER/FCA, whose counselors are expecred to know the strengths and qualifications of hundreds of officers. When a CDO proposes an alternate candidate before an assignments panel, it tends to be responsive to arguments of fairness and equity, especially when the two candidates are both well qualified. Not infrequently, the result is a collision between the panel and the concerned bureau. No one will be surprised to learn that the bureau most frequently in conflict with the panel on stretch and non-hardship assignments is that of European and Canadian Affairs, which is the best-organized, most-influential, most-sought-after bureau, and the one most resented by the panel.

In such cases, panel actions often provoke appeals to the director general and, sometimes, directed assignments overruling the panel. Bureaus will fight hard to keep their preferred candidates for key jobs. Even when the bureau is more flexible, the officer who risks losing such a plum assignment may seek to invoke the influence of senior officials, especially now that the scarcity of promotions and the threat of selection-out for time-in-class makes assignment to an average, low-visibility job much more risky. This pressure to get promoted is an increasingly serious distorting influence on the assignment process.

No one is more sensitive to these problems than a counselor of mid-level officers. Day after day, clients across the desk worry aloud about their futures and ask for help in finding a job—preferably a stretch assignment—that will lead to promotion. The counselor faces the dilemma of trying to wedge too many good officers into too few mainstream jobs, against stiff competition from other cones. He knows that losing a shootout at a panel meeting can mean the early end of a client's career. He winces at each promotion list, as more of his charges slip into the "unlikely to survive" category. Honesty requires that the counselor tell a significant number of his clients that their prospects are bleak, and that officers unable to get into desirable geographic, mainstream jobs may have to begin thinking about second careers. How can a counselor do serious career development work in these circumstances? The issue is no longer developing clients so they are of more value to the Service, but simply helping them survive.

Several PER/FCA people have struggled to find remedies. Their efforts led, for example, to more realistic and humane assignment practices for officers in their last two years of time-in-class, such as not forcing them to go overseas. But FCA people feel that personnel policies are now being driven by forces beyond their control, or even the control of the department's managers.

Foreign Service people understandably blame Personnel or "the system" for their career problems. But your colleagues in Personnel are not the source of the underlying problem; they have only limited influence on the structure of the Foreign Service, and virtually none on the way the Service is treated in the upper levels of power. Ultimately, the issue is not technical or bureaucratic, but political. □

USIA: Assigning Year-Round

In USIA, the Foreign Service assignments and career counseling process is very similar to that of the State Department and AID. It differs, however, in that assignments are posted and paneled throughout the year.

The process starts with the biweekly publication of available assignments. That list also identifies those positions that have been filled or changed, along with the names of the employees. This notice is updated and all unfilled positions listed again in a quarterly report. Most positions are announced 12 months before they are available or before the relevant language training begins. In those cases where language training takes 24 months, the position may be advertised three years before it is open. The July 18 list, for example, contains several positions available in China and Japan beginning in July 1989.

Once a position is advertised, an employee has 60 days in which to place a bid. Each employee must bid on at least five positions, although these do not all have to be sent in at the same time. As in State and AID, employees are supposed to follow certain guidelines: an employee should bid on positions in at least two geographic areas and should bid on at least one hardship post. Moreover, employees who have served overseas for eight consecutive years can expect their next assignment to be in Washington, while those in Washington can expect an overseas assignment after serving five years. These rules are not hard and fast, however. Given the difficulties involved in getting the relatively few USIA Foreign Service employees—approximately 1200—into suitable positions, these are usually treated as guidelines to be followed whenever possible, not as conditions that must be satisfied.

The Foreign Service Personnel Division is the office responsible for the assignments and counseling process. Each year it handles about 400-500 cases, paneling an average of 10 assignments each week. The division consists of five career counselors—the equivalent of the State Department's career development officers—and five area personnel officers, similar to the assignment officers. Each counselor is responsible for approximately 200 individual clients, of whom about 70 are involved in the assignment process at any one time. Because the distinctions between specialties—public or cultural affairs officers, for instance—are not as sharp as in AID, counselors are assigned according to rank, rather than function. For example, one counselor deals with all the non-tenured junior officers. The APOs are charged with representing the needs of the geographical areas and confer frequently with those bureaus.

Once the deadline for bidding is past, the position is placed on the agenda for the career counselors' weekly meeting. At this point, there may be anything from 0 to 45 bids on a particular job. Many will have been made in response to the biweekly or quarterly listing, but it is not unusual for a counselor to approach a client that he or she believes is well-suited and solicit an application. Usually only 15 positions are considered at each meeting and only 10 recommendations made; the others will be held over for further discussion.

The counselors' suggestions are considered the next day at a weekly meeting chaired by the chief of FSP and attended by all the counselors and APOs. Some cases may only take a few minutes to discuss and approve; others may take quite a bit of time, with the counselors' having to justify their choice and give brief presentations on the other bidders. Once this group makes its decision, the APO takes it to the area bureau for approval. The necessary signature is usually forthcoming, but if it is not, PER does have the right to make the assignment despite the bureau's objections. If the bureau's reluctance is justified, however, FSP may reconsider its choice or even reopen the bidding if the position can stay vacant for a time.

Occasionally there will be very few bidders on a particular job. And although FSP tries to match individuals and positions to everyone's satisfaction, the needs of the system come first, just as in State and AID. Barry Fulton, chief of the division, considers the process to have failed when a forced assignment is necessary, and believes that only about a dozen have been made in the last four years. Nevertheless, it is clear that not everyone can have their first choice.

> The rules are not hard and fast. Given the difficulties in getting the relatively few employees into suitable positions, they are treated as guidelines

All senior officers and PAOs must go through an additional step: the biweekly senior assignments panel. This group includes the chief of FSP, the associate director for management, the counselor of the agency (the highest ranking FSO), and the director of personnel. The majority of these assignments are quickly agreed upon, but some provide the occasion for heated debate, especially if there are a number of strong bidders and the area bureau and FSP are in disagreement. In addition, any assignment at the minister-counselor level—of which there are about 35 in Washington and overseas—must be approved by the director. PAOs have still another hurdle: once the senior assignments panel has given its approval, a cable is sent out to the ambassador in the form of a nomination. Occasionally the ambassador may refuse to accept the person selected, in which case FSP can try to clarify and overcome that reluctance, or even suggest that the position might have to stand vacant for a while if the process has to start over. In the end, however, the ambassador has the final say.

—F.G.B.

Questionnaire Results

Foreign Service Careers: Declining Expectations

Frances G. Burwell

A survey on Foreign Service careers conducted by the JOURNAL has revealed that the majority of those in the Service no longer view their career as a lifetime commitment, but rather as something to be done as an experiment or before launching a second career. The survey also shows that a majority in the Service believe a diplomatic career *should* end in the senior ranks, but that most expected that the usual career *would* end in the mid-levels. This lowering of expectations, coupled with the distinction between the Service's reality and ideal, was present throughout the responses we received. It was perhaps most drastically apparent in the fact that although 90 percent of the respondents believe it is important that members have a commitment to the Service as a career—not just as a job for a few years—only 14 percent would advise new entrants to view the Service as a lifetime career.

Under Secretary for Management Ronald I. Spiers chose to interpret our statistics differently, lumping together those who view the Service as a lifetime commitment with those who see it as a long-term occupation followed by a second career. This more than negates the distinction we found between past expectations and current perceptions, as 73 percent viewed the Service as a lifetime *or* longterm career when they joined, and 84 percent do so now. However, notes Spiers, "this tends to contradict my own impression that the Foreign Service is now viewed less as a lifetime or long-term career Service than it was 25–30 years ago." Spiers attributes the fact that only 41 percent would advise new entrants to view the Service as either a lifetime *or* long-term commitment to "a number of factors, including security concerns, education of children, spouse-employment considerations, pay compression, unhealthful conditions abroad, and career uncertainties occasioned by changes made pursuant to the 1980 act."

Some caution needs to be used in deciding how valid our responses are across the entire Service, however. As is the case with any questionnaire that requires the reader to fill out and return it, those individuals with strong opinions on the subject are most likely to take the initiative to do so. Not surprisingly, a higher percentage of FS-1s and 2s responded to the survey than would normally be expected, given the JOURNAL's distribution among the various ranks. However, when compared with the answers of the entire group, the FS-1s and 2s did not differ significantly. Moreover, we received 226 responses—the highest total yet for a JOURNAL questionnaire.

The survey attempted to assess whether and how the attitudes of members of the Foreign Service have changed toward their own careers. The results made clear that the commitment of most individuals to the Service have lessened over time. When our respondents entered the diplomatic corps, 61 percent regarded it as a lifetime commitment, 12 percent saw it as a long-term occupation perhaps followed by a second job, 4 percent saw it as a limited commitment for a few years, and 23 percent viewed it as an experiment. Today, however, only 28 percent see it as a lifetime commitment, while 55 percent view it as a long-term job to be followed by another, and 7 and 9 percent view it as a limited career or an experiment. The greatest uncertainty is reflected in the advice these veterans would give to new members of the Foreign Service: only 14 percent would urge them to view the Service as a lifetime commitment, 27 percent would tell them to consider it a long-term career, 21 percent would describe it as a limited one, and 38 percent would advise them to consider it an experiment. In a similar vein, our respondents indicated that when they joined the Service, 66 percent expected that they would achieve the highest grades, 27 percent were uncertain of their prospects, and only 7 percent did not expect to reach the highest levels. Today, however, slightly less than half still believe they will attain the upper ranks or are already there, and the remaining half are evenly split between those who are uncertain of their futures and those who do not believe they will reach the higher levels. The responses of recent entrants also demonstrate a significant change in attitudes. Of those who have been in the Service less than five years, 46 percent initially considered the Service a lifetime commitment, but only 14 percent do so now; the rest have come to look at it as a long-term career, a limited job, or an experiment.

Given that expectations have become so limited, one would expect many Foreign Service employees to be considering resigning. In fact, more than half (52 percent) have never considered doing so. However, 18 percent are seriously considering resigning now and another 22 percent gave it serious consideration in the past. This is particularly striking among the younger members: of those in the Service less than five years, 28 percent are considering resigning, and of those in

"I would, and do, actively discourage young inquirers from seeking FS entry. The career Service is finished as a collective body."

"The Foreign Service has become largely a supplier of consular and administrative services [while] its role in the development...of policy has deterioriated. Unless this trend is reversed (which is unlikely) little can be achieved by tinkering with the system."

"The up-or-out system is unfair to serious, qualified, and dedicated Foreign Service employees who are not as promotion-minded or as ambitious as others, but who are still well-qualified."

"The biggest advantage of the Foreign Service is a guaranteed new job every few years. The rigidity of the system discourages changing cones, and tends to drive many of the most promising officers out."

Frances G. Burwell is senior editor of the JOURNAL. The opinions expressed in this article are not necessarily those of the American Foreign Service Association.

for 6-10 years, 34 percent are now doing so. The two most important factors leading these individuals to think about leaving the Service were the lack of opportunities for advancement and the desire for more professional challenges.

OUR RESPONDENTS went on to consider the factors that affect the availabilities of challenging assignments and promotion prospects in the Foreign Service. When asked whether "An FSO career *should* end in the senior levels," more agreed than disagreed (14 percent strongly agreed, 36 percent agreed, 32 percent disagreed, and 7 percent strongly disagreed). But when asked whether there were more Senior Foreign Service employees than needed, again more agreed than disagreed (15 percent strongly agreed, 32 percent agreed, 18 percent disagreed, and 8 percent strongly disagreed), although a significant group—27 percent—was undecided. Most concurred with the statement that "the usual Service career will end in the mid-levels" (15 percent strongly agreed, and 47 percent agreed), but 18 percent were undecided and an equal percentage disagreed. Despite these limited expectations, 90 percent agreed (including 75 percent who strongly agreed) that "having members of the Service who are committed to staying in the Service for a career, not just a few years, is essential." When asked whether "having adequate promotion opportunities is essential for maintaining the Service," 98 percent agreed, including 76 percent who did so strongly. A strong consensus also emerged when our readers were asked whether the shortage of senior jobs will affect the middle and lower levels: 84 percent said yes (37 percent strongly agreed, 48 percent agreed) while 10 percent were undecided and very few disagreed. Finally, when faced with the statement: "the Service should be run on a rigorous up-or-out system," our respondents took a less enthusiastic, albeit still favorable view (19 percent agreed strongly, 38 percent agreed, 16 percent were undecided, 19 percent disagreed, and 8 percent strongly disagreed).

If our respondents seem to make promotion opportunities a high priority and at the same time conclude that most will not reach the senior ranks, they are not the only ones struggling to come to terms with the 1980s' Service. Since early 1985, there has been an increasing amount of activity, as State Department management, AFSA, and other concerned groups have argued about the effect of time-in-class restrictions coupled with limited promotion opportunities.

The Foreign Service Act of 1980 requires the secretary of state to set limitations on the time an individual can spend in a particular class without being promoted before becoming subject to selection out. The most crucial TIC—at least the most debated—is that between an FS-1's declaration that he or she should be considered for further promotion, and that person's elevation into the Senior Foreign Service. The State Department has set that "window" at six years, along with the overall limit of 20 years between tenure and reaching the senior corps. Both USIA and AID have seven-year TICs, and in AID it is possible for an employee to withdraw his or her name from consideration without penalty (the employee would still be subject to the 20-year TIC). Since this system came into effect, promotions to the Senior Foreign Service have slowed, leaving few opportunities for those FS-1s that had "opened their windows." As a result, 63 officers are now facing the end of their six-year TIC and will have to retire unless promoted by the current boards. It is difficult to predict how many actually will make the senior corps, but statistical projections by the Bureau of Management estimate that about eight will succeed. In addition, 39 mid-level officers are expected to retire in 1987 when their 20-year TIC expires.

Those who reach the Senior Foreign Service continue to face the pressure of TICs, but, depending on their rank, they have only four to seven years before they must be promoted or face selection out. To date, this pressure has been alleviated somewhat by the use of limited career extensions, which management can grant to those who have exhausted their allotted time, but whose skills are still in demand. Nevertheless, since 1983 between 70-80 senior officers have left the Service due to the expiration of their TIC.

The State Department has not attempted to sweep this issue under the rug. In fact, as early as January 1985, Under Secretary for Management Ronald I. Spiers made clear in a speech [published in the JOURNAL that March] that there were too many senior FSOs on overcomplement and that promotions would be held down until the surplus had been reduced. In fact, promotions into the senior ranks have slowed drastically during the past few years. Management has also indicated that it will remain firm on the length of the TIC and that no extraordinary actions will be taken to avoid the forced retirement of those facing the end of their allotted time.

During the past year, AFSA has attempted to generate some discussion of management's policies and their consequences. The union has held a series of open meetings, some with management officials, and the attendance figures alone—200 people at the first and almost 500 at the fourth and most recent—indicate the level of concern among department Foreign Service personnel. AFSA later sent a letter to Secretary Shultz asking him to halt the implementation of management policies that the Association claimed endangered the Service, but the secretary declined to act, responding that "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 promotion and attrition." Apart from that, AFSA has not formally presented an alternative policy to management, nor is there any indication that management would be willing to enter negotiations if one were put forward.

AFSA President Gerald Lamberty notes that private-sector firms are also curtailing the careers of some middle and senior managers. "Unlike the Service, however," says Lamberty, "these firms are concerned that the dismissals not adversely affect the morale and commitment of the retained employees. By emphasizing voluntary retirements, they are handling the departures in a manner so that, according to *Business Week*, 72 percent of the affected employees believe that the dismissed individuals were treated fairly.

"My experience is that most managers are weak and indecisive. A common response to a problem is that of wishing it would be transferred away."

"The Foreign Service as a lifetime career must be maintained to ensure requisite levels of expertise, continuity, and maturity of judgment."

"While the current situation is clearly unsatisfactory, I doubt that there is any 'free lunch' which will solve our problems completely."

"This has been the best of lives!"

"The belief that personnel policies are cyclical leads us to assume that current problems will go away if we can sit tight for two or three years....I am tempted to think the present crisis will produce a rebound from which I may benefit."

Again unlike the Service, the firms are making these dismissals reluctantly to cut costs or reduce managerial levels rather than merely because they believe such dismissals are beneficial by themselves."

AFSA has not been the only organization questioning management policies. Early this year, a group of FS-1s circulated a paper that severely criticized the pending forced retirement of some fifty officers, saying that the current climate was creating cutthroat competition for good assignments and threatening any type of dissent or independent behavior that might lead to even one less-than-rapturous EER. The paper went on to suggest that fewer LCEs should be granted to seniors, that selection out should be more rigorously applied at all levels, and that some form of early voluntary retirement should be possible.

FOR ANYONE attempting to come up with a way out of the Service's current state of affairs, reading the comment section of our questionnaire would be instructive. Not only did our respondents differ widely in their suggestions of what should be done, they also differed in their assessments of the reasons behind their predicament. Some blamed the overabundance of political appointees for the shortage of senior positions available to Foreign Service members. As one person wrote: "Every FSO expects certain ambassadorial positions to remain political appointments for the forseeable future. However, with political influence determining commercial positions at the FS-1 and 2 level, we face very difficult problems of career mobility."

Most, however, turned to the Service itself as the cause and the cure of their problems. There were several complaints that the assignment and promotion process did not work as it should; that, for example, advancement was based more on the buddy or old boy system than on merit, or that dissent had affected a promotion. One former officer wrote that his selection-out five years after a series of extremely rapid promotions made him believe that "something is wrong in the system!" Another individual suggested that perhaps a series of written exams based on language capability and substantive knowledge should be used with EERs to establish ranking on the promotion list.

Predictably, many of the comments focused on the up-or-out aspect of the system. Not a few wrote comments indicating that they thought up-or-out had not been applied rigorously enough. "I strongly believe," wrote one, "that we are paying today for the Service's past failure to select out officers according to standards which had been established but not enforced." Another commented that, "Allowing approximately 95 percent of all junior officers to receive tenure is a disservice to our profession....I would suggest a ballpark figure of 75-80 percent." But it should not be applied just to the junior officers, cautions another: "Management has recently failed to keep moving people from the Senior Foreign Service into retirement. The blockage at the threshhold needs to be minimized. That means fewer LCEs."

Other respondents, however, were equally adamant that a rigorously enforced up-or-out system was not in the interest of the Service or the country: "The forcing out of so many experienced, knowledgeable FSOs who opted for the SFS without understanding that the rules had been changed is a real loss to our country." This viewpoint was echoed by several others, among them one who wrote: "There are numerous individuals who do not aspire to the highest ranks and would be good, loyal employees in the middle grades. Why select them out?...That is wasteful management. Think of all the lost investment and the years to train replacements." And one cautioned that "the biggest need is for competent and brilliant and experienced officers at all levels. The system needs more flexibility for lateral movement, even downward movement if necessary, to keep high-talent people who are being forced aside." One respondent did suggest that the system might be altered so that individuals could opt for either a competitive, high-risk track or a lower-risk one with fewer opportunities for promotion.

Of course, careers are not only about promotion prospects. Unfortunately for the Service, those who commented on the working environment were no more positive than those concerned with promotions, only more unified in their criticism. Typical was this comment: "I believe that my single most important reason for dissatisfaction with the Service, and impetus for leaving it, comes from the poor management I have seen, both in my supervisors and outside my departments." Several specialists complained about the poor administration they saw, while a few officers wrote that the diplomatic corps placed too much emphasis on administration: "The Service [has become] a body of specialized technicians....The elite corps is no more; we are just another branch of the Civil Service bureaucracy." Others expressed their concerns about the stifling nature of the work: "I have found little room in the Service for independent and creative thinking; ideas are too often stifled by the press of mundane work and untrained supervisors."

Of course, one should bear in mind that morale has almost always been a problem in the Service. The causes may vary, but discussions of dispiritedness, intolerance for non-conformity, and repetitious work have been included in several reports about the Service and articles in the JOURNAL over the years. And, as one person pointed out, the Service is not the sole source for the current disruptions: "Life in the Foreign Service today mirrors the situation in society, namely, less dedication to the idea of a full-time career, the desire for ever more rapid advancement, the demand to satisfy spouses' career needs, the decline of what used to be known as Service discipline, etc."

But whatever the causes, and whatever the solution, if any, there is no denying the human cost the current disruptions in the Service will bring. As one respondent wrote: "A bit of a profile—FSO-8 to 3 [pre-1981 style] in 11 years, created two major institutional programs, stretch assignments for 10 years including senior assignment in one of my cone's most difficult postings, Superior Honor award, senior training, etc. Yet, my window will close next year, prior to 20 years of service, and I'll be out. I have three kids: a sophomore in college, a 10th grader, and a 7th grader. Now what?" □

"Up or out! Don't be afraid to compete!"

"The real question is not whether the current decapitation hurts the personal situations of SFS officers—of course it does—but whether it hurts the national interest."

"We should have up-or-out, but we've got to get rid of the poorer officers sooner and leave more room for the competent ones."

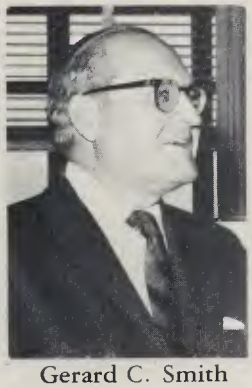
"We do need challenges, but not 'making it' and therefore being thrown out is not the way to create a *good* Foreign Service."

"During my career the attitudes of new hires has gradually changed from 'What is in the interest of the Service' to 'What is in it for me?' "

When President Kennedy signed the Arms Control and Disarmament Act on September 26, 1961, he established the world's first and still only independent agency devoted to the limitation of weapons of war. Support for the bill was massive and bipartisan, and in the 25 years since, presidents of both parties have worked with the agency to develop and bring to fruition an impressive record of bilateral and multilateral accords, as shown on our cover. The legislation envisioned a strong bond between arms control and national security, but every president has seen that relationship, and thus the role of ACDA, in a different light. What has been ACDA's impact on U.S. arms-control policies to date, and what should the agency's role be in the future? On the following pages, the current director and six of his predecessors address that question.

President Kennedy signing the Arms Control and Disarmament Act in New York on September 26, 1961.

ACDA's Impact on Arms Control and Its Role in the Future



Gerard C. Smith

THE Arms Control and Disarmament Agency was formed—and subsequently strengthened—because of a bipartisan consensus in this countty supporting the view that negotiated arms controls were an essential element of national security policy. The U.S. government, it was agreed, was not doing its job unless it was developing, advancing, and negotiating proposals to testrain the atms competition. ACDA was to institutionalize the arms-control viewpoint and ensure its presence in the policy debate.

ACDA has served this nation by providing technical and analytical background to the United States in arms negotiations. On many occasions, the agency has taken the lead in arms-control initiatives. And ACDA has served the general public as a source of accurate, unbiased information on arms issues. Under the leadership of the late Bill Foster, the agency was the key player in bringing the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty to fruition aftet extended negotiations.

My years at ACDA saw completion of the first Strategic Arms Limitation Agteement Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and Interim Agreement on Offensive Forces, as well as the Seabed Treaty, the Accidents Measures agreement, the Hotline Modernization agreement, the Biological Weapons Convention, and the Prevention of Nuclear War agreement. The agency was staffed by gifted professionals dedicated to enhancing national security. During the Carter administration, ACDA was also strongly in support of SALT II and a range of other arms-control initiatives.

President Reagan, however, initially cut the agency's budget and left top positions vacant. Its funding has been restored, but, unfortunately, much of its energy seems to have been focused in a direction opposed to arms control. Press reports consistently suggest that ACDA officials take the lead in urging the president to disregard existing agreements and derail initiatives—from the Soviet Union as well as other U.S. agencies—for new agreements. Most recently, ACDA officials appear to have been at the forefront of the successful effort to junk the SALT accords, thus undoing 15 years of progress by past administtations.

The agency also appears to have lost sight of its educational purpose. For example, in an opinion piece that recently appeared in the *New York Times,* ACDA's director stated: "It is sometimes claimed that the Soviets have dismantled 1000 or more systems to comply with SALT. This is contradicted by the fact that the Soviets themselves claim to have dismantled only 540 weapons under SALT." In reality, the Arms Conttol Association, of which I am chairman, has estimated that the Soviets have dismantled 541 strategic delivery vehicles in compliance with SALT. The figure of 1369 which ACA points to includes not only dismantled launchers but also missiles withdrawn and bombers converted to comply with the agreements. I am afraid that in the effort to score rhetorical points, ACDA is neglecting its traditional function of providing solid factual information. I hope the agency will soon resume its role as a driving force behind U.S. efforts to contain the arms competition through negotiated agreements.

Gerard C. Smith was director of ACDA from 1969–73.

Fred C. Ikle

THE Arms Control and Disarmament Agency was established 25 years ago to explore how arms control might contribute to our national security. ACDA has pursued this objective with dedication and distinction. The agency's contribution to the theory and practice of arms control is unsurpassed. We have discovered, however, that the effect of arms-control agreements on world security has fallen short of our early hopes. Among the reasons for this sobering realization are Soviet violations of ratified agreements, international indifference to treaty non-compliance, and western democratic disagreement with the Soviet leadership's view on military strategy and the purpose of arms control. ACDA has been instrumental not only in discovering and calling our attention to these shortcomings, but also in designing and pursuing ways to overcome them.

Existing treaties and other arrangements have failed to achieve significant arms reductions. Further, the Soviet Union has persistently violated its obligations under treaties and agreements to which it was committed. This well-documented record of Soviet non-compliance underscores the need to take a cautious view, yet at the same time to seek creative ways to achieve meaningful and verifiable reductions.

Treaty violations have both military and political consequences. Militarily, the side that complies may be put at a disadvantage that it would not otherwise suffer. Politically, violations undermine confidence not only in specific agreements, but in the arms-control process in general. Verification, therefore, plays a central role in arms control, and ACDA has been largely responsible for developing both the theory and the process of assessing treaty compliance. A significant proportion of ACDA's budget is dedicated to innovations in this field. But the task grows more complex as weapons become smaller, more mobile, and less distinctive. The technical difficulties are further exacerbated by higher arms-control ambitions as to the kinds of military systems and activities that should be limited.

Verification, however, is more than the process of determining whether treaties are observed or violated. Verification goes beyond detection because it includes the presentation of evidence to aid policymakers in determining measures that would help to enforce compliance or counteract violations. In this regard, ACDA is in a troublesome dilemma. In seeking agreement with the Soviet Union—a nation that has consistently avoided effective verification measures—the U.S. government frequently comes under pressure to ease its proposed requirements in order to produce an agreement. At the same time, charges that the Soviets have failed to honor existing arms-control agreements are met by demands for U.S. adherence to rules of evidence that often exceed those of the criminal court or the scientific laboratory.

Take, for example, President Reagan's announcement that the United States would no longer abide by the limits of SALT II. Despite the years of trying to call attention to the long list of Soviet violations of that accord, it was the president's decision, rather than the Soviet record, which was so vehemently criticized. Such unequal application of responsibility exemplifies the error of viewing arms-control documents as the single overriding goal of arms-control policy. The absence of meaningful international reaction to Soviet violations makes arms-control agreements less effective. Since the Soviet leadership need not worry about facing criticism from an informed society at home, it may easily ignore all but the sternest condemnation from abroad. Thus, when the world community leaves U.S. allegations of Soviet non-compliance uninvestigated, the Soviets feel no pressure to honor their promises. Moreover, Soviet arms-control declarations are designed to play upon fears, to split the United States from its allies, and to divide the American people from their government. Not only do they seek to degrade our military capabilities, but to weaken our resolve across the political spectrum as well.

Experience suggests that arms-control agreements are most likely to succeed in those limited areas where a strong measure of mutual self-interest prevails. ACDA serves the cause of peace by seeking out such areas. A good example was its role in the formulation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. ACDA continues to search for modest but meaningful successes where both sides are interested in avoiding confrontations. Measures such as the Hot-Line accords, Incidents at Sea agreement, and other so-called "confidence-building measures" are examples of successful contributions to our security.

ACDA has served us well in maintaining the principle that treaties are not ends unto themselves and that the process must not obscure the result. In short, arms-control agreements must do what they purport to do; they must enhance security and increase stability. ACDA's work in informing the world public, in proposing realistic reductions rather than meaningless limits, in developing effective verification procedures, and in writing accords that will bind both sides has been invaluable in focusing our attention on the need to rebuild the foundations of arms control.

Fred C. Ikle was director of ACDA from 1973–77. He is currently an under secretary of defense.

Paul C. Warnke

THE EFFECTIVENESS of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency is necessarily dependent upon the degree of interest in and emphasis on the role of arms control as a key element in U.S. security policy. When the president and the secretary of state give arms control the priority that I believe it deserves, ACDA provides an invaluable resource. When arms control is consigned to a secondary position or worse, obviously the agency can do nothing but generate papers and commission studies that are then readily disregarded by the administration policymakers.

It must be recognized that, despite the lofty language of its organic statute, ACDA must depend for its power on a close working relationship with a secre-

Presidents Nixon and Brezhnev in the Kremlin in 1974.

tary of state who has a lively interest in arms control. A director who takes seriously the statutory latitude to deal directly with the president will probably find more ego gratification than substantive accomplishment.

Accordingly, I believe it is essential that the director be the personal choice of the secretary of state and, of course, that both the secretary and the president regard ACDA as an important participant in decisions on nuclear and strategic policy. It is incompatible with the morale and effective functioning of the agency to have it bypassed by the appointment of special arms-control advisers from outside of ACDA. If the director is not regarded by the president and secretary of state as the principal adviser on arms-control policy, he or she should be replaced, rather than disregarded.

Finally, the agency should play an early and direct role in key weapons decisions. The preparation of Arms Control Impact Statements has tended to be, at best, a belated and perfunctory exercise. Obviously, ACDA cannot have a veto power over the development and deployment of major weapons systems. But its reason for existence is that arms control is a vital part of our national security. For example, a weapons program that, whatever its technological virtuosity, may precipitate an increase in the nuclear threat will leave us less rather than more secure.

The premise that led to the creation of ACDA is that such a separate, expert agency is needed, given the unprecedented risks of the nuclear age. If this premise remains valid, as I believe it does, ACDA's role and influence should be expanded. Because arms control offers the only hope of reducing the nuclear threat, I think this will occur.

Paul C. Warnke was director of ACDA from 1977–78. He is now a partner in the law firm Clifford & Warnke.

George M. Seignious

THE Arms Control and Disarmament Agency was born at a time when the then radical ideas that arms control might contribute to national security and that it might be possible to negotiate mutually beneficial agreements with the Soviets were first taking root in the American consciousness. That its first year was bracketed by the Berlin and Cuban crises only reinforced the growing public consensus that there was a need to seek such agreements with the Soviets. The world had become far too dangerous to tolerate the absence of dialogue.

Thus, from the beginning, ACDA, unlike the Department of State or diplomacy in general, has enjoyed the support of a sizeable constituency among the public and in Congress. This has resulted in both opportunities and burdens for the agency.

Regardless, however, of the degree of public support at any given time, there remain objective constants that argue for the existence of an independent ACDA. To begin with, "truth" and good public policy are, in the bureaucratic milieu, the outgrowth of an adversarial give-and-take. Without an institutional

advocate such as ACDA, that process might be so skewed as to produce arms-control policies that were poorly conceived or weakly pursued. Then, too, the very fact that we continue to negotiate with the Soviets on a panoply of arms-control issues should argue strongly for a central bureaucratic locus for the expertise needed to back up the negotiation process.

To prosper in the bureaucratic fray and to keep the support of its constituency behind it, ACDA must seek to maintain momentum in the search for realistic arms-control solutions while protecting its flanks against charges that it is "soft." This requires that agency officials keep their eyes fixed on realistic, mutually beneficial arms-control proposals that contribute to national security. Such proposals promote strategic stability, mutual confidence, and the development of trust between two superpowers. Some arms-control proposals, however, could have exactly opposite effects, disturbing the strategic balance or, by cutting too deeply, increasing the incentives for and dangers for breakout. Unrealistic disarmament schemes would not only be dangerous *per se* but would erode the credibility of ACDA and diminish its domestic constituency. In a similar vein, ACDA, in cooperation with other parts of government, should devote even greater effort to improving our verification capabilities. Greater confidence in compliance will strengthen ACDA's constituency and increase the viability of the arms-control process. In this regard, we should not only pursue aggressively refinements in our national means of verification but also put the Soviets to the test on their new-found interest in on-site inspection.

Looking beyond the current Geneva negotiations, there is no shortage of tasks for an independent ACDA. There are, in my view, however, several priority issues that the best minds in the agency should be tackling now. These include:

- Slowing down proliferation, which could increase the volatility of the Middle East, South Asia, and terrorism;
- Involving China, France, and Britain in the negotiation process, since, as the United States and the U.S.S.R. reduce their nuclear arsenals, those of the medium-sized nuclear powers will grow in importance;
- Getting a handle on the chemical and biological warfare problem, especially the fast-growing dangers raised by biotechnology; and
- Agreeing on at least interim terms of reference for new technologies before they begin to drive an entirely new procurement process.

I hope that ACDA's best minds are up to the task of contributing to the solution of such problems. Our national security depends in large part on their ability to do so.

George M. Seignious II was director of ACDA from 1978–80. He is currently president of the Atlantic Council.

Ralph W. Earle

IN CONSIDERING the question of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency's impact on U.S. arms control policy to date, it is necessary to begin by saying, "It all depends." Since its creation in 1961, the agency has had a number of directors, who have served under a number of secretaries of state, who in turn have served under a number of presidents. It is on the personal relationship between these officials that the agency's effectiveness depends. When the director of ACDA has had complete and easy access to the secretary and a good relationship with him (when, in fact, the director has been able to fill the role given him by the statute as "the principal adviser to the secretary of state on matters involving arms control and disarmament"), I think that ACDA's impact on arms-control policy in the broadest sense has been significant. On the other hand, in those instances when a close relationship has not existed or when the secretary has not had a significant and influential relationship with the president, the impact of the agency on arms-control policy has been far less and, in some cases, negligible.

All of the above assumes that the word "policy" should be defined in the broad sense. If "policy" is more narrowly defined, however, then it can be said that ACDA has had a continuing and continuous impact on arms-control policy. Its staff, composed of probably the most competent and educated group in the government, has had significant influence on decision-making at the staff and middle levels. The expertise in the most relevant subjects has, to my knowledge, always existed in the agency and has been greater than in any other department or agency. This has resulted in ACDA's having influence greatly disproportionate to its small staff and budget.

I believe that it can play a major part in the future if certain standards, both in terms of personnel and role, are met. Obviously, it should have a director who is close to the secretary (as well as to the president, although that is not a *sine qua non*). There should also be a secretary of state who is concerned about and interested in arms-control implementation, negotiation, and policy. Of course, the agency should continue to maintain the high standards for its staff that it has had in the past. A principal addition should, in my view, be a far greater role in the development of the overall national security policy and, in particular, in arms development and procurement. In the latter part of the Carter administration some effort was made to include ACDA personnel in Department of Defense force planning and even procurement, but the role was a small one. I believe that it should be broadened in order that there be at least shared knowledge, if not coordination and agreement, between the two sides of the river regarding policies toward both procurement and deployment on the one hand and negotiating positions and policies on the other.

Ralph W. Earle was director of ACDA from 1980–81.

A COMMITTEE chaired by John J. McCloy tecommended the establishment of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency as an independent agency—or at least a semi-detached agency—during President


Eugene V. Rostow

Eisenhower's administration; Congress and President Kennedy implemented that recommendation 25 years ago. The United States is the only country that entrusts active leadership in the quest for arms control and disarmament agreements to a separate agency, intended to function in close coordination with the Department of State, but not to be a part of it.

I am a staunch and convinced believer in the principle of the Arms Control and Disarmament Act. In my judgment, ACDA has had a positive if uneven influence on U.S. foreign policy during the last quarter of a century. I favor maintaining the agency as long as it is needed, and managing it in accordance with the vigorous and creative precedent established by its first director and deputy director, William S. Foster and Adrian Fisher, working in effective partnership with Secretary of State Dean Rusk. Together those three splendid public servants demonstrated that ACDA could make a constructive contribution to U.S. foreign policy. They never suffered from the illusion that arms control and disarmament agreements were a substitute for a strong and coherent foreign policy. But their accomplishments in the field of arms control were useful in themselves and constitute a model for their successors.

One of the principal reasons for establishing ACDA, as stated by the McCloy committee, was the desirability of developing a group of experienced specialists in the field. Time has confirmed the wisdom of that counsel. Despite the buffets and vagaries of the last 25 years, the officials of ACDA constitute an able and devoted team, idealistic without being sentimental, and expert without being esoteric. I enjoyed and appreciated my association with them and hold them in high regard.

The optimism that inspired U.S. and western foreign policy during the administrations of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy was based on the premise of George Kennan's famous 1947 article in *Foreign Affairs*—that 10 or 15 years of containment would produce a mellowing of Soviet foreign policy and lead to an era of general world peace to be achieved by cooperation among the major powers. That optimism suffered severely as the peoples of the West came reluctantly to realize that the leadership of the Soviet Union is pursuing its goals seriously and with skill, and has as yet shown no visible signs of mellowing. Many still cling to the generous mythology of the early postwar period and continue to believe that a little more American ingenuity in negotiation, a little more empathy, communication, and willingness to compromise can produce the miracle we have sought so long, principally through arms-control agreements. People of that persuasion find it nearly impossible to believe that the Soviet Union is actually pursuing the goal that is implicit in its behavior, namely, domination over the entire Eurasian land mass.

In the years ahead, as the United States, our allies, and other like-minded states struggle to establish the conditions for peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union (in our sense of that slippery term), ACDA will be needed more than ever. We can no longer assume that by a given date the Soviet Union will realize that its quest for hegemony is a scam, and that it will decide to follow the example of Germany and Japan. But we can be certain that, sooner or later, if we continue to make the Soviet bid for mastery impossible, the intelligent and well-trained Soviet leadership will realize how right Sir Norman Angell was, and give up imperialism as a hopeless and very expensive dream. Meanwhile, it will be essential for both sides to reduce uncertainty and anxiety about nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction in order to keep the thrust and counterthrust of the cold war within tolerable limits. That is the primary responsibility of ACDA for the indefinite future. It is a full-time job.

Eugene V. Rostow was director of ACDA from 1981–83. He is currently a distinguished visiting research professor of law and diplomacy at the National Defense University.


Kenneth L. Adelman

NINETEEN-SIXTY-ONE, the year President Kennedy assumed office and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency was established, was a year of many perils. The president was occupied by momentous and troubling events—the Vienna summit meeting, the Berlin crisis, and, a year later, the crisis over missiles in Cuba. "On the presidential coat of arms," he observed a few days after his inauguration that year, "the American eagle holds in his right talon the olive branch, while in his left is held a bundle of arrows. We intend to give equal attention to both."

Every president has faced the problem of striking the proper balance between the olive branch and the arrow. Each has defined the balance somewhat differently. Yet success in arms control has always depended on a recognition of the two-sided nature of the task.

The creation of ACDA was meant as a clear symbol of America's commitment to peace. But like all presidents, Kennedy understood that the effort to build a stable and lasting peace would remain a two-sided effort. "Diplomacy and defense," he said, "are no longer distinct alternatives, one to be used when the other fails—both must complement each other." As President Kennedy reminded Americans again and again, as long as Soviet military power and strategic aims continue to threaten the free nations of the world, peace can never be guaranteed by the olive branch alone. The success of arms control itself depends on the maintenance of American strength.

Twenty-five years after the founding of ACDA, arms control is a far larger and more complicated enterprise than it was in those early years, and in some ways a more difficult one. During this time, there have been many important accomplishments, and ACDA has continued to perform a vital role—as a promoter of America's commitment to peace, as an

Chief arms negotiator Max Kampelman meets his Soviet opposite number, Viktor Karpov, at the outset of 1985 talks.

innovator in arms-control theory and practice, as a day-to-day custodian of the arms-control process, and as a source of invaluable technical expertise. But 25 years after ACDA's start, the effort to achieve a real reduction in the nuclear danger has really just begun, and all of us are conscious that we have a long way to go.

We can point to solid achievements—successful initiatives to diminish the risk of accidental war (the 1963 and 1971 Hotline agreements, upgraded in 1984 to include facsimile transmission capability); the Limited Test Ban Treaty, which precludes atmospheric nuclear testing; the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, embodying the remarkable, effective efforts on the part of the United States, the U.S.S.R., and many other nations to curb nuclear proliferation. ACDA continues to address the whole array of problems raised by modern weaponry. But our main efforts rightly focus on the unfulfilled promise of the arms-limitation talks begun in the early 1970s.

In 1972, when SALT I and the ABM Treaty were signed, the genuine hope among Americans was that these agreements would pave the way for more ambitious treaties that would actually reduce nuclear arsenals and stem the arms race. SALT II failed to achieve this goal. Since 1972, the United States has doubled and the Soviet Union quadrupled ballistic-missile warheads. The Soviets in addition greatly increased their advantage in the most de-stabilizing class of weapons—"heavy" MIRVed missles, with pre-emptive counterforce capability, threatening our land-based retaliatory force. While the United States engaged in unilateral defense cuts and slowdowns in the 1970s, the Soviets surged forward. These problems, along with the subsequent absence of Senate approval for ratification of SALT II, have in a sense defined the agenda of nuclear arms limitations ever since.

President Reagan has set clear goals: to maintain and improve stability, to do what we can through both defense and diplomacy to reduce the overall risk of war, and at the same time, to put arms control itself back on a solid footing—to reaffirm and ultimately achieve the original goal of reducing nuclear weapons. In the process, we have had to confront the difficult issue of Soviet noncompliance, the persistent pattern of Soviet arms-control violations that affects key provisions of some of our most important agreements.

There has been a temptation in the West to respond to these problems and disappointments by readjusting expectations to fit new circumstances, to argue that even flawed and violated agreements could offer us some vestige of the real security we originally sought from arms control. This administration has resisted such temptation, agreeing with President Kennedy that while our patience in negotiations would be unlimited, our credulity would not.

Our efforts and our firmness have already born fruit in a climate of improved global stability. The first half of this decade has passed without a serious crisis on the scale of Berlin, Cuba, or those occasioned by threatened Soviet intervention in the Mideast during the Yom Kippur War or the Soviet invasion of Afganistan. The communist insurgencies of the 1970s have given way to new movements on behalf of freedom around the world.

Now there are hopeful new signs in the arms talks. In the recent Soviet proposals and General Secretary Gorbachev's subsequent letter, we see what President Reagan has said may be a turning point in negotiations. If the Soviets are prepared now to bargain seriously and constructively—and we think they may be—the time is ripe to move forward together toward a new, genuinely stabilizing agreement.

The president strongly hopes that such an agreement will be possible—an agreement that is effectively verifiable and that genuinely reduces weapons and the risk of war. But our security, in any case, will continue to depend on efforts on a broad front. The conspicuous advances in technologies applicable to strategic defense—and the possibility that such defenses might measurably enhance stability and reduce the nuclear danger—remain high on our agenda. If such defenses prove feasible, we hope to use the arms-control process to move forward with the Soviets together toward a physically safer world.

Yet it is crucial that we remain capable of growing with the times—that we grasp the promise as well as the danger of new technologies, that we assimilate carefully the lessons of our own experience in attempting to arrive at new agreements with the Soviet side. Twenty-five years ago, ACDA embodied hope. Now it embodies hope and a quarter-century worth of experience. Our success in the future will depend on our willingness to derive guidance from both.

THE CAPITOL CONNECTION

A former representative who is now in the State Department gives his prescription for winning friends and influencing people in Congress

EDWARD DERWINSKI

AFTER 24 YEARS in Congress I made the switch to the State Department. During my long tenure as a representative, I had felt that State did a poor job representing itself on Capitol Hill, relative to the other departments. It wasn't as active, effective, or aggressive. Frankly, I think our relationship with Congress leaves much to be desired. Now that I have seen the view from both sides of town, I can offer some insight as to why we are so poor at negotiating on the Hill.

If you gave an award for the most effective work in the Capitol, it would go to the Pentagon. One of the reasons is that Defense has offices right on the Hill. If a representative has a problem with a constituent in the military, or whatever, they are there to help you. The State Department ought to learn from this example. If, for instance, a representative or senator had an overseas problem—perhaps a question on a consular matter—it might be to State's advantage to have an easily accessible officer where such concerns could be dealt with quickly.

Unfortunately, the office State does have to deal with Congress—the Bureau of Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs, or H—has not been all that effective. Part of the reason is that, in recent years, the assistant secretaryship has been a revolving-door job. But, perhaps more important, the structure in the department isn't conducive to a good congressional-relations operation. I find it simply amazing that, in addition to Legislative Affairs, every geographic and functional bureau has its own people to work the Hill. This can make for confusion and dilute our strength. On one occasion I was working with the Foreign Service Institute to put through the acquisition of land for its new campus, when I found that another bureau had a man working the Hill on the same subject. I had hammered out a formula with several members of the House and Senate committees when I found out that this gentleman was selling a totally different package. I then had to take him around to all the contacts he had made to undo the damage. In my opinion, nobody but Legislative Affairs should touch Capitol Hill, and there should be specialists in that bureau to serve all of the other bureaus. Anything else amounts to confusion at best and bureaucratic anarchy at the worst. The result is a loss of effectiveness.

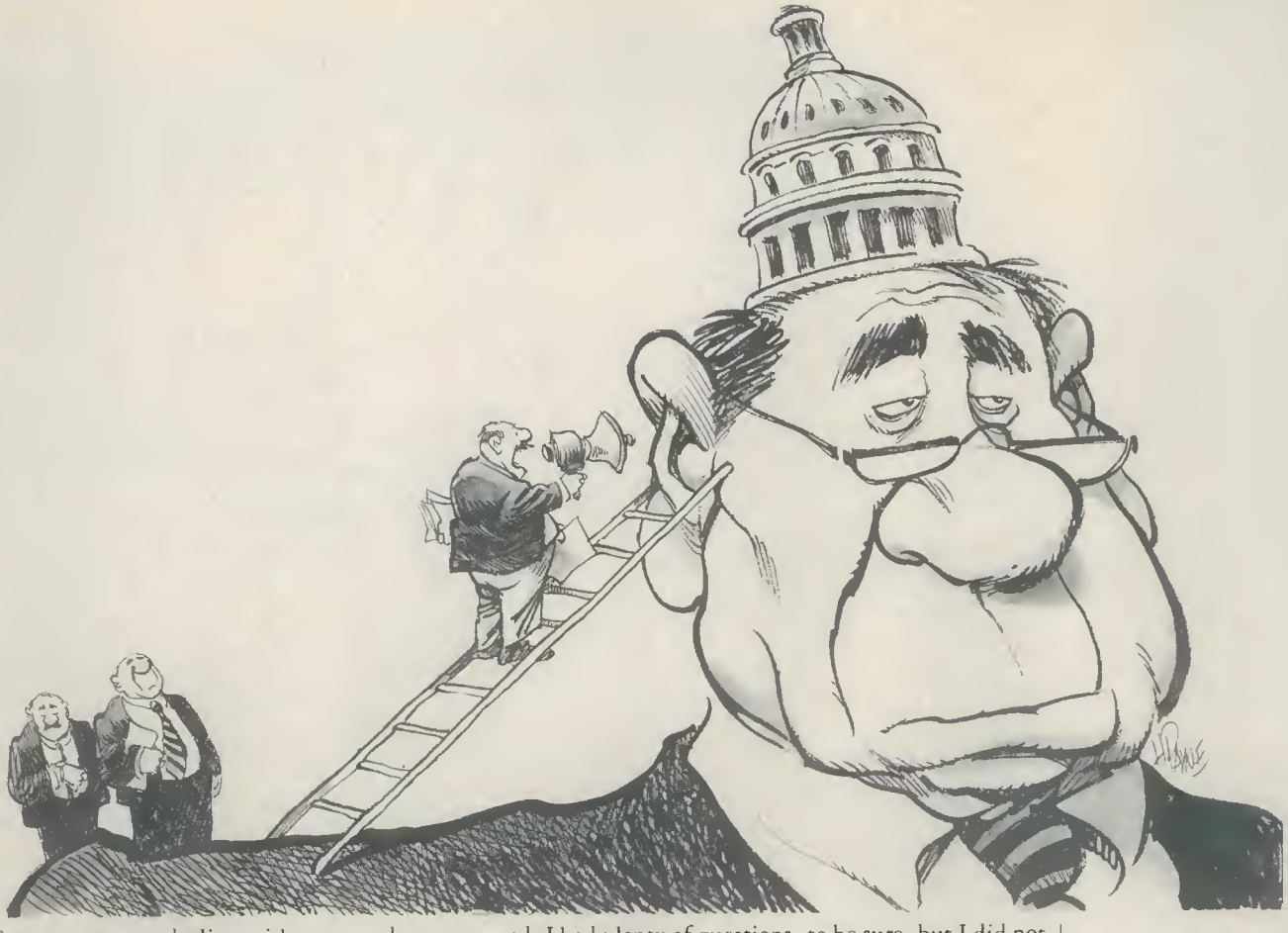
A second problem with our relations with Congress is that we have too many FSOs working the Hill—both in Legislative Affairs and elsewhere in the department—who may be experts in foreign policy but not domestic politics. This results in frequent cases of tilting at windmills. Not only do you need to know the members themselves, you need to know their districts. You can't go to a congressman from a district with a large Jewish population and ask him to sustain a veto on the Saudi arms package. And you can't ask an Irish Democrat from Massachusetts to vote against Tip O'Neill's special aid package for the latest Northern Irish peace initiative. There are certain things, politically, that people have to do for back home. We need to look at the members' districts, how they got to Congress, what controls them, what occupational groups, geographic factors, racial, religious, or ethnic groups influence them. We have to study them and understand their back-home political pressures; then we can know when we can get their vote and when we can't. This not only saves time, it saves face.

Time itself is another of our problems. The other day I signed a letter to a senator that had been prepared by the department. It was beautifully written, as all State's letters are, but it was responding to a letter dated three months earlier. In addition to the inexcusable delay, there was no apology or acknowledgement of the tardiness. I recognize that sometimes things fall through the cracks, but I see no reason why every congressional letter shouldn't be acknowledged that day, if only to let the writer know we are working on it and will have a fuller answer later. This is more important with our legislators than other correspondents, for the obvious reasons and because congressional offices are used to responding instantly to constitutent queries. They know that a quick response wins respect and defuses potential bombs. We ought to learn from that example. The situation is even worse with delays caused when a letter to the secretary is referred to the appropriate bureau or office for a response. Not only is the member not getting an answer from the secretary himself, but it is late as well. And too often the response, instead of being brief and to the point, runs on for three or four pages. I sometimes think that FSI ought to have a course on letter writing.

These may sound like petty issues, but in dealing

Edward Derwinski is counselor of the State Department. He served as a member of the House of Representatives from the fourth district of Illinois from 1959–83.

This article is adapted from a lecture delivered to the AFSA membership in June.



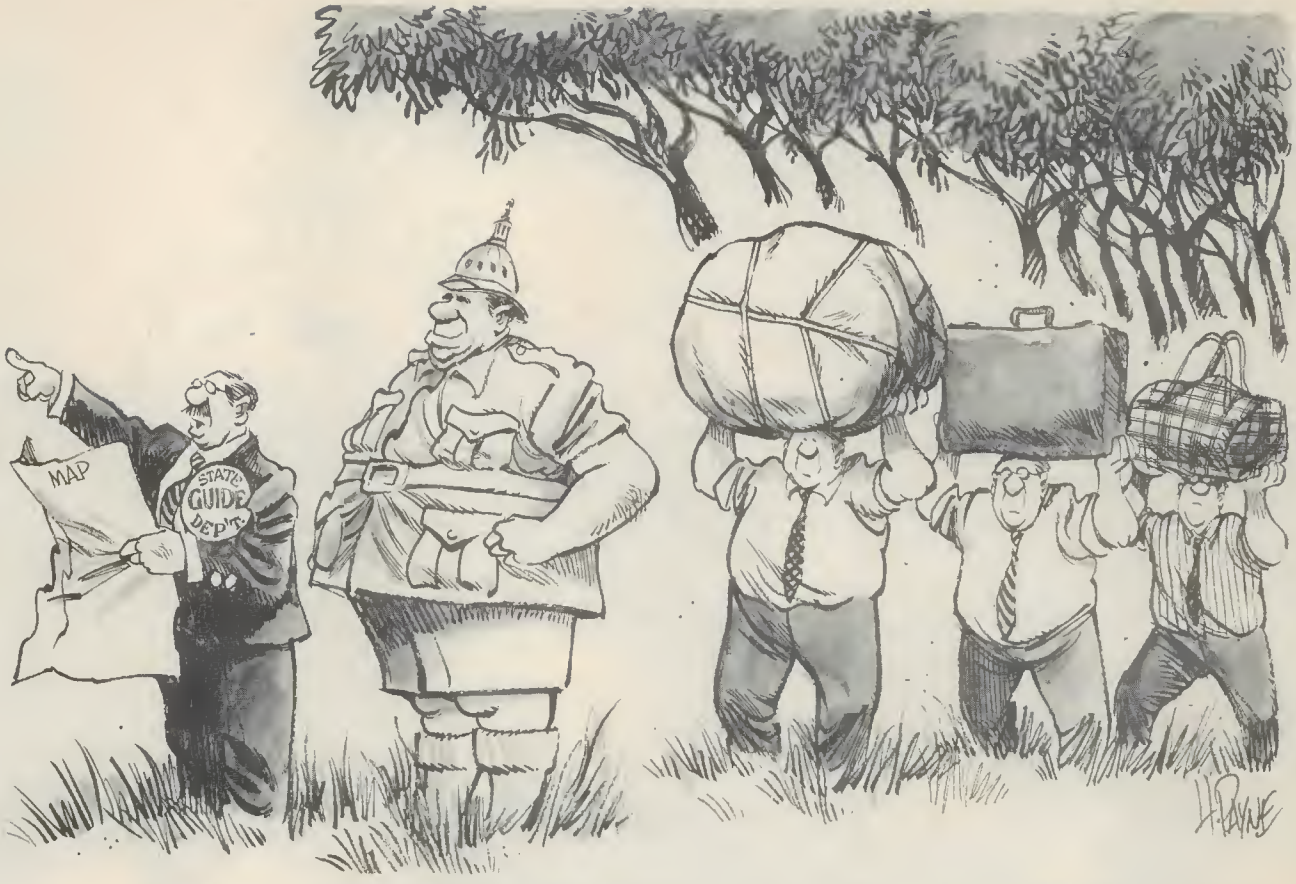
with Congress you are dealing with egos, and you are dealing with people who have to do a good job of communicating, whether with constituents or their colleagues. The essence of politics is not necessarily to agree or disagree but to be responsive and cooperative.

One of the best opportunities the Foreign Service has for improving relations with Congress is the celebrated congressional delegation, universally known as the CODEL. During my two decades on Capitol Hill, I was one of the more avid congressional tourists. I imagine I took more than one hundred trips. I never apologized for my travels. I feel strongly that our legislators learn more by going abroad than by staying in Washington or going back to their districts. We're going through an era in Congress when fewer are traveling than before, because they are afraid of the stories of junketeering. Both parties, unfortunately, are guilty of using congressional travel as a weapon against incumbents when it should be a laurel.

But the member can only benefit from the trip, and take away a positive view of the Service, if it works out well. Our senators and representatives are reasonable and tolerant people. One congressman, for instance, was accidentally locked in a men's room for two hours during a trip to Saudi Arabia. The embassy staff only found him after retracing their steps. Fortunately, the congressman, being a low-key Irishman, thought it was extremely humorous. He has told the story all over the world since then. But other members are far less tolerant of the State Department. I myself have a particular antipathy for the country team briefing. As a traveling member, that's the one thing I never wanted. I had plenty of questions, to be sure, but I did not want to be exposed to that lengthy and boring drill where every member of the team goes over his or her area. Legislators are either in a country because they are concerned about our relations there, in which case they already have a fair amount of knowledge but need to ask questions and investigate on the scene, or it is merely a waystop on the way to a more important destination. In either case, the full briefing is a waste of time.

ANOTHER MISTAKE is to think that all members are cut from the same mold, and therefore expect the same results from a visit. One extreme is Stephen Solarz (D.-New York), who is chairman of the Asia subcommittee in the House. Steve is a workaholic. When he comes into town, he likes to see the head of state, the foreign minister, the chief editor of the local newspaper, and several others. Other members just want a little briefing, then pay a courtesy call on the head of state or the foreign minister. The point is that somebody at post ought to call members well before they arrive to determine their needs.

Most members do have a reasonable idea of what they should be doing in a given country. Of course, the law of averages is such that occasionally a few will sound off or make it obvious they haven't done their homework. This can be embarrassing. I know of one episode during the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in the 1970s. The Greek-Americans, of course, were up in



arms, and a number of members who had Greek-American constituents suddenly discovered Cyprus. One young congressman from Rhode Island took off for Cyprus with a contingent of Greek-American constituents. The plan was for the member to walk up to a Turkish sentry and grab his rifle, saying, "U.S. foreign aid paid for this rifle and I'm not going to let you occupy Cyprus." Fortunately, the sentry had enough sense to hold on tight. They had a wrestling match, some pictures were taken, people rushed in and separated everybody, then he went back to Rhode Island with his pictures and was reelected. But he lost a few years later, probably because he also had Turkish-Americans voting there. That was a case of a very obvious misuse of congressional travel. Most members are traveling because of the foreign policy concerns of their ethnic constituents, because of trade issues, or because of their committee work, and there are other reasons as well.

One last aspect about the care and feeding of traveling members of Congress is to remember their spouses. If you assign an officer or spouse of an officer with local language skills to help the spouse tour, shop, or whatever, you have created tremendous good will and, at the same time, impressed everybody with both the post's efficiency and the Service's expertise. I was always impressed with the knowledge that FSOs and their spouses had about local conditions, the restaurants, the interesting points of history. If they were good tour guides and could really get you around the town, it gave the impression that they knew what they were doing there.

Our senators and representatives are good salespeople, roving ambassadors and emissaries of the American people. Their respective chambers are the most respected and important legislative bodies in the world. Influential persons in every foreign country know that, and they know the role Congress plays in foreign affairs, particularly in aid. The visit of a congressional delegation, therefore, is an opportunity that the embassy can and should exploit. In Paris or London, a visiting legislator or other high official can be a pain in the neck. In other capitals, it's an opportunity. This was dramatically illustrated for me when I received a request from an assistant secretary of state to modify my itinerary to include a developing country, which had not had a high-level visitor since its independence. There I had the honor to call on the president. We had a nice visit and when it was over he said, "I have a complaint. Your ambassador won't give me a million dollars." He went on to explain he needed the money to build a bridge that had something to do with a collapsing reservoir. After I promised to look into it when I got back to Washington, he made his grand offer: "Mr. Derwinski, you get me that million dollars and I'll name the bridge after you." Now, had I still been in Congress, they may have got their bridge. I can just see some key member coming home and saying, "I can get a bridge named after me. Slip in this little amendment."

One thing that I know concerns the missions is what the visiting member will say, particularly if it disagrees with administration policy. Most members realize that there is an unwritten rule that says, if you don't agree with administration policy, be somewhat discreet about what you say in public. Some legisla-

tors, of course, particularly the younger ones, will occasionally violate that rule. But the vast majority are good salespeople for the United States, and for U.S. positions.

One way to make sure of this is to insist that there be no press conference until the delegation is ready to leave. The members will have met with people, they will have absorbed something, they will have a feel for the country. To have a press confetence when they arrive is merely to have them spout off their predetermined positions. The value of a trip, if any, is to arrive open minded and to learn. The decision, of course, is up to the delegation, but the mission can hint that it will be more effective if it embodies the lessons of the trip.

One of the real abuses of our congressional-travel system is junkets by staffers. Most staffers are frustrated congresspeople. It's their chance to flex their muscles in the name of their boss. Very often they do so, throwing their weight around, and their boss doesn't know they are doing it or handling it that way. That is especially true of committee staffers who go out and demand all sorts of special treatment or concessions in the name of their principal. If a member knew that staffers were behaving in this way, they would be reined in fast. But in my experience traveling staffets tend to be even more demanding and more difficult to handle than the members themselves. I had a rule when I was a member. I never allowed any of my staffers, in committee or in my office, to travel unless they were accompanying me. If I were giving my old colleagues in Congress advice, I would tell them that the way to handle Gramm-Rudman is to cut down on staff travel abroad.

WILL WE EVER improve our relations with Capitol Hill? The answer is, not much, because of some built-in complications. I don't want to sound too critical of Congress, but one of the reasons our legislators are so often a problem in foreign policy is that it is easier for them to pontificate about international affairs than to discuss often-explosive domestic issues. Topics such as gun control, abortion, etc., make as many enemies as friends. As to the friends, the most difficult constituents in the world are one-issue voters, even if you agree with them. It is far easier and safer to discuss foreign relations. You can say, "I went to Tokyo and I told Nakasone just what he should do with his trade surplus." Or "I went to London and I thanked Mrs. Thatcher for letting us use the ait bases in Britain." Members who come home and do that are not only on safer ground, they're on loftier ground. They come across as knowledgeable about international relations, rather than getting caught in the crossfire of local or regional issues.

I would be the first to admit that Congress is overinvolved in foreign affairs, but our real problem these days is the jurisdictional fragmentation on the Hill. There are more members to deal with, and therefore many more stumbling blocks along the way. The House and Senate authorizing committees, for all practical purposes, are almost useless. Instead you end up in fights within sevetal committeees, going back and forth with supplemental requests, then suddenly some committee you've never heard of insists on a piece of the action. This lack of preciseness, or confusion, in committee jurisdiction has made our relationship with Congress much more difficult. The committees whose turf has been cut up have in turn become much more jealous of the influence they retain. With the almost total chaos now in both the House and the Senate budgets, the disorganization is complete.

At this point, you add the pressure of certain groups. There is the Jewish lobby, the most effective of its kind in the world. There is a Greek lobby, which is next in effectiveness. There is the power of the black caucus on African issues, disproportionate to the size of its membership. All this and many more examples I could give you are part of the background of congressional interference in foreign policy.

The relationship between the Foreign Service and Congress does have its lighter side, however. During one congressional delegation in the late 1960s, for instance, we were on a swing through Eastern Europe at a time when the department was insisting that any congressional group visiting Athens had to go to Ankara, or vice versa. In this case, we had made our call to Athens and we went into Istanbul for a weekend en route to the capital. When we arrived in Istanbul, the consul general was on leave, his deputy was ill, the number-three man was out of the city, and the control officer for our call was a young man who had left FSI for his first assignment the previous week. He was struggling with the huge, 35-person delegation, doing reasonably well, until my wife at the time said to me, "Where are we going from here?" I said, "Ankara, then down to the Arab Emirates and Bahrain, a few other places." She said, "Well, some of these places don't sound too civilized. Why don't you get some toilet paper so we will have a reserve when we get down that way?" We already had peanut butter and crackers packed. So I called down to the control room and said to the young man, "Mrs. Derwinski needs two rolls of toilet papet." He came to the door about two minutes later with the toilet paper neatly wrapped in a tight brown bag and said, "Here are your unmentionables," which I thought was an interesting phrase. I took the toilet paper and she said, "You know, I looked at the schedule again and we're going to be down in those Arab countries five or six days, just to be safe, why don't you get a couple more rolls?" So I called down to the control room and again said to the young man, "Mrs. Derwinski feels she needs two more rolls of toilet paper." So he brought those back, and again said, "These are yout unmentionables."

The next morning we flew out of Istanbul to Ankara. We came in for the landing, and I noticed the ambulances lined up along the runway. There were two ambulances there with the lights flashing as we came to a stop, when an American military doctor jumped aboard, saying, "Where is Mrs. Derwinski?" He had received a message from the young man in Ankara saying that my wife was seriously ill with dysentery. That was a classic case of a hard-working, imaginative young officer doing his best to serve a congressional delegation. □

THE JOURNAL

Intrigue in Abyssinia

Relations between the United States and Ethiopia begin with a few diplomatic slips

CHRIS PROUTY

IN 1904, Kent Loomis, brother of Assistant Secretary of State Francis B. Loomis, traveled to Addis Ababa, carrying a ratified Treaty of Commerce and Friendship between the United States and Ethiopia. But when his ship reached Plymouth, Loomis was missing. One week later, his body washed ashore near Cherbourg, and an autopsy revealed that head injuries had occurred before death.

Loomis's trip had come about as the result of earlier efforts by two other Americans—one a diplomat and one a stockbroker. Robert Skinner, the diplomat, was sent to Ethiopia to offer the treaty with the United States to Emperor Menilek. William H. Ellis, the stockbroker, went to investigate Ethiopia as a possible mecca for black American emigrants.

The United States, savoring its victory in the Spanish-American war, began to look outward for commerce in the early 1900s despite Theodore Roosevelt's policy of isolation. Although Africa offered few opportunities, there was a fair amount of trade with Ethiopia, and in 1903, Roosevelt approved the suggestion of his secretary of state, John Hay, that the United States send a diplomatic mission to Abyssinia. Orders went out to Skinner, the U.S. consul in Marseille, to organize such a group and proceed to Addis Ababa to negotiate the treaty.

Ellis was annoyed when he heard that Skinner had been designated to negotiate the treaty. Ellis, a black-Hispanic, had conceived a passionate interest in Ethiopia and thought it would be receptive to American blacks who could aid in the development of the country. He had met Ras Mekonnen—Menilek's cousin and governor of Harar, whose son would become the Emperor Haile Selassie—in London, and Mekonnen had invited him to visit Ethiopia. Ellis decided to take him up on the offer, arriving two months prior to Skinner.

Upon his arrival, Ellis described to Menilek the work of Andrew Carnegie in helping the education of American blacks. He returned to the United States carrying a letter of praise to Carnegie from Menilek. But Ellis made many strange comments to the press both before he left and upon his return: "Menilek wept when he heard how Lincoln freed the slaves"; "Abyssinia is the richest country on earth in gold, silver, copper, iron, rubies, and diamonds"; "I will receive a concession to establish a bank and help systematize their laws and obtain land as a colony for American negroes"; "The emperor wears European clothes and a felt hat of American shape." Of these, only the statement about Menilek's felt hat was true.

Skinner—with an escort of five Navy men and 17 Marines—followed a route from Marseille through the Suez Canal down the Red Sea to Djibouti. Here he sought out Ato Yosef, Menilek's agent in the French colony. The two men got along well, conversing easily in French, and Yosef advised Skinner in his approach to Menilek to "speak plainly and be sincere...we would like better to see you as you are than to see you trying to seem like ourselves."

Skinner and his party boarded the French-run railway that commenced at Djibouti and was completed only as far as Dire Dawa. From there, Skinner took a side-trip to see Mekonnen, who gave him a mating pair of zebras for the Washington zoo.

Returning to Dire Dawa, Skinner presented the emperor's agent with a U.S. flag after explaining the meaning of its stars and stripes. Eager to use his newly installed telephone, the agent called Menilek in Addis Ababa to get his permission to accept it. Then Skinner used the phone to announce his imminent arrival to Léon Chefneux, the Frenchman who was acting as minister of foreign affairs while the emperor's long-time Swiss adviser, Alfred Ilg, was in Europe. The mission then set out on mules for Addis Ababa, a rugged journey of some 200 miles.

Arriving at Menilek's palace, Skinner wore a plain black suit and top hat. Once in the audience hall, he stepped forward to shake hands with the emperor. "He looked at my commission with indifference and replied in Amharic, which was translated into French. I presented the invitation from President Roosevelt to participate in the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis. Chairs were provided and 40 minutes passed quickly. The cannon roared out 21 guns and the Ethiopian band played 'Hail, Columbia,' and the 'Marseillaise.'"

The next day Skinner got down to the business of the treaty. The draft, sent to him by the State Department along with his instructions, made quite an impression because it was the first ever presented to Menilek already written in Amharic.

Skinner gave Menilek a photograph of President Roosevelt, a book by the president on North American game, some much-appreciated garden seeds, and a typewriter. Menilek wanted to know if

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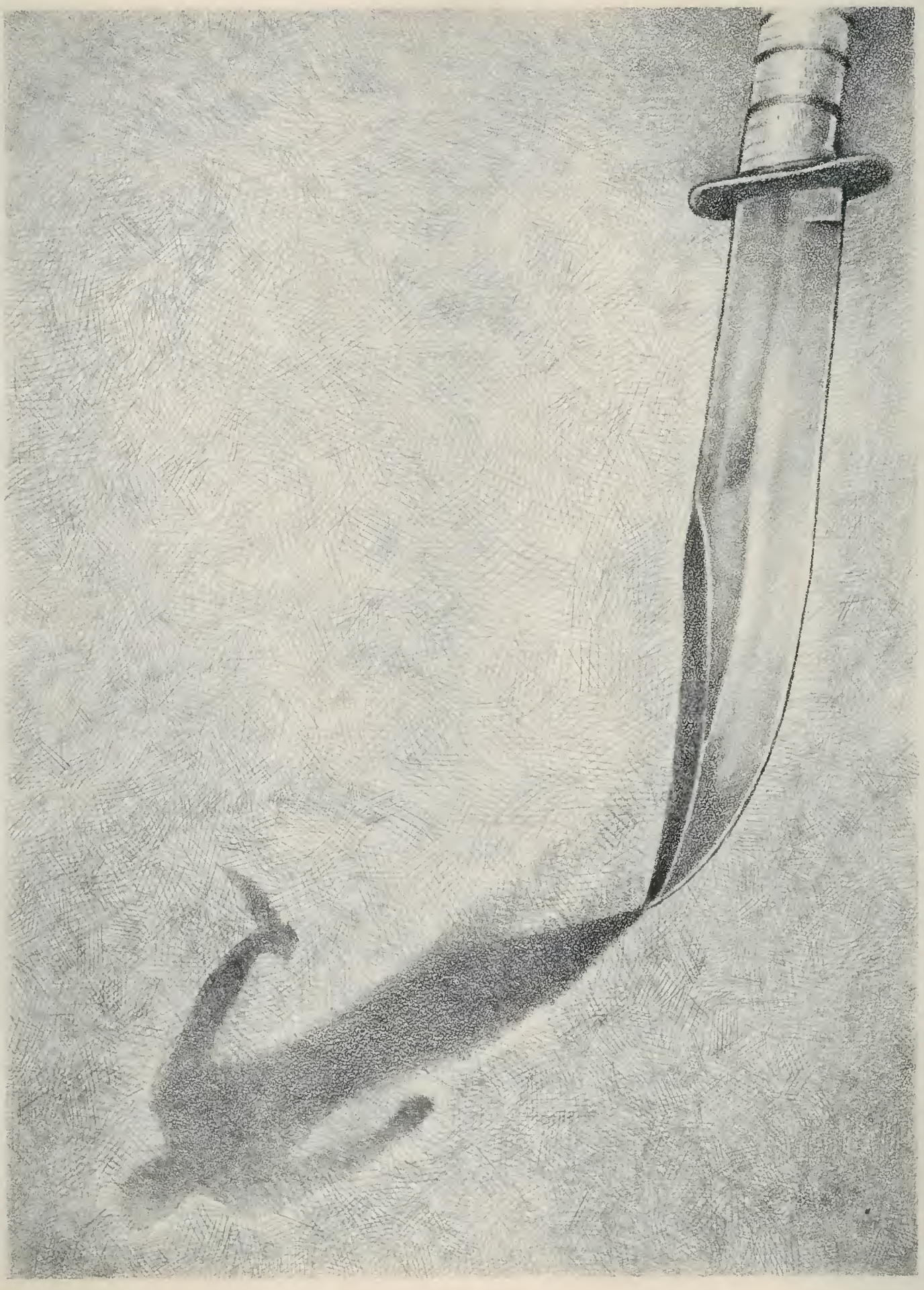
Chris Prouty is the wife of Eugene Rosenfeld, who served as director of USIS in Ethiopia from 1965–67. They are the authors of The Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia, *and Prouty's* Menilek and His Empress: Taytu; Ethiopia 1883–1910.



such a machine could be made to write Amharic. The difficulty of making one with the 251 letters of the Amharic alphabet was explained. The monarch was visibly pleased with the gift of a late-model rifle. "Without changing his posture on the throne, he aimed it through an open doorway," wrote Skinner, "There was a wild stampede for cover."

Menilek visited the tent compound of the Americans, which they called "Camp Roosevelt," and witnessed a demonstration of firing with blank cartridges. He asked for some, saying "I shall be able to teach my officers how to show courage under fire."

The American and his aides made the obligatory calls on all the legations. "We ate caviar and drank vodka with Lischine, ate macaroni and drank Asti Spumanti with Ciccodicola, had foie gras and champagne with Roux, and roast beef and port with Mr. Clerk. It filled us with a new respect for diplomacy as a profession and fine art...to surround themselves with luxuries in this far-off spot."

Skinner found the Russian compound the most interesting. "With no apparent stake in Ethiopia, no trade and no frontiers—yet this mission with its excellent medical services is presided over by the accomplished Lischine. The real purpose of the Russian diplomatic effort is a never-ending source of conversation."

Commandant Benito Sylvain, "Envoy of His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Haiti to His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia," was also on Skinner's calling list. Well-educated and fluent in French, Sylvain was the scion of a well-off Haitian family. He wore an elaborate uniform: Wellington boots, spurs, white breeches, a sword, and a brilliant tunic that carried the Cross of Solomon—a decoration Menilek had given him in 1897 on Sylvain's first visit to Ethiopia.

Sylvain wanted "the greatest black man in the world" to become honorary president of the Society for the Uplift of Negroes. "Yours is an excellent idea; the negro should be uplifted," Menilek told him, "but I am not a negro." In 1905, however, Menilek's name was included with 14 other monarchs and heads of state as "protectors" of Sylvain's Society

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The British interest in Ethiopia was obvious, Skinner reported. "Two-thirds of Ethiopian frontiers border upon British or Egyptian territory." He noted that the Englishmen he met used the word "nigger" but "it was bereft of the half-affectionate swing it acquires in America."

ONCE THE TREATY had been ratified by the Senate, Ellis began to pull strings to get appointed to take the document back to Ethiopia. Instead, the State Department chose Loomis, who offered to go at his own expense because he wanted to hunt lions. Ellis was appointed to accompany him.

Ellis shared a cabin with Loomis, who imbibed freely of intoxicants all during the voyage. Although he became a suspect when Loomis's disappearance was discovered, Ellis proceeded to deliver the ratified treaty to Menilek. On his return he exaggerated even more than he had the first time: he claimed he had been granted mining concessions, three million acres of land to experiment with cotton cultivation, and would establish the Royal Bank of Abyssinia. When the mysterious death was questioned, Ellis fought back. "The papers call me a 'damned nigger.' Yes, I have African blood in my veins...and Cuban and Mexican...." Ellis sued for defamation of character but dropped the suit when the State Department cleared him of any blame for the death.

Despite his sensational claims, Ellis did generate publicity about the little-known empire, and a few inquiries came in from American blacks asking about economic opportunities in Ethiopia. Skinner's mission made a mixed impression. Emperor Menilek later told an Englishman that Skinner was a charming man whose austere way of dressing was a novelty after the flamboyant uniforms and decorations worn by European diplomats. He also said that Skinner was a man who knew what he wanted and represented a country that knew what it wanted, but he was glad that a large expanse of ocean separated Ethiopia from the United States. The circumstances of Loomis's death never became known. □

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PEOPLE

AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award Winners for 1986

In an abrupt switch from last year, when 16 winners attended overseas schools, the Merit winners for 1986 come mainly from schools here in the United States. Seventeen winners graduated from high schools in Maryland, Virginia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and the District of Columbia. The five overseas winners attended schools in Egypt, Italy, Kenya, Mexico, and the Philippines. The AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards this year are given in honor of the hundreds of volunteers who have worked to make the AAFSW Bookfair a community success for the past 25 years. Funds for these awards are provided jointly by the AAFSW Bookfair and the AFSA Scholarship Fund. Twenty-four volunteers from State, AID, USIA, AAFSW, and the retired Foreign Service community served on four panels to review and rate all applicants on their four years of high school activities. Biographies and pictures of the winners appear here.

Eligible students who will be graduating from high school in 1987, and who are qualified dependents of career Foreign Service personnel, are encouraged to write for applications now to Dawn Cuthell, scholarship programs administrator, 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20037. Applications will be mailed for both the Merit and the Financial Aid programs in late October. Merit Awards are based solely on academic excellence; financial aid grants for undergraduate students studying in the United States are based solely on need. The deadline for completion and return of all program materials to the AFSA office is February 15, 1987. Please apply early and be sure to state your qualifying Foreign Service agency.

Carolyn M. Brady, daughter of James R. and Margaret U. Brady, AID. Carolyn was graduated from James Madison High School in Vienna, Virginia. She has lived in the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Korea. She was a National Merit finalist and a member of the National Honor Society. She won her high school's Junior English Award, and won an honorable mention for a pencil drawing in the Washington Regional Art Awards Exhibition. She will attend the University of Virginia in the fall.

Rebecca M. Buchanan, daughter of Thomas Richard and Glenda Byrne Buchanan, State. Rebecca is a graduate of Thomas S. Wootton High School in Rockville, Maryland. She has lived in Greece and Canada. She was editor of her school's literary magazine. She was a third place winner in Maryland's 1985 State Debate Tournament, received honorable mention from the National Cancer Institute Pediatric Branch in 1984 for her Montgomery County Science Fair exhibit on "Students under Stress," and was a National Merit Scholarship Commended Student. She holds a seventh degree yellow belt in martial arts. She will enter Williams College this fall to pursue a Liberal Arts degree.

Robert H. Bell Jr., son of Robert H. and Jane J. Bell, AID. Robert is a graduate of South Lakes High School in Reston, Virginia. He has lived in South Korea and Kenya. He received a National Merit Commendation and the South Lakes High School Underclassman Writing Award. He is interested in creative writing, especially poetry, playing the piano, guitar, and tennis. He will enter Williams College this fall, where he will study English.

Diana I. Burson, daughter of Weldon D. and Marcela Burson, State. Diana is a graduate of the American School of Milan. She has lived in Canada, Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, and Italy. She was her class valedictorian and the most outstanding in total extracurricular activities, as well as in science, social studies, music, and drama. She was captain of the volleyball team. She was also a Presidential Scholar and National Hispanic Scholar Candidate. She will enter the Shepherd School of Music at Rice University this fall.

Laura Holliday Butcher, daughter of W. Scott and Carol S. Butcher, State. Laura is a graduate of Walt Whitman High School. She has lived in Burma, Bangladesh, Malaysia, and Indonesia. She was a National Merit Scholarship Commended Student. She is interested in drama, horseback riding, writing, and reading, and is active in church and youth fellowship. She will attend Duke University this fall.

Teresa Ann Duffy, daughter of Michael John and Emma Helena Duffy, State. Teresa was graduated from the Cairo American College. She has also lived in Malaysia and Indonesia. She received a National Merit Scholarship and a National Honor Society Scholarship. She was the best English student in her junior class and was selected to attend the Virginia Hugh O'Brian Youth Leadership Seminar. She is interested in soccer and other sports, mathematics, reading, playing the violin, and singing. This fall she will enter the University of Virginia where she will study mathematics. She also hopes to travel in Europe.

Philip Burton Ellis, son of Clarke and Giovanna Ellis, State. Philip was graduated from Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School in Bethesda, Maryland. He has lived in Ethiopia, Austria, Switzerland, and Taiwan. He was on the honor roll with straight As distinction for four years and was a National Merit Scholarship finalist. He was the recipient of an Algebra Award, a French Award, and high honor in the National French Contest, as well as the 1986 Bethesda-Chevy Chase Chamber of Commerce Youth Award. He also earned three varsity track letters and one junior varsity soccer letter. He will attend the College of William and Mary where he will study physical science or mathematics. He also plans to go on to graduate school.

Susan J. Friedland, daughter of Sidney and Linda Friedland, State. Susan was graduated from Churchill High School in Potomac, Maryland. She has lived in Switzerland and Yugoslavia. She was the recipient of a National Merit commendation and a Forensic Degree of Merit and Honor, and was a member of the National Honor Society. She was also captain of the track team and a three-year varsity letter winner. She is also interested in debating, skiing, and pottery. She will attend Brown University, where she will study political science. She also plans to go on to graduate school.

Elizabeth Graham, daughter of Jim and Susan Graham, AID. Elizabeth is a graduate of the International School of Kenya. She has also lived in Zaire, Mali, Sudan, and India. She is a recipient of a National Merit Scholarship commendation and was named a William Carleton Scholar by Carleton College, where she will attend school this fall. She is interested in sailing, basketball, piano, and the flute.

Laura V. Harwood, daughter of Douglas J. and Luciana C. Harwood, State. Laura is a graduate of Lycee Rochambeau in Bethesda, Maryland. She has lived in Guinea, Zaire, Czechoslovakia, Niger, Italy, and the Ivory Coast. She received the Presidential Academic Fitness Award and a Maryland Scholastic Merit Award and was a National Merit Scholarship finalist. She is interested in French and African literature, drawing and painting, cinema, and skiing. She will attend Yale University, where she will study philosophy, psychology, and comparative literature. She plans to study abroad during her junior year.

Nancy H. Hearne, daughter of Francis P.G. and Judith Hearne, State. Nancy is a graduate of the Philippines International School. She has also lived in Canada, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Iceland, and West Germany. She was a National Merit Commended Student. Her interests include drama, sports, and traveling. She will enter Williams College this fall and is considering the Foreign Service as a possible future career.

Eric Johnson, son of Charles and Nancy Johnson, AID. Eric was graduated from McLean High School in McLean, Virginia. He has lived in Chile and Indonesia. He was a National Merit finalist, a Best Humanities Student in 1985, and a Bausch and Lomb medalist in 1986. He was a member of the National Honor Society, the Spanish Honor Society, and the Alkahest Honor Society. He is interested in computer programming, film, basketball, frisbee golf, and writing. He will enter Grinnell College this fall.

David Johnson, son of Charles and Nancy Johnson, AID. David is a graduate of McLean High School in McLean, Virginia. He has lived in Chile and Indonesia. He was a National Merit finalist, a Best Humanities Student in 1985, and a Bausch and Lomb medallist in 1986. He was a member of the National Honor Society, and the Spanish Honor Society. He is interested in computer programming, astronomy, basketball, and frisbee golf. He will enter Carleton College this fall.

Alice Mae Jones, daughter of William D. and Dawn Jones, AID. Alice is a graduate of Kent School in Kent, Connecticut. She has lived in Kenya, Jamaica, and Mauritania. She was on her high school's honor roll for four years, and was editor of the school's literary magazine and assistant library head. She also earned six varsity letters. Her interests include soccer, squash, swimming, creative writing, journalism, and horses. She will enter the University of Virginia or the University of Michigan this fall to study economics and Spanish. She also plans to go on to graduate business or law school.

Erik Geoffrey Linton, son of E. Mark and Donna Linton, State. Erik is a graduate of Yorktown High School in Arlington, Virginia. He has lived in Hungary, Zaire, and Ireland. He was a member of the American Legion Boys State of Virginia. He is interested in crew and drama and is the secretary of Around the World in a Lifetime. He will attend the University of Virginia this year where he will study architecture.

Duncan E. Manville, son of Harrington E. and Joelle Manville, USIA. Duncan was graduated from Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School in Chevy Chase, Maryland. He has lived in Canada, France, and Norway. He was a National Merit Commended Student and a Maryland cross-country state champion. His interests include running, languages, and writing. He will enter Princeton University this fall to study language and international relations. He looks forward to a career in the Foreign Service or international relations.

Thomas McLean, son of Martin and Judith McLean, State. Thomas is a cum laude graduate of Choate Rosemary Hall in Wallingford, Connecticut. He has lived in Britain, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union. He was a National Merit Commended Scholar. He won the Harvard Football Trophy for Scholarship and Sportsmanship and the James B. Cornish Award for improvement in wrestling. He placed second in the Western New England Independent School Wrestling Tournament and third in the tournament for all of New England. He plays the viola and is interested in strategy gaming. He will attend Princeton University this fall where he will study engineering.

Stephen Pastorino, son of Robert and Frances Pastorino, State. Stephen is a graduate of the American School Foundation in Mexico City, Mexico. He placed seventh and twelfth in Fairfax County on the National Spanish Exam and received a letter of commendation on the PSAT exam. He was on the honor roll for two years and was a member of the National Honor Society. He is interested in sports, photography, and journalism. He will enter Northwestern University this fall where he will study journalism.

James Maxwell Pringle, son of Robert and Barbara Pringle, State. James is a graduate of Milton Academy in Milton, Massachusetts. He has lived in Indonesia, the Philippines, Burkino Faso, and New Guinea. He was a National Merit finalist. He is interested in electronics and physics and will enter Dartmouth University this fall.

James David Rackmales, son of Robert and Mary Kennedy Rackmales, State. J. David is a graduate of Washington-Lee High School in Arlington, Virginia. He has lived in Italy, Somalia, and Nigeria. He was a National Merit Finalist, a member of the National Honor Society, and invited to be a Presidential Scholar. His interests include soccer, theater, music, basketball, and tennis. He will attend Lafayette College on a four-year Air Force scholarship, where he will study mechanical engineering and international relations.

Rufus Justin Smith, son of R. Grant and Renny T. Smith, State. R. Justin is a graduate of St. Alban's School in Washington, D.C. He has lived in India, Belize, and the Central African Republic. He has won prizes in Hindi, English, Math, and Computer Science. He is interested in linguistics, physics, art, writing, war games, fountain pens, and computer programming. He will enter Princeton University this fall.

Elizabeth R. Wilcox, daughter of Philip and Cynda Wilcox, State. Elizabeth was graduated from Walt Whitman High School in Bethesda, Maryland. She has lived in Laos, Indonesia, and Bangladesh. She was a National Merit Scholarship Commended Student, a 1986 Montgomery County Music Teacher's Association Piano Concerto Finalist, a Wells College Poetry Contest honorable mention, most dedicated player and captain of her school's varsity field hockey team, a silver medalist on the National Latin Exam, and a National Rifle Association sharpshooter. She was a third place winner of the Montgomery County *Sentinel* sportswriting division and the Maryland Presswoman's Association Contest–sportswriting division. She will enter Yale University this fall to study history.

Scholarships

The June issue ["Ten Years of Scholars"] mistakenly reported that the AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards had not yet produced a member of the Foreign Service. Marlene Sakane, a 1976 winner, joined the Service in 1982 and is currently an economic officer in Tokyo. She was formerly a consular officer in Montevideo.

Deaths

ARTHUR S. ALBERTS, a retired Foreign Service officer, died June 5 at Falmouth Hospital in East Falmouth, Massachusetts after a long illness. He was 76.

Mr. Alberts was graduated from Williams College. He served for seven years as consul in the Belgian Congo, Angola, Cameroon, French Equatorial Africa, and Rwanda-Burundi. During World War II, he served in France and won the Freedom Medal, the highest civilian award issued during wartime. He later published and edited a series of audio-visual educational lectures in both French and English.

Survivors include his wife, Elizabeth, of East Falmouth; a daughter, Danielle J. Alberts, of Pelham, New York; two stepsons, Bradley C. Hockmeyer, of Taos, New Mexico, and Geoffrey L. Hockmeyer, of Lunenberg; two brothers, Julian Alberts, of Yonkers, New York, and Norman Alberts, of New York City.

CHESTER BOWLES, a former under secretary of state, ambassador, governor, congressperson, and presidential adviser, died May 25 at his home in Essex, Connecticut, following a stroke. He had Parkinson's Disease. He was 85.

Mr. Bowles attended Choate School in Wallingford, Connecticut, and was graduated from Yale University's Scheffield Scientific School in 1924. He was a reporter for one year with the *Springfield Republican,* then moved to New York, were he worked as a copywriter with the advertising firm of Batren, Barton, Durstine, and Osborn. In 1930, he and a partner founded Benton & Bowles, a firm specializing in consumer market research which pioneered singing commercials for radio.

He was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1940. He was also director of America First, a citizens organization advocating isolationism. With the advent of World War II, he was appointed rationing administrator of the state of Connecticut. He then became state director of the Office of Price Administration, and in 1943 was named its general manager. He became its head about three months later, which put him in charge of wage and price controls during the war. After the war, he was director of economic stabilization until 1946.

He was elected governor of Connecticut in 1948 but was defeated for reelection in 1950. From 1951–53, and again from 1963–69, he was ambassador to India. He was a member of the House of Representatives and its Foreign Affairs Committee from 1959–61. He did not seek reelection, but served instead as the chief foreign policy adviser to presidential candidate John F. Kennedy. He was appointed under secretary of state in 1961. From November 1961–63 he was a special presidential representative for Asian, African, and Latin American affairs.

Mr. Bowles was also a best-selling author. His works included *An Ambassador's Report, American Politics in a Revolutionary World, Africa's Challenge,* and *Promises to Keep,* a volume of memoirs published when he was 70.

Survivors include his wife of 53 years, the former Dorothy Stebbins; five children; 13 grandchildren; and five great-grandchildren.

LUCILE ATCHESON CURTIS, the first woman to serve in the Foreign Service, died May 8 at her home in Columbus, Ohio. She was 91.

Ms. Curris was graduated from Smith College. She later did graduate work at Ohio State, the University of Chicago, and George Washington University. She was executive secretary of the Franklin County, Ohio, Equal Suffrage Association and worked with the National Suffrage Association. She later became the executive secretary to the president of Ohio State University. She helped to create the Society for Devastated France in Paris during World War I. She did relief work in France throughout the war and was decorated by the French government.

Ms. Curtis was appointed to the Foreign

Award

CLAUDE G. (TONY) ROSS, retired ambassador and chairman of the AFSA committee on education, was presented the Foreign Service Cup on Foreign Service Day, May 2, by AFSA, DACOR, and AFSPA. Mr. Ross was cited for "his outstanding contributions to the conduct of foreign relations of the United States over a span of 34 years as a Foreign Service officer. He was ambassador to the Central African Republic, Haiti, and Tanzania, and ultimately he was awared the distinction of career minister status. In retirement he has maintained a sustained, creative contribution to the Foreign Service, the Department of State, the American Foreign Service Association, and the Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired, by accepting complicated and sometimes sensitive assignments from each of these entities and performing in a skilled and outstanding manner."

Service by President Harding in 1922, after placing third highest on the Foreign Service exam. She served in Bern and Panama before resigning in 1927 to marry. In 1978, she was presented the State Department's Equal Employment Opportunity Award. After leaving the Service, Ms. Curtis was active in the Columbus Council on World Affairs, the Columbus Symphony Orchestra, and the Visiting Nurse Service. She was on the boards of several health and cultural organizations. In 1976 she was named Franklin County's "treasure," in recognition of her work.

Survivors include two daughters, Charlotte Curtis Hung, of New York, and Mary Curtis Davey, of Los Altos, California; three grandchildren; three stepgrandchildren; and three great-grandchildren

FRANCIS JOSEPH GALBRAITH, a former ambassador to Singapore and Indonesia, died of cancer June 25 at George Washington University Hospital. He was 72.

Mr. Galbraith earned a bachelor's in history at the University of Puget Sound in 1939 and another in librarianship at the University of Washington in 1940. He served in the Army in the South Pacific from 1941–45, attaining the rank of captain. He joined the Foreign Service in 1946.

He served at posts including Hamburg and London, and was inspector of the Foreign Service from 1965–66. In 1966, he was selected by President Johnson to be the first U.S. ambassador to Singapore following its independence. He was ambassador to Indonesia from 1969 until his retirement in 1974. He then became a consultant on international affairs to the Bechtel Corporation, Freeport Indonesia, Weyerhaeuser Company, and Intermaritime Management.

Survivors include his wife, Martha Townsley Fisher, of Washington; a daughter, Susan, of Boston; and a son, Kelly, of Jakarta, Indonesia.

JACK KOMITAR, a retired Foreign Service officer, died May 27 of a heart attack. He was 63.

Mr. Komitar served in the Army in Europe during World War II and was graduated from Alfred University in Alfred, New York. He served at posts including Benghazi, Hong Kong, Paris, Manila, Managua, Asuncion, Bogota, and Vancouver. He retired in 1983.

He is survived by his wife, Marjorie, of Annandale, Virginia; and two sons.

PEGGY SIMPSON YATES, wife of John M. Yates, a Foreign Service officer, died of cancer April 23 at her home in McLean, Virginia. She was 47.

Ms. Yates was graduated from Washington State University with a bachelor's in education. She taught school in Massachusetts from 1961–64. She accompanied her husband on assignments to Gabon, Algeria, India, Malawi, Mali, Turkey, and Cape Verde, where Mr. Yates is currently ambassador. She taught at American schools in Gabon, Algeria, and India. She was a member of the Lewinsville Presbyterian Church in McLean.

In addition to her husband, survivors include five children, John, Maureen, Catherine, Paul, and Gregory, all of McLean and Cape Verde; her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Claude Simpson, of Priest Lake, Idaho; and two brothers, Jack Simpson, of Milwaukee, and Charles Simpson, of Cornelius, Oregon.

Births

Amanda Danielle Rushing was born to THERESE and KEVIN RUSHING on May 5. The father is a Foreign Service officer.

Lisa Faye Wiznitzer was born to MARK and CARRIE WIZNITZER on April 18 in the Hague. The father, a Foreign Service officer, is a diplomatic exchange officer in the Netherlands. The mother formerly worked in Security and in the Office of Eastern European Affairs.

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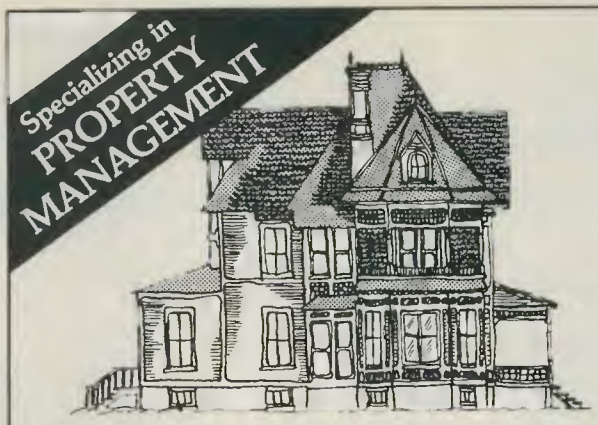

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ASSOCIATION NEWS

Lugar lauds Service in AFSA Awards Ceremony speech

The work of the Foreign Service "is all too frequently not only unheralded and unrecognized" by the American public, said Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Chairman Richard Lugar at the annual AFSA Awards Ceremony last July, "it is unknown." American diplomats "wonder if they do something that is courageous and decent whether there are persons back there who will speak up for them," Lugar told the crowd of about 350 in the Loy Henderson Conference Room. "I think it is important to confirm that there are such persons."

Lugar went on to praise the work of the Foreign Service employees who helped the observation team that Lugar led to the Philippines during the recent election there, singling out award winner John Finney, deputy director of the Philippines office in the State Department. He said that Foreign Service reporting during the leadership succession there was "superb, the best that anyone was receiving." He cited the six former FSOs who serve on the staff of the Foreign Relations Committee as both evidence of the Service's expertise and as an important conduit between Congress and the State Department.

After Lugar's speech, AFSA President Gerald Lamberty presented an honorary membership in the Association to Lugar for his contributions to the strength of the Foreign Service. He then introduced the presenters of the awards.

Three of the awards go to a senior, mid-level, and a junior officer who display "extraordinary accomplishment, integrity, intellectual courage, and creative dissent." Lugar's colleague Senator Claiborne Pell (D.-Rhode Island) presented the Christian Herter Award to senior officer John Bushnell, deputy chief of mission in Buenos Aires. Pell cited Bushnell for "creative initiative, intellectual brilliance, and deep commitment to the national interest in managing highly sensitive issues with the newly restored democratic government of Argentina....His contribution in delicate financial matters, during the course of the Falklands crisis, in helping to restore bilateral military relations was especially noteworthy."

Finney, winner of the William R. Rivkin Award, "had been at the focal working point of our effort to bring reform and peaceful change to a country critical to the U.S. national interest," said Rivkin's widow, Mrs. John Sterry Long. "Whether carrying out his regular tasks or special assignments such as organizing the presidential observer team...Mr. Finney demonstrated expertise, talent, dedication, a warm human touch, and sheer professional ability. It was an extraordinary accomplishment."

Junior officer Atim Ogunba won the Averell Harriman Award on the basis of her work as a consular officer in the Dominican Republic. "Ms. Ogunba distinguished herself by a performance characterized by integrity, initiative, and creative problem-solving," Harriman's wife, Pamela, read from the citation. During

Lugar: Service unrecognized

a gap of two months between unit chiefs, she effectively managed the third largest immigrant visa unit in the world without any major problems, handling the toughest cases herself and discovering a potentially serious security problem in the post's automation.

Harriman also presented an award given annually to a member of a Foreign Service family who has done the most to advance American interests at post in the spirit of the late Avis Bohlen, for whom the award is named. She cited Christine Morrissette Shurtleff for working "tirelessly and compassionately for two and a half years to improve Liberian-American relations through a broad range of community outreach programs and to ensure that the assignment of almost 220 U.S. direct-hire employees and their dependents to this hardship post was a profitable and positive experience." Shurtleff represented the United States at meetings of Liberian women's groups and was an important asset to families at post during a bloody coup attempt.

Director of the Foreign Service Institute Stephen Low presented the Matilda Sinclaire Language Awards to 10 officers. The awards, given for the study of a "hard" language and its associated culture, went to Rayna Aylward (Hebrew), Kevin P. Carey (Hebrew), William F. Davnie III (Thai), John F. Fogarty (Arabic), Michael Gfoeller (Polish), Tatiana Gfoeller-Volkoff (Polish), Lawrence Goodrich (Russian), Thomas Hanson (Russian), Virgil D. Miedema (Nepali), and John Ordway (Russian). Aylward was present to receive her prize, but the others were at post.

The winners made brief remarks of thanks at a luncheon the Association sponsored for them in the Foreign Service Club after the ceremony. Director General George Vest added his praises, then went on to say: "In congratulating each of you I would really like to congratulate AFSA as well as being something that goes way beyond what is customary and does something very extraordinary for our Foreign Service life."

AFSA Award winners (from left): Christine Morrissette Shurtleff (Bohlen), Rayna Aylward (Sinclaire), John Finney (Rivkin), John Bushnell (Herter), Atim Ogunba (Harriman).

AFSA Awards nominations sought

The AFSA Awards Committee is seeking nominations for its five awards honoring the professionalism of Foreign Service employees. The awards, which include cash prizes, are among the most prestigious in the Service.

The Herter Award, the Rivkin Award, and the Harriman Award are given to officers who display outstanding intellectual originality, courage, forthrightness, and creative dissent. Named for diplomats Christian A. Herter, William Rivkin, and Averell Harriman, they honor senior officers, officers in ranks FS-1-2, and officers in ranks FS-3-6, respectively. The first two carry prizes of $1000, the last $2500.

The Avis Bohlen Award honors a member of a Foreign Service family. Named for the late wife of the late ambassador Charles F. Bohlen, it recognizes those "whose relations with the American and foreign communities at a Foreign Service post have done the most to advance the interests of the United States in the tradition of the late Avis Bohlen." It carries a $2500 stipend.

The Matilda Sinclaire Language Awards honor students of "hard" languages and their associated cultures who show exemplary performance, with a prize of $1000. Career officers and reserve officers training for permanent appointments are eligible.

Anyone having knowledge of an officer's or family member's qualifications may place a nomination. For all awards except the Sinclaire, the recommended format is two full sets of materials, unbound, with each page marked with nominee's name, giving biographic data (name, birth date, grade, agency), association with the candidate (no more than 250 words), and justification for nomination (500–750 words, including specific examples).

A special form for the Sinclaire Award is available from the Foreign Service Institute or AFSA. All nominations must be sent to AFSA by December 15.

Association protests plan to cut dependent pay

AFSA has protested a State Department plan to limit the salaries of Foreign Service dependents working under contract at the embassy in Moscow. In a letter to management, the Association voiced its concern over the terms of the proposed contract, as well as the effect it will have on families serving in Moscow and morale at the embassy in general.

The department is soliciting bids from contractors to fill designated positions at the mission formerly held by Soviet nationals with Foreign Service dependents or other American contract employees. The provisions of the contract limit the salary rate of personnel recruited at post to $8 per hour. No limit is placed on the salary that may be paid to a contract employee who is not a Foreign Service dependent.

AFSA protested the fact that employees' dependents, a majority of whom are women, will be working side by side with non-dependent contract employees and will receive, in many cases, thousands of dollars less in compensation. Two positions with similar titles and requirements should not be assigned different rates of pay simply because one is filled by a dependent and the other is not, AFSA said. The $8 pay cap discriminates on the basis of marital status and has a disparate impact on women, since they are the majority of spouses, the Association concluded.

Morale at the embassy in Moscow has never been notably high, AFSA said, and it certainly would not be helped by introducing a system such as this. In the letter, AFSA suggested that the department rethink the issue.

We will inform the membership about the department's response in a later issue.

Tax Update: Changes in FICA, benefits taxation

Until the Supreme Court held it unlawful in 1981, the Internal Revenue Service had been taxing certain items under FICA, or Social Security, that were not included in gross income for income tax purposes. As a result of the court decision, Congress amended the tax laws so that wages for FICA purposes could be defined differently from wages for income tax purposes. The statute makes remuneration from employer to employee subject to FICA taxation unless there is an explicit exemption.

The only exemption relevant to Foreign Service employees is government-provided housing, as opposed to a living-quarters allowance. AFSA has learned that the Department of Defense plans to withhold taxes for FICA based on the living-quarters allowance. The Overseas Education Association has filed suit against the Department of Defense to prevent the Navy from withholding FICA taxes from the living-quarters allowances of DOD civilian teachers who reside overseas.

In another tax question affecting Foreign Service employees, the IRS has issued regulations implementing the Tax Reform Act of 1984 that would tax the benefit of government-provided vehicles. If a vehicle is provided to an employee without charge, even if only for commuting purposes, the cost of this benefit is considered a part of the employee's gross income for tax purposes. Home-to-office transportation provided on a payment basis will have no tax consequence. AFSA is attempting to have exempted vehicles provided for security reasons.

Don't use FOIA/PA to request files

AFSA wishes to caution members who need to obtain their personnel files that they could find themselves in a catch-22 situation that may preclude use of the grievance process in the future.

Employees serving overseas who request copies of their personnel files through their counselors are frequently advised to direct this request to their agency's Office of Privacy Act Information. One employee who followed her counselor's advice discovered upon receiving it that her file contained prejudicial and inadmissable material. She subsequently filed a grievance, requesting removal of these documents.

The department responded that, since she had requested action under the Freedom of Information/Privacy Act prior to filing the grievance, she could not use the grievance process as well. The department cited as authority Section 1109(a) of the Foreign Service Act, which precludes the filing of a grievance if the individual had previously requested action under another provision of law, regulation, or executive order. Although she had not requested resolution of her complaint under FOIA/PA provisions, the department is claiming that invoking the act to request her folder nonetheless triggers the clause precluding a grievance. Incidentally, this section of the act only pertains to Foreign Service Grievance Board appeals that cannot be filed until the employee's agency has issued its decision on a case.

There is no regulation prohibiting an employee access to his or her files. It is, however, time consuming and sometimes unreasonable to expect personnel counselors to send copies of the various files to an employee abroad. We urge members to make every effort to periodically review their files in the offices where they are maintained (i.e., medical files in M/MED, personnel and administrative files in Personnel, etc.).

Copies may also be requested through the grievance staff, but only after a grievance has been filed, which is not helpful since no cause for a grievance exists until evidence of an arbitrary or inadmissable action has been obtained.

Legislative Alert

The 99th Retires to Mixed Reviews from Feds

By Robert Beers, *Congressional Liaison*

As the 99th Congress nears its final curtain call before adjourning for the biennial election and trooping off stage to take its place in history, it promises to leave to the federal employee and retiree community a mixed legacy of legislative changes, both favorable and otherwise. Heading the favorable column has to be the enactment of an entirely new retirement program to supplement the Social Security coverage mandated for all federal employees entering on duty after December 1, 1983. Four years in the making and finally signed into law on June 6, 1986, the new system begins operation on January 1, 1987. Compared to the "old" system it supersedes, it offers federal employees a greater voice in determining the level of their post-retirement income through the inauguration of a "thrift" plan into which they can make tax-deferred deposits matched in part by their employer, the federal government. Thus, the new system has the potential for attaining a higher percentage of pre-retirement income for those employees who devote a full career to government service, while also providing for the portability of retirement benefits already earned by those workers who leave government before attaining age and length of service retirement eligibility. Pre-1984 employees have the option of transferring to the new system during an "open window" period from July 1 to December 1 of next year. For each individual, a determination as to whether such a transfer would be personally advantageous rests upon various facts and assumptions being factored into a rather complex series of computations. All federal agencies are now gearing up to provide their employees with the expert guidance necessary to make informed decisions in this regard. Meanwhile, those who choose to remain under the "old" retirement system still would have the opportunity for limited participation in the thrift plan. Overall, the new retirement legislation appears overall to be a decided "plus" for federal workers.

Less comforting are the actual and potential ramifications of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, more commonly referred to as the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings bill. One of the first casualties of this legislation was the cost-of-living adjustment for federal retirees which had already become effective December 1, 1985, only to be wiped out 12 days later when the president signed Gramm-Rudman-Hollings into law. The Supreme Court has since declared a key provision of this law unconstitutional, giving four members of Congress a chance to ask that the 1986 COLA be reinstated, but the House voted by a large majority to reaffirm the previous budget cuts, including the COLA.

Insofar as federal employees are concerned, the principal by-product of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings is an overshadowing uncertainty about the future. Which federal programs and functions are going to be wiped out or cut back? Which employees face the prospect of losing their jobs and when? This is hardly an atmosphere which promotes high morale and increased productivity throughout the federal workforce, including the Foreign Service, yet under this legislation the process of attrition and the threat of the sequestration of federal programs could continue until 1991.

Paralleling the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings budget saga is an effort to restore the COLA for all federal retirees in January 1987. Gramm-Rudman exempted Social Security and veterans' pensions from the COLA wipe-out last December, so AFSA, working in coalition with 26 other federal employee and retiree organizations, has sought to re-establish a COLA linkage between all federal retirement programs and have the COLA reinstated next year despite Gramm-Rudman. The first step in this process was the preparation of H.R. 4060, a bill introduced by Representative Mary Rose Oakar (D.-Ohio), who was ultimately joined by more than 280 co-sponsors. H.R. 4060 was passed by the House, 396 to 19, shortly before the summer recess. In addition, the joint budget resolution for fiscal year 1987, approved by both the House and Senate, makes provision for funding a retiree COLA next January. Furthermore, as we go to press, the Senate has just approved a measure introduced by Slade Gorton (R.-Washington) that would provide full COLAS for all federal retirees from 1987 through 1991, the last year of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings. So the prospects for the reinstatement of the annual retiree COLA appear increasingly favorable, although in the present climate of fiscal stringency and uncertainty there can be no guarantee.

Another spin-off from Gramm-Rudman-Hollings was the introduction of S. 2197 by Senators William Roth (R.-Delaware) and Ted Stevens (R.-Alaska). This bill would permit those federal employees who met its more liberal retirement requirements to elect an "early out." While the announced intention was to offer a parachute to many employees who might be subject to dismissal under the effects of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, another objective of the bill obviously is to reduce the overall size of the federal workforce, since S. 2197 also imposes a freeze on recruiting new employees to replace those electing to retire. With an effective date of July 1, 1986, now long past, S. 2197 faces an uncertain future in this Congress. Should no action be taken before this Congress adjourns, there is a good prospect that a similar bill may be introduced next year when the members of the 100th Congress take their seats.

Finally, there is the question of the impact of the tax reform legislation on the taxation of retirement annuities. Both the House and the Senate versions of tax reform make provision for a change in the present three-year-recovery rule, under which retirees have this length of time to receive back, as initial tax-free annuity payments, their previously taxed contributions to their retirement fund. The House bill would pro-rate the tax-exempt portion of such contributions in accord with the actuarial life expectancy of anyone retiring after July 1, 1986. The Senate bill would allow those retiring during calendar year 1988 to recover 50 percent of their contribution tax-free during the first year, with the remaining 50 percent pro-rated in accord with their actuarial life-expectancy. Therefore, since both the House and the Senate tax bills contain language to rescind the present three-year recovery rule, there is every chance that the final bill emerging from the House-Senate conference will also contain a provision to accomplish this. Of the two versions, that of the Senate bill obviously is much to be preferred, since it considerably softens the impact of the change on those employees whose retirement date is near at hand.

Legislative Action Fund drive to start

Members will shortly be receiving a letter in the mail soliciting their aid in the Association's Legislative Action Fund, which is used to finance AFSA's activities on Capitol Hill. The drive comes at a time of renewed threats to both the nature of the professional Foreign Service and the benefits and allowances received by its employees and retirees.

This is the third drive seeking donations to the fund, which has met with considerable success in its lobbying activities. The Association uses a two-pronged approach, working in consort with other federal-employee organizations while stressing the unique nature of the Foreign Service.

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