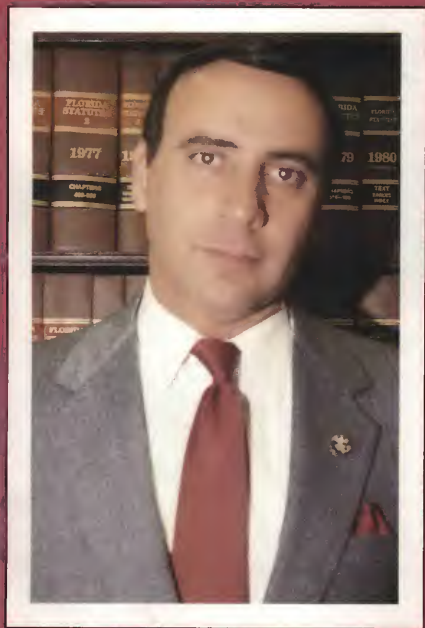


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*International Representatives*

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# ASSOCIATION VIEWS

## *Diplomacy on the Cheap*

In July 1981, as a businessman-turned-ambassador, I brought with me to the world of diplomacy the notion that the people's business was one like any other. There would be inevitable gains and losses, but if the purpose was useful and adequately funded the end product would be worthwhile.

Unfortunately, the kind of shortsighted budget restrictions currently being imposed by Congress on our nation's diplomatic service are forcing me to revise that view. Although most Americans accept the need for a strong American defense effort, Congress is, in effect, undermining what is really our first and most cost-effective line of defense—the practice of diplomacy.

While other arms of government can cut back on programs or hardware, our diplomatic service has only one fundamental tool available to it—people. These people, in our embassies around the world, collect, analyze, and provide to the key decision-makers in Washington the vital information necessary to the formulation and implementation of our foreign policy.

And what does it cost us? Very little indeed. For every State Department employee overseas there are 25 U.S. military personnel stationed abroad. Total State Department expenditures for a year amount to only two-tenths of one percent of the federal budget.

That is really diplomacy on the cheap.

In real terms the State Department's budget has remained almost static over the past decade. The only significant growth has been in mandatory wage and price increases and security improvements to combat the increased terrorist threat to those serving us overseas. The corrosive effect of cost-cutting and budget clamps is, however, creating a dangerous gap in our diplomatic shield.

We are reducing the number of our foreign national employees and severely restricting their salaries, thereby losing the expertise and backup of a work force that is a critical element of our overseas operations. We are slashing our consular and other services to the public, both foreign and American. In the process we are sully the image of our embassies as havens of assistance and advice and as windows on America.

Our government seeks out and trains for the Foreign Service the best talent our country has to offer. These people are our best and brightest. It has been my great fortune to serve with this highly professional and dedicated body of men and women for almost six years in two Foreign Service posts. That they are increasingly denied the necessary resources to carry out their mandate should be cause for concern for every American.

To rectify this situation, Secretary George Shultz is seeking supplemental funds for the State Department's fiscal year 1987 budget. He also has put forward a sensible and compelling financial blueprint for 1988. It is essential to the orderly conduct of our first line of defense that these funds be made available to him. The austerity measures the U.S. Foreign Service is being forced to take, to say nothing of further scheduled cuts in its budget for fiscal year 1988, represent a serious threat to our nation's security.

Diplomacy on the cheap is no bargain for the American people.

—Charles H. Price II, ambassador to the United Kingdom,  
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## LETTERS

### Swiss Treats

Some things, it seems, never change. Like our ambassador to Switzerland. We read that Marvin Warner, ambassador during the Carter administration, has just been convicted of securities violations in Ohio; meanwhile Faith Whittlesey, our current envoy in Bern, has allowed her embassy's private representational funds to be used for purchases that no career officer would have permitted.

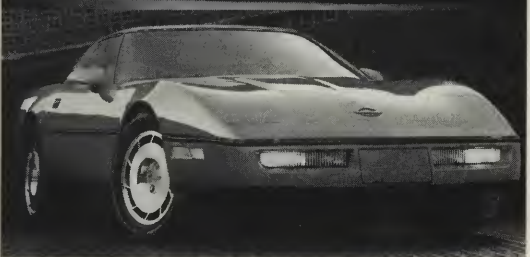
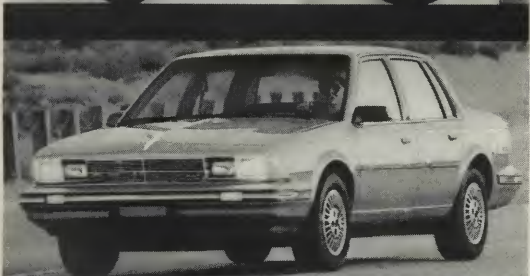
Back in the early 1960s, a Swiss industrialist named Schindler (elevators, railroad cars) needed me, a young consul in his home town of Basel, about the ambassadors we were sending to his country. (Yes, we had a consulate in Basel. Shortly after we closed it, along with a lot of others, the "experts" discovered a need in the Service for mid-level management training courses—but that's another story.) Our ambassador then was an individualist of sorts, whose idiosyncracies had not endeared him to the Swiss. He had, *inter alia*, displayed a semi-nude painting of his maid behind his wife's chair in the ambassadorial dining room. He had also managed to get rid of his DCM, a highly respected career diplomat. His successor-designate was another political appointee with no previous diplomatic experience.

Schindler's question was pointed: Would Switzerland never get anything but politically appointed amateurs as American ambassadors? After recalling that some of our most distinguished career diplomats (John Carter Vincent, Frances Willis) had headed our mission in Bern, I had to admit that as long as (a) ambassadorships remained among the spoils of our political system, (b) Swiss-American relations were so good, and (c) life in Bern was so pleasant, Switzerland's luck was not likely to change.

RUSSELL PRICKETT  
*Foreign Service Officer, retired*  
Austin, Texas

### Missing the Mark

I believe your review of *The Liberation of One* [BOOKS, November] was far off the mark. I served as American press attaché in



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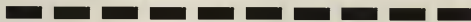
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**"There was the door to which I found no key..."**

*Edward Fitzgerald*

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Warsaw from 1977-80 and I thought the book by former Polish diplomat Romuald Spasowski offered excellent insight into what has happened to Poland and the Poles during the past half century.

Your reviewer criticizes Mr. Spasowski, who was Polish ambassador in Washington when he defected the day after martial law was declared in 1981, for providing a personal chronicle instead of a "penetrating political analysis." This seems especially misguided. Should we really study political developments in the abstract, without regard to how they affect people? I suggest that more can be learned from some of Spasowski's anecdotes than from reading yet another analysis of the latest proposal to fix the Polish economy.

Spasowski is an intelligent and educated man who gives us a frequently moving account of the coming of fascism and then communism to Poland. No doubt his book has its flaws, but it should not be dismissed because it stresses people instead of policies. That is its virtue.

RICHARD VIRDEN  
*Public Affairs Officer*  
Lisbon, Portugal

## **Divorced Spouses**

The Association of American Foreign Service Women would like to contact Foreign Service wives who were divorced before 1981. Since the 1970s, AAFSW has worked to change the laws that prohibit these women from receiving either a share of their husband's pension, survivor benefits, or the right to re-enter the Foreign Service group health plan.

Helped by the moving testimony of these women, the Foreign Service Act was amended, effective February 15, 1981, to provide a pro-rata share of pension and survivor benefits to those divorced after that date. Unfortunately, Congress, in its reluctance to enact anything retroactive, failed to help the very women who inspired the amendment.

Most of these women spent 25-30 years working to further Foreign Service interests abroad through their unpaid efforts. Until 1972, in fact, they were subject to inclusion in their husband's efficiency reports. But they had no possibility of Social Security or Medicare as a result.

Now that there is again hope of legislation on their behalf in the 100th Congress, we are unable to trace a sizeable number of these ex-wives. Mail has come back "forward order expired" or "unknown." The new legislation will not touch the pension rights of the former husbands nor existing assignments of survivor benefits in any

way. It will enable the women to re-enter the group health plan, provide a share of survivor benefits, and may provide other assistance as well. When enacted, there will be time limits to the period in which one may enroll. It is urgent that we track down every woman now.

We ask all JOURNAL readers to contact divorced Foreign Service wives among their friends who may still be unaware of these legislative possibilities. Please ask them to contact the Family Liaison Office, Room 1212A, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520, or call (202)647-1076. Or write to AAFSW, PO Box 70051, Washington, D.C. 20024.

MIRYAM HIRSH  
*Displaced Foreign Service Partners*  
PAMELA MOFFAT  
AAFSW  
Washington, D.C.

## **Williams Remembered**

Your November issue announced the sad news of the passing of John Z. Williams last summer. I searched your notice in vain for any mention of the most extraordinary thing he did: from the late summer of 1945 on, for three kaleidoscopic years, Jack was the only officer in the department assigned full-time to Korean affairs. He was assigned, of course, without the slightest previous knowledge or experience. He worked hard, intelligently, and with an open-minded, often-amused curiosity to perform the almost impossible duties the department imposed on him.

Less than two years after his assignment the Korean war erupted. The newly reborn Korean nation—whose postwar affairs the department had felt insufficiently important to assign thereto full-time more than a single, inexperienced junior officer—was now the subject of "the most important decision" of President Truman's years in office.

Jack Williams was that officer. Failure even to note that crucial service inadvertently repeats the same belittling of Korean affairs of which the department was then so grievously and misguidedly guilty.

GREGORY HENDERSON  
Medford, Massachusetts

## **Correction**

In the January issue we noted that D.F. Shaughnessy, the author of "Eden's Folly," was a retired official of the British government. He is, in fact, a former official of the U.S. government. We regret the error.



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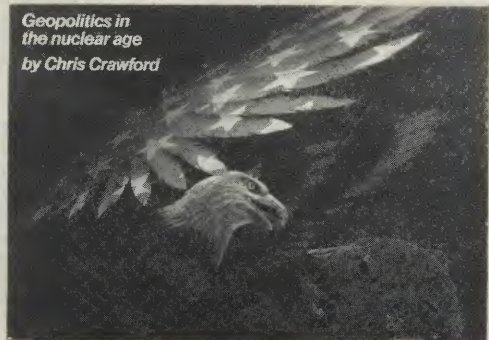
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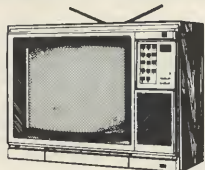
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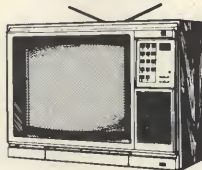
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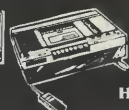


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## BOOKS

### Reviews

*The Agency: The Rise and Decline of the CIA.* By John Ranelagh. Simon & Schuster, 1986.

*The CIA and the U.S. Intelligence System.* By Scott D. Breckinridge. Westview Press, 1986. \$30.

The market for books on the CIA is never saturated. These two are both timely and worthy additions to the library of anyone interested in intelligence or national security. Moreover, the two are utterly dissimilar in style and approach, even though subject and scope overlap.

*The CIA and the U.S. Intelligence System* is avowedly a treatise or textbook, written for use by universities and researchers by an ex-CIA professional who spent 16 years in the agency's inspector general department. Starting with a legislative history, the book covers the main fields of intelligence activity, including techniques and analysis of intelligence collection, counter-intelligence, covert and paramilitary operations, as well as the status of intelligence operations under U.S. and international law. A particularly valuable section deals with satellite and electronic surveillance techniques. On organizational detail it is authoritative, to say the least.

The book does less to analyze the relationship of the intelligence community to the foreign policy establishment, nor does it adequately evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of its methods and personnel. Where mentioned at all, U.S. foreign policy objectives are recited in the wooden platitudes of the Government Organization Manual. The book's few attempts to tie CIA covert operations to actual historical events are misleading or naively exculpatory. Its explanation of the mining of Nicaraguan ports and harbors is simply false. The purpose was not to interdict the infinitesimal outbound trickle of small-boat arms traffic to the Salvadoran rebels, but to conduct a clandestine and illegal blockade of imports in order to cripple the Nicaraguan economy.

*The Agency*, on the other hand, describes the CIA in the context of foreign policy and the agency's leading personalities. It

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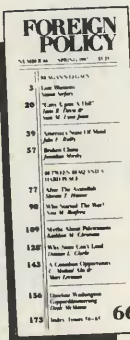
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covers the same ground as the Breckinridge book but in a more descriptive and less schematic way. It also provides pen portraits of recent directors of—for different reasons the author particularly admires Allen Dulles and William Colby—and attempts a critique of the agency's missions, especially covert operations. Also covered are the agency's shifting relationship with Congress, the changing profile of its personnel, the ever-increasing reliance on technology, and the impact of size and bureaucratization. The book is eminently readable, in the easy, literate style of the best British journalism.

Profusely footnoted, and nearly 700 pages long, *The Agency* is a serious work of exceptional quality. The author, who works in British television, seems to have been given unusual cooperation by prominent agency alumni. According to the introduction, the book would not have been possible without the assistance of the CIA's ex-controller. Hundreds of ex-agency personnel were interviewed; "thousands of documents" procured through the Freedom of Information Act; the voluminous records of the Church committee were carefully scrutinized. The project took four years, employed three research assistants, and required the author to spend large blocks of time in the United States. The result is a book not only friendly to the CIA, but in places tinged with romantic admiration.

Missing from both books are the views of the intelligence community's "customers", the foreign policymakers. Neither cites ex-presidents, secretaries or assistant secretaries of state, ambassadors, or personnel of other departments as to the quality of U.S. intelligence. Both skate over covert action disasters and the question of whether the expense and effort lavished on covert action was worthwhile. *The Agency*, in particular, tends to personalize the CIA as an admirably faithful executor of presidential fiat—not as a bureaucracy inextricably linked to the foreign policy process, whose blunders and excesses inevitably hamper the achievement of solid, long-term objectives. Neither author questions the "cops and robbers" approach to Third World Marxism and Moslem fundamentalism that continues to embroil the United States in regional quarrels, sometimes on the wrong side.

—CHARLES MAECHLING JR.

*The Financing of Terror.* By James Adams. Simon and Schuster, 1986. \$18.95

The Foreign Service community has become all-too-painfully aware of the impact

of terrorism, an impact that has been felt in death, destruction, and destabilization around the world. The conventional wisdom has been that combating terrorism requires superlative intelligence to provide early warning of attacks, highly trained forces to respond when attacks occur, and aggressive punishments for those persons and countries involved in or sponsoring such actions. Occasionally, pre-emptive measures are advocated in what is otherwise a defensive response to terrorism.

With the publication of *The Financing of Terror*, James Adams, defense correspondent for the *London Sunday Times*, has proposed a new approach to counterterrorist strategy. In Adams's view, the preoccupation of western countries with the questions of state support for and retaliation against terrorism indicates that governments have failed to recognize the changing character of the terrorist threat. Adams argues that, while early terrorist groups were small collections of impoverished activists pursuing a goal, the groups that bedevil the democratic world today are actually financial empires that use—and, where necessary, reach accommodation with—the capitalistic societies they profess to oppose.

Adams's principal argument is that the fight against terrorist groups has failed to recognize and respond to the growing financial strength of the terrorists. He argues that concentrating on "body counts" and arrests of terrorists without attacking their underlying financial empires is dangerous and must be redirected if terrorism is to be defeated. In making his case, Adams concentrates on four groups: the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Irish Republican Army, the Red Brigades, and the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces. Adams demonstrates that each group has moved from financial dependence on outsiders to economic independence, in some cases controlling much of the day-to-day infrastructure of the countries in which they operate. Along the way, Adams suggests that the involvement of the Soviets and countries such as Libya is less important than has been suggested.

His case is cogent and those who are more than casually interested in countering terrorism should consider the contents of this book carefully. —MAYER NUDELL

*China: Asia's Next Economic Giant?* By Dwight Perkins. University of Washington Press, 1986. \$12.95.

This small book is a revolutionary account of China's economic development. Perkins

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analyzes China's progress in comparison to the growth-oriented economies of Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore. He attributes the success of these economies to supportive political and human-resource environments. While he argues that the supportive political environment the Chinese economy has enjoyed since Mao's death has aided its growth, he refreshingly acknowledges that economic analysts have yet to establish the causal relationships between cultural and economic developments.

The critical question, however, is whether China will continue its outward-oriented policies despite its built-in demographic weaknesses and an inevitable change of leadership.

Perkins concludes guardedly that China's reform momentum will be difficult to derail. By century's end, he sees a China transformed from a peasant economy into an urban, industrial society fully integrated with the international economy. Visionary? Perhaps. Insightfully provocative? Yes, indeed! Perkins's lucid presentation leaves ample room for nit-picking. He slights too easily the impact of U.S. political and economic support on East Asia's growth environment. Nevertheless, this brief but masterful analysis

offers more stimulus for Asian specialists and the still-groping developmental economists than do many longer interpretations.

These essays were first offered as the inaugural lectures before the University of Washington's Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies. Perkins's book is a fitting tribute to the man who contributed so much to shaping U.S.—China relations.

—JOHN A. LACEY

**Gorbachev: The Path to Power.** By Christian Schmidt-Hauer. Salem House, 1986, \$15.95.

**Gorbachev.** By Zhores Medvedev. W.W. Norton & Company, 1986. \$15.95

Ever since he assumed power almost two years ago, Mikhail Gorbachev's intentions and political agenda have become a kind of Rorschach test for western pundits. Many knowledgeable observers, recognizing the economic and social problems facing the Soviet Union today, have concluded that Gorbachev is intent on a thorough going effort at "radical reform." Seizing on his apparent determination to get the Soviet Union moving again after almost a decade

of stagnation and political torpor, they have projected onto him their own pet prescriptions for curing "le mal Sovietique." Two recent biographies of the general secretary provide both examples of such thinking and antidotes.

Schmidt-Hauer, for many years the Moscow correspondent of *Die Zeit*, has concluded that Gorbachev is "good not only for Russia, but also for the rest of the world... especially if the West helps him." Unfortunately, Schmidt-Hauer does not so much prove that Gorbachev is a reformer, but rather asserts it—over and over again. This book is little more than a pastiche of potted history and superficial, wishful thinking. The book, both frustrating and infuriating, is of interest only insofar as it suggests a certain turn of mind, current in Europe and to a lesser degree in U.S. academic circles, which believes that only a pliant western negotiating posture on arms control can keep another Soviet effort at reform from aborting. This glib book should be on anyone's list of the ten worst political books of 1986. One might speculate that the results of the Iceland summit may have led many Europeans, who might otherwise have been tempted by Schmidt-Hauer's thesis, to question the ultimate consequences of such a view of East-West relations.

Medvedev, on the other hand, has produced a fine, detailed, and balanced biography which helps place Gorbachev's career in a fuller perspective. The book is well worth the time it takes to get through the meticulous account of the vicissitudes of Soviet agriculture in the last decade. The author is impressed by the new style the Soviet leader has demonstrated since March 1985 but is careful not to confuse style and substance. Medvedev's recounting of the circumstances that brought Gorbachev to power helps us to understand both the general secretary's rhetoric and program. The picture emerges of a generally orthodox party functionary whose progress to the top was facilitated by some of his country's most conservative and authoritarian figures. An intelligent man, Gorbachev recognizes the severity of the problems gripping the Soviet Union and is oriented toward solving them rather than standing fast by ideology. He is, however, a product of the system and does not challenge its fundamental tenets—party control of a basically command economy. He is confident of his abilities and his rapid rise has probably encouraged him to have greater faith in himself than may be warranted—especially in international affairs where he is relatively inexperienced.

Medvedev soberly concludes that "Gorbachev is neither a liberal nor a bold reformer."



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mist. He prefers small modifications, administrative methods, and economic adjustments to structural reform. But there are indications that he has not yet made his final choice." In fact, Gorbachev probably does not yet know himself what course he will ultimately pursue. His call for accelerated socio-economic development and greater openness in Soviet society are as much, if not more, a part of his strategy for consolidating power during a time of generational change as they are a strategy for governing.

We are unlikely to know how much Gorbachev is willing to depart from orthodoxy until several years have passed. His tinkering with the economic mechanism will have proved to be an unsatisfactory path for promoting growth. But, until that day of reckoning arrives, we would all do well to heed Medvedev's advice and not hold excessive expectations for Gorbachev's achievements. —ERIC EDELMAN

**American Books Abroad: *Toward A National Policy*. Edited by William M. Childs and Donald E. McNeil. Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation, 1986. \$35.**

"An arsenal of books is far better than tanks, guns, planes and missiles." This excellent book stresses that national objectives and cultural heritage can be explained far better through books than weapons.

The contributors—all of them leading educators and diplomats—voiced regret that USIA has recently curtailed the worldwide American book distribution program. The program once distributed 10–12 million American books, but by 1984 fewer than half a million books were involved. This study, requested by USIA Director Charles Z. Wick, recommended that the agency now take the lead in getting more public and private cooperation in producing low-priced American books for overseas markets.

The book also offers good advice on how best to finance more American books, pick the best titles, find the right marketplace, and get more public, private, and independent organizational input.

—BLYTHE FOOTE FINKE

**Gleanings in Europe: *Switzerland, Italy, England, France, The Rhine*. By James Fenimore Cooper. State University of New York Press, 1980–1986. Five volumes: \$44.50 each (cloth); \$16.95 each (paper).**

Foreign Service officers should welcome the republication of James Fenimore Cooper's

five volumes of European travels, which have been out of print since the 1830s. From 1826 to 1833, America's first great novelist lived and traveled extensively in Western Europe. Although Cooper was consul in Lyon, he spent almost five years in Paris, where, as an intimate of the Marquis de Lafayette, he was an active observer of the French political scene through the 1830 revolution and a leader of American support to Polish nationalists fleeing Russia in 1830–31. Cooper also lived for several years in Florence, Naples, and Rome, and spent shorter periods in England, along with undertaking extensive walking tours in Switzerland, and touring Belgium and the Rhineland.

In some places Cooper was primarily a tourist; in Paris, London, and the Italian cities, he was an active participant in diplomatic, political, and cultural circles. His description of places, incidents, and people is worthy of an author who is rightly famed as a master of scenic writing. In recent years, there has grown a realization that Cooper stands with Alexis de Toqueville as a pioneer of intercultural analysis and, in particular, of the relationship between European and American cultures in the 1830s.

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Cooper's efforts on behalf of U.S. diplomats. Thus, in *Gleanings in Europe: France*, Cooper writes:

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—HUGH C. MACDOUGALL

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The Kremlin and the West: A Realistic Approach. By Wolfgang Leonhard. Translated by Houshen Chehabi. W. W. Norton & Co., 1986. \$17.95

It would be a shame if this extremely reasonable, useful, and well-written book were lost in the current flood of books on Soviet affairs and East-West relations. Wolfgang Leonhard, who teaches history at Yale University, is uniquely qualified as an analyst of Soviet affairs. The son of German Communists, he was educated in Stalin's Russia during World War II, and was an official in the German Democratic Republic when he defected to the West. Thus, he writes with the authority of an insider.

His analysis of Soviet politics and foreign policy is rooted in Mikhail Voslenky's writings on the Soviet *nomenklatura*—the privileged elite that governs Soviet society. Leonhard suggests that "the main goal of the *nomenklatura* is to secure and extend its own power," and this is the driving force behind both domestic and foreign policy. Leonhard's views are similar to those expressed by Richard Pipes in *Survival Is Not Enough*. Like Pipes, Leonhard insists that a lasting improvement in East-West relations can only come about if there are far-reaching changes in the Soviet system. In order to promote such changes, Leonhard urges western governments to differentiate between the *nomenklatura* hierarchy and the Soviet population. He believes that while arms control negotiations are essential, they must be accompanied by efforts "to forge direct contacts with the populations of Communist-ruled countries."

Both Pipes and Leonhard believe the Soviet Union is facing a profound political and economic crisis and that the West should try to foster a democratic transformation of the Soviet system. There are, however, serious differences of emphasis which lead Leonhard to rather different conclusions than Pipes. First, Leonhard sees a number of possible outcomes to the Soviet crisis and sketches a full-range of scenarios. Second, Leonhard is more firmly committed to NATO than Pipes. As a result, Leonhard's recommendations are more cautious, conservative, and sensible. He urges a policy of military strength coupled with a willingness to continue arms negotiations. He counsels patience in negotiations rather than agreements for their own sake. He wants a toughening of controls on East-West trade linked to human rights issues, but is skeptical of the alliance's ability to pursue a strategy of economic denial. Finally, he believes in a vigorous ideological offensive to promote

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human rights through public and private diplomacy, radio broadcasts, and expanded people-to-people contacts. He argues for a stable, long-term policy rather than the oscillation between illusion and despair which has often plagued the West over the past 15 years.

Although he is not explicit, Leonhard has essentially provided a sophisticated defense of the Reagan administration's U.S.-Soviet policy. His moderate recommendations should sound familiar. They parallel major policy speeches by President Reagan and Secretary Shultz. The book, originally published in Germany, was intended for Europe but Americans will find much wisdom and good advice in it as well. It is a welcome respite from the "moral equivalence" and "equilateralism" which has increasingly infected so much European writing on East-West relations.

—ERIC S. EDELMAN

*The China Connection: U.S. Policy and the People's Republic of China.* By A. James Gregor. Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1986. \$24.50 (cloth) \$15.95 (paperback).

This critique of U.S.-China policy is a well-documented polemic against the illusions that still characterize too much of the United States' wishful thinking about mainland China. Gregor criticizes Washington's China policymakers, whom he downgrades perhaps too easily, and the inflated "judgments of academics and media professionals that could most charitably be characterized as Sinocentric."

He argues that U.S.-China policy is neither consistent nor principled. Rather, he sees Washington's approach to China as simply a series of ad hoc responses to issues and opportunities. He balances this appraisal with the observation that "by the mid-1980s, professional judgments concerning the PRC had become more realistic, thus facilitating a more reasonable assessment of U.S. policy alternatives."

Gregor's critique is a useful counterweight to the fanciful notion that communist China is strategically, economically, and politically significant to U.S. interests in Asia. He asserts, perhaps too flatly, that there is little the United States can do about the People's Republic that would materially affect our security interests in East Asia.

As more policymakers realize the danger of playing the China card against the Soviet Union, advocates of "enhanced cooperation" with the PRC have turned to the potential economic benefits to be gained from closer Sino-American rela-



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tions. The author dismisses this argument just as he derides potential political advantages.

Gregor would instead have U.S.-China policy balanced against overall American interests in East Asia and the Pacific. His somewhat angry diatribe, although at times overstated, remains a good antidote to exaggerated benefits from "the China connection."

—JOHN A. LACEY

*The United Arab Emirates: A Venture in Unity.* By Malcolm C. Peck. Westview Press, 1986. \$26.50.

*The United Arab Emirates* is a coherent and carefully researched account of a wealthy 16-year-old nation where foreigners outnumber nationals by four-to-one; where few cultural or historical traditions distinguish the country from its neighbors; and where the inhabitants do not have even a standard name to call themselves. (The author calls them "Emirians," a far more reasonable appellation than "Trucial Coast-ers," for example.)

Peck, a former State Department analyst for Arabian Peninsula affairs, is clearly familiar with the Emirates and its people. His chapters on society and culture and domestic politics will be valuable for both the specialist and for someone new to the region. He documents how a new and well-educated generation is creating a vigorous intellectual life and how that generation is modifying the traditional tribal politics of its elders.

This excellent study would be even better if it conveyed more of the depth and excitement of life in the Emirates. When I worked there in the mid-1970s, it was an extraordinary and often outrageous place. Its inhabitants included smugglers, Texas oil workers, British colonial civil servants, former slave owners, and wheeler-dealers of dozens of nationalities. The UAE may have changed since then, but it is still a vigorous young country with an incredibly varied population. Life there cannot have lost its color.

The author's style is straight forward and clear, although he sometimes uses some baffling formulations. "What can...be anticipated is that as new ideas and perspectives gain further hold among younger elements of the population, society and culture will become more complex and ambivalent, leading eventually to changes not now easily envisioned." Such examples are few, however, and do not detract from the book's overall high quality.

—JOHN LIMBERT



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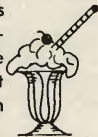
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C. Robert Moore  
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## CLIPPINGS

### Blaming the Pros

"[In a Washington speech, Senator Jesse] Helms (R.-North Carolina) relentlessly attacked the State Department. He accused it of abandoning the principles of representative government and of being 'in the hands of the elite that resents the American people' as well as their 'elected representatives.'

"Helms said the inspirational foreign policy vision set forth by Ronald Reagan in his 1980 presidential campaign 'somewhere... sort of fell by the wayside,' and he blamed the resurgence of the 'so-called professional diplomats' in the State Department for its demise. He noted that 'a few things were accomplished in the pre-[George] Shultz days—that's before the Reaganites were completely obliterated from the State Department.

"The problem is that the same old crowd is back in control again, the crowd that runs things no matter which party's in the White House,' said Helms. The senator scorned the elitism of State's 'Establishment' diplomatic corps: 'The foreign policy process, in their judgment, is supposed to reside with them and them alone. You see it every day in the arrogant testimony of these people who come up from Foggy Bottom. They don't even know they're being arrogant.'....

"Helms, who is highly critical of the State Department's and CIA's role in pushing Adolfo Calero out of the political leadership of the contras, said, 'a lot of people don't know that the CIA is an arm of the State Department. They think it's some independent agency, conservative and so forth, but bear in mind that the CIA is the operating arm of the State Department.'"  
*Peter LaBarbera in the Washington Inquirer,*  
February 27

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"Budget woes forcing the State Department to shut down seven U.S. consulates this year, five of them in Western Europe, are likely to result in a longer 'hit list' of potential closures, officials say....

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solidated with others in the future because of financial restraints....

"The basic reason for the closures is a sharp reduction in the money available to the State Department for foreign operations, officials said. The department has requested an additional \$1.32 billion this year, but lawmakers have warned Shultz that the chances of getting that amount are almost zero."

*Jim Anderson, United Press International, February 2*

**Deep Trouble**

"For a black man to become a U.S. ambassador to any country at all is an extraordinary accomplishment. Perkins did that by becoming ambassador to Liberia. And now, at age 58, Perkins has assumed one of the highest diplomatic posts the United States has to offer. He is deeply proud, but he is also in deep trouble, because the post is in South Africa.

"Ed Perkins is a black emissary to a white racist regime; he represents a president whom many of his fellow black Americans dislike and a policy many find morally bankrupt. He may not be able to war-game his way out of this one. And he is alone, fresh out of political allies."

*Juan Williams in the Washington Post Magazine, March 1*

**Embassy Row**

"From a U.S. ambassador's impossible dream in 1934 of duplicating Monticello on the outskirts of Moscow, State Department officials have now reached the point where they'd just like a new embassy building sometime this century.

"What they have...is an unfinished, crumbling concrete shell loaded with KGB electronic bugs installed by Soviet construction workers. Though it may never be fit for human habitation the Moscow embassy has already amassed a cost overrun exceeding \$100 million.

"The State Department cheerily predicts occupation of the new embassy by 1989. But congressional critics point out that the unfinished structure is being checked over by National Bureau of Standards experts. If they find that Soviet workmanship is below par, the whole building may have to be done over."

*Jack Anderson, March 3*

**Immune Deficiency**

"It is clearly unconstitutional for a foreign diplomat to exercise his diplomatic immunity when accused of injuring an American citizen here. Under the 14th amendment,

citizens are guaranteed the right to a jury trial and 'equal protection of the law.' U.S. citizens injured by foreign diplomats are denied these two basic constitutional rights. I would hope the next American harmed would file suit to test the constitutionality of immunity.

"Although it is argued that we must grant diplomatic immunity to insure the safety of Americans abroad, its existence didn't prevent Iran from holding U.S. diplomats hostage. Until the Constitution is amended to allow it, diplomatic immunity will remain unconstitutional."

*John B. Holway in the Washington Times, March 2*

## L'Amour

"I found my first weeks of French language training [for the Canadian Foreign Service] a little difficult because I was pretty rusty. As I was discussing this one day, an obliging personnel officer happened to overhear me and suggested that I needed a French-speaking lover. I told him I was working on that but it wasn't easy to find one. 'Yes,' he replied after a moment's thought. 'It's too bad. It's just not a service we offer here.' "

*Bout de Papier, Winter, 1986*

## French Justice

"The wife of an American military attaché who was slain here [Paris] in 1982 testified today that she had given the French police a lead in the case that they failed to pursue.

The woman, Sharon Ray, testified at the trial of Georges Ibrahim Abdallah, who is considered a founder and leader of a terrorist group called the Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Faction. He is accused of having planned and ordered the killings of Mrs. Ray's husband, Lieutenant Colonel Charles R. Ray, in January 1982. [He was later found guilty and received a life sentence.]

... "The French lawyer for Mrs. Ray and the United States government, civil plaintiffs in the case, also accused the police of failing to investigate Colonel Ray's killing thoroughly and said the French secret service had withheld pertinent information because of 'other national interests.'

"Both Mrs. Ray and her lawyer... implied that for complex political motives the French authorities have been reluctant to press the case against Mr. Abdallah. Mr. Abdallah is also charged in the attempted murder in 1984 of Robert Onan Homme, the U.S. consul general in Strasbourg, who was shot several times but survived."

*Paul Lewis in the New York Times, February 25*

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# 10-25-50

*Foreign Service Journal*, April 1977:  
"In 1972, the first official statement on wives...defined wives as private persons and was for many a much-needed initial step in changing the role of wives in the Foreign Service. The fact that they are private persons and that this is acknowledged is important to most wives... However, in quite rightly stating that wives, as private persons, were no longer to be mentioned in their husbands' efficiency reports, could not be expected to do anything, and did not have an obligation to help one another, the directive inadvertently helped create or illuminate as many problems as were solved....One of the results of the 1972 statement is a growing sense among many wives that in relation to the Foreign Service, they are now non-persons."

*Margaret Sullivan*

*Foreign Service Journal*, April 1962:  
"In actual fact, the specialist and the generalist are not two distinct and antithetical quantities. The difference between them is not sharp, but subtly graduated. The specialist and generalist are parts of the same system and must blend into each other. Indeed, specialization itself is a graduated continuum running from increasingly intensified mastery of a narrowly defined craft, at one extreme, to a kind of structural specialization at the other extreme, the latter being defined in terms of organizational control and responsibility. The first type may be called craftsmanship. The second is specialization in responsibility within the chain of command...."

*Norman B. Hannah*

*Foreign Service Journal*, April 1933:  
"You err most grievously in believing that your worthy father, my humble self, or any other representative abroad enjoys 'being bored by asinine correspondence!' It is a slur upon the corps diplomatique which I resent most heartily. That we grow accustomed to being bored and to hearing from the A. C. I am willing to grant you. I will even go further and admit that I sympathize with those helpless specimens of humanity who find their sole joy in writing dreary letters to overworked and underpaid consuls."

*E. Bedloe*

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# DESPATCH

## Faith & Charity III

The State Department issued an order ending the use of private representational funds in January, a result of problems with the private fund at the embassy in Bern. Ambassador to Switzerland Faith Ryan Whittlesey earlier had been cleared of any illegal actions in her use of the \$80,000 fund in a report issued by the Justice Department [DESPATCH, November, January].

Then in March, the House Subcommittee on International Operations held hearings on Whittlesey's use of the fund and other of her activities at post. In particular, the subcommittee questioned the ambassador on her efforts to promote the Nicaraguan contras and her relationship to Oliver North, the former National Security Council staff member who reportedly ran the covert war from the White House. He was a colleague when Whittlesey worked there.

When Whittlesey was given the ambassadorial job in 1985, she fired the incumbent public affairs officer and then rejected three Foreign Service applicants because they supposedly lacked expertise on Central America policies. She then hired a former associate, Robert Reilly, despite the fact that he had earlier been demoted by USIA for steering funds to extreme conservative organizations run by his graduate school friends. Reilly may have had the requisite expertise—he had been a Central America expert at the Heritage Foundation—but USIA Director Wick specifically warned the ambassador against hiring him. (Reilly's father donated \$5000 to the Bern gift fund at about the same time that the son arrived at post, but Justice determined that there was no relationship between the gift and the job offer.)

Reilly and Whittlesey "initiated a full-blown propaganda effort on behalf of the contras and in opposition to continued Swiss development aid to Nicaragua," according to Mark Schapiro and Eric Burnan writing in *The Nation*. The assistance totaled \$2.5 million a year. The U.S. consul in Zurich meanwhile was showing a slide presentation to Swiss officials that maintained that an aid project financed by Bern was in reality a Sandinista military camp.

The consul was publicly rebuked by Swiss government officials for his allegations, according to the *Nation* article.

After the problems with the embassy fund surfaced early last fall, North made telephone calls to Whittlesey in Bern. At the subcommittee hearing, the ambassador insisted that the calls were merely personal and that she had not been involved in raising money for the contras. She declined, however, to answer questions in the public hearing about whether the CIA station chief in Switzerland had talked to her about actions concerning the secret Swiss bank accounts used to transfer funds from Iran to the Nicaraguan resistance.

In a related matter, Committee Chairman Dan Mica (D.-Florida) opened the hearing by accusing Whittlesey of orchestrating "pressure to cancel this hearing" from Cuban-American contra supporters in the representative's district. "I resent the kind of calls that indicate that this is a vendetta and that this hearing should be stopped," he said. Representative Peter H. Kostmayer (D.-Pennsylvania) also accused the ambassador of trying to "intimidate the chairman of this subcommittee." Whittlesey responded that she had simply called an old friend in Mica's district to seek help in arranging a meeting with the chairman. In answering questions about why she had not gone through normal channels for her request, she said that no one would be up in Washington at the time she made the call—Kostmayer countered this by pointing out that it was actually 3:29 p.m. Eastern Standard Time—and that she couldn't remember the number of the State Department's 24-hour switchboard. She also said she didn't want to make the Marine guard on duty at the time look up the switchboard's number.

According to a congressional source, however, Bern embassy phone records show that Whittlesey placed a call through the Capitol Hill switchboard at about the same time as she called her friend in Mica's district.

Also at the hearing, Director General George Vest related a story in which the ambassador requested that he make a particular personnel appointment. Whittlesey then threatened to call "my friends in the White House, the Heritage Foundation, and the Senate." Vest told the *JOURNAL* that he countered, "I understand that, but I'm not going to do what you are asking, and that is that." She dropped the issue and never brought it up again, Vest said.

The subcommittee issued a report during the hearing that concluded that the ambassador had exercised "poor judgment" in her management of the gift fund

but that she had violated no laws. The report also said that Whittlesey accepted contributions to the fund "when it was clear that her chief fundraiser [a private friend] was promising special treatment to those contributors." The fund raiser, Fred H. Gottforcht, wrote Whittlesey that the donors could stay at her residence in Bern. The report went on to note that "in certain respects, it appears that Ambassador Whittlesey viewed the money made available to her through this fund as an augmentation of her personal income rather than augmenting her official representational allowances." Among the purchases were items such as a hairdryer and an ice cream maker.

One of the beneficiaries of the fund was Attorney General Edwin Meese, who was entertained by Whittlesey when visiting Bern. In the Justice Department investigation of the fund, mentioned earlier, Meese had overturned the finding of a junior investigator, who had recommended a special prosecutor be brought in. In his interview published in this issue [see page 22], Mica criticizes the attorney general for becoming involved in the case. "I feel that the intervention on the part of Mr. Meese was improper, and therefore, I think the whole thing is tainted... There wasn't even a deference to propriety, which leads me to question the whole approach."

In a General Accounting Office report on embassy private representational funds released in March, the office investigated eight such funds beside the one in Bern. The ambassador in Vienna, Whittlesey's former White House colleague Helene von Damm, spent \$13,000 from the private fund to take 400 guests on a "friendship cruise" on the Danube. Von Damm also used the fund to entertain Meese at the opera when he was in Vienna, and on another occasion purchased 10 pewter bowls from Cartier for more than \$1000. Von Damm was the first ambassador to set up such a fund, an arrangement that initially won State Department approval.

Von Damm left the Vienna post last year. She was replaced by Ronald Lauder, a former executive vice president of Estée Lauder, Inc., and former chairman of its international operations. In May 1986, his mother donated \$150,000 to the embassy's private representational fund. The department returned the money in October, apparently in anticipation of banning such funds three months later.

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*DESPATCH* relates news of the Foreign Service and the foreign affairs agencies. It is written by the editor and does not necessarily represent the views of the Association.

## MONEY & MANAGEMENT: FOREIGN AFFAIRS OVERSIGHT

**I**F THE BUDGET was a big issue last year, it will be a gigantic one this year. The State Department and the other foreign affairs agencies have already launched a campaign to protect their fiscal 1988 budget requests, but early statements from Capitol Hill indicate that it will be a hard fight. Many representatives and senators, alarmed by the cuts proposed in domestic spending, are not eager to spend significant amounts on foreign affairs and defense.

At the center of this struggle will be Representative Daniel A. Mica, a Democrat representing Florida's 14th district. As chairman of the House Foreign Affairs International Operations Subcommittee, Mica is responsible for keeping tabs on the management and budgeting of the foreign affairs agencies. His subcommittee, for example, is likely to play a leading role in framing the international affairs authorization bill that will eventually go to the House floor, and he was a member of the Inman commission on diplomatic security. He has held hearings on such topics as private representational funds, the embassy construction program, and public diplomacy, and the subcommittee also has jurisdiction over the Foreign Service Act. Mica has been chairman of the subcommittee since 1984, when its head at that time, Dante Fascell, also a Florida Democrat, assumed the chairmanship of the parent committee. This year, Mica joined the Democratic Policy Steering Committee, becoming part of the party's leadership and ensuring that his views will carry even more weight among his colleagues.

In January, the editor and senior editor of the JOURNAL met with Representative Mica to discuss how the foreign affairs agencies are likely to fare on Capitol Hill this year. We also asked about how well the agencies are being managed and about their relationship with the rest of the government.

The recent revelations regarding arms sales to Iran have made it apparent that there are some National Security Council staff members who were engaged in operational foreign policy activities, while the secretary of state knew very little about what was going on. Are these proper roles for the State Department and the NSC? What does it say about the overall management of foreign affairs in this administration?

My feeling is that it was an improper role for the NSC and a slap in the face for the State Department. And frankly, if the professionals who dealt in the area had been consulted, the president might not be facing the trials and tribulations that are ahead of him now. But I don't blame the State Department. Rather, I

would blame someone in the administration at the highest level: either the president, the vice president, or some of the other top-level people in the White House and intelligence community. It was they who undercut the State Department in this, who acted against the advice they were given by State. What went on was not appropriate, and had State been given the lead, if anything had been done, it would have been done in a more diplomatic way.

Looking beyond this one incident, and at the management of foreign policy during the past few years, do you think that the State Department has played an effective role? Has it taken a leadership role?

The State Department has taken the leadership role to the extent that the president wants it to, and that is all you can ask of a department where the chief officer is an appointee of the president. It could have played a more active and more direct role, and we would have had a much more acceptable and definable foreign policy. During the last six years, our foreign policy has not been well defined. In many cases, this has led to diplomatic decisions that are unacceptable, or at least controversial among the American citizenry at large.

How would you reform the way policy has been made and implemented in the Reagan administration? In particular, will Congress consider the role of the NSC staff?

I'm not sure that changes in law are needed. What is important is the philosophical and personal approach of the president—the way he handles himself and his subordinates. The current situation will continue, no matter who is secretary of state, as long as the president takes the approach he does; that is, pays attention primarily to some very special personal concerns such as Nicaragua, while paying much less attention to other issues until they become crises.

During the last two years, has the State Department simply been one agency among many on foreign affairs, or has it been the primary one?

It has not been the lead agency; rather, it has been one of a half-dozen agencies or individuals the president has used. For example, the president relied very heavily on Vernon Walters as an ambassador-at-large. One could say that he used the State Department because Walters was an ambassador, but one could



also argue that the president went around the State Department by using one individual to hopscotch all over the world rather than relying on the capable individuals who are already working in the system. What it demonstrates is that the president does not have confidence in that system.

Secretary Shultz has expressed concern that the State Department's effectiveness might be limited by the current budget constraints. The administration's new budget request contains a large increase in international affairs funding over last year's appropriation. Is the new budget a realistic one? What is likely to happen to that request this year?

First, let me say that I have a very high personal regard for Secretary Shultz. I can't think of anyone in the present administration who works as well with Congress. He has done a phenomenal job, and I support him for that, even though we disagree on some specific issues. But I always remind myself that he is part of the administration that is demanding these very cuts. If the administration is going to demand these cuts and demand budget reform but not seek any new revenues, how can the secretary come before us and decry the situation he's in? He says that foreign affairs is not where the administration wants the cuts. My reply is that this is a democracy, with a Congress and an administration, and we have to work together. It is unreasonable to think that all cuts would be just in one area, such as social programs. International affairs must expect to take its share of the reductions. Members of Congress, both Republican and Democrat, are not going to rush home with smiles on their faces and say, "I'm cutting your pensions, I'm cutting your social security, I'm cutting your benefits, but I'm going to increase foreign aid and State Department funding." That's unrealistic.

We recently had an interview with Under Secretary for Management Ronald I. Spiers ["Managing Adversity: The State of State," February], in which he insisted that the fiscal year 1988 request should be compared to the FY 1987 request, rather than the amount finally appropriated. Is it realistic for the State Department to start from that basis?

No.

What do you think the Foreign Affairs Commit-

tee will do as far as the FY 1988 authorization? What do you expect to happen later in the appropriations process?

We will start with what we actually approved last year and go from there. But this year, we will have to make deeper cuts in the overall budget. I can't think how State can escape some of the responsibility for those cuts. Will the foreign affairs agencies get more or less than they want? I can't answer that. But I do know that many traditional supporters of foreign assistance are taking the position that, although they still agree with it philosophically, when it comes to politics, they are willing to hold aid hostage in order to get the administration to focus on the important domestic issues. Even people like David Obey [D.-Wisconsin], who has been a supporter of foreign assistance, are saying that if the administration really wants its foreign assistance budget, it will have to take other issues into account. What will actually happen is still very open, but it doesn't look good.

Isn't it possible that cuts in international operations funding will end up costing more than they save if, for example, we lose trading opportunities because there are not enough commercial officers?

That argument can be made for almost every area of the budget: If we cut education, we will pay more later with unemployment, retraining, even with crime; If we cut health, and thus vaccinations, later we will have more health problems. On almost every aspect of the budget, one can prove that cuts will cost more in the long run. The most important element of this, however, is that the president is taking a hard-line position: there will be no new revenues, there will continue to be budget cuts, and there will be no negotiations. If you start from that premise, then the only negotiations possible are over where the cuts will fall.

What about the supplemental appropriation that State has requested to make up for the low amount it received for FY 1987? Is that likely to go anywhere, or will that just be lumped with congressional consideration of the FY 1988 budget request?

State probably has a pretty reasonable chance of getting some more money in the supplemental. It will be rolled into an overall supplemental bill; that is the safest way for money to be moved around right

If the professionals who dealt in the area [Iran] had been consulted, the president might not be facing the trials and tribulations that are ahead of him now

It is unreasonable to think that all cuts will be just in one area, such as social programs. International affairs must expect to take its share

Many traditional supporters of foreign aid . . . are willing to hold it hostage in order to get the administration to focus on important domestic issues

now. Whether the foreign affairs agencies will get the amount of money that they want, however, is uncertain. This may be the Congress that challenges supplementals, but up until now, they have been pretty safe. Usually supplementals have a little of everything in them and help everybody a little, so no one tries to pick on a specific area.

One area that has entailed big budget requests has been the embassy-security program. You were a member of the Inman commission and involved in the passage of the Diplomatic Security Act last year. How satisfied are you with the progress to date on the embassy construction program? In particular, State's Office of Foreign Buildings has come in for a lot of criticism recently; do you think that is justified?

I was unhappy with FBO until about a year ago. The jury is still out on how well State is doing right now. Initial reports seem somewhat positive, but we are still receiving sporadic reports of continued problems. If the reports are only sporadic, that's to be expected, and we will try to correct the problems. But if the problems are an indication of the quality of the overall operation, then there will be a major shakeup in that office, at least if Congress has anything to say about it.

Last year there was a General Accounting Office report that was very critical of the embassy construction project in Cairo and at a few other posts. Do you consider such problems a thing of the past?

I hope so. If they aren't, there will be a major outcry on Capitol Hill. Another Cairo, and we will call for heads.

Another element of the new security program has been a reorganization of the State Department. A diplomatic security bureau has been created, along with a diplomatic security service, an ambassador-at-large for counterterrorism, and even an office concerned with research and counterterrorism. Are there too many offices with overlapping responsibilities, or are you fairly confident that the lines of authority have been made clearer?

We think they have been made clearer. Until last year, I was absolutely convinced that those lines of authority were so confused that no one could understand the situation, and it was a miracle that we didn't have more problems than we did. We will be holding hearings this year to see if the situation has indeed been clarified, and whether it is working the way we intended. But during recent years, the situation was a disaster, a catastrophe. At one point, a flow chart was presented to the Foreign Affairs Committee that purported to show those lines of authority. It literally had the committee laughing in stitches, and the people who were trying to explain it were getting confused.

What subjects do you expect International Operations to cover in hearings this year?

We are still working on that. We are going to get into FBO and how it's spending money, the implementation of the Inman commission report and the Diplomatic Security Act, the reorganization of the State Department on security matters, and the department budget. We'll probably also get involved in the budget request for the United Nations and for the international broadcasting programs. We hope to do more on public diplomacy.

You work with the foreign affairs agencies on almost a daily basis. It is often said that the professionals in those agencies do not know how to work with Congress effectively; that they don't respond to queries promptly, that they don't know how to argue their own case. A few years ago, for example, Under Secretary Spiers admitted that State had almost been apologetic in putting forward its budget request. What has your experience been in working with the foreign affairs agencies?

My general feeling is that it varies from person to person; some people are very responsive, while others are not. One of the concerns I have about the State Department is that some of the career people get too bureaucratic. I guess that happens in all parts of government, but when there is something urgent to be done, or when Congress is looking for a response, the last thing we want to hear is "fill out this form and let me call you a week from Wednesday." Let me give you a personal experience. I was appointed a delegate to the 40th General Assembly of the United Nations. It's not a big deal, but each trip to New York was \$100-150 each way, along with \$20 for an occasional meal. It's been two years since then, and I'm still waiting for the State Department to send payment on some of these vouchers. And if they're doing this to me, and I'm chairman of the subcommittee, what are they doing to the rest of the people who work in State? Of course, that's just a little item, and you always expect a few complaints, but if this is the way the whole system operates, we're in deep trouble.

State's management is reducing the number of people in the Senior Foreign Service and is also retiring those, especially FS-1s, whose time-in-class has expired. Under Secretary Spiers has said that these actions are required by the Foreign Service Act. Was that what Congress intended?

Partially. I don't know if the program is being carried out with any vindictiveness, or whether State management is going overboard to try to move some political people or some favorites. But yes, there was an intent to make it more of a career path, to move people on if they had stagnated at a certain level. We did want to do that. We did not want 75-80 percent of people always locked out of the higher grades. But that's another area where we will be trying to do some oversight. The whole situation needs to be looked at and a whole list of questions asked about a career Foreign Service: who gets where, how they get there, and so on. Also, I now have Mervyn Dymally [D.-California] on my committee. He has expressed a very strong interest in seeing more minority personnel hired in the Foreign Service.



As you know, there is a suit by several female members of the Foreign Service who allege discrimination by the State Department. Do you think the department is doing its job to make the Foreign Service representative of the United States?

Well, I don't know. I understand some of the arguments about putting a minority or a woman in a certain country where it would just salve all our consciences. Sometimes we do that to make a statement as we are doing in South Africa. But I don't know to what extent this is justified or is part of the good-old-boy network that's just exclusionary.

During the past few years, Under Secretary Spiers has placed a lot of stress on improving State's management of itself. Yet, we still have critical reports coming out, such as the recent one on language competence. Are you generally happy with the way State is managing itself? What oversight do you expect in the next year?

Let me talk specifically about language—that's something that bothers me. I'm extremely concerned about our diplomatic corps when it comes to language ability. And my concern and criticism don't lie just with the diplomatic corps but with the entire American business community and American international mentality. We as diplomats, we as businessmen, and we as entrepreneurs, think we can travel the world and do business on an equal basis with everyone else, and obviously they should speak English. I've only seen a summary of that report, but it hits the problem right on the head. We must start training our people much more thoroughly and broadly in language abilities. Otherwise, we will continue to have major diplomatic problems. His language ability is probably one reason that Vernon Walters is so successful—along with all his other pluses and minuses, he speaks about a half-dozen or dozen languages fluently. I don't know if we can say that about anybody else—at least that I'm aware of—in the State Department.

Some State Department and AID officials are now saying that Congress has a tendency to micro-manage the foreign affairs agencies, notably by earmarking funds for particular programs. Do you agree with this assessment?

No, I don't think we micro-manage as a general rule. There are some areas where we are accused of that—the diplomatic security bill is one. But that bill was a trade-off, and one that, at the time, State accepted fully. The department said: "If you give us the money, you can give the commitments to your fellow congressmen and congresswomen that it will be spent appropriately, and you can have the right to review it." That's the focal point of the micro-management criticism, that each new expenditure will be considered a reprogramming, and we will have to approve it. That probably is micro-management, but it was a trade-off to get the money. Whenever one criticizes the Congress for micro-managing that program or programs like it, they have to be reminded that the money came at a time when funds were being cut everywhere else, both in domestic and other international programs. Last year, even the Defense Department didn't get what it wanted. But members of Congress said, "Yes, you can secure our embassies, but we don't want a penny of it to go for frills. We want that money to be used for security." I don't know if we could have had the program without putting some very heavy oversight on it. And, if you put it in the context of Cairo and some of the other problems, you can better understand why there is this great concern in Congress.

You mentioned earlier that you might hold hearings on public diplomacy. There are several new offices in the State Department that appear to be involved with public diplomacy, often with a focus on Central America. Some USIA personnel have expressed the concern that their territory is being encroached on or that they are unclear of what the State Department office is doing. What is your understanding of State's role in this area?

Those people are probably right that they are being encroached on, and they are probably right that it is unclear what State is up to—I'm not sure myself what the department is up to. There is a constant turf battle between USIA and State in certain areas, and public diplomacy is one of them. I don't think they will ever stop arguing over who is in charge, who gets which facilities. It's built into the system. The two agencies also go at it over the security act, each one concerned that the other isn't going to push them around. So far

There was an intention in the act to move people on if they had stagnated. But we did not want 80-75 percent locked out of the higher grades

I felt that intervention by Mr. Meese [in the Whittlesey affair] was improper. The whole thing is tainted. There wasn't even a deference to propriety

I want to see a good solid attitude, particularly from the Commercial Service, toward assisting American business representatives abroad

we've been able to manage it, but I think there will always be a certain amount of rivalry. As for the hearings on public diplomacy, we will probably have some like those we have had in the past, keeping a focus on examples like Soviet dissidents and Jewry, and not really on whether State or USIA is more involved in public diplomacy.

You have recently expressed concern about the use of private representational funds at embassies. The State Department has since discontinued such funds. Do you consider the matter closed? Are you satisfied with the Justice Department report on Ambassador Whittlesey's use of these funds?

No. I plan to hold at least one hearing on this matter. I have felt from the beginning, when we first got information that there were improprieties, that it should be looked into. When the Justice Department had its investigation, the report was not unanimous, and normally that would have resulted in a special prosecutor. The junior investigator felt that a special prosecutor was needed, the senior investigator said no, and Attorney General Meese then intervened, deciding not to recommend a special prosecutor. But that very report—the one in which Meese intervened—mentioned that he was at functions which were paid for by a questionable use of those funds. I feel that intervention on the part of Mr. Meese was improper, and therefore, I think the whole thing is tainted. Olympia Snowe [R-Maine], the ranking minority member of the subcommittee, and I have sent a letter to Meese saying that we felt he should have disqualified himself, at least turned over the matter to an associate attorney general. But there wasn't even a deference to propriety, which leads me to question the whole approach.

Are you satisfied with the way the Foreign Service Act of 1980 has been implemented? Is it achieving what it was supposed to have done?

I don't look at the act and ask whether everything is going to plan, whether this is the way the State Department should be running. Generally, I'm pleased. Specifically, there are a variety of areas where I want to ask some questions, where we may indeed have to make recommendations for changes in regulations and procedures. But I'm not someone who rushes to find a legislative remedy for every problem. If something needs to be changed in law, then we will do it—I have no qualms about rewriting law—but when the problem is a matter of regulations resulting from a misreading of the law's intent, then we will press for changes in the regulation. Incidentally, on the Inman commission, we had 96 recommendations for new laws, and about 60 of those were settled through regulations. I was pleased with that. I guess that if any given law setting forth the operations of an agency or a program were perfect, there would be no need for us to do what we do.

Supposing you were put in a senior management position in the State Department and given a free hand to do what you thought was necessary to make it operate more efficiently. What would

you want to do?

I don't really like to get into the hypothetical. When I started on Capitol Hill twenty years ago as an aide, I found exactly what you're talking about—every person thinks, "Boy, if I had that job, I'd sure do it differently." Even now that I'm a member, I remember thinking that certainly the leadership would know what they wanted to do, but I've recently moved to our leadership here on the Democratic Policy Steering Committee, and they don't know either. That's why Monday morning quarterbacking is very difficult. Of course, that quarterbacking is exactly what we do here. We hold hearings and look into what went wrong when the embassy in Beirut was bombed, for example. To this day, I have my own ideas of who acted inappropriately and who should have been reprimanded and so on. But I wouldn't—nor do I know any knowledgeable person who would—say that I absolutely know how this should have been handled. We can recommend and we can have our hearings. Occasionally, there are places where you feel strongly enough that you try to change a law for the future.

Are there any other issues regarding the Foreign Service that concern you at this time?

Well, the biggest international problem facing the United States this year is trade, and it is going to get even worse. One of the things I want to see from our diplomatic community, particularly from our Foreign Commercial Service, is a good solid attitude toward assisting American business representatives around the world. There is nothing that infuriates me more than to have a business executive come home and tell me that they were in a given country and tried to do a little business and that the embassy people basically told them "that really isn't our business, we're not here to help you make money." At one point I talked to the whole group of commercial officers and told them, "If I find out that you're doing that, I will personally line-item your job out of existence." If we are going to compete in the world, we are not only going to have to pursue governmental approaches, we are also going to have to help our business community in any way we can: with a contact, with a phone call, a pat on the shoulder, anything we can do to be of assistance. That is the case with the diplomatic services of those who are now beating our brains out in world trade, particularly Japan, West Germany, and some of the other industrialized countries. When their citizens come and ask for help on a business deal, the red carpets are rolled out. They feel that if their businesses can get a major contract, it helps them all. So that is something I'll be pressing. It is also one way the State Department can build that much needed constituency among the public. Nothing could serve the department better than to have business executives running around saying, "My company got that contract because the embassy put us in touch with the right person." Right now, they're saying, "When we go to the embassy, they laugh at us, they don't deal with us." Of course, there are some good reports, but the bad ones far outweigh the good ones right now. That bothers me, and I'll be paying attention to that area this year. □

## DISSENT & POLICY: A DESIRE FOR OPENNESS

FRANCES G. BURWELL

A SURVEY ON Foreign Service attitudes toward dissent has revealed a widespread desire for a decision-making environment more tolerant of the exchange of ideas. In the survey, which was conducted by the JOURNAL, the respondents lined up strongly behind the need for a formal dissent mechanism and also indicated a belief that cables and memos should routinely express policy alternatives. Our readers overwhelmingly rejected the idea of a Foreign Service that filled only an advisory role and remained removed from policy arguments. At the same time, more than half of the respondents indicated that they had occasionally felt inhibited from privately voicing opposition to a policy, usually only under certain supervisors or circumstances. Nevertheless, disagreement with policy was not unusual, although it was most often limited to oral discussions and private memos. And, although there was strong support for the dissent channel in principle, few individuals had actually used it and not many more had even considered doing so.

Some caution must be used in interpreting the responses and their validity across the entire Service. The questionnaire was self-selecting; that is, the onus was on the reader to fill it out and return it. Thus, those individuals without strong opinions or with little interest were less likely to respond. This is true of any JOURNAL questionnaire, but this one had an unusually low response rate. Only 93 questionnaires were received and analyzed; this is less than half our usual amount. The reason for the lack of response relative to other surveys is unclear. Because such a small sample is unlikely to be very representative of the entire population, any real statistical analysis of the responses to individual questions could be misleading. For that reason, the responses have not been broken down into percentages, and this analysis should be considered somewhat impressionistic.

The survey attempted to assess how members of the Foreign Service feel about disagreement in the policy process, both in terms of debate before decisions are final and in terms of formal dissent from established positions. The results on many questions were mixed, but there was consistent support for preserving and even enlarging the opportunities for discussion and disagreement. Clearly, such discussion is already taking place to some extent. When our respondents were asked whether they had ever disagreed with official

policy, almost all had done so at least occasionally. Only 14 out of the 93 felt that they had disagreed "rarely" or "never." When asked how such disagreement was expressed, almost all had done so orally, a majority had done so in a private memo, and a third in a regular cable, as opposed to a dissent cable (multiple answers were allowed on this question). Only 9 individuals had used the dissent channel, and only 22 more had ever even seriously considered that method of expressing disagreement. Even fewer had seriously considered resigning because of disagreements over policy.

Despite this apparently frequent occurrence of debate, our respondents also indicated awareness of pressure against such behavior. When asked whether they had ever felt inhibited from voicing opposition to policy in a non-public setting, although only a few considered that the norm, almost half replied that such pressure had existed under certain circumstances or supervisors. A third of the respondents had never felt such pressure. Half of our sample believed that they personally had been penalized for expressing opposition to a policy. When asked how that penalty had manifested itself, of those who believed they had been penalized, half reported a verbal rebuke but very few reported a written one. Half again replied that they had been isolated from policy and a third that their advice had been disregarded. The most common penalties, however, appeared to be those that damaged career prospects: a majority believed dissent had led to an unfavorable evaluation report and a similar number that it had led to a lack of promotions.

On the topic of how much debate principal officers should allow, three-quarters of our respondents said that the inclusion of alternative viewpoints in cables should be routine. None of our respondents believed that cables should reflect only one view, but one-quarter opted for including alternative views only under extraordinary circumstances. This pattern did not change significantly when only principal officers and office directors responded. But despite their favoring of reports that normally reflected a variety of viewpoints, when these senior individuals were asked how they had handled policy disagreements among their subordinates, very few acknowledged including such alternatives in their cables and memos as a matter of routine. Slightly more than a majority had included such alternative views on occasion, while a quarter encouraged debate within the mission or of-

"The professional standards for dissent and disagreement should be the same as for any other form of advocacy—thoughtful assessment based on fact and knowledge. Ill-informed dissent and biased reactions should not be given more than their just due."

"Formal, professionally prepared and composed dissent should be considered an asset to the comprehensive conduct of foreign policy. Habitual dissent should be explained by the dissenter in special sessions."

"A formal dissent channel is a must in our system, but I would not anticipate using it. However, it *must* be there!"

"The functioning of government was not designed to be democratic in its operations and cannot be effective if it is. It is hierarchical in nature and dissent is an anomaly and a privilege, not a right."

Frances G. Burwell is senior editor of the JOURNAL.

rice, but allowed only one view to be reflected in cables or memos. Only three respondents had ever had a subordinate send a formal dissent message.

Throughout the responses there was strong support for debate and dissent in principle, but significant equivocation when considering the practical effects of such behavior, especially on one's career. When asked whether "there should be a formal method of expressing policy disagreements to the highest level in the bureaucracy," almost all agreed (and most did so strongly). Yet, a majority also agreed with the statement that "employees who disagree on policy must be willing to run the risk that their careers will be negatively affected" (there was also a significant minority that disagreed). Those who had been office or mission directors agreed with this statement more often than those who had not served in such positions. Furthermore, when asked whether an individual could be labeled a dissenter without harm to his or her career, a clear majority disagreed, with fewer than 20 individuals agreeing. Perhaps for this reason, almost everyone agreed that there should be a formal method of voicing disagreement without being labeled a dissenter. But despite this apparent cost, there was little eagerness to abandon policy debates. A majority disagreed with the statement that "it is rarely worth voicing disagreement, since policy will not change anyway." Finally, there was overwhelming disagreement with the idea that "members of the Foreign Service should not get involved in policy arguments, but merely advise on likely effects and implement established policy," with only 8 individuals agreeing.

"If you can't express your views on foreign policy and have some impact on the shape of that policy, why join the Foreign Service?"

"Responsible dissent is best handled in channels, but superiors need to be more responsive to alternate views, just as subordinates need to be more aware that their bosses are not idiots, that there are good reasons for some positions which do not always meet the eye."

"Sad but true, dissenters, no matter how responsible, run risks and must be prepared for the consequences. But the department and other agencies could do much more to make responsible dissent respectable."

**T**HIS SCHIZOPHRENIA regarding the ideal and practice of dissent is nothing new in the Foreign Service. Several secretaries of state, starting with Dean Rusk in 1967, have stated their commitment to a policymaking environment that encouraged various and creative views and that brought those alternatives directly to the secretary's attention. In 1973, Secretary Kissinger urged "embassies, and officers within embassies who have differing views on major issues from those reported by their colleagues, to make them available to me in the special and controlled channels provided by the department for that purpose." Most recently, in 1984 Secretary Shultz said that "an environment where people feel that their thoughts are welcome is going to be...a more productive and creative environment."

Several secretaries have accompanied these statements with institutional reforms designed to encourage the flow of ideas. In 1967, Rusk announced the establishment of the Open Forum panel—previously an informal group of officers—to review alternative policy suggestions and pass those of merit on to him. As a result of the 1970 Macomber report on the management of foreign affairs, a policy on openness was added to the Foreign Affairs Manual, which stated in part that

Staff members are encouraged to make known their ideas and opinions on operations, management, and all other activities of the post. Officers who may conclude...that they cannot concur in a report or recommendation are free to submit a dissenting statement without fear of

pressure or penalty. Every effort, of course, should be made to resolve differences within the mission. The policy of openness is intended to encourage the candid debate which at times may be necessary to reach a consensus on issues.

Between November 1971–May 1973, the director general established that expressions of dissent were to be handled as in-house documents with limited and high-level distribution, and that Policy Coordination (now Policy Planning) was to be the "action office." Thus, the dissent channel was born. In May 1974, the *Open Forum Journal* was established and began publishing alternative policy views. During this time, the Open Forum itself became primarily concerned with holding meetings on foreign affairs issues, and reduced its emphasis on presenting policy alternatives to the secretary.

Since its foundation, however, there has been sporadic criticism of the dissent channel. As early as 1971, the *New York Times* portrayed the infant dissent channel as a departmental effort to curb disagreement and ensure that any debate stays within the bureaucracy. There has also been a perception within the Foreign Service that using the dissent channel can be risky for an individual's career—and there are examples that support that perception [see Kai Bird, "The Decline of Dissent," February 1985].

In 1984, an Open Forum advisory group known as the "Sages" reported on the state of the dissent mechanism. The Sages' report verified many of these criticisms, commenting that Open Forum was not meeting its responsibility to generate creativity within the State Department and that the dissent channel itself was burdened with "a serious problem—a cynical, some would say 'realistic,' attitude that perceives the dissent channel as merely a management tool for letting the system vent bottled-up pressures, for providing particular officers who cannot go along with the system a 'last resort' mechanism for expressing their frustration, without affording these dissenting voices a real impact on policy."

To overcome these failings, the Sages group made a series of recommendations. These included the following: that a canon of ethics be drafted to define an individual's responsibilities, especially when he or she disagrees with policy; that Open Forum meetings again be used to provide alternative policies; that the procedures for handling dissent messages be clarified and disseminated; that synopses of dissent messages be published in the *Open Forum Journal*; that the Open Forum office be established as a separate entity in the secretariat, rather than continuing as part of Policy Planning; and that the Open Forum chairperson be given expanded access to meetings and materials throughout the department. None of these was ultimately adopted.

In the end, the Open Forum identified three recommendations as both important and feasible. The first and most important was the creation of an Open Forum channel as one more alternative for encouraging creative thinking, to avoid the negative connotation sometimes given the dissent channel. This measure was rejected. Second was a full-time vice chairman of the Open Forum, which was put into practice for one year but eliminated, supposedly for

budgetary reasons. "It is unfortunate that the Open Forum has not been and is not currently given greater priority within the department, so that the elimination of the vice chairmanship could have been avoided," according to James Wilson, the current chairman. He points out that one person is kept busy full-time running the Open Forum meetings. The third recommendation was for an automatic one-year extension of time-in-class for the chairperson, but that decision will instead be made on a case-by-case basis. This could be a crucial factor, since the pressure for promotions has meant that few Foreign Service employees are willing to spend time in a position that is considered by some to be out of the mainstream (the incumbent is an AID officer). An election for chairperson is scheduled for this summer, but it is unclear how many will run.

Regardless of what effects the Sages' recommendations may actually have, what is most important is how the dissent process is perceived to work by individuals in various offices and posts. The comment section of our questionnaire casts some light on the concerns that face members of the Foreign Service as they attempt to reconcile their disagreement with particular policies with their responsibilities.

Several of our respondents pointed out that disagreement over policies is only part of the problem. They saw the treatment of dissenting views on analyses as an equally important problem. As one respondent wrote, "The dissent channel is not structured in a way to deal with disagreements centering on the nature of events in a foreign context rather than policy itself... Since policy flows—or should flow—from the 'facts,' disagreements over the latter are often as important as disagreements over policy."

Whether the specific disagreement is over policy or an assessment, however, it was clear that individual supervisors did much to determine whether that dissent was constructive or not. As one individual commented, "My embassy's management changed a little over one year ago. Since then, the degree of openness and collegiality has declined markedly, and post management has made clear that dissent is unwelcome. This indicates how great is the influence of individual senior managers toward issues of openness and dissent." Another wrote, "I had the good fortune to serve under principals—career and non-career, at home and overseas—who were the best we've got. If your dissent were valid, they were capable of changing their minds or passing the question along." Another expanded this point to an entire administration. "In a rigid, highly political administration such as Reagan's," he wrote, "dissent is useless and harmful to reporting officers."

**T**HE IDEA THAT dissent could harm an individual's career appears to be widespread. One respondent who had dissented from policy in Central America was subsequently given a consular assignment for which he had not bid, nor was he consulted. Another wrote, "While one can dissent on tactics, disagreement on policy can end a career. Disagreement is reflected in EERs, or by supervisors who remind you how near it is to EER

time." Others, however, thought the effect of dissent was much more ambiguous. As one wrote, "I disagreed with a central U.S. policy during much of my career. It damaged my career at times (modestly) and helped at other times."

The comments also revealed a variety of approaches to reconciling dissent with the need for discipline. No one suggested taking a disagreement outside the government; several mentioned resignation as an option if a policy was completely indigestible. As one wrote, "If you disagree, you should ask for a transfer, and there should be an institutionalized channel for doing this. If you cannot live with a department policy under any circumstance, then you should resign." But another pointed out that resignation was not economically possible for everyone. And, as our responses demonstrated, few individuals had ever seriously considered resignation, despite the fact that disagreements were relatively common. Instead they sought ways to cope with their dissent within the system. As one wrote, "I frequently disagree with the ideological bent of specific foreign policies of the Reagan administration. These disagreements, however, have been more those of a U.S. citizen than of an FSO, since many of the issues have been outside my realm of expertise or responsibility."

Perhaps most valuable, however, are the comments about the role of dissent in constructing foreign policy. One respondent wrote that because the State Department does not tolerate dissent, "the most outspoken critics of our policy are people outside the Service, such as academics, retired FSOs, and politicians." Another noted what he saw as the State Department's lack of influence, and asked, "why go to the trouble to dissent?" Others, however, saw dissent as playing a useful role in improving policy decisions. "The way a dynamic organization handles dissent or policy disagreement in a constructive way is to invite a variety of ideas at every level. If [disagreement is] entertained at lower levels, policy is likely to be more relevant and ultimately effective. When indications of dissent only come toward the end of the policy process, the process is flawed, inefficient, and least amenable to change."

Dissent has long posed a dilemma for those in the Foreign Service. Often attacked as disloyal by outside political forces, the Service has also faced pressure to conform from inside its own ranks. Although the reaction of some individuals has been to define their role as providing advice while remaining removed from policy, this has clearly not been a satisfactory alternative for all, as witnessed by the majority of our respondents who rejected such a limited role. In fact, the Sages report states that

Traditional formulations such as "candid advice prior to policy decisions; unquestioning implementation thereafter" or "vigorous debate inside the department; a single, unified position outside of it" are no longer adequate guidelines for conduct in the diffuse and ill-defined foreign policymaking structure today.

Clearly, the dilemma of how to resolve disagreements regarding policy and assessments with the responsibilities of being a public servant is far from resolved. □

"Policy objections, if raised and then dropped when overruled, are generally overlooked. However, prolonged dissent arouses greater antagonism and affects careers."

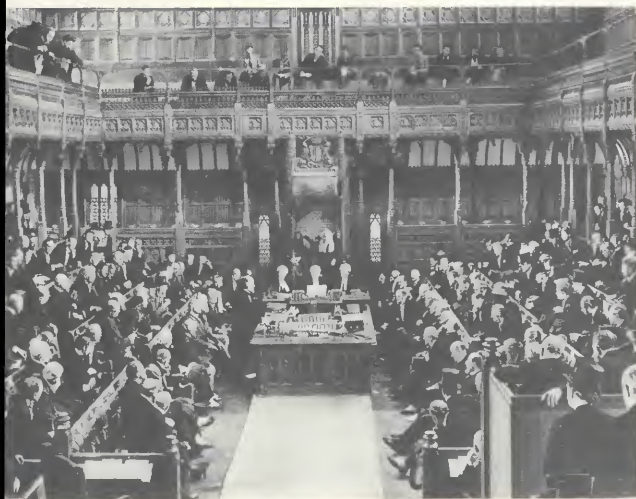
"We have a duty to give our best recommendations and honest advice but not to determine policy."

"I am convinced a policy disagreement kept me in old class 3 for seven years. Only winning a grievance that cleared my file rescued my career."

"Once a policy decision has been made, members of the Foreign Service should implement this policy, although they may disagree with it."

# LIFE & LOVE IN THE

*Yes, it's April again. Time to file your taxes. Time to get your EERs in. But it's also time for our annual look at the humorous side of the Foreign Service. This year the captions have been written by a member with 30 years' experience in the State Department, who has chosen to remain anonymous. After you read them, you may understand why.*



*"I can't help thinking the Selection Board system is becoming a tad rigid."*



*"When I asked you to back up your statistics, that's not what I had in mind."*



*"Are you sure this is the way I'm supposed to present my credentials."*

# FOREIGN SERVICE

*"Ambassador and Mrs. Snively profoundly regret that they cannot accept due to a previous engagement."*



*"Darling, being named Control Officer for the congressional wives group is an honor!"*



*"Let us fly! The tandem-couple regulations are now in place!"*

*"I'm sorry, Miss Jones, but that Priority Cable must go out tonight."*



Helping a farmer under the hot sun of Somalia. According to the author, many aid projects—from many donor countries and institutions—do not take into consideration local aspirations, customs, and morés.



## ASSISTING AFRICA

*Africans should determine what is best for their own development—and that means the donors should change their way of doing business*

JAMES F. ENTWISTLE

FOREIGN AID IS taking it on the chin in the budget process. The big losers in this triage will not be Israel, Egypt, and Turkey but the poor African countries—those that don't have U.S. military bases or similar ties, and that often feel overlooked by the West except when a natural disaster strikes. Even within Africa, U.S. funds most likely will be concentrated on countries of strategic interest like Kenya, Liberia, and Zaire. This cut in the money available for aid creates a certain awkwardness in U.S. relations with the poorest African countries, as Secretary Shultz probably discovered on his recent trip to Africa. Perhaps the hardest task in diplomacy is to convince another country of its importance to you while the tangible evidence of that importance is diminishing.

Such inevitable political fallout and awkwardness notwithstanding, cuts in U.S. foreign assistance to the poorest African countries do not have to mean a decline in the quality of that aid. U.S. assistance to these countries has, by and large, not been particularly effective or efficient. The reduction in aid levels could provide an opportunity for a healthy re-examination of the U.S. approach to foreign aid, particularly regarding the least-developed countries of the world. Moreover, the lessons learned could continue to ensure a more effective U.S. presence in Africa in the future when aid levels have risen again.

Admittedly, my observations are based on the experiences of countries that have not been a high priority to U.S. policymakers. But it is precisely these countries that are likely to be most seriously affected

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by the reductions. And, it seems likely that at least some of these problems will also surface in those nations of genuine strategic interest to the United States. Of course, the United States is not the only donor at fault. The aid programs of many others—both countries and multilateral institutions—exhibit many of the same problems. Some of the worst examples of ineffective assistance projects are run by international agencies specializing in development, and some of the best examples are sponsored by AID. Nevertheless, the average U.S. project in a very poor country demonstrates enough failings that the process as a whole should be reexamined, for both American and other donors.

Such a reexamination is especially urgent in light of the rapidity with which Africa is falling behind the rest of the world economically. Countries whose economic potential once seemed limitless now are burdened with debt, dependent on food imports, and appear helpless to deal with political instability and declining nutrition. A reexamination of western approaches to foreign assistance is also timely in light of the growing determination to take a fresh look at Africa's problems. The World Bank's now-famous 1981 Berg report, which blamed inefficient African economic policies, was the first move away from the prevailing viewpoint, which sought the explanation for Africa's economic failures among external factors such as the colonial legacy and levels of donor aid. Last year's special U.N. session on Africa illustrated this trend with the admission in its final declaration of the need for internal policy reform.

The fundamental irony of Africa is that the continent gets less foreign aid than it can use, but more than it can put to good use. Too often, money ends up

being spent for purposes other than those intended, or not being disbursed at expected rates. Why are scarce aid dollars being used so inefficiently and ineffectively? Because, all too often, assistance programs are designed without taking local realities into consideration. This is particularly true in the poorer, low-priority countries, where the donor may not have gone to the trouble of becoming sufficiently familiar with its particular needs and problems. Moreover, the recipient government may not have enough adequately trained officials to deal with the donor bureaucracies and make the recipient's concerns clear.

When a donor is unfamiliar with the specific needs and situation of a recipient, the assistance program often ends up being based on familiar development theories and concepts that have been applied elsewhere but may not be relevant in this case. After all, it is much quicker and easier to replicate what has been done before than to create a country-specific project. This tendency is reinforced by the periodic emergence of new fads in development circles, which are then reflected in the next wave of projects. Hence, the current fixation with private-sector development, even in countries with no private sector in our sense of the term, is an obsession that will fade just as surely as did the basic human needs focus of the late 1970s.

**T**HIS TENDENCY TO apply global approaches means that all too often little attention is paid to local realities at the village level. Typically, a team of experts is brought in to the country to participate in the project planning process. The team usually consists of an economist, a sociologist or anthropologist, and at least one person with the requisite technical specialty—health or livestock, for example. Such teams are in the country for only several weeks, which allows for a lightning-quick trip through the area the project is aimed to help. Rarely do team members speak local languages. Indeed, they may have no previous experience in the country, since it is often assumed that experience gained in one country is automatically applicable elsewhere in the developing world.

The results of these "windshield surveys" are predictably general and vague. They are quickly rolled into project-design papers that are dropped off at the AID office as the team wings off to its next country. Frequently its work requires extensive revision by the mission members who spend too much of their time planning, chaperoning, and cleaning up after such missions. Anyone who has been exposed to the intricacies and mysteries of a foreign culture knows it is laughable to expect any understanding of local realities, much less a workable project design, to be developed in such a short time. But these exercises are viewed as successes in development circles: a paper is produced that can be displayed at future meetings, and money to cover the team's expenses has been obligated.

Such an inexact planning process can result in tragedy. The worst example I saw in Africa was a state-of-the-art irrigation project (which, fortunately, was not funded by the United States). At first glance, the project was most impressive. An extensive acreage

was producing a significant harvest of crops such as cotton and wheat, which normally would have been difficult to grow in the dry environment. Villagers were assigned plots, instructed on how to best use their acreage, and permitted to keep much of their produce or sell it to the state. What could be wrong with such a project? The history of the region had never been taken into consideration. The land under irrigation had been farmed for centuries by villagers who believed it belonged to them. The land was seized by the government for the construction of the project, and smaller plots were distributed back to the villagers. The villagers also had to pay for the water supply. Moreover, they were told what and when to grow, and when to water, by the project staff, which in this case was both expatriate and African. Frequently the produce could only be sold to the government at a price which, after payment of water fees, did not yield a profit. Farmers who fell behind on their financial obligations to the project were thrown off their plots and frequently reduced to working as fieldhands for their neighbors. Or they worked for the bureaucrats and businessmen from the nearest town who had been given plots when the project began and who gradually controlled more plots as small farmers could no longer pay their bills.

A convincing case can be made that the peasants were demonstrably worse off, certainly in terms of self-esteem, despite the fact that the project was considered a success in development circles. The basic reality, overlooked in the planning process, was that the peasants in that area already produced enough food, albeit with traditional techniques they had used for centuries. But because the project designers did not pay adequate attention to local conditions, they fell prey to one of the most common and fallacious tenets in the development business: that applying western concepts of modernity and progress to African societies is inherently good.

Similarly, projects that ignore local realities often exacerbate the general wariness of peasants toward government. There is a longstanding, deep-rooted fear of and respect for authority in many rural African societies, stemming from centuries ago and reinforced during the colonial period. Peasants frequently do not distinguish between donors and governments, and view both as working against them. Projects imposed from above create the feeling among peasants that development is something done *to* them, rather than with or for them. As their lives are affected by events over which they have little control, they become less willing to speak up for their interests in the face of authority. The result is often an increasingly weary, resigned rural population that works against the participatory democratic ideal that the United States is trying to promote in Africa.

Even when project-design teams actually do consult peasants, the results still may not lead to useful projects. Peasants, out of traditional hospitality and a fear of opening up to outsiders who may be from the government, will tell outsiders what they think they want to hear. Teams come back from their windshield surveys convinced that discussions with peasants were a ringing endorsement of the team's ideas. This increases donor enthusiasm during the planning phase,

*Making winter  
fodder in  
Cameroon.*



but leads inevitably to frustration a few years later when the project bogs down.

It is not only the peasants whose attitudes may mislead the project designers. If the planning team is unfamiliar with local politics, the project may also be hindered or even completely stymied. On one project, for example, a team of American technicians, skilled and eager, was located at the site of a major project, a day's drive from the capital. There they sat. They spent over a year trying to get the project off the ground and received little cooperation from local officials. The team had to have permission to travel out of town to do their work, and that permission was only rarely granted. The African director of the project threw up a series of bureaucratic obstacles which added to the frustration.

To the team members, the truth gradually began to unfold. The local government had no interest in the activities the team was trained to carry out. The work would have required extensive contact with ethnic groups out of favor with the group that controlled the government. Moreover, the project was situated in a politically sensitive region of the country, and it quickly became evident that the local governor had no intention of allowing expatriates to wander around as they wished, surveying peasants. For quite some time, the AID officers responsible for the project and their superiors in Washington were not interested in hearing from the team members that the project was not working. This story had an unusual conclusion, however. Eventually, the problems were recognized and the project closed, an action altogether too rare in development circles.

**N**OT TAKING SUCH local realities into account also means that donors may overestimate local capabilities for responding to various requirements imposed by assistance programs. This is especially true in the poorest countries, which are likely to have too few trained development officials and too many donors pushing too many projects.

Every donor has separate "conditionality" or performance requirements which must be met by the

host country before money can be handed over. A large health project, for example, might require the host country to start charging for certain services before assistance funds could be released. An agricultural project might stipulate an end to certain subsidies as the condition for a certain level of aid flow. All this requires extensive hours of negotiation with host-country officials during the planning stages of a project and extensive amounts of paperwork during the life of the project.

The few trained local officials cannot keep up with donors' demands; the requirements are not met and the money is not released. It is not at all unusual to see projects where obligations run at less than 20 percent of the intended rate. The frustration is tremendous both for host country officials, who begin to question the donor's good faith, and for the donors, who are under strong pressure from Washington to move money through the "pipeline" by the end of the fiscal year. Meetings between donors and local officials become dominated by bickering over the management of paper flow rather than a real give-and-take on development priorities.

U.S. assistance programs are especially prone to such self-defeating complexities. This is due to the particularly American trait of seeking the grand solution and believing that enough money and energy will solve any problem. In Africa, the result of our zeal is large, integrated development projects that attempt to meet virtually all the needs—from health to agriculture to housing—in a given area. After a while, these projects take on lives of their own. The original goals become obscured, if not forgotten.

This complexity is mirrored by the structure of the AID mission itself. Development missions suffer from the institutional diseases found in all bureaucracies. As the office grows, the mission managers inevitably spend more time attending internal meetings, organizing new offices, and adjudicating turf battles. The growth of AID missions has continued despite recent budgetary belt-tightening, since the work of direct-hire AID officers whose positions have been eliminated is given to contract employees who can be paid out of other funds. And, as in most bureaucracies, work expands to fill the time and resources allotted. A task



that required the attention of one employee requires the attention of two after two are assigned to it, and thus the second employee becomes essential to the mission.

U.S. development efforts also suffer from conflicting pressures on the disbursement of aid. Missions in the field are under tremendous pressure to obligate each year's allotment as quickly as possible so that an increase (or, these days, less of a reduction) can be justified for the following year. The most withering exchanges between missions in the field and Washington concern not failed or poorly designed projects, but slow movement of funds through the pipeline.

Yet this emphasis frequently runs afoul of a conflicting directive to account for every dime. Congressional concern over projects whose funds cannot be accounted for and may have, at best, been spent unwisely, has led to exhaustive recordkeeping requirements. These conflicting directives generate an incredible tension in development missions as project officers push to allocate funds while the accountants insist on time-consuming accountability procedures. Laudably, some abuse and fraud has been prevented, but the disbursement of funds is often hamstrung, and more money than necessary spent on purchases because of paperwork-verification requirements. In one project, expensive French watering cans were purchased instead of a sturdier, cheaper, local product. The illiterate craftsman who made the superior local cans did not provide receipts; the French ones came from a store that did.

**G**IVEN ALL THE pressures against success, why are such assistance projects continually designed and funded? One reason is that even many bad projects have a constituency in the United States. Projects, design teams, and evaluation teams are usually staffed by university faculty, graduate students, and Beltway-bandit consulting firms. Indeed, it sometimes seems as though African development has become a full-employment program for academics and consultants. During one year in Africa, an AID mission I observed handled more than 1000 short-term personnel.

These consultants have a tremendous interest in seeing foreign assistance continue to be disbursed in a manner that needs their services. After all, most westerners working in Africa live well. Housing is free, utilities are paid, and hardship differentials are tacked onto salary. A generous per diem is doled out to short-term consultants. Many westerners find they have more professional responsibility and status than they could ever hope for back home. And for academics working on projects, the research possibilities are tremendous. It is hardly surprising that most consultants are loath to bite the hand that feeds them by criticizing projects when they may want to get back into the field later on. Of course, many expatriates are in Africa for idealistic reasons, out of a sincere desire to do good. Unfortunately, those motivated by altruism tend to be the most frustrated.

Why do African officials accept projects they know will probably not succeed? They have a different agenda. Frequently, Africans accept doomed projects to please wealthy donors who insist on large trendy projects. The Africans hope that, despite the flaws in the project, most of the money will eventually flow into the economy and a number of vehicles and buildings will be left behind when the project folds.

The priority for African governments is to keep aid levels as high as possible. Thus, most want as many donors involved as possible, despite the lack of trained development officials who can interact effectively with the donors. More donors means more projects, which means more expatriates to employ cooks and houseboys, along with more money, vehicles, and buildings. To keep as much money flowing from donors as possible, host countries sometimes resist coordination among donors for fear that redundant programs might be eliminated. But as resources become scarcer, donors are establishing that coordination through donor roundtables and informal exchanges of information at the working level.

And so a circle of deceit is at work in Africa. Governments accept aid packaged in projects they know will not work in order to maintain the flow of money; donors push the flawed projects because they reflect the latest fads or to alleviate the interminable pressure from headquarters to move money as quickly



as possible. Many African governments use the resulting publicity to illustrate to their citizens the interest that the most important nations in the world take in their country. Western donors can point to aid levels as evidence of their concern for African development and refer to them when soliciting African cooperation in the United Nations and other international forums. Both sides benefit.

Of course, there are losers. To a certain extent the African bureaucrats who find themselves afloat on a sea of donor-required paperwork are losers, as are the expatriate technicians who labor on projects in which there is little high-level interest after the initial agreements are signed. But the biggest losers are rural Africans at the lowest, most vulnerable end of the economic spectrum. They rarely see any tangible benefit from the millions of dollars pumped into the continent each year.

Yet, there are definite development success stories in Africa. These successes have distinct characteristics. By and large, they are small projects with specific, identifiable goals. Their objectives are long-range and eschew the American penchant for the quick-fix. Moreover, the project designers did their homework: local traditions and sensibilities were taken into consideration and Africans were involved in the planning.

One of the best examples was a reforestation project in a valley suffering from erosion and threatened by encroaching desert. Over the course of 15 years, the inhabitants had planted rows of trees as windbreaks. Enthusiasm grew each year as the benefits became apparent in less erosion and more bountiful harvests. Selective pruning of the older trees provided a steady wood supply in an area where wood was a dear commodity. Started by Peace Corps volunteers and picked up by an American voluntary agency with some AID funding, the project was immensely popular. The inhabitants willingly planted the project's trees and then began to replicate the project by planting and caring for trees on their own.

In another project, an American voluntary agency worked with villagers to install simple wells around which small gardens could be planted. The agency provided the expertise, the villagers the labor and

much of the money. Once again, enthusiasm was high because the idea was simple and the results tangible. These simple projects worked because they did not give handouts—the peasants decided what they needed, and worked and contributed from their meager resources. The voluntary agencies helped the peasants help themselves.

**I**N EXPATRIATE COMMUNITIES overseas, a favorite topic of conversation is the latest foreign assistance fable: the new vehicles that can't be repaired locally, the "expert" flown in for two weeks who doesn't speak the language and has never been there before. After a while, however, it becomes clear that such examples do not really provide answers to the puzzle of why aid so often fails to have the intended effect. Especially in the poorest African countries, one cannot avoid asking why development dollars have failed to stem the slide into even deeper poverty. Eventually, I came to believe that the fundamental flaw underlying western development efforts is that ideas flow in the wrong direction. As African officials resignedly accept projects they know will not work in order to guarantee future aid, they cede control over their own development. Donors take over the responsibility for ideas and inevitably push the latest fads and trends. Ultimately, however, only Africans can determine what is best for Africa.

To put the responsibility for development back where it belongs—with the Africans themselves—the United States and other donors must fundamentally change the way they do business, especially with the poorest African states. The United States in particular must rethink the way it designs and distributes assistance, or the coming reductions in aid resources will be disastrous.

Each year, instead of pushing project ideas on African governments, we should inform them of the amount of funds available. These levels could be based on a number of criteria, including U.N. votes, geopolitical importance, and human rights records. We should then sit back and wait for the governments to come to us with ideas on how to spend the funds. Bilateral discussions could then begin to evaluate the



*Providing  
vaccinations in  
Ethiopia.*

African wish lists. Obviously, not everything proposed would be funded—no fleets of Mercedes or paved roads to presidential birthplaces. An extended give and take would be needed to iron out the details, making this system more painful at times than the current one. But in the end, this approach would stand a better chance of reaching a useful conclusion. We might even be startled to find that the African government's priorities do not jibe with the latest development fads or our perceptions of what determines the quality of life.

This would not be a remedy for all that ails foreign assistance. But the first step on the road to efficient, useful foreign aid must be Africans' telling donors about their aspirations, priorities, and needs. After all, a real part of development is learning to set priorities and having the chance to make mistakes and learn from them. Development dollars must be spent on African ideas.

**W**HAT WOULD BE the role of development missions under such a system? Apart from negotiating with the host government after its initial presentation of ideas, AID and the other donor agencies should focus on the things they do well. These include scholarships, which all too often are the only properly functioning part of large projects, along with aid to local educational institutions. AID does an exemplary job of emergency famine relief and should take the lead in such situations in the future. And we should begin to re-examine our reluctance to finance infrastructure. Bridges and roads are often valued long after a well-intentioned integrated rural development project has faded from memory. AID should also devote more resources and energy to providing central funding, in which monies are passed to private voluntary agencies at the Washington level. This allows more freedom of action in the field, and the PVOs have a better chance of achieving concrete results with such projects than with large, overly technical undertakings. Moreover, central funding of such projects would take some of the administrative burden off AID officers who now spend the bulk of their time coping

with the mountain of paperwork required by our current way of doing business. They could spend more time in the field, which is what most of them wanted to do when they joined AID.

We should also reexamine some things that we have been reluctant to do in the past. For example, we need to be more willing to use assistance funds in innovative ways. No one wants to see money used inefficiently or diverted to unintended purposes, but there needs to be more flexibility in spending authority than is currently the case. In a very real sense, aid is risk capital. Furthermore, many African countries could use unlimited amounts of money in the form of budget support and debt relief, unpopular topics in these conservative times. Certainly, such assistance should never be granted across the board. But in selected situations, forgiving debt or providing budget support may soon be the only way to help some of our most important African allies escape a decline into real poverty.

Above all, we need to be aware of the differences between Africans and ourselves. Too often we assume that our lack of familiarity is not a real hindrance. And too often, we assume that development involves an adoption by Africans of our cultural values along with our technology and expertise. We must realize and accept that Africans are in the process of sorting through what the West has to offer, culturally and technically, and choosing what they wish to incorporate into their societies. The results may not be what we would have chosen, although sometimes they may seem superficially familiar. The adoption of a western idea or technique does not necessarily mean that the corresponding philosophical construct has also been adopted.

In the long run, foreign assistance will not be the deciding factor in Africa's development. It could, however, make a contribution if we take time to understand the African viewpoint. In our rush to remake Africa in our image, we often expect too much too soon. We must take a longer term, anthropologically based approach so that we can understand African societies and begin to understand their perception of the present and their vision of the future. Only then can foreign aid play a role in attaining that vision. □

# With No Regrets

*An American diplomat  
clears the path to  
freedom from  
communist Hungary*

FRED GODSEY

**D**ID YOU BRING the money?" Peter asked.  
"Yes," I said, "but only half of it. You'll get the rest at the railway station when you meet the colonel. He'll give it to you, himself."

It was late in the evening, and Peter and I were the only customers in the dreary little coffeehouse in the industrial section of Budapest. We sat in our overcoats and sipped tiny cups of black espresso coffee mixed with *barack pa-linka*, the fiery Hungarian plum brandy, as an antidote against the cool autumn weather. Well over a year had passed since the end of World War II, but Russian-occupied Budapest still suffered a shortage of heating fuel. Peter, which was probably not his real name, was a young Hungarian in his late twenties, and he was a smuggler. But Peter was no ordinary smuggler—he smuggled people without passports and visas out of communist Hungary to freedom in Austria. He preferred to be called a "guide."

"That's okay," he said. "You'll please excuse me that I have to charge so much, but I usually take three or four people each time. Since your colonel insists that he be the only one, I have to charge more. I also have to tell you that this will be my last trip. I'm staying on the other side this time—if we make it. It has become too dangerous. The Hungarian political and economic police have been asking questions about me. Winter will soon be here, and that also makes crossing the border a greater risk."

I was sorry to hear that Peter was giving up his business, since several of my Hungarian friends had successfully used his services. Good "guides" were difficult to find. Most of them were eventually caught by Soviet troops guarding the border or by Hungarian guards, and were killed on the spot or given long prison terms.

Peter placed the thick envelope in his pocket. "It's all set then. The colonel

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across the border?"

"It may not be possible. My helpers at the farm are also going over next week. They're emigrating to Canada, and I'll probably go with them. You might check with your consulate in Vienna. They could tell you if the colonel shows up there. Of course, he might go to the American military headquarters in Vienna or even to the Austrian police. He could also go to the British or French consulates."

We shook hands, said good-bye, and I never saw or heard from Peter again.

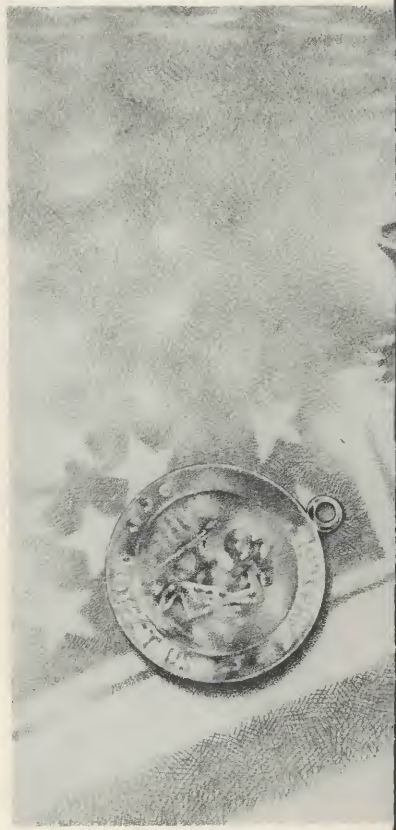
will be at the main Budapest railway station on Friday of next week at 12:30 p.m. He will have no suitcase, no knapsack—just the clothes that he wears. Nothing else. He will carry a rolled newspaper in his left hand. I will approach him and ask, in English, if he knows when the next train leaves for Debrecen. He will reply that he does not know, that he is waiting for his uncle to arrive from Warsaw. I will have two train tickets to Magyarovar. A car will pick us up there and take us to a farm near the Austrian border. We will begin the walk from there. Make certain that he has sturdy shoes."

"Just one more thing, Peter," I said, as we finished the brandy and prepared to leave. "As I told you, this man is presumably a Soviet intelligence officer. He might be an *agent provocateur* who will try to alert the Russian or Hungarian border guards. Do you have a pistol?"

Peter was surprised. "Well, yes, I have a .38 pistol at the farm, but I've never carried it. If the border guards catch me with it, I'll be shot immediately."

"Carry it with you this time, Peter, and if he tries any funny business, be sure he's dead before you run away!"

Peter had an abiding hatred of communists in general and of Russians in particular. His sister had been raped by Russian soldiers and an older brother was shipped to the Soviet Union for slave labor. I could trust him to carry out this request. "Then I suppose I'll not be seeing you again," I said. "Is there any way you can let me know if you make it



THERE WAS A time shortly after World War II when there was some fraternization between the Russians and the Americans.

True, even then these social contacts were limited, and when Soviet military officers or diplomats met with Americans they were usually accompanied by one or more other Russians. Thus, when I met Ivan Povenko during my first year as an American consular officer in Budapest, he was in the company of Soviet officials from the Kommandatura. He had come to a luncheon given by the American and British legations at the luxurious Park Club in Budapest. He was in civilian clothes and was introduced to me simply as Mr. Povenko from the Soviet consulate. He was seated next to me at the table. He was a young man, about the same age as I, and spoke excellent English with a very British accent. He volunteered that he was unmarried, and that he had served in London during the war. He was fluent in several languages and obviously extremely well educated, and he seemed to be interested in every-

thing American. It developed that he was an ardent fisherman, as was I, and I invited him to accompany me the following weekend to a well known trout lake. Much to my surprise, he accepted—of course with a proviso that he could bring a friend.

We spent an enjoyable fishing weekend at Lill Afüred. The friend, whom he introduced as Captain Nikolai, wore a Soviet army uniform and spoke only Russian, although I suspected that he understood English. Nikolai was not a fisherman, but he accompanied us each time we went to the lake. He refused, however, to get into the rowboat with us. The poor fellow was prone to seasickness and sat on the bank with a few bottles of beer.

Povenko and I fished together almost every weekend that spring and summer and came to know each other well. He was an excellent fly angler and taught me many new ways of casting for trout. While we were in the rowboat—with Nikolai sitting happily under a tree with his beer—Povenko would talk of his

childhood in the Soviet Union. His brother, the only living member of his family, worked in a factory in Leningrad. His parents had been killed during the war. He had been selected by his government for training in a "special school" because he excelled in foreign languages.

One day near the end of summer, when the fishing season was almost over, Povenko and I were sitting in our rowboat still trying for the "big one." He reeled in his line and rested the rod on the bottom of the boat. "I wonder if you would do me a favor," he said suddenly, looking quickly over both shoulders as if he thought someone else might be listening.

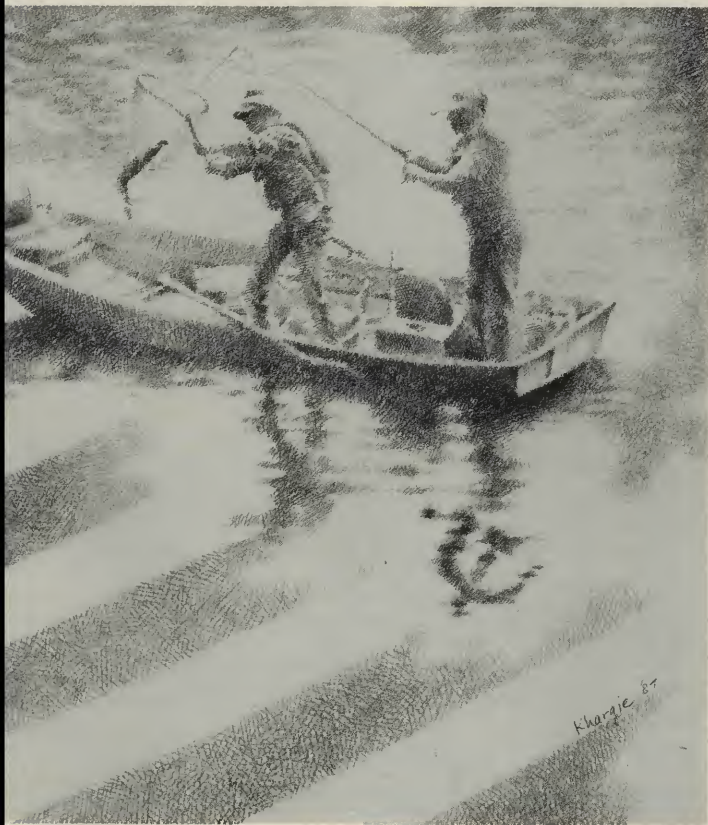
"Of course," I replied. "If I can."

He took a deep breath, as a swimmer does before diving into a cold pool. "I want to go to the United States—to live and work there. I want to become a United States citizen. I wanted to defect when I was in London, but I didn't have a chance to break away from the others in my organization. I haven't been entirely truthful with you, for reasons which you might understand. I work directly with the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs in Moscow. You know it, I believe, as the N.K.V.D. I hold the rank of colonel, and I have information which will be of value to your intelligence services. I am willing to give them this information if they will take me to the United States. Will you speak to someone in your legation about this? I realize that you would probably not risk flying me out from Hungary and that I will have to cross the border to Austria on my own, but even with this I would want your help. The guides I know are working for the Soviet Kommandatura, and it would be suicide for me to trust them."

I tried hard, but unsuccessfully, not to show my surprise. "All right. I'll make inquiries and try to have news for you next weekend." We rowed back to shore and helped Nikolai finish the beer.

Early the next morning, I repeated Colonel Povenko's request to my superiors. The unanimous decision was that he would have to go to Austria and make his request to the American consulate or to the American military command in Vienna. We would alert the consulate in Vienna, but we could offer no encouragement, nor could we officially assist him to cross the Austrian border. So far as we were concerned, he was a Soviet *agent provocateur*.

Colonel Povenko and I had no real interest in fishing when we rowed to the center of the lake the following Saturday



afternoon. The fish were not biting anyway. Nikolai sat under his tree as usual. Povenko was pleased with my report, since he had not expected more. I told him that I had, unofficially, talked with a guide, known to me to be reliable, and that he wanted \$1000 in cash to take him over the border—half of which I would have to give the guide before they met to begin the trip. I also requested a passport photo, which I would send to the American consulate in Vienna. To my amazement, he took out his wallet and handed me a photo and five \$100 bills.

After my rendezvous in the coffee-house with Peter, Colonel Povenko and I met for the last time at an official dinner party the following Wednesday at the Park Club. It was a gala event sponsored by the American and British legations. There was music, dancing, and the food and champagne were plentiful. High-ranking officers of the Soviet military and consulate in Budapest were guests, and I managed to be seated next to Povenko. While the tables were being cleared for dessert, I gave the colonel a prearranged signal, excused myself and went to the men's room. He joined me there a few minutes later and, when we were alone, I handed him a brief, typed list of Peter's instructions and told him that I had paid the \$500. He read the list hurriedly.

"That's the day after tomorrow," I said. "Not much time left. Can you make it?"

I thought I saw tears in the colonel's eyes. "I've waited many years for this moment. Yes, I can make it. Thank you. I hope we can be in touch again, but I doubt it. From what I know of your people, if I make it to the United States they will give me a new name, a new identity. My past will be buried forever."

I'll never really know why I did it—it was an impulsive thing. I quickly took from my vest pocket a small, gold-plated medal of Saint Christopher, the patron saint of travelers, and put it in his hand. "Take this," I told him. "You'll need all the help you can get. Good-bye, good luck, and I hope you will have no regrets."

He smiled and pocketed the little medal. "No. No regrets," he said.

During the next several weeks, I religiously searched the Hungarian and Austrian newspapers for news of border incidents. I found nothing. I repeatedly asked friends who dealt with such matters at the consulate in Vienna whether the colonel had come in. The reply was

always negative. Both Peter and Colonel Povenko had disappeared without a trace.

**T**HE YEARS PASSED, bringing new posts in other parts of the world, different jobs, new friends and, finally, retirement. I have occasionally thought of the colonel, especially when alone on a trout stream or in the middle of a lake trying for the "big one." But I must confess that time eventually erased him from my mind.

It was a beautiful August day in the foothills of the Black Forest of southern Germany. My wife and I were cutting a few roses from the small garden of our retirement cottage when the postman from the village brought a registered letter. At our age, a registered letter usually brings unpleasant news, and we opened it with some trepidation—even more so since the return address was that of a well-known medical research organization in the United States. The letter was signed by one of the most prestigious names in the medical profession:

Dear Sir:

My father, Professor \_\_\_\_\_, former head of the Slavic Languages Department of \_\_\_\_\_ University, passed away on June sixteenth after suffering a stroke. Upon opening his safe, we found an envelope bearing your name, along with a note in my father's handwriting stating that we should get your address from the State Department in Washington, D.C., and send the envelope to you. It is enclosed herewith.

My father emigrated to the United States shortly after World War II from Yugoslavia. He got a teaching job at the University of \_\_\_\_\_, where he met and married my mother, who died last year. He brought no family records with him, and he never spoke of his life and family in Yugoslavia. It occurs to us that you probably knew him in Yugoslavia, and I would be very interested to hear from you in this regard. My sister and I would be most grateful for any family information you could provide.

Sincerely,  
Dr. \_\_\_\_\_, M.D.

The enclosed unsealed envelope contained a small, worn Saint Christopher medal and a slip of paper on which was written just two words, "No Regrets." It would have been a great honor for me to correspond with Dr. \_\_\_\_\_, but I never answered his letter. I prefer to let my old fishing companion rest in peace—with no regrets. □

## PEOPLE

### Scholarship Essay

The month of April is a busy time for the AFSA Scholarship Programs. Volunteer panelists meet all through the month to determine the winners of the AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards for outstanding academic achievement by graduating high school seniors. Essays written by previous Merit winners have appeared in the JOURNAL on a regular basis. This essay, written by Tamara Boorstein for the 1986 competition, gives a timely view of Easter ceremonies through the eyes of a teenager in Moscow. We present it here for your enjoyment. Tamara's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Michael Boorstein, are currently stationed in Warsaw.

**T**HE SNOW FELL heavily as we trudged toward the church to celebrate the Orthodox Easter. Eyes peered suspiciously at our flamboyant western clothing. Americans seldom came to this small town near Moscow. I pulled my scarf closer to my head and walked faster.

My parents were spending their spring vacation out of the Soviet Union, and I was spending mine with another American family inside the country. This weekend, the Browns had decided to tour Yaroslavl, a town on the Golden Ring. The Golden Ring is a name for the circle of church villages around Moscow. Yaroslavl has one church where the Soviet Government allows its citizens to celebrate the Orthodox Easter.

We entered the square at midnight. The moon cast a harsh glow on the large poster ahead of us, whose slogan in fiery red letters proclaimed: "Liberty, Peace, Prosperity." To our right three military trucks stood at the entrance of the church looking picturesque against the white snow. People of all ages filled the square, making it difficult to distinguish the soldiers among them.

We hurried toward the church, not stopping to admire the old eastern beauty of the square. Suddenly, two military policemen stepped in front of Christine, the youngest daughter of the family, and me. They placed their hands on our arms

restraining us from moving closer to the church. The wind drowned out our cries. Several seemingly endless minutes passed before Mr. Brown discovered we had disappeared. Confronting the two officials, he waved his diplomatic passport like an American flag, and screamed like a fishwife. With a shocked, apologetic look in their faces, the men freed us and we ran into the church. Once inside, I noticed the children's faces anxiously peering from outside the heavily guarded gates.

The church resembled an ornate miniature palace. Large icons, gilded in gold covered the walls. Oriental rugs covered the altar floor, and mostly elderly people covered the floor of the tiny church. Two citizen police stood at the door attempting to persuade the people to leave the ceremony. The priest entered, dressed in gold and white, and soon the room became quiet.

A woman passed me a lit candle and scolded me for touching it with my gloves. The mass began. The priest sprinkled incense on his audience with a gold thurible. A moan swept through the crowd and I found myself looking toward the altar. The mass continued on like this for sometime. Abruptly, the people turned and walked to the exit of the church, blocked by policemen. The crowd grew, angry and shouts broke the peaceful silence of the mass. The policemen were preventing the worshippers from observing the Easter custom of walking around the church three times. This blatant display of religion would influence the young Soviet's mind, perhaps make him less willing to comply with the Soviet government later. Without warning, everyone turned on the two men and forced the doors open. I marched outside the church three times with the others, holding my brightly lit candle and making a wish as custom dictated.

The green walls of the hotel appeared depressing compared to the gold and light I witnessed that night. In my bed lay the remnants of the candle I held for the mass. As I stared out the window at the falling snow I saw military trucks pass under a picture of Lenin. I snuggled under the blankets and listened to the toll of the church bells.

Five years later, in a spacious home in Fairfax County, I consider myself fortunate to have witnessed that particular Easter observance. When I now read an article on Soviet Government control and lack of religious freedom in that country, I remember. I remember the church in the Golden Ring.

TAMARA LYNN BOORSTEIN

## Births

MEGAN CHRISTINE NORTON was born December 19, to Candie and James Norton. The father is a communications officer assigned to the Office of Communications, Washington, D.C.

ANDREW PATRICK THAYER was born November 5 in Silver Spring, Maryland, to Maria Elena G. and Scott N. Thayer. Mr. Thayer is the special assistant in the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs.

## Deaths

CABOT COVILLE, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of cancer February 16 at his home in Washington. He was 84.

Mr. Coville was born in Washington, and was graduated from Cornell University in 1923. He joined the Foreign Service three years later. He specialized in Japanese relations and served as vice consul in Kobe in 1929 and Dairen in 1931. Later that year he became consul to Tokyo. In 1932, Mr. Coville was assigned as consul to Harbin, Manchuria, and returned to Tokyo three years later to be second secretary at the embassy.

During the period from 1939-41, Mr. Coville continued his service as an expert on Japanese affairs in Washington, the Philippines, Peru, and Brazil. In 1942, he returned to the State Department to plan for the postwar period in the event of Allied victory in the Pacific. Over the next two years, he continued this planning and related work in London and Stockholm. He also participated in a series of preparatory meetings and the San Francisco conference in 1945, where the United Nations was formed. He contributed to the planning of the peace settlement and postwar policies and, after Japan's capitulation in 1945, he worked under General MacArthur for the first two years of the occupation.

Mr. Coville retired from the Foreign Service in 1953 after a brief period as consul general in Halifax, Canada. In 1963, he was elected the first president of the newly established Japan-America Society of Washington.

He is survived by his second wife, Margaret; a son from his first marriage, Gilbert of Miami; two sons, Brooks Coville, of Rome, Georgia, and Timothy Coville, of Washington; a daughter, Elizabeth Dusenbery, of Northfield, Minnesota; and six grandchildren.

ROBERT EISENBERG, a retired Foreign Service officer who specialized in economics,

died February 19 at Alexandria Hospital after a heart attack. He was 78.

Mr. Eisenberg was born in Austria and earned a law degree at the German University in Prague. He was a bank economist in Prague before moving to the United States in 1940. He worked briefly for the Federal Reserve Board before serving in the Army in Europe.

After the war, Mr. Eisenberg worked in the research office of the State Department before joining the Foreign Service in 1951. His foreign assignments included being U.S. representative to the European Coal and Steel Community and economic and foreign aid posts at embassies in Mexico, Laos, Madagascar, and South Africa. During the early 1960s, he was deputy chief of what was then the department's Congo desk.

He retired from the Foreign Service in 1968 and later worked with the International Monetary Fund in Vietnam, Turkey, Madagascar, Botswana, and Okinawa. Survivors include his wife, Lilian, of Alexandria, Virginia, and a stepson, Tillman Neuner, of Arlington, and three grandchildren.

CARROLL S. HINMAN, a retired AID official, died September 24 of heart failure at Mount Vernon Hospital in Virginia. He was 73.

Mr. Hinman was born in Yakima, Washington, and attended Central Washington College. He later received his bachelor's and master's degrees from Syracuse University. He served in the Army in World War II.

Before joining the Foreign Service in the early 1950s, Mr. Hinman was an examiner and analyst at the Bureau of the Budget. He served as AID program director in Spain from 1957-62 and later directed the agency's African program development, in Washington and Nairobi. After his retirement in 1970, Mr. Hinman was active in Northern Virginia civic affairs.

He is survived by his wife, Jean; three sons, Jack, of Alexandria, Donald, of Lansing, Michigan, and Keith, of Berkeley, California; a daughter, Andrea Elia, of Dundee, Scotland; two sisters, Lorene Kozak, of Seattle, and Charlene Allman, of Yakima, Washington; and five grandchildren.

ELIZABETH GILMORE HOLT, wife of retired Foreign Service officer John B. Holt and author and editor of books on art history, died of cancer January 26 in Washington. She was 81.

Dr. Holt was born in San Francisco and was graduated from the University of Wisconsin. She received her master's degree

from Radcliffe College and a doctorate in art history from the University of Munich. She taught art history at Duke University and Michigan State University.

She accompanied her husband to his assignments in Germany, Greece, Laos, Switzerland, and India. Dr. Holt had several works published and was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship, which was used to complete research for her book *Art for All Nations*. She received the Freedom Bell Award from the city of Berlin for her work

with the women's trade union in Germany in the late 1940s.

In addition to her husband, who lives in Washington and Georgetown, Maine, survivors include a daughter, Elizabeth H. Muench of Lexington, Massachusetts; two sons, John A. Holt of Chicago and Peter G. Holt of Potomac, Maryland; a brother, John A. Gilmore of Osterville, Massachusetts; and six grandchildren.

ROBERT B. HOUGHTON, a retired Foreign

Service officer who specialized in Middle Eastern affairs, died of cancer February 9 in Bethesda, Maryland. He was 65.

Born in Boston, Mr. Houghton was graduated from Harvard University in 1942 and later studied at the School for Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University. He joined the Foreign Service as a clerk in 1945 and became an officer in 1947.

His overseas assignments included Kenya, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and

## FOREIGN

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**ATTORNEYS.** Former vice consul and attorney spouse of FSO. Dwight & Dillon, 1330 New Hampshire Ave., NW, Suite 201, Washington, D.C. 20036 (one block south of Dupont Circle). (202)293-5976. Specializing in immigration, dual nationality, residential real estate, and financial planning.

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London. He returned to Washington in 1967 and became country director for Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan, and Syria. Mr. Houghton attended the Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy in 1967 and was assigned to Lebanon again two years later as deputy chief of mission in Beirut. From 1977-81 he was consul general in Istanbul.

Before retiring in 1983, Mr. Houghton was officer in charge of peace-keeping forces on the Sinai peninsula. He then became a reviewer with the State Depart-

ment's Bureau of Administration. Mr. Houghton received the John Jacobs Rogers Award in recognition of outstanding performance. He was also a member of Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired and the Cosmos Club.

He is survived by his wife, Lois Chapman Houghton, of Washington; one daughter, Eleni Houghton of Washington; four sons, Worthington Houghton, who lives in England, Robert B. Houghton Jr., and Gill Houghton, both

of Washington, and Richard Houghton, of Greenville, South Carolina; one sister, Mary Houghton, of Falmouth, Massachusetts; and two grandchildren. Contributions in his memory may be made to the Patient Emergency Fund at the National Institutes of Health.

CHARLOTTE M. McAULIFFE, a retired Foreign Service employee, died from natural causes February 16 in Washington. She was 62.

## EXCHANGE

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proudly announces that Bill  
Meeks has joined our firm as a  
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friends with their real estate  
needs.

Ms. McAuliffe was born in Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts, and began working for the State Department in 1949. Her overseas assignments included Frankfurt with the U.S. Commission for Germany, and embassies in Tehran, Warsaw, and Copenhagen. She later became executive secretary to two ambassadors in Bonn. Between her overseas postings, she served in the Office of Soviet Exchanges, and for the under secretary of state for economic affairs. While on detail to the White House, Ms. McAuliffe worked with the president's adviser for economic affairs. Her last government position was with the State Department's Grievance Board.

After her retirement, she joined the staff of Dumbarton Oaks, where she was an aide to its director. Until early 1986, she worked for a Washington consulting firm. Survivors include her brother, retired Foreign Service Officer Eugene V. McAuliffe, and eight nephews and nieces.

SAMUEL RODGERS PEALE, political-military counselor at the embassy in Saudi Arabia and a Foreign Service officer since 1962, died January 23 in Boston, where he was undergoing treatment for cancer. He was 50.

Mr. Peale was a native of New York and was graduated from Harvard College in 1958. He served in the Army before joining the Foreign Service. His overseas assignments included Athens, Ankara, Khartoum, Abu Dhabi, Kathmandu, and Riyadh. He had served on school boards at several American community schools overseas. He is survived by his wife, Joan, of 11026 Ring Road, Reston, Virginia 22090; two sons, Samuel Randolph and Daniel Sorlin Peale, of Reston; and a sister, Margaret Phillips, of New York City. Memorial contributions may be made to the Dana Farber Cancer Institute, 44 Binney Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02115.

BROMLEY K. SMITH, former executive secretary of the National Security Council, died of cardiac arrest March 1 in his home in Washington. He was 75.

Mr. Smith was born in Muscatine, Iowa. He studied at the Zimmern Institute School in Geneva in 1931, the Institut des Hautes Etudes Internationales of the Sorbonne in Paris from 1931-32, and was graduated from Stanford University in 1933. Before he joined the Foreign Service, Mr. Smith was a reporter and news editor for the *Washington Daily News* from 1935-40.

He was married in 1940 to Chloethiel Woodard Smith, a renowned architect, and was assigned to his first Foreign Service post, Montreal, as vice consul. Mr.

Smith's next post was LaPaz, Bolivia, the following year. During the postwar years, he was staff assistant to Secretaries of State George Marshall and Dean Acheson and worked on the U.S. delegation to the NATO, U.N., and Council of Foreign Ministers conferences. President Eisenhower arranged Mr. Smith's transfer to the staff of the National Security Council in 1953. He became executive secretary of the newly created Operations Coordinating Board. He returned to the regular staff of the NSC in 1961 and worked there until his retirement, and afterward as a consultant.

Mr. Smith received the Presidential Award for Distinguished Federal Civilian Service in 1964 from President Johnson. At the time of his death, he was completing an extensive study of the NSC's activities during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. Survivors include his wife, Chloethiel, of Washington; a son, Bromley Jr., of Washington; a daughter, Susanne Arias, of Madrid, Spain; two sisters, Jean Burton, of Wheaton, Illinois, and Elaine Williams, of Glenview, Illinois; and one grandchild.

J. RAYMOND YLITALO, former ambassador to Paraguay and published author, died of cancer February 10 in Washington. He was 70.

Mr. Ylitalo was born in Floodwood, Minnesota. He was graduated from St. Olaf College in Minnesota and earned a master's degree in business administration at Northwestern University. He also attended the National War College.

Before joining the Foreign Service in 1946, Mr. Ylitalo was a special agent with the FBI. For the next four years, he was a political officer at the mission in Helsinki.

Mr. Ylitalo was the State Department's representative on the Interdepartmental Committee on Internal Security from 1950-53. During the late 1950s, he had assignments in Germany and the Philippines. He returned to the State Department in 1962 and worked there until 1968. He served briefly as consul general in Tijuana, Mexico, before being named ambassador to Paraguay in 1969. He held the ambassadorship until 1973. For the next three years, he was consul general in Toronto. He retired in 1976.

His books include *Secret Messages from Helsinki to Washington*, published in 1978, *From the Danger Years to the 1950s*, published in 1979, and *Ylitalo, the American*, published in 1982.

Survivors include his wife, Jean Sarchet Ylitalo, of Washington; three daughters, Georgianne Farness, of Flagstaff, Arizona; Mary Catherin Ylitalo, of Calgary, Alberta; and Sara Lisa Ylitalo, of San José, Costa

Rica; one son, John W. R. Ylitalo, of Burtonsville, Maryland; two brothers, Ronald, of Stillwater, Minnesota, and Roy, of Seattle; one sister, Evelyn Zelazny, of Indialantic, Florida; and eight grandchildren.

## Announcements

*Overseas Brats* is a new publication about those who have lived or gone to school abroad. The Department of Defense Dependent Schools estimated that since 1946, more than five million Americans have lived or gone to school overseas. *Overseas Brats'* purpose is to help promote, preserve, and share this special heritage, and provide those who don't have a sense of "roots" a feeling that they belong to a special community of Americans with a unique identity.

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A charitable fund has been established to honor the memory of the late Lois Wersba Roth, a distinguished cultural affairs officer in USIA. Income from the Lois W. Roth Fund will support, promote, and supplement international educational and cultural programs consistent with the spirit of Roth's career in both USIA and the American Scandinavian Foundation. Programs generated by the fund may be carried out by USIA as consistent with the Fulbright-Hays Act, but will not be limited to activities specified by the act. Other institutional channels may also be used to administer programs as deemed appropriate. The fund will be lodged within USIA and guided by a board of directors whose initial members will be Richard T. Arndt, husband of Ms. Roth; Joann Lewinsohn, deputy director of USIA for educational and cultural affairs; Stanton H. Burnett, counselor of USIA; Evelyn Swarthout Hayes, pianist and professor emerita at American University; Henry A. Millon, dean of the Center for Advanced Study of the Visual Arts at the National Gallery of Art; Steven Muller, president of Johns Hopkins University; and Robin Winks, master of Berkeley College at Yale University. Tax deductible contributions should be made payable to USIA and addressed to the Roth Fund, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, USIA, 301 Fourth Street S.W., Washington, D.C. 20547.

# 1987 AFSA ELECTION SECTION

In accordance with AFSA Bylaws, and pursuant to the terms of the 1987 Election Call, the following members have been duly nominated and have accepted their candidacies for the positions indicated below in the 1987 election of officers and constituency representatives of the AFSA Governing Board. All members vote for officers

## Officers

### **President:**

Hartford Jennings (Action slate)  
Perry Shankle  
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### **Vice President:**

**State:** Anthea S. de Rouville (Action slate)  
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**AID:** Henry Merrill  
Frank Young (Action slate)

**USIA:** A. Stephen Telkins (Action slate)

### **Secretary:**

John J. Harter  
James W. Bean  
James Derrick (Action slate)

### **Treasurer:**

Samuel Mok (Action slate)

and for their respective constituency representatives. The order in which the names appear on this list and the candidates' campaign statements in the pages which follow were determined by the drawing of lots at a meeting of candidates on March 10, 1987.

## Constituency Representatives

### **State (Choose 5):**

Barbara Hughes (Action slate)  
Shelley Johnson (Action slate)  
Ward Barmon (Action slate)  
Gerald Lamberty  
Jonathan Farrar  
Matthew Daley (Action slate)  
Sandra Odor

### **AID (Choose 2):**

Michael Zak (Action slate)  
David Garms (Action slate)  
William Flynn

### **USIA (Choose 1):**

John Quintus (Action slate)

### **Commerce (Choose 1):**

### **Agriculture (Choose 1):**

### **Retired (Choose 3):**

Bruce Laingen  
Earl Sohm (Action slate)  
John Thomas (Action slate)  
Roger Provencher (Action slate)

Ballots will be mailed on or about May 15, 1987, and marked ballots must be returned by noon, June 30, 1987. If you have not received your ballot by June 7, 1987, notify the chairman of the AFSA Elections Committee immediately in writing at Box 42142, Washington, D.C. 20015, or by "AFSA Channel" cable marked for delivery to AFSA Elections Committee.

It is each AFSA member's responsibility to see to it that his or her proper address and constituency are on record with AFSA.

AFSA disclaims all responsibility for the following statements and biographies. The Association has a statutory obligation to publish these submissions in accordance with Article VI(4) of the AFSA By-

laws. Chapter 10 of the Foreign Service Act (as interpreted by the Department of Labor), Section 401(c) of the Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act, 29 CFR Section 452.69, and 452.70. AFSA is not permitted to in any way regulate, alter, amend, or edit the contents of campaign literature which a candidate wishes to have distributed to union members in the course of an internal union election. AFSA therefore disavows all liability for the contents of the following campaign statements. Each candidate is solely responsible for the contents of his or her submission.



**Hartford Jennings**  
President  
Action State

Hartford T. Jennings is a State Department Political Officer who has served in Abidjan, Addis Ababa, and Gaborone. Now in the IO Bureau, he has represented the U.S. at several international meetings. In 1985, he chaired a major drafting committee of the FAO governing body. Jennings was elected Secretary of the AFSA Governing Board in 1985, after serving on the State Standing Committee.



**John D. Hemenway**  
President

John Hemenway is a 1951 graduate of Annapolis who won a Rhodes Scholarship to the University of Oxford where he studied for three years prior to entrance into the Foreign Service, by examination.

In the Foreign Service, John became a German and Soviet expert and served in Moscow for two years. He understands the special problems of the foreign service and the need for adequate compensation for the exigencies of the service.

John now is legal counsel to Accuracy in Media and is accredited to the Department of State as a correspondent. He is an active member of the National Press Club.



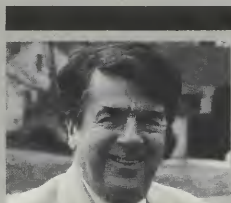
**Anthea S. de Rouville**  
State Vice President  
Action State

Thea de Rouville is a graduate of the University of New Hampshire and Katherine Gibbs Secretarial School. She joined the Foreign Service in 1957, serving both overseas and in the Department of State. She is a former President of SEPTEMBER 17, an Association of Secretaries and Communicators. Representing that organization she joined the State Standing Committee in 1978 and was elected to the AFSA Governing Board in 1979.



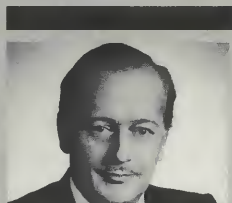
**Hank Merrill**  
AID Vice President

I have served in A.I.D. for eleven years. Aside from a Peace Corps tour in Nepal, I have served in the Philippines and Thailand. My current assignment is with the Africa Bureau's Development Program Office in A.I.D. Washington.



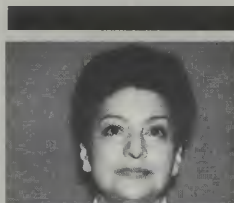
**Perry Shankle**  
President

A career FSO, Mr. Shankle joined the service in 1956. He is now Director of the Office of Mexican Affairs. He has served in Mexico City, Nassau, La Paz, Madrid, Santiago and Quito. He has had several Washington assignments, including Director of the Operations Center, as a desk officer, and an early eye opening stint in PER.



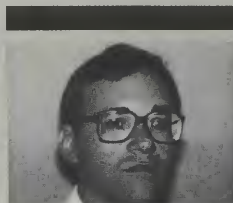
**Paul D. Mollneaux**  
President

Born 1937 NY. B.A. 1958 Georgetown. US Army 1959. U. Madrid 1961. Free U. Berlin 1963. M.A. Pol. Sci. 1966. 1967 Ext. Rsch., INR. 1968 Open Arms Advisor, Vietnam. 1970 Coml Off, Frankfurt. 1972 German analyst, INR. 1973 Cantho, Vietnam. 1974 Yemen, Oman Desk, NEA. 1976 Pol Off, Beirut. 1978 M/MO., 1979 Chmn, Open Forum. 1980 Pol Off, Bonn. 1984 DPO, Rio. 1985-87 Chief, Current Intelligence, INR. Ger, Fr, Sp, Port. Merit Honor: 1969, 1977, 1986. 1970 Youth Committee Chmn, Frankfurt. 1974 AFSA Keyman, NEA. 1978 Open Forum Wkng Gp on Professional Concerns. 1981 AFSA Chapter Rep, Bonn.



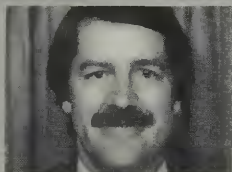
**Evangeline Monroe**  
State Vice President

Evangeline Monroe, FSO-3, administrative cone, currently Nicaraguan desk officer, ARA-/CEN. Entered the service June 1978. Previous assignments: Citizens Emergency Service, CA; General Services Officer, Consular Officer, Bern; Nicaraguan analyst, INR; Planning Officer, ARA/PPC. Married, one teen age daughter.



**Frank J. Young**  
AID Vice President  
Action State

Frank Young joined A.I.D. in 1976 and has served in the Philippines and India. Since returning to Washington in 1984, he has worked in PPC, as Philippine Desk Officer, and currently is chief of the Mediterranean/Near East Division in the Office of Project Development in the Asia/Near East Bureau. Young's government service prior to joining A.I.D. includes staff assistant to Rep. John J. McFall (D-Calif.) from 1972-76. Mr. Young holds a PhD. and Master's degree from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.



**A. Stephen Telkins**  
**USIA Vice President**  
**Action Slate**

A Foreign Service officer since 1966, Stephen Telkins currently chairs the AFSA Standing Committee at USIA and also the Editorial Board of the Foreign Service Journal. He holds a B.A. from Williams College and an M.A. from the University of Pittsburgh. Telkins has served with USIA in Chile, South Africa, Zaire, Madagascar, Nigeria and Liberia. He has assisted in the VOA modernization program and been a Congressional Fellow and desk officer for southern Africa. He now is chief of USIA's Africa Wireless File.

**Notice:** Members of the Action Slate have waived their opportunity to present individual statements in favor of a joint slate statement.

Biographies for candidates for secretary, treasurer, and constituency representatives will be found with their statements.

### **Perry Shankle** **President**

The Foreign Service has come on hard times. The proportion of political to career ambassadors has not been higher in living memory. Posts are being closed, and further budget cuts threaten to disrupt US foreign policy and force further drastic personnel reductions. These developments affect all our members—of all agencies—and to address them aggressively demands new AFSA leadership. Several of us have joined together to form the RENEWAL team to offer this leadership.

Our RENEWAL team includes: Perry Shankle for President; Evangeline Monroe for Vice President (President of the State Standing Committee); Hank Merrill for AID Vice President; Jim Bean for Secretary, Gerry Lamberty, Jonathan Farrar and Sandra Odor for State Representatives, and Bruce Laingen for State Retired.

Just when the Department of State should be strengthening its position in the foreign affairs community, management has downgraded many positions—reducing our effectiveness abroad and our ability to deal with other agencies in Washington and abroad. By doggedly pursuing an ill-advised "flow through" concept, qualified and experienced officers of proven ability are being forced out and virtually every FSO faces the threat of involuntary retirement in his/her early fifties. This same system will soon be applied more fully to specialists, communicators and secretaries. Even Under Secretary Spiers questions this policy in his recent *Journal* interview. The current State Standing Committee leadership, which is running for reelection on the Action Slate, are the only ones who still support this "flow through" personnel system.

Those State members of the outgoing board who are seeking reelection under the so-called Action Slate have done well to change their name. They were the Unity Slate in 1985 when they promised to represent the interests of all members, to harmonize those interests, to support a full lifetime career, and to

resist politicization of the Service. But they did just the opposite.

They were largely silent on political appointments. Showing their indifference, their annual reports even failed to mention the problem of involuntary retirement and the threat of shortened careers for all officers. The problem is not simply one of employment, it is at the heart of the Service's ability to serve the President and the Secretary and have its voice heard and its weight felt in the development and execution of foreign policy. Only Gerry Lamberty, a member of our team, has spoken out vigorously and consistently in the councils of AFSA on this overarching professional problem.

We think it is time for a new professional look at what needs to be done to restore the Service's primary role and reputation.

Late last fall AFSA was finally forced to do something. While it issued a ringing statement of concern, AFSA's State Standing Committee settled for a proposal that was inept, inadequate, and nonrepresentative. In effect, the Action Slate called for more forced retirements, offered a token lifesaver for 0-1s, and created an "underclass" for juniors. They did not address the "flow-through" concept, which destroys experience, truncates careers and causes so much dysfunctional behavior by FSOs trying to survive.

#### *Renewal Program*

Restoration of professionalism, influence and reputation of the Foreign Service.

Reverse trends to politicize the Foreign Service.

A full and rewarding career for officers and staff.

Selection out for documented sub-standard performance with a fair review procedure.

Fair treatment of all segments of the Service.

Improved working environment, conditions, and benefits.

Humanize the personnel system.

Combat efforts to eliminate the 20/50 retirement option.

More liberal and flexible stretch assignments.

Respond to unique needs of secretaries, communicators,

and specialists.

Defend COLA and other retirement benefits.

Give full consideration to using the experience and talents of retired personnel.

Our team pledges to work with all elements of the Service and with the representatives of other agencies and retired members to press management more aggressively and more effectively to achieve these goals.

VOTE SHANKLE, MONROE, MERRILL, BEAN, LAMBERTY, FARRAR, ODOR, and LAINGEN for RENEWAL of AFSA and the Foreign Service.

**John Hemenway  
President**

**ELECT JOHN D. HEMENWAY  
AFSA PRESIDENT**

Rhodes Scholar; Past AFSA President 1975-1976; German/Soviet FSO Specialist

Sworn Testimony Citing A Senior FS Inspector: **"THE TROUBLE WITH HEMENWAY IS THAT WE CAN'T BUY HIM OFF"**

Just What Kind of Conflict of Interest Do You Want to Get When You Elect Your Next AFSA President?

1. You have 4 candidates—3 of them currently have career problems. The current AFSA President, running for the Board also has a career problem. One can be sympathetic to the intense interest of those men in normalizing the career service.

2. Do you think an AFSA President will push the Board to remedy your concern when he is about to lose his "job" in the Foreign Service? But everyone in the FS has a career problem, because our career service is in trouble!

3. Hemenway has stood up for the Foreign Service—more than once! Retired, he became an attorney after his last office in AFSA, as President, where several appointed Board members—attorneys—were feathering their own nests. Several of these have reaped the whirlwind and are now out of the FS.

**WHAT HEMENWAY ACCOMPLISHED AS AFSA PRESIDENT IN 1975-1976:**

The FS was being gutted during that period, too, by men just as unprincipled as Ron Spiers.

In 1975 Hemenway stopped selection out for "T.I.C." dead in its tracks.

Hemenway got through the grievance legislation, making the F.S. the only division of government outside of the Armed Forces with a legislated grievance system (the armed forces have their courts martial system of justice).

Having served 9 years beginning with WWII as an officer in the Army Infantry, the Navy, and the Air Force, Hemenway is well-qualified to oppose those know-nothings who draw a tight analogy to the armed forces, thereby attempting to justify "selection

out" as practiced in the FS. Hemenway opposed "selection out" successfully when AFSA President before—you can count on him to do it again. Can you count on others not to bargain with personnel to their benefit?

Like Eagleburger, who cut a deal with Wayne Hayes (you remember—the corrupt congressman who declared: "I am the FS Grievance System"), the pressures on AFSA Presidents who must protect their own livelihood are simply overwhelming.

Hemenway saved the AFSA building, when AFSA President.

Hemenway promoted the policy of "Openness" which opened all AFSA Board meetings to the public. A pretense is made of continuing the policy today—Hemenway would reinvigorate it.

**WHAT DO YOU THINK OF A GROUP OF PROFESSIONAL MEN AND WOMEN—LIKE THOSE IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE**

Who consistently rank very high among their peers over the years;

Who are currently among the most motivated and in that period of life in which they are best prepared, professionally;

Who have tenure and practical experience far above that of their peers;

And yet are thrown out of the service *because* of the above factors.

**AS AFSA PRESIDENT, HEMENWAY WILL DEFEND YOUR INTERESTS IN THESE AND OTHER MATTERS**

How do you know you can count on him? Wasn't there trouble between Hemenway and his Board?

You bet there was! He put his hand in the fire for AFSA during his last Presidency, against the will of Board members favoring a "sweetheart deal" with management for their benefit.

■Howard Mace, the Director of Personnel became the first career man in the up-to-that-time 190 year history of the Senate confirmation process ever to fail confirmation for ambassador, because Hemenway exposes his corrupt practices.

■Similarly, Helmut Sonnenfeldt—Kissinger's Kissinger—failed confirmation even though

pushed by Nixon and Kissinger because of John Hemenway's testimony.

**WHAT IS THE STATUS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE AND HOW CAN PROBLEMS BE CORRECTED?**

Hemenway would fight the corruption rampant in the personnel process.

And, Hemenway knows where it is located and what should be done about it.

OER's absolutely should not be used to terminate the careers of FS Personnel. Hemenway believes it is a violation of law to use OERs in this manner.

In fact, the OER system has been so notoriously corrupt for so many years, there is clearly something wrong with any personnel or administrative officer from Messrs Spiers and the Director General on down, if they actually choose to rely upon this system to eliminate or destroy careers, which, of course, is what they are doing.

The analogy between the FS and the military should be debunked once and for all. It was promoted over the years by such lightweights as Rimstad, Crockett, Macomber and Eagleburger who knew better and virtually laughed scornfully at the FS as they used this analogy to eliminate competent officers to make room for their personnel manipulations and favorites.

Who has not worried about an OER about to be written by a superior who is himself in difficulties? A complete study of abnormal psychology could be written about such types. As FS personnel we have to live with such conditions, but our AFSA should at least attempt to insulate us against such risks. With terrorism, et al., there are already enough risks in the service.

**WHAT POSITIVE MEASURE WOULD JOHN HEMENWAY TAKE AS AFSA PRESIDENT?**

Protection of your career is a positive step; Hemenway believes that once admitted to the FS, barring health (and therefore competence) deterioration, one should expect a long, useful career—not an abbreviated one of 20 years or less.

Hemenway would fight the concept that the "law" requires the FS administrators to implement selection out as it is being

used to destroy careers.

Hemenway will return to a policy of "openness" at Board meetings, making all Board members accountable for their actions and votes.

Hemenway will republish the Foreign Service Biographic Register so that once again a non-personnel type can understand what is going on in the personnel world that affects his colleagues.

Hemenway will restore the "President's luncheons" he started in 1976, and restore ties with the Washington diplomatic community and with sympathetic members of the Congress.

Hemenway will establish a policy of "PRESIDENTIAL QUESTIONS" in which:

■Any member can call the President directly from any place in the world and place a question, either confidentially or openly, as he wishes. That question will be given a number in serialism and answers coded to that number.

■The questions will be asked and within one week, the member will have an answer.

**■REMEMBER, THERE ARE NO EMBARRASSING QUESTIONS IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE—THERE ARE JUST EMBARRASSING ANSWERS!**

**TRY IT! YOU CAN CALL JOHN HEMENWAY AT HIS WASHINGTON OFFICE (202) 371-6710 IN WASHINGTON, D.C.**

**Paul D. Mollineux  
President**

As a labor union, AFSA can claim real achievements: creature comforts and fringe benefits of life in the Foreign Service are better than ever, from shipping allowances to spousal employment opportunities. Nevertheless, the Service abroad and in Washington is still not always a "good place to work": We need more decent quarters and furnishings for staff and junior officers at many posts, a more responsive infrastructure for everything from payrolls to household effects, clearer definition of careers and opportunities for secretaries, communicators, technicians and officers alike.

As a professional association, AFSA has largely failed. It has had good but also weak and disastrous leadership: In the early 1970s, we almost lost selection out for substandard performance. We elected a President who had been selected out. As an AFSA bureau representative, I helped in his removal when it became clear that he was not there to pursue the good of the Service. The Department's early affirmative action efforts simply lowered standards, rather than recruit and develop minority members.

AFSA was enticed to support a new Foreign Service Act through pay comparability, a statutory basis for employee representation and grievance procedures. I joined in the debate about the Act, through the AFSA working group and the Open Forum, and along with others discovered that part of management's agenda was to politicize the senior service. Ambassador Martin Hertz and others did stem the tide of politicization, and eventually time-in-class rules replaced three-year contracts for seniors. But the Act added unwise gimmicks—an unlimited authority (to judge by Management's behavior) to grant unlimited "limited career extensions" to seniors, and the indefensible "window" for FS-1s.

Although most seniors surely do see beyond their class interests to the good of the Service, and remember their terms of employment, the senior tone has

been set by a handful of activists in the Seniors' Association, intent on class interest whatever the cost to the Service. Management's acquiescence would lead in time to the present disgraceful situation: class set against class; needed expertise crudely chopped out; younger officers increasingly seeing the Foreign Service as a temporary job; the assignments process increasingly a shambles. Management has become a curator of the "arrived" generation, indifferent to the future of Service and country.

Department Management in 1979-80 sought greater flexibility, and AFSA acquiesced. But scope to manage well is also scope to manage badly. In supporting the 1980 Act, AFSA should have assumed a broader responsibility to uphold Service character, independence and integrity.

Instead, after 1980, AFSA lost its relevance. Some elections were uncontested. The once lively Junior Foreign Service Club evidently disappeared. Spirited debate yielded to muddled monologue at AFSA's few public meetings. AFSA now has a President who sees the Service as a large law firm: senior officers should, because of their experience, have life tenure.

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The 1980 Act, like its predecessor, gives the Department the necessary and sufficient instruments to maintain a quality Service: time-in-class, selection out for substandard performance, voluntary retirement at 50/20. Sometimes we forget that we cannot be an army of generals: we need a rank structure in both positions and personnel, roughly in synchronization.

But we also cannot be an army of corporals. We need unique expertise in foreign languages and areas, and broad understanding of world affairs and US policy. These require time, more than permitted by the military model which management sometimes openly endorses. Rank structure decisions must be derived from Service needs, not some irrelevant external model.

Not every corporal has a

marshall's baton in his knapsack. Foreign Service officers too reach their "levels of incompetence." Even some good officers, not at par with their colleagues, may have to step aside. But Department management has carried this last principle to a shameful extreme, thereby mortgaging the future of the Service.

For the last two years a number of officers have been deeply involved in one burning issue: systematic decimation of the corps of FS-1 generalists by Department management, perversely arguing it was commanded by the 1980 Act. Some 250 officers, including ambassadors and seniors, endorsed a paper we prepared in January 1986, "Crisis in Foreign Service Management." Recently, we have done more study and made proposals, to a deaf management.

Early on we sought AFSA involvement, but were sabotaged by AFSA's top leadership. By the fall of 1986, after the blood of "Cohort I" was all over the floor, others in AFSA came to realize that the "FS-1 problem" was real. The upshot, however, was an indefensible pork barrel of proposals, submitted to management in the vague hope something could be won through negotiation. AFSA was irresolute, unimaginative and ineffective.

Neither Department leadership nor AFSA has offered a vision of the Service which its members or the body politic can embrace. Service officers often win the confidence of the political leadership, but then show little understanding of Service professionalism, and even less in impressing it upon the political leadership.

*Can we create a Service esprit de corps?* Abroad, we usually reflect an authentic esprit de corps, shared with other agency colleagues. Embassies and consulates are communities, where people socialize and help one another. Washington, in contrast, is a machine: Motor pools and bus schedules generally make impossible casual fraternization across the ranks after hours—essential for sharing group values and identity.

AFSA could help. The keyper-

son system should be revived as a link between members and the AFSA Board and committees. AFSA should promote participatory activity outside of work hours: clubs for junior officers, secretaries, communicators, minority groups. Once we start talking to one another, we can begin to develop some consensus on what we are.

In time, AFSA can help turn around our present disaffection and divisiveness, and win broad acceptance of professionalism. We must start by putting our own house in order: AFSA's leaders and members will need more energy, more courage. The Foreign Service needs to convince itself that firm, principled disagreement with management and committed pursuit of excellence do not constitute disloyalty. Friends in Congress, the press, the "foreign policy establishment" and the public can and must be won. We can convince political Washington there is a better place from which to run foreign policy than the White House basement.

I will be working with colleagues to develop proposals for an AFSA action plan in the May Foreign Service Journal. We welcome your views on AFSA's role in making the Service the instrument of a truly professional American diplomacy and a "decent place to work." We need your involvement.

—Paul D. Mollineux, INR/IS/CIS, Room 6510A, Tel: 647-8710

## Action Slate Statement

The American Foreign Service Association needs leadership that is aware of the many challenges it faces and that will be sensitive to and take into account the needs of the many elements which together make up the Foreign Service. The ACTION SLATE offers such leadership.

The ACTION SLATE is a unified slate. It offers representatives from State, AID, USIA, and AFSA's retired constituency. It is an experienced slate. Hartford Jennings, Anthea de Rouville, Frank Young, Stephen Telkins, James Derrick, Sam Mok, Barbara Hughes, John Quintus, Roger Provencher, and John Thomas are currently members of the Board. Matthew Daley, Ward Barmon, Shelley Johnson, Michael Zak, and David Garms are members of their respective standing committees. And finally, Earl Sohm has been active in DACOR. We are experienced in the day-to-day, unglamorous and often tedious negotiations with agency managements under the Foreign Service Act. Bread and butter issues, which affect Service members of all ranks and agencies, are high priority with the ACTION SLATE.

We reflect the unity and diversity of the Foreign Service. Men, women, minority groups, the staff corps, State, AID, and USIA are all represented within our ranks. The make-up of our slate illustrates our commitment to equality of opportunity and selection on the basis of merit within the Service. As in the past, we will work together to address the problems of all elements of the Service. We will hold meetings with secretaries, communicators, specialists, and officers of all agencies to elicit information about their concerns. We will then make it our business to address those concerns.

### THE ACTION SLATE WILL PROTECT AND EXTEND AFSA'S PAST GAINS

In the standing committees and on the Board, the candidates of the ACTION SLATE have been successful in securing additional consumables allowances and have acted to protect

employees' rights with regard to drug and polygraph testing. We have defeated agency attempts to cut corners on allowances and have worked to soften the effects of non-negotiable management actions such as downgrading Senior Foreign Service and other positions and closing posts. In the next two years we expect to have to deal with attempts to impose more restrictive travel regulations, the transition into the new retirement system, attempts to tax allowances, and efforts to "discipline and control" members of the Service and other Federal workers.

Over the past two years, AFSA has greatly strengthened its contacts on the Hill, with both members of the Senate and House and with staffers. On the basis of these and other contacts, the members of the ACTION SLATE have concluded that the next two years will see severe pressure on the budgets of the foreign affairs agencies. Because of these budgetary constraints and, in some cases, of lack of appreciation for or animus against the Foreign Service, we expect to confront proposals for additional post closings and position downgradings. The agencies may well feel a need to cut back their workforces or furlough personnel. They will find tempting any reduction in perquisites or benefits which offers the possibility of savings. It will require all our knowledge and experience and the active support of AFSA's membership to counter these trends.

Our slate is committed to drawing on that which is constructive in AFSA's experience to guide our actions in the future. We intend to proceed on the basis of continuous consultation with AFSA's membership. We will not only talk about threats to the Service. We are committed to considered constructive action to safeguard it.

### WE WILL GIVE PROFESSIONAL AND LABOR CONCERNS HIGH PRIORITY

The next two years will be a time of challenge for AFSA. We must seek answers to fundamental questions concerning the Foreign Service. What should be the nature of a "typical" Foreign Service career?

How long should it last? At what level should it end? What provisions should be made for retirement? What kinds of assignments should characterize a Foreign Service career? To what extent should the foreign affairs agencies administer their systems differently? How should they relate to each other and to the other portions of the U.S. Government? What is the Service's need for specialized skills and how many generalists should it have? How broad should generalists' skills be? What distinctions should there be between specialists and generalists? How can the Foreign Service best make use of word processing and computer technologies?

The ACTION SLATE intends to lead AFSA's membership in developing answers to these questions over the next two years. In addressing these concerns we will be guided by certain basic principles. The Service should carefully weed out non-competitive personnel at all ranks and in all areas. On the other hand, it must provide those who are competitive rewarding full-length careers. In addition, it should promote its most outstanding members rapidly to its highest reaches. The Service should offer early retirement with pensions which adequately recompense its members for their arduous and dangerous service. It should force retirement only at an age high enough to ensure that it is not deprived of valuable resources which will be difficult or impossible to replace.

We will support efforts to counter terrorist attacks on diplomats, particularly maintenance of the "no ransom" policy. We will urge that security measures be consistent with, and not impair, the accomplishment of U.S. diplomatic missions.

We will attach high importance to the negotiation of selection board precepts and will monitor how those precepts are applied.

We will devote particular attention to the development and implementation of open assignments rules.

We will oppose the appointment of unqualified political Ambassadors. We wish an ambassadorship to be the culmination

of an outstanding career in the Foreign Service. We will support the appointment of highly-qualified, knowledgeable citizens as U.S. Ambassadors whether they come from within or outside the Service.

We will conduct a review of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 and its implementation to determine whether to seek its revision.

We will seek to have the AID Vice President placed on 100% official time to pursue his or her AFSA duties.

We will support full observance of the principle of diplomatic immunity.

We will underscore the difference between constructive advice and disloyalty. Our political leadership must be convinced of the value and worth of Foreign Service counsel even when it may run counter to their desires.

### WE WILL ADDRESS AFSA'S INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

AFSA must be properly organized internally in order to deal with these questions. The Association is the exclusive representative of the Foreign Service employees of the Department of State and of the Agency for International Development (AID). In addition, we have members in the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), in the Foreign Agricultural Service (FAS) of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and in the Commerce Department's Foreign Commercial Service (FCS). We have standing committees in State, AID, and USIA which are charged to deal with questions of concern to our members within those agencies. We also have a strong retired constituency.

Most of the members of the Governing Board are elected from and represent one of these constituencies. The AFSA President, Secretary, and Treasurer, however, are elected by the entire membership. The Board as an entity is responsible to all AFSA members. As AFSA President, Hartford Jennings will meet regularly not only with the State Standing Committee, but with the other constituency groups as well. Those committees will act for

AFSA on all matters peculiar to their agencies. Jennings will identify issues which are of common concern and bring them to the Board. The Board will then determine whether AFSA should take a single position on an issue with regard to all the agencies or whether differing circumstances require varied, but mutually consistent, positions for different agencies.

**WE WILL MAKE MAXIMUM USE OF AFSA'S STAFF**

AFSA has assembled a first-rate staff of professionals. As the AFSA Board of Governors, we will leave the organization's day-to-day activities in their hands and concentrate on providing them policy guidance.

In the last two years, the Members' Interests Department has handled and successfully resolved an increased number of grievances and informal complaints. The ACTION SLATE will provide the resources necessary to continue this trend. AFSA's membership has increased significantly in all categories, despite a lack of growth in the pool from which we draw members. We will support a strong Membership Department which can continue this record. Under the leadership of Treasurer Sam Mok, the AFSA Board has staunchly opposed the flow of red ink from the Foreign Service Club. He and the other members of the ACTION SLATE will support continued improvements at the Club.

The ACTION SLATE will continue to support the publication of the *Foreign Service Journal* as an independent forum of exposition and debate of foreign affairs issues, and as AFSA's voice in the discussion of professional concerns of the Foreign Service. In the past two years, the *Journal* has been quoted frequently by major newspapers and radio and television networks. AFSA has purchased and is introducing modern publishing technology to streamline the magazine's composition and to reduce costs. We will continue to support improvement of the *Journal*.

If you want a Governing Board which can unify the Service in building on past successes, learning from past mistakes, and directing our energies effective-

ly into the defense and improvement of the Foreign Service,

**VOTE ACTION SLATE**

**Evangeline Monroe**  
State Vice President

I support Perry Shankle's RENEWAL team. The Foreign Service is in jeopardy. Draconian implementation of the FS act has created obsessive careerism, displaced our fundamental principle of service to the nation, and splintered the Service into warring factions. The preemptive dissolution of the Service will only serve to reduce its influence in the foreign affairs arena. The Foreign Service can continue to perform its mission only as a collegial, value drive institution that has confidence in itself, its membership, its management and its employee association. It is time to put an end to factionalism.

The incumbent Board has betrayed its platform promises. Instead of a "lifetime career with honorable retirement at an appropriate age" many officers are being involuntarily retired. Unless we insist on change, the process will go on until the Service has a grade profile irrelevant to our mission.

There is growing recognition of the need for professionalism in the management of our foreign affairs. AFSA must develop influential allies. I urge the election of the RENEWAL team so that we can confront the vital issues of Service integrity, professional development, and a fair and predictable competitive system. The RENEWAL team proposes to:

- (1) develop esprit-de-corps; renewed commitment; and rational career progression;
- (2) pursue an aggressive public relations campaign to develop a constituency for the Foreign Service;
- (3) support management in getting the resources the Department needs to play a leading role in the foreign affairs community;
- (4) insist that personnel policies strengthen the career Service so as to attract and retain good people;
- (5) stop AFSA's acquiescence in the dissolution of the Foreign Service;
- (6) insist on adequate compensation for personal hardship, danger and family stress;
- (7) require a thorough examination of Management's implementation of the Foreign Service Act of 1980.

**Hank Merrill**  
AID Vice President

*Platform:* Below are several selected issues as well as some ideas for change in the way we do business.

*Maintenance of the Current EER Form:* It's not perfect—particularly if you work for a plodding illiterate—but it is infinitely better than the whimsical alternative discussed last year.

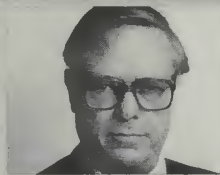
*Protection of Retirement Benefits:* We came into the Service with a set of expectations. We have lived up to our side of the agreement. The retirement system must be protected.

*Mandatory AIDS Testing:* For many families serving overseas, the only safe, accessible source of blood during an emergency is the American community. The service should do what is necessary to provide adequate screening to protect this resource.

*Maintenance of the IDI Training Program:* We are in danger of losing the IDI entry program. This program, like the Peace Corps, has provided the Agency with some of its most useful and productive personnel. It is worth keeping.

*Modification of Travel Procedures:* Why are we paying full fare economy, and sitting in steerage? Where does the differential go between accommodations made at Main State and those available elsewhere? Get A.I.D. out of the travel business. Let's have the Agency set fare limits and allow officers to obtain their own ticketing.

The A.I.D. voucher system is ridiculous. How much does the government pay to audit a three day TDY? Let's establish flat rates and move this process to a level commensurate with a foreign service officer's responsibility.



**John J. Harter**  
Secretary

The time is ripe for AFSA to launch a searching look at the future of the Foreign Service.

Obviously the AFSA board should not address the substance of policy, but it could focus the enormous talents of its members on ways of bolstering State Department inputs into major policy decision.

If elected, I would urge the board, as Priority Number One, to break this challenge into chunks, to be parceled out to Ad Hoc Task Forces and Brainstorming Sessions, on issues ranging from military assistance to international economic policy. And I would hope Jim Bean and Jim Derrick would help to oversee, coordinate, and synthesize the final recommendations.

Hopefully, one result could be historic testimony by the AFSA President before the Democratic and Republican National Committees in 1988.

Too tall an order? Well, the number, rank, and influence of Foreign Service Officers in the 1990's may depend upon how we shape our collective performance and public relations.

Your vote for me will signal: "Let's try it!"

*Professional Experience:* 1954-57: Consular Officer, South Africa; 1957-59: GSO and Transportation Specialist, Chile; 1959-62: Economic analyst, U.N. economic and social operations; 1962-63: Graduate Student in Economics, Harvard (M.P.A.); 1963-65: Economic Development Officer, Thailand; 1965-66: Bulgarian Language Trainee, FSI; 1966-70: Trade negotiator (GATT), Geneva; 1970-72: Trade Policy Adviser, ARA; 1973-81: Economic writer/editor, U.S.I.A.; 1981-83: Resident Negotiator for North/South economic issues, Geneva; 1983-87: Economic consultant, oral historian, writer/editor.

**James W. Bean**  
Secretary

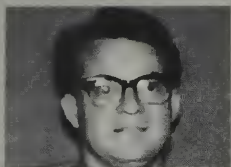
James W. Bean: FSO 3 Political Officer assigned to EUR/SOV 1/86-6/88; entered Foreign Service 11/80; served as Vice Consul in Mexico City 7/81-3/83; as staff officer in Operations Center 5/83-2/84; as line officer in Staff Secretariat 2/84-7/85; econ course 7/85-1/86; married, two small children.

I fully support the objectives and goals enunciated by presidential candidate Perry Shankle and vice presidential candidate Evangeline Monroe, and the other members of our RENEWAL team.

The normal reaction I get when mentioning AFSA to my colleagues is either the question "What has AFSA done for me?" or apathy and disinterest. My personal opinion is that recently AFSA has been preoccupied with serving the interests of several small factions at the expense of others and the Foreign Service as a whole.

The Foreign Service is in the midst of changes which threaten its identity. Outside threats exist in the form of reduced budgets and attempted diminution of the FSO's role in policy formulation and implementation. Internally the Foreign Service has degenerated into factions intent on pursuing their own objectives without regard for the effect that may have on others. The composition of the Foreign Service is increasingly changing as well. Dual career families, tandem couples, older and better educated entering officers raise new challenges and pose problems unique to the Foreign Service. These issues as well as that of forced attrition must be addressed now if the Foreign Service is to survive as a corps of career professionals dedicated to the service of the nation in foreign affairs.

AFSA must actively participate in the search for solutions to the problems of the Foreign Service. It must determine how it can act most effectively and then doggedly pursue that course. Where it has no formal part to play, AFSA must assume the role of advocate and tirelessly seek to educate decision-makers.



**James A. Derrick**  
Secretary  
Action Slate

James A. Derrick joined the Foreign Service and AFSA in 1974. He has served in Hong Kong as a rotational officer, AF as an administrative officer, PER as senior budget officer, Islamabad as personnel officer, EB as a civil aviation officer, and has been working in FBO as an area officer for AF since 1985. He has been awarded the Meritorious and Superior Honor Awards. He joined the State Standing Committee in 1983, and has been a member of the Finance Committee and Governing Board since 1985.



**Samuel T. Mok**  
Treasurer  
Action Slate

*Education:* B.S. Accounting, Fordham University. M.A. Accounting, The Catholic University. Certified Internal Auditor.

*Work Experience (Corporate):* Senior Auditor, major international accounting firm in NYC. Director of Accounting, Time-Life Books. Comptroller and Treasurer, U.S. News and World Report. *(Government):* Captain, U.S. Army (with assignments as intelligence officer in Japan and as advisor, ARRI, at U.S. Military Academy, West Point). Foreign Service Officer, U.S. Department of State. Comptroller, U.S. Department of Treasury.

**Barbara F. Hughes**  
State Representative  
Action Slate

A graduate of Colby College with an M.A. from the University of Southern California, Ms. Hughes entered the Foreign Service in 1980. She is an Administrative Officer and has held positions in Washington and overseas. Ms. Hughes is currently on the AFSA Governing Board and was a member of the Board in 1982-3.

**Shelley Johnson**  
State Representative  
Action Slate

Shelley Johnson is a State Foreign Service Officer who is currently serving in the Bureau of Diplomatic Security. She served previously in Santo Domingo, Bonn and Monterey. Ms. Johnson is a member of the State Standing Committee.



**Ward D. Barmon**  
State Representative  
Action Slate

Ward Barmon, an FS-1 Economic Officer, has been in the service for twenty years. Overseas he served in Belize, Taiwan, Thailand, and El Salvador. He was AFSA key man or alternate in several of those posts. While in Washington, Barmon participated in AFSA task forces on the Tehran hostages and in the effort to prevent the transfer of the Commercial Service. As a State Standing Committee member this past year, he worked on AFSA's personnel proposal to management. He is currently in ARA/ECP in charge of the Central America and Caribbean Division.



**Jonathan Farrar**  
State Representative

I am an FS-03 economic officer assigned as an economic analyst in INR. I have been an AFSA member since joining the Foreign Service in 1980.

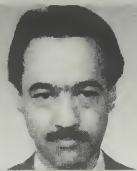
If you believe AFSA must do better representing our interests and those of the Foreign Service, please vote for me and the other members of the renewal team: Perry Shankle, Evangeline Monroe, Jim Bean, Gerry Lambert, Sandra Odor, Hank Merrill, and Bruce Laing.

As did most of us, I joined the Foreign Service to make it a career. But changes in the Service over the past seven years already have caused a number of my colleagues to leave. Now we are told to accept that most of us should leave before entering the Senior Foreign Service, potentially the most productive and challenging stage of our careers.

There is a better way. We need an equitable system that is fair to all ranks of the Service. Officers who cross the junior threshold and perform well in mid-career should expect to reach high levels. The Foreign Service Act must be implemented flexibly to assure competition and full careers for effective officers.

Management has perfected the divide and conquer technique of dealing with the Foreign Service. It has set the ranks of the Service against one another in a scramble over the promotion scraps left by the unique management of the Foreign Service Act. AFSA has been singularly ineffective in countering this strategy. Our opposition, the "action slate," is a reincarnation of the old "unity" slate which has proven incapable of dealing with the implications of the Foreign Service Act.

Please vote for the members of the renewal team.



**Matthew P. Daley**  
State Representative  
Action Slate

1968-71 U.S. Army; 1971-76 Dept. of Treasury; 1976 Dept. of State FSO-7; 1976-77 A/WFC; 1977-80 ACDA/MA/IR; 1980 FSI; 1981-83 POLOFF, Izmir, Turkey; 1983 FSI; FS-2 1983; 1984-86 POLOFF Bangkok; 1986 EAP/TB. AFSA member since 1976; member State Standing Committee and Governing Board 1978-80.

**Sandra Odor**  
State Representative

Raised, educated and employed in Burbank, California. I joined the Foreign Service as a Secretary in 1971. I served overseas in all five of our geographic bureaus. After passing the FSO exam and training in Washington, I was sent to Mexico City in JORP Consular/Personnel rotation, and am now assigned to the Operations Center in Washington.

As a 15-year veteran of the Foreign Service in staff and officer positions, I can bring the perspective of both to AFSA. I know what it is to serve in small, out-of-the-way posts such as Papua New Guinea and large, sought-after posts such as Paris. I have seen the service change considerably—for better and for worse—and believe further changes are necessary. I will work with the AFSA team to further the goals and objectives of all the members, wherever they serve.



**Michael Zak**  
AID Representative  
Action Slate

Michael Zak is a Program Officer/Coordinator in the Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination. He joined AID in 1965 and has served in Dar es Salaam, Lagos, Accra, Santo Domingo, Panama and in various Washington assignments. He currently is serving on the AID Standing Committee.



**William B. Flynn Jr.**  
AID Representative

I will seek to muster support from A.I.D. "Hill" to return to a more objective FS personnel system (e.g., assignments based on merit and individual qualifications). The assignment system functions with major dependence upon the desires of the Mission Director leaving little decision making power to the Assignment Board to place the most qualified candidate, resulting in the "fallout" of many FSO's 55 and over, minorities and others remaining with little or no opportunity for advancement.

Assignments and promotions should be made within the ranks of qualified FSO's prior to appointing political/contract persons.

The present A.I.D. "Awards System" should be based on merit. I will seek an "Award System" that is selective of those "truly deserving" including personnel at lower ranks (especially FS-4 and below).

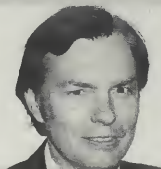
Finally, AFSA should monitor State's policy of maintaining vital services and security for FSO's and families.

Bill spent his earlier years working on a ranch before enlisting in the Army at 17 becoming a WWII paratrooper. He finished Cal Poly in 1950.

His working career has included Agronomy, livestock production, and wholesale and retail petroleum sales/dist. He served as Chief of Ento., 3rd and 4th Corps, So. Vn., 1969. Flynn spent 10 years with USDA, FmHA, 3 years as district director over 5 loan offices.

Bill joined A.I.D. Oct. 1978 serving as an ADO in Ghana and Tanzania. He has been at A.I.D./W for the last 2-1/2 years as an ADO with AFR/TR/ARD/FS.

Flynn intends to be alert to the concerns of A.I.D. constituents' demands and take action accordingly.



**David Garms**  
AID Representative  
Action Slate

David Garms is the Sri Lanka Desk Officer in the Asia Near East Bureau. He joined AID in 1967 and has served in Bangladesh, Vietnam, the Philippines and Malawi. He is currently serving on the AID Standing Committee.

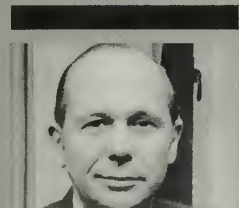


**John Allen Quintus**  
**USIA Representative**  
**Action Slate**

Born: Washington, D.C. 1943.  
 Educated: Washington-Lee High School; University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, AB with Honors; Harvard University, MAT; University of Delaware, Ph.D.

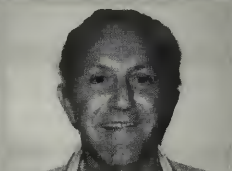
Taught college English, 1969-1980. Joined Foreign Service: 1980. Public Affairs Trainee: Australia 1981-82. Assistant Cultural Affairs Officer, Federal Republic of Germany, 1982-85. Program Planning & Policy Officer, E/AE, 1985-.

AFSA Member since 1983; Board Member since August 1986.



**Earl D. Sohm**  
**Retired Representative**  
**Action Slate**

1976-1985: Inspector, Joint Inspection Unit of the United Nations. 1975-1976: Director of Management Operations (Assistant Secretary Level). Served as Deputy to the Deputy Under Secretary for Management (Lawrence S. Eagleburger). 1974-1975: Special Assistant to the Deputy Under Secretary for Management. 1971-1974: Deputy Chief of Mission of American Embassy, London. 1965-69: Deputy Chief of Mission, American Embassy, the Hague. Joined State in 1946 and held various positions in the Office of the Secretary, including Chief of the Committee Secretariat Staff.



**Roger A. Provencher**  
**Retired Representative**  
**Action Slate**

Experience includes Berlin, Bangui, Benghazi, Chiangmai, Genoa, Geneva, Frankfurt, Koblenz, Leopoldville, Lome, Montreal, Moscow, Ouagadougou, Rome, Tehran, and Vientiane. Reached FSO-1 in 1974. He also spent three years with USIA as Assistant Commissioner General at Montreal's EXPO '67. Seconded to be the senior American on the staff of ITU/U.N., Geneva, for 5-½ years. NWC 1970.

Served the retired membership as Board Member for the past 4 years. Active member since AFSA's early days. Received three honor awards. Extensive contact with members of Congress.

**Notice:**No statements were received by the issue deadline from the following candidates:

**Gerald Lamberty**  
**State Representative**

**Bruce Laingen**  
**Retired Representative**

**John Thomas**  
**Retired Representative**

# ASSOCIATION NEWS

## Pact reached with AID on consumables

A resolution has finally been reached in a long-standing dispute with AID management over the consumables allowance for employees at hardship posts.

A new consumables agreement negotiated by AFSA and the foreign affairs agencies took effect on July 12, 1985. The agreement allows employees 2500 pounds of consumables per tour, as opposed to 1000 pounds under the old provisions. The new regulations also authorize an additional consumables allowance for employees who sign up for extensions or second tours at post.

All of the agencies except AID agreed with AFSA's understanding that the new regulations should apply to any employees who arrived at post on or after the effective date of the agreement, regardless of the date on which their travel orders were issued. AID contended, however,

that the regulations were applicable only to those employees whose travel orders were issued subsequent to the agreement's effective date. AFSA filed an institutional grievance before the Foreign Service Grievance Board to force the agency to properly implement the agreement.

AFSA eventually won the grievance, forcing AID to align its interpretation of the consumables regulations with AFSA's. However, in implementing the Grievance Board's order, AID added an arbitrary provision stating that newly eligible employees—those who had been previously denied the consumables allowance due to AID's misinterpretation of the regulations—would not be entitled to the allowance if they had less than six months left at post. AFSA vigorously protested AID's action in a letter to the Grievance Board, which responded by ordering that the offending passage be deleted. AID has since complied with the order and has appropriately notified the field.

## Court backs State plaintiff, refutes Grievance Board determination

AFSA has won a long-standing case in which a State Department employee's position was reclassified without his knowledge. This administrative error prevented him from receiving any promotions for 10 years.

The employee originally filed a grievance to remedy his situation in 1980. The State Department denied the grievance. Upon appeal, the Foreign Service Grievance Board found that the employee had been misled and misinformed by the department, despite his diligent efforts to discover the reason for his lack of promotion. The board also concluded, however, that the employee would not have been promoted anyway and refused to grant him any retroactive promotions or back pay. It

was this action that prompted AFSA to file a complaint with the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia.

The court's decision affirmed the Grievance Board's findings of fact, but vacated the panel's determination that the plaintiff was not entitled to any relief. The court found that the board had used an unacceptable method in determining that the employee would not have received any promotions even if he had been properly informed of his position's reclassification. As a result, the court ordered that the department either reconstitute Selection Boards for the 10 years in question, or grant the same average number of promotions as members of his class with comparable records.

## AFSA meets Brookings Institution



AFSA Congressional Liaison Rick Wells (second from left) makes a point to members of the Brookings Institution foreign policy division in one of a series of luncheons the Association is sponsoring with prominent Washington think tanks.

## Grievance seeks pay promised to members of secretarial class

AFSA has filed a grievance on behalf of members of the February 1986 class of Foreign Service secretaries, who have been denied salary levels promised them during the recruitment process.

The secretaries had been informed by the State Department throughout their recruitment that their salaries would be matched upon entry in the Foreign Service. The Bureau of Personnel sent them a publication stating that candidates whose annual salaries are higher than the entrance level for FS-9 or FS-8 may be appointed at a salary that most closely approximates their previous earnings. This point was reiterated in a letter from State in November 1985 which stated that "salaries of new Foreign Service employees are generally determined by the base salary earned for a 90-day period. The Department of State will meet that salary provided it is within the range of salaries available for the grade to which appointed." This letter confirmed previously stated verbal commitments.

The affected secretaries made irreversible decisions to leave their previous jobs based on these statements. They were never appropriately informed of a November 1985 decision to

establish lower limits on salaries to be offered to future Foreign Service secretarial candidates. By the time they finally learned of the decision not to honor the earlier promises, it was too late for them to change their plans; they had no choice but to accept the department's reduced salary offer.

AFSA has repeatedly protested the fact that these secretaries were not notified of the department's change in policy sufficiently in advance of their date of entry, but management has failed to remedy the situation. This inaction has left the Association with no option but to file a grievance on behalf of those affected.

## Pages missing in retiree directory

Due to a production error, many copies of the 1986 AFSA DIRECTORY OF RETIRED MEMBERS have missing pages.

We apologize for these incomplete editions and any inconvenience they may have caused. If your copy is affected, please let us know and we will gladly send a replacement.

## Panel presents hints on preparing OERs in USIA

Obtaining a good performance rating on your annual Officer Evaluation Report is a mixture of art and science, according to a panel of experts assembled by AFSA's USIA Standing Committee. The group held forth before a crowd of 50 agency employees in the Capitol Hill Holiday Inn last May, and we are presenting their recommendations now to be of use in the 1987 cycle.

Keep a "kudos" file and make your position description as full and ample as possible, advised Donna Oglesby, director of the Office of American Republics Affairs, at the event. She recommended that officers ensure that their listed work requirements reflect the full scope of their job, while making sure they are as specific and action-oriented as possible. She advised the audience to take the initiative to have a mid-year review with their supervisor and to keep track of extra service activities not directly related to their job description. Finally, Oglesby suggested that officers review draft OERs with their supervisor and ensure that the final result is uncrowded and divorced of inadmissible comments—"don't bitch, brag, or bash others," she concluded.

Lee Lederer, senior program officer in the Office of Television and Film Services, said that rating officers should write the OERs, not the rated officer. He too recommended a mid-year review and that work requirements be spelled out clearly. He also concurred with Oglesby that rated officers should keep files on their achievements and review the draft report with their supervisor. He said that the rating officer needs to establish what the object of the review is to be—promotion, satisfactory rating, or unsatisfactory rating—and write the report with that in mind, while making sure the conclusion is adequately documented. "How well the rating officer writes makes a big difference with the panel," he said. The desired effect "should jump off the page."

Al Ball, who was then deputy director of the Office of Private Sector Programs, addressed

the responsibility of selection board members. The panel is a collective audience, he said, "a command performance that lasts six to eight weeks in a windowless, stuffy room." Panelists are human beings who need interest and appeal in the hundreds of OERs to distinguish between them. That placed a responsibility on rating officers to keep the separate sections of the OER clearly associated with the discrete aspects of a position's full requirements. Rated officers should realize it is to their advantage when their OER also includes a review, since this relieves the monotony—particularly if the rater is a poor writer. "A refreshing style is greatly appreciated by the panels," he said, as are specific comments addressing the officer's role in advancing Washington's interests and the agency's goals. He stressed the need to include anecdotes but to limit verbosity. "Keep those sentences under 15 words."

During an extended question and answer session, Lederer said that candor is good in reports, but that a single weakness tends to jump out at the panel unless properly handled. "The rating officer needs to be candid but tactful," added Ball. "You can damn an officer by faint praise." Ball and Oglesby differed somewhat on foreign language training. While the panels consider the last five years of reports, "language training is considered as dead time," said Oglesby. "You have to build it into your career planning." But "the panels now have no problem with language study," said Ball. "The entire file is considered, not just the last year."

The chairman of USIA's Standing Committee said that only 25 percent of OERs have up-to-date Professional Experience Profiles. He said that 60 percent of officers ranked at FS-4 were promoted in 1985, 32 percent of the FS-3s, 12 percent of the FS-2s, and 7 percent of the FS-1s. At the OC level, the promotion rate dropped to 4 percent.

Donna Oglesby, Lee Lederer, and Al Ball discuss OERs at a panel discussion sponsored by AFSA's USIA Standing Committee.



## AID follows union lead in amending EER form

AFSA's AID Standing Committee has reopened negotiations on revising the EER form. Agency management withdrew a revision proposed last September and has adopted AFSA's proposal that the current EER form serve as the basis for any modifications. Copies of the latest proposal were recently transmitted to the field for comment.

In a related development, AID has dropped plans to move the end of the current rating cycle forward two months, from May 31 to March 31. AFSA had protested that the proposed change affected conditions of

employment which must be negotiated with the standing committee. AFSA added that changing a rating cycle already in progress would disrupt year-long work objectives and the timing of mid-cycle reviews. The standing committee remains open to the question of altering the 1987-88 rating cycle and welcomes members' comments on the subject.

Revising the EER form was first proposed in February 1985 when AID management presented the committee with a completely revamped format. The committee rejected the form based on near-unanimous membership opposition, and suggested that the current form serve as the basis for revisions. Management responded instead last September with a slight modification of its earlier proposed form.

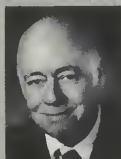
AFSA strongly opposed the new form. Comments from the field solicited by the committee objected to the form's complexity and emphasis on quantitative rather than qualitative performance. In response, the committee reiterated its position that modifications should be made to the current form.

The newest proposal reorganizes the current form. Major changes include detailed directions for all sections, and a reduction in the number of General Appraisal blocks in the Evaluation of Potential section. Members and missions interested in reviewing and commenting on the new form should contact the AID Standing Committee or Gerry Kunčič in Room 3644, Main State, phone 647-8160.

## AFSA turns over cover slides to State

The Association has voluntarily turned over all the slides shot for the cover of the February issue of the JOURNAL to the State Department Bureau of Diplomatic Security. The cover, which featured a photograph of Under Secretary for Management Ronald I. Spiers, may have inadvertently contained classified information from a document appearing on Spiers's desk.

AFSA felt its action was in the interest of national security. It also felt that First Amendment issues were not at stake as the slides were not used as source material for the article but were merely illustrations, and there had been no effort by the government to prevent publication or distribution of the issue.



## Legislative Alert

### FSRDS or FSFS: To Switch or Stay Put?

By Robert Beers, *Congressional Liaison Officer*

Pre-1984 Foreign Service employees, now covered under the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System—FSRDS—have the option of transferring to the new Foreign Service Pension System—FSFS—during a six-month period between July 1 and December 31. This is a one-time opportunity, and the decision to transfer, once made, is irrevocable. Consequently, it is not a matter to be treated lightly. The decision merits serious and careful investigation by anyone entitled to make this change, whether at first glance it appears to be personally advantageous or not. Aside from the obvious differences between the structure of the two systems, there are a number of provisions in the new FSFS which may not be readily apparent until one begins to examine the fine print.

Estimating one's basic retirement annuity under the old FSRDS involves a fairly straightforward calculation: two percent of the average salary over the three-highest consecutive salary years times the number of years of creditable federal service. Anyone considering a transfer over to the FSFS can regard their time served under the old system as a separate unit, terminating at the time that their transfer to the new one becomes effective. For example, an employee with 15 years of service under FSRDS electing to switch over to FSFS would transfer an accrued retirement credit of 30 percent (2 percent times 15 years) of his or her average high-three salary, whether attained under either system. Additionally, those 15 years of federal service under the old system would be credited towards the years required for retirement under the new one. For those who elect to transfer, their final retirement benefit would consist of the benefit earned under the old FSRDS added to that earned under FSFS.

Estimating the benefits pay-

able under the new FSFS is a more complex process. To begin with, two of the three elements composing the structure of FSFS involve a number of variables. First, Social Security. In general, anyone born after 1928 has to have 40 quarters (10 years) of employment covered by Social Security to qualify for its benefits. But there's a catch. Under the "windfall benefit" provision of the Social Security law, anyone with less than 30 years of "covered" employment faces a reduction in their primary Social Security benefit. For anyone with less than 26 years the reduction can be quite substantial. Obviously, the number of years of Social Security coverage credited to a Foreign Service employee, either from service under the new system or from previous outside employment, constitutes an important factor in estimating one's post-retirement income under FSFS.

The supplemental annuity element, the second tier in FSFS, is relatively easy to figure. This benefit is calculated at 1.7 percent of the high-three for the first 20 years of service under FSFS, plus 1 percent for each year served in excess of 20 years.

Finally, an estimate of the retirement benefits to be realized under the third tier of FSFS, the Thrift Plan, rests upon a series of suppositions and assumptions. Each Foreign Service employee covered under FSFS can designate up to 10 percent of pay to be deposited in his or her thrift/savings account, tax deferred. The government matches up to 5 percent of the amount deposited (dollar for dollar for the first 3 percent and 50¢ on the dollar for the next 2 percent), and employees can choose among several options for the investment of the funds accruing in their thrift/savings accounts. The amount deposited in the thrift plan and the designation of investment options may be changed during an open season every six months. It

is this element of FSFS that affords employees a new flexibility in determining the level of their post-retirement income.

So, in weighing the advisability of transferring from FSRDS to FSFS, employees can estimate with relative ease the amount of post-retirement income accruing to them from their years of service under the old system. Next, however, they must make assumptions as to the number of years they will be working under FSFS, how much Social Security credit they will accrue, and the extent to which they will participate in the thrift plan.

There are other considerations that should be taken into account in arriving at a decision whether or not to transfer to FSFS. Do you plan to work in a non-federal job after retirement? If so, your Social Security supplement, or payment, may be reduced. Under present law, cost-of-living adjustments are fully payable to those retiring under FSRDS; for those retiring under FSFS, the COLA is specified, essentially, as the rise in the Consumer Price Index minus one percent.

For many pre-1984 employees, transferring to FSFS could result in a significant increase in their retirement benefits compared with what they would realize by continuing their coverage

under FSRDS. On the other hand, unless an individual can meet the requirements necessary to realize such an increase under the new system, that person may be better off staying with the old one.

Thus, a decision to switch to FSFS or stay put under FSRDS involves many considerations—assumptions about your future employment and salary record, how you will stand vis-à-vis qualifying for Social Security benefits, the age at which you intend to retire, etc. Indeed, the complexities are such that arriving at an informed decision requires expert guidance provided by those thoroughly familiar with the intricacies of the new one plus a consideration of all the factors to be considered in evaluating a transfer. Retirement experts in the State Department are putting the finishing touches on a program to provide this guidance. It will include individualized computer print-outs estimating the percentage of pre-retirement income resulting from continuing coverage under FSRDS compared with that following a transfer to FSFS. Private retirement consulting firms can also provide these individualized print-outs for a modest fee. In addition to these resources, AFSA is prepared to assist its members by providing any possible additional information that will help them reach a decision in this matter. Whatever you finally decide, however, you should give serious, thoughtful, and informed consideration to making the choice. It is a one-time opportunity.

## Sign up now for FS Day Brunch

AFSA's annual Foreign Service Day Brunch, a homecoming event for the retired Foreign Service community, is scheduled for Saturday, May 2. AFSA is currently receiving reservations for the brunch from the invitations that were included in the State Department Foreign Service Day packet retirees have received. If you have not sent in

your reply, please do so as soon as possible since space is limited.

Please come prepared to raise issues of concern to you and to receive a summary of AFSA's activities since our meeting last May, as well as those we have planned for the next 12 months. We look forward to seeing all of you again this year.

As usual, on hand will be AFSA's congressional liaison officers, Robert Beers and Rick Weiss, who can answer your questions on retirement issues and other concerns.

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