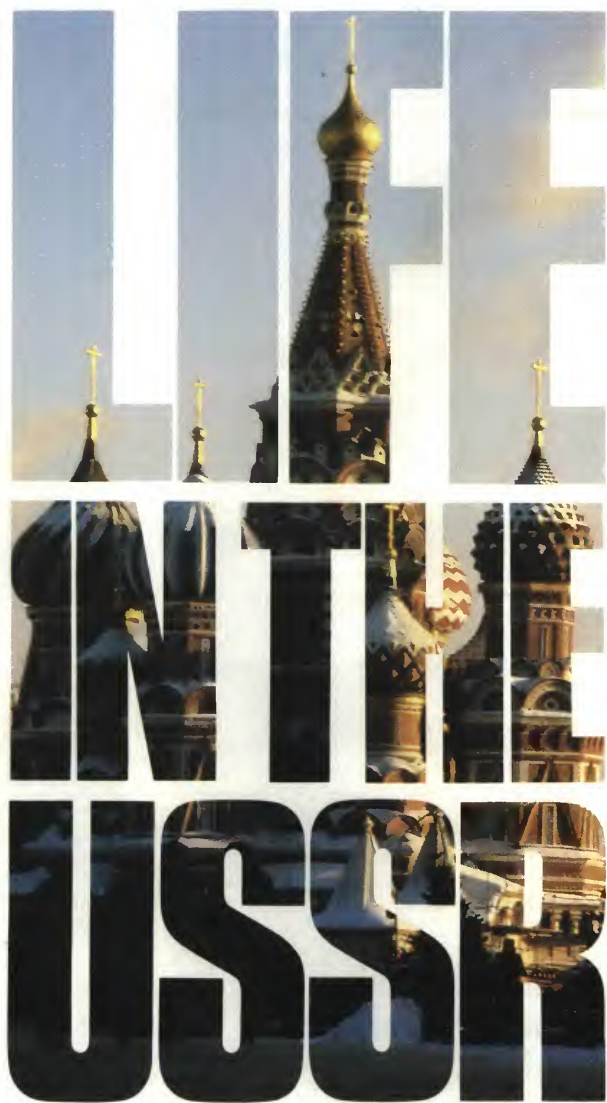


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Election Section P. 50

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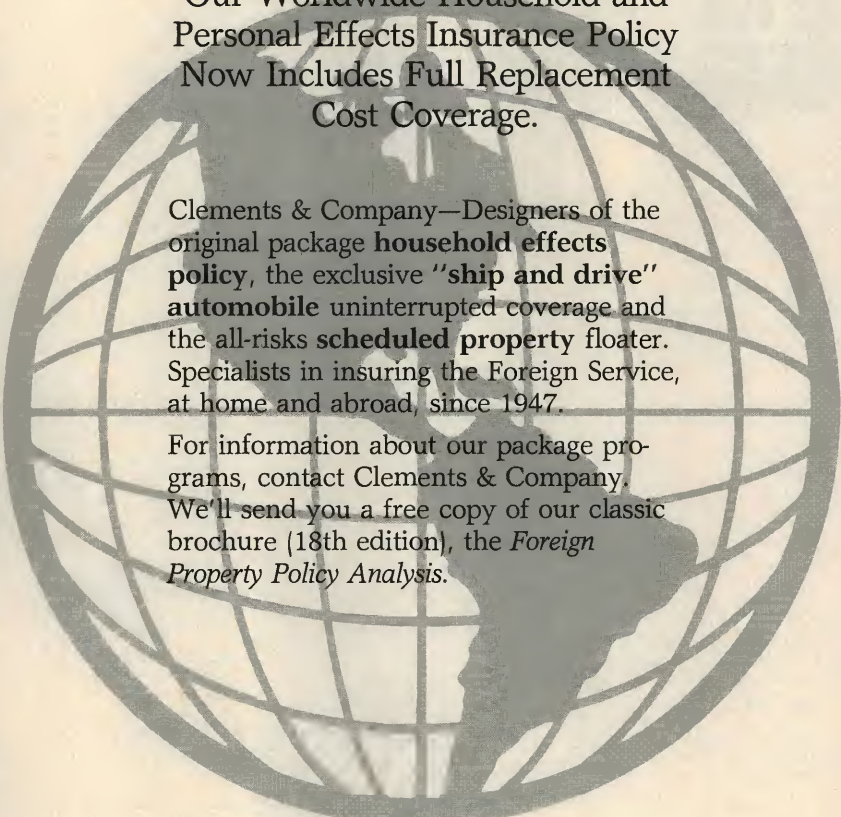
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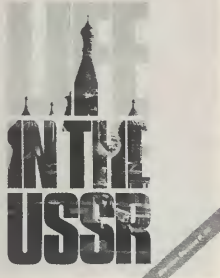
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COVER: In the half century since the United States recognized the Soviet Union, Moscow has been one of the most difficult postings for Foreign Service employees, combining both physical hardships and political difficulties—if not outright dangers. In this issue, we take a look at three different eras in our diplomatic history with the Kremlin by examining the experiences of three FSOs who served there—Loy Henderson (1934-38), George Kennan (1952), and Arthur Hartman (1981-87). In addition, our DESPATCH column on page 24 examines the recent security problems at our current embassy there and at the new one under construction.

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ASSOCIATION VIEWS

If Spiers Were Only in Charge

Recent rejections by State Department management of personnel system proposals put forward by both the State Standing Committee of AFSA and the Senior Officers Association make worthwhile a careful rereading of Under Secretary for Management Spiers's interview in the February issue of this magazine.

The interview quoted Ambassador Spiers as favoring an FSO personnel system radically different from the one the department is now implementing. Under his system an officer could stay on until age 60 "as a second secretary" provided he or she was not selected out for bad performance. Since the system favored by Ambassador Spiers in that interview would be a great improvement on the one currently being implemented by the department, it would be great if only he were put in charge of the personnel system.

It is clear, however, from other portions of the interview that Ambassador Spiers feels constrained by personnel-system decisions made by Secretary Vance and Under Secretary Read. On personnel policies, Ambassador Spiers obviously considers himself a hostage of the Carter administration. We should be willing to make an exception to our no-ransom policy in his case.

Once Ambassador Spiers had been freed and put in charge of the personnel system all our problems would not necessarily be solved. While he says he opposed the 1980 Foreign Service Act from the start and really would prefer a more humane (not to mention wise) personnel system, Ambassador Spiers quickly adds that changing the system just when it is beginning to pinch would make the Foreign Service laughed at around town. He also places great emphasis on consistent implementation of a policy, even if he did not favor its adoption.

Such loyalty to policy is usually to be commended, but not when the policymaker and the dissenter are the same person. Spiers should choose between being the Hamlet-like executioner of the Foreign Service or an effective leader in a time of difficulties.



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The AFSA Secretary Contest

A few AFSA members heard the three candidates for Secretary espouse sharply divergent views at a small meeting at the Department of State on April 28. Clearly, AFSA voters should be aware of the issues and disagreements thus exposed before casting their ballots.

Unfortunately, the Elections Committee has spurned all appeals for campaign meetings, mail-outs, and *FSJ* reports designed to highlight (instead of obscure) the choices posed in the current election.

Even so, *any AFSA member who wants to know precisely what he is voting for and against in the contest for Secretary* may obtain (by return air mail) a cassette recording of the April 28 debate by sending \$5.00 to:

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LETTERS

Language Alternatives

At the beginning of the new fiscal year the department cancelled the alternative language training grant program for dependents. This program began in 1978-79, and allowed Foreign Service dependents who were unable to take the Foreign Service Institute's full-time language training to study at an approved institution for up to 30 hours a week.

The cancellation of the program should be of serious concern to Foreign Service employees and their families. Working spouses, spouses at home with infants and toddlers, or spouses with other obligations need an alternative to learn a language when they are preparing for a three-year assignment in a foreign country.

Just a few years ago the State Department began to develop policies more responsive to the welfare of employees' families, as if the role of the spouse in a Foreign Service career had finally received the recognition it deserved. Even in this period of Gramm-Rudman, to take away something so important to one's adaptation and quality of life in a foreign culture as language preparation seems a case of misplaced priorities. The Foreign Service is a two-person career when couples are involved. For a dependent to go to Athens, Tokyo, Belgrade, or any other foreign post without the ability to communicate in that country's language can mean a two- to three-year sentence, instead of a potentially enriching experience. For the dependent to arrive at post without language preparation also can be detrimental to the State Department employee's professional image, and ultimately the image of the United States abroad.

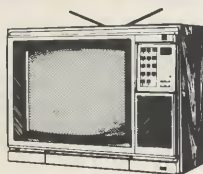
At its peak, the alternative language program amounted to only a fraction of FSI's budget. While the cost of the program hardly warranted its cancellation, the cost to the average Foreign Service family is prohibitive, especially when child care would be an additional expense.

It will be a sad regression if we allow programs that support the family's well-being to slip quietly away.

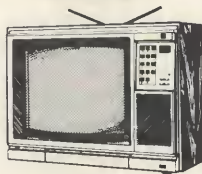
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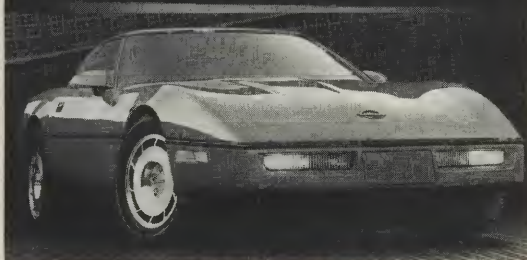
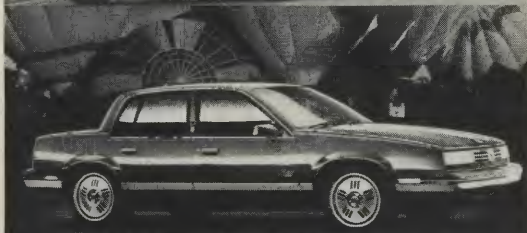
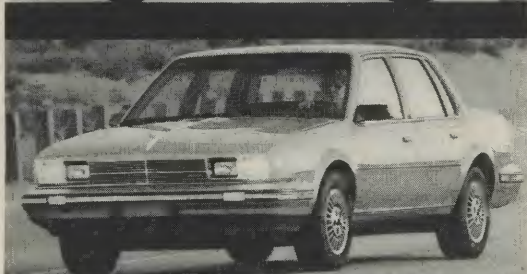
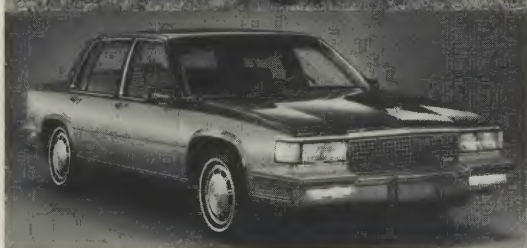
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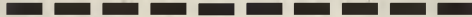
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Policies on language training differ from agency to agency, as does the impact of budget cuts on such programs. The Journal welcomes letters to the editor and other contributions concerning these matters. — ED.

Due Honor

I was delighted to see that the department took occasion to give Senator Fulbright a tip of the hat for the Fulbright program ["Fulbright at Forty," November].

For many years I served as special assistant to Assistant Secretary William Benton and subsequent assistant secretaries. In this role I worked on the Fulbright program formulation—as well as the Smith-Mundt program (H. Alexander Smith, N.J., and Karl Mundt, S. Dakota).

You omitted Mr. Benton's name in the picture! For shame. He was a close friend of President Truman and "held in there" when things weren't easy on both programs. This is the same William Benton who established—with his speaking honorariums—"Benton Scholarships," which assisted a number of Foreign Service officers' children in their schooling.

And last but not least, he went on to be the Democratic senator for Connecticut, and was in that role during the McCarthy era. I worked with him during that time and am aware of the several million dollars of his personal funds he spent to protect the Service. He was a rare person—much missed.

Alice Curran-Orlando
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Washington, D.C.

Correction:

The January BOOKS section included a review by T.E. McNamara of "Security or Armageddon," edited by Louis Rene Beres, and "Israel's Global Reach," by Aaron S. Klieman. Due to an editing error, the review appeared to state that Israel does have nuclear weapons. This was not the intention of the reviewer. The review should have read: "In particular, those concerned with the problems of 'near nuclear' nations will find this book valuable. Israel, a member of this 'club,' is one of the first to have to face the fact that nuclear weapons do not guarantee security, but they do create different security questions which must be addressed."

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BOOKS

Foreign Service Failures

By ROBERT K. OLSON

The Ayatollah in the Cathedral: Reflections of a Hostage. By Moorhead Kennedy. Hill and Wang, 1986. \$17.95.


This book has been reviewed elsewhere as a "fascinating" account of the experience of a hostage, and it is. But it is much more. Kennedy's personal road to Damascus changed utterly his view of himself and his life; of his country; the Foreign Service; and the rest of the world. The hostage experience was only the catalyst that crystallized previously random ideas and feelings into a convinced point of view. The result is a searching analysis of our personal and official relations with the world, and the raising of fundamental questions about the effectiveness of the Foreign Service. "That to many we are the enemy demands more self-recognition than Americans are prepared for," writes the author. "Why this is so, and how and why we Americans must understand this, is a basic theme of the book."

Kennedy starts with the question, "How could we have failed to know about the embassy takeover?" Or as one of his captors said, "Every street child in south Tehran knew we were going to knock over your embassy. Why didn't you?" It is an embarrassing question and Kennedy blames himself as much as others.

"Embassy personnel in those last two weeks lived in a kind of dream; we experienced varying degrees of apprehension which we found ways to deny. Reinforcing that denial of danger was part of our dedication as professionals. . . . We could not admit to ourselves the extent to which our mission had been fatally undermined by President Carter's decision [to admit] the shah. We found it hard to grasp the depth of the revolutionary hatred for what we represented. . . . We did not imagine the power of religion as a political force."

From this moment of truth, Kennedy goes on to identify the traits that prevent Americans from perceiving reality and from maturing into the leadership role that history has thrust upon us: *Self-assertiveness*. The need to win "creates

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obstacles to a mature view of our international obligations." Like American lawyers, he says, we are trained "in confrontation and conflict and not in the gentle arts of conflict resolution and accommodation."

Isolationism. "Having held ourselves aloof from other cultures, we assumed our experience to be of universal validity."

Moral self-righteousness. We seem to believe, writes Kennedy, that America has a corner on wisdom and morality and that nothing would so become the world as imitating the American way. This attitude devalues any alternative views and clouds our sense of reality.

The Crusader instinct. Americans who entertain the illusion that God is on their side are no different from the ayatollah himself. "It would be comforting to think that most Americans... are willing to concede that God might have his plan for the world unfettered by the U.S. Constitution and the two-party system."

A curious insularity. Too many FSOs spend their time in embassy circles and remain aloof from the world they work in.

Careerism. FSOs substitute their personal concerns and progress for the larger interest they are supposedly serving. Political and economic officers draw separate and differing conclusions from the same events. In summary, says Kennedy, "the parochial and defensive view of the individual and the distortions by which highly intelligent, well trained, dedicated men and women too often misperceive what is going on under their very noses; all these factors led to what was the Pearl Harbor of the Foreign Service."

These are serious problems. But, bad as they are, they are the commonplaces of Foreign Service life. Every member of the Service knows such horror stories. America doesn't have a monopoly among nations over partial, short-term, and ineffectual policies, nor have its people invented prejudice, arrogance, or indifference toward others. But in the case of the United States, these failings now threaten its own self-interest.

Later, when the hostage ordeal was over, Kennedy found himself back at the department negotiating a new assignment. A chance as deputy chief of mission at Brasilia, however, left him strangely indifferent. "A Foreign Service career, as well as its substantial challenge, no longer seemed to matter that much." He had changed: "One Mike Kennedy went to Tehran," said wife Louisa, "and another came back." He sensed in himself a growing lack of confidence in the system. Disappointed that the debacle in Tehran did not produce an investigation, he resented

the department's efforts to sweep the experience under the rug.

"By the end of March," Kennedy writes, "I was beginning to conclude that until the Foreign Service begins to probe and rethink much of its received wisdom, to analyze its conceptual blunders, and to reduce the constraints that its system imposes on the considerable talent it has at its disposal, it will continue to disappoint the expectations the American people have of it... But if, as I believe, the Foreign Service could not reform itself, if pressure for change must come from the outside, then outside was perhaps where I could make a contribution." In August 1981, slightly more than six months after his release, Kennedy resigned from the Foreign Service. He has since waged a full-time campaign for better understanding, bringing his Foreign Service experience to the sometimes tumultuous marketplace of ideas with mixed results. "Not everyone welcomed my efforts," he writes, "the fact that I had served in the Foreign Service could be held against me and was." He draws us into this volatile, disorganized, sometimes violent, sometimes semicomatose world of public opinion. It is, in itself, a sobering experience and one that carries much instruction for a department and a Service that have largely neglected the cultivation of a constituency.

As executive director of the Cathedral Peace Institute at the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine in New York, Kennedy ran headlong into the hysterical nuclear freeze campaign just as it was gathering momentum. His appeals for reason and caution brought bitter denunciations. "Don't listen to this man," one activist shouted, "He's a wolf in sheep's clothing." "You're not a Christian," shouted another, shaking his fist. It was a case of déjà vu. Even in the cathedral, Kennedy had found the rabid mindset of the ayatollah—that bundle of negative feelings that encourages us to believe we can trample roughshod on "the common decencies that make life tolerable" and that "prevents us from growing up internationally."

As executive director of the Myrin Institute's Council for International Understanding Kennedy has found more fruitful soil in educational work with churches and schools. He has continued to concentrate on the moral confusion with which we view foreign affairs and the cultural obstacles that bar our understanding of other peoples. CIU has, for example, initiated a successful "Partnership for Service-Learning" program which combines academic study with work experience in a cross-cultural setting with a focus on Third World countries.

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In a final—and inevitable—chapter on terrorism, Kennedy recommends only resolve, patience, and "our capacity for sacrifice." In the long run, he believes, "the battle against terrorism... will have to be fought in our own minds. It can be won only by a change of attitude." We have to rise above fear and moral outrage and develop a realistic sense of the national interest to address more directly and effectively the conditions that produce terrorism.

Kennedy has written a superior book, at once a lucid and timely study of a complex experience and a candid, sensitive, and very human story. Adding to the human interest is an afterword by Louisa Kennedy, who became the spokesperson for the hostage families during the captivity. She tells of her own story of her experiences with the department, the media, and other hostage families, and, finally, of her husband's return, in a warm and sometimes touching account.

Robert K. Olson is a retired Foreign Service officer and former executive director of the Milwaukee Institute of World Affairs.

Reviews

Public Diplomacy: U.S.A. Versus U.S.S.R. Edited by Richard F. Staar. Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1986. \$23.95

U.S.-Soviet Cultural Exchanges, 1958-1986: Who Wins? By Yale Richmond. Westview Press, 1987. \$26.50

Public Diplomacy, U.S.A. Versus U.S.S.R., the latest discussion of the importance of public diplomacy, presents the views of the practitioners as well as academics. The result of a Hoover Institution workshop, the book has contributions by government representatives; academicians; and executives from Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, and Voice of America. From the first chapter, an excellent tour d'horizon by James H. Billington, chairman of the board of Foreign Scholarships, to the concluding remarks by Philip C. Habib, U.S. public diplomacy is discussed from various angles and perspectives. The variety of opinions regarding methods, organization, and objectives should stimulate further discussion about the role of public diplomacy in foreign policy. Most of the contributors agreed that public diplomacy is more important today than ever before. But at least one participant questioned its importance by asking, in effect, "Where's the proof?"

The definition of "public diplomacy" came in for much discussion at the work-

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shop. Several participants expressed concern at the use of the term by the department for activities which, they contended, should really be labeled "public relations." "Public diplomacy," they argued, is a misnomer for offices that deal with domestic audiences. This and other issues were discussed by more than 40 participants, who included a number of top USIA officials and names familiar to many JOURNAL readers (such as James D. Theberge, among others). Not since Dante Fascell's (D.-Florida) 1977 congressional hearings (published as *Public Diplomacy and the Future*) has there been such a panoramic view of contemporary issues.

While *U.S.-Soviet Cultural Exchanges, 1958-1986* is narrower in scope, its appearance at this time is propitious because of the recent resumption of official academic, cultural, and performance exchanges between the United States and the Soviet Union. This one volume contains the corporate memory on dealing with the U.S.-Soviet exchanges—an invaluable guide to those now involved in such projects. Written by a former USIA officer who specialized in organizing exchanges, the book convincingly describes the advantages to the United States in maintaining them. As Marshall D. Shulman notes in the foreword, "It will be an indispensable reference, a historical record, and a starting point for those who wish to study the role and management of cultural exchanges in more depth."

—ALLEN C. HANSEN

Terrorism: How the West Can Win. Edited by Benjamin Netanyahu. Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1986.

Executive Safety and International Terrorism: A Guide For Travelers. By Anthony Scotti. Prentice-Hall, 1986.

The Directory of International Terrorism. By George Rosie. Paragon House, 1986.

Terrorism books have become a dime a dozen in recent years. This makes their quality—to be charitable—uneven. There are, however, some recent books on the subject that are worth reading. The three books reviewed here are examples of the diversity of recently published books that are valuable contributions to the literature for different reasons: One is a policy book, another is a practical guide, the third is a reference.

Published amid much publicity, *Terrorism: How the West Can Win* is an important policy book. Compiled by the current Israeli ambassador to the United Nations,

the book is a collection of presentations at the 1984 conference of the Jonathan Institute (named after Netanyahu's brother, the commander of the Israeli force that staged the Entebbe raid) to which the editor has added the title chapter. Among the book's contributors are Secretary Shultz, Senators Alan Cranston [D.-California] and Daniel Moynihan [D.-New York], former ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, Daniel Schorr, Jean-Francois Revel, Attorney General Edwin Meese, Representative Jack Kemp [R.-New York], and many other U.S., European, and Israeli notables.

As is often the case in books of this type, the lag between preparation and publication has dated much of the contents, but the bulk of the book remains relevant. The heart of this work is Netanyahu's title chapter, in which he makes a convincing case for aggressive U.S. leadership of the war against terrorism. Netanyahu's case is grounded upon the fact that, as the world's most prominent democracy, the United States must set the pace and the tone of the free world's response to the terrorist threat. How this can be accomplished in the aftermath of the Iranian arms scandal will undoubtedly be the subject of many of 1987's books, but serious students of terrorism and its impact on the contemporary world will want to read and consider closely what Netanyahu has written.

Executive Safety and International Terrorism: A Guide for Travelers is somewhat misnamed in that the book covers a range of security threats to personnel, facilities, and residences. It is one of the best practical guides written for the person who works or travels in high-threat areas. Because it is written for business executives who live and work with far less security support than government personnel, it is more comprehensive than most such books. Those of us who must confront security threats such as terrorism should read this book.

Finally, for analysts and researchers, *The Directory of International Terrorism* is in many ways an encyclopedia of the subject. It is a narrative survey of events through 1985, and provides an alphabetically organized directory of the individuals and organizations that are central to modern terrorism, along with a large bibliography.

Each of these books is intended for different purposes, yet together they also form a package. Netanyahu sets out the issues and the policy imperatives; Scotti tells us how to cope with the environment; and Rosie gives us a way to put it all into a historical perspective. All three books should be read thoroughly and soon.

—MAYER NUDELL

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PERIODICALS

By MICHELLE MAYNARD

"Tunisia: Testing America's Third World Diplomacy." By James Rupert. *World Policy Journal*, Winter 1986-87. Vol. 4, No. 1.

Tunisia represents a test case for U.S. policy in the Third World. According to Rupert, if Tunisia is to remain stable, it must move toward open democracy, but this will mean some degree of distancing from the United States. It will probably remain a friend to Washington, but a less overtly aligned one.

Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba has been a firm supporter of the United States, but his refusal to retire has led to political paralysis in the country, which, coupled with economic stagnation, has contributed to growing internal dissatisfaction. At the same time, Washington has strained relations with Tunis by its inconsistent aid policies and its anti-Libyan activities. Moreover, Tunisia's dependence on the global economy makes it vulnerable to U.S. actions there.

To avoid undermining the chances for a moderate and democratic future in Tunisia, the United States must maintain a low political profile and rebuild its standing in Tunisia with tools such as economic aid and the Peace Corps. In concert with its European allies, the United States should encourage an internal political dialogue. Washington must avoid contributing to the existing tendencies toward radicalization and be prepared to acknowledge the legitimacy of a moderate leadership that will prefer to stand aloof from the United States.

"Diplomacy, Doctrine, and the Outbreak of War: *Détente and Deterrence: Anglo-German Relations, 1911-1914.*" By Sean Lynn-Jones. "1914 Revisited: Allies, Offense, and Instability." By Scott D. Sagan. *International Security*, Fall 1986, Vol. 11, No. 2.

Lynn-Jones proposes that World War I was caused, in part, by the Anglo-German détente of 1911. His article demonstrates that improved relations can actually contribute to the outbreak of war. American policymakers are counseled to adopt a more conciliatory approach to the Soviet



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Union, to subordinate military to political considerations, and to avoid military doctrines that increase preemptive incentives. In retrospect, it is possible to argue that the improvement in relations was illusory yet these retrospective judgments cannot alter the fact that British and German leaders believed their countries' relations had improved considerably.

In the absence of détente, argues Lynn-Jones, both countries might have adopted different policies in the July crisis. The Anglo-German détente contributed to a set of misperceptions that led both governments to underestimate their adversary's hostility and base their policies on these illusions. Hence, World War I was partly the result of a miscalculation. It was a miscalculation that resulted from excessive conciliation between Britain and Germany, and not from deterrence that turned into provocation.

Sagan writes that there are a number of striking similarities between the origins of World War I and contemporary fears about nuclear war. In 1914, the perceived incentives to strike first were great and the rapidity and inflexibility of offensive war plans limited the time available to diplomacy searching for an acceptable political solution. The popular "cult of the offensive" theory—which glorifies offensive military doctrines—overlooks the more fundamental causes of the war: the great powers' political objectives and alliance commitments. While the theory identifies the problem of offensive instability during the July crisis, it ignores the dangers that would have resulted if leaders had adopted purely defensive strategies.

Applying the cult of the offensive theory to our contemporary American deterrent strategy can be quite misleading. That is why, cautions Sagan, the events of the late 1930s are equally important to remember: the United States must avoid both a modern cult of the offensive as well as any potential cult of the defensive.

"New Horizons in Postwar Diplomacy." By Jan Hendrik Lubbers. The Washington Quarterly, Winter, 1987.

In the postwar era, diplomacy has become less exclusive, more accessible, more democratic, and more demanding, writes Lubbers. The states' interests are more closely interwoven than ever before so there are more opportunities and incentives to cross the border between national independence and interdependence.

Multilateral institutions have become a permanent feature of international relations; their relevance fluctuates in relation to international developments and shifting patterns of power. Organized multilateral-

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ism offers new horizons to diplomacy but an important question remains: to what extent and under what circumstances will national governments subordinate national prerogatives to multilateral or global interests?

The European Community's experience, which represents a working compromise between nationalism and internationalism, demonstrates that with sufficient political will independent nations can develop the framework necessary for decision-making on a supranational basis. With the current trade wars, debt burdens, and financial instabilities, the United States, Canada, and Western Europe could benefit from a common exploration of multilateral diplomacy.

"The State Department and Nicaragua." By Max Singer. *The National Interest*, No. 6, Winter, 1986-87.

The United States has not done enough to gain political backing for the democratic resistance in Nicaragua. According to Singer, State has failed to take obvious measures to develop support for U.S. policy in Central America.

Under the current administration, the United States pursues two contradictory goals in Central America; it calls for a diplomatic agreement, yet it believes the solution ultimately must ensure democracy in Nicaragua. Realists recognize that only one of these goals can be fulfilled because the Sandinistas will never carry out their promise to govern democratically. One of the major reasons our diplomacy has been ineffective is that the State Department continues to emphasize achieving agreement with the Sandinistas rather than fulfilling the commitment to democracy. In terms of goals, the president has made better choices than the "experts" at the department, but he has failed to take measures to ensure their implementation.

On three levels, State has been incompetent in securing support for the U.S. Central American policy. First, it has failed to take care of basics such as getting the U.S. position documented and distributed at home and abroad; it has not taken steps to ensure that our representatives know our case and present it well. Second, the department has failed to coordinate our Mexican and Central American policies; it has not encouraged Mexico to end its diplomatic efforts on behalf of the Sandinistas. Finally, within the department, there has been a lack of appreciation of the strategic importance of democratic support and of what is required to achieve it at home and abroad.

Michelle Maynard is a historian in the Department of State.

CLIPPINGS

Career Shortcut

"[One] element that I think is new in the last decade or so under the impact of Watergate, television, and other things is the growth of the congressional staffs. In my observation, many frustrated Foreign Service officers who were not made secretaries of state rapidly enough for their tastes, would migrate to the Hill and try to implement from the platform of a congressional committee brilliant policies that they had failed to get adopted by the man who had been imposed on them as the secretary of state or the president. And then liaisons form between the congressional staffers and the lower levels in the State and Defense departments, and that makes the management both by the senators or the congressmen and by the executive branch much more difficult than it was even at the time that I first came to Washington."

Henry Kissinger on the PBS program
"The Fourth Annual Report
of the Secretaries of State,"
November 21

Presidential Experience

"In the last half century, every American president, with the single exception of Dwight D. Eisenhower, has been either a member of Congress or a governor. Their primary interests and experience have been in national and regional matters. Few have had any real exposure to the complex problems inherent in international relations.

"This was not always so. In the early days of the republic, five of the first six American presidents had significant diplomatic experience before taking office. Four of them—Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, and John Quincy Adams—had served as secretary of state....

"The difficulties arising from the way we elect our presidents and the manner in which they appoint their principal assistants are compounded by the reluctance of recent chief executives to make full use of the professional foreign relations experts at their disposal. Instead, they have relied for the most part on a narrow circle of close associates to help them make policy, and have sanctioned ad hoc procedures for ex-

cuting that policy.

"In doing so they have not only failed to take advantage of the expertise the professionals can supply, they have short-circuited the safeguards built into the formal foreign policy machinery. No less important, they have sacrificed the foreign policy continuity that can best be provided by institutional memory."

C.E. Bartsch in the *Lexington (Kentucky)*
Herald Leader, January 20

Gassing Diplomats

"Police blocked guests on their way to a prodemocracy reception honoring the U.S. ambassador and peered over a wall to locate him before lobbing tear gas into the midst of the garden festivities, the U.S. embassy [in Asuncion] said today. An embassy spokesman said last night's tear-gas attack on Ambassador Clyde Taylor was inexplicable. Witnesses said diplomats from Argentina, France, and West Germany were among about 35 tear-gassed guests at the private home.

"The government of President Alfredo Stroessner, who has ruled Paraguay since 1954, has accused Taylor of interfering in the country's internal affairs. Officials have held Taylor responsible for Paraguay's economic and social problems and have objected to meetings he has had with opposition figures."

United Press International,
February 11

Privatized Diplomacy

"A February 2 news story reports that in October 1985, when the Reagan White House needed to communicate with Italy's Prime Minister, Bettino Craxi, to tell him that we were forcing down in Italy the jetliner carrying the *Achille Lauro* hijackers, 'it turned in desperation to a part-time consultant,' Michael A. Ledeen.

"We maintain a large embassy in Rome with several hundred employees at considerable expense to the American taxpayer. I have reason to believe that our people there know the telephone number of the Italian prime minister at his habitual residence in the Raphael Hotel. It is surprising that the White House did not trust the embassy to inform Mr. Craxi of our action and to fix a telephone appointment with the president."

Richard N. Gardner in the
New York Times, February 8

Underinvestment

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*Editorial in the
Cape Codder,
February 20*

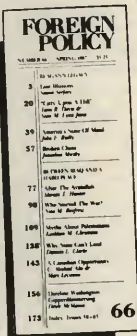
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Foreign Service Journal, May 1977: "Today an FSO-8 starts at \$11,523 (\$500 less than a starting Metrobus driver in 1975), his GS-7 counterpart gets the same, and a second lieutenant \$10,939 (including tax-free family quarters and subsistence allowances). After four years he may reach FSO-6 at \$16,096, a thousand dollars less than the GS-11 rate reached a year earlier by his Civil Service counterpart, and a good deal less than the \$18,739 received by his military counterpart, a captain. After about seven years he is promoted to FSO-5 at \$19,601 versus \$21,270 for his major equivalent and \$20,442 for a GS-12. However, the GS-7 management intern after eight years will in all probability be a GS-14 at \$28,725. What makes this really interesting is to recall that nearly half the Foreign Service is in Washington without any allowances (except for those on temporary duty) and that overseas, the Civil Service is numerically larger than the Foreign Service and draws the same kind of allowances but at higher salaries. Also, it is worth remembering that free medical and dental care, PX and commissary privileges add about 20 percent to disposable income for military families."

—William C. Veale

Foreign Service Journal, May 1962: "We can all be proud of the United States Foreign Service. It is a fine body of men and women, much better than the country deserves on the basis of the pay scale and the treatment they received, especially in the days of Senator McCarthy. And let me add that they still get 'unfair treatment sometimes.'"

—W. Randolph Burgess

Foreign Service Journal, May 1937: "It is worthwhile to keep these figures in mind, for in the realm of international affairs, the Department of State is in the first line of defense. It is only when it fails in its efforts to adjust by peaceful means controversies with other nations that the military and naval branches of the government are called into action."

—Cordell Hull, quoted from testimony on Capitol Hill on the State Department budget appropriation

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DESPATCH

Quis Custodiet Ipsos Custodes?

"We did not think that in the atmosphere that prevailed in Moscow an establishment composed entirely of unmarried men or married men without family could carry on for any length of time without running into difficulties. The members of the staff would eventually feel the need for female companionship and we were convinced that no Russian girl would dare to be seen with a member of the U.S. embassy without the advance approval of the [Soviet secret police]."

The year was 1934, and the United States had opened its first mission in Moscow since the Bolshevik revolution. The above quotation is from the memoirs of Loy Henderson, who helped set up the new embassy under Ambassador William Bullitt.

George Kennan was a political officer at the Moscow embassy then, and he remembers finding a bug in the ambassador's residence. Later, when he became ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1952, another bug was found in the embassy—in the beak of the eagle on the Great Seal of the United States.

And now, in 1987, allegations have been made that several members of the Marine guard force at the embassy in Moscow were seduced by Soviet spies in the Foreign Service National workforce and perhaps allowed enemy agents access to the innermost secrets of the mission. The potential losses include not only state secrets but, according to one report, the lives of U.S. agents. In addition, congressional investigators and others are convinced that the new U.S. embassy under construction in Moscow is so riddled with bugs that it may be a \$190 million write-off. At the same time, the Soviets have completed a new chancery high above Wisconsin Avenue, from which they will have a line-of-sight view of most of official Washington.

The Soviet FSNs are gone now from the Moscow embassy, a result not of a security crackdown but of a 1986 Kremlin move in retaliation for the United States' expulsion of dozens of their diplomats from the Soviet mission to the United Nations. The result has been extreme hardship for our diplomats stationed in the Soviet capital, who have to perform all of the administrative and housekeeping chores in addition to

their diplomatic duties until contract replacements arrive.

As this special issue on LIFE IN THE USSR makes clear, in the half century since recognition, for U.S. diplomats in the Soviet Union it has been *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*. Our article on Loy Henderson's tenure there [page 25] and the accompanying excerpts from his memoirs that describe construction of the first embassy and the difficulty of finding adequate housing could have been written today. George Kennan's bitter months in the Soviet capital [page 34] left a bad taste in his mouth that is surely shared by Arthur Hartman, who gave an interview to the JOURNAL [page 39] shortly after returning from post in March after a five-year tour that also included the spy-dust scare. In the interview, Hartman defends his opposition to proposals to replace the Soviet employees by pointing to the Marine scandal as an example of the vulnerability of some Americans in an eastern-bloc post.

It will be months before the spy dust settles, so to speak, but already several observers and participants are casting blame for the security breakdowns. State's security chief, Robert Lamb, testified in April that the United States was warned in 1979 to expect bugs in the construction project, but they didn't expect "the structure itself as part of the bugging." In August 1985, when the bugs were discovered, construction was halted. According to *Time* magazine, then-CIA director Stansfield Turner had wanted the new embassy to be built by American workers subject to rigorous screening procedures. President Carter approved the plan but the State and Defense departments blocked the idea. Jack Anderson claims that it was Nixon and his two secretaries of state, William Rogers and Henry Kissinger, who cut the deal allowing Soviet construction workers, forcing Assistant Secretary Walter Stoessel—who during his tenure as ambassador to Moscow had experienced Soviet espionage attempts in the form of microwave bombardment—to sign the agreement. Kissinger has denied the charge.

It was President Johnson who offered the Mount Alto site high above Washington to the Soviets, who at first found it unattractive. In 1969, when Richard Nixon was in the White House, they changed their minds. Former CIA Deputy Director Bobby Inman—author of the recent report that proposed a multi-billion dollar embassy-security plan—blames the State Department for then approving the arrangement. "In the intelligence community, we certainly were aware of the terrific advantage of the Mount Alto location," he said.

"But the State Department wouldn't listen."

As for the problems at the current U.S. embassy in the Soviet capital, *New York Times* reporter Stephen Engelberg quoted officials who blamed "interagency disputes" in general and the State Department in particular. According to his account, President Reagan was told three years ago that Marine guards at the embassy were socializing with Soviet national employees—a violation of regulations—and that an FBI team had found it was possible to break into the sensitive communications center at the post without tripping alarms. Under Secretary for Management Ronald I. Spiers, however, said that State was "quite aware of the problem, and we put together a complete program, which took a while to do." According to Spiers, technical improvements since put in place would have prevented much of the damage.

Privately, many current and former State Department officials are blaming the Marine guards for the most recent incident, although certainly not for the problems with the two new embassies. A former counter-terrorism chief once told the JOURNAL that the world-wide guard force was one of his biggest security headaches. A former ambassador described drug problems among his embassy's Marines. A Soviet defector told the *Washington Times* that in the 1950s the KGB had twice blackmailed two Marines after agents photographed them in compromising positions with a male KGB agent. As for the Marines, the lawyer for one of the guards allegedly involved in the current incident said his client was being used as a "scapegoat" for the State Department. Several newspapers also claimed that security officials at the embassy were lax and that fraternization was tolerated.

In March, Representative Dan Mica (D.-Florida) walked out of a hearing of his Foreign Operations Subcommittee when he learned that the department had diverted \$25 million from the embassy-security program to fund an emergency aid project in Central America. Worse, the JOURNAL has learned that many of the new security officers hired under the program are required to devote as much as 50 percent of their time at post to non-security tasks. In a final irony, it turns out that the department presented its 1986 award for Security Engineering Officer of the Year to the technical supervisor of the new embassy in Moscow.

DESPATCH is written by the editor and does not necessarily represent the views of the Association.

PRE-WAR MOSCOW: RED TAPE AND PURGES

H. W. BRANDS JR.

IN HIS 85th year, Loy Henderson remarked that his life had consisted of constant moving from place to place; as a consequence, he said, the only "home town" he knew was the Foreign Service. It was an apt comment, for even in a profession requiring frequent relocations Henderson bounced around a lot. The traveling started when he was a boy, as the family followed his Methodist preacher father across several states in search of unsaved souls and a secure pulpit. It continued after an arm injury kept him out of the military during World War I, when his second choice, the Red Cross, introduced him to the world beyond the Atlantic and prompted him to join the Foreign Service in 1922. It did not end until he retired to Washington nearly 40 years later after a distinguished career highlighted by stints as ambassador in Baghdad, New Delhi, and Tehran.

Most of Henderson's first two decades as a diplomat was spent in Moscow. Although not trained as a Russian-language specialist, Henderson served at the United States' window on the East, Riga, during the 1920s. After Washington recognized the new Soviet state, he became the first secretary at the new embassy in Moscow. With the others of that promising class of 1934 — such as George Kennan and Charles Bohlen — Henderson learned the diplomatic ropes in Stalin's capital, and he acquired opinions and attitudes—especially regarding the untrustworthiness and hostile intentions of Soviet communism—that he would carry for the rest of his life.

No one expected life in Moscow to be a vacation, but Henderson's four years as first secretary proved especially trying. The troubles started with the selection of the first ambassador, William Bullitt. Bullitt had begun advocating détente with the Bolsheviks 15 years earlier, when he negotiated with Lenin a settlement of the Russian civil war. (His agreement was later disavowed by Woodrow Wilson.) Bullitt considered recognition long overdue, and he opened the embassy in 1934 with overly optimistic hopes for Soviet-American cooperation. After a brief honey-

moon, reality came as a shock. Soviet stonewalling on issues like debt repayment and, later, the onset of the purges, transformed Bullitt into a bitter and almost unreasoning critic of the Kremlin and markedly limited his effectiveness as an ambassador. Even after he was reassigned to Paris, the mere thought of Moscow could set off a tirade, as it did in a 1939 letter to Henderson. Bullitt railed against Stalin as "the world's ultimate swine" and the "so-called Soviet government" as "a conspiracy to commit murder and nothing else."

If Bullitt knew too much about Stalinism to make profitable relations possible, his replacement, Joseph Davies, knew too little. Indeed, the appointment of Davies, a major contributor to Franklin Roosevelt's reelection fund, prompted a near-mutiny on the part of the career officials at the embassy. "He drew from the first instant our distrust and dislike," Kennan wrote later. "We doubted his seriousness. We doubted that he shared our own sense of the importance of the Soviet-American relationship." To Bohlen, Davies appeared "sublimely ignorant of even the most elementary realities of the Soviet system and of its ideology." Nor did he learn on the job. Three decades after, Bohlen recalled, "I still blush when I think of some of the telegrams he sent to the State Department." Elbridge Durbrow, director of the consulate, had an even lower opinion. Durbrow remembered Davies as the most "mentally dishonest" person he had ever worked with, in that the ambassador willfully overlooked the repression and terror occurring all around him. When Davies finished his tour by writing a piece of puffery entitled *Mission to Moscow*, the career officers sneeringly renamed it *Submission to Moscow*.

The Davies appointment placed Henderson in a difficult position. In the interregnum following Bullitt's departure, Henderson had served as chargé d'affaires, and although he sympathized with those who wanted to resign in protest, he considered it his duty to give the new ambassador a fair shake. As he commented to Arthur Bliss Lane, then minister at Riga, Davies's unfamiliarity with Soviet affairs might not prove entirely unfortunate. In contrast to Bullitt, Davies could set to work "without any hangover prejudices." Furthermore, he gave the impression, at first anyway, of wanting to make up for his lack of experience. "He is a very active man and has plunged into his work here with considerable vigor."

Unfortunately, however, Davies's selection seemed

H. W. Brands Jr., who currently teaches diplomatic history at Vanderbilt University and will begin teaching at Texas A&M University in September, is the author of the forthcoming Cold Warriors: Eisenhower's Generation. He is researching a biography of Ambassador Henderson and would greatly appreciate any recollections or correspondence. He can be reached at the Department of History, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee 37235.

Henderson (right) meets the great dictator in the Kremlin.



DISAPPEARING SOVIET EMPLOYEES

In February 1934, Loy Henderson arrived in Moscow as part of the group—along with William Bullitt as ambassador, George Kennan, and Charles Bohlen—that opened the embassy and attempted to resolve the initial organizational difficulties. What follows on this page and in other boxes is a series of extracts from Henderson's memoirs that trace, as Henderson put it, "the difficulties encountered by the little band of Americans who, clustered on an island of diplomatic immunity in a stormy, inhospitable sea, were trying to set up an institution that would serve to represent the United States in the Soviet Union."

IT WAS MY duty during most of this assignment to obtain the approval of Narkomindel (as the Soviet foreign ministry was then known) before placing a Soviet national on the embassy's payroll. Some of our Soviet personnel came to us on the recommendation of officials in Narkomindel. Others applied directly and their employment was approved by it after we had interviewed them. We, of course, carefully screened all applicants recommended by Narkomindel and rejected a number of them. During the first two years, we found the commissariat reasonably cooperative in this area. It frequently assisted us in finding personnel with the qualifications we needed and rarely refused to approve the employment of those who had the temerity to apply to us directly.

For approximately two and a half years, our Soviet employees performed their duties quietly and for the most part efficiently. Although we knew that they were reporting to the Soviet secret police and although they must have been aware of our knowledge, we gradually grew attached to most of them and the majority seemed to like us and, in my opinion, were just as loyal to us as the complicated situation permitted.

During 1936, as the great Soviet purge gradually claimed more and more victims, I began to sense a growing uneasiness

(Reprinted from A Question of Trust: The Memoirs of Loy W. Henderson. Edited by George W. Baer. Reprinted with permission, © 1986 by Hoover Institution Press.) JOURNAL artwork by Mignon Khargie.

but one symptom of a general lack of commitment by the Roosevelt administration to building up the embassy in Moscow. Budget-cutting forced retrenchment at the State Department and the closing of offices deemed less than essential. This caused Henderson to remark to Lane that Under Secretary Sumner Welles apparently was "not averse to making departmental changes of a rather basic nature" when he shut down the Mexican division in 1937. "What is the next to follow?" asked Henderson. He received his answer a week later when Welles abolished the Office of Eastern European Affairs. At the start of the next year, Assistant Secretary George Messersmith wrote a letter in which he said he had favored recognition and said he disagreed with people like Bullitt, who advocated pulling out of Moscow entirely, but he recommended reducing the size of the mission there by as much as half. As an explanation, Messersmith said that the Soviet foreign ministry had little influence with Stalin: "We have no assurances that anything that we or any other government says to a Soviet

among our Soviet employees. In August I found one woman hunched over her typewriter, sobbing. She feared that she and her family might be arrested at any moment. She had not done anything that she considered to be wrong, nor had any members of her family. But for many years they had been corresponding with relatives in Poland. The police were now arresting Soviet citizens known to have been exchanging letters with persons living abroad. Since most Jews in the Soviet Union had relatives in Poland or elsewhere with whom they had been corresponding, they were being arrested in droves. Some of them were released; many of them, however, simply disappeared without trace. Only recently one of her uncles and two of her cousins had disappeared.

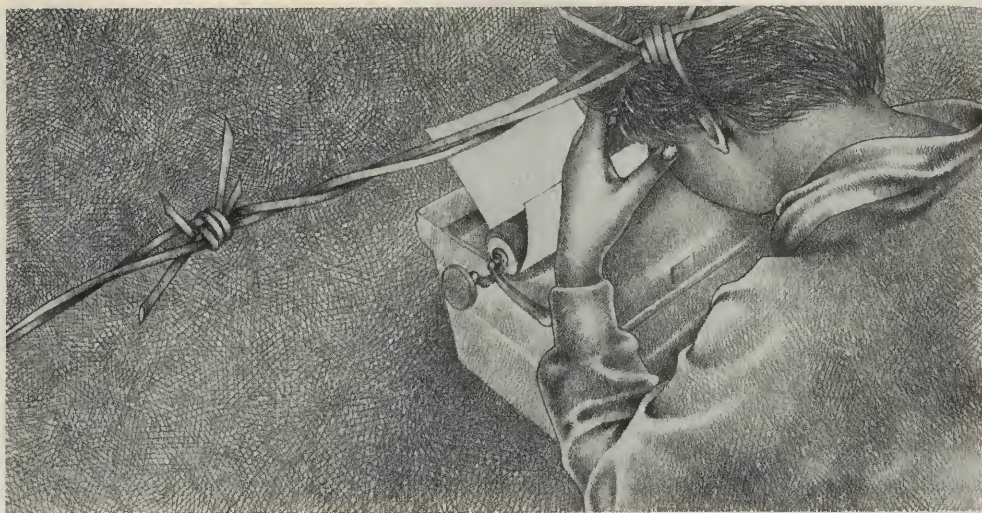
The first embassy casualty among our local employees was Valentine Malitsky, the agricultural economist. One morning in September 1936, Mrs. Malitsky came to me in tears to tell me that the police had taken her husband away. I immediately arranged for an interview with a member of Narkomindel, told him that Malitsky had been arrested, and said that the embassy would appreciate it if he could ascertain and let it know the cause of the arrest. Although the official insisted that he was not authorized to discuss with a foreign diplomat the arrest of a Soviet citizen, he said that he would look into the matter. He added that he was confident that the arrest was in no way connected with Malitsky's employment in the embassy. The State Department was disturbed when it received my report of Malitsky's arrest and registered a protest with Alexander Troyanovsky, the Soviet ambassador to the United States.

Finally, in December 1936, the chief of the Third Western Division of Narkomindel told me that Malitsky had been tried secretly before a military court, had been found guilty after full confession of involvement in a terrorist plot, and had been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. He added that since Malitsky would probably be sent to a distant internment camp it would not be possible for his wife to be with him and that for her own good she should return to the United States. In spite of this advice, she remained in the Soviet Union for many months

diplomat ever gets any further than the Foreign Office." This being the case, Messersmith believed the benefits the United States received from representation in Moscow were "quite out of proportion" to the effort and cost they required. In any event, he concluded, a cutback in the embassy staff might serve as a signal of American dissatisfaction with the Soviet regime.

Henderson objected forcefully. Describing the situation at the embassy as "rather difficult," he said he and his colleagues had "always taken courage from the fact that the department, for the most part, was behind us and that we could rely upon the experience and understanding of our superiors in Washington." While recognizing the arguments for economy, he believed any major reduction would do more harm than good.

Although the department chose to follow Henderson's advice, plenty of problems remained. Most of them landed in Henderson's lap. Some difficulties proved minor and required only persistence and inge-



in the unrealized hope that she could be of help to her husband in some way. She was convinced, as were the Americans who had worked with Malitsky, that he was innocent and that if he had confessed to any crime, he had done so under some kind of compulsion. I have never learned whether or not Malitsky survived his term of imprisonment.

The Malitsky case was unusual in that the embassy was finally informed of the nature of the charges against him and of his sentence. It was not able to ascertain the reason for the arrest of most of its other Soviet employees who became victims of the purge, or the kind of sentences they received. The Soviet authorities usually refused to go any further in discussing these arrests than to state that they had no connection with the employees' work in the embassy.

During 1936-38, Mrs. Svyadoshch (wife of the economist and political research assistant Abraham Svyadoshch) and Mrs.

Bisk (wife of Roman Bisk, the embassy's legal adviser) informed the embassy that the police had come to their homes in the middle of the night and taken away their husbands. Mrs. Svyadoshch was arrested shortly after. In early September 1939, Ambassador Steinhardt reported that Victor Shiffer, the foreign trade expert, had resigned partly because of his fear of being arrested if he should remain with the embassy. Shiffer's resignation did not help him, however, and he was arrested shortly after. Philip Bender, the embassy's chief contact man and troubleshooter, was arrested in the early 1940s. We never learned the fate of these two men. In the early 1940s the young typist whom I had found in tears disappeared. The husbands and other members of the families of several of our other Soviet employees were also victims of the purge. In general, the chauffeurs, the messengers, and the janitors fared better than our employees who possessed higher qualifications. □

nity to overcome, but the shortage of consumer goods posed a constant challenge. While the diplomats in Moscow were more privileged than most, Bohlen would later write about spending most of a day careening around the capital in a motorcycle sidecar trying to track down clothes hangers. On a different scale was the chronic shortage of caviar.

Currency exchange rates were a more serious issue. The ruble was grossly overvalued, by as much as 30-fold. Henderson feared that if forced to purchase money legally the embassy could not afford to operate. On the other hand, for American officials to circumvent the law raised obvious dangers. As part of the initial agreement regarding normalization of relations, Washington thought it had received assurances that some *modus vivendi* would be arranged, but the Kremlin insisted that there could be no exceptions to declared policy. The problem continued until the Soviets finally decided the matter did not merit the risk of a rupture in relations. One day Maxim Litvinov, the foreign minister, hinted that his government

might look the other way if the United States bent the law slightly. Uneasily at first, the embassy began following the practice of other missions and purchased rubles abroad, slipping them across the border in the diplomatic pouch.

Personnel questions, always a concern at overseas posts, caused Henderson special worry in the siege-like atmosphere of Moscow. The non-professional staff, whose work lacked some of the challenge that sustained Henderson and the Soviet specialists, particularly felt the pressure. Henderson explained the situation to Messersmith: "Although some of our clerical employees stand up remarkably well in the face of conditions here, others are beginning to show signs of strain, and in my opinion their transfer in the near future would be beneficial both to themselves and to the government." Citing cramped quarters and inadequate health-care facilities, he argued against sending couples with small children. When the department did so over his protest he commented that he hoped the little ones were "robust and healthy."

CONSTRUCTING A NEW EMBASSY

IN AN OUTBURST of apparently friendly generosity, Stalin had promised Bullitt in December 1933 that the United States could have as a site for its embassy building a piece of property on Lenin Hills. When the ambassador returned to the United States, he urged the State Department to lose no time in taking advantage of Stalin's promise. The department began immediately to make arrangements for the inclusion of \$1 million in its budget for construction of an embassy compound at Lenin Hills that would provide suitable living and working quarters for our ambassador and the American staff members. A distinguished architect was commissioned to draw up plans for the compound, which was to be similar to the University of Virginia. It was the hope of the department and the ambassador that the new compound would be the answer to our Moscow housing problems.

After returning to Moscow in March 1934, the ambassador began his endeavors to work out arrangements with the Soviet authorities. He urged that the Soviet government submit to the embassy a draft of a lease for the Lenin Hills property. He also inaugurated conversations of an exploratory nature with the Soviet authorities with the purpose of obtaining at least tentative answers to a number of questions, more formal answers to which we should have before entering into contractual arrangements. Among the numerous questions to which we needed answers were:

■Would it be possible for the Soviet government to set up in its bureaucratic machinery a special agency with which the embassy could consult on all matters relating to the construction of the new building? Such an agency would serve as a channel to the numerous state institutions whose cooperation would be necessary if the building program was to be carried out.

■To what extent could the embassy rely on the Soviet government to supply it with the building materials needed for the construction of the new building? Building materials were in short supply in the Soviet Union.

■Would the Soviet government cooperate in the matter of supplying local skilled and unskilled labor and in permitting

the embassy to import foreign architects, artisans, and so forth? Since no Soviet citizen would dare to work for foreigners without the consent of the Soviet government and since foreign architects, artisans, engineers, and mechanics would be needed, this cooperation would be necessary.

■Would the Soviet government permit the embassy to import, duty free, the kinds of materials and equipment that would be needed for the construction of a modern, representative embassy building?

■How would the cost of Soviet workmen and the conditions of their employment be determined? Would the American architects and building contractors have the right to hire them, direct them, and fire them?

■How would indebtedness to state institutions and to private Soviet nationals incurred for the furnishing of labor, materials, transport, and so forth be discharged? Would payment be in dollars or in rubles? If in rubles, at what exchange rate could they be purchased?

It did not take long for the ambassador to realize that the construction by the United States of an embassy compound in the Soviet Union under the conditions and in the atmosphere that prevailed at the time would not be a simple undertaking. Stalin could afford to be friendly and generous on occasion in dealings with foreigners. Soviet officials at lower levels, however, who dared to make friendly concessions to representatives of the imperialist camp were incurring grave danger. It was their duty to extract all possible advantages from such representatives and to give as little as possible in return.

Less than three weeks after arriving in Moscow, the ambassador began to run into difficulties of such magnitude in connection with his efforts to expedite the arrangements that he became discouraged. In late March, he sent a dispatch to the State Department indicating that it had begun to appear to him that the Soviet government was not disposed to carry out its understanding with regard to Lenin Hills. He said that the government of the city of Moscow appeared, until overruled by Stalin personally, to have opposed the leasing of the Lenin Hills site to

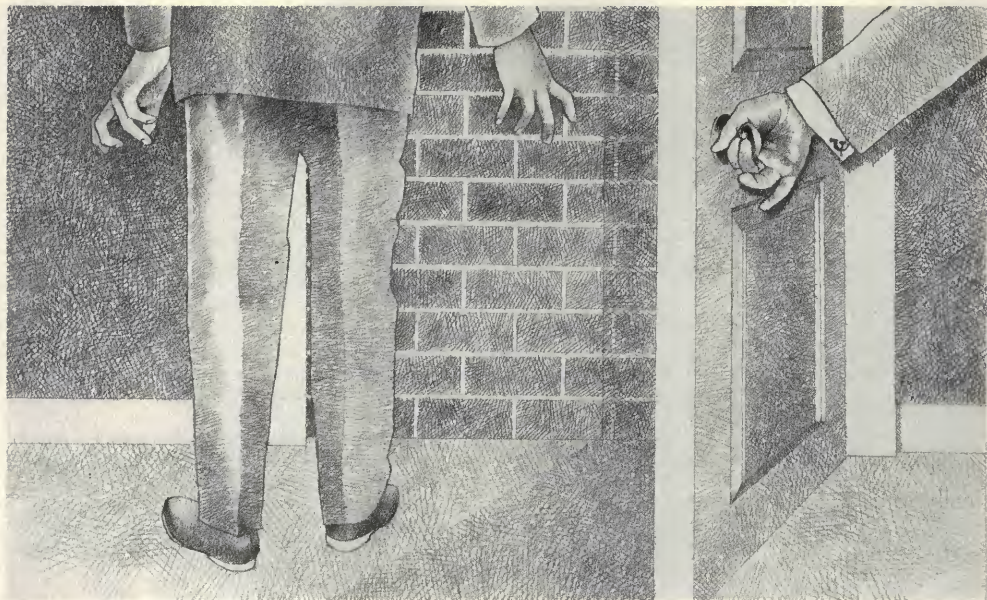
Henderson also found time to comment on personal inadequacies in his staff. He called one financial officer "erratic" and said another was "inclined to sulk" and given to "outbursts of discontent and efforts to stir up trouble." Of one wife of a newly arrived medical doctor, Henderson said she was "quite free in stating that at other posts State Department personnel had in general failed to accord her husband and herself the rank which they deserved."

Under the best of circumstances, Moscow might have rated classification as a hardship post, but the Soviets went out of their way to test the patience of foreigners. As Kennan put the matter, the Kremlin made it a deliberate policy "to place every possible restriction on the activities and contacts of foreign missions." He added, "The Soviet leaders appear to welcome the presence of foreign envoys in Moscow as something contributory to Soviet prestige; but they make it very evident that in their opinion these envoys—like well-trained children—should be seen and not heard." Henderson echoed this sentiment, declar-

ing, "It should be considered as axiomatic that the ruling forces of the Soviet Union have always considered and still take the view that the presence of foreign diplomatic representatives in the Soviet Union is an evil which world conditions force them to endure." The Kremlin, he continued, actively discouraged contacts between Soviet citizens and foreigners, treating the latter as spies and the former as their Russian contacts.

WITH THE ONSET of the purges several months after Henderson's arrival, pressures on the embassy increased.

Looking back from the perspective of 1937, he remarked that "practically all Soviet citizens who have had occasion during recent years to have relations with members of foreign diplomatic missions or with foreigners who keep in touch with their diplomatic missions appear to be in constant fear of being arrested on charges of espionage or terrorism."



the U.S. government. It was his belief that the members of the Moscow Soviet, now that the honeymoon following the establishment of diplomatic relations was beginning to wane, were again trying to prevent the erection of a U.S. embassy on such a choice piece of Moscow land. The Moscow Soviet could obstruct our building plans through delays, evasion, and negative attitudes.

It was not, however, merely the Moscow Soviet that assumed what seemed to the ambassador and his staff to be an uncooperative attitude. When members of the embassy undertook to discuss matters relating to the building project with Narkomindel and other Soviet institutions, they found them vague and evasive.

Finally, in September, Secretary of State Hull sent a telegram to the ambassador that read:

As there would seem to be no immediate prospect of initiating Moscow construction, I would like your comments...as to the possible diversion of the fund that was proposed to be used at Moscow. I believe that if we subsequently find it practicable to proceed with Moscow buildings we will have ample time to make good by future appropriations whatever we may now use in Central America for the immediate protection of our officers.

The ambassador's reply to the secretary was brief: "I favor heartily transfer Moscow buildings fund to construction at unhealthy posts in Central America." □

At about the same time, Kennan reported, "Nearly every one of the Soviet nationals who could be said to have constituted the embassy's important contacts with the Soviet world from 1934 to 1936 has suffered at the hands of the government." The lucky ones had merely been imprisoned or exiled; the less fortunate had been shot.

Cut off from the world around him, Henderson turned for support to the other officers at the embassy, but most especially to Lane at Riga, who provided a sounding board for complaints and an outlet for frustrations and worries. "The last six months, as you can well understand, have not been very easy for me," Henderson wrote at the end of the hiatus between Bullitt and Davies. He felt caught between the department and the embassy, and he spoke of facing a "somewhat thankless and delicate task." While he hoped for the best with Davies, Henderson expressed doubts to Lane. Davies, he said, had appeared "rather shocked" at the physical conditions surrounding his new job, and even after weeks in Moscow came to the

office only rarely, and then usually after hours.

Another source of support for the beleaguered diplomats was the conviction shared by all that they had embarked on a memorable adventure. To understand and explain the Soviet system were goals that lightened the burdens of daily existence. And the Soviet system, without question, needed explaining. During the purges, it was more incomprehensible than ever. Returning from a trial in August 1936, Henderson said he was "puzzled and astonished" at the manner in which the defendants had denounced and abased themselves. As to why the trials were occurring at all, Henderson suspected that they represented an effort by the regime to discredit certain factions on the political left, particularly the followers of Leon Trotsky. "There is a growing fear," he wrote, "that Stalin is leading them away from communism in the direction of state capitalism." The increasing differentiation of wages, the use of material incentives to spur production in the collectives, the rise of a new intelligentsia, and the revival of Russian patriotism had, in

FINDING LIVING QUARTERS

THE STATE DEPARTMENT had estimated that, in addition to a residence for the ambassador, we would need no less than 40 rooms for the chancery and 220 rooms for living quarters for the American members of the mission. We were disappointed when we succeeded in obtaining a total of only 72 rooms. Since the embassy compound was never constructed, the mission in Moscow has been handicapped for more than 30 years by the lack of sufficient housing and working space.

Three small apartments in the building had been reserved by the Soviet government for Soviet officials: L. M. Karakhan, assistant commissar for foreign affairs, who had formerly served as Soviet ambassador to China; D. T. Florinsky, chief of protocol in the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs; and P. L. Mikhailsky, a leading Soviet columnist who wrote under the pen name of "Labinsky."

Florinsky was one of the few surviving officials who had served under the czarist regime. He had been retained in government service because he had won the confidence of Chicherin, the first commissar for foreign affairs. Florinsky was an accomplished linguist who had all the graces of a European protocol chief of the old school. Although he never discussed political or substantive matters, he was an interesting conversationalist at a diplomatic dinner table and was in general liked by members of the diplomatic corps.

On an evening in August 1934 while Florinsky was a dinner guest at the British embassy, one of the embassy servants entered the dining room and whispered in his ear. He murmured his apologies, left the table, and went to the front door where two men were waiting. He left the embassy with them and so far as I know was never seen again by any member of the diplomatic corps. A few days later it was announced that B. N. Barkov had been appointed chief of protocol. For many months no one knew what had happened to Florinsky. There were rumors that he had been shot, that he had been sent to a Siberian prison camp, or that he had been merely exiled. Eventually word trickled down that he had been exiled and assigned a minor job in some remote village in Siberia or northern Russia. We liked Florinsky and regretted the disaster that had befallen him. That did not prevent us, however, from urging that his apartment be assigned to the embassy. After several months of bickering we finally succeeded in obtaining it.

Mikhailsky was a studious, quiet little man. Judging from the lights in his apartment he worked on his columns until the small hours of the morning. One evening in May 1937, while I was taking my daily walk around the Kremlin walls, I overtook him as he was moving along slowly with the help of a cane. He greeted me and asked if I would not join him. I was astonished, since high-ranking members of the Communist Party as a rule did not like to be seen in the company of a member of a foreign embassy. I had taken a liking to the old man and was glad to accept his invitation. He spent most of the 40 minutes talking about his youth and his days in exile. We had been informed that he was one of the early Bolsheviks, had been a friend of Lenin, and was on the famous sealed train that carried Lenin from Switzerland to Finland just prior to the Bolshevik revolution. During our walk he made several references to Lenin, commenting on his stubbornness and quick temper. He said that the days he spent in exile in Prague were the most peaceful of his life. As a student he could go on a trip over the weekend in the mountains and never worry about what was happening while he was away. Now, he said, when he awakens in the morning he wonders with a sinking heart what might have taken place during the night.

A few weeks later I was informed that the seal of the NKVD (the secret police) was on the door of Mikhailsky's apartment. Like Florinsky and dozens of Soviet officials, poor old Mikhailsky, one of the veterans of the revolution, dropped out of sight. We heard later that he had been sentenced to seven years.

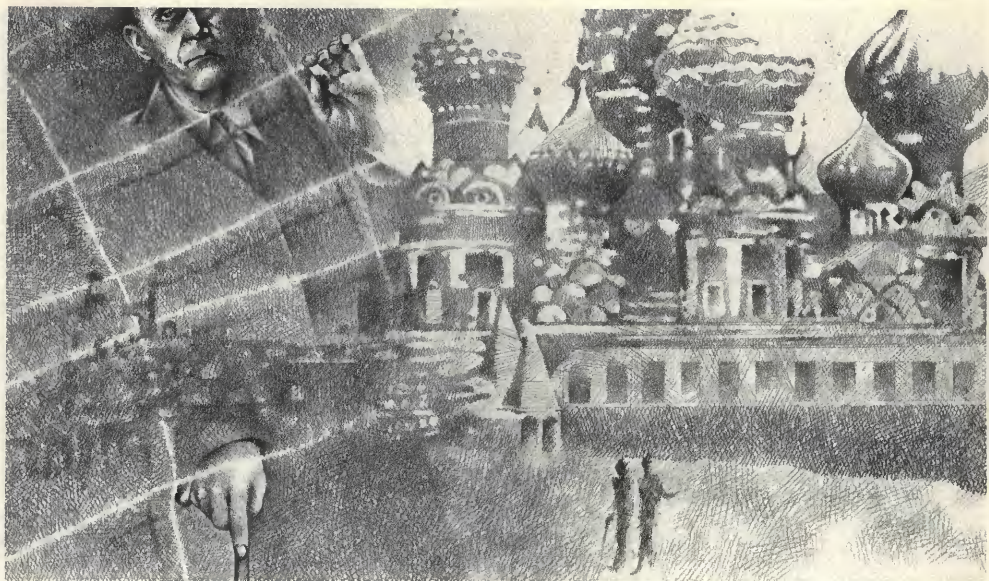
When it became clear that Mikhailsky was not coming back, we attempted to persuade the Soviet authorities to let us rent his apartment. For many months we received only evasive replies. At the beginning of an unusually warm weekend late in the following winter I was informed by members of the embassy who were occupying the apartment immediately under that of Mikhailsky that a torrent of water was coming through their ceiling. I hurried over in time to see big chunks of plaster falling over furniture. A few moments later the water commenced to come through the ceiling of the office of the military attaché. It was also beginning to flood the corridors and the stairs. We tried to find some Soviet official who would have the authority to enter Mikhailsky's apartment and turn the water off, but all offices were closed and no officials could be found. If the water were allowed to run for several hours at least half a

Henderson's analysis, "caused some alarm among the old or ideologically inclined Party members."

Stalin seemed obsessed with Trotsky, who, he feared, would find a way to bring him down. The fact that the trials had increased Trotsky's credibility infuriated the dictator. "In his anger he struck wherever whispers of criticism were heard or where he imagined persons to be whispering. When he discovered that his blows tended to increase rather than to silence these whispers he became really alarmed and set out...to demonstrate the fury of his wrath to the whole country." Without doubt, the country was feeling Stalin's wrath. At the beginning of the purges, many ordinary citizens seemed to take pleasure in witnessing the fall of the mighty. "Of late, however, as the arrests have grown in number and

have commenced to include all categories of workers, faces are beginning to look more worried than usual." Of greatest immediate concern to the foreign community were the arrests of government representatives. The detention and execution of one in particular, Boris Steiger, who was widely respected in the foreign community, prompted Henderson to write that "no arrest in recent years, not even that of the highest Soviet officials, has made such an impression upon the diplomatic corps." Steiger, said Henderson, had been "the only Soviet official who had ever talked with him as though he were an intelligent human being."

Henderson thought that 1937 represented a turning point in Stalin's career. "Perhaps in the future, historians may say that from 1926 until July 1936 Stalin ruled the Soviet Union not entirely as he



dozen of our precious apartments would be damaged and would probably be unlivable for a protracted period. In my desperation I committed the sacrilege of breaking the NKVD seal. We had little difficulty in forcing the door and turning the water off. During the winter the water in the radiators and pipes had frozen in the unheated apartment and the pipes had burst. In the unseasonably warm weather the ice had melted and the flood was the result.

I prepared a note describing what I had done and why and delivered it personally to the Narkomindel as soon as that commissariat was again open for business. The official looked at me in terror. "You have committed a grievous crime," he said. "A diplomat can be declared *persona non grata* for less." I replied that I was prepared to take the consequences; I had done what I did, however, because I did not think that it would be in the interest of either the Soviet or the U.S. government for me to stand idly by while water poured through our living and working quarters for a period of more than 36 hours. The official

suggested that I not leave my note with him. He preferred to handle the whole matter orally. He told me later that his government would not make an issue of what I had done but that in the future no one in the embassy should ever again tamper with the seal of the NKVD. Now that its seal was broken, representatives of the NKVD removed all the furniture and workers were sent to repair the apartments. Finally, the Soviet authorities relented and allowed us to rent the one Mikhailsky had occupied.

Karakhan left Moscow a few months after our arrival to go to Turkey as ambassador. During the next two years, he retained his Mokhovaya apartment although he rarely used it. Shortly after his return to Moscow in late 1937, he was arrested, and in December of that year his execution was announced. His wife, a noted ballerina, performed with unusual brilliance that evening. The embassy was also successful in obtaining the use of his apartment, so that by the spring of 1938 we finally had the whole Mokhovaya building to ourselves. □

wished; that either because of a lack of full self-confidence in his own ability as a political theoretician or because he felt himself not to be sufficiently strong alone to cope with other forces about him he has been steadily compromising with those party members who have insisted that the communist revolution could be achieved best through doctrinaire methods." Henderson suspected that Stalin, having grown impatient with ideology, had now decided to surround himself with "men of action who will not confuse him with abstract theories." If such a shift had in fact occurred, it meshed with what Henderson knew of the Soviet dictator's temperament. "Stalin by nature is a man of action and I think like Mohammed would be much more inclined to make converts at the point of the sword than to resort to the tedious process of

trying to change human habits of acting and thinking by the application of psychological and sociological theories."

For all the enlightenment the purges provided regarding the internal workings of the Stalinist system, the developments of most pressing concern to Henderson and his fellow diplomats involved Moscow's relations with foreign powers. At the beginning of 1936, Henderson described a shift from the policies of the "Geneva period," in which the Kremlin had looked to the League of Nations and collective-security pacts, to a posture of greater self-reliance. In Moscow's opinion, the league and the West generally had failed to stand up to the aggressors; as a consequence, "the friends of peace" must look to their own devices.

The principal vehicle of Soviet self-reliance was the

Red Army. Like most of the government, the military had come under searching scrutiny, but whether the house-cleaning that resulted would strengthen or weaken the military Henderson could not say. Eventually it would turn out that the purges left the army demoralized and unready, but at the beginning of 1937 the possibility of an opposite effect seemed to exist. In January, Henderson reported a speech by the assistant commissar for defense detailing plans for enlarging the ranks and increasing the pay and preparedness of the forces. In addition, coastal installations were being strengthened and aircraft production was being stepped up. The military planners were preparing for a two-front war, and they had identified two "positive future opponents": Japan and Germany. The former's aggressive activities in the Far East constituted a threat the Kremlin could not overlook, but the latter posed what Moscow took to be the greater danger. For months, Henderson reported, the Soviet press had been recounting the nefarious activities of Germany:

When Goering [German air minister and Reichstag president] goes hunting in Poland it is announced in Moscow that Beck [Polish foreign minister] has sold out to Germany. When Schacht [German economics minister] goes to Belgium, it is pointed out that he is engaged in maneuvers for the purpose of obtaining foreign credits for Germany. When Germany and Yugoslavia sign a trade treaty, Moscow finds that Germany is making progress in its aim to break down the Little Entente. When the countries of the so-called Oslo bloc, namely Belgium, Luxemburg, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland, engage in conferences, the Soviet press insists that Germany and Great Britain were quarreling for economic ascendancy in those countries.

Article after article, Henderson continued, alleged that Germany was preparing for a new war. Some authors contended that the Soviet Union would feel the first attack; others suggested that Hitler would begin with Britain and France before turning east. All agreed that Czechoslovakia represented the weakest link in the opposition to the fascists.

Despite the anti-German drumbeating, Henderson detected signs of a last-minute rapprochement. "The rumors have gone the rounds in Moscow circles for some time that there is a possibility of better relations between Germany and the Soviet Union."

Naturally, the aspect of the Kremlin's foreign policy Henderson monitored most closely was its attitude toward the United States. Although U.S.-Soviet relations had not achieved the level of cooperation optimists like Bullitt had hoped for, Moscow never ceased trying, in its own ambivalent way, to play an American card against the fascists. At the beginning of 1936, Henderson reported a speech by V. M. Molotov in which the premier expressed satisfaction that ties between the two countries had "in general developed normally," despite attempts by "reactionary and fascist-inclined circles" in the United States to disrupt this favorable trend. Molotov went on to say that rapprochement between the United States and the Soviet Union had "enormous significance from the point of view of the preservation of general peace."

Commenting on this address two days later, Hen-

derson asserted that while it seemed part of a campaign to bring American influence to bear against the Germans and Japanese, it also reflected maneuvering among various groups in the Kremlin. A few months earlier, one of Henderson's contacts in the Soviet foreign ministry had reported that certain of his colleagues had nearly given up on the United States, believing the Roosevelt administration lacked the political will to overcome isolationist sentiment in the Congress. More recently, however, the ambassador to the United States, A. A. Troyanovski, had said he was making headway educating Kremlin leaders to the necessity of maintaining a positive approach to relations with Washington.

Molotov's speech, Henderson suspected, showed that Troyanovski and others of like mind were indeed gaining ground. A Soviet insider told him his bosses intended Molotov's comments as a friendly gesture. This contact went on to say that it would be "very helpful" to those elements in the party leadership who favored rapprochement if a responsible American official made a similar gesture in return. Henderson replied that he would gladly pass the suggestion along, but he commented that the Soviet government might itself facilitate matters by reining in its agents in the Communist International. What guarantee, he asked, did Washington have that a supportive statement would not be followed by some outrageous act by the Comintern, leaving the president in a "most embarrassing position"? Henderson remained skeptical, although discreet. "I refrained from pointing out," he wrote in his summary of the conversation, "that he had made similar remarks to me just prior to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International"—at which Comintern leaders had announced a policy of "boring from within."

AS LONG AS Bullitt was ambassador, the Soviet friendship offensive encountered little success, but with the appointment of Davies the Kremlin redoubled its efforts. In January 1937, Henderson ate lunch with Boris Steiger, who passed along the Kremlin's latest thinking. According to Steiger, the word from the top was that the new ambassador should be treated with "the utmost consideration and courtesy" and that "any irritations which may have arisen during the past three years are to be forgotten and a new book in the relations between the [U.S.] embassy and the Soviet government is to be opened." In an oblique reference to Bullitt, Steiger added that his government was pleased that Washington had seen fit to appoint an ambassador who would approach his work in an "objective spirit." Reflecting on diplomatic personality types, Steiger commented: "It is difficult to say which is worse—an ambassador who comes to the Soviet Union with a feeling of antagonism or one who does so full of sentimental friendliness. Probably the former is better since he will not be expecting exceptional treatment or personal favors and can be dealt with on a strictly business basis." Steiger offered two suggestions for Henderson to relay to the new ambassador: that he not take seriously the critical remarks he would surely hear from members of the diplomatic corps regarding

the Soviet Union, and that he approach his work in a "quiet and unobtrusive" manner and not allow "small irritations" to prejudice him until he had time to come to his own "balanced opinions."

Although the opinions Davies developed seemed less than balanced to Henderson and the other permanent officials, the Kremlin considered them objective enough, and it continued its efforts to promote détente. In the summer of 1937, Henderson reported a surge of favorable treatment of the United States in recent news stories and commentary. Passing along clippings from *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, he remarked that during his entire service in Moscow "no articles so friendly in tone towards the United States have been published in the Soviet press." By way of explanation, he cited three likely reasons for the positive attention. First, the Kremlin appeared to have overestimated the possibility of establishing security arrangements with the non-fascist countries of Europe; disillusioned with Britain and France, Moscow was now looking to the United States. Second, Soviet leaders had taken recent changes in neutrality legislation as a sign that the Roosevelt administration intended to adopt a more active policy toward world affairs. Finally, the Soviets hoped to heighten their international standing and believed rapprochement with Washington would work toward this end. In a letter to a friend, Henderson observed that the Kremlin interpreted improvements in U.S. relations with Britain as evidence that Washington was growing increasingly fearful of Germany and Japan. In the Soviet view, the United States would only join forces with its chief capitalist rival if it perceived a greater danger on the horizon. Summarizing, Henderson wrote that Soviet policy toward the United States seemed to combine Marxist dogma with tactical pragmatism—or, as Henderson put it, a "fixed determination" to hold to basic principles and a "remarkable degree of flexibility" regarding means of putting them into effect.

In a letter marking the third anniversary of recognition, Henderson offered his thoughts on the prospects for cooperation between Moscow and Washington. He was not encouraging. "Even with a maximum of good will upon both sides, it is not an easy task for two countries which, like the United States and the Soviet Union, represent not only quite dissimilar systems but also conflicting philosophies with respect to the duties and obligations of members of the family of nations, to maintain mutually satisfactory relations." But the Soviets would continue to seek accommodation—on their own terms. Henderson described two of Moscow's favorite strategies in dealing with the nations of the West. The first involved deliberate ambiguity: "working out formulas which can be interpreted in one manner by the Soviet government and in another manner by the government of the particular country concerned." (This strategy posed no particular problems for American leaders, for it was similar to what American politicians did. Indeed, conscious obfuscation would form a basic part of Roosevelt's negotiating repertoire during World War II, from the Atlantic conference to Yalta.) The second Soviet tactic was to make "certain concessions of a minor nature in return for corresponding advantages received." Once the Soviets discovered that a country

would make concessions, they increased their demands. Henderson termed this a "progressively aggressive foreign policy." He added that the "aggressive characteristics" of Moscow's diplomacy followed from the fact that the Soviet Union, to a greater degree than other countries, had established "a series of definite objectives," and that government officials rose or fell depending on their success in achieving these objectives.

Of the Kremlin's goals, the most important, in Henderson's view, was the ultimate expansion of Soviet power. But for the nearer term, Moscow had more modest objectives. In a world of rising fascism, its immediate interest lay in protecting the Soviet Union against attack, by increasing its military, economic, and political strength until it became, in Henderson's phrase, "an impregnable fortress." At the same time, Soviet leaders sought to promote fifth-column activities among the fascist and democratic states. Henderson thought he saw a fear among the Soviet leadership that if Moscow lost its hold on its agents they would develop into "implacable foes," but for now the Comintern seemed reliably pliant, and Stalin and his associates would continue to promote its subversive efforts. For this reason, if for no other, Henderson predicted that Soviet-American relations would remain rocky until "the whole system of the Soviet state and the ideology of its leaders should undergo a complete change."

HENDERSON LIVED long enough to witness substantial modifications in the Soviet government. Outlasting Stalin, he saw Khrushchev dismantle significant parts of his predecessor's grim handiwork. Surviving Khrushchev, he watched the glacial period of the cold war give way to the détente of the 1970s. Nonetheless, until his death last year, Henderson never discerned the "complete change" in Soviet ideology he considered necessary for genuine cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union, and he never lost his distrust of the Kremlin's motives in international relations.

Henderson's adherence to this position was not without personal cost. After the events of 1941 threw Washington and Moscow into an uneasy alliance, his vigilance seemed to some in the Roosevelt administration a hindrance to the collaboration needed to beat the Nazis. In 1943, the White House demanded his ouster from the area of U.S.-Soviet relations and exiled him, in effect, to Iraq. But events came full circle, and not long after Henderson took charge of the Office of Near Eastern Affairs in 1945, most of the rest of the U.S. government came to agree with his assessment of the Kremlin. From his new position he was able to play a central role in determining the U.S. response to Britain's declaration that it no longer could fund anti-communist forces in Greece and Turkey. And when Harry Truman announced the doctrine that would bear his name, the legislation he proposed was drafted by Henderson and contained many of the arguments about the Soviet Union the ambassador and high department official had been making for decades. □

COLD WAR MOSCOW: DIPLOMACY OF ENMITY

WALTER L. HIXSON

IN THE FALL of 1951, U.S. ambassador to Moscow Alan G. Kirk, drained after two and a half years in the job, asked to be replaced. At the time, George F. Kennan was working on the effort to reach a negotiated settlement in Korea. He was a natural candidate for the Moscow slot, and his fluency in Russian, which would ensure clear communication and maximum discretion in the event of negotiations with Stalin over the war, only made him more qualified. In late November, President Truman told the press that Kennan "would make a good ambassador. He certainly knows his way around there."

Although the Moscow ambassadorship was a prestigious post for which he was uniquely qualified, Kennan seemed ambivalent. His strong attachment to the Foreign Service conflicted with a desire to shed bureaucratic limitations and express himself freely in an academic environment. Kennan also hoped to avoid a policymaking job because of the "divergence between my own views and those that have been, and are, current in the shaping of policy." Kennan's nomination, announced on December 27, was "not the result of any suggestion on my part," the diplomat told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. "It was the idea of the president and the secretary of state." Nevertheless, the appointment appealed to the diplomat's sense of mission: "Of all the jobs in the world, this was the one which I had the least right to refuse," he said after arriving in Moscow.

Kennan's nomination received widespread support in the American press. Even *Time*, critical of the policy of containment, offered lukewarm praise. "Kennan's possible defects as a top planner of U.S. policy would not be defects in a U.S. ambassador," the magazine explained. "That job is primarily one of analyzing Russian policies and motives, at which Kennan is one of the best living practitioners."

The Soviet media displayed considerably less enthusiasm for this appointment. On December 26, the Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* assailed the diplomat's record of "hate" toward the Soviet Union. Falsely charging Kennan with viewing Soviet-American war as inevitable, Radio Moscow declared that "it is not by chance that the State Department appoints as diplomats in Moscow and in the people's democracies shady persons who are usually spies of long standing."

Walter L. Hixson recently received his Ph.D. in history from the University of Colorado and is working on a book on George Kennan.

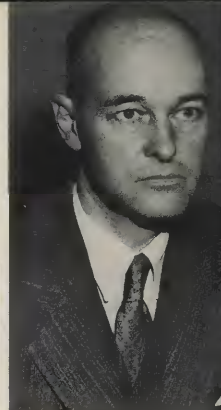
Warsaw Radio noted that Kennan would be closely observed to prevent him from "spying" while in Moscow. The Soviet press pointed out that Kennan's presidency of the Free Russia Fund, a Ford Foundation-sponsored program for Soviet and East European emigrés, constituted a conflict of interest. Kennan resigned the position, and Moscow accepted the appointment.

The Foreign Relations Committee heard only two hours of testimony before confirming his nomination in April 1952. The ambassador told reporters he looked forward to the "opportunity to contribute to a relaxation of tensions and an improvement of the international atmosphere. It seems to me that both of these objectives are obviously and urgently desirable, and I see no reason why they should not be within the realm of possibility if the desire is shared on the other side." Kennan privately assured reporters that if anyone could improve the frigid climate of Soviet-American relations, it was he.

Kennan was not entirely optimistic, however. While he hoped to use his new position to open a U.S.-Soviet dialogue over Korea and other cold war issues, he worried that the collapse of bipartisanship and controversy over domestic communism had made Americans suspicious of coming to terms with the U.S.S.R. "We are in real danger that the concepts necessary for the conduct of foreign affairs will be driven out and replaced by the clichés and epithets of the great over-simplifiers," he declared. "The very word 'diplomacy' has been semantically discredited in our American vocabulary; but I know of no other term that will replace it."

In the weeks before he left for Moscow in May, Kennan expected a briefing from Secretary of State Acheson. When no instructions materialized, he arranged a meeting and asked the secretary what initiatives he should take regarding Germany, Korea, and other issues. Acheson responded that with the formation of the new West German government and the European Defense Community hanging in the balance, Kennan should do nothing to upset the status quo. Feeling "extremely lonely," Kennan wrote in his diary:

It seemed to me that I was being sent on a mission to play a game at which I could not possibly win and that part of my obligation consisted of assiduously concealing from the world the fact that I could not win at all and taking upon myself the onus of whatever overt fail-



When Kennan arrived at the Kremlin in the spring of 1952, he hoped to start a thaw in Soviet-American relations.

ures were involved... It was with a very heavy heart that I set forth, thus empty handed, uninstructed, and uncertain, to what is surely the most important and delicate of the world's diplomatic tasks at this particular juncture.

Foreboding gave way to confidence once he arrived in Moscow on May 6. He hoped that his mission would spark a fresh start in U.S.-Soviet relations. "I want to assume that everything I've thought up to now is wrong, and see whether I come out at the same place this time." Kennan believed that Stalin, having abandoned hopes of world conquest as a result of American displays of resolve, might be ready to forge a settlement in Europe and Asia.

Kennan's prestige and optimism impressed the young Foreign Service officers who served under him. "We were terribly excited to hear that he was coming," one of them, Richard Davies, recalled in 1979. "He was the person on whom most of the younger officers—certainly in Soviet studies—modeled themselves." Morale picked up immediately," recalled Frank Rounds, another of Kennan's subordinates. "His enthusiasm, his energy, his curiosity; all of us ... caught a bit of this." Working long hours, Kennan revitalized the operations of the largest embassy in the Soviet capital. But according to Rounds, the effort left Kennan "pale and tired after only a few days in Moscow."

As the author of containment and one of the West's top experts on the Soviet Union, Kennan commanded respect in the foreign diplomatic community there. "Although Kennan has now been here less than three weeks," Rounds noted in late May, "he is already the acknowledged leader of the entire western community in Moscow." In addition to the support of his staff and other foreign diplomats, Kennan enjoyed good press at home. Richard Rovere and Harrison Salisbury wrote complimentary pieces in the *New Yorker* and the

New York Times, respectively. "Nor only does [Kennan] look with trained eyes," gushed Salisbury, "but he has the trained mind to interpret what goes on before his eyes."

BUT THE HOPEFUL atmosphere that pervaded the beginning of Kennan's tenure was destroyed by his intolerance for life in Moscow. At first he endured Soviet regulations, including those that precluded travel more than 25 miles outside of Moscow, forbade him to speak with Soviet citizens, and required him to purchase most Soviet publications through the Foreign Ministry. When Kennan served in Moscow during the 1930s and 1940s, he had friends among the Soviet employees at the embassy, but in 1952, the stone-faced servants at Spaso House shunned communication, groundskeepers declined to work, and security officers followed Kennan wherever he went, depriving him of enjoyable strolls among the Russian people. "I came gradually to think of myself as a species of disembodied spirit," recalled Kennan, "capable, like the invisible character of the fairy tales, of seeing others and moving among them but not of being seen, or at least not of being identified by them." The ambassador attended the Moscow theater virtually every week, but each time the security officers would muscle patrons out of their seats behind him to take their posts. "This made for a very morbid kind of evening," observed Richard Davies.

At first Kennan believed that he had to gain the respect of the Kremlin in the face of these provocations or the regime would refuse to conduct diplomacy with him. "Their first inclination, I've always felt, is to look upon you as they look upon their own representatives—as someone who has been told what to say and can be counted on to say it at every opportu-

nity," Kennan explained. "One reason they have you followed everywhere is to learn what sort of person you are, and I think that when they find character, they respect it."

This cheerful approach soon wore thin, however, largely as a result of Kennan's anger over the daily barrage of anti-American propaganda. While such diatribes were hardly novel in Moscow, they intensified as a result of the Korean war. "Day after day the American military are openly committing atrocities and acts of brigandage," read one *Pravda* statement. Under the headline "Cannibalistic American Imperialism," another *Pravda* writer declared that "all peace-loving nations are deeply indignant over the monstrous atrocities of the U.S. soldiery" in Korea. Americans were the "bloodiest beasts, the worst enemies of humanity," the operators of prison camps reminiscent of Dachau. The Soviet press also accused Acheson and Truman of "slander" and "hackneyed, trite lies," charging that "not one of their speeches is without anti-Soviet attack."

KENNAN BELIEVED that the anti-American campaign was rooted in Moscow's desire to bolster morale among world communists by stepping up attacks on U.S. "imperialism." But he also thought that it may have been a response to his arrival. On June 19, Foreign Minister Andrei Vyshinsky assured Kennan he was not the target of Moscow's propaganda, which, he claimed, was a response to the anti-Soviet propaganda in the United States. Kennan told Vyshinsky that he sought to improve Soviet-American relations, "but what I had seen here since my arrival really caused me to question whether there was any point in such effort, since it could not be entirely a one-way street."

When the anti-American statements continued to appear, Kennan decided to make Soviet propaganda a major issue. "I think we must be careful, precisely in this semi-oriental country," he told the State Department, "not to permit our presence and silence to be exploited as an exhibit to others of our weakness, our lack of pride and dignity, and our helplessness in the face of insult." On August 11, Kennan wrote directly to Truman: "The thing that strikes me hardest, is the extent to which the Soviet government has lost contact with the West. There is simply no real channel for exchange of views." Kennan told the president that he opposed negotiations until Moscow ended the anti-American campaign. "I think the first thing we should insist upon as prerequisites to any improvement of our relations," he wrote, "are a cease-fire in Korea and a termination of the violent and dirty anti-American propaganda being put out daily here in Moscow."

Kennan's recommendations reflect the extent to which he was personally offended by the attacks, which he nevertheless dutifully monitored every day. "It is no easy thing to take this outrageous and provocative propaganda material, permeated as it is with the smell of a vicious and shameless mentality, and subject it to a calm and dispassionate analysis," Kennan told Deputy Under Secretary H. Freeman Matthews on June 6. "I do not particularly mind the life

here," he told another colleague, "but I find it impossible to adjust comfortably to the incredible volume and hatefulness of lies these people manage to put out about us and themselves and everyone."

The ambassador concluded that the propaganda offensive signaled Moscow's lack of interest in negotiations over the Korean war and other issues. Throughout 1952, the State Department considered a fresh approach to Moscow over Korea, possibly through a personal meeting between Kennan and Stalin. U.S. officials hoped to forge a breakthrough in the stalemated war through such a meeting, but Kennan was now opposed to taking the initiative. "Not only do I feel such approach would not be useful," Kennan wired Washington in July, "I think it might actually have an unfortunate and dangerous effect on the general pattern of Soviet-western relations unless it were backed up by some real means of pressure."

Kennan reasoned that Stalin would not seek peace in Korea unless he derived some gain from it. "To enhance Soviet interest in promoting ceasefire at this time it would be necessary to find some means for convincing them that failure to achieve ceasefire would again jeopardize their interests." While warning against "overt military steps on our part," Kennan described the pressures that might compel Moscow to agree to settlement in Korea:

What I have in mind are steps in nature of blockading and harassing operations along China coast, hit-and-run raids, gradual introduction of selective strategic bombing in central and southern areas, etc. These should be carefully coordinated, designed to weary Chinese, to throw them off balance, strain their economy and transport. All this should be accomplished in such a manner as to avoid (1) unhealthy political commitments to Chiang Kai-shek, (2) suffering of Chinese civilian population as a direct effect of our action, and (3) any unwise attempt at penetration on land which could result in getting finger caught in door.

Pressure directed primarily against China might force Moscow to compel a negotiated settlement in Korea, Kennan argued. It also could improve the Soviet attitude toward the West. Kennan explained that Moscow's "totally arrogant and defiant policy" entailed the abandonment of "respectable ties to the West on a scale never before attempted in Soviet practices." Beyond Stalin and secret police chief Lavrentia Beria, however, there were Soviet officials who favored restoring ties to the West. The best means of encouraging this faction, wrote Kennan, was for the United States to continue a stance of "manful reserve, dignity, and independence" which would "strain the nerves of those committed to the thesis that we are slipping and encourage critics of their policy."

The worst that could be done in this situation was a direct approach to Stalin or Vyshinsky. "Since my arrival here," Kennan explained:

I have left Soviet government strictly alone except to make to Vyshinsky one serious expression of concern about the anti-American campaign. I feel instinctively that this reserve on our part...is having a beneficial effect here and should by all means be continued. In particular, I am convinced it has been wise on our part



that I should not ask for interview with Stalin. We have taken the initiative too many times, and he has taken it too few in such contacts...If I go down now either to Vyshinsky or Stalin with an empty-handed appeal for their help regarding Korea, I feel this will surely be seized upon by the group now in authority as a vindication of their policy in general, and of violently anti-American line in particular.

Kennan seemed to feel that the Kremlin would monitor his personal comportment and shape its policies accordingly. Although Moscow and Peking had signed a treaty of friendship, it is by no means clear that Kennan's program of harassment against the People's Republic would inspire Stalin to make a peace settlement in Korea. Indeed, Kennan, still paying little attention to the internal dynamics of the conflict, showed excessive faith in Moscow's ability to compel a solution in Korea, where talks remained stalemated over the issue of repatriation of prisoners. But in the end, Ambassador to Japan Robert Murphy, the U.S. military commanders in Korea, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff agreed with Kennan on the inadvisability of a diplomatic initiative in Moscow; none was made in 1952.

Kennan also urged a reduction of trade with the communist world. In August he urged that as a matter of policy the United States should make up through aid whatever economic losses its allies might incur by forgoing trade with communist areas. "I have," he wrote, "no desire to see us expedite the tempo of communist military industrialization and have misgivings, running back over more than 20 years' experience, about seeing non-communist businessmen involve themselves in any unnecessarily extensive and habitual business ties with communist trade monopolies."

While nothing matched Kennan's anger at the Soviet regime, he also complained about the State Department bureaucracy. With the postwar reorganization of U.S. diplomacy, ambassadors no longer exerted the influence of the pre-war and wartime era. The Policy Planning

Staff, National Security Council, Joint Chiefs of Staff, the CIA, and other agencies offered new sources of knowledge and advice, relegating ambassadors from an advisory to a reportorial role. "Why the government wants an ambassador here is still difficult for me to fathom," Kennan wrote. Complaining that he had no voice in personnel decisions, he charged that the embassy was "absurdly overstaffed...in order that people in Washington can feel happy about the organization tables and training schedules."

Perhaps more disheartening was his realization that although some of his analyses had received spectacular attention, most had been ignored. "Nobody is going to do any real thinking about Russia," he advised a junior diplomat.

The [State] Department must not be thought of as a wise and informed analyst, capable of putting two and two together or of remembering today what you said last week. Think of it rather as a multitude of well-meaning, mildly interested, but harried and distraught people, whose memories go back, with luck, something like 48 hours and who, though they might be capable of rational process, are scarcely apt to be found indulging in it with respect to your particular field of interest.

NOSTALGIC BY INCLINATION, Kennan felt that the embassy lacked the camaraderie he had known in the 1930s. The days when Kennan and his wife cheerfully frolicked about the Soviet capital were certainly long gone. In his final months of life, Stalin prepared to institute another purge, creating a tense atmosphere in Moscow. Although Kennan enjoyed weekends at his dacha in the countryside, the ambassador's home, Spaso House, was a target of Soviet espionage. Kennan confirmed this not unexpected development in September when he assisted technicians as they uncovered a bug planted in the wall behind the Great Seal of the United States. Kennan attempted to limit



As winter approached later that year, the American ambassador lost his cool at an impromptu press conference and was declared persona non grata.

U.S. espionage activities emanating from the embassy, but he failed to prevent the military attachés from photographing Soviet planes from the embassy roof.

Kennan realized that as long as the war continued in Korea, little could be accomplished in Moscow. His tour there only reaffirmed his sense of uselessness as a professional diplomat. In September, Kennan's frustration and his enmity toward the Soviet regime resulted in an incident that virtually ensured his removal as ambassador.

Arriving in Berlin en route to a meeting with U.S. ambassadors in London, Kennan criticized the Soviet regime in no uncertain terms. When a reporter asked about his social life at post, the ambassador exploded. "Don't you know how foreign diplomats live in Moscow?" Kennan asked. As the reporters scrawled in their notebooks, Kennan compared life in the Soviet capital to the months of his internment in Nazi Germany during World War II. [See "Guests of the Gestapo," May 1986.] "Had the Nazis permitted us to walk the streets without having the right to talk to any Germans, that would be exactly how we have to live in Moscow today," Kennan declared. He alluded to the "icy-cold" atmosphere of the capital city and denounced the anti-American propaganda in the Soviet press. "The fact is that as long as the Soviets permit such a campaign to go on, and as long as they permit Korea to go on, they have apparently no intention of improving relations with us. Once they do something about these two points, we could assume they have good intentions."

A week later *Pravda* responded by attacking Kennan in an article entitled "American Slanderer in a Diplomat's Mask." The story asserted that "Kennan lied ecstatically," and that his "crude anti-Soviet sally leaves no doubt that such a statement could only be made by a person unable to restrain his malevolent hostility to the Soviet Union, who not only desires no improvement in American-Soviet relations, but uses every opportunity to make them worse." Kennan's "slandrous fabrications" and his "repulsive attack on the Soviet Union" exposed the diplomat as "an enemy of peace, and this means an enemy also of the Soviet Union." The article charged that the ambassador had violated the "elementary rules obligatory for a diplomat."

ON OCTOBER 3, while Kennan was visiting his daughter in Geneva, the Soviet government delivered a diplomatic note declaring him *persona non grata*. Moscow demanded his recall as ambassador, citing his "slandrous attacks hostile to the Soviet Union in rude violation of generally recognized norms of international law." That same day, Acheson replied that the United States "does not accept as valid the charges made by the Soviet government," but the perturbed secretary told Kennan to stay in Europe until after the November presidential election. Kennan was widely supported in the Congress, especially by the Republican right-wing. Senator William Knowland of California, for example, wrote Acheson demanding the removal of the Soviet ambassador, Georgi Zarubin, and the withdrawal of diplomatic recognition of the

"uncivilized communist regime," advice which Acheson refused.

Most of the American press rallied around Kennan. The *Baltimore Sun* argued that the diplomat's removal had little to do with his Berlin commentary: "The Russians are afraid of him. The man is too good, he knows too much for the Kremlin's comfort." The *San Francisco Chronicle* agreed: "They fear his acute powers of observation and analysis being brought to bear on the forbidding Russian system." But the support was not unanimous. C. L. Sulzberger criticized Kennan in the *New York Times*: "Things are definitely worse than before the brilliant author of the containment policy presented his credentials at the Kremlin. They are likely to remain so for some time as a result of his perhaps unnecessary Berlin press conference." "With all due respect to Mr. Acheson's righteous indignation over the Russian note," declared the *Nation*, "we can hardly imagine a less diplomatic public utterance than the American ambassador's."

Refusing to shoulder the blame, Kennan wrote from Germany to a friend that the Soviet regime had "ulterior motives" for his dismissal:

While I am sure that people in the department are reproaching me for "indiscretion," I have a good conscience about the matter. I know they would not have expelled me unless they felt that I was coming too close to the exposure of some of their frauds and outrages, which it seems to me it was my job to do. At any rate, I am happy not to have to go back.

As instructed by Acheson, Kennan stayed in Europe until after the election, returning to the United States in late November. Recounting his experiences before a State Department audience, the diplomat admitted that "I blew my top." But he also found "a certain comic opera quality" in the train of events. "The upshot was one which was to the eminent satisfaction of almost everyone concerned. The Soviet government wanted to get rid of me, and did. I desperately wanted to leave, and succeeded in doing so." In a reference to the Republican right, Kennan observed that his removal "earned me the praises of a great many people in this country whose admiration I did not particularly covet." Only the United States government was unhappy, Kennan asserted, but, "It could not reproach anyone for an anti-Soviet remark four weeks before the election. So outwardly, everyone was happy."

Kennan admitted that "it is the task of the diplomat to make himself acceptable to the host government." But as a result of the "vilification" and "profoundly hostile and offensive" Soviet actions toward the United States, "his first task is not to try to make himself acceptable to the authors of these phenomena but to uphold the dignity of his country.... I take a certain satisfaction that the Soviet leaders wished to get rid of me."

Despite the incident, Kennan told his colleagues that he still favored an eventual diplomatic solution with Moscow over Korea, Berlin, and other issues. "I would negotiate with the Soviet representatives coldly and brutally and in full acceptance of the fact that their ultimate aim is to ruin us, and that they believe our ultimate aim is to ruin them." □



The ambassador gets a ride to work from an embassy staffer in her personal car.

A Conversation with Ambassador Arthur A. Hartman

MOSCOW TODAY: ABNORMALITY IS THE NORM

LIFE IN THE Soviet Union has always been trying for American diplomats, but the last several years may have been the most difficult yet. In addition to all the usual privations and annoyances, there was the brief scare that KGB agents were using a potentially carcinogenic chemical to trace the movements of Foreign Service personnel—lab tests eventually showed that the so-called “spy dust” was harmless—and since last fall embassy employees have had to perform all of the housekeeping and office chores formerly done by the Soviet national staff after they were withdrawn by the Soviet government.

In late March, when the JOURNAL sat down to talk with the man who had just stepped down as head of that mission for the last five years, there were news reports that several of the embassy's Marine guards had allegedly compromised the security of the chancery building and ongoing criticisms in the press that the new chancery under construction had been bugged by its Soviet builders. Since then, President Reagan and several legislators have expressed concern about many aspects of the security arrangements in Moscow and suggested that the current chancery may still be compromised and that the new one may have to be demolished (See DESPATCH, page 24). Our conversation with Ambassador Arthur A. Hartman follows.

Before the withdrawal of Soviet employees from the U.S. embassy in Moscow last October, the press reported that the State Department was already planning to reduce their number and replace them with Americans hired by a State Department contractor. What was the time frame that you had in mind to accomplish that? And how well prepared were you when the local employees walked out?

Well, our plan had been not to remove all Soviet employees but gradually to reduce our dependence on them and to reduce their total number. The idea was to enhance security, and I think that sometimes there

is a difficulty in getting across to the American public that getting rid of all Soviet employees and bringing in young Americans to Moscow is not necessarily the best way to enhance security. Unfortunately, we've now seen alleged evidence of this with some of the Marine security guards.

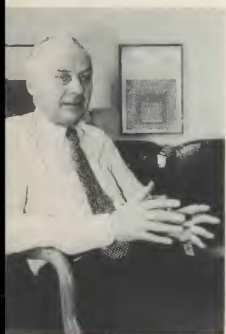
Our purpose in trying to reduce the numbers was to be more independent, to attempt to eliminate any possibility of the Soviets' getting access to places we didn't want them to. But as you can see in the case of our guards, it may be that the KGB's operations through young and inexperienced people in Moscow would have got them the access they wanted anyway.

On the other hand, the U.S.S.R. is a closed society, and our purpose in being in Moscow is to understand and report on it as fully as possible. So we have to balance the risk and the opportunities. We want our people to know how to handle themselves and to engage, to get out and talk to Soviets and to do what you can only do on the spot in Moscow. After all, you can sit in Washington and read *Pravda* and *Izvestia*.

So we weigh that and try to see that the people who have experience and know what they are doing are engaged in that activity. Unfortunately, we have to discourage others from the kind of contact where they could be put in jeopardy or under pressure. I must say that during my five years we've had cases where we've had to ship people home. And that's why I am always very skittish about easy solutions such as getting rid of all Soviet employees. I can't tell you how many times we've talked to employees who met these marvelous Finnish girls in the hotels, and we've had to tell them that they were Soviet agents.

Does that make you worry that the new American contract employees might provide more opportunities for the Soviets to breach security?

We will have to be careful. We have to clear these



I'm saddened and shocked by the episode; you feel as though you've been betrayed. A lot of people say if we hadn't had the Soviet employees, this wouldn't have happened. But we've had just as much trouble with people contacted at hotels

people. We have to be sure that they're properly oriented before they go out. But you take a chance when you send people who are going to Moscow basically because it's a job, not because they are professionally motivated. We are going to have a difficult time in the near future. Perhaps with the new building, the housing part will be easier for personnel who have no Soviet resources—no Russian-language training, for example—to live in Moscow. The new complex will have a bowling alley, a swimming pool, places to show movies. These will be in addition to the two dachas we now have out of town. I hate to see people come to Moscow and be completely bottled up, but we've got to make sure they understand what the dangers are and take proper precautions.

Do you believe the embassy right now is secure from Soviet surveillance?

I don't want to comment on that now, because there are particular cases being investigated. But if it is true that these Marines allowed Soviets to enter, we have a very, very serious problem. I'm saddened and shocked by the episode; you feel as though you've been betrayed. A lot of people say if we hadn't had the Soviet employees at the embassy, this wouldn't have happened. But as I said earlier, we've had just as much trouble with people who are contacted in hotels or out of the town.

On the human side, we read reports in the press that the abrupt removal of local employees necessitated having political officers, for instance, scrub toilets and do other housekeeping chores. What has it been like?

I think people in Washington don't fully understand the difficulties because they haven't been through it. All of us who have served overseas have done so where there are local employees, yet we don't fully appreciate all the tasks they perform. Well, we found out because we were the only embassy in the world that actually operated—and is still operating, even though some of the contract employees have begun to arrive—without any local employees.

The entire staff volunteered to do what we call all-purpose duty. APD lists were made up, and every day from five to eight people would do all of the tasks that had previously been done by the Soviets. These included scrubbing the halls, taking care of common areas, the toilets, the area behind the embassy, snow removal, moving cars, etc. We had to find embassy officers who could drive trucks. We had to go out and pick up the pouch and get our own tickets. All the things that earlier we had relied on Soviet staff to do now had to be done by Americans. We have for a number of years cleaned our own offices, so that was not a problem.

The workload for every employee increased as a result—and without any extra pay, I might add. People were doing all sorts of jobs that they had not been recruited for but there were no complaints. I think that the staff at the embassy did a magnificent job.

But it was a very cold and bitter winter to be going out and picking up the pouch or going to the station early in the morning to get the milk. Or just handling the tremendous amount of pouch material—tons of

it—that comes into Moscow because we can't rely on Soviet supplies for many things. And each load has to be guarded on the way for security reasons. Then it has to be loaded and unloaded by American employees—officers, staff, secretaries. All of them pitched in to keep the embassy functioning.

I drove my own car—I actually like to drive myself—whenever there was a function where I could park with ease. The military lent us six drivers, who eventually took over the truck driving and much of the chauffeuring. I also did my share of the snow shoveling and office cleaning. I'm probably the only ambassador in the world—except for the Israelis, from whom we learned it—who cleans his own office.

There were a lot of other inconveniences. For example, we have many working couples, and suddenly the people who took care of the children disappeared. But everyone was flexible, and we set up a day-care center, some brought their children to work, and we put in a flex-time system. We counted on everyone to be mature enough to function as an embassy employee, as someone who is maintaining the place, and as a person with family obligations as well.

While it was fun at first, and indeed educational—officers had to go to customs and stand there as the Soviets had to for three or four hours; you learn something about the bureaucracy and you get to talk to ordinary citizens—it palls after a while. Standing in customs lines is not the best way to learn about Soviet society.

Did the lack of local employees hinder the embassy in dealing with the Soviet bureaucracy?

The local employees worked for the Soviet bureaucracy. They may have known where to go to get tickets or something, but very often the bureaucracy used them. It's been no mystery to us that the Soviets used the local staff to know what we were doing. On the other hand there is no way of living in Moscow without the Soviets knowing what you are doing. We see now that, allegedly, they successfully used them against our Marines.

Everyday tasks are difficult in the Soviet Union. You don't just go to American Express to get airline tickets. Foreigners have to go to a special agency to get theater tickets. Some of the staff were able to go directly to the managers, but the Soviets would not permit that for every employee. Occasionally we had to use the pressure of retaliation in Washington to get the Soviets to open up and provide the services needed to live in Moscow. That was of course necessary before the FSNs walked out, but it became more important afterward.

What sort of skills will the embassy be looking for in contract employees, and how will they be trained?

The new American contract employees are supposed to have Russian-language capability, and indeed some of the maintenance people who came over before I left seem to have enough Russian qualifications to build on. I would like to see us look perhaps for graduate students with language capability who want to study the Soviet Union first hand. The chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Dante

Fascell, put into the Diplomatic Security Act a provision for Fascell Fellows. That would enable us to get people from the university community who are willing to do these jobs in Moscow, and they in turn would be paid while they were at the embassy. But we would also have to caution them and watch them very carefully.

Since we have to stay within our ceiling of 225 personnel, we are going to have to train whole new cadres of people to come in and do these tasks and substantive jobs as well. In the future this may become a first-tour experience, or maybe something to be done before people enter the Foreign Service.

Were any embassy functions moved to other locations?

Actually, we had been thinking for some time before the Soviets walked off that there were a number of functions that could be performed effectively outside the country. Our planning in that direction had already gone quite far, and indeed some of those functions are already established in places like Helsinki, where we have a large warehouse which we used to stage things into Moscow. Because of the embassy-construction program, we already had trucks regularly coming in from there with guards on them.

But our planning must go much further now. My understanding is that we are going to choose another place in Europe to which many functions, such as budget and fiscal, will be transferred. That will enable us to cut operations to a bare minimum. We will try to limit the tasks that we perform in the Soviet Union to just those things that can only be performed there.

The United States has another mission in the Soviet Union, the consulate general at Leningrad. How were they affected by the walkout?

If you are smaller, you are more vulnerable, because you have fewer people to cope with the all-purpose duty. The Leningrad people nonetheless behaved beautifully. Most of the family members were already working, and everybody pitched in. There wasn't a large population of children because we have no school there, so that wasn't a problem as it was in Moscow.

In fact, at Leningrad they not only carried on the work but their reporting quality went up. They've got a new spirit there of getting out into the community, and it's been really remarkable the kinds of things they have been reporting.

In the past the Moscow embassy was bombarded with microwaves, and in the last few years there have been other potential health hazards to our personnel in the Soviet Union, such as "spy dust." How serious are these threats?

In the superpower relationship, both sides are trying to gain knowledge about the other. Technology develops all kinds of interesting ways of getting information. I have taken the position all along that the U.S. government should not accept it when its employees are subject to anything that is not normally in the Soviet environment. If that sort of thing happens again, we should cease operations in Moscow and tell

the Soviets to cease operations here until it stops.

There is currently an epidemic of stomach difficulties in Moscow and Leningrad, and ordinary Soviet citizens are subjected to the same thing. We have to take precautions there, perhaps by installing filters or chemical processing.

How have the health hazards, double duty requirements, and other hardships affected morale?

It was a hard winter. Some people will be feeling good about the fact that they've gotten through it and done a good job, and other people will be feeling tired and exhausted. But things have always been difficult in the Soviet Union. Many things that are normal in Foreign Service life are not permitted in Moscow. For instance, we cannot allow classified word processor work in Moscow because we haven't found a way to protect it.

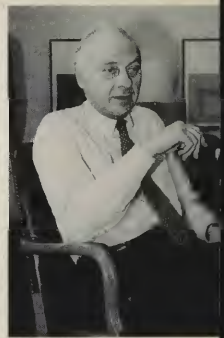
How will life change for our personnel in the Soviet Union once things shake down?

Some of the people coming in as contract employees may have to be somewhat isolated from the Soviets. More people are already living in a single guarded complex with 18 militia guards around it. It looks a lot like Alcatraz—I have asked the Soviets to remove some of the guards—and it will affect the ability of officers to make contact with citizens.

To get around that difficulty, we are keeping Spaso House. Spaso House doesn't have as big a guarded area around it as the embassy, and we can put an officer at the one entrance to ensure that people with legitimate invitations aren't hindered from getting in. This is very important because once a month we have a film showing at the house, and certain people who are on the outs with the regime have been able to attend. Many of them are familiar names, such as Andre Sakharov's wife, Yelena Bonner, before she went into exile. Many of the outsiders whom we invite are famous names too, such as Vladimir Horowitz or the architect Kevin Roach. I could never get Soviet architects into my house if I invite them as ambassador, but if I invite them to meet one of their leading colleagues, they can come. The house is kind of a cultural center. It helps us pierce this closed society. We have to think of all kinds of ways like this to reach the Soviet people. They have a whole crew who do nothing but try to put Americans into a cocoon so that they can influence them. We are trying to break out of that cocoon.

When will our operations in the Soviet Union return to normal?

Moscow is a very abnormal place. We are going to have to establish a balance between making sure our people are not open to security risks and making sure that they can still get out and observe Soviet society. In the end we will have to tighten the existing double standard for Americans in terms of access to the various parts of the embassy and their ability to move around the area. The alleged incidents with the Marines show that that is necessary. In addition, we will have to give careful thought to replacing young Marines with more mature adults.



Moscow is a very abnormal place. We will have to establish a balance between making sure our people are not open to security risks and making sure that they can still observe Soviet society. We will have to tighten the double standard for Americans in terms of access

The Last Flight Out

CINDY AND I stood on the outdoor terrace of the Kabul International Airport. A murmur within the crowd alerted us. We could see a distant speck become a plane, moving out of the clouds above the Himalayas, to make its descent into the Kabul valley. This great silver bird would be carrying diplomats from abroad, pilgrims from holy places, and we hoped, Cindy's older sister, Caren, fresh from her first year of college, home for the summer.

"Look Mom, she's gotten fat, and old," Cindy said, as we watched the passengers disembark and spotted Caren who, with everyone else, waved and shouted greetings before going inside to pass through customs and collect their baggage.

"Cindy," I protested, "Caren's not fat. She's just filled out, and become more mature. You'll do the same in three years, when you're an old woman of nineteen!"

"Well, I plan to put that off as long as possible," Cindy said, with a smile. "Too bad Dad couldn't get out of his meeting to be here. Wanna bet he calls her 'whaletail' when he sees her?" The summer passed much like the carefree summers before. The house was filled with sounds of music: the Doors, Santana, Burt Bacharach. There was laughter, rock 'n' roll, dancing, crushes on Peace Corps kids, and a young Afghan prince who came to court Caren. Even Cindy succumbed to the process of growing up and borrowed big sister's eye shadow and rollers, and her blue jeans suddenly seemed a bit too tight.

Come September, though, Mike and I knew that Caren was no longer free, or fickle. She was, instead, in love. His name was Alfonso. He was a Spanish pianist-composer from Valencia. College was out, marriage was in, she told us. But, they would have to wait. The wedding would be in Spain. And Alfonso's contract with the Kabul Intercontinental Hotel wasn't up until the following April. No problem. Alfonso would play

*A military coup
can ruin the best-laid
wedding plans*

BETTE J. CRUIT

Caren would sing, and they would save money like mad.

"Why get married in Valencia?" Cindy asked. "If I were you, I'd be married here in Afghanistan, beside the giant Buddhas of Bamiyan, or on the banks of the Band-i-amir. That would be cool!"

But Alfonso persisted. His sizable family could not travel all the way to Kabul—and the Cathedral in Valencia was where his father and forefathers had been married, christened, and confirmed."

"That does it. You win. Our wedding bells will ring in Valencia," Caren said with finality.

"And when will it be, Alfonso?" Cindy asked.

"Next July—the 23rd—on my parents' anniversary. A most beautiful day, *amorcita mia*."

Thus began what seemed like an endless period of preparation, interspersed with fun times, like an engagement party at the Intercontinental just after Christmas, a bridal shower, and a bachelor bash for the groom. Hundreds of snapshots were sent off to family and friends in the United States and Spain. The nitty-gritty job of designing wedding invitations to be printed—on one side in English and the other in Spanish—by Farsi speakers in Kabul took patience and ingenuity.

Even our servants, Fazil the gardener and Kasim the houseboy, were caught up

in the magic. The table cloth and napkins made by their wives and daughters, of homespun cotton, the edges exquisitely embroidered, claimed a special place in Caren's hope chest.

Mike took care of flight reservations to Spain for Caren and Alfonso, the first to go. Cindy followed, at the close of school, to help with wedding plans, apartment hunting, trousseau shopping. We would have to leave later. "After all," Mike said, "the business of the Foreign Service must go on, wedding or not."

It was, at last, our day of departure. The tall Afghan official at Kabul Airport looked down at Mike and me after leafing through my passport three or four times. He then handed it to Mike.

"Your wife's passport," he said, "does not have the proper exit stamp. She cannot leave the country."

Mike was stunned. "I don't understand," he said. "The Travel Office assured me that both passports were in order."

"Sorry—next!" he said, dismissing us and turning away abruptly. Mike and I looked at each other. He put his arm around me, seeing the desperation in my eyes.

"He's just doing his job," he said. "I'll get it straightened out with a call to the embassy. Jerry will contact the minister of foreign affairs."

"But—it's Juma," I yelled after him. "Friday—the ministries are all closed."

"Don't worry." His voice trailed back to me. "Don't worry."

I pushed our luggage toward a nearby bench and sat down. This can't be happening, I thought. Caren would be married in just two days, and was counting on her dad to be there, to give her away. Grandmothers, aunts, uncles, and cousins would be arriving from the United States and gather at the Astoria Palace Hotel. There would be parties to introduce the families before the marriage, and a champagne reception afterward, with music, dancing, a mammoth wedding cake.



Illustration by Frank Bozzonetti/IBH Communications

THEN, PANIC STRUCK. I had the wedding veil in my suitcase—my grandmother's, my mother's, mine, and now Caren's. Something old, lovingly hand-sewn, carefully kept. The tiny pearls, still bright, nestled among the white lace medallions. I remembered our family photographs of the happy brides who wore it, their smiling faces framed within its gentle folds. A tradition to cherish, to pass on and on. Suddenly, my tears could not be stopped.

Mike returned with a look of resignation on his face. "I got Jerry, and he's doing his best to track down someone in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—the minister himself is out of town. But let's face it. This plane leaves in 15 minutes. We may have to catch tomorrow's flight."

"Oh no!" I screamed, swallowing tears and sobs, and racing across the lounge to

face the tall officiating Afghan. "Sir," I said, "if we don't leave today, we'll miss our daughter's wedding festivities. Surely you have a son or daughter, and know how important weddings are to the families." I dabbed at my eyes with a piece of shredded tissue. "Do you have a daughter?"

"Well—yes," he said. And seeing his face soften a bit, I quickly went on.

"Sir, please help us. We have lived and worked here in your country for five years. We've known only kindness and hospitality from our Afghan friends and colleagues. Please don't change that now. Can you—would you—let us go through? Just this time?"

Mike was at my side as we watched him stamp our passports and wave us through to the departure lounge, gesturing impatiently. I caught a glimpse of a small smile forming on his otherwise official face.

The next evening, in Valencia, when Caren and Alfonso came to our hotel to escort us to the rehearsal dinner, they asked if we'd heard the news about Afghanistan.

"Afghanistan doesn't usually make the evening news in Spain, does it?" I said, amused. "Why? What's happened there?"

"Brace yourselves," Alfonso said. "Late yesterday there was a coup in Kabul. The king has been deposed by Mohammed Daoud, his former prime minister. The royal family is now in exile in Rome. And," he continued, enjoying our unbelieving expressions, "the Kabul Airport was closed last night. It won't open for several days at least. How lucky you left yesterday morning. It was the last flight out." □

Betty J. Cruist is a frequent contributor to this section. Reader queries are invited.

PEOPLE

Choosing a University

By NANCY J. PIET-PELON

WHEN PARENTS raise teens overseas, they have to make many critical decisions from a distant venue. Some of these, like the choice of a college or university, can have a profound effect on the reentry of the teenager. A poor choice can cause years of problems. Not only will they be on their own for the first time, they will be in a situation which may be very foreign to them. These teens will have a tougher time in succeeding both academically and socially than those reared in the United States.

In the Jakarta International School reentry program, the graduated seniors of the class of 1985 were asked to comment on their choice of university. The school mailed each of the alumni a questionnaire after their first semester grades were in. The majority were pleased with their choice of university even though they had lower grades than in high school. But a large minority was unhappy with their choice and wanted to transfer. Then there were some who were pleased with their choice but felt they needed to transfer because the university did not offer sufficient courses in their chosen major. The respondents mentioned the importance of an international community or some international focus at the school. As one woman put it, "Getting involved in an international-students organization might help in receiving feedback on the international mentality that one has grown accustomed to overseas."

Other students said they had an adjustment advantage because of their mobility. One young man wrote this advice to the seniors of the JIS class of 1986: "Remember that you probably have an advantage over others because you have moved around a lot and know the ropes in traveling and being away from home. Most of the people at my school are away from home for the first time. Most have never left the state of New York before. Use your experiences to your advantage."

Parents must help their teens during the process of university choice and adjustment. There are a number of practical ways

to be helpful. Begin early; many parents of successful college students say they began talking about higher education when their children were in junior high school. On home leave they would drive through a college campus or two simply to familiarize the child with a collegiate environment. This exposure planted seeds as the children began to picture themselves in a university setting. When the family has a



Nancy J. Piet-Pilon is a Foreign Service spouse who wrote "Reentry for Teens" in the June 1986 issue.

tradition of going on to higher education, the children can be exposed to that as they grow up. Perhaps four generations of the family have attended Cornell or Princeton and there is a family interest in having the tradition continue. It is important for the teenager to know that. Yet it is also necessary for the parents to appreciate that those much-loved ivy-covered walls may not be right for their child. It is essential to look beyond family tradition to the unique needs of the teenager.

Obtaining college catalogs can be frustrating and expensive. Start getting those early. Use other sources to augment your personal supply: school libraries, USIS, or friends with teens. In countries where local students attend universities in the United States, there can be catalogs in the offices designated to assist those students. There are also newly developed computer programs which can guide college choice. If the school your teenager attends does not have one of these programs, it should be

suggested because it is a sound investment for the school.

International schools often organize a college night for interested high school students. The Jakarta School developed a sensational program managed by parents working with school counselors. The parents encouraged their friends to turn out to represent their alma maters. The students were able to hear about 80 different schools at the program. Not all the information was current, but student questions about size, atmosphere, focus, and cost could be readily answered.

Practical considerations for guiding university choice include: cost, size, location, accessibility, and proximity to "home." Costs vary tremendously. One duty of parents is to determine how much they can pay and how much they expect their teenager to pay. (Remember that our teens have not had the opportunities for summer employment that their stateside peers have had. Thus, they are less employable and have less earning power.) The income of the Foreign Service family generally precludes tuition aid, though merit scholarships are possible for the academically gifted. (Don't forget the excellent merit award program run by AFSA.) All colleges have hidden costs. If the student attends a very prestigious school, more money for extras may be needed than at a state university school. It is hard to send a student to Mount Holyoke, Dartmouth, or Stanford, for example, if it is a financial hardship simply to meet the tuition or room-and-board costs. There are other facets of life in those schools which are expensive but very much part of the life and atmosphere of the campus. Cost considerations also should include trips to visit parents.

Parents can create extra adjustment problems for their teenagers if they agree to send them to a school that puts the entire family into economic hardship. If all their peers are going skiing during Thanksgiving break, it is difficult for the Foreign Service teen to feel very good about packing off to grandmother's house. A certain amount of prestige is gained by telling friends they will be vacationing in Rio or Bali with their Foreign Service parents. (Some places sound better than others, of course; it would not have the same effect to say Karachi or Accra.)

The size of a university is another consideration. The majority of schools teenagers attend overseas are small and known for the personal attention that teachers provide each student. Universities can be impersonal. The larger the university is, the more impersonal it can be. For this reason, many parents guide their teenagers

to small schools. Small schools can have a more supportive atmosphere. However, they can also be incredibly confining. There has to be a middle ground between the enormous state universities where the student is known by number and computer only and the small college where no one seems to know about the outside world. Many of the JIS students are in large schools but have found a niche in the international-student community. Others have adjusted well in large schools through being accepted into a special program or college within the university. Many who go to very small schools are happy because they can still be a large fish in the small pond and repeat their high school experience. Parents need to talk through the advantages and disadvantages of schools of different size.

LOCATION IS surprisingly important. There are the issues of climate as well as proximity to urban or rural areas. Many of our children are tropical flowers. A winter in Vermont can be very distressing to a student who has grown up in Portugal. While their peers plan a skiing weekend, our teen is huddled in sweaters dreaming about a sun-splashed beach. There are significant additional expenses sending a student to a northern climate as well.

Rural settings may be superficially attractive: there is no pollution; there is relative freedom and safety. However, rural life can be negative for teenagers who have grown up in the bustle and noise of a third world city. Conversely, an urban university with no residential campus may be wrong for a young person who has grown up in quiet, protected settings overseas.

Part of the location consideration is accessibility. While no one cares to plan life around emergency situations, it is good to give some thought to how quickly the parents could reach the student in an emergency.

The issue of proximity to "home" is a difficult one. Often the Foreign Service family does not have a home. Or parents think of their parents' setting as home. This does not always fit the perception of the student. Yet, if the student does come from a close family and have his or her own relationship with grandparents or other family members, seeking a college near the extended family could be a good idea. This must be qualified carefully. A common mistake of parents is to assume a family relationship which is not there. In one reentry program a JIS woman lamented her choice of school before she had even arrived there. Her parents had insisted she

choose a college near her grandmother. Her grandmother, in a spasm of delight, bought a motorhome and wrote she would be visiting her granddaughter often. The student had visions of her grandmother parked in the dormitory lot every weekend.

And of course there are academic considerations when choosing a college. High school counselors can help. Also, parents should be good judges of their teenagers' academic abilities and should be able to accept their teens for what they are rather than push them into impossible academic situations. It is not unexpected that freshmen initially get lower grades. There are many adjustments to be made, not the least of which is time management without the help of nagging mom or concerned dad. A school that offers sound basics and no pressure to specialize immediately can be best for the overseas teenagers. They have much more to adjust to than the average freshman. If they are pressured to choose an academic stream in the first year it can be too much. It can create a sense of failure if the course the student embarked on no longer seems viable or compelling to them. One student wrote of his confusion at his engineering school: "Maybe I'm confused as to my choice of profession. In other words, I don't know if I want to be an engineer anymore." There is nothing wrong with the confusion or the changing of majors. But, the student can feel undue pressure at a school that requires an early focus in one area.

The junior-college option is a possibility for students whose academic ability is average or who have shown difficulties in adjustment during their years overseas. There is less pressure in these settings and a chance to prove that they can succeed in course work.

A broad curriculum is important. A listing of courses can offer hints to the international interest of the school. This is good for overseas teenagers. Though they may never take international development, international law, urbanization in the Third World, or medical anthropology, these courses attract others who have international interests. Overseas-raised teenagers need people with an international viewpoint around them to ease their adjustment.

The extracurricular program can reflect the international focus of the university. Is there an international-student center? Are there language clubs? Can students spend their junior year abroad? Do the sports reflect those beyond the American scene by adding soccer, rugby, or cricket?

In the social area, is there a large foreign-student population? Are there stu-

dents from countries where your teenager has lived? Is there another student there from the high school where your teenager graduated? There can be positive and negative effects from going to college with a best friend. The relationship can be an anchor or it can be a drag. A good compromise can be to go to the same college but not be roommates, at least during the first semester. This gives an opportunity to meet others and to expand the circle of friends. Often these overseas relationships blossom even more in the United States and are nurtured by adding new friends to the circle. The majority of respondents to the JIS questionnaire said their current best friend was someone they knew from Jakarta.

What is the atmosphere of the school? Is it a place where going "Greek" is essential? Parents need to offer guidelines on this. If you do not like the fraternity or sorority life, a school where that is the key to success can be wrong for your teenager. Is the school conservative or liberal? While the general trend on college campuses reflects the growing conservatism of the American society, there are schools which are more liberal. By living overseas, Foreign Service teens do have international viewpoints. Thus they may find the atmosphere of a conservative campus stifling. Their views will be too foreign, their ideas nearly frightening to those who have decided to accept prevailing conservative philosophy. While politics are only part of college life, it will make a difference to the overseas-raised teenager if there are never any reactions to news of worldwide consequence like the growing threat of terrorism or tensions in the Middle East.

For different families these practical, academic, or social issues vary in importance. Sometimes the most careful planning does not gain the desired result. No matter how deliberately selected, there will be times when the chosen school simply will not meet the needs of the Foreign Service teenager. That is when the flexibility and understanding of the parents is required. Some students simply must transfer or drop out or come back to the parental nest for a time before they can adjust to the new academic situation. Ruth Useem and other scholars of overseas-raised children say that they will have a period of delayed adolescence (from 18-28). When they should be settling down, they are very unsettled and experimenting with many aspects of life and its values. Universities may be wrong for them at the beginning of those years, or too much for them to handle. Parental understanding of the need to grow up is essential to the adjustments that their teenager is making.

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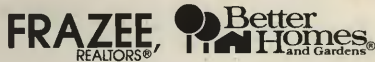
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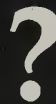


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1987 AFSA ELECTION SECTION

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
John Hemenway
Paul D. Molineaux

Vice President:

State: Anthea S. de Rouville (Action slate)
Evangeline Monroe

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)

Election Committee update:

1. Ballots will be mailed to all AFSA members 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."

2. Three campaign meetings have been scheduled in the department to enable metropolitan-area members to hear and question the candidates. These meetings (which have been held before the JOURNAL reaches the members) are scheduled as follows:

April 28—Secretary and AID Constituency candidates

April 30—Vice President, Treasurer, and State Constituency candidates

May 5—Presidential candidates

3. As an experiment, the committee is arranging to tape that portion of the above meetings set aside for candidates for officer positions. It will send a total of 50 tapes to AFSA representatives abroad.

Posts chosen will be those which expressed the greatest interest in the canvass the committee conducted, and to those with the

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)

largest number of AFSA members. For future guidance, the committee will welcome reactions of posts receiving these tapes.

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

Notice of Responsibility:

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 Bylaws. 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.

**Perry Shankle
President**

The RENEWAL TEAM is composed of:

Perry Shankle, President
Evangeline Monroe, Vice President, State
Jim Bean, Secretary
Hank Merrill, Vice President, AID
Gerry Lamberty, State Rep
Jonathan Farrar, State Rep
Sandra Odor, State Rep
Bruce Laingen, State Retired

The Renewal Team represents a group of Foreign Service members who are alarmed at the decline in the morale and effectiveness of the Service, as well as the decline in opportunity and satisfaction in Foreign Service life. We believe that AFSA's leadership over the past eight years has been ineffective in dealing with this situation, thus contributing to the deterioration we have suffered. New AFSA leadership is needed to improve the Foreign Service as a career.

The present AFSA leadership on the State side, which is running for reelection as the Action Slate, has not faced a contested election since 1981. This leadership has collaborated in management decisions and actions which have seriously damaged the interest of Foreign Service personnel. Its State Vice President candidate worked with management to pass the 1980 Foreign Service Act and then negotiated implementing regulations with management which are much tougher than those applying to AID and USIA.

Throughout its history the Foreign Service usually has had to operate in a fairly inhospitable environment in Congress, in the White House and among the general public. What is particularly disturbing about the current crisis in the Foreign Service personnel system is that it has not been imposed upon us by these outside forces, but by the Service itself. The State Department contingents on the AFSA Board over the last eight years are especially responsible for this situation, ably assisted, of course, by the Department's Foreign Service managers. Management's implementation of the Foreign Service Act is resulting in greatly diminished career prospects for all but a fortunate few, premature departure for increasing numbers of able members and inadequate attention to the problems of retirees, spouses and specialists.

The RENEWAL TEAM, if elected, will promptly challenge management's wrong-headed interpretation of the 1980 Act. It will work vigorously to make the Secretary, Congress and the public aware of the damage to US interests wrought by the management of our diplomatic service. And it will press the Administration and Congress to restore a healthy, effective career service in which each member can take pride and to which each can contribute.

Foreign Service members are competitive by nature, as we should be, but the current personnel system has turned healthy competition into a zero-sum, dog-eat-dog conflict which is seriously eroding the effectiveness of the Service. The RENEWAL TEAM would not serve the interests of any particular group at the expense of another. We want to keep our competitive system from self destructing. We support the position the "Action/Continuity" slate took — but unfortunately abandoned once elected — in its campaign statement in 1985. That was: "The Foreign Service should be considered a full lifetime career, with honorable retirement at an appropriate age....voluntary and routine retirements at appropriate retirement ages will provide the needed openings at predictable and satisfactory rates." Rather than deliver on that commitment the "Action/Continuity" slate proposed personnel system changes which would have greatly accelerated the expulsion of officers from the Service. Their proposals would have insured that 90% of all FSO careers would end in selection out. Their proposal also included the establishment of an underclass of Junior officers.

The RENEWAL TEAM is fully committed to improving AFSA's per-

formance on bread and butter issues. AFSA has an excellent hired professional staff. This staff has greatly increased the Association's effectiveness in helping individual members get better services out of the bureaucracy and in handling complaints. We would strengthen that staff and upgrade the services AFSA provides our members. We believe AFSA can and should do more to help its retired personnel with protection of benefits and greater utilization of their experience and abilities in full and part-time employment.

As important as they are, however, providing member services in a diminishing Foreign Service is like union members winning benefits just as their shop is about to be closed. The Foreign Service is in decline and our shop is closing little by little. New AFSA leadership is needed to stem this decline.

The RENEWAL TEAM, which is composed primarily of active duty State personnel of all ranks, will work with the representatives of AID, USIA and retired constituencies. We know these candidates; and we know we can work with them to meet the particular needs of those groups.

In its eight years of AFSA leadership the "Action/Continuity" Slate, dominated since 1979 by its State Vice Presidential Candidate, has presided over the reduction in the average grade of State Foreign Service Officers by about one half a grade. When "Action/Continuity" took control of AFSA in 1979, the average FSO was an 02 (under today's grade system) about to become an 01. Today the average FSO is an 02 who has just been promoted from 03.

It is clearly time for a change in AFSA leadership. The RENEWAL TEAM has organized its careers so that, once elected, AFSA will receive their full attention. Our President and Vice President will give up their Foreign Service jobs and work full time on AFSA matters.

The RENEWAL Program

- Restore the professionalism, influence and reputation of the Foreign Service.
- Reverse the trend to politicize the Foreign Service.
- Seek full and rewarding careers for officers and staff.
- Press for fair treatment for all members of the Foreign Service.
- Insist on an improved working environment and conditions.
- Humanize the personnel system.
- Combat all efforts to eliminate the 20/50 retirement option.
- Advocate more liberal and flexible stretch assignments.
- Pay attention to the unique needs of specialists and secretaries.
- Defend COLA allocations and other retirement benefits.
- Push for the utilization of the experience and talents of retired personnel.

Perry Shankle, ARAMEX, Room 4258, 647-9894

John Hemenway President

You can rely on Hemenway to Defend Your Interests in your Foreign Service Career. During the last major campaign to protect your rights which culminated in Hemenway's being elected the 1st AFSA President after AFSA became a union in 1975, a certain management hack, who was also a "senior FS inspector" exclaimed, "The trouble with Hemenway is that we can't buy him off." (sworn testimony quoting FS inspector J. Graham Parsons.) Today, problems are much the same as in 1975:

RON SPIERS SAYS: "1987 is going to be a very bad year for us." (FSJ, Feb., '87)

ONE YEAR EARLIER, SPIERS SAID: "This is a traumatic time for our valued colleagues." (STATE Newsletter, June '86)

JOHN HEMENWAY SAYS THAT THE AFSA SHOULD WORK TO GET RON SPIERS FIRED—AND THEN 1987 WILL BE BETTER.

RON SPIERS SAYS: "It is a highly selective process, that means a lot of good people...are going to leave the service prematurely." "People will gradually get used to this system." "You have to go ahead and lance the boil." (FSJ, Feb., '87)

JOHN HEMENWAY SAYS THAT COMPETENT FS PERSONNEL ARE NOT TO BE COMPARED TO 'BOILS' AND IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO 'GET USED' TO A LIFETIME CAREER BEING TERMINATED 'PREMATURELY.' MY COLLEAGUE CHARLES THOMAS SHOT HIMSELF BECAUSE OF THAT TRAUMA.

RON SPIERS SAYS: "31 years I've spent in this building — Most of it fairly close to the central decision-making apparatus." "Competition is costly." "We have done our best to help those who cannot go on to the senior ranks." (STATE Newsletter, June '86)

JOHN HEMENWAY SAYS THAT RON SPIERS HAS BEEN PART OF A CORRUPT PERSONNEL SYSTEM THAT HAS RUN THE FOREIGN SERVICE FOR THE CONVENIENCE AND WELFARE OF SPIERS AND HIS ILK.

SINCE HEMENWAY SEEKS YOUR VOTE, YOU SHOULD KNOW:

■ HEMENWAY was the first union president of AFSA, 1975-76, who stopped selection out for "T.I.C." dead in its tracks.

■ HEMENWAY as AFSA president a decade ago prevented a short sighted group from selling the AFSA building.

■ HEMENWAY is a 1951 Annapolis graduate, who then studied at the University of Oxford for three years as a Rhodes Scholar.

■ HEMENWAY has been commissioned in all three U.S. Military services—he considers absurd the phony analogy to the military used to justify the decimation of FS ranks by "premature" so-called retirement favored by SPIERS. Help expose this obscenity.

■ HEMENWAY left the FS to become the Confidential Assistant of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (ISA). Hemenway favors a system that would require any other political appointee, such as SPIERS to resign before assignment to top-level political appointments.

■ HEMENWAY studied law after serving as AFSA President; he currently is admitted to the D.C. bar *inter alia*.

SOME COLLEGIAL SUGGESTIONS FROM HEMENWAY:

1. Look for persons you believe you can trust; do not make the mistake of voting for entire blocs of candidates. It is ill-advised.

2. Consider whether candidates are merely spouting Jimmy Carter/Ronald Reagan-style slogans or really will represent you.

3. If you favor selection out for time in class of officers in the upper part of their peer groups, please don't vote for HEMENWAY.

4. And consider the following comments on the candidates:

CONSIDER POOR MOLINEAUX—personally haunted by the real specter of selection out (as well he—and others—might be) but without any real solution and without the will to confront the architects of this cancer on the FS as SPIERS AND VEST and others. I do hope Molineaux survives!

CONSIDER JENNINGS, nominal head of the "IN" "ACTION" slate responsible in part for the current disastrous AFSA/Management "sweetheart" relationships. In fact, the real driving spring behind the "ACTION" slate is the Vice President candidate, "Thea." Jennings is

"Thea's man" and Jennings, a nice person, with no particular experience, accepts her guidance eagerly as Thea listens to Spiers.

CONSIDER SHANKLE, calling for an end to "politicizing" the service, but clueless as to how to implement such a pipe-dream. Can Shankle and his group (beware of slates) actually believe that they are going to persuade the President of the United States—any President—to turn over a constitutional privilege? Why doesn't Shankle come out for the real alternative, i.e., preventing SPIERS, VEST and company from filling political policy level jobs with their favorites in the FS, by manipulation of the regulations and violations of the law?

FINALLY, I HOPE YOU WILL CONSIDER HEMENWAY—who will do his best to protect your interests simply because you have put your trust in him and have honored him with an office without any pay. To this end Hemenway will bend his foreign service and government experience, his education, including the capacity to sue individuals who violate the law against your interest, and his proven record of integrity. Remember: "THE TROUBLE WITH HEMENWAY IS THAT 'WE' CAN'T BUY HIM OFF."

SOME OF THE MAJOR POLICY PROBLEMS HEMENWAY WILL IMPLEMENT WITHOUT FAIL IF YOU ELECT HIM:

■ Most importantly, Hemenway will protect your career so that you can proudly serve in the FS as long as your talent and health permit a productive career.

■ Hemenway will return AFSA to his 1975 policy of complete "openness" at all Board meetings and other important AFSA functions, tending to make all AFSA Board members accountable, thereby inhibiting conflicts of interest and "deals" with PER.

■ Hemenway will republish the Foreign Service Biographic Register so that once again you personally can compare your progress with what personnel types tell you about relative merit.

■ Hemenway will also vigilantly defend career interests of secretaries and specialists in the FS who, SPIERS to the contrary notwithstanding, are not about to be replaced by word processors.

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

■ Hemenway will establish a policy of "PRESIDENTIAL QUESTIONS," a procedure within AFSA in which any member can ask any kind of question pertinent to the purposes of AFSA and receive a direct answer, either confidentially or openly. It will provide AFSA with its own inspector general mechanism which AFSA dearly needs.

REMEMBER, THERE ARE NO EMBARRASSING QUESTIONS YOU CAN PUT TO THE PERSONNEL-TYPES UNDER SPIERS WHO ARE PUTTING YOU PERSONALLY AT RISK AND PREPARED TO DESTROY YOUR CAREER—THERE ARE MERELY EMBARRASSING ANSWERS.

SPIERS and his ilk are prepared to sacrifice YOU to extend his 31 years "close to the central decision-making apparatus." Consider these two statements of SPIERS:

SPIERS JUSTIFIES GUTTING THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE: "We believed it was both untenable and illegal to exempt the Foreign Service from the disciplines (sic!) that apply to other elements of the public service" [and therefore reduced Senior level jobs from 796 to 670, 16%.] "STATE", June 1986

HEMENWAY COMMENT: The FS remains a separate service because of its unique role in government service. Our people do not need "disciplines" for keeping the National Parks tidy or running the AMTRAK trains on schedule. They have different assignments.

SPIERS ON THE EFFECT OF GUTTING THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE: "Every time a career position at this level is lost, seven promotion opportunities below it are also lost." ("STATE," *ibid.*)

HEMENWAY COMMENT: Certainly this is true, thus Spiers knowingly has cooperated in gutting the FS at all levels. AFSA should object to these unwise and short-sighted policies and vigorously expose the incompetence of the administrators implementing them.

REMEMBER, A GOOD DIPLOMATIST/AFSA PRESIDENT IS NOT NECESSARILY DIPLOMATIC WHEN AFSA SHOULD BE VIGOROUSLY DEFENDING FS CAREERS.

Paul D. Molineaux
President

First, about some of the other candidates:

—As careful reading of his April FSJ statement and his endorsement by the authors of "Senior News" make clear, Perry Shankle stands for privilege and against a dynamic Foreign Service. Most Senior officers will not support him.

—The AFSA-establishment "Action Slate" is misnamed.

In the April FSJ, I outlined a perspective on the Foreign Service and AFSA today. Following are summary statements of problems and possible approaches based on that perspective. I am indebted for the thoughtful advice of senior, junior and middle-grade officers alike.

AFSA'S ROLE

Problem: As consensus in the Foreign Service has broken down, AFSA has become increasingly irrelevant. Approaches:

A. Develop a systematic flow of expression of members' concerns to the AFSA standing committees and Board, and measure AFSA responsiveness.

B. Re-establish and invigorate the keyperson system.

C. Develop organizations for the various groups within the Foreign Service as links between the membership and AFSA leadership.

D. Social activities appealing to all groups in the Service.

E. Cogent debate on the divisive issues, in public meetings and AFSA publications.

F. AFSA policies should be informed by honest polls of membership opinion.

PERSONNEL MATTERS

Problem: Management declares, on the basis of inept comparisons, that the Senior Foreign Service has been oversized. Approaches:

A. A Service rank structure derived from its mission and needs.

B. Enlist the considerable talents of the Senior Foreign Service and "foreign policy establishment" in support of an adequate Senior Service.

Problem: The Foreign Service Act of 1980 is being misadministered to the detriment of the entire Foreign Service. Approaches:

A. Clear-cut AFSA positions. To be relevant, AFSA positions must fit a framework and accept legitimate management concerns.

B. Return to the letter and spirit of the 1980 Act. To the extent that it is internally contradictory or applied in ways contrary to the legislative intent, seek appropriate remedies.

Problem: "Open Assignments" does not openly advertise some jobs, and many "open" jobs are in fact already spoken for. Approaches:

A. An AFSA watchdog committee.

B. Department policies to curb out-of-channels interventions and strengthen the "central personnel" corner of the assignment panel triad to withstand inappropriate precooked assignments.

Problem: Upward mobility channels for specialists and staff often don't work.

Approach: Define, publicize and facilitate upward mobility patterns. There should be no upper limits.

PROFESSIONAL CONCERNS

Problem: The country's need for a professional diplomacy is only dimly understood by the body politic. Approaches:

A. In cooperation with PA if possible, and drawing on the considerable resources of the Foreign Service, a public relations campaign to explain the need for a professional diplomacy. Public speaking by

Service members needs far more internal recognition.

B. In cooperation with H if possible, a strategy to better convince the Congress of the need for a professional diplomacy.

C. Drawing particularly on the considerable resources and talents of the Senior Foreign Service and retired officers, impress on the political leadership the value of professional diplomacy.

Problem: The White House still regularly assigns unqualified individuals to foreign policy positions. Approach: Broaden the traditional AFSA concern about political ambassadors to encompass all policy-level positions. A positive rather than negative approach, pointing out the qualifications of Foreign Service professionals.

Problem: The Department has not filled well its most important role as formulator of US foreign policy government-wide. Approaches:

A. The Department should lead all elements of the Foreign Service, including State, AID, USIA, Commerce and Agriculture. Chapter II of the 1980 Act should be strengthened.

B. Sharply broaden training and assignments so that the Foreign Service can serve adequately overseas interests of the entire USG.

C. Develop the concept of a "Department of Foreign Affairs" to lead in all areas of foreign policy. Clausewitz' dictum is still relevant: Foreign policy is national security policy.

Problem: Residual effects of historic social discrimination against racial, ethnic and religious groups and women are still evident in the Service. Best efforts have sometimes appeared to compromise professional standards. Approaches:

A. Maximize efforts to recruit qualified members of disadvantaged groups.

B. Systematic efforts to maximize the skills of Service members from disadvantaged groups through special training and care in assignments.

Other problems which AFSA should constructively address include:

—selection out for substandard performance;

—the group grope towards "career enhancing" jobs;

—promotions despite insufficient qualifications, including languages;

—fuzziness in PER about cones and "generalists and specialists";

—incompetence and delays within the Department's Washington administrative structure;

—uneven support services by rank and agency abroad.

The broader tasks, however, are to 1) elicit membership involvement in the discovery and definition of problems; 2) lead step-by-step to the formation of consensus (or at least a prevailing view) on what should be done about them; 3) formulate responsive and responsible AFSA Board and standing committee positions; and 4) develop within AFSA the interest and impetus to effect change. Many problems can be solved only by management: In those cases, AFSA should work as a powerful lobby. In other problem areas, AFSA can act directly, by exploiting vigorously its potentially powerful instruments of persuasion. With your help, AFSA can make itself into a dynamic and effective employee representative and professional organization.

Paul Molineaux
INR/CIS Room 6510A
Tel: 647-8710

Action Slate Statement

First, let's be clear about one thing. While there may be many candidates, there is only one slate—the ACTION SLATE. We are the only group which has been able to meet the requirements of diversity and number which AFSA demands of a slate. Our ability to do so demonstrates that we are broadly representative of the Association's membership.

NO ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

Having recalled Mr. Hemenway once, AFSA should not re-elect him now. Nor can the Association afford the luxury of providing on-the-job training to members who wish to become active in its affairs by moving immediately to positions of leadership. AFSA needs experienced candidates who have demonstrated that they understand the problems it faces and are willing and able to act constructively to meet them.

HARD TIMES COMING

All the candidates agree that the next two years will see AFSA challenged as it rarely has been in the past, that the situation of the Foreign Service must be improved, and that in these circumstances the organization needs strong leadership. But there agreement ends.

Over the next two years, budgetary restrictions will threaten the ability of the foreign affairs agencies to carry out their missions. These restrictions will hit the State Department particularly hard because it has few programs which can be cut and most of its reductions will have to come directly out of salaries and expenses. But, all our agencies will face difficulties.

In other words, the pie is shrinking. In these circumstances the ACTION SLATE will not promise to increase the benefits of any group of Foreign Service members. Such promises would only indicate that we did not understand the circumstances or were willing to bend the truth. But, the ACTION SLATE will promise to fight with every ounce of its considerable experience and skill to protect Foreign Service members. We will oppose post closings, reductions in benefits, or other negative actions. Should they prove inevitable, we will exert every effort to minimize their harm to Foreign Service personnel. Furthermore, we will fight any effort to load disproportionate burdens onto any segment of the Foreign Service community. We must all bear any disadvantages equally.

Both external circumstances and internal failings to threaten the Foreign Service's traditional role of coordinating U.S. foreign policy. Efforts to relocate functions from overseas to the U.S. will exert increasing pressure on the distinctions between foreign and domestic service.

It is no longer clear that the Foreign Service offers a full career. It used to be thought that the Service needed personnel who built up knowledge and experience over the course of their careers which they then brought to bear in policy-level positions. If most Foreign Service people are to be forced to leave early and if others then view the Service as a short-term commitment, why should it be desirable to have Foreign Service people, rather than outsiders, in high-level foreign affairs positions?

The ACTION SLATE seeks the widest possible discussion of Foreign Service problems among AFSA's membership. But more than that, we pledge to make those discussions the basis of carefully considered actions. A labor organization is not just a discussion forum. If it is to protect and advance its members' interests, it must act — constructively and in a timely fashion. We will therefore act on both professional questions and bread-and-butter issues.

PROVEN EXPERIENCE

As AFSA President, Hartford Jennings will draw on three years' experience

in dealing with labor and professional concerns in the State Standing Committee and the Governing Board and on negotiating experience gained in representing the U.S. at international meetings.

As Vice President for State, Anthea de Rouville will draw on the extensive knowledge of labor management questions developed in her previous 8 years as AFSA Vice President and Governing Board member to continue to lead the Association in negotiating State and inter-agency issues.

As Vice President for AID, Frank Young will continue to serve as AFSA Chief Negotiator for AID questions and assist the State Vice President in negotiating inter-agency issues. The ACTION SLATE will seek to negotiate with AID management an agreement permitting the AID Vice President to devote all his time to AFSA affairs to provide our AID members more effective representation than is possible now.

As Vice President for USIA, Steve Telkins will continue to supervise AFSA's response to the professional concerns of our USIA members.

As AFSA Secretary, James Derrick will draw on his four years' experience on the State Standing Committee and Governing Board as he works closely with the State Vice President on negotiations.

As AFSA Treasurer, Sam Mok will continue to up-date AFSA's accounting practices and to improve the Foreign Service Club.

As State Representatives, Barbara Hughes, Shelley Johnson, Ward Barmon, and Matthew Daley will seek to persuade State members of all ranks, cones, and specialties to join them as they continue serving on the State Standing Committee.

As AID Representatives, Michael Zak and David Garms will draw on their previous AFSA experience as they address such issues as open assignments, selection board precepts, the retirement system, and travel regulations.

As USIA Representative, John Quintus will continue to serve on the USIA Standing Committee and the Governing Board.

As Retired Representatives, John Thomas, and Roger Provencher will continue to pay particular attention to maintaining AFSA's contacts with its retired members. Earl Sohm will represent Diplomatic and Consular Officers Retired (DACOR) on the Board.

Vote for experience and commitment to constructive action.

VOTE ACTION SLATE

HT.Jennings

Members of the Action Slate have waived their individual statements to run a slate statement.

Evangeline Monroe State Vice President

The Renewal Team is convinced that Management's present course, no matter how well intended, is hastening the further weakening of the Foreign Service. If the present trend is indicative, the future will be increasingly less certain for junior and mid-career officers and, equally important, for the Service. Junior and mid-career officers may sense short term benefits in the draconian elimination of FS-1's and Seniors in the guise of "swifter flow through." We see these benefits to be more illusionary than real. We do not believe that the departing Seniors will leave behind positions which deserving mid-career officers will quickly inherit as a prelude to full and satisfying careers. The truth is that positions are eliminated along with the departing officers.

Senior generalists now number 623, down 155 since 1982. Measured against 1970 the reduction is 126 officers or 17 percent. But promotion opportunities into the senior ranks have not increased. Since 1982 promotions to OC have averaged 42 compared to an annual average during the 1970's of 68. At the same time, the numbers of mid-career and junior generalists have almost doubled. Add to the equation the six year window and twenty year TIC and it becomes difficult to argue that attrition at the top has translated into improved career prospects for those following.

Many mid-career and junior officers can look forward to careers concluding when personal responsibilities and professional potential are at their peak. Indeed, the faster the officer's advancement to FS-1 the earlier his or her career is at risk. The renewal team believes that a career commitment implies reciprocal responsibilities on the part of the Service and its membership. We are as dedicated to the notion of a high quality professional service as is management but let's ask ourselves if a system that exposes our best and brightest to early career termination is the best way to achieve that goal. We believe that the Foreign Service is a distinct pro-

fession requiring extended education and special expertise. The membership, AFSA and management must work to provide junior and mid-career officers the opportunity to acquire that foreign affairs expertise in the context of a career focused on professional excellence not on bureaucratic maneuvering for the next promotion or assignment.

The Foreign Service Act of 1980 and its implementation affects all levels. Anyone who believes that current personnel issues concern someone else is, we think, mistaken both as an individual and a foreign affairs professional. We are in this together and we have a responsibility to ourselves, to the Service and ultimately to the country to seek constructive solutions.

Vote Renewal Team:

Perry Shankle, President
Hank Merrill, Vice President AID
Gerry Lambert, State Rep
Jonathan Farrar, State Rep
Evangeline Monroe, Vice President State
Jim Bean, Secretary
Sandra Odor, State Rep
Bruce Laingen, State Retired

Hank Merrill AID Vice President

Platform: Last month I mentioned several issues which I consider important for the AFSA membership in general and the A.I.D. constituency in particular. Recently, several more issues have come to light, and I would like to share them with you.

The Thrift Savings Plan: Of special interest to members of the foreign service who serve with A.I.D. is the unregenerate discrimination which we endure as a matter of course. Unfortunately, in my mind, our current union representation has not been aggressive in addressing the many instances of institutional slights. Our access to the foreign service thrift savings plan is a case in point. Why did State employees get the notice on this opportunity a full month before A.I.D. employees? Does this mean that their deductions will begin accruing tax benefits before A.I.D. employees were even offered the option of enlisting in the plan?

Little Things Mean A Lot—Especially in Nouakchott: Can't we make a special effort to make life a little more enjoyable in some of our remote posts? In many countries the pouch takes over two weeks. This could be improved. Doubling the frequency of shipment and expediting delivery would be a small price to pay for improved staff morale.

Annual Increments for Regional Personnel: Our current regulations allow for differential to be paid only after an employee has been in a differential post for a period exceeding thirty days. For many of the employees in our regional service offices, particularly Nairobi, an officer can spend over fifty percent of his/her time in an extreme hardship post and never benefit from the differential payment. The regulation should be changed to allow regional officers' differential payment to be paid on an annual basis (i.e. 40% of the year spent in 25% posts rather than seven three week trips throughout the year.)

More On Travel: What in the world happens to all of the frequent flyer coupons generated through A.I.D. travel. Since the agency in a month must gener-

ate enough bonus miles for a round trip to Mars, why can't the agency bargain with the major airlines not to utilize any of the coupons in return for full fare economy automatically being upgraded to business class? As it is now, I suspect that there are some unauthorized claims made for personal accounts, while those who comply with regulations sit in the back with me trying to find a cold beer.

John J. Harter Secretary

AFSA voters face three options:

—Blind votes for the de Rouville/Jennings "Slate" will support continuity;

—Blanket votes for the "Renewal Team" will rubber stamp an unknown factotum; or

—Discerning votes for qualified individuals will infuse diversity into AFSA affairs.

The Incumbents pressed anti-career legislation in the 1970s — and tolerated its maladministration in the 1980s. Their April campaign statement promised everything to everyone. But the fine print says they support involuntary "retirement" of our best Officers in their prime, to ease the hasty rise of a few lucky stars.

The opposition "Team" has separate voices, that echo each other. If the "Team" is elected intact, AFSA will not see sharp and open debate on controversial matters.

Prudent AFSA voters will therefore choose particular candidates instead of either monolith.

The Tower Commission pinpointed the flawed process through which the United States pursues contradictory, impolitic policies, without vetting options. All of our recent Presidents have stumbled, if not fallen, because of bad foreign policy advice from outside the State Department.

The new AFSA Board should therefore draw up a blueprint of what's needed to restore the Department to primacy in the foreign policy process.

To start this exercise, I suggest the following elements:

—The Secretary, in concert with his Policy Planning Council, should identify foreign policy goals likely to bring a better world by 2,000 A.D.;

—The Deputy Secretary, and the Executive Secretariat, should monitor words and deeds emanating from all agencies, vigilant for deviations from the President's proclaimed policies, and refer them to the National Security Council (if the problem lies outside State), the Secretary (when "policy" requires clarification), or the Under Secretary for Political Affairs

(when better discipline in the Department is needed);

—The Under Secretary for Political Affairs should resolve minor conflicts within the Department and facilitate the selection of policy options;

—The Under Secretary for Economic Affairs should reassert a major voice in international trade, development, and financial policy;

—The Under Secretary for Management should restore to health the badly mutilated Foreign Service; and

—The Assistant Secretaries, within the context outlined above, should largely manage their own affairs and negotiations.

Meanwhile, AFSA should urge:

—*FSI* to seek foundation support for an Oral History Center to record undocumented exploits of retired Foreign Service Officers; and

—*The Inspector General* (or a team of consultants) to probe all personnel operations, in search of better techniques of unleashing Foreign Service talents, with special reference to:

—*Performance Evaluation*, looking toward a decentralized system of rewarding achievements to supplant our crippling and demeaning system of grading people; and

—*Grievance Procedures*, to ensure expeditious and impartial review of all legitimate complaints.

I was a member of the AFSA Board before the "Young Turks" of the 1960s initiated their disastrous "reforms." In that bygone era, the Board skillfully inspired positive response from the Department's senior Officers — and we were all winners!

But current AFSA leadership pits faction against faction, interminably squabbling over red herrings, strangely indifferent to the deteriorating plight of the Foreign Service. Management has responded by downgrading our jobs, ignoring us, and reducing past winners to losers.

As Secretary, I will actively focus all AFSA constituencies on the restoration of diplomacy — including its multilateral, development, public, and cultural dimensions — to eminence and dignity.

James W. Bean Secretary

I share the concerns expressed by other RENEWAL TEAM members for the future of the Foreign Service. If we are to address those concerns and make AFSA an effective instrument in asserting some measure of influence over the course of the Foreign Service, we must wrest control of AFSA from the "Action/continuity" slate. As members of AFSA's leadership since 1979, candidates on this slate must bear responsibility for AFSA's acquiescence during that period in management's actions and decisions which have done so much to gut the Foreign Service. The RENEWAL TEAM offers AFSA members a serious alternative: a group of officers concerned enough with what is happening to take the time and make the effort to put AFSA and the Foreign Service back on the correct course.

Perry Shankle and Evangeline Monroe already have addressed issues involving forced attrition and frustrated advancement opportunities as examples of the demise of the Foreign Service career at the hands of management and the "Action/continuity" slate. I want to call attention to the complete failure by management and the previous/current AFSA leadership to address realistically the internal and external changes occurring in the Foreign Service which reflect ongoing changes in American society as a whole.

Dual career and tandem couples and a more diverse Foreign Service corps pose virtually insurmountable problems for the personnel system in its present form. How to handle dual career and tandem couples, for example, is a very emotional and accordingly divisive issue. Indeed, management has thrown up its hands and declared that these two issues alone will be the undoing of the Foreign Service. It is easy to understand why management and the "Action/continuity" slate are reluctant to become involved in potentially divisive issues to which the system offers no ready solutions. But failure now to address problems resulting from changes in the composition of the Foreign

Service only makes ultimately satisfactory resolutions more difficult and therefore less likely.

The RENEWAL TEAM refuses to accept such surrender to matters which require innovative handling and solutions which may lie outside the narrow confines of the existing system. To the claims of management and the previous/current AFSA leadership that they have sought solutions but none exist, we answer that they have not looked far enough. We want to meet with all interested parties to explore their concerns and their ideas for addressing them. Based on our own experiences, we believe that common ground can be identified and practices implemented that meet the legitimate needs of tandem and dual career couples without unfairly jeopardizing the opportunities for other officers or changing the nature of a Foreign Service career. As part and parcel of that same approach, we are committed to examining the demands generated by a more diverse corps of personnel and to pursuing the changes necessary to guarantee the same opportunities for everyone. Once we determine how to accomplish these things, we must undertake to convince management — no easy task — that solutions exist which may change but do not threaten the existence of the system.

Vote the RENEWAL TEAM

Perry Shankle, President
Hank Merrill, Vice President AID
Evangeline Monroe, Vice President State
Jim Bean, Secretary
Gerry Lambert, State Rep
Jonathan Farrar, State Rep
Sandra Odor, State Rep
Bruce Laingen, State Retired
Rep

Gerry Lamberty
State Representative

I find it normal to be opposing the current State AFSA Governing Board members who are running for reelection on the Action Slate. While I was President, these State members of the Board consistently opposed my efforts to change the Department's current disastrous personnel system. Even though I was able to criticize the management of the system, I was unable to get the State members' support for efforts to change that system. While I spoke out often against the system, the State Standing Committee, chaired by the State Vice President, never once mentioned the growing personnel system problems in their annual reports. Their opposition crystallized in the January 13 personnel system proposal which the State Standing Committee submitted to management over my objections. If fully implemented, their proposal would have produced 150 involuntary retirements this year rather than the 130 produced by management's system, and would have created an artificial junior officer "underclass." Their blind dedication to excessive "flow through" would have produced even more dysfunctional results than the current system.

In many ways I was never part of the State group on the Board, since Ambassador Keeley and I were last minute additions to a continuity slate which ran for election in 1985. When Keeley, who had been elected President, went off to be Ambassador to Greece, the Board elected me to replace him over two other State Board members who sought the election. I got little support from any other State Board members in this election.

I have enjoyed working with the AID, USIA and retired members of the Board, and hope that new leadership will take over the State side of AFSA so that the organization can become more harmonious and effective.

The Renewal Team, led by Perry Shankle and Evangeline Monroe, can provide that leadership.

Jonathan Farrar
State Representative

Will being a member of the Foreign Service continue to be a viable career?

The RENEWAL team is concerned about the future of the Foreign Service. Implementation of the Foreign Service Act is chipping away at the Service; AFSA so far has abetted this effort. Downgrading of senior-level positions is easing the dismissal of O1 officers and harming the careers of us all.

The personnel system negotiated by AFSA is dysfunctional; it discourages training to improve skills. The Department was taken to task for the level of language skills in the Senior Foreign Service and among FSOs overseas, but the personnel system discourages improvement. The Department cares little if secretaries and specialists can speak the language of the country to which they are assigned.

This is the 1980's. Two career families are the norm rather than the exception, yet the pilot Foreign Service Associates program was axed before seeing if it could provide meaningful jobs for spouses. Tandem couples continually face hurdles in securing overseas assignments.

The Foreign Service is not the Civil Service. The AFSA staff has done well with down-to-earth issues such as weight allowances and benefits. But the State Standing Committee also must focus its energies on vital issues such as:

—rolling back moves to trim the Foreign Service to fit a Civil Service or military mold.

—changing the Foreign Service to adapt to today's society. The Service will have to evolve to accommodate tandem couples and two-career families.

—facilitating skill training, especially in languages.

We need your help. Vote for the RENEWAL team—Perry Shankle, Evangeline Monroe, Jim Bean, Hank Merrill, Jonathan Farrar, Gerry Lamberty, Sandra Odor, Bruce Laingen.

William B. Flynn Jr.
AID Representative

New challenges face Foreign Service Officers during the next three years. One of the important challenges is the need for an equitable personnel system. To this end, there should be the development of an EER format and reporting system that evaluates an employee's work performance fairly and accurately by objective verifiable indicators rather than narrative statements which can easily be slanted by raters or reviewing officers for or against an employee's performance. In addition, a fair selection



and hiring system along with an improved IDI program. Other areas of importance are as follows: (1) Support for a meaningful grievance process; (2) Adequate support for retirees by AFSA representatives and staff on the "Hill"; (3) AFSA's support for exercise facilities in Washington and overseas in addition to supporting efforts to assist FSO employees with health issues such as smoking, drugs and alcohol?; (4) Should AFSA support an annual evaluation/review system of AFSA professional staff/organizational operations?

Following are other important questions that AFSA should address: (1) How might the FS Journal be improved? (2) What other support services such as auto insurance, temporary housing, travel arrangements, etc., should AFSA be supplying to its membership? (3) Should not AFSA have a member placed on the Board of Directors of the American Foreign Service Protective Association since AFSPA insures most F/S members for their health and term life insurance needs? Comments from membership on any of these issues are most welcome.

Bruce Laingen
Retired Representative

Those of us in retirement are in a special position to contribute to a stronger Foreign Service. We have hands-on experience to draw on; we can be totally frank; and — not least — we owe something to ourselves and to those on active duty to come forward with our ideas. We are, after all, members of a rather unique alumni group: veterans of involvement on the front lines of this country's diplomacy during the past several decades that certainly rank high in terms of the history of adventure and



challenge in the Foreign Service. After 38 years of my own in the Service (and three and a half years with the United States Navy before that) I expect shortly to begin work as Executive Director of a National Commission on Public Service that is in the process of formation and that proposes to work over the next two years to build a stronger public and Congressional appreciation of public service at all levels of government. That objective is very much in line with the Renewal Team's platform for the Foreign Service, and it is for that reason in particular that I ask your support.

VOTE RENEWAL TEAM

What is Wrong With the Service?

Decreased Relevance to Foreign Affairs Process
Decreased Esprit de Corps,
Experience Cast Aside, Mid-levels Discouraged, Juniors Frustrated
Careers Devalued, Promotions Slowed
Divided into Competing Constituencies
Up or Out Replaced by Up *and* Out

What Has the "Action/Continuity Slate" Done About It?

Collaborated in Suicidal Implementation of Foreign Service Act
Surrendered Major Issues to Management
Contributed to Over-regulation and "Civil Service-ization"
Encouraged the Sacrifice of 01s and Seniors
Acquiesced as Senior Positions Downgraded and Promotion Opportunities Lost
Neglected Secretaries and Specialists

What the Renewal Team Will Do

Restore Pride in the Service
Enhance Foreign Service Role in Foreign Affairs
Promote Interests of Every AFSA Constituency — AID, USIA and Retired Officers,
Restore the Attractiveness of a Foreign Service Career
Press Management for More Rational Implementation of Foreign Service Act
Press Vigorously our Concerns to Management, the Hill and the Public
Enhance AFSA's Performance on Bread-and-Butter Issues

It is Time for a Change

Break "Action/Continuity Slate" 8-year grip on AFSA
It is time to address the larger issues of our purpose,
principles, and people
It is time for new AFSA leadership •

VOTE RENEWAL TEAM

Perry Shankle, President
Evangeline Monroe, Vice President State
Jim Bean, Secretary
Hank Merrill, Vice President AID

Gerry Lamberty, State Rep
Jonathan Farrar, State Rep
Sandra Odor, State Rep
Bruce Laingen, State, Retired

Paid for by the Renewal Team and supporters

ASSOCIATION NEWS

Thallium scare result of poor lab methods

A brief scare that employees at the U.S. embassy in Guyana were being subjected to thallium sulfate has been attributed to improper laboratory procedures in that country, the State Department has assured AFSA. The Association had inquired after learning that personnel there were being periodically screened for the poison, a pesticide byproduct.

Although none of the urine samples obtained from embassy workers tested positive, the government of Guyana had pur-

portedly found 80 cases of the poisoning among its citizens. One Guyanese died from the chemical, according to the *Federal Times* newspaper. When the 80 samples were flown to the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta, all but one were found to be free of the substance, and the remaining one was within the range considered safe. Some 84 food samples also alleged to contain dangerous levels of the chemical turned out to be normal. When the CDC tested urine specimens from the embassy personnel, all were negative.

Thallium is extremely poisonous. It is used in pesticides in many countries but has been banned in the United States since 1972.

AFSA testimony agrees, differs with State policy

While the Association "fully supports Secretary Shultz's statement that State Department budget cuts 'threaten our ability to pursue a coherent foreign policy by undermining our foreign affairs infrastructure and weakening our career Foreign Service,'" it told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in late March that it disagrees with State's recent personnel policies.

The Association charged that "the State Department continues to waste its most important resources: language expertise, area knowledge, and years of experience" by "blind adherence to a misinterpretation of the Foreign Service Act." These policies "impede rapid advancement by our best officers, preclude flexibility in assignments, fail to give adequate reward for substantive and linguistic expertise, and force involuntary retirement of too many highly qualified officers." The result has been "an increasingly negative effect on the department's ability to carry out its role."

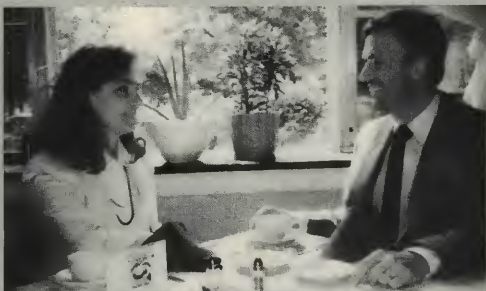
The current system pairs com-

petition with numerous "rigidities—such as restrictions on stretch assignments and excessively short times-in-class"—which forces officers to engage in "dysfunctional behavior in their struggle to survive." This behavior, AFSA concluded, seriously undermines the effectiveness of the diplomatic corps.

As examples of this "dysfunctional behavior," the Association cited avoidance of critical functional positions and language training while maneuvering to enter the Senior Foreign Service sufficiently late to meet family responsibilities before being selected out for time-in-class.

Both the rank-in-officer concept and a body of expertise are in jeopardy as a result of these policies, the Association said. It suggested that State instead retain the up-or-out system but encourage initiative and improved performance; reward high-quality substantive and linguistic skills; restore the rank-in-officer system; and end the loss of officers with critical skills and expertise. The Association offered to work with the committee to draft appropriate amendments.

An invitation to our members...



The newly managed Foreign Service Club, having completed its extensive renovations of the facility, cordially invites all members to stop by and sample the new menu. Dine on a variety of fine foods in a pleasant atmosphere, as pictured above, with service guaranteed to please you and your guests.

The Club is open for lunch from 11:30 a.m. till 3 p.m., and there are daily manager's spe-

cialties at a special price.

Happy hour runs from 3 p.m. till 7:30, featuring all drinks at half price and a free assortment of hors d'oeuvres and Oriental specialties.

The new dinner menu is available from 3 p.m. till 9 p.m.

The Club has four banquet rooms on the second floor for affairs from weddings to bar mitzvahs to small soirees. Please call 333-8477 for details.

AFSA move forestalls auction

AFSA intervention was instrumental in halting a proposed auction of goods formerly stored by State Department employees with Fidelity Storage Company. AFSA's prompt action led to a deluge of ownership claims for the previously unidentified items, causing the department to cancel the auction.

The department notified the field in early February that goods formerly stored with Fidelity that lacked sufficient identification to determine ownership would be sold at public auction at the end of March. The Association immediately protested, noting that employees were still receiving inventories from their new storage companies alerting them to the extent of missing or damaged goods. AFSA asserted that the department's plan

would "deny employees assigned overseas the opportunity to inspect and identify the goods in question. Indeed, in many cases they would not receive the notice until shortly before the proposed date."

AFSA representatives next met with Deputy Secretary for Operations Richard Faulk and representatives from the Transportation and Claims offices. The department stated that the remaining items were not the type employees would generally claim. AFSA disagreed, and suggested that the department provide the field with a list of unidentified items and an opportunity to claim the goods. The department transmitted a supplementary notice to the field in mid-March.

AFSA's concerns were borne out. Due to the "overwhelming response" the department "determined it would not be practical" to proceed with the proposed auction, and apologized for the resultant confusion.

Smoking policy seeks to balance rights

The Association has responded to a proposed State Department anti-smoking policy by calling for a system based on "common sense, mutual courtesy, and respect for the rights and needs of colleagues—smokers and non-smokers alike." AFSA agreed with State that non-smokers should be protected from the hazards of second-hand cigarette smoke but noted that the department's proposal was contrary to General Services Administration rules.

Regulations put into effect by GSA in February ban smoking in general office space, meeting

rooms, corridors, lobbies, elevators, stairways, and other areas but mandate establishment of designated smoking areas in cafeterias.

In a counter-proposal, the Association recommended setting aside one-third of the seats in the cafeteria as a smoking area. Since some personnel do not have private offices, the proposal recommended designating certain restrooms on each floor as smoking areas. Otherwise, State's regulations would leave "some smokers no choice but to either search for a private office or leave the building."

Though GSA rules do not apply to overseas facilities, smoking at overseas posts may be regulated by each chief of mission in accordance with local laws and customs.

The question of dependents and AFSA scholarships

Financing a dependent child's ever-more-costly education is a matter of crucial concern to many families. To aid Foreign Service families in this difficult problem, AFSA has two scholarship programs: the Financial Aid Program (given to full-time undergraduate students based solely on need), and the Merit Awards Program (for graduating high school students who have demonstrated academic excellence as well as outstanding leadership).

A question has arisen recently as to who is actually eligible for these scholarships. Both programs are limited to dependent children of career Foreign Ser-

vice personnel who are claimed as such on the employee's IRS form. A dependent can be a child, adopted child, stepchild, or sibling. The dependent cannot be any person who is not a national or citizen of the United States, unless he or she resides in the United States or a country contiguous to it, or unless he or she is a legally adopted child of the taxpaying Foreign Service employee. The dependent student must be of the requisite high school or college age and fulfill all eligibility requirements of the AFSA Scholarship Programs.

For information, call or write AFSA.

Requests pouring in to resume clearinghouse

The Association's Resume Referral Clearinghouse for retired members—a resource with over 175 resumes—has received several consulting inquiries since its startup last winter. The opportunities included positions such as a troubleshooter for an import/export firm, a doctoral-level teaching position at Johns Hopkins, and a French-speaking AID agricultural economist

with budgeting experience in Haiti.

"The inquiries we're receiving from consulting organizations require that the candidates possess very specific skills," said Sue B. Schumacher, AFSA's director for administration. "We maintain a data bank of very experienced, highly qualified individuals. We are therefore able to consistently submit candidates

to these organizations, even with these very detailed requests."

Schumacher welcomes all retired members to send their resumes to AFSA, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037, Attention: Resume Referral Clearinghouse. Members are asked to indicate which of the following options they prefer:

■ AFSA will inform you when it has forwarded your resume to a consulting company;

■ AFSA will inform you of a company's request and, with your approval, forward your re-

sume to the company;

■ AFSA will inform you of a company's request and provide you with an individual's name so that you may contact the company directly; or

■ AFSA will provide the company with your name, address and telephone number so that the company may directly contact you.

In all cases, negotiations regarding the requirements of the position and your remuneration are between you and the company.

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