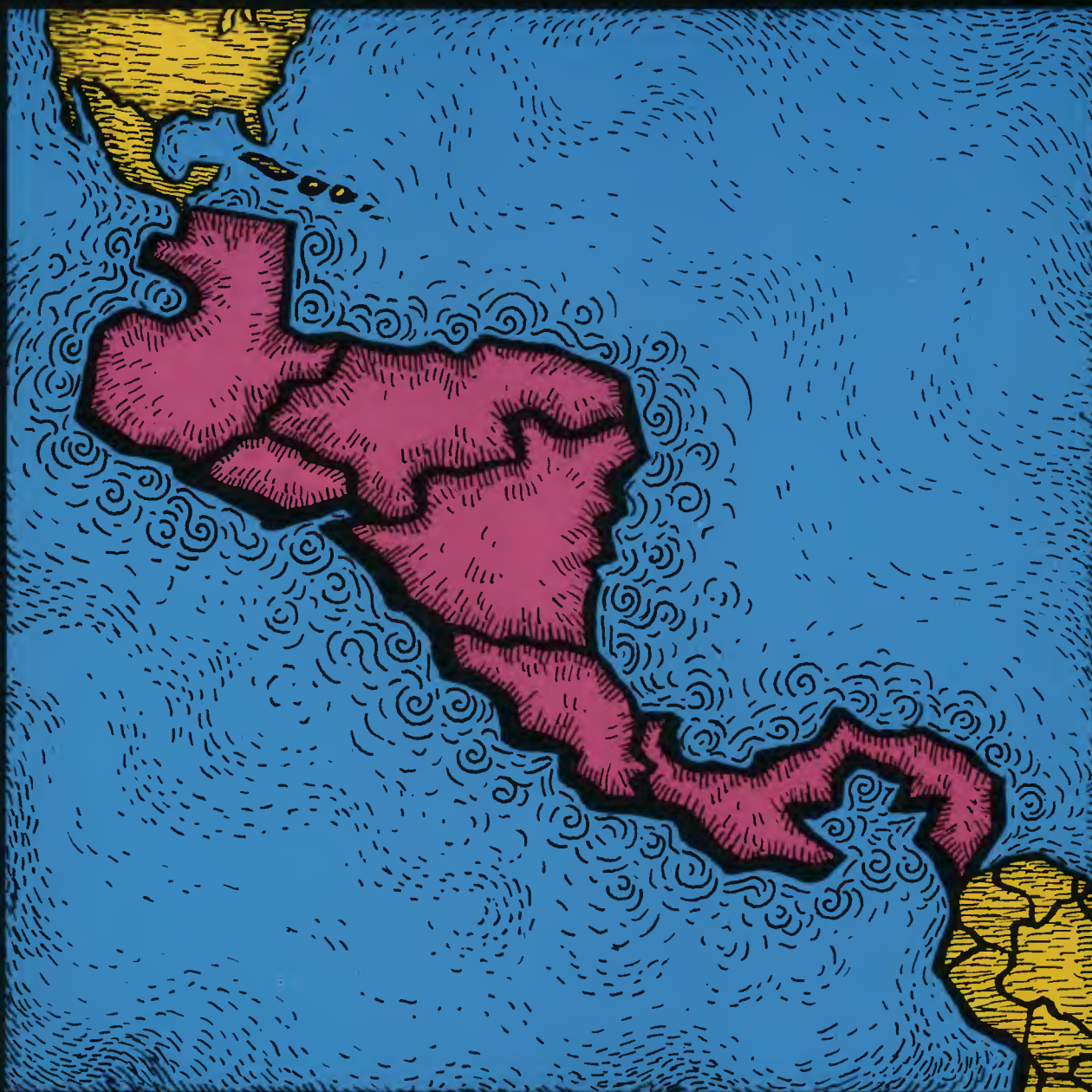


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Cover: The focus on Central America, as shown in the map on the cover, is distorting our primary interests in Latin America. The security and stability of the western hemisphere are more deeply affected by the economic, social, and political problems of Mexico and South America than by internal conflicts in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala. Scholar Abraham F. Lowenthal's analysis of our Latin America policy begins on page 22.

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A F S A V I E W S

Progress to Date—and the Agenda Ahead

This month finishes the first quarter of the new Governing Board's two-year term—an appropriate time to reflect on our progress to date and plans for the future.

Little did we know when we took office last July that the seeds for the most significant cutbacks to the Foreign Service in our time had already been planted and were about to bear their bitter fruit. In September, the State Department's leadership announced a savings program, the heart of which called for the elimination of nearly 1300 positions in the State Department, the majority from the Foreign Service, and the closing of an additional 15 posts. Due largely to intense activity by AFSA on Capitol Hill, a bipartisan compromise is being brokered that may save the majority of those jobs. But don't think for a minute that this issue will go away. It will surface in one form or another until the budget deficit is brought under control. And it is still highly likely that our benefits and allowances will be reduced as early as this month, with the elimination of some hardship differentials just the start.

The new board has embarked on a program to reemphasize the neglected role of AFSA as a professional organization. To that end we are hiring a professional-issues coordinator, who will be responsible for a variety of activities beyond the traditional bread-and-butter concerns. This, of course, will have long-range implications for the Service, for by accenting the professionalism of the diplomatic corps we will improve the respect with which it is regarded in Washington and around the country. We are working closely with public-relations specialists to develop a multi-pronged media campaign to awaken the constituency we know we have in the business community and elsewhere. We have also reorganized the AFSA staff, beefing up key functions to provide better member and legal services, and we hope shortly to have in place a new Foreign Service Club contractor to improve this important membership benefit.

We have been involved in other important activities as well. We have appeared in three newspapers and one television station to protest against recent calls for drastic changes in diplomatic immunity, calls based on fallacies and distortions but with the potential of jeopardizing our people overseas. And we have testified before the Congress when it attempted to pass legislation that would discriminate against Foreign Service spouses who teach in the Defense Department school system overseas.

There is much yet to be done—more than enough for the remaining 18 months of our term. In addition to the above, we will be placing a high priority on renewing the AFSA Awards program. We will be confronting the department over its obstructionism and intransigence over labor-management relations issues, while pointing out that in these times of austerity it is in our mutual interest to work together constructively—something we are willing to do but have come to have doubts about management's willingness. And we will be raising higher the standard we put up when we took office: that the Foreign Service is a vital component of our national security, and that its professionalism is worth the commitment of both the country's budgetary resources and the time and attention of all of us who work for it.

Perry Shankle, President



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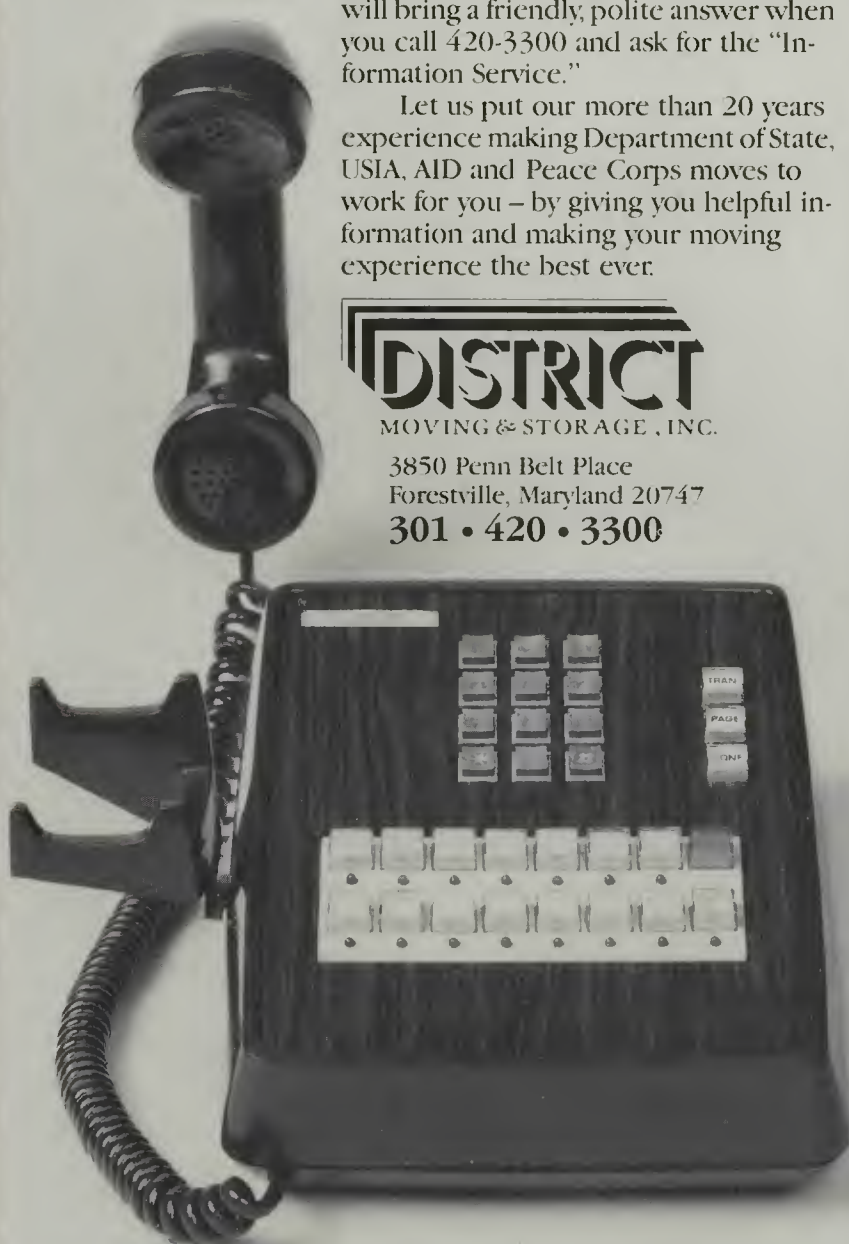
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LETTERS

The Other Side

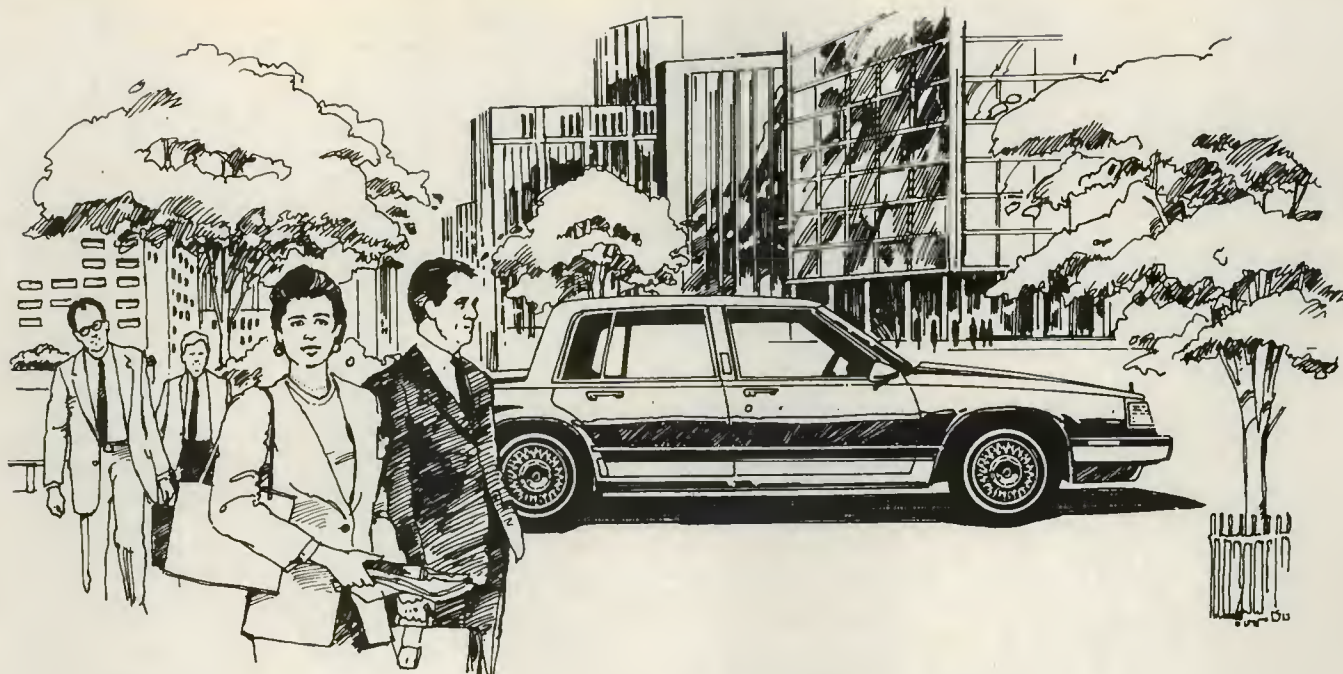
I was appalled to see the reprint of an article by John Jameson, commenting on his experiences in Lima, in the CLIPPINGS section of the September issue of the JOURNAL. It is difficult to understand why you published this article, and the subsequent one dealing with consular services in London, without first checking their accuracy with the offices involved.

The incident described by John Jameson occurred when he, his brother Stuart, and their traveling companion Hal Malchow were stopped by customs officials at the Lima airport as they were boarding a plane to leave Peru. The three Americans were searched, and initial tests of substances they were carrying were positive for drugs. They were then detained pending a second series of more sophisticated tests.

In his article, Jameson describes his disappointment with consular service provided during his detention. The service described is essentially an outline of basic consular services required in an arrest case. Foreign Service employees are well aware of what these services are. What Jameson leaves out of his description, however, is that the consular section in Lima went well beyond these basic requirements to provide assistance to him, his brother, and his friend.

To summarize what was done, a vice consul and the consulate's legal adviser went to the airport immediately when they were notified of the arrest; returning home just in time to beat the one a.m. curfew. The following day, two officers visited the jail for several hours, sent cables to the department about the arrest, and agreed to contact the Peruvian attorneys selected by the Jamesons and Malchow, since they had been unable to contact attorneys themselves. Because it was a Saturday and attorneys were not in their offices, consular officers spent that entire day and most of Sunday trying to contact the chosen attorneys. Meanwhile, the Overseas Citizens Service duty officer in Washington contacted the long list of individuals the prisoners asked be notified of their arrest. Through the rest of the weekend, a three-day U.S. holiday, consular officers answered phone calls from interested friends and relatives in the United States about the arrest.

Following this initial weekend activity, the consular officer in charge of the matter concentrated on making a bad situation bearable by working through the Foreign Ministry to assure consular access—which in-



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initially was a problem in this case—visiting the jail, making sure the attorneys were permitted access, organizing legal assistance, making sure a telephone was available to the prisoners, and keeping family members informed of the progress of the case.

The attention devoted to this case paid off. Secondary tests were completed rapidly and the prisoners were released from jail on Saturday, eight days after their initial arrest. They were permitted to depart Peru the following Tuesday morning. Consular officers were thrilled with the result and spent much of the weekend between the release and final departure from Peru with the Jameson brothers and Hal Malchow, showing them a better side of Lima.

Despite the feeling of achievement on the part of the officers involved in the case, the service provided did not satisfy John Jameson. Fair enough—people have a right to their own expectations of what consular services should be, whether these expectations reflect reality or not. The officers involved in the case also have a right to professional pride in their performance. Such pride was badly shaken, however, by the JOURNAL's publication of Jameson's negative observations without comment and without checking first with the embassy. Unfortunately, the JOURNAL left the impression that it agrees with (or at least doesn't disagree with) Jameson's position.

ALEXANDER F. WATSON
Ambassador
U.S. Embassy, Lima

The CLIPPINGS section is meant to provide our widespread audience with a sampling of what the press is saying about the Foreign Service. No endorsement of the cited works is implied. In the future, in such cases, we will attempt to verify facts before publication. —ED.

Ellsworth Bunker

The JOURNAL's lead article in the October issue ["The Art of Diplomacy"] brought back cherished memories for many of us who had the privilege of working with the late Ambassador Bunker over the years. He was truly a man who simply could not say no to any president who asked him to take on a new mission. Ambassador Bunker was once more persuaded to come back from retirement to work for the Policy Planning Council in 1963. Little did we realize that this would be the occasion for his taking on multiple new missions: his appointment as ambassador to the Organization of American States, his election to the chairmanship of that organization's Permanent Council, his multilateral work in the Dominican Republic crisis of 1965, and, in 1977, his use of the OAS forum for a show of solidarity with Panama in its efforts to obtain sovereignty over the totality of its territory.

I had written Ambassador Bunker in 1984, concerning OAS accomplishments over the years, and his reply underlined the

pride he felt in his achievements in the Dominican Republic: "What was even more significant was the role played by the Ad Hoc Committee of the OAS in the Dominican crisis of 1965–66, which led to the establishment of a democratic government and a peaceful transfer of power ever since. I was gratified to head the U.S. delegation to the inauguration of Dr. Jorge Blanco in August of last year. He was one of the negotiators on the opposite side in 1965."

JOHN W. FORD
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Arlington, Virginia

As an admirer of Ellsworth Bunker who served under him in Saigon, I was perplexed by Christopher J. McMullen's strangely selected mini-biography of this gracious gentleman and incomparable diplomat who played such a vital—and controversial—role in the Republic of Vietnam's last days.

Searching through the six pages you devoted to the article for data on the crucial period, I found two-and-a-half sentences pertaining to that era.

"In 1967," writes McMullen, "Bunker replaced Henry Cabot Lodge as envoy to Saigon. After six grueling years of managing the vast American war effort in Vietnam, he once again retired to his 600-acre farm in Vermont." What would a reviewer say about a historian who wrote this paragraph—and nothing else!—about the current administration: "After serving as California governor, Ronald Reagan spent eight years in the White House before returning to his California rural retreat?"

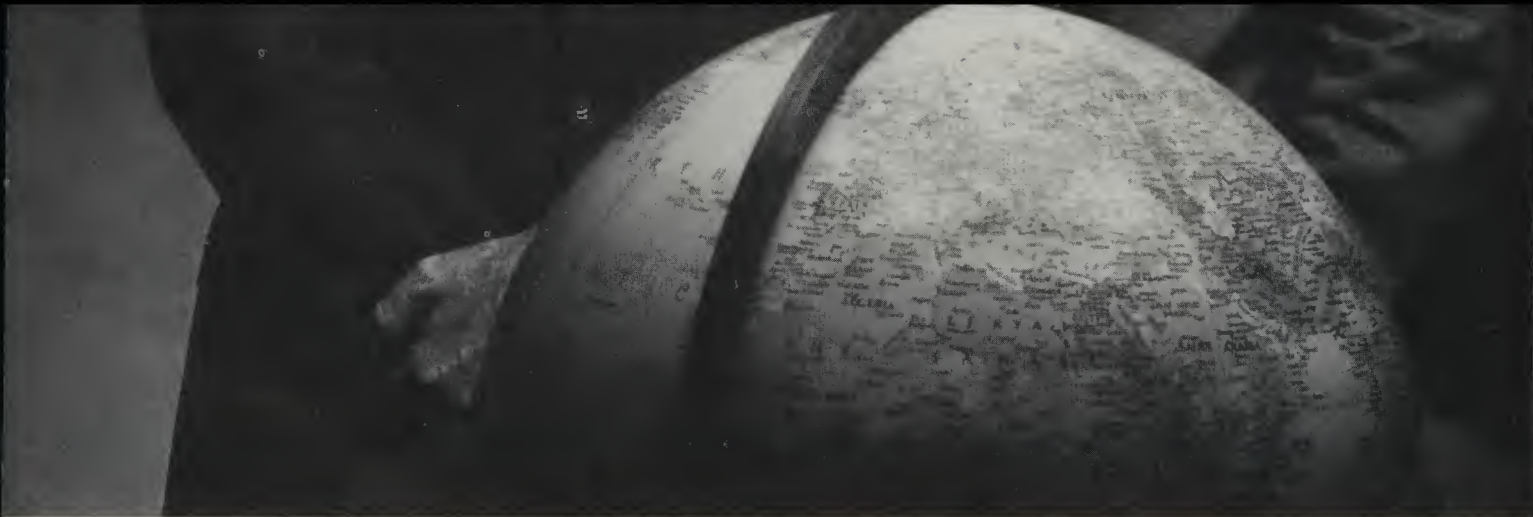
What happened during Bunker's "six grueling years" in Vietnam? Why does the biographer so clumsily evade the issue of Bunker's Vietnam service while devoting so many dull paragraphs to Panama and other tertiary arenas?

Oh, yes. There was that other sentence about Vietnam that McMullen slipped in, the last sentence of a six-page article: "Nevertheless, as a man who served under Bunker in Vietnam once observed, an important lesson that can be learned from the late diplomat's career is that 'an honest, straightforward, decent, and truthful man makes a successful negotiator.'"

An honest and straightforward biographical sketch of this honorable, decent, and truthful man cannot possibly be written unless his Vietnam role is analyzed. McMullen's approach is sadly lacking. Perhaps he is not the man (because of his presumed relationship with the subject at Georgetown University) to be candid about Bunker's failure to live up to his magnificent record as a negotiator when he became trapped in the Vietnam quagmire.

You should commission an article on that subject, just to balance the scales.

RICHARD PATRICK WILSON
Foreign Service Information Officer, retired
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I quote: "Bunker's strategy throughout the negotiations was to concede on the symbols of sovereignty that Panama had emphasized from the start, while ensuring that the United States retained the permanent rights to defend the canal. His successful implementation of this strategy was essential in winning Pentagon and congressional support for the new treaties, which were signed in September 1977, after 13 years of negotiations."

Although I am not in possession of a copy of the Panama Canal Treaty (Torrijos-Carter), it has always been my understanding that the United States would have the right to defend the canal only for the pe-

riod 1977-99, inasmuch as the agreement for the Execution of Article IV, Protection and Defense of the Panama Canal Treaty, expires on December 31, 1999.

Can you clarify this point for me?

FRED A. DURLING
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Bryans Road, Maryland

We asked author Christopher McMullen to respond:

To answer Mr. Durling's question, according to Article IV of the Neutrality Treaty, which is one of the two pacts composing the canal agreement, the United

States and Panama "agree to maintain the regime of neutrality established in this treaty...notwithstanding the termination of any other treaties." This article was deliberately vague in order to assuage Panamanian sensitivities on the issue of continued U.S. rights to defend the canal beyond the life of the other accord, the Panama Canal Treaty, which expires at the end of 1999. In addition, an amendment to the Neutrality Treaty that incorporates the Torrijos-Carter statement of understanding on this sensitive point gives each party the right to take those actions deemed necessary to defend the canal.

To respond to Mr. Wilson's criticism, my article was not intended to be a "mini-biography" of Ellsworth Bunker's lengthy diplomatic career. Instead, it sought to highlight some of the skills and other qualities that Bunker brought to the role of mediator in a series of specific crises. Thus, Bunker's ambassadorial assignments in India, Italy, and Vietnam were deliberately omitted. In Vietnam, in fact, his role was principally to manage the American war effort, his superiors having decided to give the job of negotiating a peace to Averell Harriman at the Paris talks.

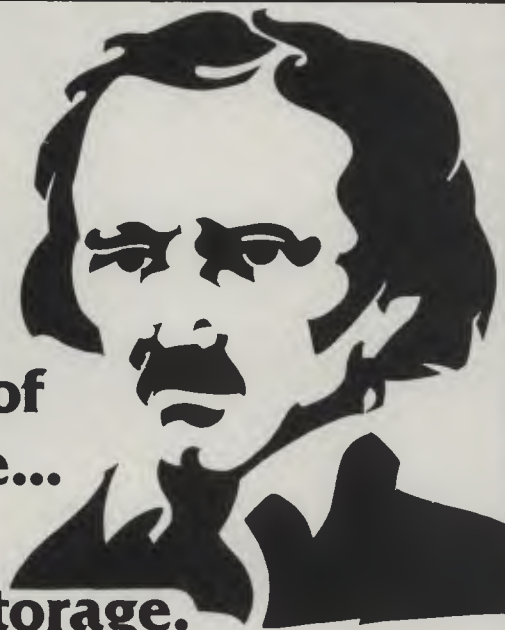
Flashback

Reading "Dinner and Opium" [THE JOURNAL, July/August] reminded me of a similar experience I had when I was consul in Kunming, then known as Yunnanfu, in 1936-37. At that time Yunnan opium was reputed to be the best in the world, and perhaps because of that, its use there was common among Chinese of all classes. As colonialists, the French were always more adaptable to local customs than we or the British. In Yunnan they found opium smoking to be a very civilized diversion, and so it also became common in the Kunming foreign community. Many of the French taipans had a "fumoire" off the living room for those guests so inclined. The host was always happy to instruct a newcomer in the hypnotically fascinating process of preparing and smoking the pipe.

As a young officer, I had been imbued with the idea that one adapted to the social life of one's post. It therefore never occurred to me to be concerned over possible department reactions to following this principle, but I was cautious and moderate in applying it to the opium pipe. The effect on me was a warm feeling of relaxation and contentment, a milder form of Ms. Sanford's reaction. But the big difference in our reactions was that I always felt cheerful and "together" the morning after, never a hangover. With that nostalgic loyalty to early posts which sometimes affects us, I suggest that the high quality of the local product may have been responsible.

JAMES K. PENFIELD
Foreign Service Officer, retired
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Reviews

Through Different Eyes. By Hyman Bookbinder and James G. Abourezk. Adler and Adler, 1987. \$18.95

This remarkable confrontation between two political activists with diametrically opposite views on U.S. policy in the Middle East brings into sharp focus the emotional as well as intellectual content of American attitudes toward the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. Bookbinder, the dean of the pro-Israel lobby, and former Senator Abourezk, chairman of the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee, not only see the conflict through different eyes, but seem to speak with different tongues. The two generally talk past rather than to each other.

Bookbinder, contending that U.S. policy has been correct in its support for Israel and search for a negotiated settlement without the Palestine Liberation Organization, is concerned with the continuing refusal of the Arabs (with the exception of Egypt) to give formal legitimacy to Israel and to acknowledge publicly its "right to exist." Abourezk is critical of American failure to acknowledge the right of the Palestinian people to an independent state, and what he views as the excessive power and influence of the pro-Israel lobby. He lambastes the distortions of the media in covering, or not covering, Israeli actions in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip and the 1982 invasion of Lebanon.

This effort at dialogue, as Shieler indicates, leaves the reader dismayed by the apparent irreconcilability of viewpoints, mirroring the antagonisms and suspicions of the parties to the conflict. The book is worth reading as a reminder that Middle East policy is indeed a reflection, for good or bad, of domestic politics. As Bookbinder notes, support for Israel is widespread in the United States even in states without a large Jewish vote. But it is also true that the supporters of the Palestinian viewpoint have been unable to make their case effectively in this country. There is considerable stereotyping of Arabs as terrorists and opponents of peace with Israel.

Changes in the Arab world over the last decade, which has seen greater acceptance of Israel and of Egypt's relationship with Tel Aviv by other Arabs, are generally not understood here. If there are to be new opportunities to advance the cause of peace in the Middle East, it will require a fresh

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effort by the executive branch, the Congress, and the major public interest groups in the Jewish and Arab communities to find more common ground than they have thus far. It may seem a tall order, but it is essential if we are going to play an activist role in the peace process in this or the next administration.

—JOHN L. HIRSCH

George S. Messersmith, Diplomat of Democracy. By Jesse H. Stiller. University of North Carolina Press, 1987. \$35.

Readers who enjoyed their brief meeting with George Messersmith in the October JOURNAL ["Messersmith's Big Fight"] should find even more pleasure in this full-length biography from which it was excerpted. For Messersmith was a rare breed among career diplomats—a man who loved a good fight and seldom pulled his punches when he found one. The fight with the Department of Commerce related in the excerpt was only one of many that marked his career, and the story of battles won and lost makes consistently fascinating reading.

George Messersmith served in ten posts on three continents, including four ambassadorial appointments—not bad for a man who began in the pre-1924 consular corps because he lacked the private income then considered necessary for diplomatic service, and who never bent his views to suit prevailing political winds. Messersmith had won friends in the business community for effective promotion of American trade, but he first came to public notice when his early-1930s reports from Berlin sounded shrill warnings about Hitler and condemned Nazi treatment of German Jews.

One of the people favorably impressed by Messersmith's willingness to speak out was Franklin Roosevelt, who was looking for a consular officer to appoint as chief of mission. With FDR's support, Messersmith went to Vienna, back to Washington as assistant secretary for administration, and on to wartime embassies in Havana and Mexico City. In all these posts, he was quick to trade on his relationship with the president to get what he wanted, sometimes at the expense of officials in the State Department and other agencies. Not surprisingly, he was not always popular with his State colleagues. When Roosevelt died, Messersmith failed to appreciate how much his position had been weakened, so that his last great policy battle in Buenos Aires ultimately cost him his post and sent him into retirement.

It is a tribute to Jesse H. Stiller that only the extensive notes and bibliography suggest the doctoral dissertation from which this book emerged. He has given us a lively portrait of an unconventional diplomat, in a work that is stylishly written and scrupulously honest in acknowledging shortcomings and mistakes along with the triumphs. At a time when a few officers of courage

and conviction might help the Foreign Service rebuild its dwindling constituency, Messersmith's career may have lessons to offer.

—ANDREW STEIGMAN

The Age Of Terrorism. By Walter Laqueur. Little, Brown, 1987. \$19.95.

The Never-Ending War: Terrorism In The 1980s. By Christopher Dobson and Ronald Payne. Facts on File, 1987. \$18.95.

The recent lull in the incidence of terrorism around the world has not been matched by a similar hiatus in the appearance of books on the subject. Two of the more recent examples include an update of one of the classics and a new effort by one of the more proficient (and prolific) teams of reporters covering the subject.

Walter Laqueur established his reputation as an authority on various forms of low-intensity conflict many years ago. In many ways his 1977 work *Terrorism* still remains a classic, but his new book demonstrates just how terrorism has changed into indiscriminate actions (indiscriminate, not mindless or random). Laqueur reviews for us the history of modern terrorism, from 19th-century Russian social revolutionaries up to the present. We learn that in many ways, the tactics of terrorism have remained the same; it is only the techniques that have changed. Laqueur reminds us that Johann Most, whose writings influenced early-20th-century American anarchists, recognized the "copy-cat" effect of terrorism and the value of the "propaganda of the deed."

Laqueur notes that this book "deals with terrorism and not the ways and means to prevent and combat it." His conclusion that terrorism may act as a trigger for larger, more deadly conflicts overlooks the fact that individual terrorist actions seek to accomplish in small steps what would never be tolerated in one fell swoop. If not controlled, not only will many people die, but the wider conflict Laqueur fears will be rendered academic.

Dobson and Payne have been reporting on terrorism for 20 years; *The Never-Ending War* is their fourth book on the subject. Based on interviews with leading diplomatic, military, and intelligence figures, the book does an admirable job of presenting much information in an easy-to-read style. Their main premises are that Iran, Syria, and Libya constitute "the three pillars of the unholy alliance of terror sponsorship," and that "terrorism follows the same path wherever it is adopted, for whatever cause."

To illustrate those two points, the authors review some of the most recent acts of terrorism, such as the *Achille Lauro* and TWA hijackings, along with the activities of the Palestinian, Irish, Shi'ite, European, Tamil, and Sikh terrorist groups. Readers who have followed terrorism via the media

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will be astonished by some of the book's content. Those who have access to intelligence reporting will find new slants that may conflict with some previous opinions.

To my mind, the Dobson and Payne book is the more relevant work. Laqueur's newest effort does not improve much on his earlier work and provides little that is new or helpful. Its value is in its synthesis and historical perspective. Dobson and Payne draw back the veil a bit on today's terrorist groups and help us to understand how the players interact and what their purposes are.
—MAYER NUDELL

Embattled Korea: The Rivalry for International Support. By Ralph N. Clough. Westview Press, 1987. \$32.

Books that are at once timely, scholarly, objective, and really readable are all too scarce on any subject, but particularly on Korea. Ralph Clough's study gets top marks on all counts. *Embattled Korea* should be required reading for both policymakers and scholars—not only for its fact-filled and well-organized contents and its insightful analysis, but also for its literary quality.

This is the first English-language book in many years to integrate history, politics, economics, and international relations of both Korean states in a coherent whole. There have been a number of useful books on Korea but almost all have focused on a single aspect of its affairs. Clough's emphasis is on the interplay between domestic and external factors in the postwar development of the two Korean states as major factors in East Asian affairs. His analysis puts the two states side by side and contrasts their differing responses to the interrelated problems of internal and external security, economic development, and modernization. The analysis is structured both topically and chronologically. Its objectivity does not exclude a delightful dry humor in citing what appears to Westerners as excesses and absurdities of Korean—especially North Korean—political behavior. Clough concludes with a thoughtful set of suggestions for future U.S. policy to promote stability and development.

I can find little with which to quarrel, either factually or analytically, but perhaps Korean readers will share with me a feeling that the author gives insufficient emphasis to the goal of reunification, long-range though it certainly is. He seems to acquiesce in the continuation of the post-1945 division—even though Korea was a united state for almost 1300 years before then.

Embattled Korea and Gregory Henderson's *Korea: The Politics of the Vortex*, published in the 1960s, are the two best comprehensive English-language books since World War II on Korean affairs. It is probably no coincidence that both have been written by former career Foreign Service officers.

—DONALD S. MACDONALD

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Risk and Recognition

By JOSEPH VERNER REED

William Palfrey was lost at sea in 1780. Hardy Burton died of yellow fever in 1852. Joseph Granger was murdered in Vietnam in 1965. Phyllis Faraci died in Beirut in 1983.

So goes a long list of diplomatic and consular officers of the United States who lost their lives while on active duty in the Foreign Service: a group of the brightest, bravest public servants in the world today—the best of the best. As U.S. strategic, political, and economic interests have spanned the globe, our Foreign Service officers have served in increasingly diverse, difficult, and even hostile environments. In the first two centuries of the diplomatic service, 73 American officers lost their lives in the course of duty; in the past two decades alone, 80 more have been added to the list of those killed while serving their country.

The Foreign Service has become a high-risk profession for individuals of enormous intelligence, diplomatic expertise, international experience and, yes, real heroism. Thus, it is ironic that a recent spate of articles in the American press have described a “faded” lackluster Foreign Service beset with problems.

Certainly, the State Department is confronting budgetary constraints which entail serious belt-tightening. However, the Foreign Service I know has not crumbled in the face of fiscal stringency. And certainly, there are the personal travails of those highly qualified individuals who, as in all endeavors, can be unfairly passed by when it comes time for promotion. But in six years of round-the-clock contact with the men and women of the Foreign Service, I consistently see qualities of dedication and intelligence which stand in stark contrast to the recent moribund characterizations in the press.

During times when sentiment against “big government” or criticism of administration policies may cast doubt on the value of a career in the Foreign Service, it is doubly important that the high standards of the Foreign Service and the pride and self-respect of its officers be both preserved and praised. The Foreign Service of the United States is a lean machine. Out of the 15 million civilian government workers in America, only about 4000 are Foreign Service officers.

Despite the generally negative image that government service has acquired in some

quarters in the last decade, that small cadre still captures the imagination and ambition of many highly qualified applicants. Who are these people? Generally, they are young Americans of uncommon patriotism and ambition leavened by a streak of romanticism and curiosity about the world. You'll find few Yuppies here. These men and women care more for horizons than for stock tickers. Each year, 15,000 to 18,000 young and not-so-young Americans undergo a rigorous examination procedure in hopes of obtaining one of the less than 200 entry-level Foreign Service positions. New entrants' backgrounds are measurably more impressive than in preceding years. For the one person in a hundred who is chosen, the future holds a career—indeed, a way of life—which is substantially different from the “striped pants” stereotype.

U.S. diplomats do on rare occasions still wear a morning suit and sip champagne at posh receptions in exotic foreign capitals. However, if one were to look into a Foreign Service officer's closet, next to the black tie or evening gown would likely hang the bush jacket worn while serving as a peace-keeping observer on the Sinai Peninsula or as a refugee assistance officer in Southeast Asia.

Far from home, but far from dispirited, these unique individuals enjoy the rewards of a business that is intrinsically interesting, and they are staying with it as never before. The rate of retention within our Foreign Service is as high as it has ever been.

The western democracies in general, and the United States in particular, have a duty to themselves and to the world community to maintain that delicate balance between high professional standards and open public criticism that enables public servants to play their indispensable role. But let's give the men and women who have dedicated their lives and careers to this Service credit where due.

Foreign Service officers are intelligent people who know exactly what they are about. Call them what you will. But “faded”? Some faded! Without their expertise, their dedication and most of all, their loyalty to the national interests of the United States, this all-important task of representing our country and our ways of life would be impossible.

It has been said the greatest honor in life is to do a good deed in secret and have it discovered by accident. To that special group called the Foreign Service, whose deeds are rarely discovered and often inadequately rewarded, the honors are many. And for those who lost their lives in this calling, our loss, our debt is deeply felt.

Joseph Verner Reed, ambassador to Morocco 1981-85, in the Washington Times, June 29. Reprinted by permission.

REPRINTS brings to the attention of our readers, at full length, articles of significance on the Foreign Service or its agencies. Reader submissions are welcomed.

CLIPPINGS

Ambassadors at Work

"As I prepare to return home to Baghdad, perhaps I can share one Arab ambassador's impressions about how Washington works from a foreign representative's point of view:

■ Washington is driven by crisis For a diplomat, influencing events is a matter of seizing opportunities that arise during these unusual periods, rather than just making plans.

■ Don't ignore the bureaucracy. A diplomat needs to keep an eye on the internal debates among middle-level policymakers, not just on public statements from the top officials. . . . At the State Department, most things start with the desk officer. Unless you have his sympathy and conviction, you won't get good memos to the secretary of state on important issues, and you won't get good decisions.

■ Reach out to all Americans. . . . Get away from Washington. . . . You can't understand how America works unless you get out in the country and talk to the people.

■ Washington isn't like any other capital. . . . Nothing is ever final in Washington. Everything is always developing. Every policy triggers its own opposition."

Iraqi Ambassador to Washington

Nizar Hamdoon in the Washington Post, August 30

"Terence A. Todman, a 35-year veteran of the American Foreign Service, former ambassador to Chad, Guinea, Costa Rica, and Spain, delights in his work The ambassador is a firm believer in open, personal diplomacy, which he practices when talking with guests or speaking before civic organizations. This is the only kind of diplomacy in a democracy, he insists, because if a government is to make up its mind on a certain course, it will need feedback from its people. 'So unless we can tell where we—the United States—stand, there won't be any feedback to the Danish government.' "

Alfred E. Pedersen in TWA Ambassador, September

"After more than a dozen years of negotiating with representatives of foreign governments, Rozanne Ridgway [says], 'Even as you're sitting at a table working from an agenda that you both agreed on, you expect events will happen outside of that dialogue that have the possibility of turning it off, postponing it, pushing it to the

side. You have to take account of those events, but you keep returning to your fundamental interests that are at the table.' . . . Whether it's fish or missiles, she says, 'when you're negotiating something that touches the U.S. national interest . . . you still have to come home to a constituency, you have to bring something that group is willing to receive. I don't find that much difference from decade to decade, from détente to détente.' "

Donnie Radcliffe in the Washington Post, September 16

Police Beat

"Major abuses of diplomatic immunity get attention, but they are rare, and diplomats are involved in few serious crimes. In any case, the police will never let immunity get in the way of their job of protecting the public. . . . Recently highly publicized cases have fostered the belief that diplomatic immunity is invoked often, and with considerable arrogance. At the local level, this is not true. Diplomats usually can be held accountable for their actions, although not always by conventional means.

"Although diplomats are immune from physical arrests, they may be issued summonses for traffic violations. Those who enjoy diplomatic immunity cannot be forced to pay fines, but the State Department expects them to pay. Points are assessed for traffic violations, and the State Department revokes privileges if the maximum limit is exceeded. Diplomats are expected to comply with state driving regulations, including mandatory automobile insurance, thus alleviating a major headache in accident cases.

"The State Department requests police reports in every incident in which diplomats have violated the law and follows up by taking action through the appropriate embassy. . . . We find that embassies generally are sensitive to the mandates of local law. They have a vested interest in regulating the conduct of diplomats and their families in this country. . . . The State Department conscientiously monitors relations with local law enforcement and maintains a strong liaison with our agency."

Arlen Justice, Acting Alexandria Police Chief, in the Fairfax Journal, November 23

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Edward Fitzgerald

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D I P L O M A C Y

Attacks on Immunity

By RICHARD GOOKIN

The principle of diplomatic immunity, a fundamental tenet of international relations, is under heavy attack. Television news programs and talk shows feature discussions of abuses allegedly committed by persons entitled to immunity, newspaper articles rehash old incidents, and bills on the subject have been introduced in Congress, the most far-reaching of which would have eliminated immunity entirely in certain cases.

At the forefront of the assault on this vital provision of international law are Chuck Ashman and Pamela Trescott, authors of the book *Diplomatic Crime* (Acropolis Books, 1987), a highly readable, yet sensationalist and sometimes inaccurate chronicle of crimes committed by persons claiming diplomatic immunity from criminal prosecution.

Ashman, a reporter whose other works include *Kissinger—The Adventures of Super-Kraut*, and *Martha Mitchell—The Mouth that Roared*, claims, "*Diplomatic Crime* documents the shocking truth about a diplomatic crime wave that must and can be stopped. . . . Inside, case after case unfolds . . . with sufficient evidence and eye-witness accounts to mount airtight court actions. Yet, in almost every instance, those responsible walk free protected by diplomatic immunity."

Appearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on August 5, Trescott likewise described the situation as a "minor diplomatic crime wave [that] is getting out of control." Further, the authors assert that the State Department downplays incidents out of fear of rocking the boat. If the authors are to be believed, bands of diplomats are on the rampage in Washington and New York, while the State Department looks the other way, and local law enforcement personnel stand by helplessly.

In actual fact, during a twelve-month period ending May 31, of 78,855 crimes reported in the city of Washington, D.C., no more than five which could be considered serious were committed by persons entitled to criminal immunity.

Undoubtedly professionals in the field of international relations would welcome an insightful and thoughtful study of diplomatic immunity, perhaps similar to Eileen Denza's excellent treatise on the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. Instead, in this book accounts of incidents are sensationalized and presented in a manner more

appropriate for supermarket tabloids than for educating or enlightening the reader. The authors elevate this technique to an art form in a chapter entitled "Drug Dealing Diplomats," leaving the false impression that the United States has been overrun by dope-running diplomats who are beyond the law. They state: "For most drug traffickers who are caught, the penalties are severe. But for those with diplomatic immunity, the worst that can happen is a loss of face and possible expulsion from their country's diplomatic service. More and more diplomats seem ready to take that risk, in light of the potential rewards." The cases presented, however, do not support this conclusion. Of the 14 cases cited, four occurred outside of the United States and only one involved a person entitled to diplomatic immunity in the country in question. Of the 10 U.S. cases, 7 never had criminal immunity and were thus prosecuted and convicted.

In other cases, the authors misconstrue facts entirely. One of the most egregious examples concerns an Ethiopian who allegedly attempted to rape "Carol" but, the authors write, "Carol valiantly fought him off." They state that the accused falsely asserted immunity and was released, but that "his claim of immunity was a total fraud, [and] by the time it was discovered, he was on safe soil, having escaped prosecution." The facts: the Ethiopian ambassador to the United Nations waived the suspect's immunity, and after a week-long trial in Manhattan Criminal Court in January 1982, he was found innocent of all charges. Another example is the case of Ahmed Kalera, the Pakistani driver charged with reckless driving in connection with the death of a pedestrian in Arlington, Virginia, in January 1986. According to the book, the Department of State would have preferred to close the file and only reluctantly cooperated with county officials. On the contrary, we worked closely with the prosecutors and counseled the court that Kalera was entitled to immunity only for acts performed in the course of his official duties. After a formal hearing on the issue the court, not the department, determined that the accident occurred in the course of Kalera's work.

As in the Kalera case, the authors blur important distinctions between the various types of immunity, making it appear that drivers, cooks, and servants are entitled to full immunity. In fact, they are not. Under the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, subscribed to by most nations of

the world, and the law in the United States governing diplomatic immunity, diplomats, members of the administrative and technical staff, and family members who form part of their households are entitled to full criminal immunity and cannot be arrested or prosecuted. Members of the service staff, in particular drivers, guards, custodial employees and the like, are subject to arrest and are entitled to immunity from criminal prosecution only for acts committed in the performance of their duties. This "official acts" immunity must be asserted and supported in the same manner as any affirmative defense (i.e., self defense) which would be available to an ordinary citizen. Personal servants of embassy personnel are not entitled to immunity at all. It is regrettable that the authors have chosen not to pay greater attention to detail in this regard.

It is disturbing also that the authors imply that the Department of State takes no action in dealing with offenders, and that the alleged criminals get away scot-free while their victims are denied justice. That's simply not so! The chief of protocol consistently has taken a hard line toward abuses of immunity, and has been involved personally in a number of the cases cited in this book. Yet, repeatedly, the efforts of the department are denigrated, minimized, or ignored entirely.

Two of these victims, who travel with the authors in promoting the book, never mention that they have received compensation from foreign government sources, made with the understanding that these were final settlements. We have been informed that Steven Goldstein of New York received several thousand dollars to compensate him for the broken passenger window of his car. Kenny Skeen of Silver Spring, Maryland, received a large ex gratia payment from the government of Brazil following an incident in which he was shot and wounded by a diplomat's dependent, settling his claim in full. Afterwards, his attorney wrote a letter thanking us for our "kind assistance in bringing this matter to a close."

The much celebrated Saudi rape case has been used to demonstrate abuse of diplomatic immunity and abuse of victims. But, in point of fact, the victim refused to file charges because she was unwilling to testify. While her mother was aware that the alleged rapist lived several doors away for three years after returning to the United States, she failed to notify the department of his return. Two days after we discovered his presence, in June 1987, we saw to it that he was gone from the country for good.

As the chief of protocol stated in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, we are not defending the indefensible. However, we must bring rational thinking to this subject, something rather missing from the Ashman-Trescott book. The abuses of immunity are rare and not as widespread as the authors would have

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us believe, and there are effective means of dealing with them. The department continually works to ensure that breaches of conduct are responded to forcefully and in a manner which will serve as a deterrent to others. In addition to the expulsion of alleged offenders, the department in recent serious cases has expelled the entire family of juvenile offenders. State has recently notified foreign embassies that it has instituted such action as policy. Updated guidelines for law enforcement authorities have been written and distributed nationwide, and police officers are being urged to conduct full and complete investigations of alleged incidents to lay the groundwork for possible future criminal prosecutions. An accumulation of traffic citations or a serious automobile-related offense, such as driving while intoxicated, will result in the immediate suspension of an individual's driver's license. Failure to comply with local laws and regulations pertaining to firearms will subject the offender to expulsion.

It also should be remembered that immunity does not preclude prosecution for a criminal act. In the first place, foreign governments can, and have waived, immunity. Second, should an individual return to the United States without diplomatic status, he or she would be subject to our courts even for matters which occurred when that person enjoyed immunity, provided the victim is prepared to file charges.

In order to be effective we must have cooperation on the part of both the victims and the local authorities. Victims must press charges and be willing to testify, and the local authorities must investigate the charges and bring cases to indictment. If they do so, the department can take the lead in bringing "diplomatic criminals" to justice.

In criticizing the concept of diplomatic immunity, we also should not lose sight of the fact that immunity protects nearly 30,000 Americans and members of their families representing the United States at posts throughout the world. Any change in our attitude regarding the immunity accorded to foreign diplomats in this country undoubtedly will be reflected in the way foreign governments treat our personnel posted abroad. No one serving in the Foreign Service today needs to be cautioned about the perils of living in certain countries without the benefit of full diplomatic immunity.

The facts need to be presented accurately and completely. When they are, I believe we will find that the claims set forth in *Diplomatic Crime* and the public relations campaign which has been mounted in promoting the book do not support this broad assault on a basic principle of international law—law which has protected our people overseas and served our own national interest so well for two centuries.

Richard Gookin is associate chief of protocol at the Department of State.

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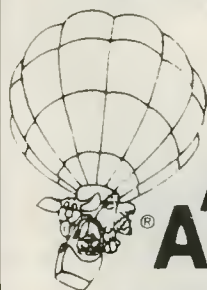


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Foreign Service Journal, January 1978:
"The department's directives on affirmative action, while laudable in themselves, seem almost irrelevant when applied to our Foreign Service personnel stationed abroad. For many senior officers at the post, accepting with resignation the assignment of Ms. Jones and avoiding "sexist" comments in her efficiency reports probably constitute as much as they feel called upon to do. I believe the real test of equality is the extent to which a woman is expected to carry her full share of the workload and is actively supported in doing so. . . . The Foreign Service should get maximum use of the resources which women bring to their jobs. Unfortunately, the fact is that archaic attitudes still limit their ability to contribute fully to the work of the Foreign Service."
—Letter from a "Ms. Jones"

Foreign Service Journal, January 1963:
"The first year's record [on the Alliance for Progress] is in—on this massive, unprecedented program of cooperative economic and social development. It confirms . . . a growing sense of dedication among Latin Americans to their self-help responsibilities. . . . The Alliance may mark a new age of development diplomacy, with profound effects on the whole sweep of our foreign policy in Latin America."—AFSA Editorial

Foreign Service Journal, January 1938:
"Behind the dirty facade of the State, War, and Navy building lies a story, as well as a great deal of horrible architecture. In fact, the horrible architecture is the story. It is a contributory cause for the building getting dirty in the first place, and the main reason that no efforts are made to clean it. Many are of the opinion that a cleaned-up State, War and Navy building would be an even ghastlier sight than the present monstrosity, whose architectural features are so bad that even dirt makes it less ugly. . . . There are many, however, who hold that the ancient pile has its charms as well as its horrors: who would not trade its high-ceiling, spacious rooms for the box-like offices of some of the modern buildings; who enjoy the sizzling of the steam in the radiators during the winter and the whirl of the electric fans in the summer; who speculate, perhaps, upon what might happen were one to succumb to the almost irresistible impulse to try roller skating around its four blocks of smooth, inviting corridors."
—The Editor's Column

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NO LONGER CENTRAL

Our obsession with Central America has prevented us from coping with the profound changes in its more important Latin neighbors

ABRAHAM F. LOWENTHAL

LATIN AMERICA IS ONCE AGAIN a priority for U.S. foreign policy. Not since Fidel Castro took power in Havana and continent-wide revolution seemed imminent has the region incurred such active concern. But much of this attention is misplaced. Latin American realities have shifted during the past generation much faster than U.S. perceptions of them. The images of the region that prevail in the United States tend to be both out of focus and out of date.

Our leaders and the public have been so preoccupied in recent years with the crisis in Central America that they have failed to appreciate the transformation in Latin America as a whole. Few Americans have understood how much the hemisphere has changed, and what these changes mean for the United States.

The prevailing obsession with Central America reflects traditional concepts and concerns that are largely outmoded. Profound economic, social, and political developments throughout Latin America have fundamentally altered U.S. interests there. Properly understood, our current interests are much more fully engaged in Mexico, Brazil, and the islands of the Caribbean than in the Central American isthmus. Central America may be America, but it is not necessarily central.

The key concepts underlying historic U.S. policies toward Latin America—and shaping the focus on Central America during the 1980s—derive largely from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when the United States first became a world power by projecting its influence in the western hemisphere. In that era, Pan American unity was central to this country's diplomacy. Our military security depended on U.S.

bases and other facilities in the Caribbean Basin, organized around defense of the Panama Canal, as well as on Latin American strategic materials. The region was the main arena for U.S. foreign investment and accounted for a large share of our commerce. The "western hemisphere idea"—that the United States and Latin America stood together and apart from the rest of the world—was a cornerstone of foreign policy.

But what has occurred since 1960 in the western hemisphere and in the broader international arena has eroded the traditional reasons for special U.S. concern with our neighbors to the south. Latin America has grown and modernized during the past generation. The region's population has more than doubled since 1960, from 200 million (roughly equivalent to the U.S. population at the time) to more than 400 million today, almost 60 percent more than our population. Within one generation, Latin America has switched from being two-thirds rural to two-thirds urban. The region's industrialization has been rapid by any standard; the rate of industrial expansion between 1960 and 1980 was comparable to that of the United States between 1890 and 1914. Education has expanded dramatically, as has communications. Institutions of all kinds, most of all the state technocracy, have grown in size and influence.

Even in a period of extensive economic difficulty, Latin American nations have become more developed and prosperous than they were in 1960. Most have become more fully integrated into the world economy, and much more involved in international politics. Few, if any, are banana republics, meekly following the lead of their northern neighbor. Latin American nations increasingly pursue their own interests, often in opposition to this country. On various North-South issues, they act like other developing countries, uniting more often against Washington than with it. In the 1985 session of the United Nations General Assembly, for instance, tiny Grenada was the only country in Latin America and the Caribbean

Abraham F. Lowenthal is a professor of international relations at the University of Southern California and the executive director of Inter-American Dialogue. Adapted by the author with permission from Partners in Conflict, by Abraham F. Lowenthal. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1987.

to vote with the United States on more than half the issues. Apart from Cuba and Nicaragua, the three Latin American countries that disagreed with the United States most often were Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina—the region's three largest countries—which concurred with Washington less than 16 percent of the time. The erstwhile Latin American bloc, which was a bulwark of foreign policy from the turn of the century through the 1950s, no longer exists. Washington today must expect Latin American nations to act according to their individual interests. Each country's support must be courted; none can be taken for granted.

Latin America's direct significance for the military security of the United States has also declined. The network of U.S. bases and other facilities that ring the Caribbean Basin have become far less important during the past 20 years, to the point that in the 1970s the Pentagon scheduled many of them to be closed. Although the trend toward reducing U.S. military presence in the Caribbean Basin has been reversed, the motives for the recent build-up have been more political than military; the United States has wished to reverse leftist inroads, not to defend against a potential attack.

Unrestricted access to the Panama Canal remains an important interest, but it is no longer as vital as it used to be. The share of U.S. foreign commerce passing through the canal has declined to less than one-sixth of this country's oceanbound trade. Today's supertankers and aircraft carriers, around which U.S. naval forces are organized, are too big to enter the canal. Continued unhampered shipping through the Caribbean's sea lanes is still a vital interest, however, for both economic and strategic reasons. Nearly half of our imported crude oil and a similar share of our foreign commerce pass through Caribbean waters, and these routes would be crucial for resupplying NATO forces in the event of a general war. It is difficult to imagine a threat to these sea lanes, though, short of a worldwide military confrontation. Should that happen, interference with U.S. shipping would be much more likely to occur in the North Atlantic.

The fact that Cuba and Nicaragua are aligned with the Soviet Union undoubtedly complicates U.S. defense planning. In the event of war, certain antisubmarine warfare facilities might be stretched thin, for example, if they had to deal simultaneously with Soviet forces in the Atlantic and with Cuban- (or Nicaraguan)-supported Soviet submarines in the Caribbean. But unchallenged U.S. dominance of the Caribbean Basin ended with the failed invasion at the Bay of Pigs in 1961, and unfriendly

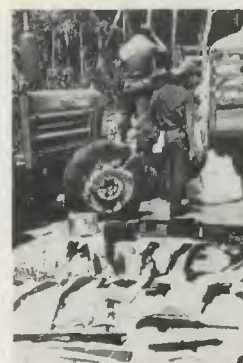
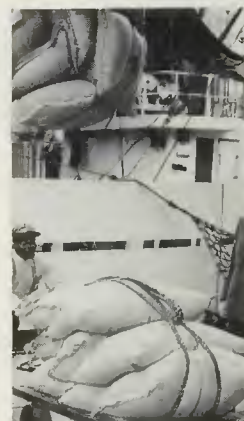
vessels can no longer be totally excluded. That fact needs to be fully incorporated into our thinking about hemispheric security.

Every administration since John F. Kennedy's—including that of Ronald Reagan—has concluded that it is not feasible to eliminate the Castro regime in Cuba and Soviet influence in the hemisphere. What is achievable at bearable cost is keeping Soviet military bases, strategic facilities, and combat forces out of the region. This rightly remains a primary U.S. objective, but it is one that can be achieved through both military deterrence and multilateral diplomacy. To protect current security interests does not require the traditional level of U.S. involvement in the internal politics of Latin America and the Caribbean; on the contrary, less entanglement might well enhance our security.

OF THE HISTORIC REASONS for involvement with Latin America, only economic interests have expanded in recent years, but these, too, have changed a great deal. The relative significance of direct investment in Latin America has decreased, as has the region's importance as a source for imports. Latin America's share of total U.S. foreign investment has dropped from approximately 38 percent in 1950 to less than 13 percent in 1985. U.S. firms now have more invested in Canada than in all the countries to the south; they have as much invested in the United Kingdom and Ireland as in all of South America, and more invested in Denmark than in all of Central America. The nature of the investment has likewise altered. It used to be concentrated in natural-resource extraction and utilities, sectors that were responsive to state policy and thus were readily affected, in the days of overwhelming U.S. dominance, by pressures from the U.S. government. Now investments are mainly in manufacturing and services, sectors where international economic competition prevails. Finally, Latin America's share of U.S. imports has declined from about 37 percent in 1950 to 15 percent in the late-1980s, as the United States has become more fully integrated in a global marketplace. The western hemisphere is still a major source of many products—iron, copper, tin, bauxite, petroleum, coffee, cocoa, sugar, bananas, other fruits, and cut flowers—but the United States does not depend exclusively on Latin suppliers for any product.

With the expansion of trade and the increased use of synthetics, Latin America's importance as a source of strategic materials has also de-

U.S. interests in Latin America have been fundamentally altered; trade is less important than in the past, while cooperation on key international interests is of benefit to all. Top: Workmen haul Brazilian coffee bags from a freighter in San Francisco. Bottom: Colombian and U.S. authorities seize weapons and cocaine at an isolated jungle processing plant.



Our leaders have been so preoccupied with the crisis in Central America that they have failed to appreciate the transformation in Latin America as a whole

clined. The United States no longer depends on Latin America for any strategic commodity as it depends on South Africa for chrome and on the Soviet Union for platinum. Mexico has become one of our main sources of imported petroleum, but its crude accounts for less than five percent of U.S. consumption; the oil trade is actually more important to Mexico than to us.

In sum, Latin America is no longer as important to the United States as it used to be on any of the traditionally articulated dimensions of U.S. interest: military security, diplomatic support, equity investment, and imports. That does not mean, of course, that these historic interests have completely disappeared, or that claims about their significance have ended. On the contrary, the Reagan administration has frequently reiterated the classic arguments in mobilizing support for its Latin American policy. But the familiar case for Washington's concern with the western hemisphere—and particularly for deep involvement in the region—is no longer compelling. Traditional concepts still structure Washington's habits of thought about Latin America, but they do not provide a reliable framework for making decisions or for winning public support for U.S. policy.

THE COUNTRIES OF the western hemisphere could well become more important to the United States in the next few years, but for new and different reasons. Military security is not seriously threatened by direct attack from the western hemisphere. But security in the broader sense—the capacity to protect the individual and collective welfare of this country's citizens—could be importantly influenced by events to the south.

Four trends have increased Latin America's potential impact on the United States:

- Latin America has a growing influence on the economy of the United States and on the world economy;

- Massive immigration from Mexico, the Caribbean islands, and some countries in Central America will directly affect life in the United States;

- The larger Latin American countries will have a significant effect upon some of the most urgent international problems, including narcotics, terrorism, environmental degradation, and nuclear proliferation; and

- Circumstances in Latin America and the Caribbean will influence the prospects for preserving values fundamental to the society of the United States.

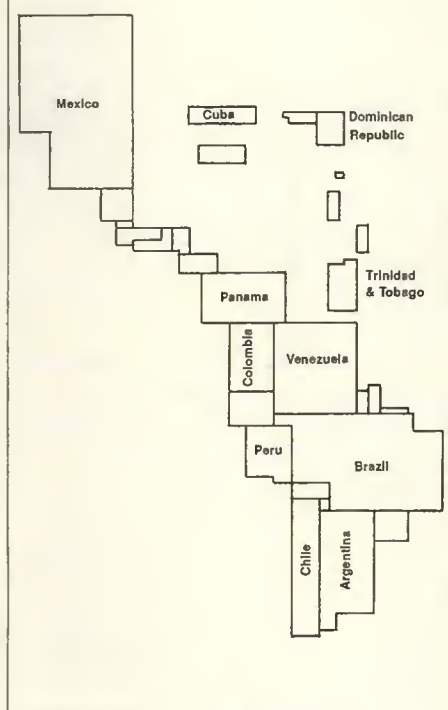
Latin America's industrial transformation has made the region far more important to the United States than it used to be, both as a market for exports and as a source of some kinds of manufactured products. Latin America's massive borrowing from American banks and international institutions also significantly affects the U.S. financial system. The United States, in turn, is much more dependent on its international economic relationships than it used to be. Renewed prosperity depends to a considerable degree on a healthy rate of economic growth elsewhere in the world economy, including Latin America.

A few figures illustrate these points: Until 1981, Latin America's increasingly industrialized economies constituted a major growth market for U.S. exports of capital goods, including heavy machinery and farm equipment, as well as of agricultural commodities and other items. From 1976 to 1981, these markets accounted for 25 percent of the growth of American exports. From 1981 through 1983, however, exports to Latin America fell from \$39 billion to \$23 billion, accounting for about one half of the world-wide decline in U.S. exports in those years. The drop in exports to Latin America is estimated to have cost the United States at least half a million jobs. The estimated potential Latin American contribution to reviving U.S. exports is substantial, probably as much as 20 percent of the current trade deficit.

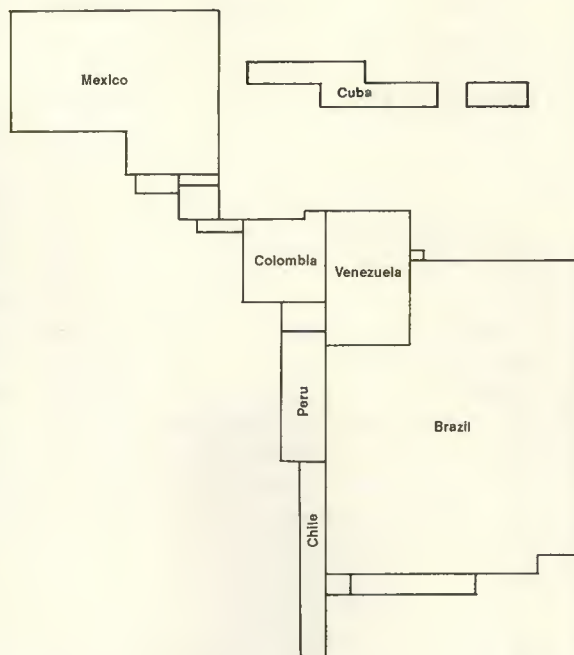
Almost one-third of all U.S. corporate profits today derive from the overseas activities of these firms. In 1985, Latin America accounted for some 20 percent of the income earned abroad. The nine largest American banks had, on the average, almost 200 percent of their stockholders' equity exposed in Latin America at the end of 1982. Although these banks have decreased their exposures somewhat since then, a significant share of their profits still derives from their Latin American activities. Despite a nearly 40-percent decline in the claims-to-capital ratio since the height of the debt crisis in 1982, these nine banks still had, on average, more than 140 percent of their primary capital exposed in Latin America at the end of 1986, and all U.S. banks had nearly 100 percent of the primary capital exposed in Latin countries as of that date.

If Latin America could reexpand its imports of industrial products, capital goods, and services and also increase its exports of manufactured goods, agricultural products, raw materials (including energy), and labor, this could help restore dynamism to the international economy as well as the U.S. economy. Orderly serv-

Trade Power



Industrial Power



Central America may be America, but it is not necessarily central. These maps, using 1981-82 data from the *New State of the World Atlas* (Simon and Schuster, 1984), show, by distorting country areas, Latin America's share of total world trade and the value of its gross manufacturing output.

ice of Latin America's massive debts, even if on the basis of some reduction of interest payments, would also make a substantial contribution to world economic recovery.

By the same token, prolonged economic decline in Latin America could have severe consequences. Simultaneous default by several major Latin countries would seriously hurt many American money-center banks, harm the banking system itself, and even damage the international financial order. Sustained Latin economic reversal would also affect the United States—the source of so much of Latin America's capital, technology, industrial goods, and other imports, and the destination of most of its products and surplus labor.

U.S. investments in Latin America's manufacturing sector and its importance as a market for capital goods have created a strong interest in the prosperity and general economic health of the region. The huge financial stake of U.S. banks in Latin America reinforces this interest. This is especially true in the larger countries—Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Colombia, and Venezuela—where U.S. investments, loans, and exports are concentrated.

International economic structures are now facing a severe challenge. Liberal trade policies have increasingly given way to protectionist restrictions. The next few years may see an intensifying struggle, reminiscent of the 1930s,

when each nation pursued "beggar-thy-neighbor" policies to the eventual detriment of all concerned: monetary policies geared toward immediate advantage, protectionist trading practices, and generally neo-mercantilist approaches. A major challenge for U.S. policy is to help shape procedures and institutions that will encourage a new opening of global trade—a freer flow of capital, technology, and labor.

Latin American countries, particularly the larger ones, complain that some established international practices discriminate against them. They want to restructure existing debts, improve the terms of trade, gain better access to capital and technology, and take a greater role in decision-making within international organizations. If multinational corporations and their home governments are not sensitive to the needs of host governments, a new surge of nationalist and populist policies and increased restrictive reprisals may emerge. Restrictions on profit remittances, discriminatory taxes, more stringent requirements regarding the proportion of local materials and of local personnel used in the manufacturing process, higher export level requirements, debt delay or defaults, and even outright nationalizations in some cases—all are possible.

If international monetary institutions do not take into account the needs of Latin America's

Profound economic, social, and political developments throughout Latin America have fundamentally altered U.S. interests there

economies, then Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, and other countries will have a greater incentive to push for inflationary growth of the world money supply. If international commerce in commodities does not become more predictable and profitable for developing countries, renewed efforts to build other cartels on the OPEC model can be anticipated. Even if no cartel is likely to be as successful as OPEC was in the 1970s, the resulting frictions could significantly hamper international trade.

If the interests of key Latin American and other Third World countries are not addressed, southern ties might solidify along radical lines. This could affect not only economic issues but other matters ranging from the Law of the Sea to nuclear proliferation and the politics of the Middle East. It is surely in the interest of the United States to avoid such a radicalization by taking into account the economic, political, and status concerns of Latin American nations.

IMMIGRATION FROM LATIN AMERICA—legal and illegal, seasonal and long-term—is increasingly visible in the United States today. Estimates of the number of persons of Mexican descent living in this country range from 8–15 million. Hispanic students now outnumber non-Hispanic whites in the public schools of Los Angeles; by the end of the 1980s, the majority of public school students in four southwestern states are expected to be of Mexican descent. The flow of Mexicans into this country stepped up dramatically in the mid-1980s in the face of that country's major economic setback.

The highly visible Mexican immigration to the sunbelt states is paralleled by a significant influx from the Caribbean and Central America. One of every eight living persons born in the Caribbean now resides outside that region, mostly in the continental United States. Close to five million people from Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Jamaica, Barbados, and numerous other islands have entered the United States since World War II. The pace of immigration from Central America has also intensified; in the past ten years, at least half a million people from El Salvador alone are estimated to have entered the United States, and the flow from Nicaragua is also increasing. Even without increasing immigration, Latin Americans, with a higher-than-average birthrate, will increase in number. In short, what might have once seemed like a series of special cases is now understood to be a sustained, region-wide response to shared

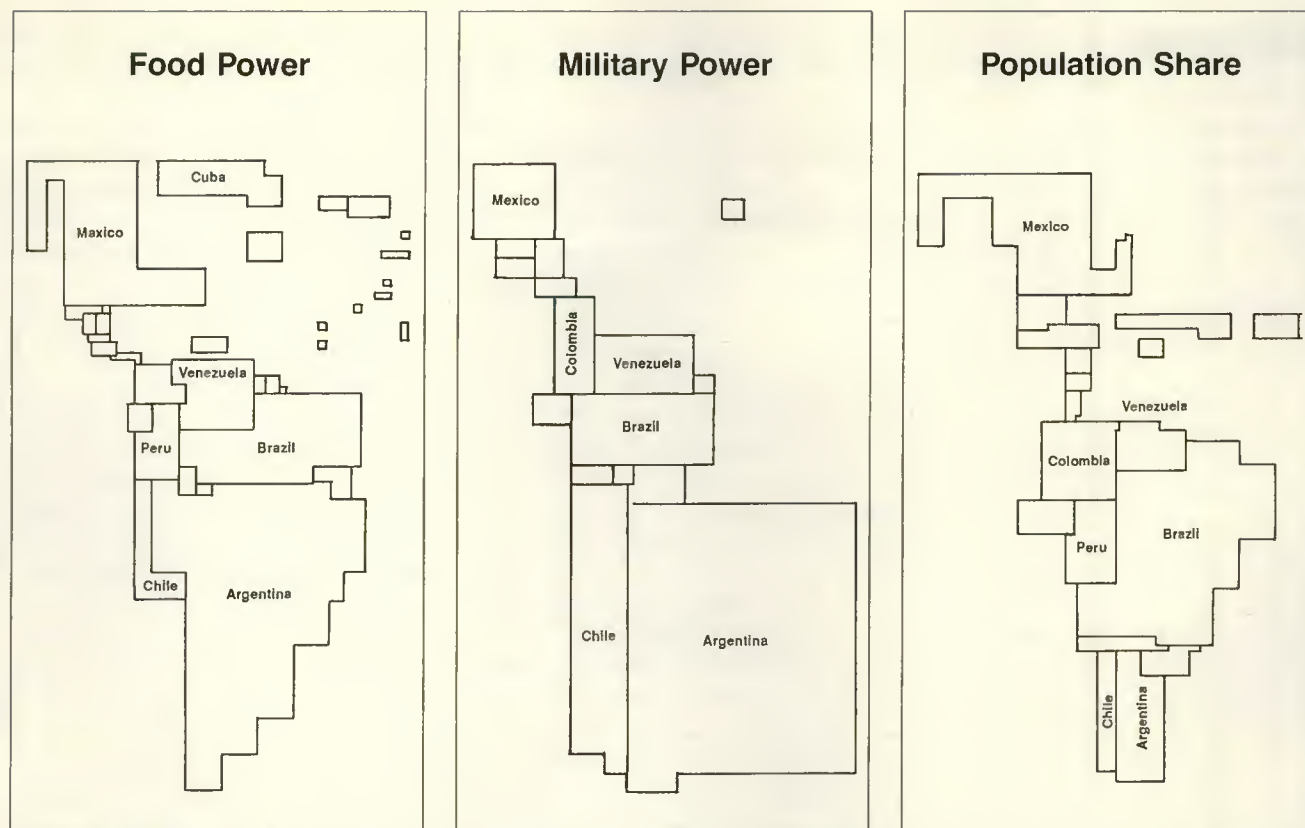
demographic pressures and to the U.S. labor market.

Regions of the United States where these immigrants cluster must cope with their needs for education, public health, and other services. Substandard working conditions and depressed wage scales, often below the mandated minimum wage, sometimes adversely affect the existing pool of low-income native-born workers. In a few regions, agricultural harvesting, labor-intensive industries, and service industries have become dependent on illegal alien workers. On the positive side, immigrant workers are estimated to contribute considerably more in taxes than the cost of the services they consume, and their presence has made it possible to keep open some businesses and thus decrease unemployment. Whatever the ultimate balance, Latin American migration has, and will continue to have, a significant economic and social impact on the United States.

Conditions in Latin America and the Caribbean that influence migration flows will directly affect the United States. The failure of Latin American economies to generate sufficient employment opportunities, combined with social dislocation due to upheaval or repression, create powerful migratory drives. This pressure cannot be reduced without substantial changes in the underlying conditions of the region. The immigrant communities from Latin America and the Caribbean already in the United States, moreover, are bound to help assure a continued interest in the hemisphere's social and economic conditions.

In addition to their potential importance in shaping the global economic order, Latin American countries will substantially affect other key international issues. Among the major challenges of the next few years will be:

- Controlling and curbing the burgeoning narcotics traffic, with its corrosive impact on individuals and societies;
- Combating terrorism, increasingly a transnational phenomenon;
- Limiting the proliferation of nuclear weapons technology;
- Avoiding aggravating the problems of industrial pollution and environmental degradation;
- Expanding the production, marketing, and distribution of food so that hunger and its sociopolitical consequences are reduced;
- Managing the production, conservation, marketing, and distribution of renewable and nonrenewable sources of energy to maintain supplies at reasonable and predictable prices;
- Managing the efficient development of other raw materials, including those of the seas.



On each of these issues, the Latin American countries are crucial. The drug problem cannot be solved without effective narcotics control in Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, and the United States; no one nation can deal effectively with the issue by itself. A number of Latin countries, particularly Brazil and Mexico, are central to the issues of global resource management and environmental protection. Argentina and Brazil are among the most likely nuclear powers, Mexico and Venezuela (with its tar belts) have the resources to expand petroleum production, and Colombia is a key source of coal. Latin America is a prime area for expanded agricultural production.

On all these matters, securing the cooperation of the western hemisphere for the mutual advantage of all should be a central goal of U.S. foreign policy. That cooperation is not assured and cannot be coerced; it will have to be achieved through policies that mitigate conflicts and reinforce shared interests.

THE CLIMATE FOR THE preservation of values basic for North American society will also be affected by conditions in the western hemisphere as a whole. The rise of bureaucratic-authoritarian regimes in Latin America during the 1960s and 1970s, some of them directly or indirectly

supported by U.S. policies, raised troubling questions about whether the United States was contributing to the institutionalization of injustice. As a nation, we cannot comfortably appear to induce or even condone poverty or repression. Explicit or even tacit alliances between the United States and repressive regimes inevitably produce a tension between domestic consensus and foreign policy. A lack of concern by the U.S. government with dire poverty and grossly inequitable income distribution, especially in neighboring countries, would evoke a similar strain. Systematic contradictions of this sort could erode the credibility of our national values and the commitment of our citizens.

The prospects for sustaining good relations with the countries of the hemisphere, moreover, are enhanced when Latin America's governments base themselves on public support rather than on brute force. Political order based on repression is ultimately fragile and volatile—Iran, Nicaragua, South Africa, Haiti, and the Philippines are the most recent and obvious examples. Lasting stability in the increasingly modern, mobile, and complex societies of Latin America is best based on participatory politics. It is fundamentally in the interest of the United States, therefore, to encourage Latin efforts to base development on individual autonomy, social equity, and civic participation, rather than on repression and inequality. The

Latin America's share of world cereal exports and imports, comparative military spending, and its share of world population are shown in these distorted-view maps. Each country's area is enlarged in proportion to its share of these resources.

**The United States
does not have a
major stake in Cen-
tral America's
turmoil**

United States has a legitimate reason to help show the viability of the democratic way.

The nations of Latin America will increasingly matter to the United States because of their economic and political weight; their demographic links with the United States; their capacity to affect global problems; and their effect on the preservation of basic U.S. values. Brazil and Mexico, and to a lesser degree Argentina, Venezuela, and Colombia, will be most significant in the areas of international influence and problem-solving capacity. Mexico and the Caribbean islands, and to a lesser extent Central America, will be important because of immigration. All the countries of the hemisphere will affect the climate for protecting U.S. values, but this will be true especially of nearby Mexico and the Caribbean islands.

Taking all four criteria together, U.S. interests are most fully occupied in the relationships with Mexico, Brazil, and the Caribbean. Mexico is a large nation so intertwined with the United States that domestic choices there inevitably affect us. Brazil is a country of such scope that it has an impact upon the rest of the hemisphere. The islands of the Caribbean have an effect upon this country, derived from proximity and compounded by immigration, which greatly exceeds their size.

Conversely, the United States does not have a major stake in Central America's turmoil. The countries there are small and weak. Their capacity to resolve international problems is limited. U.S. investment, financial, and commercial interests are meager. Central America's persistent failure to achieve lasting democracy or sustained respect for human rights has never had a profound impact on us because economic and demographic connections with the United States have not been strong. And Central America's economy—primarily dependent on the export of bananas, coffee, cotton, cocoa, and sugar—is likely to remain integrated into the international capitalist system on more or less the same terms, regardless of the region's internal politics, unless (as in the case of Nicaragua) the United States imposes economic sanctions.

The objective of U.S. interest in Central America, therefore, is circumscribed. Our response to Central America's turmoil during the 1980s—the impulse toward ever deeper involvement—has more to do with inherited attitudes and inculcated axioms than with present realities. President Reagan and many others talk about the Central American crisis in terms of U.S. national security interests. That terminology, however, obscures more than it clarifies.

What has been at stake for Washington has

not been so much national security as national insecurity; the discomfort of coping with loss of control of something we are used to controlling, even when control is costly to retain or restore, and may not be worth the effort. Fashioning a policy to deal adequately with this problem, and with the attendant issues of self-esteem and international prestige, is not simple, and undoubtedly there are security aspects to the Central American crisis that must be squarely faced. But it would be much easier for the United States to forge a sensible approach if we could recognize that a major aspect of our concern with Central America in the 1980s has been psychological—and if we could put that concern into proper perspective. It is high time for the United States to look beyond the credibility trap in Central America. The security and stability of the Americas are more deeply threatened by the economic, social, and political problems of Mexico and South America than by the internal conflicts in Central America.

Latin America's fundamental transformation during the past generation also creates significant opportunities for inter-American cooperation—on security, economic, social, and political issues—but these opportunities are being overlooked because of the obsession of the United States with Central America. On many problems of the present and future, the countries of Latin America are potential partners of the United States, but they have been increasingly at odds with us during the 1980s, in large measure because of the misconceived impulse of this country to return to the past, to restore hegemony lost in the Caribbean Basin.

The period of U.S. hegemony is over both because Latin American nations are able and determined to forge their own policies and because the objective bases of overwhelming U.S. predominance have eroded. This has not happened because the United States lacks political will, and it cannot be reversed by fiat or imposition.

Interventionist policies antagonize major Latin American nations that do not see themselves as unconditional followers of the United States. What Washington may gain in subservience from Grenada or Honduras is being lost in resentment from Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, Peru, and Argentina. A policy that "regains" Grenada or even Nicaragua, while alienating the major countries of Latin America, will not do. If the United States is to protect its interests in the western hemisphere on an enduring basis, it must move from habits of dominance to the quest for cooperation. □



The Foreign Service class of 1929 was composed of 25 men and two women; currently, 42 percent of new recruits are female.



Left: Tezi Schaffer, "Having tandem couples brings hideous complications to the assignment process."

Center: Nancy Ostrander, "The more things changed, the more they have remained the same."

Right: Pamela Bridgewater, "We can help younger women learn to record their achievements and encourage them toward higher visibility."

SUBTLE SEXISM

*Some women perceive little change
in men's attitudes, but State points
with pride to its equitable treatment of all*

NANCY LIGHT

AS IN MOST PROFESSIONS, women today are entering the State Department in record numbers. Partly a result of concerned affirmative action programs, partly a result of the aspirations of the women themselves, 42 percent of new recruits are female. This number outpaces the proportion of women entering medicine, a profession similarly long-bound to a male stereotype. Thus by some measures the department has been doing a good job in its effort to create a Foreign Service representative of the American people.

Yet a glance at State's organization chart shows that women are under-represented at the upper ranks. This is in part a result of its relatively recent integration of women: it has been only 17 years since female officers were bound by an unwritten, but operationally mandatory resignation policy triggered by marriage, for instance, and other discriminatory practices lasted even longer. There have in fact been very real shifts in both department rules and regulations and in official attitudes. The good news is that the legal blocks against women have been removed.

The bad news is that there is no short-cut toward changing unofficial attitudes or perceptions. "Rules do help attitudes change sooner than they would unaided," points out Nancy Ostrander, coordinator for population affairs in the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs. However, the former ambassador to Suriname continues, "After listening to claims of 'changes for women' over the last two decades, the more things changed, the more they have remained the same."

Ostrander joined the Foreign Service as a clerk-typist in 1947. "It's all you were offered then," she explains, characterizing employment practices at that time as a reaction to the De-

pression. Women entering the job market were seen as expendable; only men were perceived as critical to the economy. Ostrander attributes this bit of circumstance as contributing to the "no expectations" approach Foreign Service women of her vintage took toward their jobs. Illogically, as times changed, the practice of choosing a man for a job has stuck. "Of ten equally skilled people competing for a job," Ostrander maintains, "who will make it depends on the old-boy network."

The State Department is second only to the church in its negative imaging of women, Ostrander remarks half jokingly. She explains her unexpectedly successful career as one of "doing jobs no one else wanted." She admits that as she rose in the ranks it became increasingly difficult to discern tough competition from anti-female attitudes, but subtle biases against women were often there. Sometimes, she maintains, she came out the winner on an assignment simply because no one was violently opposed to her. For Ostrander, the traditional approach of non-confrontational office politics worked—with a little luck, some faultless timing, and an uncanny sense of when to move on.

Then again, this is a different Foreign Service than the one Ostrander signed up for forty years ago. Today's Service must appeal to employees willing to face more danger, while receiving less prestige and, perhaps, responsibilities more removed from the wellsprings of patriotism. Interviews with several women at varying ranks in the Foreign Service yielded the impression that women may be willing to accept these pitfalls of the job, but they are much less willing to accept status lower than they deserve.

Public attention was recently drawn to gender-related treatment in the Foreign Service when then-U.N. Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick was charged by White House critics as being "too temperamental to occupy a higher office." Kirkpatrick countered the remark in a speech before the Women's Forum in New

Nancy Light is a free-lance writer and public relations consultant interested in policies that affect women.

York by saying, "Sexism is alive in the U.S. government. . . and in American politics." As to the State Department itself, she said, "There are lots of resistances still to young women in our diplomatic service."

To Pamela Bridgewater, deputy coordinator for population affairs, the posturing of males and females provides little proof that changes for women have been positive ones. Though accustomed to being the sole woman on the faculty at Morgan State College prior to coming to the State Department as a political officer, Bridgewater was taken aback by the circumstances she met at her first overseas posting in 1982. "There was an attitude," Bridgewater recalls, "communicated on the part of my administrative supervisor that women couldn't pull the weight of a male. I attribute my very strong belief in my own ability to finally changing his mind."

Bridgewater connects the bias she sees among many male personnel to some interesting changes in strategy on the part of women entering the Foreign Service: "The Foreign Service is considered an interim career by some women who want to serve and then go on to pursue something else—maybe something that offers them more latitude and control over their own careers." Once, the Service was a final stopping place in a career, but the nature of the personnel system is also causing men to rethink their futures.

Bridgewater, in looking to the future says, "Best we can do, is to help younger women learn to record their achievements, chronicle their complimentary letters, and encourage them toward higher visibility. We need to talk more to one another." She foresees keen competition ahead, the result of budget cutbacks and subsequently slower promotions. "Men will not be supportive," she warns, "not when their own futures may be jeopardized if women pull ahead. Women will have to fight, and will have to be vocal."

But building a supportive network of contacts within the State Department presents unusual difficulties, since women who may be helpful to one another are invariably scattered around the world. So how does a woman move up the career ladder to promotions, awards, and seniority? There are as many tacks to take as there are women in the ranks. In the book *Women and American Foreign Policy*, Lynne K. Dunn documents the career of Eleanor Lansing Dulles, a mid-level Foreign Service officer who couldn't jump the hurdles her male superiors placed before her during a long career in the State Department. Though history credits her with the economic revival of Ber-



*Jeanne Kirkpatrick:
"There are lots of
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lin, Dulles was neither recognized nor rewarded for her achievements; she never reached the senior ranks of the Service, for instance. Her credentials were fine: over half a century of professional achievement from 1921 to 1978; a doctoral degree in economics; successful tours of duty in post-war Austria and Berlin. Dulles recognized her problems for what they were and recorded in a personal journal in 1948 "problems rooted in sex discrimination." She observed "the subtle yet considerable ability of men to insinuate and make dubious the accomplishments of women." Her solution: "I decided that if I were not promoted I would act as if I had been." Through lavish entertaining and social graces, she welcomed Europe's diplomatic corps through her front door, and thus found a way to outdistance the old boy network and establish her own sphere of influence within the bureaucracy.

A MORE MODERN DAY career route, a tandem couple partner, was taken by Phyllis Oakley, who joined the Foreign Service in 1957, married the next year, then promptly resigned. She was a Foreign Service spouse until 1974, when she rejoined the Service as a political officer. Currently she serves as deputy spokesman in the Office of Public Affairs. As Oakley eased back into her professional role she found being a part of a tandem couple a help in that it provided a network of contacts within the department. Though she feels an honest effort is being made to deal with problems of women, she admits that her re-entry left her with one regret. When she returned to the Service with

Eleanor Dulles: "The [problem is the] subtle yet considerable ability of men to . . . make dubious the accomplishments of women."



experience gained in civic, community, and consulting work, she nonetheless was offered a lesser rank than that she had held 16 years previously. It was a "subtle way of putting me off. I probably should have held out," Oakley admits reflectively. There remains a nagging feeling that if she had been a man, she would have been offered a higher rank. With resignation, Oakley concludes that the Foreign Service, through it tries, cannot be a leader where women's issues are concerned.

The Bureau of Personnel is certainly trying to find new solutions. The tandem couple is one, but it has created nearly as many problems as it has solved. "Having tandem couples brings hideous complications to the assignment process," says Tezi Schaffer, director of the Office of Egyptian Affairs and a tandem partner. But, in an even worse scenario, Schaffer believes, "the chances are very good that if you're married to someone outside the Foreign Service, the combination of that marriage and the Service probably won't survive." That said, Schaffer concedes that some pretty inventive administrative maneuvering is necessary to accommodate tandem couples—accommodations that seem to be less forthcoming today than ten years ago. "It's all become much more bureaucratic. There are procedures that people are less willing to violate now. The situation has gotten harder," Schaffer says.

Strong feelings emerged on the subject of women at State when total anonymity was exchanged for complete candor with a group of mid-level officers. At the outset, a consular officer we'll call Sonia exclaimed, "As bad as things are, they were worse before." The trio,

which represents 18 collective years of service, maintained that prejudice against women is a tangible, living part of their current struggle to get ahead. Sonia focused on one important issue: "Money is the bottom line. Women of equal ability and performance are not evaluated equitably when evaluated by men. Positive qualities in women are given less weight when evaluated by men."

This type of double standard was first documented in 1979 in a paper published by the Women's Action Organization, an advocacy group of female Foreign Service employees. Author Lois Roth of USIA, a past president of WAO, now deceased, wrote, "Kind and supportive remarks about women often perpetuate myths and values that get read in the promotion process as weakness . . . in calling women pushy or abrasive when they are properly ambitious, men are using a double standard that does women in the Service great disservice and ultimately men dishonor."

The most senior woman of the three, whom we'll call Monica, came to the State Department from a corporate background. Comparatively speaking, she believes that change is much slower in coming to State than it is to industry, and people in the private sector are deliberately more considerate toward their colleagues—in their humor and in their sensitivities toward women and minorities. Laura, the third woman to speak out, felt that senior officers who do serve as positive role models, such as Rozanne Ridgway and Joan Clark, both of whom have been ambassadors and served in many senior positions, would be just a little bit further ahead in their careers if they were men. "Women can never take it easy on the job," she said, "we must always keep our noses to the grindstone to keep up our momentum." Laura believes that competence and performance in women are rewarded, but much more slowly.

YOUNGER WOMEN are beginning to rely more on one another for support. Monica, solidly engaged in her career, looked back, "Don't let the 'I can handle it' attitude so characteristic of over-achievers prevent you from getting help at the onset of a problem that seems to stem from discrimination." Sonia agreed, "Keep talking to people until you get to someone who will help you." All three felt strongly that minority women are even more susceptible to discrimination on the job. They encouraged all women to take preventive steps early on. "You can never pick up the years you lose to

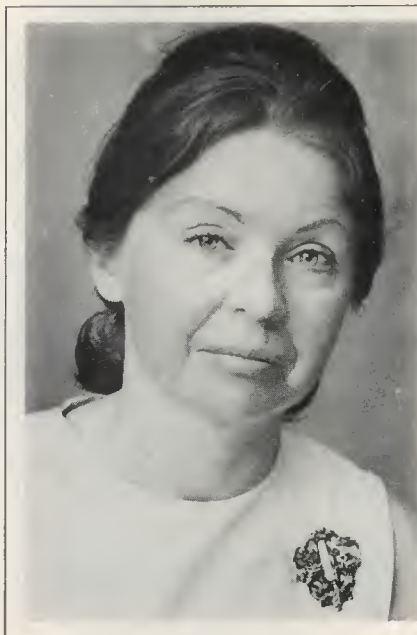
expunging your record of invalid statements and evaluations," Monica said. "Don't make the mistake of letting things get out of control before you talk to someone who might be able to help."

Discussing their experiences, the women claimed that their male supervisors and would-be mentors still exhibit attitudes that focus on women's traditional roles in the domestic sphere. For example, in evaluating tandem couples, the three agreed that many men were vocal in their disapproval of the accommodation, claiming that a woman would be accompanying her husband to post in any circumstance; why must she work, too, and take up a position another FSO—understood to mean male—could take.

No one interviewed felt it reasonable to expect a woman as secretary of state within the span of her own career. "Our worth is not measured by the money we earn, but by our personal influence and reputation," Monica explained. "An instantly authoritarian presence is what is sought for in positions in decision- and policy-making," a character trait all three women agreed was more often perceived to be male than female, however impressive a woman's bearing may be.

The women stressed that they are not looking for special treatment. "The perception of reverse discrimination among men detracts from a woman's performance," interjected Monica, voicing a concern of all three. "And, special pathways for women," chimed in Sonia, "put us apart from men in a negative sense." The remarks, in part, stem from an action won out of court by Alison Palmer in 1983. The department, although denying it discriminated in its recruiting practices, did agree to hire a group of 75 women from thousands who had taken and failed the written portion of the Foreign Service exam during the years 1976–82. The suit claimed that, based on statistical analysis, 75 women had lost the opportunity to join the Foreign Service due to discrimination inherent in the test. Although Palmer feels great pride in the fact that her efforts brought additional women to the State Department, her efforts may be more dubiously received by many women than she believes.

ALISON PALMER JOINED the Foreign Service staff corps in 1955, became an officer in 1959, and subsequently became the first woman to bring a formal discrimination complaint against the State Department. Successful in her individual complaint, Palmer later filed a class-action



Alison Palmer: "I'm still getting calls for help. The problem is prejudice in the minds of males who believe that women should only serve in certain places and only do certain work."

suit on behalf of all women who worked at State. Within her own generation of women, Alison Palmer was a bellwether. She was outspoken when she observed discrimination, and determined to open as many eyes to it as possible. Satisfied merely to be in the Foreign Service, many women of her era were unenthusiastic about creating a fuss. After all, theirs were good jobs, with good pay. The work was interesting, current, sometimes exciting. So no one was really too interested in piping up about such typically sexist comments as one junior officer found in her annual performance appraisal: "... A brilliant career ahead of her, unless she allows Cupid's arrow to foil her plans." Even Palmer didn't challenge this one though she thought the sentence quite complete after the first clause.

I talked to Palmer, now retired, at her home on Cape Cod Bay. Although she admits that she recognized discrimination from the time she was appointed, "it's awfully hard to fight it." In the late 1960s, Palmer was a political officer denied a series of posts overseas because of her gender. Palmer remembers that in 1965, when everything was set in writing, there was no dispute about why she was not going to Tanzania. The ambassador there at the time simply requested that a female officer not be sent to the embassy. Later on, assigned to Ethiopia, she found herself serving as social secretary to the ambassador's wife. Palmer's individual court victory in 1971, in part, resulted in a new department policy stipulating that women would be assigned to all posts regardless of local customs toward their sex.

Last summer the U.S. Court of Appeals ruled in Palmer's favor on the class-suit, overturning

Phyllis Oakley: "An honest effort is being made to deal with the problems of women."



a 1985 District Court ruling on two of seven points. The court ruled that the State Department was guilty of assigning women to less prestigious posts, of denying them performance awards, and of discrimination in evaluations. The court also ruled that disproportionate numbers of women were assigned to consular work rather than political or economic work, usually seen as the path to senior positions. Palmer is currently working with her attorneys on remedies to be presented to the court to defray the damages suffered by women in their careers at State in the past, and to avert similar harm in the future.

How does it feel to take on the State Department? Palmer is uncompromising. She says she is aware of continuing acts of discrimination being committed against women. "I'm still getting calls for help," she says. "The problem is prejudice in the minds of males who believe that women should only serve in certain places and only do certain work. They don't realize the injustice of sex discrimination—it's so wasteful." Palmer feels that the result of the discrimination suits will be a more efficient personnel system that will make better use of a relatively small corps of officers.

In 1984, the report *Women at State*, published by the Women's Research and Educational Institute of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues, summarized in its forward the evidence that emerged at the 1983 Palmer trial: "The Department of State clearly is not an exemplary equal opportunity employer of women. There has been too little progress in too many areas. Particularly dismaying is the slow pace at which the department has been admitting women to its senior levels." Not a

lot has happened since then. In fact, though today women compose 22 percent of the officer corps, they constitute only 4.5 percent of the senior ranks. In 1986, the department, in its annual report to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, admitted that "women are not as well represented in the political and economic cones as in other cones." Though nearly half of the jobs then available to Foreign Service officers were in the political cone—fully 2042 Foreign Service generalist jobs, according to the 1986 report—only 266 of these were held by women, a mere 13 percent. Proportionally speaking, 56 percent of women FSOs served in the consular and administrative areas, the two least likely to bring promotion to the top levels. This year the number of people working in the political cone is nearly equal to the number in the administrative and consular cones together, but there are twice as many women working in the administrative and consular cones as in the political cone. This needlessly creates obstacles for women's careers, according to one woman who's made it to the ambassadorial level. "A big problem here is that political analysis is overvalued and it's one skill that is exclusively honed in the political cone."

SUBTLE BUT UNDIMINISHED by any court battles or rulings, there is overwhelming recognition by the women interviewed that discrimination still exists in the Department of State. Strangely, though Palmer and her lawyers continue working on an appeal to overturn the court's ruling on the promotion issue and on remedies for the losses suffered by women, inside the department little notice is taken of her achievement. Perhaps there should be. Considering new hires at all levels, for instance, including mid-level generalists and specialists, in 1986 men were still given favored positions in disproportionate numbers to women: 49 men were hired and assigned to the political cone compared to only 23 women, and 34 men were hired and assigned to the economic cone compared to 15 women. On the other hand, almost equal numbers of men and women were hired and assigned to the consular and administrative cones, a break in the pattern of employing more women in those areas. Raymond Robinson, deputy director of the Equal Opportunity Office, concedes that each year there are approximately 125 complaints related to sex discrimination and that there are probably between 70 and 100 cases in the backlog of formal individual complaints.

George Vest, director general of the Foreign Service, dismisses the female-heavy consular population as "an accident." He and William L. Swing, deputy assistant secretary for personnel, believe their bureau is responsive and ever-changing to suit those whom it serves, and that under his direction all employees are dealt with as equitably as possible. "I don't encounter any more the inherent reservation to women officers that existed in earlier times. Today people are judged by their capability," says Vest.

They defend the testing and recruiting procedures, pointing out that the written portion of the entrance exam has been developed and is revised annually by the Educational Testing Service, the same company that compiles the Scholastic Aptitude Test. The five oral examiners are prominent psychologists and distinguished achievers in business and academia. "There is no question any more that we are treating women the same way we treat men—we are looking for excellence," says Vest. Furthermore, he explains, assignment to cones is based upon test scores, with each prospective officer placed on a register relative to his or her achievement in each cone area. "The common mythology is that the largest opportunity is in the political cone. However, because it is the largest it is also the most heavily competed cone. At certain stages in one's career, the administrative and consular cones have a degree of advantage because they are not as heavily competed." Swing clarifies the myth, "The consular cone has the best balance of officers to positions, the administrative cone has a deficit of people, and the political cone has many more officers than positions." At the senior service threshold, fewer officers from the political cone pass than any other, because, proportionally, there are fewer jobs available to senior political officers.

Swing acknowledges that "there are still large areas for improvement, but it has moved out of the realm of being a minority problem." For example, he cites the fact that because deputy chiefs of mission are chosen by ambassadors, "we are consciously making certain that the lists include the names of qualified women." This year three women hold the position of DCM, and nine are ambassadors.

But with a numerical dearth of women in the top ranks of the State Department, men are still the chief policymakers. They are making formal and informal policy that may be subtly discouraging women from fully participating in decisions at the highest levels. It is comforting, but perhaps naive, to believe that with increasing numbers of women entering



*Rozanne Ridgway:
"Women have a job to do; they get it done. Most of them expect that their performance will tell a story."*

the Foreign Service, it is only a matter of time until they reach the top in equitable numbers.

A woman of high respect and influence in the State Department, Rozanne Ridgway, says the credit for successful women should be taken by the individuals. "Women have a job to do; they get it done. Most of them expect, and I believe they are correct, that their performance will tell a story." In her view, the Palmer case was irrelevant—to her experience, her world, and with respect to its effect on her career. In fact, Ridgway removed herself from the "class" represented by Palmer in her suit. Ridgway's formula for success during a time when it was unlikely for women might be rooted in her concrete self-reliance. "I did not recognize the Department of State or the Foreign Service described by Ms. Palmer and could not join in the suit. Admittedly, I may have had a special kind of career but I didn't bypass gender-related obstacles set in my path. When they were there, I didn't know what they were, and when I could identify them, I ignored them. I like to believe I reached my current position by a lot of hard work and a reputation for sound judgment."

IN A STATEMENT as sensible as it could be on the subject of women, Ridgway points women in the right direction for change, "Neither one nor the other [sex] has gender-related skills that suggest a particular bent for diplomacy. As for women, what we most need now is to have more of them pursue diplomacy as a career. Personal resources of intelligence, energy, judgment, and integrity are the bare-bones requirements." □

STANDING IN RESERVE: A SPECIAL OFFICER CORPS

JAMES F. RELPH JR.

THE CURRENT BUDGET CRISIS in the Department of State has focused new attention on the future of the career Foreign Service. Serious problems confront the department as it struggles to meet its worldwide obligations in the face of heavy budgetary reductions.

While the present crisis is acute, it is hardly new. The department is periodically buffeted by a wide range of national and international political events that stretch its resources, which are heavily concentrated in people. Now State finds itself in the throes of still another personnel-management crisis and needs to decide how to cut and shift resources to meet its ongoing responsibilities. A special task force has been charged with implementing the elimination of 1270 jobs and the closure of 15 posts. Tomorrow, however, there could be a need for a substantial number of new positions to help verify possible arms control agreements, for instance, or work on new policy initiatives.

There are, of course, no facile solutions to current problems, even with major organizational changes. However, the present reassessment does offer an opportunity to create a more flexible personnel system. There is an urgent need for a strategy into which the immediate and planned series of tactical, incremental steps affecting personnel, jobs, and foreign policy can be fitted together. In this connection, it is time to seriously consider an organized Foreign Service Reserve system.

First, it seems important to recognize the validity of certain propositions:

■ The department's personnel needs, for a variety of foreign relations and domestic political considerations, can never be realistically anticipated except in a crude, macro sense. The needs will always be many and varied, and priorities will constantly shift over time, depend-

ing on changing circumstances. In addition, new congressional requirements often impinge on the short- and long-term workload.

■ There is a perennial problem of too many senior officers. Given the elite recruitment process and the interplay of professional and political forces, there will always be heavy pressures for many officers to leave full-time service between ages 50 and 55; that is, at a time when they should be making a maximum contribution based on their experience and training. Most recently, more than 100 senior officers have been forced out under controversial circumstances. The impact on many of these talented officers is traumatic; and

■ It is a practical impossibility to assign regular Foreign Service officers to fill many of the important but specialized assignments, especially short-term ones that the department must perform. Officers perceive such assignments as detrimental to career development. Experience has demonstrated that this situation is unlikely to change. At the same time, in an increasingly specialized and interdependent world, the number of specialized tasks appears to be growing, particularly in many functional areas.

The proof of these propositions is found not only in the current budgetary crisis and grievance actions by disaffected officers, but also in the large number of retired officers who fill many jobs under When Actually Employed (WAE) status, or in consultant and contract status.

The Classification/Declassification Center, which handles the substantive side of Freedom of Information Act requests, has become particularly important in providing a large pool of officers with unique Foreign Service experience. Every bureau in the department has its own short list of available retired officers to tap for special job requirements, but the bureaus also have been turning increasingly to this CDC pool, on a reimbursable basis, to assist in meeting their changing staffing needs. Recent experience indicates that officers, once

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they are no longer competing for the next promotion, are willing to take on a variety of interesting short-term assignments and to carry them out with professional skill.

An organized Foreign Service Reserve would address these key personnel-management issues. Such a system would help meet current demands, including those originating in Congress, for innovative reform in State and, at the same time, address sagging Foreign Service morale. With high-level support and eventual amendment of the Foreign Service Act, a Reserve should ease the trauma of leave-taking and, to a lesser extent, the transitional financial problems for officers faced with stringent time-in-grade requirements.

It would also help retain and allocate valuable skills in a more systematic and cost-effective manner. No organization can be considered efficient if it forces out well-trained people, with unique language, area, and functional skills, at a time in their careers when they should be making important contributions, and when the organization itself must meet new and constantly shifting requirements.

A Foreign Service Reserve would simplify legal and administrative requirements which restrict the flexibility of the present WAE/contract personnel system. The amount of paperwork and personnel time required to handle the existing ad hoc approach is excessive. In a real sense, an organized Foreign Service Reserve system would be the logical next step in the personnel-management reforms instituted in the 1980 act.

OBVIOUSLY, A VARIETY of reserve systems could be designed, and the department would have to consider various options and consult closely with administration, congressional, and management-labor leaders, and with appropriate sister organizations, notably AID and USIA. Presumably, officers leaving the regular service and wishing to participate in the reserve could remain until age 70. They could be called upon for special domestic and foreign assignments as needed. Based on recent experience, many officers might spend about one-fourth of their careers in the reserve. Whether there would be a guaranteed minimum amount of work, say \$10,000 per year, would depend on budgetary and other considerations.

In considering future options, it is important to review the general characteristics of the present informal reserve system. These include:

- A sharp focus on work objectives. While officials in the regular Service must deal with

many requirements each day, reserve personnel normally deal with a specific piece of work, with limited other demands on their time;

- A high degree of equality in the work force, notably in terms of pay and status. One grade level is used for the WAE officer force and increasingly serves as a standard for contract employees;

- The use of several officers to perform the same "long-term" WAE assignment, due to the ceiling on the amount of money any one person can earn each year. The CDC pool of officers, who perform the same classification/declassification task, is the best example;

- A variety of short-term assignments. It is not uncommon for one officer to perform several different tasks, for several different bureaus, in the course of a year;

- The necessity for both WAE and contract status employees to meet a wide range of job requirements;

- The high degree of decentralization in the assignment process. The bureaus, which must respond immediately to new job requirements, run the informal system, with central personnel confined to an oversight role. Not surprisingly, there is frequently a problem in identifying the best available personnel for urgent new job requirements.

For the present, because of the tight budgetary situation, immediate attention should be given to developing an overall strategy, drawing on the findings of the so-called Whitehead Committee, the unit working with the deputy secretary that was charged with apportioning the budget cuts. Constructive change in an organization often takes place when managers look at problems and trends and ask the right questions. If, as argued here, movement toward a more formal reserve system is desirable, a key question is: To what extent can the secretary of state, utilizing his statutory authority, introduce a Foreign Service Reserve? At a minimum, steps could be taken toward rationalizing the present ad hoc reserve by eliminating unnecessary administrative blockages and developing skills banks of retired officers in central Personnel and the bureaus.

Whether in an era of tight or expanding budgets, a Foreign Service Reserve system, including an improved version of the present informal system, can provide the department with a conceptual and practical management approach to meet the ever-changing needs of the Foreign Service. At the same time, such a reserve could give recognition to, and enhance, the professionalism required to meet these needs and strengthen the Foreign Service personnel system for the 21st century. □

The department is neglecting a valuable resource if it treats retired officers who are available to fill specialized jobs in an ambivalent, almost indifferent manner

Colonel Landslide

A GUERRILLA WAR was raging in the Philippines, reported the *New York Times*. Government troops were surrounding a Communist position, then pouring in a heavy artillery barrage. Meanwhile, the island nation was preparing for an election. The challenger was charging the incumbent president with "criminal extravagance" regarding his personal expenditures. The candidate also accused him with having accumulated a huge national deficit through "theft, incompetence, and extravagance," and predicted that the upcoming election would be ruled by "force and fraud."

The year was 1949. Then, as now, a Communist insurgency was regarded as a serious threat to the administration, although a lagging economy was closely associated with the problem. A blatantly corrupt administration was largely to blame for both problems. The United States soon intervened, waging a decisive counterinsurgency against the Communist movement. A key player in this drama was an American of little reknown who nonetheless came to exemplify how a superpower could win the hearts and minds of a developing country.

The uprising was known as the Huk rebellion. Formed during the war, the Huks, or People's Anti-Japanese Army, were credited with the deaths of some 5000 Japanese troops. More pro-

*An un-ugly American
uses a unique strategy
to tip the scales
for justice
in the
Philippines*

CHARLES L. GARRETTSON III

Communist than Anti-Japanese, they were also responsible for the deaths of over 20,000 Filipinos. After the war they adopted the outlook and techniques of a Maoist force.

Opposing them was the administration of Elpidio Quirino, known for its corruption and spiritless leadership. Its campaign against the Huks had been going poorly until changes in leadership began to occur. Quirino named a Philippine congressman, Ramon Magsaysay, as secretary of national defense. Then he assigned a certain Edward Lansdale, a former Office of Strategic Services officer who had been stationed in the Pacific, to help lead the counterinsurgency. Lansdale, an Air Force intelligence officer supported by the CIA, had joined the Air Force following World War II mainly because, as a new service, "there would be more elbow room for fresh ideas."

When Lansdale arrived in the Philippines, he first suspected backward laws and flimsy governmental structures to be the main cause for the dis-

content upon which the Huks thrived. On studying the Philippines' constitution, the electoral code, and the laws on agrarian reform, however, he found them to be "models of enlightened social thinking." He saw that the trouble lay in their faulty execution. This became obvious to the officer, yet he was surprised to see that in his briefings with both Philippine and American officials, political and social factors were rarely mentioned. "The briefings in official circles left me unsatisfied," Lansdale later wrote. "They failed to answer some pertinent questions. What caused a Huk youngster to kill his brother Filipino in the government ranks? What would make him stop doing this? The government's answer was to kill, disable, or capture him. Wasn't there something beyond this?"

Lansdale had read Mao's dictum about guerrillas' viewing the people as the "sea" in which the rebel "fish" swam. That was obviously the basis for the Huk strategy, yet why wasn't the government pursuing a policy geared toward stymying it? In the process of seeking such an answer, Lansdale came to make many friends among the Philippine people. No friendship, however, was more important than the one he formed with Ramon Magsaysay—whom *Time* would later cite as being "the Eisenhower of the Pacific."

Working together, the two developed a sensible and effective strategy to counter the rebellion. The Communists were using injustice as the lever to pry their way into the society. Re-

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Frank Bozzonetti/HBH Communications

move that leverage, and the society would shut them out. This would require new and imaginative—not to mention spirited—tactics.

ONE OF THE most important military innovations was the Battalion Combat Team, an infantry force with heavier firepower and manpower. BCTs were used as highly mobile, yet potent means of upsetting the guerrillas' timetable—putting the army on the *offensive*. Previously, the government had used company-sized units to defend cities and highways—a strategy which had kept them on the defensive,

vulnerable and demoralized. It had also allowed the guerrillas tremendous freedom of movement. The only offensive tactic had been the highly colorful, yet ineffective sweeps of large areas, followed by intensive artillery barrages which the Huks easily eluded. Under Lansdale and Magsaysay, the army was aggressively pursuing the enemy.

They also created the Philippine Scout Rangers, small teams of volunteers consisting of an officer and four men. They were given intensive training in jungle warfare, scouting, and survival. The teams were used to track enemy movements and were given the choice of attacking at will. Beyond the obvious tactical gains, the Rangers

proved that the jungle was not owned by the Huks.

Finally, Magsaysay mounted an offensive all his own. Acting on the advice of his newly made American friend—and against the desires of the general staff—Magsaysay began to make unannounced spot checks in the field, flying in on a small military liaison plane. He would either criticize officers on the spot or praise them, often enough throwing in a demotion or a promotion. Once word went out that the defense secretary himself was taking an active interest in the affairs of even remote posts, morale shot up.

While Magsaysay was conducting spot checks in the field, he and Lansdale

instituted an innovative form of social gathering back at headquarters. Called a "coffee klatsch," it was designed to get officers from headquarters and the field together on an informal basis to exchange ideas. Because of the easy atmosphere, American advisers were able to befriend and thus understand their Filipino counterparts, and vice versa.

The Scout Ranger program was just one notion that came from a coffee klatsch. Another was a program whereby any Filipino could send a 10-centavo telegram to the secretary's office offering advice or criticism. Magsaysay made it clear that all comments would be welcome, and he appointed a staff to process them. When word went out that he actually acted on the advice—and that there was no retribution for negative comments—what began as a trickle soon became a flood. It was a simple but effective means of demonstrating that the government intended to be genuinely responsive to the people. Then rewards were offered for knowledge of the whereabouts of Huk leaders, and information on their movements poured in.

All told, the Lansdale-Magsaysay approach served to greatly boost military morale. For the first time the war was being taken to the enemy. Even their own defense secretary, who, wearing a vividly colored sport shirt and a farmer's straw hat while visiting his troops, made it clear that he was with them in the field.

While restoring the army's faith both in itself and in its leadership was important, even more vital was restoring the public's faith in the military. Beyond innovative strategies and tactics, the fundamental lesson of dealing with an Asian Communist insurgency was realizing the significance of Mao's famous dictum. To render the guerrillas as fish out of water entailed a "People's War," a concept unlike any the United States had ever encountered since its own revolution.

Lansdale had read Mao's "three great disciplinary measures" and "eight noteworthy points." The measures are: Act in accordance with orders; do not take anything from the people; do not allow self-interest to injure public interest. The points are: Put back the

door (after being used as a bed); tie up straws (after use as a mattress); talk pleasantly; buy and sell fairly; return everything borrowed; indemnify everything damaged; do not bathe in view of women; and do not rob personal belongings of captives. These rules, however simple, captured the essence of People's Warfare. If they are followed—in both spirit and in letter—the support of the people is gained, and the course of the war can be turned.

Strict orders were issued that arrogance was to be replaced with courtesy. Road checkpoints were no longer to be opportunities for exacting illicit payments. The theft of livestock would be punished. Army engineers began to dig wells (dubbed "Liberty Wells") for communities needing water. Judge-advocate lawyers assisted poor farmers in disputes with large land owners. Civilian casualties were treated in military hospitals. The Economic Development Corps—known as EDCOR, yet another coffee klatsch brainstorm—began to offer land, along with agricultural and building supplies, to captured Huks who were willing to reform. All of these ideas, which became known as civic action, were highly effective in winning the confidence of the population.

During the entire campaign, seven thousand Huks were killed and four thousand captured; ten thousand however, surrendered—many of them talking about EDCOR as they did. At the same time they muttered about how they had been misled by the insurgent leadership. Lansdale had promised that if local commanders carried out civic action programs like EDCOR, and did so with integrity, their raw take of tactical intelligence would increase 100 percent within a week. To their surprise, it was a promise that was often made good. The guerilla "sea" was beginning to dry up.

That sea finally evaporated with the election of 1953. Dismayed by the violence of the 1951 election, and Quirino's failure to continue the spirit of reform, Magsaysay was driven to shift parties from the Liberal to Nacionalista party and run against Quirino. Lansdale encouraged Magsaysay, and believed he could win an honest election.

Of a total of 5.6 million eligible voters, almost 3 million cast their votes for Magsaysay. President Quirino was only able—even with his strong-arm tactics—to garner 1.3 million votes. The landslide signaled the end not only of the Quirino administration, but also of the insurgency it had nurtured. Within weeks, having no more cause to fight for (and few troops to fight with), the Huk leader surrendered, telling a young reporter named Benigno Aquino that "the people have spoken" and thus the insurgency "must now cease."

LANSDALE DID NOT VIEW the victory as simply one for Magsaysay, or for the tactics that Lansdale had helped inspire. Rather, it was for democracy itself. He believed in the power of democracy to attract all people, given the chance. "When we Americans give of our substance to the people of other countries, we should give as generously of our ideology as we do of our money, our guns, our cereal grains, and our machinery." This would not be a matter of our imposing our view on others but, rather, "making others strong enough to embrace and hold democracy for their own."

Lansdale's role in the 1953 election became something of a legend in the Far East. Among other things it would earn him the nickname of "Colonel Landslide." When he returned to Washington, however, he found that his fame had not reached the Potomac. He was greatly frustrated by the fact that no one was interested in civic action or People's War—only the military aspect of the conflict. There was no one who wanted to hear about Mao's rules. This was especially true in the case of his next assignment, Vietnam—a place where such rules were used with great effectiveness by our Communist foes, yet we chose to ignore them. Some changes in our counterinsurgency strategies have since been made. The Green Berets being sent to train the contras will be offering a great deal of training in civic action. But will they do so recognizing—as Colonel Landslide did—that it is the key to a successful People's War? □

Care of Elderly Parents: What Do You Do?

By NANCY PIET-PELON

It's after midnight when the phone rings, but you are instantly awake when you hear his voice. "Honey, I've got bad news. It's about your mother. I had to put her into the hospital today. I just came from there. The doctors say I have to decide what to do." What do you do? How do you help your parent from a distance halfway around the world?

At some time in a Foreign Service career it is almost inevitable that there will be the midnight call, the cry for help from parents who have serious needs as they grow older. Have you thought about what to do when this happens in your family? Unfortunately, too many families have not prepared themselves. Sometimes the situation is a crisis, when instant decisions need to be made about care, life supports, or even, funeral arrangements. In such cases, it is important to leave instructions for emergency notifications of death or serious illness with all family members. Using the State Department emergency numbers will facilitate the authorization process for Emergency Visitation Travel.

At other times, a debilitating illness in parents requires not immediate travel, but a different type of intervention. Decisions on nursing care of some type—either home-care or in a nursing home—need to be made. While all families face these crises at some time, the problems are multiplied when members are separated by great distance and difficult communication.

In former generations, families tended to live near one another and when a crisis arose, family members communicated directly with doctors and worked together to care for parents. But, this support died with the increasing mobility of Americans. As the Overseas Briefing Center publication *What Do I Do Now* reports, "Because of geographic mobility of old and young alike, those in need of care often live far away from their younger family members. Long distance care-taking is a new phenomenon of American life. Little in the way of tradition or precedent exists to guide families through the process."

Where is the help that we need when we are posted in Katmandu or Accra and our aging parents are in a little town in Michigan or a resort community in Florida? The briefing document goes on to say that "the

search for information about services and entitlements for relatives can be frustrating and time-consuming. . . . Experts urge adult children to make arrangements in advance."

Families are often not prepared psychologically to discuss issues of aging, as it is difficult to come to terms with the idea of aging parents. We do not like to think of our parents becoming old and "needing us" anymore than they like to think they need help. Yet, experts on the graying of America agree that families who have prepared themselves for the inevitable are better able to handle a crisis situation. At least then, in the face of the crisis, the family can take comfort in the fact that they have discussed the alternatives and are acting on their parents' wishes.

According to Ruth Dubrof, director of Hunter College's Brookdale Center on Aging, "Adult children must say to their parents, 'What do you want us to do if there is an emergency, if you become incapacitated?' For both parents and children, these issues are hard to deal with. But a little planning can save a lot of grief."

In days gone by, these problems were of a different nature. In the first place, the aging process was often of shorter duration. Not so anymore. According to experts, "A 65-year-old may expect to live to at least 80—for a growing number of Americans who retire early, retirement can last as long as a career." Happily, parents live longer, feel better, and tend to be slightly better off than former generations. But health care and its costs are a major worry of most older Americans. Even excluding nursing home care, those over 65 accounted for three times the health costs of people under that age. Medicare, the federal health plan for 32 million elderly and disabled, covers less than half of the costs of this group, and it does not pay for long-term nursing home care.

Federal studies show that people aged 65-69 face a 43-percent risk of entering a nursing home during their lifetime. Costs for this care average more than \$22,000 a year; seven out of ten elderly persons living alone will face impoverishment within 13 weeks of entering a nursing home, says a recent report of the House Select Committee on Aging. Extensive home care can similarly impoverish the elderly. However, some relief for couples may be in the offing. An amendment to the "catastrophic" health insurance bill, limiting the financial liability of a spouse who has a partner in a nursing home, is expected to pass in some form during this Congress. The "spousal

impoverishment" amendment basically insures that when one spouse must have long-term nursing care, the other doesn't have to become bankrupt before Medicaid will help out. Under current law, the medical welfare program does not start paying nursing home costs until most of joint income and assets are used up, leaving the at-home partner with virtually nothing. Under proposed legislation, a spouse would be allowed to keep \$12,000 in assets (plus their home and car), and \$750 a month in income, without those amounts being counted against qualifications for Medicaid help.

Financial issues are often tied in with the issue of living arrangements for elderly parents. What options are there? Choice depends on two things: what the parents want and what the children are able to do. The only way to find out, is the hard way. The parents must be asked and the children must



Nancy Piet-Pelon

sort out what they can do, and what they are willing to do. It is difficult to discuss issues of health and aging. It is even more difficult when such discussions need to be part of an already packed (and usually tense) home leave schedule. Some families find the help of a third party useful in these situations. Be prepared to discuss the issue with options in mind. For example, in the case of the death of one parent, are you prepared (and are they interested) in being your dependent or at least coming to live with you overseas? A parent can accompany you overseas as a dependent if you are providing 51 percent of the parent's support (see 3 FAM 124.3).

As you think of this option, remember to research the health conditions and medical resources of the post. The Medical Services office may be able to answer specific questions. Families must realize that a dependent parent living abroad is not eligible for State's medical program or Medicare, and many other health insurance plans do not provide coverage abroad. However, one alternative is membership in the International SOS Medical and Personal Service program, a private company that provides

benefits on a worldwide basis similar to those of the department.

If medical care difficulties can be overcome, the advantages to having parents with families in the overseas setting are many. The nagging concerns about what might be happening to them 10,000 miles away are eliminated. They can be part of the family and feel the love and support of that special experience. In many overseas situations, with household help and large homes, some of the "extra burden" of housing a family member is alleviated. On the negative side, there are few peers for parents in the overseas setting. Their own friends are far away and difficult to communicate with. They are, thus, more dependent on the activities of the family for their own social life. This is not a normal situation and can become a strain for everyone.

However, some overseas families have chosen this alternative to the joy of all involved. In many ways the parent becomes the community's grandparent. When my parents visited us for several months in one post, we were the envy of all of our friends with young children because we had our grandparents in residence. However, a lengthy visit is not quite the same as having parents living with you for an undefined period. Much of the success of the "dependent parent" relationship depends on the elders' ability to make a life in the expatriate community beyond the immediate family's household.

If living overseas with you is not feasible or desired, what other options exist? Experts on aging agree that parents are best off in their own setting. They feel happiest in their own home, where they have their own support network. This network includes not only their friends, social activities, community work, and familiar surroundings, but also the medical care which they have chosen and trust for their own reasons. It is possible for parents to remain in their homes for their entire lives if support care can be found. As part of the phenomenon of the graying of America, a host of agencies, community services, and individual organizations have developed to meet the needs of the aging. Many are familiar with the usual nursing services. These have been augmented by social workers, housekeepers, and consultants who assist families in the care of its aging members. Community services include Meals on Wheels, special transportation for the elderly, and day care for Alzheimer patients.

One of the difficulties for the overseas family is choosing a service which is appropriate. This is not easy to do via long-distance. However, there are certainly more options than in years past. More than 650 area agencies on aging can provide free advice and information to those seeking help for the elderly. Homemaker Health Aide Services, Visiting Nurse Associations, city, county, and state social services can provide information (see the list of sources at

the end of the article).

Housing options for the elderly have also proliferated in recent years. Parents who have the resources may prefer to move from their home and invest in "continuing care" residences, where a substantial initial payment (non-refundable) and a monthly fee guarantee life-long care, at first in an apartment, and later, if needed, in the facility's nursing home. The monthly fee may include meal and housekeeping services. To enter such a facility, the resident must not only have the initial down payment (ranging from \$40,000 to over \$100,000) but must be mobile and in reasonably good health. Any life-care facilities should be carefully investigated for financial stability, as well as the quality of services. If the organization (both profit and non-profit groups sponsor these facilities) goes out of business, your investment in life-care is worthless. The geographic location is an important consideration—this is where your parents will be living the rest of their lives, and you want to be sure that you and other friends and relatives will be able to visit.

Less costly housing alternatives include rental apartments in residences for the elderly. They also offer one or more meals a day, sponsor a variety of social and recreational activities, and offer transportation to shopping and medical appointments. Housing that is sponsored by a church or retirement group may include subsidized apartments, in which the rent is based on a set portion of a person's income.

Such housing alternatives can be very attractive to those over the age of 75, and they offer a supportive social group and medical supervision. The most difficult aspect in contemplating a move is the matter of timing. Waiting lists for many senior-citizen residences are one to two years long. It is often difficult to recognize the need for a change so far in advance, but circumstances can change rapidly as parents age, and alternative living arrangements should be explored before they are needed. If you are concerned about a parent, looking at various types of living arrangements when you are on home leave might be a concrete way to begin thinking of the future.

When parents are ill or have special needs, many Foreign Service families take a Washington assignment. They feel this is the best way to be available to their parents. For some it works fine. There is a job in Washington which fits the career stream. You can help care for your parents either in your home or in theirs. However, for many families, the needs of aging parents conflict with those of other family members. Perhaps a child is in the last years of high school and staying at post is important. It is a small wonder that some have coined the phrase "sandwich generation" for those who find themselves dealing with the needs of aging parents as well as the needs of dependent children. Juggling the needs of all concerned during times of family crisis is not easy.

Siblings who have stayed at home are sometimes available to handle crises with parents. However, this causes special problems, especially if parents are in need of long-term care. In one case a family was overseas for 20 years before heading home for a variety of reasons, including the needs of aging parents. The parents had been cared for by a sister. When the overseas family returned, their burden of guilt was heavy and they spent the next several years trying to "make up for lost time." They neglected their own still-dependent children, as well as other re-entry issues in order to care for their parents. They also alienated the faithful sister who felt shunted aside by their desire to take over and do their part.

It is far better to discuss these issues of care with all family members before the need is created by a crisis. Most important is to remain flexible and clearly state the part each member is able and willing to play. If resources are explored when families are together on home leave and issues are discussed at that time, a call in the night will still be upsetting but will be able to set in motion a previously thought out plan of action.

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Department of State
(202)235-8784

Employee Consultation Service
Department of State
(202)647-4929

*American Association of Homes
for the Aging*
1129 20th Street, NW, Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202)296-5960

American Association of Retired Persons
1909 K Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20049
(202)872-4700

American Health Care Association
1200 15th Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202)293-2840

Family Service America
44 East 23rd Street
New York, New York 10010.
(212)967-2740

*National League for Nursing/
American Public Health Association*
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10019
(212)582-1022

United States Government Printing Office
*Directory of State and Area
Agencies on Aging*
Washington, D.C. 20402
\$6.50, Stock Number 052-070-05816-1

AFSA/AAFSW Scholarship Programs 1988-89

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

What? *Merit Awards* for graduating high school students in 1988 only, based on academic merit. *Financial Aid Grants* to full-time undergraduate students in the United States, based on need.

How? Apply immediately to AFSA Scholarship Programs, 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20037, phone (202)338-4046. Specify type of scholarship and Foreign Service affiliation.

When? IMMEDIATELY. All applications must be completed and materials returned to AFSA by February 15, 1988.

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

1987 Merit Essay

As one of the many requirements for the AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards—the 1987 winners of which were announced in the September JOURNAL—all candidates are required to write a personal essay. These essays, as well as other application materials, are reviewed by volunteer panelists who represent the foreign affairs agencies. In a process patterned on the Foreign Service selection boards, the Merit Award winners are chosen and the panel members recommend a group for dissemination.

This year essays by Nicole Mull and Paul Mangiafico were published in the December issue of the *AAFSW News*. Shilpa Shah's essay on her Foreign Service experiences was published in AID's *Front Lines*. Here we take pride in presenting John Patrick Brady's essay giving a very personal view of being a "Third Culture Kid." Patrick is a member of the National Honor Society, as well as the National Forensics League, and winner of four gold medals in judo in the Milo Olympics.

I AM WHAT THE State Department calls a "Third Culture Kid." This means that I am the product of more than one culture, having spent my formative years abroad, the child of a Foreign Service officer. I was born in Bolivia at the outbreak of a military coup, and lived the remaining 16 of my 18 years in Taiwan, Thailand, Vietnam, the Philippines, and El Salvador.

According to the State Department, being a Third Culture Kid is a mixed blessing:

"The child has a sense of membership in more than one culture, yet ownership of none." There is truth in that statement, but on balance I would not trade my experiences. What other experiences could have proved more interesting? More educational? They have shaped me, influenced me, and determined who I am today.

In Bolivia, for example, I learned Spanish and in Thailand I developed a taste for foreign food. In Vietnam I saw first hand the consequences of war. As a cub scout in the Philippines I visited historic Corregidor and later retraced the infamous Bataan death march. In El Salvador I observed that nation's first democratic presidential election, saw much of the country by helicopter, and met President Napoleon Duarte, a great honor for me.

These experiences, and others like them, left positive and lasting impressions on me, and I reflect often on them as I plan a career that will take me back into that same kind of setting. I think too about the significance of growing up overseas. While it is not always possible to neatly separate one childhood influence from another, growing up overseas in a Foreign Service family remains for me the single most powerful influence in my life. It continues to affect the way I think and the way I feel, where I want to live and what I want to do.

An overseas education offered me great diversity in friendships, and today I find myself drawn to people of different backgrounds and races. At the International School in Manila my classmates came from all over the world. I learned to read and write and play with Japanese, Dutch, Indian, and Malaysian children. Such experiences gave me an early understanding not only of these peoples' customs, but of their perceptions and values. As I grew and matured, many of those values became mine, and today I am grateful for the ability to view the world through different eyes.

From 1983-85, I lived in El Salvador, a country from which I learned much about civil war and terrorism. I can never forget my two years at the *Escuela Americana*, where bomb threats were frequent and some of my fellow students were escorted to class by body guards. Now any classroom discussion or news story on world terrorism holds special meaning for me.

My Foreign Service experiences also taught me something of the concerns of foreign peoples and opened my eyes and mind to a variety of perspectives. For example, as an American it is easy to see the military bases in the Philippines only in terms of American concerns: a first line of defense to the Pacific. But from the point of view of the Filipinos, the fact that such bases are in the country can act as a magnet for overt attack. Also, living in El Salvador and having Salvadoran friends helped me to see the grievances of Central America through their eyes and begin to appreciate their country's position on key economic, social, and political issues. Such thoughts,

I am certain, would never have occurred to me had I not lived in those countries and known their people.

From the sum of my Foreign Service experiences, I developed a knowledge and empathy for peoples of foreign cultures that remain a part of me. As I pursue my vocation, I hope to use these experiences and serve in some way as an agent of understanding between my country and other countries. If I were privileged to work in such a capacity, I would attempt to bring to that role a sensitivity to cross-cultural differences and a knowledge of multinational issues. In so doing, perhaps the experiences of a Third Culture Kid could contribute to a greater international consensus.

In Memoriam

DAVID CAMERON CUTHELL, career Foreign Service officer and husband of AFSA Scholarship Administrator Dawn Hagman Cuthell, died of emphysema November 13 at their home in Washington. He was 66.

Born in New York City, Mr. Cuthell completed his undergraduate and graduate degrees at Yale University. From 1942-45, he served in the Army as a paratrooper and field artillery officer in the 11th Airborne Division in the Philippines, where he received the Purple Heart with oak leaf cluster, the Bronze Star, and the Silver Star medals for extraordinary heroism in combat.

Mr. Cuthell joined the Foreign Service in 1947. His assignments during his 28 years with the Service included Canberra, Australia; Athens, Greece; Manila and Cebu, Philippines; Istanbul and Ankara, Turkey; as well as numerous assignments in the State Department and the Executive Office of the President.

Mr. Cuthell's reputation as a brilliant political analyst and dedicated professional in the field of foreign affairs was richly deserved. He served with distinction as the director of the Office of Southeast Asian Affairs during the Indonesian civil war crisis and felt that his most useful service to the U.S. government came during those difficult years 1962-66. He was also an expert on Turkish history, language, and Islamic law.

He was a member of AFSA and the Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired. He is survived by his wife and his sons, David C. Cuthell Jr., of Hoboken, New Jersey, and Charles Erik Cuthell, of Kingston, New York, and a sister, Priscilla Cuthell Ward, of New York City. Memorial donations may be made to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

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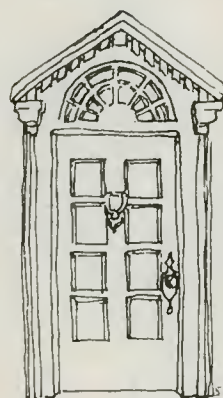
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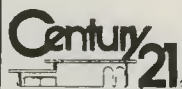
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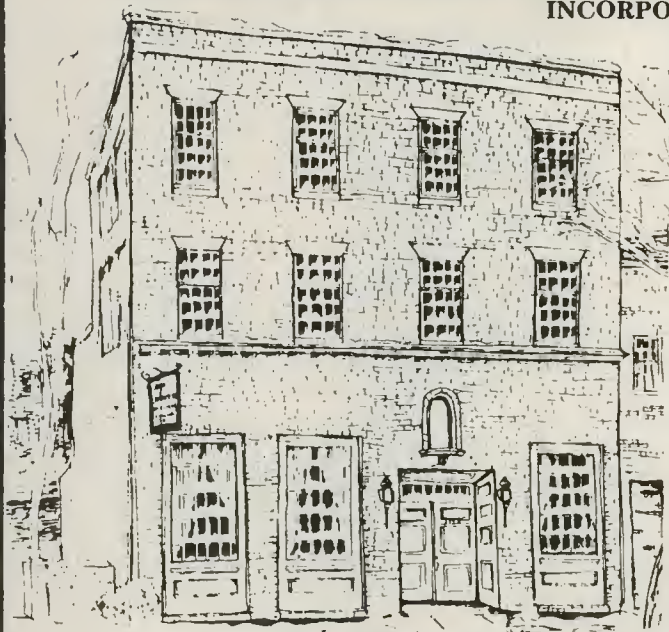


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AFSA NEWS

AFSA moves on several fronts to forestall cuts, reduce shortfall

Acting on several fronts simultaneously, AFSA has moved to forestall the threatened State Department staffing and post cuts. The cuts, part of a reorganization plan drafted by Deputy Secretary Whitehead to meet an anticipated \$84 million budget shortfall, would eliminate nearly 1300 jobs in the department and close 15 posts [AFSA NEWS, December]. Because of the mid-November budget summit, however, it was unclear at press time whether additional funds to negate the planned cuts would be provided.

The organization's key activity has been to convince Congress to reprogram funds to meet the shortfall in the salaries and expenses budget. AFSA was successful in getting bipartisan support within the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to authorize reprogramming from diplomatic security funds, a measure that was eventually passed in the chamber's version of the State Department authorization bill. In the conference committee, alternative suggestions have been made to move the funds from other State budget categories, or perhaps to reduce the shortfall by \$60 million with general funds.

AFSA President Perry Shankle and State Vice President Evangeline Monroe went on the stump for the month after the cuts were announced in late September. They met with the chairs of the two congressional foreign affairs committees, Senator Claiborne Pell (D.-Rhode Island) and Representative Dante Fascell (D.-Florida), Foreign Operations Subcommittee Chairman Daniel Mica (D.-Florida), Senator Paul Sarbanes (D.-Maryland), and Representatives Jim Leach (R.-Iowa) and Constance Morella (D.-Maryland). They also met with staff members on the House Government Operations Committee, Appropriations Committee, and Post Office and Civil

Service Subcommittee, and the Senate Foreign Relations, Budget, and Foreign Relations committees.

Shankle also traveled to Florida to enlist the aid of the state's Foreign Service retirees organization, whom he addressed in a keynote speech at its annual dinner

Long-time employee named director

Sabine Sisk has been named director for administration and member services, the Governing Board has announced. Sisk formerly had been director of member services. The new position is the senior one on the AFSA staff.

Sisk joined AFSA in 1980 as a grievance counselor and as coordinator for members' interests. In addition to representation in hundreds of grievance cases, she assisted many members in steering a safe course through the often-complicated field of laws and regulations affecting a Foreign Service career. An authority on Foreign Service financial issues, she is the author of the annual FOREIGN SERVICE TAX GUIDE and numerous articles in this section on bread-and-butter issues.

A former Foreign Service spouse, Sisk has served in the Caribbean, West Africa, Central and South America, and Europe.



in Orlando. He and Monroe then went to New York to caucus with the Council of American Ambassadors, the Foreign Policy Association, Kissinger Associates, and an editor of the *New York Times*. They expressed support for AFSA's activities.

In addition, the Governing

Board is working with public relations specialists at the law firm of Arnold & Porter to construct a nationwide publicity campaign in support of the Foreign Service. At present, the plan is only in draft stage but some details are contained in the State Standing Committee column.

Caucus on improving Service



Several members met with AFSA Governing Board officers at the Foreign Service Club last October to brainstorm about plans for improving the Foreign Service. From the left, they are Clark Ellis, Charles Bray, AFSA State Vice President Evangeline Monroe, Ted Wilkinson, AFSA President Perry Shankle, Basil Scarliss, and Alan Otto.

Editorial spot rebuts calls for immunity changes

Responding to a program that appeared on WWOR, a New Jersey cable super-station with wide coverage around the country, AFSA President Perry Shankle declared that "drastic changes to the [diplomatic immunity] system" as proposed by reformers "could endanger the lives of our diplomats overseas. In many countries diplomatic immunity is the only protection our people have." The response came in a free editorial rebuttal aired by the station at AFSA request.

The action was engendered by charges on the *Morton Downey Jr. Show* that, in the words of the host, "there are 40,000 rapists and murderers out there, and you can't do a thing about it." Downey and guest Chuck Ashman went on to charge that foreign diplomats

posted to the United States commit countless crimes for which no justice is offered. AFSA had previously responded to Ashman's charges in letters published in the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Montgomery Journal* showing flaws in his reasoning and revealing that many of the supposed injustices were exaggerated and incomplete.

One example frequently cited by Ashman, for instance, claims that a Maryland man who was shot by a Brazilian diplomat never saw justice done. In fact, the diplomat was kicked out of the country, the government of Brazil provided a large payment in compensation for his injuries, and the man's lawyer wrote a letter thanking the State Department for bringing the issue to a satisfactory resolution.

Ads bring message to business decisionmakers, Hill: 'Don't cut State'

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America profits from the quality representation we provide for you. We are proud of our record, and our Service. Unfortunately, budget pressures are reducing our presence abroad and threaten our capacity to maintain an international climate in which business can prosper.

While we understand we must tighten our belts, now is not a time when the United States can afford a withdrawal from the world scene.

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America's first line of defense is the Foreign Service. Many a threat to our security has been resolved by diplomatic means before the Defense Department had to spend a dime or risk American lives. But now the Armed Forces may have to use their billion dollar resources if we don't act now to restore the State Department's budget.

Effective foreign relations can't be achieved without a strong U.S. diplomatic presence overseas, and with the proposed reductions at the State Department the effectiveness of our Foreign Service will be greatly diminished. Reducing our capabilities is not what the world's preeminent superpower should be doing.



Don't Let American Diplomacy Die Support the Foreign Service.

A Message From

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AFSA is bringing its message that it is not in the national interest to make major cuts in the State Department to key decisionmakers. The ad on the left was mailed to each member of Congress. The one on the right was placed in a special section of *Regardie's* magazine, a Washington business publication read by decisionmakers in the capital, and was mailed to 150 chief executive officers of major corporations who had called on the government in a two-page ad to negotiate with its allies to restore faith in the international economy.

Testimony supports teachers

The spouses of Foreign Service employees ought to receive the same treatment as those of military employees in being considered for teaching jobs at Department of Defense schools overseas, AFSA President Perry Shankle told a joint hearing of the House committees on Education and Labor and the Committee on Civil Service and Post Office in November. The committees were considering the Overseas Teachers Act which, in seeking to raise the standards of overseas hires for the school system, exempts military spouses but not the Foreign Service from stricter standards.

"AFSA applauds the efforts"

of the bill's sponsor, Shankle said, "but we are concerned that this legislation may in fact have the opposite effect." The bill would establish inequitable hiring practices and also result in increased costs and higher turnover, he said.

The plan would require all but military spouses who are hired overseas to reapply through the stateside recruitment system after no more than one year on the job. This would make it nearly im-

possible for many Foreign Service spouses to work in the school system. The idea, according to the bill's sponsors, is to enable the system to weed out substandard teachers. But "a mechanism already exists for weeding out substandard instructors," said Shankle, "the teacher evaluation process." Shankle insisted that the two hiring systems may be different but that the evidence shows they produce equally qualified hires.

Reimbursement snafu untangled

AFSA recently assisted a State Department employee who had not been paid \$155 for a work-related correspondence course for which the State Department should have provided reimbursement. The employee had submitted the paperwork and received

the necessary approval more than three years earlier.

After investigation, the union discovered a severe backlog in processing education reimbursement claims. The official in charge of the area admitted to delays of at least 18 months.

Member Services rep appointed

David L. Cohen has been named member services representative, Director for Administration Sabine Sisk has announced.

Cohen is a 1987 graduate of Emerson College, where he majored in communications, politics, and law. Before coming to AFSA, he was San Francisco coordinator for Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley's 1986 gubernatorial bid and was an intern at the Massachusetts Special Commission on Tax Reform.

Cohen joins Neal Callander, who was named to the Member Services staff last summer, under the direction of Sabine Sisk, AFSA's new director for administration and member services.



State Standing Committee

Situation Serious But Not Fatal

By Evangeline Monroe, State Vice President

As we struggle through what must be one of the darkest periods in the Foreign Service it is time for some hard questions. For instance, whose fault is it that the Department of State's budget shortfall is so severe that management has decided the only solution is the permanent reduction of the Foreign Service?

One view is that the problems of the Foreign Service are its own fault and that it is too late to save it. I do not wholly agree with the first part of this viewpoint, and I reject the second part.

A moribund Foreign Service would not have worked virtually around the clock to prepare the secretary of state for the visit of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, adjusted strategy to meet the changing momentum in Central America, and rolled up its sleeves to meet the increased demand for visas generated by the declining dollar. At the same time, the Service performed many other necessary tasks that never made the headlines but serve a constituency so broad it does not know it is being served. Therein lies a large part of our problem.

The issues we work with are so compelling we do not have time to let the Congress and the public know what our role is. In fact, we have difficulty in explaining to the uninitiated what we do.

But we do have a constituency; we only need to tap it. AFSA President Perry Shankle recently appeared on cable television in a 90-minute program with Deputy Secretary Whitehead on the budget crisis. The program format called for questions from listeners. Secretary Whitehead received many calls on specific foreign policy issues: the Gulf, Central America, Israel, etc. Before permitting a response the moderator reminded the caller that the subject was the State Department's budget crisis and asked the caller to express an opinion on that subject. Without

exception the callers said it was important for the department to be adequately funded.

The most cogent proof that the Foreign Service has a vital role to play appeared in a two-page advertisement in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. The ad, paid for by more than 150 chief executive officers of major corporations and some 75 members of America's intellectual elite, called for a bipartisan budget plan. A key element of their proposal called for negotiations for more effective global economic cooperation and universal sharing. They advocated:

- getting our economic allies to stimulate domestic demand and boost their imports;
- working out coordinating interest rate reductions with Europe and Japan;
- renewing our collective commitment to fight protectionism;
- stimulating a flow of capital to Third World countries to help them grow and to service their debts by exporting to more open markets in the developed world thus permitting the Third World countries to become significant export markets for goods and services; and

- working toward increased military and economic burden-sharing by our allies.

The activities listed above are what the Foreign Service excels in; they cannot be accomplished through military power or covert action. Those CEOs may not know it yet, but they are our constituency.

We have not lost Congress. During a time when the Congress is being asked to reduce programs that directly affect their home districts, members of both parties have come up with suggestions to solve the department's budget shortfall. Their proposals include reprogramming funds, designating visa and passport fees directly for the department, waiving across-the-board reductions, granting a higher ap-

propriation figure, and even issuing a supplemental.

The Foreign Service has been stunned, but it is fighting back. This is evident in the suggestions that pour into AFSA, and in some of the ideas developed by the task forces set up to find a way to reorganize the department to meet the budget shortfall. Out of this budget crisis will come a healing introspection after which we will be more adept at developing a constituency and appealing to Congress. In the process we should acquire a sharper sense of mission and consensus on how to reach our objectives.

AFSA differs with management in the assumption implicit in the Whitehead plan that the department will perpetually be viewed as a stepchild in Congress and that the only alternative is to reduce the size of the Service.

This time next year, the Foreign Service will have developed stronger muscles. AFSA will attempt to implement some if not all of the following:

- Develop a Friends of the Foreign Service Network by institu-

tionalizing AFSA's relationship with major U.S. multinational corporations;

- Arrange guest appearances of Foreign Service personnel on television and radio shows;

- Arrange the production of videos on the Foreign Service for use in hotel closed-circuit cable systems and airplanes;

- Place advertisements explaining the Foreign Service's relevance in airline publications and other periodicals;

- Place news and feature articles about the Service in newspapers around the country;

- Coordinate Foreign Service speakers and provide a briefing package for their use. Speakers will address business and civic groups, academic audiences, and foreign affairs clubs;

- Organize and brief teams of Foreign Service employees to visit their home-state representatives in groups;

- Publish a "Profiles in Courage" booklet that humanizes the Service through real people who faced real and dramatic situations on behalf of their country;

- Develop a closer relationship with the academic community, particularly institutions specializing in foreign affairs; and

- Work with groups such as the Council on Foreign Relations, the World Affairs Council, the Atlantic Council, and other similar groups to encourage them to take a more active advocacy role for the Foreign Service.

Newsletter for retirees launched

In October, AFSA issued the first of a projected bimonthly series of newsletters addressed specifically to its retired membership.

Several factors prompted this action. First, AFSA's new Governing Board felt that it was important to provide its retired members with regular reports of all legislative or administrative developments of special concern. Second, with the steady increase in the number of Foreign Service retirees, they now represent a potential reservoir of support for maintaining the traditional standards of professionalism and in-

tegrity in the face of the unprecedented budget limitations being imposed. Third, as has long been recognized, most Americans are not even aware that the Foreign Service exists, much less are they familiar with its role in our country's foreign affairs and the importance of its information gathering activities.

Consequently, with the newsletter providing a regular link with the Foreign Service retiree community, we hope to involve our retired members more actively in AFSA's programs, while enlisting their experience in educating their neighbors as to what the Service is and what it does.

The response to the first issue has been most gratifying in terms of the number indicating an interest in this program.

Labor-management Disputes: A Scorecard

ULPs counter unilateral moves

AFSA has filed two unfair labor practice charges against the State Department in recent months. Both of the issues are still pending resolution.

The first charge came as a result of a State Department airgram that purported, among other things, to levy assessments on employee associations at posts abroad. AFSA learned of the airgram via post representatives overseas, but when the union tried to cable responses to the posts, the department refused to transmit them. In addition to protesting this action, AFSA demanded that the department provide a copy of the airgram and suspend its implementation until negotiations had been conducted. The department initially refused to comply with any of AFSA's demands, so a ULP charge was filed with the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board. The department has since pro-

vided AFSA with a copy of the airgram, but no action has been taken regarding the other demands. If the FSLRB dismisses the charge, AFSA will pursue it through other means.

The other ULP charge was filed when the department issued revisions to 3 FAM 629—"Marriage, Cohabitation and Equivalent Bonds"—prior to conducting negotiations with AFSA. The union did not learn of these revisions until after they had been promulgated, and the department refused to suspend implementation of the new regulations despite AFSA's repeated demands. Management originally defended its actions by claiming that no bargaining obligation had existed because it was exercising a protected management right. The department has since backed away from this position somewhat, agreeing to "look at" any proposals AFSA submits; however, no specific commitment to negotiate has been made, and management contin-

ues to refuse to suspend implementation of the revisions. As a result, AFSA has chosen to file a ULP in addition to submitting proposals on the regulations.

Differential pay status up in air

The status of special differential pay has become increasingly unclear in the last several months. Initial plans to discontinue the premium were announced in September, but a threat by AFSA to file an unfair labor practice charge at first seemed to have resulted in the State Department's commitment to certify the normal amount of positions for the pay for a six-month period. As we went to press, however, the department informed AFSA that the pay will be discontinued completely as of January 1.

After the threat to file a ULP, the union received word that the department had requested its officers to engage in exercises which would obviate payment of the differential. AFSA immediately asked the director general to outline the department's position and to ensure that State fulfills its obligation to bargain before implementing alternative work schedules. Management responded that "no affirmative action has been taken to reduce or eliminate the work schedules that qualify employees for the allowance." The union is preparing an institutional grievance on behalf of affected officers.

Complaint stalls utility hike

AFSA has received good news regarding a dispute with the department over the decision of the embassy in Panama to unilaterally establish a new utility policy.

The policy would have required employees in government-leased quarters to incur the costs for all electricity charges exceeding a specific ceiling, resulting in a drastic reduction in the net pay of State Department personnel in Panama. The new policy was

originally intended to go into effect on July 1, but employees were not informed of this change until June 16. In addition, no consultations were held with the AFSA chapter at post.

In late July, after the intervention of AFSA/Washington, the chief of mission announced that implementation of the new policy would be postponed, and our understanding now is that the surcharge proposal has been shelved more or less permanently. This victory, which is attributable in large part to the hard work of AFSA's post representatives, may also have broader ramifications, should the department try to implement a similar policy at other posts.

AFSA wins cable protest

The State Department recently decided in favor of AFSA in an institutional grievance protesting management's refusal to transmit cables dealing with the organization's Congressional Outreach Program. The department's acquiescence before the dispute reached the Foreign Service Grievance Board was highly unusual.

AFSA had charged that the department was in violation of two portions of the Collective Bargaining Agreement which governs State labor-management relations. Section IX/6 of the Collective Bargaining Agreement allows AFSA to use the department's telecommunications facilities for any cables which arise under Chapter 10 or 11 of the Foreign Service Act, as long as they are not "libelous, scurrilous, or scandalous." Section V/2 prohibits the department from unilaterally departing from past practice (management had previously approved numerous cables concerning congressional matters).

The department's decision letter acknowledged that management had violated the latter section and ordered that the rejected cables be immediately approved for transmission. Ironically, had the department permitted the cables to be transmitted initially, AFSA would have been in a better position to provide information to Congress during the current budget crisis.

Computers to increase efficiency

As the final phase in an extensive computerization project, AFSA has purchased a word-processing system for the labor-management relations office in the State Department. The acqui-

sition comes after similar technology was acquired for the accounting, membership, and communications departments.

The system consists of eight IBM-PC compatible computers linked by a network to two printers. It will give each worker his or her own word processor, greatly increasing the efficiency and timeliness of the office's work.

AFSA protects parents' rights at post in Africa

AFSA has successfully intervened on behalf of AID employees who had been required by their post to sign forms waiving liability before beginning school bus service for their children. The post, Yaounde, informed AFSA that AID had agreed to provide transportation for their school-age children but was requiring the parents to waive their rights under law and regulation in the event of injury to the children or damage to their property. The

post requested AFSA to intervene.

AFSA protested to AID's general counsel, outlining the concern of the parents and problems with the release form. The protests were successful. Post Yaounde cabled AFSA that the agency had withdrawn its requirement. The general counsel's office confirmed that it "had instructed AID/Yaounde to discontinue use of [the] form when such transportation is provided."

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