

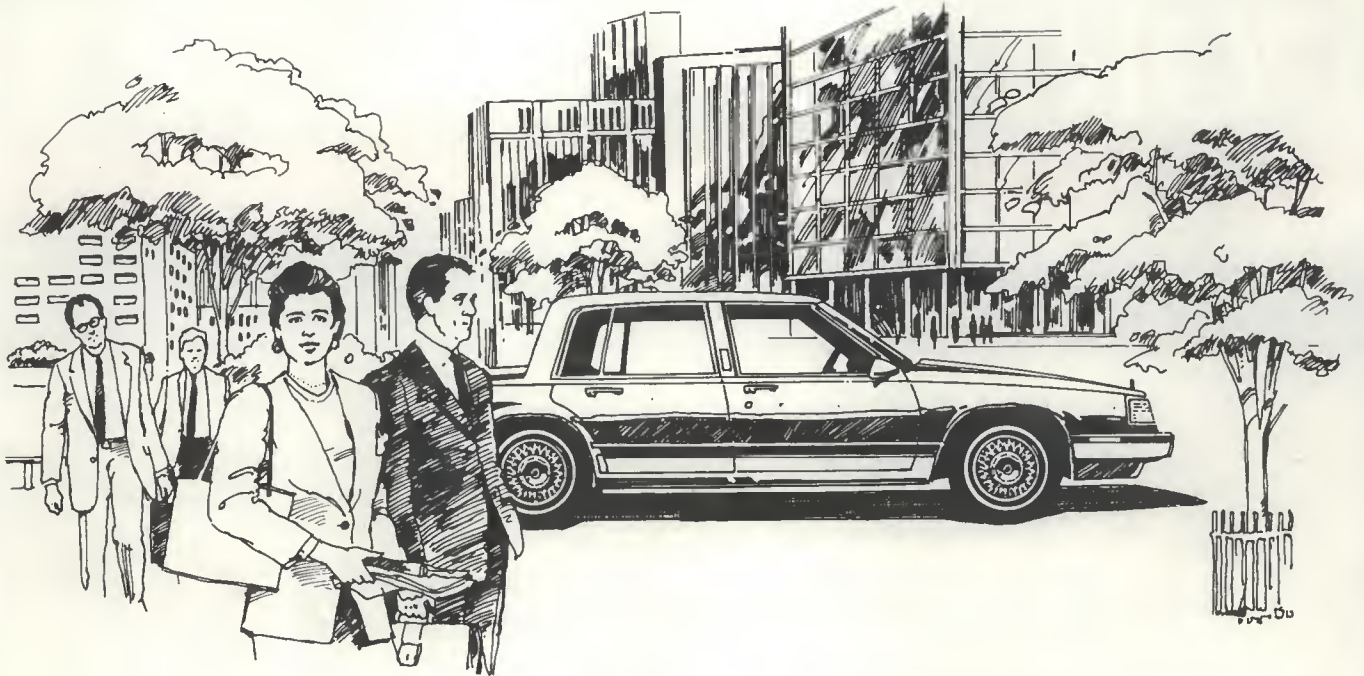
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AFSA's True Position on Diplomatic Security

Now that the dust over the budget crisis has settled, it is time to set the record right on AFSA's position with regard to diplomatic security.

AFSA is second to none in its concern for the security of our people, our functions, and our secrets. We applaud and support efforts to provide security effectively. In a speech to diplomatic security personnel November 2, however, Assistant Secretary for Diplomatic Security Robert Lamb misrepresented AFSA's position on this issue. He inaccurately attributed to our organization a statement in the *Washington Post* by an unnamed senior State Department official who reportedly said "if you want to be a diplomat, you have to realize that [there are dangers] and accept the risks." Mr. Lamb added that anyone saying that was "criminally negligent," and the department in its management issues cable of November 26 repeated Mr. Lamb's charge. On November 12 AFSA had met with Mr. Lamb and pointed out that he was mistaken in attributing the remark to AFSA. We do not even know who the unnamed senior official is. We reject Mr. Lamb's charge that AFSA is criminally negligent. It is also a serious misrepresentation on Mr. Lamb's part to state that AFSA believes the protection of our embassies should be left in the hands of foreign governments, and by extension to the Soviets.

We are keenly aware and concerned that terrorism is a fact of life for us and our families. We have never, as Mr. Lamb suggested, advocated fatalism with respect to the dangers inherent in serving abroad, nor are we under any illusions about their nature.

AFSA believes it is our duty to protect ourselves, our mission, and our secrets against security threats. We respect the function of employees serving in diplomatic security positions and count them as part of our Foreign Service family.

But we believe mission should not be confused with procedure. Our responsibility, and particularly that of employees assigned to security, is to contribute to effective security efforts. Our mission is sacred, our procedures are not. AFSA does not expect Mr. Lamb and our colleagues working in diplomatic security to guarantee without reservation our security, and we would not accuse him or anyone else of being criminally negligent if a disaster occurs despite reasonable and thorough precautions.

What Mr. Lamb missed in his inaccurate reading of the article is concern over the effectiveness of procedures. AFSA members at overseas posts have observed that guidelines for physical security universally applied may not be effective in individual locations. They raise a concern similar to one expressed by a diplomatic security official to an AFSA officer that it is prudent to be aware that we may be approaching a point of diminishing returns with regard to our security efforts. Carried to its logical extreme, we could end up with a security program that is the equivalent of the neutron bomb, where we have a secure building but no people in it.

Security, the integrity of our mission, and the well-being of our colleagues are important issues in which we all have a vested interest. We should listen to each other carefully and avoid misrepresenting the views of others. If we are willing to listen we may end up with a better security program, and we would all win.



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Digging Our Own Grave?

Secretary Shultz's speech to the department's employees on September 18 was indicative of the attitudes of both management and workers in the building. For its part, management showed that it intends to operate by ukase, keeping the rank and file in the dark and allowing rumor and innuendo to do much of the dirty work for them. The workers showed that they are resigned to accepting whatever bitter medicine management dishes out without a fight. All in all, it was a performance unworthy of either side.

To date, management has done just about everything the studies on well-run organizations say not to do. They have chosen to keep the workers in the dark by releasing only selected bits and pieces of their "Whitehead Plan." They have not solicited the views of workers on how best to deal with the problem. And they have proposed measures which appear designed to both further exacerbate divisions within the Foreign Service and further reduce our responsibilities abroad.

Management has not seen fit to reveal to employees the exact nature of the Whitehead Plan. It has fallen to AFSA to piece together what information is available. What people want more than anything in unsettled times is information. Certainly a question and answer period after the secretary's gloomy announcement was in order. It is a pathetic comment on management's attitudes when Foreign Service and other State employees have to find out about the plans of their own department from the *Washington Post*.

American industry has at last learned that the person actually doing the work usually knows best how to make it more efficient. Hewlett-Packard Corporation—one of America's best-managed companies—has a motto, "Management by wandering around." At least Hewlett-Packard has realized that it cannot really manage simply by holding meetings with other managers. Many of the State employees present at the secretary's speech noted that it was the first time in five years they had ever seen him in person. Just as few have ever seen an assistant secretary even visit the offices that he or she is allegedly managing, and proposing to reorganize or eliminate.

Many of the cuts management has proposed make sense and are long overdue—cutbacks in the number of legislative liaisons, for instance, and the elimination of

27 deputy assistant secretary positions. But many of the other cuts are misguided and shortsighted. While the positions to be eliminated on the seventh floor are largely vacant, cuts are far more painful for those in offices where real people with real lives will suffer. Ending language-incentive pay and hardship differentials can only weaken our capabilities abroad, and make it more difficult to fill positions in hardship posts. Converting more missions to small-embassy status may save money, but it significantly reduces the effectiveness of our reporting officers there. And contrary to what Mr. Shultz may believe, there is still a need to guard those missions even if they do not have classified files.

Finally, management's approach seems designed to fragment the department and weaken our authority just at the time when solidarity is most important. The longstanding rivalry between the political and economic cones is renewed as economic positions are eliminated in regional bureaus, while political-cone jobs—except those with a political-military emphasis—are retained. The perception that the Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs exercises inordinate power within State is strengthened as economic and political-military positions are eliminated in all regional bureaus except Europe. Having decimated the functions of the other cones, management is now turning its eye to consular positions, proposing to fill consular positions in Mexican border posts with GS employees. It seems that State's ever-dwindling role in international affairs is to be reduced even further, this time at the behest of our own leaders. Rumors and factional infighting may solve the department's problem if sufficient personnel become discouraged or unhappy enough to resign voluntarily rather than be cut later.

Unfortunately the employees have not performed much better than management. How many have written to their senators or representatives to express their opinion on this issue? How many who have served on the Hill have gone back to their old contacts and described the damage these cuts will do? How many people, in response to the news that their own jobs were in danger, had the temerity to applaud the secretary's announcement? I am convinced that we as an agency have the very best personnel in government service. But that quality has not yet shown itself in this crisis. Tell your deputy assistant secretary honestly where cuts can be made and where

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they should not. Write an article for a foreign affairs journal, ask your mother to contact her senator, use your opportunities to discuss the issue with visiting congressional delegations. We are an agency of high-performers, used to jumping into complex issues and situations and making contributions early on. It is time to jump into this issue now.

PAUL STEPHENSON
Foreign Service Officer
Washington, D.C.

Out of Bounds

Andrew L. Steigman's "Crossing Agency Boundaries" [DIPLOMACY, October] falls considerably short of a fair picture of the views of the President's Advisory Commission of Public Diplomacy on ambassadorial appointments.

In recent annual reports, the commission has found continued under-representation in the number of senior USIA Foreign Service officers serving in ambassadorial and deputy chief of mission positions and recommended that the president and the secretary of state correct this imbalance. Currently, no USIA officers have ambassadorial appointments. Three are serving as DCMs in small embassies.

Mr. Steigman concedes the commission's 1986 "report is accurate as far as it goes" in asserting that USIA officers are "seven times less likely than State Department officers to make ambassador." But after accusing the commission of turf-battling and parochialism, he goes on to state that commission members "do not know (or prefer not to acknowledge in print) that they are, in effect, trying to claim State Department positions for officers who work for another agency and another Foreign Service."

As a former deputy assistant secretary for personnel in State, Mr. Steigman must know that under Article II of the Constitution, ambassadors are appointed by the president by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Nothing in the Constitution or the Foreign Service Act suggests these are "State Department positions."

Indeed, the act specifically provides that the "secretary of state, in conjunction with the heads of the other agencies utilizing the Foreign Service personnel system, shall implement policies and procedures to insure that Foreign Service officers and members of the Senior Foreign Service of all agencies are able to compete for chief of mission positions [emphasis added]." In the conference report language on this section of the act, congressional intent was clear: "This would give USIA officers the same opportunities possessed by other Foreign Service members to compete for chief of mission and other Foreign Service assignments outside the USIA."

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employment; are promoted, retired, and selected out under the same rules; and face the same overseas hardships and certainly no less danger. USIA's officers monitor country developments as closely as any State Department officer. They often have greater representational responsibilities than mission officers other than the ambassador and DCM. They are recruited for their strong communications abilities, and they develop negotiating skills throughout their careers. USIA's assignments typically give agency officers more extensive managerial experience earlier in their careers than most of their counterparts at State receive. And the most recent General Accounting Office re-

port on language proficiency shows that a higher percentage of USIA's overseas positions are filled by language-qualified personnel than either State's or AID's.

The commission seeks no special or disproportionate consideration for USIA. Nor as an independent, bipartisan presidential advisory body, with responsibilities to the secretary of state as well as the USIA director, is it motivated by parochialism and turf considerations.

The commission does believe, however, that USIA's most senior and experienced Foreign Service officers are a national resource that is not being fully and wisely used. These officers should be given greater

opportunity to serve in ambassadorial and DCM positions.

EDWIN J. FEULNER JR.
*Chairman, Advisory Commission
 on Public Diplomacy
 Washington, D.C.*

We asked Andrew Steigman to reply:

I'm pleased that my article proposing increased personnel exchanges among the foreign affairs agencies attracted Mr. Feulner's attention. I would be even happier if his letter had not simply repeated the commission's arguments about ambassadorial appointments, but instead had addressed seriously the exchange proposal which was the subject of the article. A more effective program would fit nicely into the "policies and procedures" called for by the Foreign Service Act to help ensure equal access for able USIA officers to chief of mission positions, and would in addition strengthen the Service as a whole. For these reasons, I very much hope the commission will take a hard look at the exchange proposal, and will add its voice in support of those who have been trying for years to bring it into being.

Minimum Utility

As a general services officer serving overseas and trying to confront the many problems caused by the State budget situation, I was surprised and disappointed to read your item on Embassy Panama's attempts to control utility costs [AFSA NEWS, October]. As an AFSA member, I expect more responsible reporting.

The Foreign Affairs Manual states, "It is the responsibility of the head of each agency mission to assure that the costs of utilities on government-held residences are held to reasonable levels. He shall take appropriate administrative action to accomplish this, including, where appropriate, the establishment of utility ceilings for some or all of the residential quarters under his control." Given this statutory responsibility, why should AFSA be complaining about Panama's management "unilaterally" doing its job?

Perhaps management's plan was poorly conceived, was not based on consultations among agencies, and would result in unfair charges to employees. If so, the details of the plan should have been laid out, at least in summary. Unfortunately, your article gives the reader no basis—other than some alumnist sounding and uncredited cost estimates—to judge the plan.

It is particularly disturbing that the article makes no mention of any attempt to contact the administrative personnel in Panama to hear their perspectives on the issue.

In times of budgetary hardship AFSA should be encouraging innovative approaches to cost control. I would much rather see responsible cost controls over items like utilities than firings and forced retirements. As a professional union it is

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AFSA's responsibility to see that cutbacks are made in the least damaging way to our national security. Rhetoric aside, the tone of the piece on Panama suggests a failure to realize that current budget cutting, however poorly instituted, is a response to very real historical abuses and mismanagement by the State Department.

JAY N. ANANIA
General Services Officer
Amman, Jordan

As a Foreign Service officer and former employee of Embassy Panama, I cannot help but take exception to what I consider a very biased report on that post placing an "unconscionable financial burden" on personnel stationed there by imposing surcharges on employees' residential electricity bills. The article gives the impression that all employees are being forced to pay their own electricity bills in government-furnished quarters. I happen to know that this is not the case.

When Embassy Panama switched from a living quarters allowance system to fully furnished government quarters in 1983, the post's management was, even then, concerned about rising electricity costs in the furnished quarters along with diminishing financial resources. A survey of utility costs at that time revealed that employees occupying these quarters were consuming more electricity than those still under the previous system, namely AID and General Accounting Office employees. The same survey showed that some employees, a minority, were incurring higher than average electricity bills in their homes. This abuse of government-paid utilities was a real concern in view of the scarce resources to fund the new housing program along with the increasing cost of utilities.

At the beginning of the new housing program, all employees were notified of the high cost of electricity and asked to be energy cost-conscious. As a guideline only, a very liberal monetary ceiling was set on electricity bills. Most employees cooperated—some even praised post management—and electricity costs actually came down somewhat. There were, however, a few individuals who defied both authority and common sense and continued to incur excess electricity bills—sometimes double or triple the average consumption throughout the mission. Some employees, for instance, continued to run all air conditioners full time even when their residences were vacant for weeks at a time during TDY's and vacations. This goes to prove that some individuals become cost conscious only when their own pocketbooks are affected—and Panama is an excellent example.

If Embassy Panama has begun to bill employees for excessive electricity consumption, this action was probably justified and long-overdue. Panama's post management should be praised for taking a bold stand instead of being criticized by a minority

who are indifferent to waste of taxpayers' dollars.

It is time for all Foreign Service employees and management personnel world-over to face up to the fact that the State Department can no longer afford to operate as in the past and that each employee must share this burden with the department.

GARY L. EVERETT
Foreign Service Officer
Islamabad, Pakistan

We asked the author, AFSA Legal Assistant Christopher Bazar, to reply.

AFSA agrees that it is justifiable to bill employees who abuse the system through excessive electricity consumption, but we don't concur with Mr. Everett's assertion that "if Embassy Panama has begun to bill employees . . . this action was probably well-justified and long-overdue." AFSA's role as a labor union is not to provide knee-jerk opposition to administrative proposals, but it is equally irresponsible for the Association to simply rubber-stamp a proposal which is potentially harmful to employee interests on the assumption that "management knows best."

Recently, AFSA learned of plans for a similar utility surcharge in Manila, to which we posed no opposition. The difference is that Embassy Manila put forth a reasonable proposal which is designed to penalize only those employees who abuse the system, while Embassy Panama implemented a draconian plan that would have affected even the most energy-conscious employees. Another important distinction is that Embassy Manila is consulting with AFSA prior to putting its policy into effect, whereas Embassy Panama promulgated its surcharge proposal without conducting any consultations.

Mr. Anania questions the Association's insistence on consultations, asking why AFSA should object to "Panama's management 'unilaterally' doing their jobs." The answer is that such unilateral action is violative of the guidelines for implementation of the Foreign Service Act, which require post management to undertake discussions at the request of local union representatives.

Mr. Anania also argues that the article did not provide readers with enough details regarding the surcharge proposal, and he asks why we did not contact the administrative personnel in Panama to obtain their perspective. In point of fact, the Association made every effort to obtain details from Embassy Panama, but post administration initially refused to discuss the proposal with AFSA representatives. Had the embassy been more forthcoming, AFSA would have passed the additional information on to its members; as it happened, we were left with no option but to gather data from other sources.

See the AFSA NEWS for an update on this situation.



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BOOKS

Reviews

Vietnam and the Soviet Union, Anatomy of an Alliance. By Douglas Pike. Westview Press, 1987.

The Soviet Union and the Third World: The Last Three Decades. Edited by Andrzej Korbonski and Francis Fukuyama. Rand/UCLA Center for the Study of Soviet International Behavior, 1987. \$35, cloth; \$12.95, paper.

While serving in Saigon as a member of the Joint U.S. Public Affairs Office, Douglas Pike became the resident expert on the North Vietnamese. In *Vietnam and the Soviet Union*, his fifth book to date, he traces the convoluted relationship of the Vietnamese communists to their Russian mentors from the first cautious probings to the current, equally cautious alliance.

Surrounded by enemies, Vietnam has perfectly rational reasons for its paranoia. The people of Laos and Cambodia hate the country because of its position as occupier and extortionist. China threatens, considering its neighbor an ungrateful heretic with imperialist, or hegemonic, ambitions. It also sees in Vietnam an ally of its major enemy. Hanoi itself, looking beyond its immediate neighbors, sees an almost uniformly cold and unfriendly world, with the exception of the Soviet Union and its satellites.

Vietnam, therefore, has every reason to be allied to the Soviets. They share a common ideology and common enemies, and the Soviets have long been suppliers of desperately needed economic and military aid. In return for this aid, the Soviets have gained access to an immensely strategic area, halfway between the port of Vladivostok and the Indian Ocean, the use of a large modern naval base at Cam Ranh Bay, and the comfort of having the world's third largest army, and certainly the most experienced, on its side.

With an alliance of such great mutual advantage, why then is there suspicion and hesitation on each side? As is often the case between donor and donee, each feels the other insufficiently appreciative. Hanoi remembers that its war supplies arrived late and irregularly, while non-belligerent protégés of the Soviet Union, such as Egypt, received the very latest in Soviet weaponry. Pike also feels that the cultural differences between the two make friendship difficult. Each has embedded in it more than a touch of xenophobia; the particular mixture in

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Vietnam of Confucianism, Buddhism, and modern influences makes it difficult to express the enthusiastic gratitude that the Soviets seem to crave. It is a marriage of convenience rather than love, but sometimes convenience is more lasting.

This book deserves more than a brief review. It is a valuable and scholarly work that will be useful to anyone interested in Soviet affairs and Southeast Asia.

An interesting companion volume, *The Soviet Union and the Third World*, is a survey of the superpower's military and economic aid programs in pivotal developing countries. Although heavily weighted on the military side, these programs share with American aid a disappointing success ratio. They have been costly to both parties and far from uniformly effective.

Although not intended by the authors, the cumulative effect of reading these histories is to make one wonder at the enormous financial drain these political initiatives have caused the Soviets. How many economic basket cases after Ethiopia, Vietnam, Syria, and Cuba can one country carry? Certainly the drain is felt by the Soviets: witness their aid cuts to Nicaragua, which should be considered a front-line state. If General Secretary Gorbachev is serious about putting the Soviet house in economic order, what will happen to all his dependent friends with their disproportionate-sized armies and misman-

aged economies? Gorbachev may well turn out to be a greater innovator than he ever dreamed of being.

—SOL SCHLINDER

The China Hands' Legacy, Ethics and Diplomacy. Edited by Paul Gordon Lauren. Westview Press, 1986. \$24.

While disappointing, *The China Hands' Legacy* will be of interest to Foreign Service readers who recall the events, as well as to those too young to remember. Most of the officers who came into the line of fire of congressional inquisitors have by now told their stories. Thus, this volume contains little new information. The book is thin on facts and suffers from oversimplification of the historical context. It fails to use sufficiently recently published congressional hearings that were classified until now. Also lacking is a discussion of the chilling effect of McCarthyism on officers who were not attacked. Some found their careers truncated because they had been too sympathetic to Taiwan in the China dispute. A lasting legacy of this era may be a more cautious advocacy of policies by Foreign Service officers and more caution about out-of-the-way reporting contacts.

The book lacks a definition of its subject. It opens with a reference to Alger Hiss,

described as a "career diplomat"; in fact he was not a career Foreign Service officer and by 1950 was already out of the department—and he was not a China Hand. One contribution is by John W. Powell, under whose control the previously respectable *China Weekly Review* was used by Beijing for Korean War prisoner-of-war indoctrination; it should have been made clear that he, too, does not belong in this company.

This volume also fails to meet expectations of ethics and diplomacy raised by the subtitle. Unanswered questions include the limitations in advocating dissenting policy; the limitations in contacting opposition movements; and defenses against unwarranted congressional attacks. One of the solutions in dealing with Congress resorted to then, and not unheard of in more recent times, was to assign controversial officers to posts that did not require Senate confirmation.

To the book's credit, the issues it deals with inadequately are only touched upon lightly, and one of the articles demolishes the myth that if the China Hands had survived in the Foreign Service, they might have been able to forestall the Vietnam disaster. However, *The China Hands' Legacy, Ethics and Diplomacy* is not the comprehensive assessment of the damage to the Foreign Service inflicted by McCarthyism that we have been waiting for.

—PETER W. COLM

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Nuclear Crisis Management: A Dangerous Illusion. By Richard Ned Lebow. Cornell University Press, 1987.

Leaders and Crisis: The CSIS Crisis Simulations. By Andrew C. Goldberg, Debra van Opstal, Michael E. Brown, and James H. Barkley. The Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1987.

In many ways, the ultimate defense of the free world is based on our nuclear arsenal. At the same time, defense strategy is predicated upon the realization that the use of this arsenal is the threshold from which it may not be possible to return. With the exception of the Cuban missile crisis, the world has never witnessed a superpower confrontation which could trigger a nuclear exchange. The results of that crisis established an outlook that has conditioned the U.S. approach to crisis management ever since.

Lebow's book challenges the assumptions and operating procedures of current crisis management, suggesting that the very methods we employ to control our nuclear arsenal may increase the likelihood that it will be used at some point. He argues that our current ways of thinking about international crises are faulty and require significant shifts if we are to avoid incidents or ensure that they do not lead to war. Our political leadership "must be less concerned with 'win-

ning' and more with controlling crises, because the principal danger is no longer that the adversary will get his way, but that one or more protagonists will set in motion a chain of events that will lead to an undesired and catastrophic war." To buttress his view, Lebow uses as case studies the outbreak of World War I and the Cuban missile crisis. His purpose is to demonstrate that the misconceptions and rigid doctrinairity of official thinking constitute dangerous shortcomings in our strategic approach.

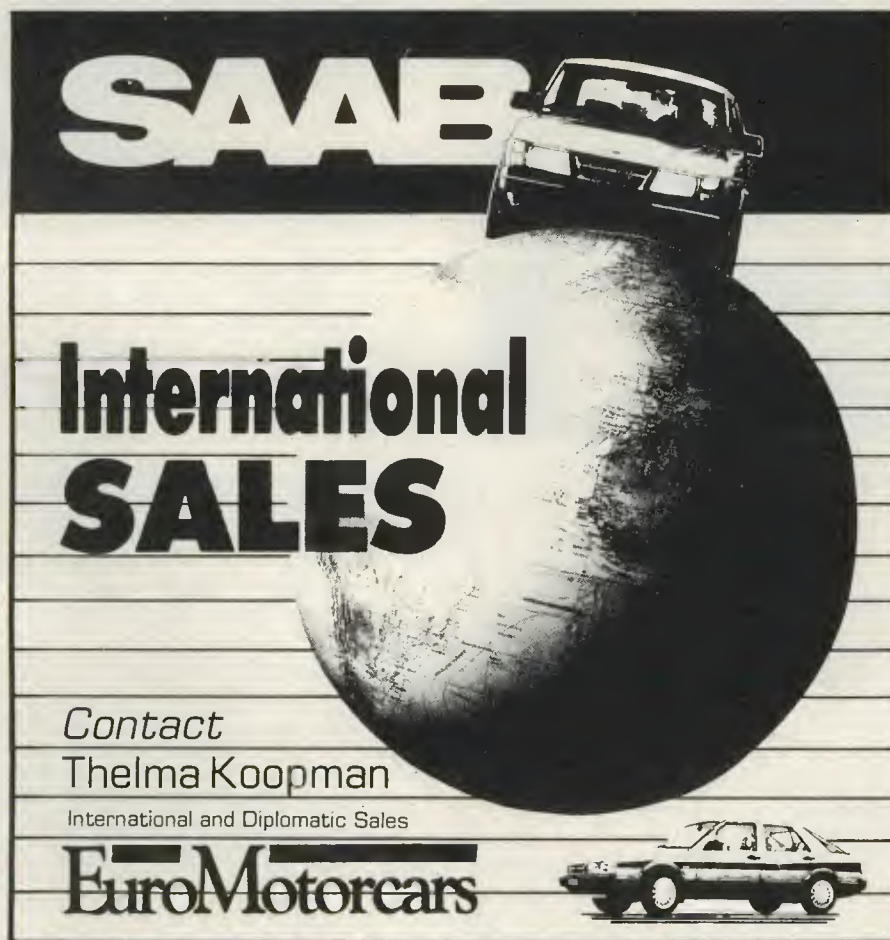
This is a provocative book that challenges many of the most-cherished assumptions of the defense establishment. If Lebow is correct in his conclusions, then the role of diplomacy becomes even more important in avoiding or controlling situations that might move us up the ladder of escalation.

Another recent book on crisis management, *Leaders and Crisis: The CSIS Crisis Simulations*, discusses a program developed several years ago by the Center for Strategic and International Studies and describes the first three crisis simulations held in 1985-86. The center developed distinct scenarios that could result in national security crises. The first posited the death of Ferdinand Marcos from natural causes, and the collapse of the successor government. The second depicted a quantum increase in the effectiveness and popularity of the Nicara-

guan contras to the point that the U.S. government foresaw the possibility of a quick victory. The third dealt with a terrorist skyjacking by a group armed with explosives which had been laced with radioactive material.

Into each of these situations entered a team of former senior military and civilian officials, each playing a role similar to that once held in real life. The team was given the same type of information that it would receive in a real crisis, and it constituted the type of task force functioning at the NSC. The results of the exercises were deeply disappointing. The CSIS control team learned that the crisis managers were more concerned with domestic political considerations than the crisis itself, and they were unable to deal with more than one aspect of an incident at a time. The players demonstrated a cautious attitude toward the use of military force, preferring it to be clean, quick, and with a high probability of success. Consultations with allies and other key players were often non-existent or merely afterthoughts. Finally, the players demonstrated a lack of appreciation for the problems associated with intelligence gathering and a tendency to delay making decisions.

What does this mean for the real world? Can we extrapolate from the artificial environment of a simulation? The State Department has recognized the value of crisis simu-




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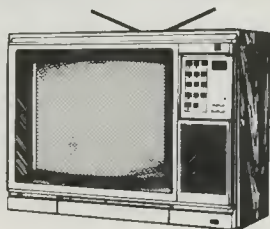
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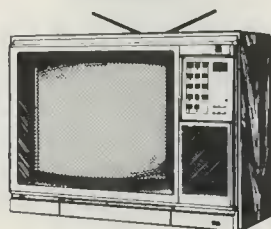
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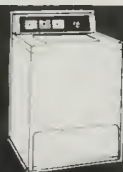
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lations when participants include actual decisionmakers playing their real-life roles. This is the philosophy behind the Crisis Management Exercise Program conducted with the Bureau of Diplomatic Security, for instance. The CSIS program, making use of a number of people who have dealt with crisis management, demonstrates the serious problems in coping with crises. Far too often, length of service is the basis upon which wisdom is presumed. But crisis management is a serious matter, and training for those we expect to conduct this function is imperative. —MAYER NUDELL

Information Sources

The Europa Year Book 1987: A World Survey. 28th edition. Two volumes. Europa Publications, London (available in the U.S. from Gale Research Publications), 1987.

A major source of authoritative political, economic, statistical, and commercial information on today's world, conveniently arranged by country. The directory contains names and addresses of newspapers and periodicals, radio and television stations, financial institutions, and universities. The first section contains information on 1500 international organizations.

Encyclopedia of the Third World. Three volumes. By George Thomas Kurian. Facts on File, 1987.

These volumes provide a compact, balanced, and objective description of the dominant political, economic, and social systems of 126 countries. It may be the largest single data base on Third World countries in print.

Political Handbook of the World 1987. Edited by Arthur S. Banks. CSA Publications, 1987.

Cogent, up-to-date information about every independent country and most dependent territories. Analyzes political, social, and economic factors that create change, international structures and relations, historical backgrounds, and contemporary issues and conflicts. A useful single-volume reference.

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By SMITH SIMPSON

Over the years, the Department of State and the Foreign Service have often been treated shabbily, with funding too little and too late. Twice when the Foreign Service has seemed on the point of better times, it has been overtaken by a federal budgetary crisis of monumental proportions. We do not have to look too far back in history to find a striking historical parallel to our current problems. In fact, the following description of a situation may sound very familiar.

A secretary of state broadly experienced in public affairs, holder of many high government positions, is appointed by a Republican, western president to head the diplomatic establishment. He possesses superb managerial qualifications and has demonstrated in position after position an ability to take hold of an organization and, by imparting to it vision and vigor, lead it to a high level of performance. Setting out to replicate this record in the diplomatic establishment, he energetically presses for more adequate funds and wins substantial victories. The State Department and Foreign Service feel that they are at last moving up under the leadership of a chief who knows what they are supposed to be—the first line of national defense and seeker of peace and justice among nations—and what resources they need to get their job done. The tone and quality of American diplomacy begins to show obvious improvement.

The denouement, however, is a collapsed dream caused by a monstrous budgetary deficit and national debt. Funds evaporate and retrenchment becomes the order of the day. A sagging dollar shatters the salaries of officers serving overseas. Allowances suffer the same fate. Travel, so important to the gathering and evaluation of information, to the cultivation of public opinion and the explanation of American policies, and to the protection of American citizens, must now be paid for by the officers themselves, or be severely curtailed. The department is not viewed as essential to national security and is expected to contribute drastically to government-wide frugality. All sorts of penny-pinching parings are demanded, everything suffers from person-to-paper clips.

Am I talking about the current situation and George P. Shultz? I could be. But ac-

tually, I am thinking of an earlier secretary: Henry L. Stimson. Secretary of state under Herbert Hoover, he, like Shultz, came to the diplomatic establishment with a talent for getting things done, with experience in overseas affairs, and with a vision of the responsibilities of the United States as a member of the community of nations.

Graduated from Yale and Harvard law school, young Henry practiced in New York City with notable success and took an active part in politics, first Democratic and then Republican. President Theodore Roosevelt appointed him a U.S. district attorney and charged him to do two things: wage war upon violators of federal law, especially corporate, and reorganize his office so as to bring to trial all the important cases of transgression. Stimson knew where to find young, underpaid lawyers of talent and won them to his staff by his infectious zeal for reform. Young in years but superb in ability, his team included people like Felix Frankfurter, and it compiled an enviable record of high-class government service. It was this spirit, industry, and leadership talent that Stimson brought to the State Department.

After running reluctantly for the governorship of New York and coming surprisingly close to winning against formidable odds, he served as secretary of war under Taft. He negotiated peace between conflicting factions in Nicaragua and served as governor general of the Philippines under Coolidge. With this rounded experience in domestic and foreign affairs, he came to the Department of State.

Whatever else may be said of Herbert Hoover—and historians are revising their once unfavorable estimate of his presidency—he had extensive transnational experience. He served as chairman of the Commission for the Relief of Belgium in World War I and later, as secretary of commerce, created an overseas corps of trade commissioners. He came to the White House knowledgeable about the State Department and the Foreign Service, fully aware of the resources a diplomat must command to be effective, and how inadequately our diplomatic establishment was measuring up to the nations's growing international responsibilities due to inadequate leadership and funding.

Hoover also was a hands-on president. He knew what was going on, and he was an efficient manager. No member of his entourage ever duped him or did his thinking for him. None ever thought of acting

for him without clear authorization. It would never have occurred to him to embarrass or undercut his secretary of state, or to permit his staff to do so. Not only an experienced and efficient man, he was an honorable man, and surrounded himself with an honorable and competent staff.

When Stimson arrived in Washington from Manila, Hoover invited him to stay at the White House while house-hunting, which he did for ten days. Such presidential hosting of a secretary of state was a unique event, and it enabled the president and the secretary to get to know one another. Anyone familiar with Stimson can have no doubt that he availed himself of this opportunity to gain the president's support for his plans to improve the diplomatic establishment.

Thus supported, Stimson won victory after victory for more adequate funding and brought the diplomatic establishment to a strikingly improved operating effectiveness. Then, in 1929 came the cataclysm, with hard-won victories vanishing into the vortex of retrenchment. Personnel in every government department was slashed 15 percent, all federal employees were required to take a month's furlough without pay, and Foreign Service allowances, so painfully gained, were eliminated. Officers abroad moved from houses to cheap apartments, and, to make ends meet, some sent their wives and children home to live with parents. When the nation went off the gold standard, the dollar's purchasing power plummeted, creating further hardship for those abroad. An ironic item in the *JOURNAL* expressed the situation: "Wanted: A nice poor-house, with all modern conveniences, where a Foreign Service officer can spend his 30-day furlough without pay."

We are witnessing a replay of this tragedy. Like Stimson, Shultz has pluckily fought for a department and Service worthy of the United States and its responsibilities in the world, confronting head-on a budget office staffed with people inexperienced in foreign affairs and ignorant of what those affairs demand in diplomatic resources. He has vigorously pressed Congress to help him bring the diplomatic establishment up to snuff. And he has done all this without the good fortune to serve for a president such as Herbert Hoover, with a White House respectful of diplomacy, the Constitution, and democratic principles. Now, like Stimson, Shultz, for all his striving, finds "a fog of gloom" descending upon Washington. The diplomatic establishment is once again facing a parlous state, unable to perform its vital mission. Once again, as international problems threaten to overwhelm the free world, we find our government slashing the very resources needed to counteract those problems.

Smith Simpson, a retired Foreign Service officer, has been writing for the JOURNAL for a quarter of a century.



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C L I P P I N G S

Cutback Protests

"A recent editorial in the *New York Times*, dealing with the current budget crunch at the State Department, brought out that the department has no natural constituency. . . . If the Commerce Department gets attacked business leaders from all over the country come forward to defend Commerce. The same thing happens to Defense or Agriculture. Each has a natural group which will lobby in support of their department. What happens when State gets attacked? It seems that people come from all over to join in the bashing, but very few voices are heard in support. At this time the department has no effective defender on Capitol Hill. In fact, the attitude seems to be that anyone can determine and implement foreign policy better than the professionals who are paid to do it.

"There is one pretty much untapped resource—ourselves. We need to determine exactly what our responsibility is to a strong and able Foreign Service. . . .

"The present crisis at State is not something that will blow over. We don't have to 'weather it.' We can take some control of the outcome by becoming involved. We must become our own constituency—nobody else is doing it for us."

*AAFSW President Susan Donnelly
in the AAFSW News, December*

"Today, when our sense of national purpose is so clear, our power and resolve so firm, and our involvement in world affairs so vital to our national security, it is painful to see the disastrous effect budgetary cuts are having on our capacity to conduct foreign relations. The costs to undo this damage will surely be much higher than any 'savings' today.

"Resource constraints are dictating an American withdrawal from world leadership. This is totally at odds with our military, moral, and economic standing in the world, and it seriously threatens our security."

*George Shultz in the Washington Post
November 8*

"Congressmen who wish to strike poses of fiscal responsibility have traditionally attacked the State Department appropriation knowing that only bureaucrats would take offense at the unfairness of the posturing. . . . This year the State Department has been ordered to take \$84 million [in cuts from what it would need to stay even with

last year]. Unlike most other agencies, State is principally people. Sixty-five percent of its expenditures are personnel related. . . .

"There is irony in this penny-wise economizing. Politicians of all complexions proclaim their devotion to a strong national defense, yet fail to understand that our diplomatic service abroad is the first line of this defense. . . . Its successes are the things that don't happen."

*F.T. Underhill Jr. in the Henderson,
North Carolina, Times-News,
November 22*

"The United States must re-emphasize its diplomatic strength, especially through more funding for the State Department, 'if we are to see the world evolve in the direction we want,' former Ambassador to Nigeria [and former Assistant United Nations Secretary General] Robert Ryan said Friday. . . . Although revolutionary changes in the world's structure call for an increased emphasis on diplomacy, the United States 'has weakened its diplomatic establishments,' the former diplomat said. The result is that the Soviet Union has outpaced the United States in the field of diplomacy.

"We should not be weakening it at a time when others are strengthening their diplomatic establishments."

The Daytona News-Journal, November 22

"Cuts on this scale will draw blood. . . . [AFSA] calls the plan 'a meat-axe approach.' Mr. Allen Goodman, assistant dean of the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, is blunter still: 'It's lobotomy with a meat cleaver' and claimed that cuts had been planned without regard to maintaining essential services or efficiency.

"Congressional aides say the [cutback] package, which claims to cut \$56 million of the \$84 million required, probably would not even reach that target. And if, as is possible, the Gramm-Rudman axe comes down later this year, yet more cuts may be needed.

"Everyone is avoiding emotive terms like 'decline.' But it is clear that the State Department, and by extension the United States, will have to make some very hard choices about resources and commitments over the next few years."

*Andrew Marshall in the London
Financial Times, October 15*

"Despite the continuing efforts of the secretary of state and his officers, the foreign

affairs share of the budget faces severe cuts. Significant foreign assistance, obligations to international organizations, the existence of some embassies and consulates, and vital diplomatic activities are all affected. Many experienced Foreign Service officers face unexpected involuntary retirement. Important interests are at stake. . . .

"Ironically, the heavy cut in the foreign affairs budget comes at a time when Soviet diplomacy is becoming more skillful and more active. The Soviets have paid up their debts to the United Nations and are opening contacts with governments they previously avoided. Washington seems concerned about the possibility of Soviet military advances in the Middle East, but less concerned that U.S. diplomatic competence be kept at a level to match this new challenge."

David Newsom in the Christian Science Monitor, November 8

"As a key player in international politics and the global economy, the United States ought to maintain an efficient and effective network of embassies around the world. Yet Congress and the State Department continue to feud over the budget for the Foreign Service. The embassies and consulates must receive as much financial support as is prudent and possible.

"The Foreign Service is more than ambassadors in striped suits, passports, and visas, and help for stranded travelers. . . . Budgetary restraints must be recognized, but this nation's diplomats deserve as much support as possible as they go about their important work."

Editorial in the Columbus, Ohio, Dispatch, November 20

Security Scandal

"The KGB was here!" When that cry, or versions of it, echoed through the U.S. embassy in Moscow last March, horrified security officials reacted swiftly. Certain that two Marine guards had let Soviet agents prowl through the building and plant listening devices, authorities closed the electronically shielded meeting-room 'bubble,' tore out cryptographic and other communications gear, and sent messages to Washington by courier through Frankfurt. Those steps, as well as a global investigation of the Marine guard force, have cost U.S. taxpayers more than \$100 million. But last week one senior Marine officer concluded that the alleged penetration of the embassy 'just didn't happen at all.'"

Time magazine, November 23

"The sole Marine convicted of espionage in the case—Sergeant Clayton J. Lonetree—has cooperated with the authorities, and his insistence that he never allowed Soviet agents into the embassy has stood up in lie-detector tests.

"As a result, some State Department officials now see in the episode the elements

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of a classic Washington flap in which members of Congress and competing elements of the bureaucracy seized upon initially sketchy reports to try to settle long-standing scores.

"A senior intelligence official remarked today, however, that the investigation of the case was continuing and that no final conclusions have been drawn. He noted that whether or not Sergeant Lonetree let Soviet agents into the building, the embassy had been vulnerable to surreptitious entry for years because of inadequate locks and careless security procedures.

"In addition, government officials disclosed that a highly classified study by the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board recommended earlier this year that responsibility for embassy security be taken away from the State Department and given to a new, quasi-independent agency reporting directly to the secretary of state."

*Stephen Engelberg in the
New York Times, December 9*

Compensating Spouses

"Fewer wives of our still predominantly male Foreign Service officers are content to spend four years in Ougadougou preparing canapés and arranging flowers for their mates' official social functions. And the male partners of our growing number of female FSOs are equally unenthusiastic.

"So let them get a job, you might say. They can't! In most Third World countries, diplomatic spouses are forbidden to work, to avoid taking jobs away from locals. Work permits can be a problem even in Europe. And you can forget getting a job behind the Iron Curtain.

"So give them a job in the U.S. embassy, you might say. Well, there just aren't that many jobs to give away. State Department budget cuts and the need to employ experienced career locals in many support functions . . . have eliminated them.

"Why not volunteer full time? But most people like to get paid for their work.

"Result: It's getting harder and harder to find married officers who can pick up at the drop of hat and go to Mexico City, or Cairo, or Manila for four years. And even when they do go, there's nothing that cuts more strongly into work efficiency than an employee saddled with an unhappy, bored spouse. Or a worker whose husband or wife decided to remain behind in the United States, where they had a real job.

"How do we fix this problem? The same way several dozen other countries have already done. We could compensate spouses for the unsung service they give the United States."

*Herb Schmertz in the Washington Times,
December 11*

CLIPPINGS records statements appearing in the media and in speeches about the Foreign Service and its agencies. No endorsement of the views or facts cited is intended.

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Foreign Service Journal, February 1978:
"We believe . . . that AFSA should be prepared to work with management to make equal employment opportunity a reality within the Service, by eliminating from our personnel system any bias, conscious or unconscious, against women and minorities. By the same token, we believe AFSA should oppose any personnel policy changes which would give preferential treatment to anyone simply because that person is a woman or member of an 'EEO-category' minority. Any such preferential treatment would be both unfair and unwise."

—AFSA Editorial

Foreign Service Journal, February 1963:
"The chairman of the newly appointed committee on public relations . . . presented an outline plan of activities which was approved after discussion. It was noted that the basic assumption that the Foreign Service by its nature cannot ever be popular with the American public has not really been put to the test since no concerted effort has ever been made to counter the many erroneous notions prevalent about the Foreign Service."

—Governing Board meeting minutes

Foreign Service Journal, February 1938:
"Are a common allegiance to the ideal of service—to our compatriots and to our country—and a knowledge of the regulations, including the flood of mimeographed instructions incident thereto, sufficient to create and maintain a vital 'esprit de corps' among us as officers of the American Foreign Service, or is there yet something to be achieved in this respect? A certain sense of cohesion and camaraderie has persisted and continues to grow, despite the many possibilities of diffusion and dissipation along our separate ways from Cathay to El Dorado; but this may be more of the form than the substance of that sense of unity which the term implies."

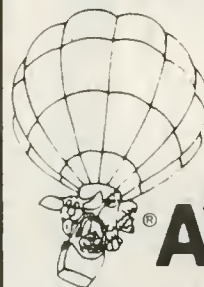
"Services such as the Army and the Navy are more fortunate than ourselves in this matter because of the many associations held in common through years of training at West Point and Annapolis, and also due to the greater similarity of their life and work in after years. We come from many sources of preparation and we go often thereafter through many divergent and different paths of experience."

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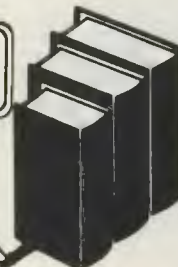
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A young girl labors at a loom in a Moroccan rug factory. Girls as young as seven can be found in some carpet factories, working as much as six days a week to produce rugs to be sold in foreign markets. Thus, merchandise bargains in American stores may be produced by the labor of children in Third World countries.



Rick McKay, Cox Newspapers

WHY WORKER RIGHTS?

*New laws mean
more mission involvement
in human rights and trade issues*

R. NIELS MARQUARDT

FOUR YEARS AGO, Congress passed the Trade and Tariff Act, which among other things linked the rights individual countries grant their workers to preferential trade benefits. This articulation of the United States' continued support for human rights won support from human rights and labor proponents, but criticism from those who question whether the United States should interfere in the internal policies of other states. Nonetheless, these provisions are likely to be followed by an even broader application of the same principles in legislation now pending.

One result of this renewed emphasis on economic and human rights is that foreign governments must now consider implementing reforms in their labor laws and practices or risk losing access to trade preferences. Another is that labor issues are now likely to gain more and more attention at high levels as the reports of our labor attachés are increasingly scrutinized to determine whether grounds exist for punitive measures against foreign nations that do not respect worker rights. As a result, the frequency, depth, and accuracy of labor reporting may need to be expanded for many countries. Ironically, the Whitehead reorganization plan recently proposed cutting the labor sub-cone at a time when labor attachés and other mission officials who work in human rights will need to assume an increasingly active role, not just in reporting labor trends and events, but also in shaping them.

The Trade and Tariff Act of 1984 had the effect, among many other things, of renewing the eight-year-old Generalized System of Preferences, a list of items from developing countries that will receive duty-free treatment. The 1984 legislation required for the first time that countries ensure internationally recognized worker rights in order to participate in the

R. Niels Marquardt is currently labor attaché in Bangkok.

GSP—except if the president determines that such an action would be detrimental to national economic interests. The enabling legislation for the Overseas Private Investment Corporation—which writes political-risk insurance for American corporations and helps finance their foreign ventures—includes a similar provision to restrict eligibility for its programs.

“Internationally recognized worker rights” are defined in both laws to include:

- the right of association;
- the right to organize and bargain collectively;
- the prohibition of forced or compulsory labor;
- a minimum age for the employment of children; and
- acceptable conditions of work with regard to minimum wages, hours of work, and occupational health and safety.

Most nations have examined, debated, and approved many of these International Labor Organization conventions. The United Nations Charter on Human Rights also covers these basic rights.

The inclusion of worker-rights provisions in American trade legislation has been criticized as an inappropriate mixing of trade and unrelated policy issues. Some argue that it represents a violation, morally if not legally, of the rights of sovereign states to determine their own internal policies. Others see it as hypocritical to impose our current standards for correct behavior towards labor, when we achieved those standards only after a long history of struggle. Finally, the loudest critics decry our stance as being a mere figleaf for protectionism.

However, proponents of worker-rights legislation see its inclusion in trade measures as no less appropriate than other widely accepted restrictions on the production process. Thus, labor is viewed as simply another factor of production, and a country that produces trade goods cheaply by dint of “worker exploitation” is as proper a target of sanctions as a

country that subsidizes other aspects of production. In the context of the GSP and OPIC, therefore, the benefits being offered are not rights, but rather privileges; the United States can subject these privileges to any conditions it sees fit.

Human rights, proponents argue, are proper foreign policy objectives—objectives that before the TTA lacked any practical means for achievement. When quiet diplomacy advocated respect for these rights, for instance, little progress was achieved; when countries did move on wages and other labor issues, those actions were often undermined by competitors who had not done so. The use of sanctions thus not only induces new gains, but also safeguards those that have already been won.

It seems clear that further definition of “internationally recognized worker rights” will be necessary before a truly objective application of the TTA, or future laws of similar intent, will be possible. The current laws have been left intentionally flexible with respect to such labor standards as minimum wages and

hours of work in order to permit countries to set their own pace. In the GSP review, for example, a country’s level of development is explicitly considered in determining whether the labor-standards clause has been violated.

CLEARLY, THESE LAWS can be used as protectionist devices; in fact, protectionist goals are often achieved even when the legislation is used primarily to advance human rights. However, human-rights interests seem to predominate; violation petitions are being filed by human-rights groups as much as by labor groups, and in countries like Suriname, El Salvador, and the Central African Republic, it is difficult to find any significant protectionist goals. In addition, labor groups file many violation petitions not in the expectation that the action will solve American trade problems, but that countries will take the requisite steps to improve worker rights. Labor views this statute as a preventive tool, which will encourage

Child labor laws around the world

88 million children ages 11-15 work outside their homes (1986 estimate by United Nations, which recommends abolishing work by children under 14).

Most nations have child labor laws, but Cox News Service found widespread violations and lax enforcement in many of these countries visited.

United States: No limits on 16-year-olds and older. Federal law allows 14- and 15-year-olds to work outside of school hours except in hazardous jobs. Farm work is allowed outside school hours and with parental consent from age 12. (Fair Labor Standards Act, 1938)

Morocco: Children can neither be employed nor allowed inside workplaces before the age of 12. Workers 12-16 must have government permits. Labor inspectors can require medical exams of children 12-16 to ensure the work does not exceed their physical abilities. (Labor Code, 1947)



South Korea: Children under 13 must have work permits issued by Ministry of Labor. Under 18 must have parents' or guardians' permission to work. Employers of more than 30 children must provide schooling. (Labor Standards Law, 1953)

Philippines: No child under 15 to be employed except when supervised by parents or guardian and when work doesn't interfere with school. (Labor Code, 1973)

A series of articles on child labor by Cox newspapers detailed the many faces of this global problem. This chart is reproduced from the series.

Brazil: Employment of children under 12 prohibited. From 12 to 14, children can do light work while continuing school. (Government decree, 1970)

Kenya: Children under 16 prohibited from working in industry or on ships. Family enterprises excluded. (Employment Act, 1976)

India: No child under 14 to be employed in a factory, mine or other hazardous occupation. (Constitution, 1950)

Thailand: Children under 12 not to be hired. Employers can apply for licenses to employ children 12 to 15 in work not harmful to health and physical development. (Interior Ministry decree, 1958)

A LAW DESIGNED TO GET RESULTS

DONALD J. PEASE

MY PENDING AMENDMENTS in the omnibus trade bill (H.R. 3) now in conference embody a dual approach to link respect for basic worker rights to the conduct of international trade. First, the bill includes worker rights as a primary negotiating objective in the current round of multilateral trade negotiations. The U.S. trade representative is to pursue an agreement "to adopt, as a principle of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, that the denial of worker rights should not be a means for a country or its industries to gain competitive advantages in international trade."



Second, the bill amends U.S. trade law to authorize—not mandate—the president to take action against trading nations that systematically violate worker rights. Specifically, this provision defines as an unfair and "unreasonable" trade practice the competitive advantage that some countries derive from the systematic denial of basic worker rights. The GATT and U.S. trade law currently spell out rules with regard to capital subsidies and dumping, for example, but not for labor practices. Fair competition should be structured to improve the living standards of workers, as well as consumers and financiers.

However, the U.S. trade representative is not to brand a foreign country as a worker-rights violator if the coun-

try is "taking steps that demonstrate a significant and measurable overall advancement to afford such rights and other standards throughout the country." Furthermore, for wages, hours of work, and occupational safety and health, explicit allowances are made for a country's level of economic development.

Together, these provisions hold promise for getting results. The bargaining position in the current GATT rounds will be strengthened by showing evidence that the United States has the will to act on worker rights. I would prefer a multilateral agreement, but in the absence of one, I think we should be prepared to act against unfair trade practices on our own.

In fact, some positive effects of my amendments are already apparent. In Geneva, it is expected that the GATT Council will approve the establishment of a formal working party to examine the relationship between the denial of worker rights and the conduct of international trade. It should achieve a consensus on a course of action by the conclusion the current GATT round in 1991. In bilateral trade relations, Taiwan is an example of one country that has established a cabinet-level labor commission to act on workers' complaints, strengthen labor unions, and promote better labor-management relations. The actions were taken as a direct response to the worker-rights provisions in the U.S. laws on the General System of Preferences, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, and the pending trade bill.

Donald J. Pease represents Ohio's 13th district.

the adoption of basic labor rights and standards, promote necessary economic and social development, and reduce international competition based on the exploitation of workers.

THE GENESIS OF the 1984 legislation also suggests that human rights have been a leading concern. Representative Donald J. Pease (D.-Ohio) has pushed worker rights with both ideological and political purposes in mind. For several years he was an outspoken advocate of international human rights on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Transferring to Ways and Means in 1980, he led the fight to have worker-rights provisions included in the 1984 trade act. He argues that if he had pure protectionism in mind, he would simply have voted against the GSP and OPIC, as labor urged him to do. Instead, he worked to have the worker-rights provisions included in the GSP

renewal. The fact that he comes from a heavily industrialized district with high unemployment may have permitted a confluence of long-standing intellectual inclinations with a political expedient.

The history of compliance with the provisions of the 1984 act is still a very short one, with the processes and procedures yet in flux. Basically, any individual or organization, foreign or American, has the right to file a petition with the U.S. trade representative or the OPIC Board of Directors alleging worker-rights violations in any country eligible for GSP benefits or OPIC assistance. In 1985–86, the GSP general review and OPIC hearing on nations for which petitions were filed produced a spectrum of outcomes. All but four nations "passed" the review, having taken adequate steps to ensure worker rights. This group included the Philippines, Haiti, and Taiwan. In the cases of the first two, however, the prospects for improvement of labor rights



Eliza Lualhati, 15, works 90 to 110 hours a week in the same factory where she sleeps.

under new governments compelled a passing grade, although, strictly speaking, remedial steps had yet to be taken; in Taiwan's case, the expectation of an end to martial law had the same effect. Two countries, Nicaragua and Romania, were "terminated" from the list of GSP-eligible countries, and a third, Paraguay, was "suspended." The distinction between termination and suspension is diplomatic: the latter contemplates some improvement in the worker-rights situation, while the former foresees no such progress. A third, more controversial negative category also emerged: Chile was "put on notice" that its worker-rights record was inadequate, but it was given another year to implement the required steps while still enjoying GSP eligibility. In December, after a two-year review of worker rights in Chile, Reagan removed that country from the GSP list, citing refusal by the government to lift restrictions on workers' rights to organize and bargain collectively. The OPIC Board of Directors also decided to terminate operations in Ethiopia because of worker-rights violations.

In 1987, approximately a dozen countries were the subjects of worker-rights petitions. A preliminary review by an interagency subcommittee charged with examining petitions for accuracy and completeness resulted in the disqualification of six countries: Singapore, El Salvador, Haiti, Guatemala, Zambia, and Suriname. Six countries were accepted for formal review: Thailand, South Korea, Taiwan, Indonesia, Turkey, and the Central African

Republic. The final review will take place this spring.

This preview process may represent an undesirable precedent reflecting on the credibility of the program. In essence, public petitions were disallowed in private session on the basis of information, sometimes classified, that was only partially available to the petitioners. While in the short term the petitioned governments may consider this a victory, it is likely that the allegations will need reviewing. A public passing grade, resulting from a complete and formal review process, including public comment from the governments and any other interested parties, would be more in the long-term interests of the affected governments. Certainly it would enhance the credibility of the process itself.

WORKER RIGHTS as a component of American trade legislation and policy will prove to be an enduring challenge for U.S. missions.

While the current administration continues to oppose these provisions, there doesn't appear to be a force in Congress willing to push for their repeal. After all, opposing worker rights is akin to opposing motherhood: there may be a compelling intellectual, operational, or philosophical case against them, but the electorate—especially labor—cannot be expected to appreciate it. The current protectionist tide in America further suggests that repealing worker-rights legislation is a political non-starter.

On the contrary, provisions for worker rights are likely to become more—not less—prevalent in American law. Both the House and Senate versions of the current trade bill have such provisions. They are expected to survive conference and be passed, over the objections of the administration. Under this legislation, failure to respect fundamental worker rights could be defined as an unreasonable practice and could subject a government to trade sanctions. Thus, worker-rights violations would assume an equal position in U.S. law with other unfair trade practices, like investment restrictions or counterfeiting name-brand goods, and would ultimately restrict overall access to the American market.

Critics of such provisions argue that unilateral action would make the United States vulnerable to legal retaliatory action under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, a 90-country international accord that regulates commerce—a multilateral approach to world trade as opposed to a bilateral approach. How-

ever, the language in GATT is ambiguous and only speaks of certain "unjustifiable and unreasonable" practices that could justify one country's invoking sanctions against another. Unjustifiable, which is carefully defined and refers to obligations detailed in the agreement, would appear to preclude actions based on worker-rights violations. Unreasonable, however, is a looser term for practices not covered by GATT that might permit sanctions based on the arguments that labor is simply another factor of production and that worker-rights violations discriminate against U.S. commerce. Worker rights have been a potential issue under GATT since its inception some forty years ago. The United States has to varying degrees pushed for their inclusion, but never successfully. As worker rights take a more prominent place in current legislative activity, therefore, they can also be expected to be promoted more forcefully at the GATT talks, perhaps leading to their inclusion in future rounds. Indeed, the administration is currently seeking the establishment of a GATT working party on this issue as the first step toward formal negotiations. The argument is that, if forced to choose, nations would prefer a multilateral agreement to bilateral sanctions.

The potential implications of these legislative currents indicate new responsibilities for U.S. missions overseas. As worker rights rise beyond their historical role as peripheral to American diplomacy, the attention given to the labor function will increase, as will the need for mission-wide coordination on labor matters. The annual labor report and a contribution to the human-rights report to Congress have been the two main reporting vehicles of our labor attachés. The labor report was noncontroversial and tended to escape editorial scrutiny by senior officers, and labor's contribution to the human-rights report lacked depth or detail. It was of limited consequence to many foreign governments accustomed to the latter report's irritating listing of their purported abuses—of which the worker-rights aspects often were the least urgent.

As soon as the worker-rights and corresponding reporting provisions of the 1984 trade act took effect, however, the labor section of the human-rights report ballooned in significance and in length. Indeed, the need for more frequent and analytical labor reporting became urgent, as all parties sought more information. Worker rights began to gain ambassadorial attention in countries where the issue loomed as a potential problem for bilateral trade relations.

Sponsors of the 1984 legislation have re-



Rick McKay, Cox Newspapers

joined in this attention, assured that worker rights have been forced permanently to the forefront. Unfortunately, there are still significant pitfalls to be overcome. The review process in Washington, if not pursued with integrity, could undermine the efficacy of this new mission activism. Only "national economic interest," as determined by the president, should allow a country with an inadequate record of respect for worker rights to override the review process.

Swinging a hammer almost as big as herself, three-year-old Kmala breaks rocks in a quarry in New Delhi.

IN THE FIELD, the complicated interaction of labor issues with human rights and political, economic, and trade considerations will involve increased responsibilities and cooperation by many members of the mission. Care must be taken to avoid confusion between the human-rights and trade aspects of this problem: though the trade consequences of the legislation are responsible for its enhanced status, many people view it fundamentally as a problem of politics and human rights. Economic sections will obviously be interested in the achievement of adequate progress on worker rights—and they will have their own buttons to push on the trade side—but there is a risk of conflict of interest whenever economic sections take the lead on worker rights. It should, therefore, be the primary role of political officers to press governments for needed change. In order to promote bilateral relations with countries affected by worker-rights legislation, labor attachés and others must work with governments to ensure that they move in the right direction. If successful, they will have contributed to a process in which there are only winners. □

OUR FIRST PUBLIC DIPLOMATS

*Two hundred years ago,
Franklin and Jefferson
virtually invented the profession*

FITZHUGH GREEN

THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION Agency has arisen from foundations laid over two centuries ago by two remarkable men who practiced public diplomacy with great success in two far-away capitals. A picture and a plaque in our London and Paris embassies remind us that American diplomacy first flowered in those cities. In the hall outside the ambassador's office on London's Grosvenor Square hangs a faded painting of Benjamin Franklin, our pre-revolutionary envoy to England; pictures of all his successors continue from that spot. If you visit the Paris chancery, you will find Franklin's name cut into the marble wall of the lobby, near the marine guard who screens visitors entering from the Place de la Concorde. Immediately below is Thomas Jefferson, followed by all the ministers and ambassadors since this illustrious pair.

Not so easily displayed is the fact that these early diplomats virtually invented public diplomacy—a term they wouldn't recognize. It's a euphemism for the word modern Americans abhor—propaganda. Call it what one will, these two geniuses excelled at publicity, selling, advertising, promotion, and psychological manipulation of the masses. They regularly courted English and French public opinion as part of their campaigns to win support for a new nation. And they did it without the large information and cultural staffs of the current day. How these two men operated, the techniques they devised, the media products they created, and their personal traits provide an indelible blueprint for USIA. Despite the proliferation of communications media and differences in culture between then and now, the principles they followed still apply.

Consider the length of their time abroad, Franklin's particularly. He spent fifteen years

Fitzhugh Green, a former Foreign Service information officer, was also associate administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency. Excerpted from his forthcoming book Speak Up America.

(1757–62 and 1765–75) in England, and eight in France (1776–84). By living so long in those countries he grew comfortable with the people, and they with him. After the war for independence, Jefferson, in turn, became a household name in France. Both men proceeded on the premise that misunderstandings diminish in direct proportion to how well people know one another.

Second, these men were notable experts in a dazzling variety of disciplines. They were not simply mouthpieces for their government, or supersalesmen with the gift of gab. They knew what they were talking about on any significant topic of the time. They were renaissance men. Between them they personified the best in science, agriculture, architecture, and mechanical invention as well as literature, politics, and government.

Third, they combined a natural flair for friendship with shrewd selection of acquaintances among the host-country elite—in politics, science, the military, commerce, and the arts. Each not only sought but gained close relationships with leaders in these realms.

Fourth, they became powerful politically, gaining broad popularity in England and France. Ultimately Franklin's fame spread until he was better known in Europe than any of his compatriots. Jefferson's prominence steadily increased too, although he shunned self-promotion while arguing his country's causes. Sure-footed in public relations, they ducked individual vendettas or taking umbrage when attacked personally. When Franklin was asked why he didn't fight back against the verbal abuse of the English King's Council, for instance, he replied that mud comes off better if given time to dry.

A fifth and final principle guided Franklin and Jefferson: to act with sophistication and self-control. When pushing toward a specific objective, they would fight hard, with exquisite timing and finesse. Then, after either winning or losing a particular issue, they would change pace and reenter non-political activi-

ties like philosophy, literature, agriculture, and science. Thus neither became an alien irritant by continuous harping on the same subject. They kept busy as members of the community, doing creative, interesting projects that led to easy, two-way communication between themselves and the populace. When it was time to seek public approval again, the envoys could gracefully shift gears and start selling once more.

For example, when Franklin first sailed to England in 1757 on behalf of the colony of Pennsylvania, he began immediately to maneuver, talk, and write to win favor for the colonists. He exploited the available media with a mix of materials, such as a letter to a newspaper written by his son, which he placed by paying the paper a pound, as well as a series of books and tracts to illustrate Pennsylvania's grievances. The diplomat used 'gray' propaganda freely: i.e., signing others' names to manuscripts he prepared. He even pioneered political cartoons. When Franklin had triumphed in these efforts for Pennsylvania, he recommenced his scientific experiments and treatises, played the harmonica, harp, guitar, and violin, and produced such a torrent of learned pamphlets and books that Oxford honored him with a doctorate.

THEN IN THE 1760s Franklin went public again to spread an appealing view of the colonies as a whole. More and more he personified the Voice of America. Franklin proved by his own versatility that he could act both as political advocate and cultural representative of the United States without either role harming or confusing the other. This point has been hotly disputed among the architects and critics of today's USIA. The argument has recently been settled in the Franklin mode, since he was himself a one-man information and cultural service. Thus, the agency now generates programs for both under one roof.

As England and the colonies became steadily alienated from each other in the 1760s, Franklin continued to speak out for strengthening the empire. When royal advisers suggested giving up Canada and taking over Guadeloupe, Franklin took the opposite stand. History underlines his sound judgment on this issue. During the French and Indian War the American colonists stood with England against France and the colonists of Canada. Franklin helped this cause by churning out anti-French propaganda that was pure fiction: He concocted and distributed a chapter from a non-



Benjamin Franklin, by Edward Fisher.

existent periodical that "revealed" how France was covertly trying to persuade American colonists to defect from the conflict.

Up to the eve of the revolution Franklin kept airing the idea that England could hold on to the American territory just by treating the inhabitants fairly. Like a good propagandist he repeated this theme, varying the form, as his feverish pen filled thousands of pages. One of his best tracts was a scourging satire, "Rules by Which a Great Empire Can be Reduced to a Small One." A British magazine carried the piece, in which the author recounted the British bumbling that had most infuriated

Franklin proved by his own versatility that he could act both as political advocate and cultural representative of the United States

These two geniuses excelled at publicity, selling, advertising, promotion, and psychological manipulation of the masses

the American colonists. His language transcended that of homey philosopher and scientist to which the English had become accustomed. He was on the march now, writing with passion: "Suppose them [the colonists] are always inclined to revolt, and treat them accordingly. . . . This means like the husband who uses his wife ill from suspicion, you may in time convert your suspicions into realities."

Did Franklin actually influence the English by his prodigious output? He thought so, claiming before independence that "the general sense of the nation is for us; a conviction prevailing that we have been ill used and that a breach with us would be ruinous to this country."

Franklin learned, as have all public diplomats since his time, that moving the populace on an issue doesn't always bring the government along the same path, even in a democracy. Still, he was making an impact, wielding his literary sword. One might have expected the envoy to be imprisoned or deported, especially since war was imminent. He wasn't though, because the king's ministers realized that the people were not only pro-American, but pro-Franklin. To hurt or remove him would doubtless push their already unpopular administration into a corner. They rebuffed his petition against taxation without representation. But they never threatened his personal safety.

Having done his best in England to preserve the empire, Franklin went home in 1775 to help lead the revolt against it. After starting in the tumultuous events of the next two years, he recrossed the Atlantic to seek an alliance with France. In Paris he plunged into months of official advocacy coupled with public diplomacy. Now that England had become the enemy, Franklin showed no reluctance in switching his considerable prowess in propaganda against his life-long motherland.

The French proved susceptible to his publicity as well as his negotiating skills—enriched by "the mesmeric quality of his simple friendliness and beaming smile." Within months Franklin gained the treaty of alliance, and France soon poured men, ships, and money into the American war against England. This triumph by Franklin ensured the survival of his fledgling country.

NEAR THE END of the revolutionary war, Franklin hectoring his former mother country with a hoax about the Seneca Indians—a hoax that turned English sympathy against its own government. Franklin thus foreshadowed the tac-

tic that is known today as disinformation. In the midst of the peace discussions he secretly arranged to circulate in England a false supplement to the *Boston Independent Chronicle*. This tract reported in straight journalistic style that the New England militia had intercepted eight large packages of American scalps sent by the Senecas to impress the English king with "our faithfulness in destroying his enemies." The packages contained, according to the supplement, the scalps of 43 soldiers, 98 farmers, 88 women, 193 boys, 211 girls, and 29 infants "ripped out of their mothers' bellies." Atrocity stories have become standard fare in most of the world's wars since Franklin, and the envoy even admitted to John Adams that the accusation might be inaccurate—but only in form, not in fact, since fighters on the English side probably scalped even more victims than the supplement suggested.

When England surrendered, Franklin deserved credit for the fierce psychological warfare he had waged—in infinitely greater quantity than touched on here. Still in France in 1781, Franklin immersed himself in multifarious studies and writings in science and philosophy. Long since the most famous American on the continent, he drew ever closer to the French and became a favorite of scientists and intellectuals, including Voltaire. He became so respected, liked, and integrated into French life that he could comment on anything and be believed. When he spoke, people listened, and he seldom disappointed or bored them.

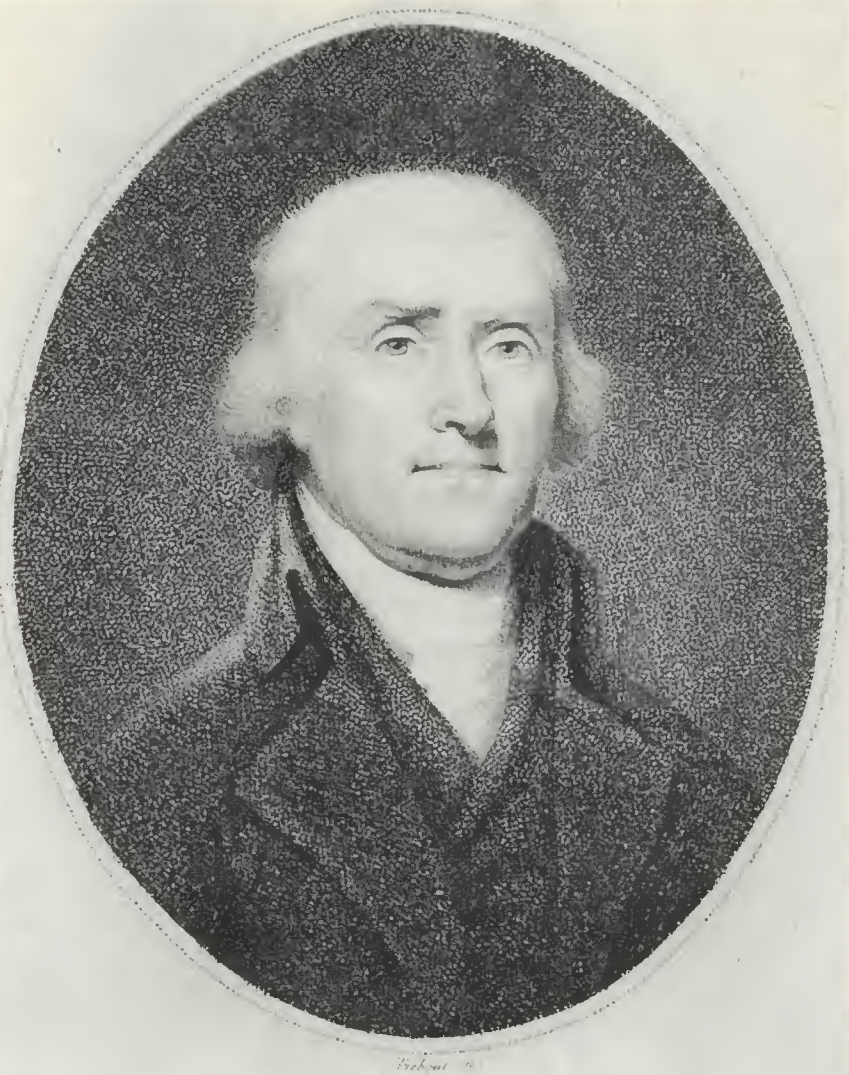
Franklin didn't waste the attentive audience he had created. He set up a printing plant near his house in Passy, and kept it humming with leaflets and brochures to correct false impressions about his own country: perhaps the best was *Information to Those Who Would Remove to America*. In it, he counseled "immigrants who believed that Americans were rich but ignorant; ready to welcome scholars and artists from Europe, waiting for European persons of family to come and fill offices which were above the capacity of natives. . . . These are all wild imaginations," he stated. "Our country offers to strangers nothing but a good climate, fertile soil, wholesome air, free governments, wise laws, liberty, a good people to live among, and a hearty welcome. Those Europeans who have these or greater advantages at home would do well to stay where they are." This was a superb pamphlet. Never has the USIA, with thousands of employees, and millions in the budget, produced a better one. Its humor, credibility, style, salability, and candor still sing in the reader's ear.

When Franklin quit France after eight years, the citizens agonized as if losing one of their own patriarchs. They would miss his deep involvement in their life, his brilliant writings, and his presence as an original thinker. He was beloved for his unfailing courtesy with people at any level and his total honesty. They appreciated his language facility, though imperfect, "his French to which even his incorrectness almost always gave an added force or grace." Yet though he penetrated French minds and hearts so deeply, the minister never altered his coloration. He wore proudly his homespun clothes, he retained a plain manner of speaking and his loyalty to the country he represented.

Thomas Jefferson replaced Franklin as minister. He got off to a fine start, since his reputation as a governor, scientific savant, and architect preceded him to Paris. Within weeks he proved himself a wily public relations man. Franklin was still on the high seas headed home when a troublemaker in Paris floated the rumor that on landing in America the envoy would be stoned for fomenting the revolution. Jefferson retorted that if this were true, Franklin would doubtless be pelted with the same stones that were thrown at the revered Marquis de Lafayette.

LIKE A NEW FATHER, France was curious about the new country it had helped break from its rival. There were misapprehensions as to what was really going on. News was sparse and faulty. Supposition supplanted fact. So Jefferson turned his office into an American information center. What he was most anxious to do was spread accurate ideas about America. For five years in Paris, Jefferson corrected wrong impressions whenever he found them. His book *Notes about Virginia* painted the only available picture of American society. Contemporaries judged it a masterpiece of revelations about the new democracy. Unlike the prolific Franklin, Jefferson wrote only this one volume, which dealt with many issues that plague USIA officers today— racism, for example. Jefferson couldn't easily change French prejudice against blacks when his own country owned them as slaves at the very moment of declaring its liberty from England. He did, however, defend the Indians as superior humans despite their primitive social level, denying that they "were deficient in sexual ardor and lacked domestic affection."

By counseling Frenchmen who wrote about Americans, he greatly reduced the spread of



Thomas Jefferson, by Cornelius Tiebout.

misinformation. Also he stimulated and supported American writers whose books would be read in France and elsewhere in Europe. He imported texts of key documents on liberty, including the law he had introduced for religious freedom in Virginia, and sent them around to intellectuals and political leaders.

Jefferson's influence kept increasing until even the French political leaders sought his advice. When the groundswell of revolt rose, personalities like the Marquis de Lafayette asked his guidance. Even national assemblymen wanted advice on their draft of a new constitution. When he returned to Virginia, the steady run of French visitors in 1826 proved his enduring fascination as a friend and mentor.

To most Americans, Franklin and Jefferson are remembered solely as founders of our democracy. To us, however, they should also be revered for their seminal work in public diplomacy. □

Jefferson's influence kept increasing until even the French political leaders sought his advice



H. PAYNE

And They're Off!



WITH THE BEGINNING OF THE PRIMARY SEASON, the presidential candidates leave the starting gate this month.

No matter who is finally elected in November, he is destined to have a profound effect on the Foreign Service. For one thing, the State Department is likely to suffer from fiscal stringency perhaps more than any other part of the government as the nation struggles with its budget deficit. For another, after the inauguration will come the usual round of new appointments to top foreign policy positions. And the new president, like his post-war predecessors, will most likely once again redefine the relationship between the State Department and the other cabinet agencies involved in national security, and how they should work with his National Security Council.

Now, for perhaps the first time, the candidates are on record on these crucial issues, before the platforms are constructed and before a transition team begins its traditional overhaul of the national security apparatus. Back in September, the JOURNAL secured the agreement of each of the dozen candidates then entered into the race to answer a four-part questionnaire prepared by the editors. Three of the questions were given to all of the candidates, reflecting the issues listed above. A fourth question reflects the particular foreign affairs concerns of the candidate in question. By press time three months later, ten of them had responded. The two who were unable to meet the deadline, Pat Robertson and Alexander Haig, were given numerous extensions but were unable to participate. In addition, Gary Hart's campaign staff had too little time in the short period between his reentry in the race and our press date.

The tote sheet that follows should enable our readers to rank the candidates according to their preferences—and to grade the winner in the years to come.

Q: The Constitution grants to the president the power to appoint ambassadors. Traditionally, these men and women have come from both the private sector and from the career Foreign Service. At present, the percentage of non-career ambassadors is at the highest level in decades, 40 percent. In your opinion, is this level too high, too low, or about right? In addition, what measures would you take to evaluate the qualifications and the suitability of ambassadorial candidates, whether from the career service or from private life?

BRUCE BABBITT

Every president needs two kinds of ambassadors: men and women whom he knows personally and who can confidently represent his views, on the one hand, and career officers whose judgment is informed by training and wide experience in the professional Foreign Service. The great preponderance of our ambassadors should be of the latter sort. Too many ambassadors in recent years have been chosen by the crudest sort of patronage, and not enough have been drawn from the ranks of the career diplomatic service. From wherever chosen, the qualifications of our senior diplomats should be such as to make them perceptive observers and analysts of the countries in which they serve, and fit representatives—in every sense—of the United States.

GEORGE BUSH

The American people can be proud of the men and women who serve their country as members of the Foreign Service. We try to hire the best America has to offer to fill these positions. They are chosen for their intellect, their enthusiasm, and their ability to represent this country on foreign soil. The professional Foreign Service officer has been trained in diplomacy and the various special needs of American citizens abroad. I feel that political appointees can serve with honor and distinction and do have a place in representing the United States.

ROBERT DOLE

Our Foreign Service includes many outstanding diplomats. They are the backbone of our foreign policy apparatus, both at home and overseas, and they must be given every opportunity to utilize their skills and experience to advance professionally and to serve the president and the country even more effectively. As a matter of logic and fairness, the bulk of our ambassadorial corps should be drawn from the Foreign Service.

But I also believe that the president and the country are well served by an ambassadorial corps made up of a healthy mix of career and non-career appointees, and I do not believe in artificial quotas, whether 30, 40, 50 percent or whatever. In a Dole administration, I will seek candidates for each post drawn from both inside and outside the Foreign Service, and I will make selections which, over time, insure that Foreign Service officers are well represented in ambassadorial positions in all geographic areas and at all size posts.

The criteria for all candidates would be essentially the same (recognizing that certain posts do require additional, specific qualifications in ambassadorial candidates). The first criterion would be integrity. Other important criteria would be judgment, creativity, initiative, substantive knowledge of the issues and areas, and a willingness to carry out the president's policies faithfully.

MICHAEL DUKAKIS

Although there is a role for individuals from the private sector to serve their country as ambassador, I believe that today there are too many political appointees in the Foreign Service. All too often, politically appointed ambassadors have lacked the skills necessary to represent the United States in host countries—familiarity with the native language, deep knowledge of the history, culture, politics, and economy of the host country, and experience in the details of international relations. As president, I will seek to tap more fully the reservoir of diplomatic talent at the State Department for ambassadorial positions. For placing career Foreign Service officers in such positions not only guarantees quality analysis and representation, it also upholds the principle of ad-

vancement based on merit. Maintenance of this principle will allow the Foreign Service to continue to attract top quality candidates in the future.

PIERRE DU PONT

The most important factor in appointing ambassadors is to find individuals who reflect America's market economic values and who understand and will be prepared to argue America's interests in the world. In addition, the tradition of appointing people from both the private sector and the Foreign Service reflects the importance of finding the most qualified person, regardless of background.

As governor of Delaware, I worked very hard to find the best people for the cabinet positions and other appointments we had to make, and by and large, we were successful. The key, I think, was opening up the search process as wide as possible to include people from out of state, etc. In addition, we made clear that appointees would be given responsibility for their own departments, with general guidance on what policies to follow but a fair amount of leeway in implementing them in specifics. That combination made for success, and I'd be inclined to apply it here as well.

RICHARD GEPHARDT

There has been a dangerous trend toward the politicization of the State Department under the Reagan administration. As president, I would draw on the best talent our nation's private sector, universities, and public service have to offer in the appointment of ambassadors. I regret that seasoned Foreign Service officers have been pushed aside to bring in foreign affairs novices, ideologues, and cronies. This trend has penetrated deep within the department, with political appointees now serving as deputy assistant secretaries, office directors, and ambassadors in a large number of countries. By ignoring the talents and institutional memory offered by career diplomats, the Reagan administration has jeopardized the conduct of our foreign policy, and damaged the Foreign Service.

While I cannot say in advance the exact mix of appointees, I am concerned that the

I do not believe the national security adviser or the National Security Council should have any role in implementing policy. . . . I would increase funding for [foreign policy] functions over current congressional levels—by including and defending that increase as part of a budget that made choices
—Babbitt



BRUCE BABBITT (D)

Arizona's former governor was born in 1938 in Los Angeles, California. He received a B.S. from Notre Dame, an M.S. from the University of Newcastle, England, and a law degree from Harvard. A practicing attorney, Babbitt became Arizona's attorney general in 1974 and served as governor from 1978-87.

How can the Foreign Service at its overseas posts better promote the sale of U.S. products and services abroad?

The Foreign Service does and should give priority to enabling American products to find markets abroad. There are, no doubt, additional steps it could take. But the heart of our trading problem is elsewhere. The next president must call the great industrial nations of the world together and lead them to a new trading agreement that expands trade on the basis of overall balance. And he must go to the American workplace with a message that international competition is about producing more and producing it better. I think we do that by working smarter—listening to the people who do the work, and putting more money in their pockets when they make the work go well.

large number of political ambassadors reflects the disdain by this administration for the Foreign Service. Threats of drug and polygraph tests; the relegation of U.S. embassies to the role of mailboxes while secret negotiations subvert official policy; the view of diplomacy as a last resort to be used only when military

force and economic sanctions fail: these will cease the day a Gephardt administration begins.

My ambassadors will have to meet tests for competency, not tests of ideological purity. They will have prior experience in the fields in which they serve, knowledge of U.S. objectives in their regions, language skills, and professional backgrounds appropriate to U.S. strategic interests in foreign countries.

ALBERT GORE

The Reagan administration's politicization of the Foreign Service runs counter to our national interest. The percentage of political appointees both among ambassadors and among senior State Department officials is excessive. What makes it worse is that so many of these political appointees have come in with their own ideological agendas. We saw all this in the Iran-contra fiasco, in which at least one politically appointed ambassador went so far as to keep his activities secret from the secretary of state. In this administration, we have also witnessed the entirely inappropriate action of a number of Reagan ambassadors involving themselves in an openly partisan manner in the 1984 Senate election.

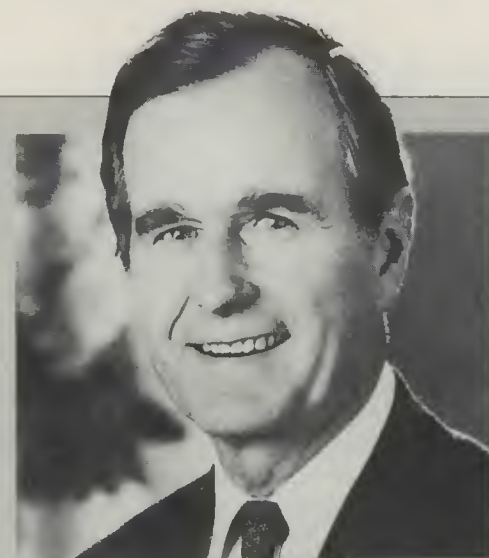
There should be a strong presumption in favor of filling ambassadorial posts with experienced Foreign Service professionals. Any political appointees must be individuals who satisfy demanding standards for experience and expertise to the job. The goal must always be to tap the best talent in our nation for the conduct of our foreign relations.

JESSE JACKSON

The percentage of non-career ambassadors is too high. Ambassadors should be professional diplomats, not political side-kicks or campaign contributors. The role of an ambassador is too important to be left to inexperienced people. Placing too many non-career ambassadors also has a negative impact on Foreign Service officers' morale, because it limits the opportunities for advancement and sends a message that experience and professionalism in foreign affairs is not valued. In my administration there would be more reliance on career profession-

In this time of budget stringency, all of our departments and agencies must take their fair share of reductions so that we can achieve a balanced budget and still carry out the responsibilities of government

—Bush



GEORGE BUSH (R)

Vice President Bush was born in 1924. At age 18, he enlisted in the Navy Reserves and served as a pilot in the Pacific from 1942-45. After graduation from Yale University, he moved to Texas and founded several petroleum companies. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1966 and subsequently served as ambassador to the United Nations, chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in the People's Republic of China, and director of the CIA.

You have had direct experience with the Foreign Service in your jobs as ambassador to China and to the United Nations. In your view, does the Foreign Service have an agenda of its own, or is it loyal to the political leadership?

Throughout my years of involvement and reliance on the Foreign Service community, I have found these individuals to have the highest degree of professionalism and loyalty to both their country and their president. I have no doubt this will continue.

als. The key qualifications for ambassadorial candidates would be experience in foreign affairs, a demonstrated ability to be effective in carrying out foreign diplomacy, and a commitment to U.S. values. I would give much more emphasis to the importance of ambassadors to the Third World, and add the qualification that candidates be committed to self-determination and economic justice in the Third World.

JACK KEMP

I believe the development and implementation of appropriate foreign and national security policy to be among the most vital responsibilities of our government. It requires outstanding personnel. At the same time, presidential leadership is required to ensure that administration policies protect our nation's fundamental values and interests—including the extension of liberal democratic values and the assurance of a secure peace with freedom.

U.S. ambassadors serve their country as the personal representatives of the president and his policies. I would appoint as ambassador those, from both within and outside the Foreign Service, who would support and implement my administration's policy objectives, who would have expertise in the country or region to which they were assigned, and who would be able to provide the best possible reporting and consultation concerning the country to which they were assigned. I would seek men and women of high character and solid experience, and I would not assign a quota as to any specific percentage to come from within or outside the Foreign Service.

I know the Foreign Service to be a challenging vocation which demands exceptional skills, character, and service—in representing the president and the United States; in assessing, reporting, and seeking to resolve truly difficult problems; in encountering a wide spectrum of views; and in consultations and negotiations with friends and adversaries. And I recognize well that Foreign Service officers and their families are called upon to make substantial sacrifices and to demonstrate special courage in serving abroad under difficult, even dangerous, circumstances.

PAUL SIMON

The question is really whether the United States intends to carry out an effective foreign policy founded on diplomacy and American vital interests. Our embassies and consulates abroad must be working establishments that build fruitful relations with foreign political, economic, and opinion leaders. Our embassies should serve as centers of American influence and must promote American interests.

The bulk of our ambassadorial corps should be drawn from the Foreign Service.

... The secretary of state should be the president's principal foreign policy adviser and implementer

—Dole



ROBERT DOLE (R)

Senate minority leader, Dole was born in 1923, in Russell, Kansas. He served in the army from 1943–48 and received an A.B. and LL.B. from Washburn University. Elected to Congress in 1961, he was named by President Nixon as chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1971. He was the Republican nominee for vice president in 1976.

As a leader of the Senate, and a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, you have had a significant role in the congressional component of foreign policy. In your view, how should the executive and congressional branches of the government share responsibility in foreign policy formulation?

Under the Constitution, the president is the creator and executor of our foreign policy. But the president cannot achieve effective, sustainable policies without the understanding and support of the Congress. It's that simple. There are no easy answers; both sides have made mistakes—the executive, on occasion, by seeking to bypass the Congress, the Congress by trying to usurp the basic constitutional powers of the president. Both sides have to seek a fresh start, in good faith. One of the first things the next president does ought to be to convene a meeting of the key congressional leaders on national security issues, to explore the possibility of laying out some mutually agreed upon principles and guidelines for executive-congressional cooperation.

The Foreign Service not only provides professional staff for our embassies and missions abroad, but trains and primes our diplomats to assume ambassadorial responsibilities. Foreign Service men and women with experience and distinguished records are more apt to have the professional, cultural, and language skills, and the policy sense required of would-be ambassadors, than most non-professionals.

I will consider exceptional individuals from the business community, academia, and political life for certain ambassadorships, but this will be the exception rather than the rule.

Q: Recent events have called into question the roles of the State Department and the National Security Council in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. In your view, is the president's national security adviser supposed to coordinate foreign policy input from the various cabinet departments, or is the adviser meant to take a lead role in policy formulation? In either case, what role if any should the NSC have in implementation of the policy?

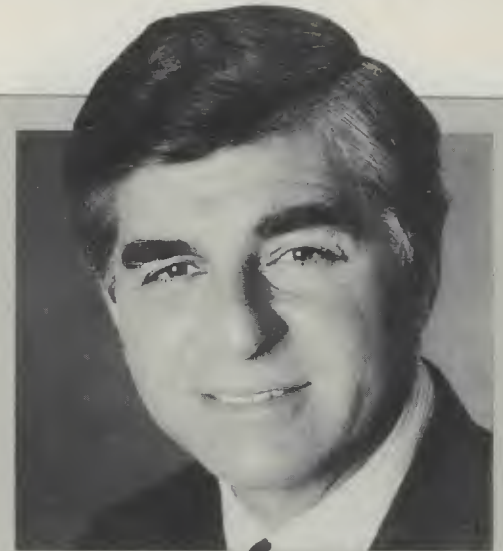
BRUCE BABBITT

Anyone with the strength and stature required to coordinate a disciplined process involving the president's most senior advisers—including the secretaries of state and defense—is likely to have something to offer of his or her own advice, and is likely to insist upon doing so. There is no reason to object to this, so long as the NSC fulfills its primary mission as coordinator of policy and unfailingly includes a full, fair, and diverse selection of advice for presentation to the president. I do not believe the national security adviser or the National Security Council as an institution should have any role in implementing policy.

GEORGE BUSH

The responsibility of the president is to lead and to make the tough decisions. I would like to know that I can count on having all perti-

I will seek to tap more fully the reservoir of diplomatic talent at the State Department for ambassadorial positions. . . . The Department of State will have responsibility for formulating and carrying out foreign policy
—Dukakis



MICHAEL DUKAKIS (D)

Now serving his third term as governor of Massachusetts, Dukakis was born in 1933 in Brookline, Massachusetts, and received a B.A. degree from Swarthmore College in 1960. A veteran of the war in Korea, he practiced law and served in the Massachusetts House of Representatives from 1963–70.

The state you represent has been concerned about the declining U.S. role in international trade. How can the Foreign Service at its overseas posts better promote the sale of U.S. products and services abroad?

In addition to its traditional role of representation of American political interests abroad, State Department personnel should continue to assist their Commerce Department colleagues in promoting export of American goods and services. I would favor even greater coordination between the two departments in this regard, and I believe that Foreign Service personnel should be encouraged to develop expertise in trade matters and international economics. State Department personnel in our embassies and consulates have deep knowledge of and many contacts in host countries around the world. This is a valuable resource, and it should be used to help American business find new markets.

nent information and viewpoints available to me before I make the decision. A president must have the best advice possible when mak-

ing critical decisions. This is especially important when dealing with national security matters. The national security adviser serves as a member of the president's personal staff because national security issues cross the lines of many different cabinet agencies. It is this individual who is responsible for gathering the broadest and best input concerning all aspects of the issue. This entails meeting and communicating with all cabinet secretaries and their staffs. The State Department has a special role when offering foreign policy input. The Defense Department offers military expertise, the intelligence community must be involved for its input, the Treasury Department must be consulted for the economic aspects of the decision. No one agency or individual should be the sole adviser or should offer the sole purview on an issue.

ROBERT DOLE

The secretary of state should be, and in a Dole administration will be, the president's principal foreign policy adviser and implementer. Similarly, the secretary of defense will be the principal adviser and implementer in the defense sphere. The national security affairs adviser will have five basic functions: to insure the president is kept faithfully informed of all critical national security developments; to coordinate policy input to the president on national security issues; to give the president advice, not to the exclusion of, but in supplement to, the advice the president receives from other sources; to insure that the president's national security decisions are faithfully implemented by the relevant departments and agencies; and finally, to work in concert with others in the administration to win congressional and public understanding and approval of the president's policies.

MICHAEL DUKAKIS

The secretary of state will be my principal foreign policy adviser, and the Department of State will have responsibility for formulating and carrying out that foreign policy. The Tower Commission was correct in concluding that an effective National Security Council should coordinate, rather than formulate,

I have yet to find a government agency that could not sustain a five or ten percent budget cut and still get the job done
—Du Pont



PIERRE DU PONT (R)

Former Delaware governor "Pete" Du Pont served from 1977–85. Previously, he served in the the Delaware state legislature and in the House of Representatives.

How can the Foreign Service at its overseas posts better promote the sale of U.S. products and services abroad?

There is an important role for the Foreign Service in helping to promote the sale of U.S. products abroad. However, by and large, export promotion is, and should be, a private function, carried out by private companies in the course of their marketing efforts. As foreign markets continue to grow, U.S. companies will continue to improve their expertise in marketing abroad.

foreign policy. Under my administration the NSC staff will be small, professional, and fully cognizant of their legal role and obligations.

One lesson of the Iran-contra affair is that the NSC should concentrate on coordinating policy, not implementing it.

PIERRE DU PONT

The role of the NSC is to coordinate policy among the leading cabinet departments. Depending on the individuals involved, the NSC adviser may sometimes take a more active role in making policy, and at other times may serve as purely a coordinator. In this administra-

tion, for example, the NSC adviser has sometimes taken the lead in negotiating with Congress on arms sales but has taken a back seat to State in dealing with the Soviets.

However, the NSC is not meant to implement policy. Implementation should be left to agencies such as the CIA, which have the expertise and manpower to get the job done.

RICHARD GEPHARDT

It is time to return law and order to our foreign policy formulation and implementation. Our foreign relations must be guided by both principle and pragmatism. The Iran-contra scandal underlined a cardinal rule of government: The president must be in charge. If elected, I will be that kind of president, starting with the appointments I make and the way I organize my administration. I will make clear that neither secretly subverting the law nor lying to the Congress will be tolerated.

I believe that U.S. national security policy must be coordinated in the White House. The NSC must be able to draw together ideas and options from throughout the government and present them clearly to the president. The national security adviser must earn the trust of senior agency officials. But, I will not let any group, in the NSC or in any department, distort or block from our policy councils the views of the government's most experienced experts.

I believe that the secretary of state's role in foreign policy should not be abridged. Not only would I look to the secretary for a broad and seasoned perspective, I would draw upon the unique qualities of the Department of State for guidance across the board. One of the key risks to U.S. national security policy, especially at the start of an administration, is the loss of institutional memory. I would look to the Service to provide the continuity of knowledge, perspective, and judgment that is vital to the protection of our national interest.

ALBERT GORE

The reasons the NSC was created in 1947 are still valid today. The president must have a top-level adviser with whom he can work on a day-to-day basis. This must be someone whom the president places in the highest trust,

My ambassadors will have to meet tests for competency, not tests of ideological purity. . . . I strongly support providing all funds necessary to assure that our foreign affairs agencies can do their vital work
 —Gephardt



RICHARD GEPHARDT (D)

Born in 1941 in Saint Louis, Missouri, Gephardt received a B.S. from Northwestern University and a law degree from the University of Michigan. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1976.

How can the Foreign Service at its overseas posts better promote the sale of U.S. products and services abroad?

For too long, promotion of U.S. commercial interests abroad has been the neglected stepchild of our diplomatic service. Commercial officers have found the deck stacked against them: American business executives were reluctant to look beyond the large U.S. market; Foreign Service personnel saw commercial work as a career dead-end; and the U.S. government was unwilling to break protectionist market barriers abroad.

Now, a growing awareness of the importance of exports, coupled with new exchange rates, provides a unique chance to reassert our commercial presence abroad. We must fully support new, and existing, trade-promotion programs. We must seek out new opportunities, not simply respond to predatory practices.

Trade must assume a role at the top of our foreign policy agenda, recognizing that trade relations are as important as political and economic relations. We must improve the coordination of the 19 agencies involved in trade policy. We must charge personnel in our embassies with more responsibility for trade promotion.

and someone whose institutional loyalty is directly to the president.

The national security adviser's role can neither be defined as simply a coordinator for other people's input, nor as the "vicar" for foreign policy—as your question sets up the choice. Rather, the role is to assure that for any policy issue the president of the United States receives the most complete and reliable information possible and the broadest range of workable choices, backed by lucid analysis. When this can be done by simply coordinating the policy input of others, fine. If it has to be done by exercising leadership in the president's name, that's fine too. The same inter-agency machinery can be used for either approach, depending on circumstances. I suspect that in the real world, the national security adviser will need to exercise leadership—but based on tact (and the president's personal support)—not on hegemony.

What is to be avoided are the destructive intra-administration battles which inevitably have negative repercussions for both our policy and, more generally, for our standing in the world. The president, and only the president, can ensure that his key advisers work together effectively.

With respect to the implementation of policy, the responsibility must reside with the departments. The optimal role for the NSC in this regard is to provide the president with the mechanism for monitoring that process. There must never be a repeat of the fiascos of the Reagan administration, in which NSC staff embroiled itself in the actual conduct of covert operations without duly consulting either the Congress or even other executive branch officials. The result, as we saw all too clearly, was a political disaster—and a dangerous threat to the basic laws and procedures on which our foreign policy rests.

JESSE JACKSON

The Iran-contra scandal is an illustration of what can go wrong when the role of the NSC gets confused with that of other branches of the government. In my administration, the national security adviser would be a coordinator, not a policy formulator or implementer. The State Department should have the primary role in foreign policy formulation and implementation; the NSC should coordi-

The Reagan administration's politicization of the Foreign Service runs counter to our national interest. . . . I would be prepared to find the money needed to assure not just adequate, but superb American representation abroad
—Gore



ALBERT GORE (D)

Tennessee's junior senator, Gore was born in 1948 in Washington, D.C., and received his B.A. from Harvard in 1969. He also attended Vanderbilt School of Religion and Vanderbilt Law School. A Vietnam veteran, Gore worked as a journalist and home builder before his election to the House of Representatives in 1976.

How can the Foreign Service at its overseas posts better promote the sale of U.S. products and services abroad?

I think it should be the other way around. If the Foreign Service has any proposals for how it can better promote the sale of U.S. products and services abroad, I would be very interested to hear them. In fact, I am asking a member of my Senate staff to contact the JOURNAL to find out what you have in mind.

nate foreign policy input. A president who fails to listen to the policy recommendations of the State Department is likely to lead the country into situations which undermine our national security rather than strengthen it, as we have seen too frequently since 1981.

JACK KEMP

With regard to the National Security Council, I support the NSC's statutory role in coordinating the president's national security policies for foreign, defense, and intelligence is-

sues. I do not believe the NSC should be reduced, as it appears to have been in some recent administrations, to serving principally as a policy broker between the departments. Instead, I would seek to assure a strong NSC adviser and dynamic NSC inter-agency structure to lay out the analyses and options. The NSC would follow the president's guidance and take into account institutional views, with recommendations for presidential decision. Following presidential decision, the NSC would oversee the implementation of the policy, ensuring that it would be faithfully carried out by all agencies.

PAUL SIMON

The Iran-contra affair, and in reality many events during this president's tenure, have made clear that the NSC should not execute foreign policy. Nevertheless, the complexity of our foreign policy interests and the many agencies and departments involved in foreign affairs require that the national security adviser become involved in foreign policy formulation in those areas where there are competing interests.

For example, the technology transfer issue often pits the Defense, Commerce, and State departments against one another. But I assure you that when my NSC becomes involved in policy, I will be the one making the final call. In doing so I will rely on the advice and expertise of all the cabinet members involved.

Q: Secretary Shultz has said that, despite Gramm-Rudman, cutting back on funding of the foreign affairs agencies is not in the national interest. Do you agree? If so, how would you restore the funds that the current budget is taking away? Would you be willing to cut other areas or raise taxes to assure adequate representation of American interests overseas?

BRUCE BABBITT

Secretary Shultz is right, and that is exactly what is wrong with Gramm-Rudman. Gramm-

I would give much more emphasis to the importance of ambassadors to the Third World. . . I believe that the sharp cutbacks in funding of the foreign affairs agencies are not in our national interest
—Jackson



JESSE JACKSON (D)

Jackson is an ordained Baptist minister whose political roots began in the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Born in 1941 in Greenville, South Carolina, he received a B.A. degree from North Carolina A & T State University and attended the Chicago Theological Seminary. He has held high-level positions with the Christian Leadership Conference and the National Rainbow Coalition. He was a presidential candidate in 1984.

You have had direct experience in personal diplomacy, freeing an American flyer held prisoner in Lebanon in 1984 through negotiations with Syria's President Assad. In your view, to what extent should private citizens become involved in advancing U.S. national interests through personal diplomatic initiatives?

Private citizens who engage in personal foreign initiatives should go with the approval, if not the support, of the government. If asked not to go by the government, an individual should not go. I would not have gone, if I had been asked not to. Individuals should not and cannot go to negotiate. A negotiator is someone who takes something and gives something. I simply made a moral appeal. My initiatives have been humanitarian visits, using moral persuasion to achieve humanitarian goals. In each, my efforts to Cuba and to Syria, we brought Americans home to their families. What we left behind was not guns, Bibles, or cakes to the Ayatollah, but goodwill.

Rudman makes no choices, sets no priorities, and amounts to a statement that nothing the government does is particularly important. I believe it is false economy to diminish America's capacity to represent its interests and to use the full range of foreign policy tools, including foreign aid, to build up friendly governments and create American opportunities abroad. I would increase funding for these functions over current congressional levels—by including and defending that increase as part of a budget that made choices between what we need and what we don't. I am the only candidate of either party who has stood up for specific and meaningful choices in the budget, with two guiding principles: a universal needs test (including 23 specific budget cuts yielding \$40 billion a year over five years), and a progressive tax on consumption that would raise revenues by the same amount.

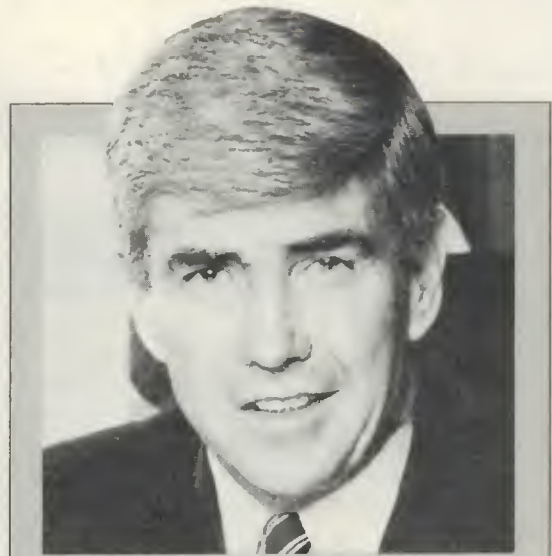
GEORGE BUSH

A president's first priority is to maintain the defense of the country. The question we should ask ourselves is not how much money we should spend, but what is required to be secure and well represented. In this time of budget stringency, all of our departments and agencies must take their fair share of reductions so that we can achieve a balanced budget and still carry out the responsibilities of government. However, I am opposed to raising taxes. Raising taxes will only hurt the tremendous economic recovery we have had in our administration.

ROBERT DOLE

Our foreign affairs budget—including funding for the State Department, our overseas operations, and our assistance programs—would enjoy a high priority in a Dole administration. The reality of our budget problem, however, is that federal spending will have to be tightly controlled throughout the next administration, no matter who is president. Even greater emphasis will have to be placed on efficient management, and even more important, strict setting of priorities. One area within the State Department budget which should be given extremely high priority is spending

I agree that cutting back on funding of the foreign affairs agencies is not in the national interest. But I would not raise taxes, for this or any other purpose. . . . I would particularly seek to strengthen the department's long-range planning, congressional relations, and public information functions
—Kemp



JACK KEMP (R)

Born in 1935 in Los Angeles, California, Kemp graduated from Occidental College in 1957 and was elected to Congress in 1970. A former quarterback in the American Football League, he served as president of the AFL Football Association from 1965–70.

You have been critical of the Foreign Service, claiming that its members are too liberal and do not reflect the tenor of the country as a whole. What steps would you take to rectify this alleged situation?

It is true that I have been a critic of the Department of State's appearing at times to set its own policies, as distinguished from those of the president. I would seek to ensure that the members of my cabinet and their senior deputies and assistant secretaries within the departments supported and implemented my basic policies. In addition to seeking the best possible administration candidates, both from within and outside the Foreign Service, for the Department of State's senior positions, I would particularly seek to strengthen the department's long-range planning, congressional relations, and public information functions. Finally, I would encourage the department and individuals serving in it to draw as much as possible upon the realities and lessons of historical experience in working on current issues and in looking to future strategies.

to attract outstanding personnel and to provide adequate training. A second very high priority: The security of our personnel from terrorism.

MICHAEL DUKAKIS

Secretary Shultz has complained before Congress on numerous occasions about the reductions that have occurred in our foreign aid programs and in the State Department budget. His concern is understandable. But he would be well advised to direct his complaints not to the Congress, but to those who make budget policy at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. As a result of the current administration's policies, the next president will have his hands full trying to get our fiscal house in order. Within the resources that are available, I will support a strong and balanced program of foreign assistance, with special emphasis on the humanitarian and development aid that will help other countries to grow and create opportunity for their people.

PIERRE DU PONT

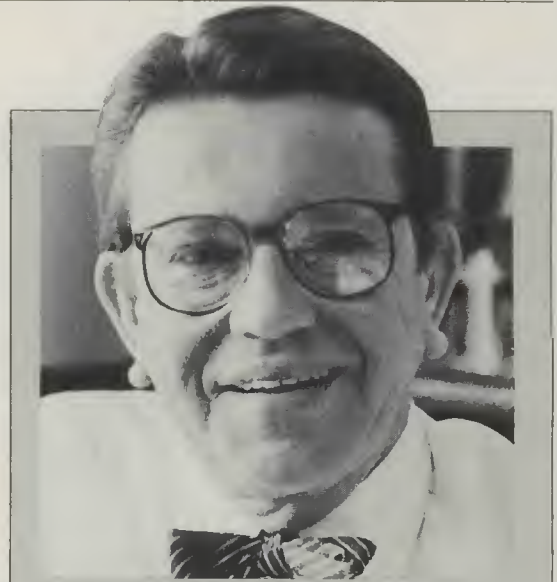
In my years in government, I have yet to find a government agency that could not sustain a five- or ten-percent budget cut and still get the job done. As for raising taxes, I have taken the "no-tax-increase pledge" not to raise taxes to fund the State Department or for any other reason. Our campaign has proposed fundamental changes in programs such as farm subsidies (phase them out over five years), welfare (replace the current programs with a work opportunity plan), and Social Security (supplement it with private savings), which would produce enough long-run savings, and so reduce the pressure to cut other areas of spending—but our first priority with these savings must be to balance the federal budget.

RICHARD GEPHARDT

There is no question that the Department of State protects our national interests around the world on a daily basis. Policies that reduce our presence, or create the impression that

A skillful Foreign Service and an effective foreign aid program are our first line of defense in today's world. . . . It seems likely that all parts of the government are going to have to manage with less until we get the deficit problem under control

—Simon



PAUL SIMON (D)

Simon was born in 1928 in Eugene, Oregon, and attended the University of Oregon and Dana College. Elected to the Illinois state House of Representatives at the age of 25, he served there and in the state senate until 1969. Lieutenant governor from 1969–73, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1975 and to the Senate in 1985.

You have spoken forcefully about the need to have a Foreign Service that is fluent in the languages of the posts at which it serves. In your opinion, should the emphasis be on the recruitment of language-qualified candidates, or on the training of otherwise-qualified candidates in the languages that they need?

As I discovered when I wrote *The Tongue-Tied American*, the inability of Americans to speak foreign languages is a major weakness in our ability to compete economically and politically abroad. I pushed through the amendment establishing model language Foreign Service posts where everyone assigned to the post, from Marine security guard to ambassador, must have basic competency in the language of the host country. The Foreign Service must place greater importance on hiring language-skilled employees, focusing on much better incentives for current and new appointees to learn the foreign languages. This means we have to make the investments necessary in the Foreign Service Institute.

the United States is becoming isolationist, are wrong. I strongly support providing all funds necessary to assure that our foreign affairs agencies can do their vital work. The Reagan administration has placed its priority on defense spending, and I am troubled by the result. One of the first things we need to do is improve the relations between the Congress and the State Department. The strain has been increasingly obvious, and the lies and misrepresentations that marked the Iran-contra affair made matters worse. I will not tolerate lying to the Congress. Second, it is not money alone that has caused the current situation. Between 1979 and 1986 the State Department budget grew by 250 percent. The number of American employees at the department has grown from 10,900 in 1981 to the current 12,200. We need to return sound management practices to the department, and we need to emphasize human resources over the purchase of furniture and equipment. Finally, we all need to recognize that the deficit is a threat to our national security. All parts of our government need to help find ways to control spending and reduce the deficit. If we had performed this task responsibly, the current budget crisis would not be so severe.

ALBERT GORE

I agree with the secretary, and I would be prepared to find the money needed to assure not just adequate, but superb American representation abroad. The cost is absurdly low in comparison with the benefits and especially in comparison with the defense budget.

JESSE JACKSON

I believe that the sharp cutbacks in funding of the foreign affairs agencies are not in our national interest. Cutbacks in the State Department reduce our ability to carry out important foreign affairs functions; cutbacks in funds to international agencies reduce our ability to have an impact on issues ranging from energy to health, as well as threaten the work of important international organizations such as the World Health Organization.

Our long-term security and that of the world requires more international cooperation, not

less. Within the international affairs budget, I would move quickly to shift funds from military aid, economic security aid, and the Export-Import Bank in order to finance the work of the foreign affairs agencies. Overall, my budget plan proposes an increase in taxes on the wealthy and corporations and cuts in U.S. military spending to reduce the deficit and to more adequately finance other parts of the budget, including international affairs.

JACK KEMP

In a time of continued challenges abroad, as well as of budget constraints at home, I would seek to assure that my administration's diplomatic efforts would be effectively supported with appropriate diplomatic, consular, informational, and cultural programs. I would also seek the appropriate economic and security assistance programs for the specific country and region involved.

I would count on the country teams, the Department of State, and other agencies in Washington, and appropriate regional and other international institutions, for their expertise and counsel in determining the best program priorities, and I would work with the Congress in this process. I agree that cutting back on funding of the foreign affairs agencies is not in the national interest. But I would not raise taxes, for this or any other purpose. I believe that we should adopt economic policies providing incentives that will generate growth, and which will make increased funds available to the U.S. government without having to raise taxes.

PAUL SIMON

Investment today in our diplomacy surely beats the costs of military entanglements which result when diplomacy is ignored or underfunded. I believe the State Department, as the first great department listed in the Constitution, deserves to be fairly funded. The truth is that a skillful Foreign Service and an effective foreign aid program are our first line of defense in today's world.

Nevertheless, it seems likely that all parts of the government are going to have to manage with less until we control the deficit.

Solomon's Return

SOL LOOKED ME UP at the consulate in Frankfurt as soon as he arrived. I had known him in New York, where he had a men's clothing store. This was his first journey to Europe since the end of the war. Although several years had passed, he was extremely nervous about coming back to Germany because of his Jewish background. He insisted on registering at the consulate and listing his hotel addresses and telephone numbers, even though he planned to be in Germany for only four days. He repeatedly inquired if we thought it would be dangerous for him to travel in southern Germany, and, despite our reassurances, was still apprehensive. Thus I agreed to accompany him for a day's visit to his native village, in the Black Forest.

Sol's father had been a coal merchant in the village for many years and had owned a nice house on the main street. He foresaw the Nazi rise to power and, several years before the war, sent Solomon, an only child, to live with relatives in New York. He had planned to sell his business and later, together with Sol's mother, Augusta, join Sol in New York. It was not to be. Both were victims of Auschwitz. Sol completed his education in the United States, became a citizen, married, and started a family.

It was nearing noon when we entered the village in our rented car. Sol

Fred Godsey, a retired Foreign Service officer who now lives in the Black Forest, is a frequent contributor to this section.

*From a family rent
apart by the Nazis,
a remnant from
the past*

FRED GODSEY

immediately began pointing out familiar scenes and landmarks of his childhood. "That house there on the corner is where my cousin lived. He and his family of four were murdered by the Nazis. The bridge there over the little stream is where my friends and I used to fish after school. Of course we caught only minnows, but it was fun. There where the vacant lot is my father had his coal warehouse. He used to deliver the coal in a small pushcart. Many of his customers in the poor section of town usually couldn't pay, but my father always saw to it that they had enough fuel for the winter. He said it was his way of contributing something to his village."

We stopped in front of the local *gasthaus*, which had rooms to let and a restaurant. "The old owner of this place was a friend of my father. He's probably dead now. I was in school with his son. I see by the sign that the son is now the proprietor. He was one of the first in the village to join the Nazi party."

The restaurant was not crowded, and Sol and I sat at a table near the bar.

"Is Manfred here?" Sol asked the young waiter.

"Why, yes, I believe he is," the waiter said, giving us a puzzled look.

"Tell him that Solomon is here and would like to see him," Sol said. "Meantime, bring us two beers and the menu."

The youth disappeared behind a curtain near the bar. After a few minutes, the curtain parted slightly for a second, but no one appeared. A short time later the waiter came with our beer. "I'm sorry," he said with a smile, "I made a mistake. Herr Manfred is out of town at the moment, and I don't know when he will return."

"It's all right," Sol replied. "I'll see him another time."

As we were finishing lunch, we saw our young waiter don hat and jacket and leave through a side door. "He's here, of course," Sol said, "but he doesn't want to see me. The whole town will now learn that I am here."

"Why did you come back, Sol?" I asked. He had told me that he no longer had relatives living in the area.

"Well, of course I wanted to see the old town and the places where I spent my childhood, but I really came to see Oma Seiler," Sol replied. "Oma Seiler is old now and almost blind. She was a good friend of my family. When the Gestapo started gathering the few Jews of the village for deportation, she and her husband and her daughter managed to hide my mother and father for several weeks in their attic. Oma saw to it that mother and father had food, but one day they ran out of salt and,

since it was market day and the town was filled with farmers selling their vegetables, my father thought it would be safe to go a few blocks from the house to buy salt and a few apples. Someone recognized him on the street and informed the Gestapo. Oma Seiler's daughter saw them leading him away and ran back to the house to warn mother. They knew that the Gestapo would soon come to the house. Instead of trying to escape, my mother

simply packed a few of her meager belongings into a small bag and waited. After the war, I was informed by the Red Cross that they both were murdered at Auschwitz.

"The Seilers paid a terrible price for their bravery. Oma, her husband, and her daughter were arrested and tortured. Her husband was released after a few months and sent to the Russian front, where he was killed. She and the girl spent over a year in prison. Oma

Seiler wrote me that she has a package for me—a package given to her by my mother. I guess you could say that I came back for the package."

AFTER LUNCH, we decided to walk to Oma Seiler's house, which was at the end of the main street, and on the way we stopped to see the house where Sol was born. It was a large two-story



house, but the nameplate under the doorbell showed that it was occupied by only one family. Sol peered at the name. "Meier. Meier. Ah yes! I remember the family well. The old man was the village *gauleiter*—one of the first Nazis. This would be his son."

Sol pressed the bell a few times, and a young blonde woman opened the door.

"Frau Meier?" Sol asked.

The blonde woman smiled. "Yes. Ursula Meier."

"Frau Meier, I'm Solomon. I used to live here."

The smile on the woman's face was quickly replaced by a look of absolute terror. "Why, er, yes," she finally stammered. "I know you, Solomon. Don't you remember? I was Ursula Hatz. We were in school together. Look, Solomon, if you've come about the house, er, that is, you know my husband and I bought the house and . . ."

"No. No. I didn't come to try to get the house back," Sol said. "I've been fully paid for the house. The German government paid me. I just wanted to show my friend where I was born."

Frau Meier, still very nervous, showed us through the house and was visibly relieved when we left.

The street was almost deserted as we walked toward Oma Seiler's house. We saw a man approaching dressed in a dirty, ragged army coat and a soiled kepi of the type worn by German soldiers. One sleeve of the coat was folded and pinned, indicating that he had lost an arm. He walked unsteadily, and the top of a wine bottle protruding from a coat pocket marked him as the village drunk. He stopped a few yards in front of us, blocking our passage, and stared intently at Sol. Suddenly the bewhiskered face broke into a broad grin. "Solomon!" he shouted. "Solomon! It's you, isn't it? You've come back! Remember me? I'm Karl."

"Yes, I remember you, Karl. How are you?" Turning to me, Sol added in English, "He was the most brilliant boy in my class. He was not a Nazi."

"Oh, not too good, Solomon." Karl pointed to his empty sleeve. "I got this in France from the Amis and was in the hospital for a few years with a head wound. I get by now with a little pension from the government. I never got married or anything. Did you come

back to stay, Solomon?"

"No," Sol replied, "I'm just here for a visit."

Karl looked down at his ill-fitting shoes for a moment, and when he raised his head there were tears in his eyes. "I'm sorry, Solomon," he said. "I mean—I'm sorry for what happened to your parents and all. I wish you would come back and live in the village again, Solomon. We need you here to remind us of what happened. You are our conscience."

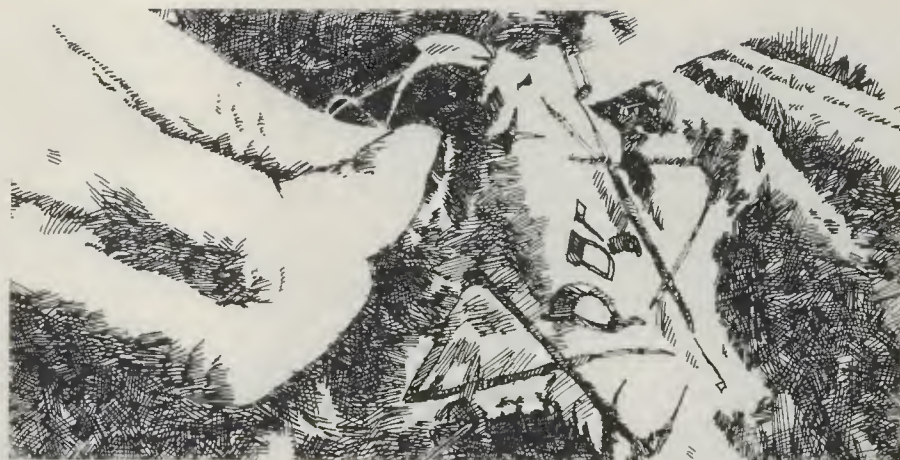
We shook hands with Karl and continued down the street. We had gone only a short distance when we heard him shout at the top of his voice, "You are our conscience, Solomon! You are our conscience!"

When we rang Oma Seiler's bell, the door was opened by a young girl. "Does Oma Seiler still live here?" Sol asked.

"Yes," the girl said, "I'm her granddaughter. Do you wish to see her? Come, she's in her room upstairs."

"It's Solomon, Oma," Sol said in a loud voice, since the old woman was obviously partially deaf. "I've come back. I brought a friend."

"Sol! You finally came. You received my letter. Sit and let us talk. I'm glad you came because, as you can see, I haven't much time left." As she turned



her head for Sol to kiss her cheek, she touched a hideous scar on the side of her face. "This is from the Gestapo," she said matter of factly.

They talked for a long while. Life in the village before the war; the coming of the Nazis; who was killed; who survived; the French occupation; the hunger; the fear. Oma related the story of Sol's parents. "I remember Augusta's exact words when we tried to persuade her to flee before the Gestapo came. She said, 'No, Johann and I have been together too long. I'll wait. Maybe we can be together again.' She packed a bag and waited. She was sitting right by the door with her bag between her knees when they came."

We could see that the old woman was tiring, and, as we prepared to leave, she tapped the floor loudly with the cane. "Girl!" she shouted, "bring the package!"

The girl left the room and returned with a small parcel which she handed to Sol. I noticed that his hands trembled as he opened it. Inside was a small circular wooden frame holding a lovely piece of embroidered linen, but it was unfinished. The thread was still in the needle beside a thimble. "That's as far as she got before they came for her," Oma said. "When she heard the knock on the door, she handed it to me and said I should give it to you. She said you would be back."

Over Oma's protests, Sol left a considerable sum of money in her lap, and we said good bye.

As we were driving back to Frankfurt, I asked Sol what he would do with the unfinished needlework.

"I'll bring it to my daughter, Carol. She will finish it." □

WE FOLLOWED THE GIRL to a small room where a very old woman with thick eyeglasses sat in an overstuffed chair. She tapped the floor with her cane. "Who is it, child? Bring them closer so I can see," she whispered.

"Sol! You finally came. You received my letter. Sit and let us talk. I'm glad you came because, as you can see, I haven't much time left." As she turned

Hello Is as Hard as Good-bye

By PHYLLIS HABIB

A common question heard at the fifth annual Around the World in a Lifetime teen Getaway held last fall in Solomons, Maryland, was: "How can we fit in, yet retain our uniqueness as Foreign Service kids?" Many Foreign Service teens have little in common with their stay-at-home peers, yet home isn't any of the foreign countries they've lived in either. Academics often refer to this group as "third-culture kids."

The Getaway, which took place last October, was sponsored by the Family Liaison Office, the Overseas Briefing Center, and the Association for American Foreign Service Women, and brought together 34 teenagers and seven adults. Workshops focused on saying good-bye to overseas homes and on strategies for fitting in to life in the United States.

The teens at the weekend identified themselves as unique, using the following descriptions: knowledge of cultural realities, not stereotypes; understanding and tolerance of different peoples, places, and world issues; and diverse opportunities and experiences. They saw themselves as interesting, special, and flexible individuals, and certainly experts at moving, traveling, and packing.

"How do we deal with Americans kids who all seem to be 'into their own thing?'" was the common theme. As one participant said, "You have to put their [U.S. kids'] behavior into perspective and realize they have things they want to do. We need to listen. . . . Remember that overseas we have to learn to relate to the issues important at that post. We have to do the same kind of thing with the American kids here. . . . Let's use tolerance toward others to make friends."

The young people learned they were not alone in their feelings, shared tips for fitting in, and made friends with each other. At the end of a weekend full of workshops, shared meals, a dance and lip-sync contest, and games of volleyball and frisbee, they came up with a number of solutions that they hoped would work to help ease re-entry. The first part of re-entry is saying good-bye. The teens shared experiences from their last posts through slide presentations, discussions, and a giant mural they designed. Good-byes were said to friends, teachers, pets, cities, houses, and

favorite hangouts through letters, drawings, and conversations. Two common themes were summed up by participants who wrote, "I miss my friends and talking to them because we were always laughing from our own language," and "I miss feeling like I belong somewhere."

The second part is saying hello to your new friends. The points to keep in mind about life in the United States, as written by the AWAL participants, were:

- Don't think of yourself as superior, but don't put down your own experiences either—use them to your advantage;
- Be open-minded. Accept things;

- Look at the positive aspects of living in the United States—everything is available here, from consumer goods to hi-tech health and information. Respect the freedom, equality, and justice, women's rights, and intense competition;

- Realize that some cultures look up to the United States—we give hope—and that there is less racism here than in some other countries.

AWAL strives to ease the re-entry process for teens by providing friends and access to the resources and activities of the Washington metropolitan area. Established in 1983, it offers a community support network to those returning to the United States through group activities, workshops, and special projects. Its annual getaway, held each fall, is the largest re-entry activity. For more information call FLO at (202) 647-3178, or the Overseas Briefing Center at (202) 235-8784.

Phyllis Habib is a former Foreign Service kid who served as support services officer in FLO from 1983-87.



Top: Participants of the AWAL Getaway pose with new and old friends at the conclusion of a weekend filled with workshops, activities, and new friends. **Right:** Kim Bullington hugs workshop facilitator Monica Greeley. **Bottom:** Amy Grammo, Seth Merritt, and John Maushammer share experiences in a discussion group.



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

Deaths

EVELYN PARKES DAWSON, wife of the late Foreign Service Officer Harris P. Dawson Jr., died August 18 in Washington, D.C. She was 75.

Mrs. Dawson was born in Yonkers, New York, and appeared on the Broadway stage in several musicals before moving to the Washington area in the early 1940s. She accompanied her husband to assignments in Germany, Greece, and Panama. Mr. Dawson died in 1985.

Survivors include two daughters, Linda Barrow Dawson, of Jacksonville, Florida, and Hallette C. Dawson, of Herndon, Virginia; a brother, Irving Parkes, of Charleston, South Carolina; and three grandchildren.

HENRY P. DAYMONT, a retired Foreign Service officer, died October 24 after a brief illness.

Mr. Daymont was born in France and served there with an American volunteer ambulance corps during World War II. He was captured by the German army and released before the United States entered the conflict. In 1941, he joined the Marine Corps and spent the entire war in the Pacific theater. He was later honored with the Croix de Guerre from France.

After the war, Mr. Daymont joined the State Department as a diplomatic courier, serving in Cairo, Paris, Helsinki, Manila,

and Frankfurt. He left the courier service in 1957 and was assigned to the U.S. Commissioner's Office at the World's Fair in Brussels. Subsequent assignments included Taipei, Rome, Milan, Conakry, Guinea, and Doula, Cameroon. He retired from the department in 1980.

He is survived by his wife, the former Betty Smiley; two daughters, Terry Lee and Anne Marie; and two sons, Donald and George.

ROY WARREN JOHNSON, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of cancer September 25 in Myrtle Beach, South Carolina. He was 65.

Mr. Johnson was born in Dallas, Texas, and was graduated from Southern Methodist University. He worked as a reporter for the *Dallas Morning News*. He joined USA in 1956 and served in many posts, including the Philippines, Spain, Vietnam, and Jamaica. He also served as assistant director, Office of Public Information, and as chief of the Foreign Affairs Advisory Group at Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

He is survived by his wife, Beatrice Mauldin Johnson, and their three sons, Mark and Christopher of Wilmington, North Carolina and Kirk of Tampa, Florida; a daughter, Kim Torres of Raleigh, North Carolina; three brothers, Raymond E. and J. Duff Johnson of Pennsville, New Jersey, and John L. Johnson of Chicago, Illinois; his stepmother; and three granddaughters.

ALBERTA RAVNDAL, widow of former Director General and retired Career Minister Christian Ravndal, died of a heart attack October 11 in Vienna, Austria. She was 83.

Mrs. Ravndal was born in Vienna and became a U.S. citizen in 1936. She accompanied her husband on assignments to many posts in Europe and South America, including Uruguay, Hungary, Ecuador, and Czechoslovakia, where he was chief of mission. Ms. Ravndal was an accomplished pianist and linguist.

Survivors include a daughter, Inga, of Vienna; a son, Frank, a retired Foreign Service officer, of Jacksonville, Florida; three grandchildren; and one great-grandchild.

ANDREAS G. RONHOVDE, former deputy chief of mission in Oslo, died of emphysema and heart ailments December 5 in Missoula, Montana. He was 81.

Mr. Ronhovde was born in Barrett, Minnesota, and was graduated from St. Olaf's College and later received a master's degree from the University of North Dakota. He entered the Foreign Service in 1947 and served in Washington, Stockholm, The Hague, and Oslo. After retiring from the Service in 1966, he joined the Arctic Institute of North America and wrote two books, *Arctic Laboratory* and *Arctic Environment and Resources*.

He is survived by his wife, Virginia

Rankin Sedman Ronhovde, of Washington and Missoula; two sons, Erik and Kent Ronhovde, and two daughters, Andrea Ronhovde and Nora Hohenlohe, all of Washington; two sisters; and five grandchildren.

HEDDA J. STEINER, wife of retired Foreign Service officer B. Franklin Steiner, died of a stroke November 14 in Arlington, Virginia. She was 76.

Mrs. Steiner was born in Toscano, Italy, and held a doctorate in French and German literature from Charles University in Prague. She accompanied her husband on assignments to Czechoslovakia, Poland, Great Britain, Germany, and Switzerland. From 1970-80, she was a foreign language tour guide in Washington, D.C.

She is survived by her husband; a son, Ken of Rapid City, South Dakota; a daughter, Susan Boldhouse of Lansing, Michigan; her mother; and four grandchildren.

MILTON CARL WALSTROM, a retired Foreign Service officer, died August 27 in Connecticut. He was 67.

Mr. Walstrom was born in Oakland, California, and graduated from the University of California at Berkeley. He served in many posts: Kingston, Beirut, Baghdad, Algiers, Amman, Washington, Bangkok, Saigon, and Honolulu. He retired from the Service in 1978.

His is survived by his former wife, Elizabeth Walstrom of Hawaii; one son, Thomas Walstrom, one daughter, Kathryn Robero, and granddaughter, Malia, all of Kailua, Hawaii.

ALICE HORLAND WILSON, wife of the late Orme Wilson, died at her home in New York City on December 2. She was 101.

Born in New York City, she graduated from the Brearley School in 1905 and volunteered with the American Red Cross during World War I. She accompanied her husband to posts in Brussels, Berne, Buenos Aires, Berlin, Prague, and Port au Prince. She was decorated with Haiti's Legion of Honor for her work in hospitals during her husband's tenure as ambassador to Haiti from 1944-46.

She is survived by a son, Orme Jr., and several grandchildren, and great-grandchildren.

DAWSON S. WILSON, retired Foreign Service officer, died of cancer November 14 in Washington, D.C. He was 59.

Mr. Wilson was born in Miami, Florida and graduated from the University of Florida. After serving in the army, he joined the Foreign Service in 1957 and held economic and consular assignments in Costa Rica, Japan, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Spain.

He is survived by his wife, Maria, two daughters, Alexandria and Karen, and his parents, all of Arlington, Virginia; and a brother, J. Dale Wilson of Glendale, California.

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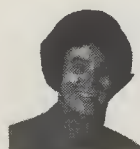


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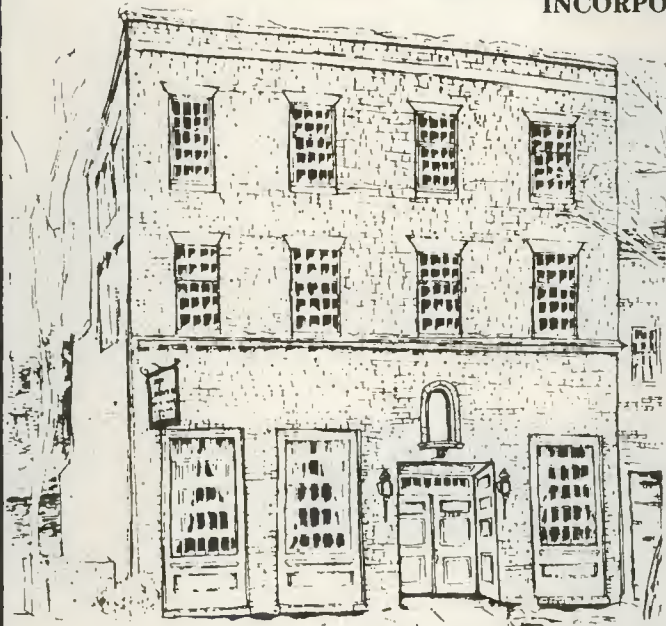
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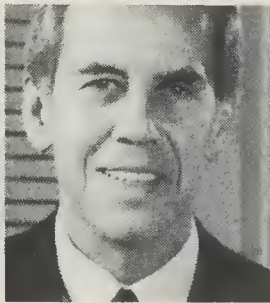
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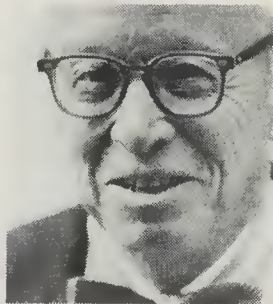
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A Republican Looks at Foreign Policy

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—Senator Richard G. Lugar



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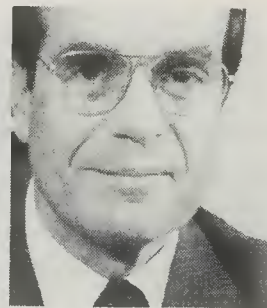
—Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

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The President and the Secretary of State

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AFSA NEWS

AFSA offensive on budget shortfall yields temporary reprieve

The war is not yet over, but AFSA has helped win a big battle on Capitol Hill to restore the funds necessary to keep an effective Foreign Service on the front lines around the world. The continuing resolution passed on December 22 and the State Department authorization bill that emerged from the House-Senate conference will reduce the projected \$84 million shortfall—which had led the secretary to announce the imminent elimination of nearly 1300 jobs, the closing of 15 posts, and other measures—by approximately \$60 million. The measure also specifically states that the secretary may transfer funds from the Acquisition and Maintenance of Buildings Account to the Salaries and Expenses Account, a suggestion made by AFSA that served to raise the consciousness of Congress to save jobs.

Unfortunately, the measures as passed still leave the department \$24 million short of the level needed to maintain current services. And with the foreign affairs budget category restricted to a two-percent increase in its request for fiscal year 1989—despite the continuing drop in the purchasing value of the dollar overseas—we are likely to see a repetition of this year's exhausting battle in the months to come.

AFSA can take a large share of the credit for the restoration of funding authority, and all of it for the measure allowing the transfer of funds.

"AFSA is pleased that Congress has demonstrated its support for our diplomatic capability in such a tangible form," the organization said in a statement released to the press. The release pointed out that "this victory did not just happen, AFSA helped it along with an aggressive campaign on the Hill, in the media, and with our constituency. We recognize that we were not alone. The secretary's personal efforts

cannot be underestimated."

AFSA's actions on behalf of a larger working budget included:

- AFSA officers discussed the budget and the role of the Foreign Service virtually daily with key legislators and staff;

- The organization developed an alternative savings proposal that demonstrated to Congress that the Foreign Service recognizes the need to effect savings in a way that will still protect our national interests;

- AFSA's legislative representatives were able to call on previously established relationships on the Hill work out a solution to the budget crunch. These included Foreign Operations Sub-

committee Chairman Dan Mica (D.-Florida) and other key congressional figures;

- Members in Washington organized delegations to contact key legislators, with special emphasis on the Florida delegation;

- Members in the United States and abroad wrote to Congress to alert it to the dangers in underfunding the Department of State;

- Foreign Service retirees around the country were a welcome asset through their opinion pieces and letters to the editor of local newspapers and to their members of Congress; and

- AFSA stimulated media coverage of the effects of the cuts.

As a result, at least a dozen favorable editorials and opinion pieces appeared in prominent publications, as well as extensive reporting that illuminated the dangers for national security of cutting State. In addition, AFSA's president and vice president appeared on newscasts and television interview shows to discuss the effects of the cuts.

The department still faces, and will face in fiscal 1989, serious problems that may force retrenchment. AFSA will continue to work with Congress to present its members with an accurate view of the role of the Foreign Service and the Department of State.

Hundreds revel at holiday party



Pictured are a few of the revelers at the annual AFSA holiday party, held at the Foreign Service Club in mid December. Some 600 members, Hill staffers, and management officials attended the tete.

AFSA lauds Reagan for summit, pact

AFSA sent a telegram to President Reagan upon the completion of the Washington summit late last fall, congratulating him on "a dramatic triumph of diplomacy and reason, for the bene-

fit of mankind."

"We of the career, professional Foreign Service of the United States are proud to congratulate and salute you, Mr. President, for this historic summit meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev," the telegram said. It noted in particular the signing of the treaty limiting superpower intermediate nuclear forces in Europe.

Letter seeks preservation of FLO

AFSA has written a letter to State Department management to head off plans to eliminate the Family Liaison Office. "We do not expect any area to be immune from budget cuts," wrote State Vice President Evangeline Monroe in the letter, but "AFSA considers services to family members of Foreign Service employees to be a vital element of the employees' condition of employment."

The letter was written to Brandon Grove, who heads the steering committee charged with looking through the department budget for savings. "Family members who accompany employees overseas are frequently disadvantaged as a result of serving overseas, and the department's responsibility to the Foreign Service family through support efforts such as the FLO should not be considered a frill," the letter continued. "We urge that your review of the FLO focus on possible economies, not elimination."

Pell blasts bill to bust AFSA, lauds organization

Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell said he strongly opposes recent legislation that would have prevented most Foreign Service employees from belonging to the union [AFSA NEWS, September].

The senator and his staff were instrumental in changing the provision, which had been added to the State Department fiscal year 1988 authorization bill, into a non-

binding resolution with less-threatening language.

Pell's comments came in a letter to the president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, which had written the senator to call his attention to what it saw as a "union-busting" bill. "Over the years AFSA has provided vital, ongoing employee services to Foreign Service officers," Pell wrote in response to the union. "Any provision designed to eliminate AFSA would undermine the morale of the Foreign Service and damage our ability to conduct a sound foreign policy."

Statement mutes allegations in Costa-Gavras film "Missing"

After five years, the libel suit against the makers of the film *Missing* has been settled by the release of a statement that softens the allegations filmmaker Costa-Gavras had made against several Foreign Service officers who served in Chile during the time of the fall of Salvador Allende.

Though the film when released declared itself to be "a true story" and portrayed the staff of the embassy as either ordering or condoning the murder of an American college student named Charles Horman, the statement says "the filmmakers have maintained in this litigation that the film *Missing* was not intended to suggest that [plaintiffs] Nathaniel Davis, Ray Davis, or Frederick Purdy ordered or approved the order for the murder of Charles Horman—and would not wish viewers of the film to interpret it in this way."

The settlement was achieved after the plaintiffs filed to appeal the dismissal of the suit before it could be brought to a jury in the U.S. District Court for Southern New York. Under American court precedents, the defendants qualified as public figures. Hence, the plaintiffs had to prove not only that the allegations in the movie are false and defamatory, but that they were made with reckless disregard for the truth.

The suit was filed in 1983 after the release of the film. AFSA contributed \$2500 to the fund established by the plaintiffs, all fur-

mer officials at the embassy in Santiago. The defendants in the action included director and screenplay co-author Costa-Gavras, the author of the book on which it was based, and various publishers and film companies. The settlement involves no assumption of guilt, and no damages were awarded.

Since the settlement, the plaintiffs have called on the State Department to pursue several recent leads that have developed on the Hormans case to settle the mystery of his death.

AFSA protest halts Panama electricity surcharge plan

Embassy Panama has recently abandoned plans which would have required employees to incur the costs for all electricity charges that exceed a specific ceiling [AFSA NEWS, October]. AFSA had protested the embassy's actions after learning of the utility surcharge, not only because of the plan's draconian nature but because post administration had failed to consult with the union as required by law. [There are two letters to the editor on this topic in the LETTERS section of this issue.]

In addition to laying aside the surcharge proposal, management has agreed to look into several long-term cost-cutting options suggested by AFSA members at post. Communication has

Legislative/Legal Action Fund collects \$12,500 in first month

AFSA's Legislative/Legal Action Fund collected \$12,500 from 120 donors in its first month. The monies are to be used to fund efforts to fight State Department cutbacks.

The names listed below are those of all donors through the middle of December. AFSA thanks you. All donors will be listed except for those who wish to remain anonymous. If you have not given to the fund, please make donations to:

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with us rather than assuming a confrontational stance.

A similar, but much less severe, surcharge proposal was recently put forth in Manila. For details, please see the LETTERS section.

Secretary joins AFSA in opposing polygraph law

Secretary Shultz has sided with AFSA in protesting legislation that would subject diplomatic security employees to routine polygraph testing. AFSA had issued a statement opposing the measure when it was introduced last summer.

The legislation was part of the State authorization bill passed in December, prompting Shultz to write a letter of protest to House Foreign Affairs Committee Chair-

man Dante Fascell. Shultz noted the lack of evidence supporting polygraph screening, and concluded that "thus the arguments offered in support of this practice as a routine matter are based on the concept that the threat of being tested on a continuing basis is a deterrent to potential wrongdoing, not a method for determining fact. This amounts to the intimidation of employees as a general principle of management."



State Standing Committee

Where Are We Going, Where Have We Been?

By Evangeline Monroe, State Vice President

In 1968 AFSA published a book titled *Toward a Modern Diplomacy* to give the presidential candidates an opportunity to review the Foreign Service and its role, and to include support for the Service in their platforms. The first chapter was called "The Foreign Service of the United States; Whatever Became of It?" If there is a feeling of *deja vu* in reading that title it may be similar to the curse of the diplomat who is condemned to solve the same problems at the end of a tour that were inherited at the beginning.

At the end of the 1960s, the Service was concerned about the effects of rapid growth after World War II that brought large numbers of people into the Foreign Service who had not entered through the examination process. The problem of staffing a diplomatic corps large enough to meet the needs of a superpower in an increasingly complex world gave rise to a host of studies about the Foreign Service. Among the better known are the Wriston report of 1953, the Herter report of 1961, and the Murphy commission report of 1975. Today we may be about to embark on another major study of the Foreign Service, if money is found to pay for it.

The State authorization bill that was passed by Congress in December and was signed by the president includes an amendment calling for a study of the Foreign Service personnel system. It is to be conducted by outside personnel experts with no less than 10 years' experience, and AFSA has been designated to help select the participants.

The study that culminated in the Foreign Service Act of 1980 provided a framework for the most dramatic change in the Foreign Service in 35 years. We are seeing the effects of that change as increasing numbers of experienced officers are forced to leave, taking with them skills that have been dearly paid for. (The

average officer receives 14 months of training in 20 years and represents an investment of as much as \$1 million.) Entering classes, although excited at getting into the Service, are viewing with greater realism the possibility that the Foreign Service may be a short career. For a growing number of entrants it is a second career, for others a stepping stone on the way to more lucrative employment.

Twenty-five years ago an officer entering the Service was told, "Do a good job, and the promotions will look after themselves." Today the new officer is provided with advice on how to survive in a sea of constantly changing regulations and policies. Doing your best is not enough. Commitment and professionalism—to a greater degree than comfortable—have been replaced by careerism.

AFSA will play an important role in the changing face of the Foreign Service. The State Standing Committee is in the process of negotiating the precepts for promotion and selection out, the regulations for changing skill codes, and payment of special allowances for long hours and hard languages.

The latter captures part of the debate between the "old" and the "new" Foreign Service. From the perspective of the "old" Foreign Service, it should not be necessary to reward sacrifice with money—the honor of serving should be enough. The "new" Foreign Service recognizes that while some may love the profession enough to work for nothing, no one has figured out a way to live on nothing.

Financial incentives for hard language capability are the logical product of the Stearns Report, and they are based on the assumption that the United States needs a Foreign Service corps that can do business in the language of the host country. Communication, in English or a foreign language, is a basic tool

of diplomacy, yet new sensitivities to counterterrorism and espionage have begun to place limits on communication with foreigners.

Before World War II, the American Foreign Service officer was frequently one of two or the only official American at post and had to rely on diplomats of friendly countries to learn his (rarely her) way around. Today Foreign Service employees frequently live in compounds in which the State Department contingent is probably no more than 36 percent of the official Americans at post. Part of that contingent of official Americans includes a growing number of diplomatic security personnel whose job is not only to ensure the physical security of U.S. officials and their families, but to make certain that Foreign Service employees are not themselves a threat to security. Congress has provided funding for DS personnel to protect our lives and to monitor whether our contacts with foreigners may provide an area of vulnerability. In such a climate, and given budgetary constraints, it is disappointing but not surprising that there is less emphasis on the importance of communicating in a foreign language.

The profile of the Service has changed as well. The number of economic and political officers has declined from 54 percent in 1968 to 37 percent in 1987. At the same time the number of communication specialists has doubled from 8 percent to 14 percent. DS personnel now account for 13 percent of American employees of the department compared with 2 percent in 1968. Less than 51 percent of the Service is composed of generalists; the others are specialists, including systems, communications, medical, scientific, and security specialists.

The Service has come a long way from the diplomatic corps that Charles E. Bohlen joined in 1929. At that time he was told that he should observe, analyze, and report. Today, with a myriad of other agencies competing for a place in our posts abroad, observing, analyzing, and reporting are not enough. And yet, despite all the change, there has never been greater need for a strong Foreign Service. Our task for the coming decade will be to demonstrate that diplomacy is an important element of power that must be preserved, regardless of new sensitivities and budget crunches.

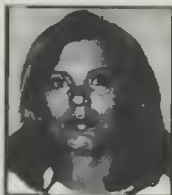
Administrative secretary appointed

Karen Dent has been appointed administrative secretary in AFSA's headquarters office, Director for Administration Sabine Sisk has announced. She replaces Bonita Carroll, who resigned to take a new position with the District of Columbia government.

Dent serves as the contact point for inquiries coming into the headquarters office. She comes to AFSA from the Customs Service, where she was a personnel



clerk in the Office of Human Resources. She has broad experience in administration and in member services.



AFSA's 1987 Foreign Service Tax Guide

By Sabine Sisk, Director for Administration and Member Services

The Tax Reform Act of 1986 made radical and complex changes in the internal revenue code. Rates were lowered, while credits and deductions were reduced or eliminated. Several tax preferences were dropped and others were added. With April 15 only a couple of months away, most Foreign Service employees are probably wondering how the new tax law is going to affect them. That depends on numerous factors, but principally your income bracket and whether or not you itemize. Taxpayers earning less than \$20,000 or more than \$120,000 will likely benefit under the new system. For those who are single, earn less than \$20,000, and don't itemize, completing the return will be simple and refunds will be larger than in previous years. The typical Foreign Service family, however, will not notice much change in the difficulty of filing but may find their tax bill going up.

What follows is a summary of the major features of the new law. As in the past, we emphasize areas affecting the Foreign Service. It is intended to serve as a guideline, and does not presume to do more than that. Al-

though we try to be as accurate as possible, the new provisions and implementing IRS regulations have not been tested or fully addressed. Therefore, use caution and consult with a tax adviser if you have specific questions or an unusual or complex situation. Employees who have considerable investments, IRAs, or home-mortgage deductions in particular may find it advisable to get expert professional help this year. Since it is predicted that tens of millions of Americans will do likewise, do not wait until the last minute.

A brief word of thanks to the legal, accounting, and tax experts AFSA consulted in preparing this article. These include our tax consultant, Robert N. Dussell, who has provided advice to countless members over the years.

Rates: The new law eliminated the 15-tier system, replacing it with a 5-tier system for 1987 ranging from 11 to 38.5 percent. Beginning in 1988 there will only be two rates for individuals, 15 and 28 percent, except for high earners, who will incur a 5 percent surcharge.

credit cards are issued in the employees' names. Many members were worried that monthly billings for the cards would be due before their return from TDY, resulting in finance charges and possible damage to employees' credit ratings.

AFSA was assured at a briefing by management officials that the department's agreement with Diner's Club prohibits the assessment of any finance or interest charges on employees as long as the card is used for official purposes; the agreement further prohibits Diner's Club from releasing any information resulting from employees' use of the card that could reflect on personal credit ratings.

Although the department has not yet indicated whether it will

Personal Exemption: The law provides for a hefty increase. In 1987 the exemption rises from \$1080 to \$1900, in recognition that personal exemptions had not been adjusted for inflation. Another \$50 will be added in 1988 and 1989. The exemption will be indexed for inflation thereafter. This is one of the few areas where employees with large families come out ahead.

The law has repealed the two-earner deduction of up to \$3000, thereby reintroducing the **marriage penalty**. The new tax brackets, lower rates, and larger standard deduction will, however, mitigate the situation in most cases.

Children who must file a return cannot claim their own exemption when claimed as a dependent on their parents' return. They may, however, use up to \$500 of the standard deduction to offset unearned income. If the dependent earned \$1900 or more, the exemption is lost, unless the child is under 19 or, at any age, is a full-time student. You don't have to count income that isn't taxable, such as that from municipal bonds or Social Security.

Social Security numbers must be reported on all children five

years or older who are claimed on a parent's return. If you are in the United States, fill out form SS-5 at your local Social Security office; bring along a birth certificate plus one other document proving age, plus your own identification. You can also apply by mail. Overseas, request the form from the consular section and send to the Social Security Administration, Baltimore, Maryland 21235. The consular section will make certified photocopies of identification originals.

Standard Deduction: For the last few years, this was called the zero-bracket amount. This deduction is available to non-itemizers and is designed to alleviate the curtailment or loss of many deductions and make itemizing less attractive. For singles and heads of household the deduction is \$2540, for marrieds filing jointly and for surviving spouses it is \$3760. Couples filing separate returns get half of that, or \$1880 each. For 1988 these rates will receive another boost.

Individuals who are blind or at least age 65 get next year's higher standard deduction already in 1987, plus an extra amount to make up for the loss of the extra personal exemption they used to get. The standard deduction for a single taxpayer meeting either or both of these conditions rises to \$3750; to \$5600 for a couple where one spouse is eligible; and to \$6200 for a couple where both spouses are eligible.

The standard deduction is disallowed for taxpayers who itemize; it is also disallowed for both spouses filing separately if either spouse itemizes.

Itemizing: With the increase in the standard deduction and limits placed on itemized deductions, many Foreign Service taxpayers will find they will be better off as non-itemizers. Deductibility of sales tax has been eliminated. The interest expense on credit cards, car loans, outright student loans and consumer loans, as well as interest paid to

engage in negotiations, AFSA has already submitted a counterproposal to management and requested that the department incorporate the verbal assurances made at the briefing into the Foreign Affairs Manual.

AFSA feels that the plan as a whole is preferable to the current system of travel advances, and would result in cost savings for the department, but we would appreciate feedback from employees confirming whether the new policy is in fact working as planned by management. The department plans to convert all bureaus to the new system in the near future. Once that has been accomplished, we will take a new look at the system to see if it meets the needs of both management and employees.

AFSA acts to protect credit ratings

AFSA has protested a unilateral action by State Department management that could have unfairly affected employees' credit ratings and resulted in unjustified personal expenses. The union had learned that certain State bureaus had begun to issue Diner's Club credit cards in lieu of travel advances to domestically based employees on temporary duty. The department had not given AFSA notice of this change in policy, and had failed to adhere to its obligation to bargain.

AFSA's main problem with the system concerns the fact that the

the IRS for back taxes, will be phased out over the next four years. Only 65 percent is allowed for 1987. Most unreimbursed employee business expenses, previously allowed whether one itemized or not, must now be reported as a miscellaneous expense.

State and local income, real estate, and personal property taxes are fully deductible for itemizers, as are charitable deductions (gone for non-itemizers).

Medical Expenses: Only expenses exceeding 7-1/2 percent of adjusted gross income are allowed. This means that if your AGI is \$30,000, only medical bills over \$2250 may be deducted.

Home Leave and Representational Expenses: The IRS rulings allowing deductibility of these expenses have not changed. The new tax law severely limits any refunds, however. In order to claim these expenses, you have to itemize, and only 80 percent for meals and entertainment is deductible (100 percent for unreimbursed travel and lodging). These expenses are now considered "miscellaneous" and will only be allowed to the extent they exceed two percent of AGI. For example, a single Foreign Service employee with \$30,000 AGI who incurs \$500 in food and \$500 in lodging expenses may deduct \$400 of the food and all of the lodging. This total of \$900 is subject to the two-percent floor over AGI. This knocks off \$600 and leaves only \$300 as the allowable deduction.

According to the IRS, only the employee may deduct home leave expenses. Maintaining a travel log and holding on to a copy of your home leave orders will be helpful, should the IRS ever question you on the expenses you claim. You must also keep receipts. If you did not keep food receipts, you may only deduct \$14 a day, no matter how large your grocery or restaurant bill was. Lodging is deductible, as long as you do not stay with friends, relatives, or in your own home. The IRS will disallow use of per diem rates and any expenses claimed for family members. Car rental, mileage, and other unreimbursed travel expenses while in the United States may be claimed.

Other miscellaneous ex-

penses subject to the two-percent floor include employment and education expenses, home office, legal, accounting, custodial, and tax preparation fees, as well as union and professional dues, publications—and contributions to AFSA's Legislative and Legal Action Fund.

Moving Expenses: Under the new law unreimbursed moving expenses may be fully deducted by itemizers as a miscellaneous expense on Schedule A and are not subject to the two-percent floor.

Official Residence Expenses: Under a 1984 IRS ruling, mandatory salary deductions for OREs are to be excluded from gross income. The State Department has never implemented this ruling but continued to include ORE contributions as taxable income on employees' W-2 forms. Until passage of the 1986 act, affected officers were not disadvantaged, since the IRS permitted full credit as an adjustment to income. Under the new law, the five-percent mandatory salary deduction would have to be claimed as a miscellaneous expense, subject to the limitations noted above. AFSA informed the department of this problem in 1986 and requested a correction. Last summer, we were informed that due to budgetary reasons the department was unable to comply with the ruling until 1988. This leaves affected officers out in the cold for 1987, unless the IRS comes through with a favorable ruling in time for 1987 tax returns. AFSA requested such a ruling last summer but had not received a reply at press time.

Capital Gains: If you sold stock (if Black Monday left you with any gains to speak of), real estate, or other investments at a profit in 1987, the profits are taxed as ordinary income, with a 28-percent cap on long-term gains (held for longer than six months). Capital losses, including stocks you sold after the crash, may be claimed but must first be offset against capital gains, and only up to \$3000 of any excess over gains.

Home Ownership: Last August, the IRS unveiled what even its own officials called a bureaucratic monstrosity: Form 8598. This was to be filled out by every homeowner who sought to

take the standard mortgage-interest deduction. The IRS got the message, and in the waning days of 1987 issued a revised form that you won't need to complete unless you are certain that the total price paid for your home plus the cost of improvements was greater than the total of mortgage debts at all times in 1987. In addition, you will probably have to complete the form if you purchased or refinanced a home after August 16, 1986. The basic rules of mortgage deductions were left untouched for first and second homes purchased or refinanced as of that date. Afterwards, you are limited to interest deductions on loans up to the original cost of the property, plus the cost of subsequent capital improvements, plus any amounts spent on qualified educational or medical expenses, up to the fair-market value of the house. A "qualified home" is defined as "your principal home" and "one other home, your second home." It can be a house, condo, coop, mobile home, or boat, as long as the structure includes basic living accommodations, including sleeping, bathroom, and cooking facilities.

If your second home is vacation property that you rented for fewer than 15 days during the year, you do not have to report the income. You cannot claim rental expenses either, but can deduct all property taxes and mortgage interest.

If you are overseas and rented your home during 1987, you can continue to deduct mortgage interest, depreciation costs, taxes, and the cost of improvements up to \$25,000, after offsetting the rental income you received. The size of the deduction is determined by whether you actively managed it and how large your AGI is. "Active" management is not precluded by retaining a property manager; most Foreign Service employees fall into this category. The cap on losses is lowered at AGIs of more than \$100,000 and disappears entirely where it exceeds \$150,000.

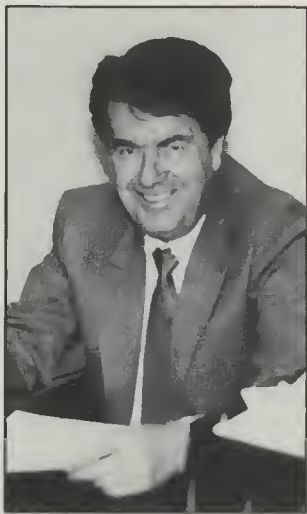
Interest paid on **home equity loans** is fully deductible, as long as the loan didn't push the total debt on your house beyond what you paid for it plus the cost of improvements. Even that limit does not apply if the money is used for

educational or medical bills.

Sale of Residence and Capital Gains: Tax reform didn't hurt you as long as you qualified for the **deferral or exclusion from capital gains**. The new law retained the provision that allows you to roll over the profits from sale of a home as long as you replace it with another within two years (four years if overseas). Rental property is considered investment income and ordinarily does not qualify for the deferral. Foreign Service employees are affected by this caveat when their home is rented during overseas service. One Foreign Service member took this issue to tax court after the IRS denied the deferral provision. In *Trisko v. Commissioner* (1972), the tax court overturned the IRS denial and held that the principal residence of a Foreign Service employee retains that status even if rented temporarily during the employee's absence. In this case the employee had rented the home and was absent for 4-1/2 years prior to the sale. In distinguishing personal residence from investment property, the court applied the following tests: Was the property the taxpayer's principal residence? Did the taxpayer reside in the property prior to being sent abroad? Did the taxpayer intend to return to the residence upon completion of overseas duty, and what were the reasons for selling it? A copy of the *Trisko* decision may be requested from AFSA in Washington.

The deferral rule may be used repeatedly. If you sold your home and are at least age 55, you can still take the one-time, \$125,000 capital gains exclusion without having to reinvest in another home. The law is, however, very strict in mandating that you have lived in the home for three out of the last five years prior to sale. AFSA has unfortunately been unsuccessful in persuading Congress to grant an exemption for Foreign Service employees who cannot meet this condition due to prolonged overseas service.

Please note that the March issue will feature an update on state tax liabilities, status of the D.C. tax exclusion, and state taxation of Foreign Service pensions and annuities.



President's Message

The Need for a Foreign Service Credo

By Perry Shankle

This fall we all have been concerned about the State Department's proposed budget cut-backs—and properly so. As we continue to work to ensure adequate funding for our nation's foreign affairs operations, however, we should also be looking at the status of our profession as a *profession*.

Whatever the future may hold in terms of budget levels, we know that there will still be a Foreign Service. But just what is it that we are supposed to be doing as career Foreign Service employees? Whom do we serve? For what purposes do we strive? How can we improve?

Recently, from a number of quarters there has arisen the

idea of establishing a Foreign Service credo. A credo is no more than a statement of principles. While easy enough to define, it is not so easy to determine.

We know, for instance, that we serve our country, the Constitution, the president, and the secretary—and our profession itself. We know we owe our allegiance to all of these, and to the people of the United States. But having said all this, how do these parts relate, and how do other parts of the government and the laws under which we live fit in to the picture? We need look no further than the testimony on the Iran-contra fiasco to know that not all people will answer these questions in the same way.

I suspect, however, that we can come to a satisfactory consensus on a statement of princi-

ples. Certainly nearly all of us would be comfortable on the high morale plane set by Secretary Shultz during his appearance on Capitol Hill last summer. Perhaps we could begin with "trust is the coin of the realm" as a motto and guiding principle. But we must be more comprehensive than that alone.

By the time you have read this, you should have received a joint notice sent to all posts and offices by AFSA and State management on the subject of a Foreign Service credo. Some have already set their thoughts down, and these initial efforts are well worth the reading.

But what are *your* thoughts? Send in your version of a Foreign Service credo.

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