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Cover: Foreign Service spouses are always on the move. Their options and opportunities are expanding as they seek meaningful work overseas. Moreover, many spouses are finding that this peripatetic way of life brings varied, enriching experiences, if not a direct path to a career goal. *Art by Mark Williams.*

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July/August 1988. Volume 65, number 7.

The Shrinking of State

Little bit by little bit, you've taken all there was of it."— *John Chiardi*
Those who have children may be familiar with John Chiardi's poem, *Will You Have Some Pie, Said Jane*. He describes the predicament of a person who offers a piece of pie to a small friend, only to find that the friend wants some more, "just a little, just a bit," since "two little bits don't make a lot," until "little bit by little bit" the entire pie is gone.

That is the predicament the Foreign Service is in. A combination of amendments to the State authorization bill, other legislation, defeatism, and budget constraints threaten to whittle away at the Service until there may be very little left.

A case in point are the recommendations of Ambassadors David Popper and Paul Boeker concerning the staffing of deputy assistant secretary positions and the economic function, respectively [see AFSA NEWS]. Following the course set by the Whitehead Plan to reorganize the department and reduce positions, Popper and Boeker have taken on the unenviable tasks of finding ways to eliminate positions. Both put their task in historical perspective and clearly understand the significance of the department's mission, yet both conclude by recommending cuts in positions.

The underlying rationale of the Whitehead Plan, that the department must shrink because budget problems will be with us indefinitely, has driven the analyses of these two ambassadors. AFSA considers the assumption that nothing can be done to generate support for adequate budgetary support to be self-defeating. In recommending a reduction of two slivers of the organizational pie—deputy assistant secretaries and the economic function—Popper and Boeker contribute, bit by bit, to a smaller and possibly less effective department. And who is to say that next year, and in coming years, the department will not offer up other bits for elimination? Where does it stop? What piece of the organizational pie will be next?

AFSA applauds efforts to study the organization of the department and to make it more effective. We recognize that there is a need to identify and eliminate redundancies, but we oppose analysis that has as a prerequisite shrinking the Service. No study of the reorganization of the Foreign Service or the Department of State is complete unless it recognizes that the Service must function in an increasingly complex international environment where our country's relative power is diminishing. If we are to fulfill our responsibilities, we must have a better Service, not a smaller one. We must aim for a reorganization of the Foreign Service that provides the human and technical resources we need to pursue our national interests.

Since 1983, the Foreign Service in the State Department has lost more than 80 FS-01 officers and more than twice as many members of the Senior Foreign Service. A loss of expertise of this magnitude is institutional suicide. It is a loss we can ill afford. This year the department's management sent ambassadors a message warning them to expect substantial gaps in the replacement of personnel due for transfer this summer. An organization that does not have the personnel to fill vacant jobs is not one in need of wholesale cutting.

Those involved in reorganizing the department should reconsider before they cut just a little, just a bit, lest we be left with none at all.



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LETTERS

The Debate Continues

Due to the enormous response to the articles by Gifford Malone and Robert Chatten on USIA in the April issue, we have condensed the letters we received in an effort to highlight the basic arguments of each. —ED.

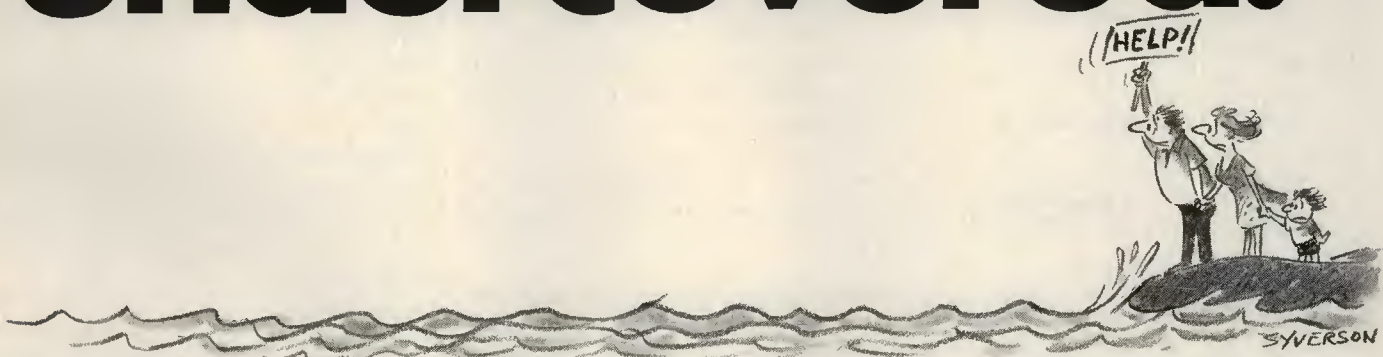
After taking a quarter-century to bring all of the government information/cultural programs together in one agency, I never expected to live long enough to see proposals for splitting them up again.

As one of the founders of USIA—I came over from the State Department in the early days of the Eisenhower administration—I spent 25 years of my government career in the agency and thus experienced its various vicissitudes, including proposals for change that were never actually implemented. Having served both as a cultural affairs officer in the field and as a USIA officer on loan for a tour of duty in State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, I can attest to the problems encountered at both ends of the exchange program when the latter was left in the department in 1953. I experienced the frustrations of running programs in a department not accustomed to running programs but rather making policy.

Wherever the information/cultural programs are lodged they should be kept together. The cultural programs, including the exchange programs, often open doors and offer access to information programs, while the latter are frequently needed to publicize, supplement, and complement the former. There are those who think that the apolitical nature of the academic exchange programs will somehow be more protected in one agency than another. One cannot count on this, however, because heads of agencies change with administrations as well as attitudes. No administrative arrangement is foolproof. The exchange programs have fared both well and ill in both the department and USIA. My recommendation at this point is let well enough alone.

DOROTHY DILLON
*Former Assistant Director
for Latin America, USIA
Washington, D.C.*

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Collecting appropriate parts under one tent is an ancient, honorable, and difficult task. In the case of public diplomacy, collecting its parts under one appropriate tent is far from easy but remains necessary.

If public diplomacy has grown in importance as a chief element of foreign policy and action, then it deserves the elevation it has achieved under the direction of one government agency. This elevation has occurred despite questions—clearly intelligent ones—about separation by, for example, the Stanton panel in the early 1970s, along with others uncertain about where we were heading.

Unless it has one government element as advocate, public diplomacy and its bearing on U.S. foreign policy will sink into innocuous desuetude. Or in the words of Edward R. Murrow, "I insist on being in on the take-offs as well as the crash landings." With the significant parts he controlled, Murrow had an unwritten seat on the National Security Council of the day, and he was able to push his views with the president's cabinet [see 10-25-50, page 24].

Robert Chatten stresses the fact that public diplomacy can be improved at USIA. He is right, of course. But one trouble in telling "America's story" is that it is a stormy and often political tale. A government organization is necessary to keep the operation going regardless of what political party is in power. The task is to present objectively American views and interests. It is not made better by being divided among separate organizations.

ROBERT A. LINCOLN
President, USIA Alumni Association
McLean, Virginia

I cannot agree with Gifford Malone's proposal to divide USIA into three separate functions. Given the numerous and often conflicting priorities the State Department has to face and the deep-rooted tendency to consider information as a "non-substantive" area, there would be a strong temptation to relegate such activities to a back burner in times of pressure or crisis. I am very much afraid that information would become just another "cone" in the minds of most FSOs.

Perhaps most important, his proposed reorganization would negate USIA's progress in integrating the various elements of information, education, and advocacy which comprise public diplomacy. I have found without exception our programs are most effective when there is close and daily coordination and cooperation between the various USIS elements. While I agree with Malone on the relationship between politi-

cal and information officers and have in fact worked closely with political sections in my assignments, I do not believe that this fact in any way diminishes the need for a close working relationship between information and cultural officers.

There is room for improvement in both USIA and State in terms of coordination, exchange of information, and awareness of each other's legitimate interests. But public diplomacy—used in the proper sense to describe communication with foreign audiences—is composed of many elements on many levels. To separate these elements would only diminish the effectiveness of our total effort.

JOHN TUOHEY
USIA Advisor
Fort Bragg, North Carolina

I disagree with Gifford Malone's implication that the job of public diplomacy is not being done adequately by USIA. The quality of performance is directly related to the capabilities of individual public affairs officers. Furthermore, I do not see the unnatural distinction between USIA and State officers that Malone describes. It does not exist here in Turkey.

Overall, I think Gifford Malone lacks appreciation for the effectiveness of a USIS-coordinated approach to advocacy-oriented topical seminars: on narcotics, economic issues, security relationships, constitutional development, and other substantive concerns.

What can I say about Robert Chatten's article? Obviously, he knows what being a PAO is all about, and he understands that cultural exchange programs should be political in intent and effect.

FRANK W. SCOTTON
Public Affairs Counselor
Ankara, Turkey

During my 20-year Foreign Service career, I have too often been involved in meaningless, enervating philosophical policy discussions with my State Department colleagues who have difficulty understanding the need for immediate action to counter fast-breaking news stories damaging to U.S. foreign policy interests. With a public affairs officer subordinate to State political and economic officers, bureaucratic confusion and delays would be commonplace.

Chatten goes to the heart of the issue when he points out that most reorganization proposals are Washington-based, whereas public diplomacy action is in the field. These days it is working well and USIA is again playing on the diplomatic

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first team with adequate budgets. So my conclusion is: If it ain't broke, don't fix it!

GUY W. FARMER
Counselor for Public Affairs
Caracas, Venezuela

Back in the AFGE

When John O. Grimes retired from the Foreign Service, did he retire to the 19th century? He implies that the American Federation of Government Employees is irresponsible simply because it has a fraternal exchange with the Soviet Union's State Institution of Workers [LETTERS, April].

Where has Mr. Grimes been since Franklin Roosevelt established diplomatic relations with the USSR? Then and now, successive U.S. administrations have carried on cultural exchanges with the Soviets—in times of détente and during the Cold War. Mr. Grimes may even find that the city where he lives has a "sister city" in the Soviet Union thanks to efforts coordinated by USIA. Why is this longtime policy unknown to Mr. Grimes, or ignored in the current case of AFGE?

And if Mr. Grimes is worried about AFGE's financial condition, as he intimates, he might help improve it by paying a member's dues.

RICHARD PATRICK WILSON
Foreign Service Information Officer, retired
Mobile, Alabama

Take me to your Leaders

Lines from a recent issue of *Fortune* magazine summarize why, despite all the emphasis on management, the Foreign Service's personnel system is in such terrible shape. "The difference between managers and leaders is fundamental . . . The manager relies on systems, the leader relies on people. The manager counts on control, the leader counts on trust."

Clearly the Foreign Service personnel system would be in much better shape if it had less management and more leadership, if it paid more attention to people and less to its systems.

GERALD P. LAMBERTY
Deputy Chief of Mission
Guatemala

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SAIS REVIEW

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Chekisty: A History of the KGB. By John J. Dziak. Lexington Books, 1987. \$17.95.

Gorbachev's Challenge. By Marshall I. Goldman. Norton Press, 1987. \$16.95.

The Sixth Continent. By Mark Frankland. Harper and Row, 1987. \$22.95.

Great things, we hear, are going on in Moscow under the banner of openness. A recent report in the *Economist* says, "already some 30,000 discussion clubs have mushroomed beyond party control, under the protection of the campaign for greater *glasnost*, or frankness." However, the authors of the newest books on developments in the Soviet Union are not so sure about the frankness. Mark Frankland, a well-informed correspondent of the *London Observer*, takes hope from statements by Anatoli Dobrynin about "new political thinking" and a corresponding "greater readiness to make reasonable compromises." But Frankland finds less reassurance in continuing declarations by the new KGB chief, Viktor Chebrikov, about a nightmare across the borders in the West that has to be stopped from infiltrating Soviet minds.

Marshall Goldman, an economist at the Russian Research Center at Harvard, doubts that Gorbachev's reform program can succeed without some sacrifice of current political and military power. In his book, Goldman links the 1984 dismissal of then Chief of Staff Nikolai Ogarkov to the latter's outspoken criticism of Soviet technology. It may be, that, as in so much else that goes on in the Soviet Union, the push for ever-greater military power is the real motive force for the general secretary's economic reform plans.

For Frankland and Goldman, the fate of Gorbachev's reforms will depend ultimately on social and political forces within the Soviet Union. Neither author sees any need for U.S. policymakers to help Gorbachev out of his difficulties. And certainly neither would find any merit in George Kennan's bizarre notion that the economic restructuring contemplated in Moscow is somehow endangered by the "aggressive body of American opinion for which the question of a great and fearful external en-

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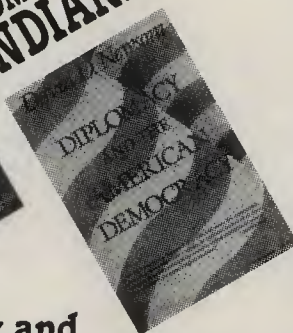
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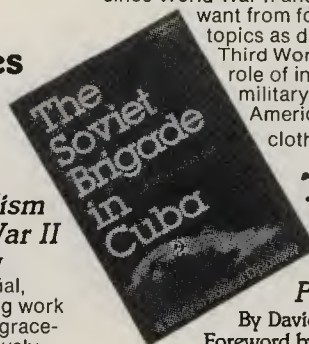
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Foreword by Stansfield Turner

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emy, to be exorcised only by vast military preparations and much belligerent posturing, has become a psychological necessity."

The last word of this debate about Soviet foreign policy might be looked for in *Chekisty: A History of the KGB*. A reader of this authoritative and up-to-date account of the workings of the Committee for State Security will not be so easily persuaded that discussion clubs are any real threat to the general secretary's party and state security machine. Such a machine—which controls and directs terrorist training camps in Czechoslovakia and South Yemen, stockpiles great quantities of arms in Libya, and builds more submarines than we do for an underwater fleet already more than twice as large as our own—such a machine takes itself seriously. —THOMAS A. DONOVAN

America Outside the World: The Collapse of U.S. Foreign Policy. By Louis Rene Beres. D.C. Heath and Company/Lexington Books, 1987. \$19.95.

On Diplomacy: A Genealogy of Western Estrangement. By James Der Derian, Basil Blackwell Inc., 1987.

Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy. By Michael H. Hunt. Yale University Press, 1987. \$22.50.

A gap between what diplomats do and how the academic world interprets their actions may be unavoidable. However, today's scholarly reflections should, ideally, aid in forming tomorrow's policy. When three new works in a crowded field do not significantly advance our knowledge of the subject, there may be cause for concern.

Louis Beres gives free play to a visceral dislike of U.S. foreign policy in his work *America Outside the World*. It is a diatribe against the "wizards of realpolitik." He condemns our sterile anti-Soviet attitudes and writes that we need to move away from reaction in Central America (illegal intervention), towards a solid anti-apartheid policy in South Africa (legal intervention).

He believes only a radical transformation of consciousness, starting with the thoughtful few, can save us. Beres has in mind groups like the Sanctuary Movement as the beginnings of a renaissance to put the people back on top. With luck, he predicts an escape to a "harmonious new world order of consolidation and cosmopolis . . . drawing its vitality from an abundant source of individuality."

On Diplomacy is a complex study, linking history with critical theory and philosophy. Der Derian sees diplomacy evolving

from paradigm to paradigm. Beginning as "mytho-diplomacy," it evolved to the ritualistic "proto-diplomacy" of feudal Europe, and then to the rise of nation-states and traditional diplomatic practices: resident ambassadors, *raison d'etat*, and balance of power. Standard diplomacy, in turn, is consistently challenged by the "anti-diplomacy" of utopians, who would dispense with diplomacy altogether, seeking a fraternal or classless international order. Yet, in the end, Der Derian sees diplomacy as increasingly eclipsed by radical change: destabilizing modernization, instant communications, and nuclear weapons. Man's ability to muddle his planet may exceed his capacity for diplomatic solutions.

The book's difficulty arises from its preference for philosophical analysis. The use of concepts from Hegel, Nietzsche, and Foucault may be novel, but the results do not always satisfy. Yet, Der Derian reminds us that diplomacy has a philosophical base in human estrangement.

In *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy*, Michael Hunt explores the history of our ideology, which he argues is central, not incidental, to our foreign policy. Since independence, it has had three major aspects: a quest for national greatness and continental expansion, a hierarchy of race, and a preference for political evolution over revolution. Hunt surveys our diplomatic history by recalling grandiose visions and cataloging petty thoughts and sayings of prominent Americans.

Central to Hunt's argument is his concern that ideology puts Americans at odds with world diplomacy. He feels that we reject spheres of influence on moral grounds, and that our assumed racial superiority compelled us to dictate to perceived inferiors. Hunt concludes that ideology best explains our foreign policy behavior.

An overhaul of foreign policy is due, Hunt says. He calls for a strong Republic that will lead by example of its liberal domestic order and create a new ideology able to accommodate the Communist and Third Worlds.

The idealism of Beres and Hunt is apparent, and even Der Derian longs for relief from our permanent estrangement. All three writers likely agree with former Secretary Kissinger's remark that the first responsibility of the intellectuals is to worry about what is right, while statesmen and diplomats must concern themselves with the possible. Yet, successful diplomacy and successful diplomatic studies need to incorporate both the right and the possible. Without the two, the gap between embassy and academe will remain wide.

—RAY WALSER

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The Papacy and the Middle East: The Role of the Holy See in the Arab-Israeli Conflict. By George E. Irani. University of Notre Dame Press, 1986.

George Irani writes in his conclusion that "papal diplomacy always concentrates on concerns that are spiritual in nature." Would that it were so. The evidence presented by the author shows that, spiritual phraseology notwithstanding, Vatican efforts to exercise diplomatic influence in the Middle East are essentially pragmatic and down-to-earth in nature.

This book explores the religious and humanitarian roles of the Holy See in the Middle East from 1962-84 through an analysis that covers three perspectives: the Israeli-Palestinian dispute, the Holy Places and Jerusalem, and the war in Lebanon.

Of particular interest to Western readers is Irani's discussion of the two-sided nature of the "universal" Catholic church: its Western side, typified by our frequent reference to a Judeo-Christian heritage, and its Eastern side, which has a more fundamental relationship with Islam and views Judaism and the state of Israel from an entirely different perspective.

The Vatican's underlying aims in the Middle East have been consistent: protecting Catholic welfare in general, fostering coexistence and dialogue, and maintaining a permanent presence in the area. Irani uses the analysis of Papal diplomacy in Lebanon to illustrate the fine line the church must walk to protect Christian interests in the war-torn country without jeopardizing the fate of minority churches in Arab states.

In his discussions of Vatican stands on Israel and Jerusalem, Irani also shows that the Holy See is guided more by pragmatic reality than theological doctrine. Evolution of Vatican policy on Jerusalem, for example, shows a clear adaptation to an international political framework that is relatively devoid of a spiritual basis: from early claims of Catholic supremacy through calls for a special status for Jerusalem and the Holy Places, to acceptance of national sovereignty subject to international supervision, one sees an "eternal" church acceding to temporal powers.

Irani's concentration on and documentation of Vatican efforts to promote its aims leads him occasionally to focus excessively on some of the minutiae of diplomatic efforts at the cost of more general policy considerations. However, he packs a lot of research and information between the covers of his book, and it deserves a hearing by those who would study the role of this unique transnational actor.

—LEON WEINTRAUB

Germany between East and West. Edited by Edwina Moreton. Cambridge University Press, 1987.

This book, a compendium of papers from a 1986 Royal Institute of International Affairs conference, is a much needed assessment of the contemporary state of the German question. This perennial problem seemed to lose its urgency when the status of Berlin was normalized in 1971. Scarcely more than 10 years later, however, it attracted renewed attention during the controversy in both German states over the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear weapons. Peace activists suggested that a commitment to arms reduction in both Germanies could be the key to national self-respect and even to national unity. However, security analysts saw in this the specter of a balance of power again threatened by German national aspirations.

Moreton's book will be most useful for those already familiar with modern German history. In essence it explores the conduct of *Deutschland politik* from Bonn and East Berlin in terms of the security interests of their respective allies. This gives the collection a unity often lacking in this genre.

The contributions are uniformly good, and useful insights far outweigh weak points. Fred Oldenburg demonstrates why East German interests are now more accurately described as "parallel" to Soviet interests, and no longer as "identical." German-German relations is still a salient issue for the West German public, but one gathers from these authors that in the 1980s, normalization rather than reunification is the real issue.

The nature of the German question has changed once again. Gains or losses affecting the global balance of power today are less likely to happen in Germany. The question may now center on what role Germany is to play in the development of a more self-reliant Western Europe. *Germany between East and West* is a succinct but valuable contribution to understanding this enduring problem in its most recent form.

—STEPHEN P. HOFFMAN

Strategy: The Logic of War and Peace. By Edward N. Luttwak. Harvard University Press, 1987. \$20.

The prolific Edward Luttwak's new work endeavors to develop a theory describing that which "conditions . . . war as well as the adversarial dealings of nations in peacetime." This constitutes the realm of strategy, of which Luttwak may be America's premier student.



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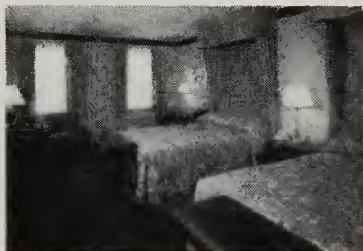
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His theory of strategy has two key components: a driving logic and an overall framework. The logic of strategy, in Luttwak's view, is paradoxical—since an adversary will react to whatever one attempts, ordinary linear logic is ill-suited to strategic application. For example, an advancing military force may be faced with two roads to its objective: a “good” road, broad, well-paved, and direct; and a “bad” road, narrow, unpaved, and circuitous. Linear logic would dictate use of the first road. Yet in the paradoxical domain of strategy, the “bad” road can be good precisely because it is bad.”

In Luttwak's analysis, the paradoxical logic of strategy unfolds in a framework with two dimensions, the horizontal and the vertical. The horizontal dimension encompasses the totality of approaches—including diplomacy—that a nation can take to frustrate a foe in both peace and war. This dimension underlines the fact that military policy and foreign policy are dual elements of statecraft. The second, vertical dimension consists of five levels of conflict. It is at the final, all-important level of grand strategy that the vertical and horizontal dimensions come together.

Luttwak's analysis suffers from an occasionally opaque style, and some of his conclusions are controversial. Still, this book contains a wealth of insight. Even the author does not suggest that his theory has general prescriptive power. But while the derivation of specific implications must be left to decision-makers facing particular contexts, the theory does suggest approaches to take and pitfalls to avoid. Diplomats as well as soldiers have much to glean from *Strategy*.

—DAVID M. ADAMSON

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By PHILIP ROGERS

Why Political Interference is Good for the State Department. By Michael Lewis. *Orbis*. Spring, 1988. Vol. 32, No. 2.

Outsiders should almost always be selected over career Foreign Service officers for the State Department's regional assistant secretary positions, Michael Lewis contends. He favors reducing the number of ambassadorial political appointments, believing that Foreign Service officers are well-suited by training and temperament to fill these positions. But they are "simply misplaced" as assistant secretaries because they lack the necessary experience and temperament to be good administrators.

Careerists tend to be less creative and more shackled by "Foreign Service shibboleths" in their approach to regional problems. Lewis's example of this is the heretofore unsuccessful pressure from the Near Eastern and South Asian Bureau to include the PLO in an Arab-Israeli negotiation. The author rejects the arguments that careerists would adopt a more objective approach to foreign policy and would provide for more consistency and institutional memory across administrations. He responds that officers have a parochial perspective on foreign policy.

The Foreign Service officer's lack of political sensitivity will lead to one of two negative outcomes: either the careerists will seek to sabotage presidential foreign policy directives, resulting in confused, distorted U.S. policy, or conversely, presidents will simply circumvent the department altogether. An outsider, politically attuned to the president's foreign policy agenda, will enhance rather than degrade the policy influence of the State Department, contends Lewis. This can be seen in the Reagan administration, which has made the highest percentage of political appointments. In this administration, outsiders such as Elliot Abrams, Chester Crocker, and Paul Wolfowitz exercise a great deal of creative influence on policy. On the other hand, the Nixon administration, with the highest percentage of career appointments, was infamous for circumventing the Department of State.

Lewis believes that the role of the regional assistant secretary—essentially directing policy in his region—is crucial in an optimal foreign policy regime. Even when the president directs attention toward his particular area, the assistant secretary helps frame the issues and guides the bureaucracy to comply with presidential policies. The conjunction of all these important roles, Lewis contends, militates for making the position a political one. But "on the rare occasion where there is an outstanding officer and no suitable outsider, a careerist might be acceptable," provided that he "first resigns from the Foreign Service."

The Case for Practical Internationalism. By Richard Gardner. *Foreign Affairs*. Spring, 1988. Vol. 66, No. 4.

The next administration should pursue the middle course of "practical internationalism," writes Richard Gardner. He rejects both the view that international organizations can never serve U.S. interests and the equally simplistic view that international laws prohibit the use of force except in the event of a direct attack on one's own territory. As evidence of the utility of international organizations, the author cites the role of U.N. mediator Diego Cordovez in the Afghan conflict and the role of the organization's peacekeeping forces in the Sinai. In 1982, the use of U.N. troops in Beirut would have better served U.S. interests than the tragic use of American Marines. However, international organizations can not meet every need. For example, they will not take the necessary forceful action sometimes necessary to curtail terrorism, as the U.S. did in its bombing raid against Libya. In addition, when one or more of the belligerents won't allow a U.N. peacekeeping force, as in the Iran-Iraq war, a unilateral move may be necessary.

American popular support for international organizations has eroded, and an important task of the next administration should be to restore this support. There is new hope for the utility of the United Nations with the "creeping moderation" of Third World nations and Gorbachev's pledge to support these organizations instead of wars of national liberation. While

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one can not be certain yet of Gorbachev's sincerity, this is a promise that the author warns, "we would be . . . foolish not to test." Gardner offers a number of procedural changes designed to increase U.S. influence on U.N. budgetary decisions, and he urges the next administration to take more seriously the quality of appointees to senior U.N. posts.

Washington and the Curse of the Pundit Class. By Eric Alterman. *World Policy Journal*. Winter, 1987. Vol. 21, No. 4.

According to Alterman, the Reagan administration is aided and abetted in its simplistic, belligerent, unilateralist approach to world politics by the emergence of a debased fourth estate: the "punditocracy," a group of neoconservative journalists, intellectuals, and former government officials who dominate foreign policy discussion on television and the op-ed pages of the eastern establishment press. These individuals attain fame, fortune, and influence by developing "a recognized television personality" devoid of subtlety and complexity.

This new fourth estate has abdicated the role of challenging the basic premises of the administration. Instead, they legitimize Reagan's definition of international cooperation as weakness and consultation with

allies as a lack of leadership. Recently, the militaristic tone of the punditocracy has been tempered somewhat by an awareness that there may be economic limits on the extent of U.S. action. Even with this new moderation, Alterman sees scant improvement in the quality of debate coming from this group. The simplistic catchphrase now, echoed by George Bush and Michael Dukakis, is "strong, tough moderation."

Surprised by Tito: The Anatomy of an Intelligence Failure. By Robert Blum. *Diplomatic History*. Winter, 1988. Vol. 12, No. 1.

The U.S. should have been able to predict a split between the USSR and Yugoslavia as early as a year before the split was formally announced, writes Blum. But three factors made accurate analysis more difficult: The Yugoslavian press was almost slavish in its praise of the Soviet Union; the Tito regime made intelligence collection very difficult by harassing Yugoslavians who had any contact with the U.S. embassy; and finally, Tito remained hostile to the U.S. up to the split. Nevertheless, a few Foreign Service officers were quite prescient.

Based largely on a shrewd assessment of Yugoslavian nationalism, John Cabot, the chargé d'affaires, suggested the possibility of a break a year before it formally oc-

curred. Unfortunately, departmental resistance to these dissenters was very strong; Dean Acheson ostensibly wrote "rubbish" on one of Cabot's memos.

Intelligence collection was deficient in following-up on a number of early hints of trouble (e.g. the fact that authorities removed public pictures of Tito in Budapest). Nevertheless, Blum argues, the available evidence should have been enough to have anticipated the possibility of an imminent split. In early 1948, the Intelligence and Research Bureau wrote only one report on the situation, and nothing came out of the CIA. Reports failed to pay attention to internal affairs apart from assessments of a possible anti-communist opposition. Four months before the public break, a memorandum that concluded, "something is seriously amiss in Yugoslavia," was forwarded to the office of Undersecretary Lovett. But the memo never reached him because an aide decided that Lovett should not be bothered by a list "of more or less coincidental manifestations of internal problems." Fortunately, the department rapidly corrected the quality of its intelligence assessment of Yugoslavia once the break was publicly known.

Philip Rogers is an assistant professor of political science at George Washington University.

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Tests and More Tests

A voluntary polygraph testing program will be put into effect for all State Department employees in the coming weeks. Under the program, employees may choose to take a lie detector test during "criminal, counter-intelligence, and personal security investigations after all other reasonable investigative steps have been taken," a State Department spokesman said. Employees who are subjects of agency investigations could also request a polygraph, the spokesman said. No one would be compelled to take the test, he said.

Secretary of State George Shultz, who has threatened to resign on several occasions rather than take a polygraph, unveiled a vague outline of the plan last week before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee.

Congress passed legislation requiring State to establish a polygraph testing program last year, but President Reagan has given Shultz broad discretion in administering the program. Agency officials said details of the regulations will not be available for several weeks.

The American Foreign Service Association, which represents U.S. Foreign Service employees, has warned the agency it expects to be allowed to negotiate the terms of the testing plan before the program goes into effect. "We think the tests are unreliable," said AFSA General Counsel Susan Holik. "I would never advise an employee to take one."

Federal Times, May 16

In the Federal government, 350,000 employees soon will be told they are subject to random drug tests. The final procedural bar to testing under President Reagan's 1986 executive order was removed when the Health and Human Services Department sent an 11-volume report on drug-testing plans at 42 agencies to Capitol Hill.

Presidential appointees must be tested, and most agencies will require Senior Executive Service members and top managers to provide urine samples, as well. The report freed agencies to begin the required 60-day period for notifying all employees leading to the first tests.

The State Department has limited its in-

itial testing plans to employees in the Washington, D.C. area because of cost considerations. Still, the testing pool includes 12,440 jobs, too many for union representatives there. "We've never been in favor of random drug testing. We're dismayed by the large number of employees that State has seen fit to test. The figures seem extraordinarily high," said Sue Holik, AFSA general counsel.

All Foreign Service career and career-conditional employees, and all civil service personnel in "critical-sensitive" jobs will be included. Civil service employees in non-sensitive jobs are not included, nor are most Passport Agency personnel. About 15 percent of employees in the Washington, D.C. area will be tested each year. Logistical and budgetary concerns will delay testing at overseas posts.

*Anne Laurent in the Federal Times,
May 16*

Report Card

Alexander Haig was a disaster, causing needless friction with the White House. His claim to fame is having rushed to the White House press room after Reagan was shot in March 1981 and declaring, eyes ablaze: "I am in control here." Haig left in 1982. George Shultz is an improvement. Shultz defers to the State bureaucracy, and he's only too eager to make concessions to the Soviets on arms control. If he'd had his way, the Soviets would have been able to keep some of their medium-range missiles—no "zero option" (removal of all Soviet medium-range missiles). Shultz is better than Cyrus Vance, Carter's man at State, but he's no Henry Kissinger, Nixon's and Ford's Secretary, or Dean Acheson, Truman's. They got A's.

*Fred Barnes in The Washingtonian,
May 1988*

Terror and Courage

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installations in 1979. The embassy was sacked and four people—two Americans and two local staffers—died. At the school, a lone Pakistani army colonel, whose son was a student there, faced down a mob until help arrived.

It happened again April 10, when scores of children might have been killed but for a few inches in the trajectory of a shell. In an hour of terror and courage, the masks of teen life were stripped away. All learned in minutes aspects of life that some, fortunately, never have to experience.

At 9:55 am., Brock Obee, a 16-year-old junior, remembers an explosion and the wall in the band room bulging and dust filling the room. No one at the school knew it at the time, but a giant ammunition dump about a mile and a half away had exploded. Within minutes, rockets and shells, many of them intended for guerrillas battling Soviet forces in Afghanistan, began raining down across Islamabad and the school. The auditorium is the "safe haven" in an emergency situation. As the youngsters from kindergarten through high school gathered, there were rumors everywhere. . . No one knew [what was happening], and with the uncertainty came greater fear.

"The power went off in the auditorium and you could hear [shells] whistling over and exploding. People got more and more nervous," recalled Megan Peterson, 15, whose father is with AID.

In the darkened auditorium, John Gates, the high school principal, asked seniors to come down to the front of the room and sit with the first, second, and third graders. The youngest ones were assigned to sit on the stage and were grouped on an extension that had been built for a school musical. That stage extension within moments would save lives.

"Suddenly it looked like the back wall just came forward. There was a flash and the back of the stage just lit up. All the kids started screaming and running. We didn't have time to get scared. We just started grabbing kids to slow them down so no one would get trampled. . ."

Other shells hit the school grounds for the next hour, but through it all, [the older students looked after younger], and there were no serious injuries.

*Richard M. Weintraub in the
Washington Post, April 18*

Money Store

The State Department entrusted millions of dollars in traveler's checks to poorly paid clerks who kept them in unlocked cabinets and in stacks on the floor, resulting in an operation so loose that \$59,000 was em-

buzzled and \$307,780 has disappeared, a congressional panel was told yesterday.

Congressional investigators also told a House Government Operations Subcommittee that controls on State Department travel advances have been so disorganized that \$15 million in such accounts are outstanding.

Sherman N. Funk, State's inspector general, said the traveler's-check problem was uncovered after a surprise audit of the department's principal cashier operations in its headquarters building here.

[Under Secretary for Management] Spiers said that because the department is focused on foreign policy issues, "management issues do not get the attention they deserve."

Associated Press, April 28

In Service at State

For the Foreign Service family in the 1980s, terrorism has become a fact of life. Americans are now the target of about 35 percent of all international terrorist incidents. The Foreign Service Institute offers seminars in anti-terrorist training, and in posts designated "high threat," ambassadors are provided with bullet proof cars and families with "safe haven" rooms.

The Foreign Service has also adapted to the new dual-career diplomatic family. Tandem couples . . . now represent 8.8 percent of the total work force. The tandem couple is only one solution to the problem of Foreign Service spouses who want to work.

Morale has been severely tested in recent years by reorganizations and draconian budget cuts. Career officers have always had to compete with political appointees for senior positions, but the room at the top was further narrowed by the Foreign Service Act of 1980.

Approximately 102 officers last year and another 100 this year faced involuntary retirement. It is estimated that only 35 to 40 percent of junior officers entering the service today will reach senior grade.

The Foreign Service, in microcosm, reflects the revolutionary changes affecting American society as a whole over the past 30 years. With some grinding of the gears, but overall surprising flexibility, the Foreign Service has adjusted to the realities of the 80s.

[The Foreign Service] continues to attract young Americans of the highest caliber. Annually, between 16,000 and 18,000 applicants take the exam, of whom 200 to 250 are accepted.

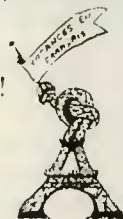
*Beatrice Russell in the
Christian Science Monitor, March 2*

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Foreign Service Journal, July 1978: On May 23, 1948, our consul general in Jerusalem, Thomas Campbell Wasson, died at his post as the first member of the Foreign Service to fall victim to the animosities and hatreds generated by the upheaval that was taking place in the area. [See Journal, May 1988]. May I offer a toast to the memory of Tom, of whom the Service will always be proud, and to other members of the Service who, during the last 30 years, have courageously sacrificed their lives in their endeavor to represent our country in the troubled areas of the Middle East.

—A Tribute by Loy Henderson

Foreign Service Journal, July 1963: On the 10th anniversary of USIA, there are lessons arising from the past worth mentioning. Foremost among them is our new relationship with the White House and the Department of State. Representatives of [USIA] join the other personal advisers to the president in discussions of policy while it is being formed. We are therefore no longer mere publicists grinding out our appointed quota of press releases. We have become psychological advisers to the president and, in turn, to each ambassador in his individual country team.

Further, through continual contact with the communications systems and networks of foreign countries, USIS officers have become specialists in conveying a message from the United States to another people. Theirs is the knowledge of the structure and technique of communication. They are most effective when this fact is understood.

—Edward R. Murrow

Foreign Service Journal, July 1938: When I entered the Service [in 1924], there was a considerable body of opinion that a diplomatic officer should speak French. If an officer expected to spend much of his time in Latin America it would be a good idea for him to have some Spanish, but even that was not considered essential. It was argued that officers were moved about from country to country so often that it was a waste of time to try to learn the language of any one. . . . You will encounter that erroneous idea in very few officers today.

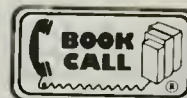
—Nathaniel P. Davis

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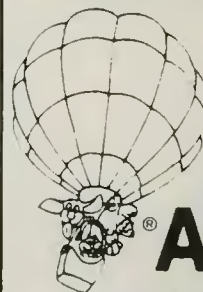


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FUTURE DIVIDENDS

*AID-sponsored graduate fellowships
are an investment in Indonesia's tomorrow*

THOMAS R. D'AGNES

THE YOUNG INDONESIAN from the Central Bureau of Statistics prepared for his first trip to the United States with a liberal mix of excitement, tempered with apprehension and some trepidation. The year was 1969, and Haryono Suyono had just received an Agency for International Development fellowship to pursue doctoral studies in sociology at the University of Chicago. A marathon flight over the Pacific Ocean, sudden immersion into an alien culture, the challenge of graduate studies in a new language, and a host of other new experiences awaited the young man. But as Haryono readily acknowledged, what really awaited him was the opportunity of a lifetime—the chance not only to pursue a Ph.D. but to do it in the United States.

Today, Haryono is the chairman of Indonesia's National Family Planning Coordinating Board, or BKKBN as it is known internationally, an organization with 35,000 employees responsible for family planning in the world's fifth most populous nation. The agency works with 200,000 volunteers to provide family planning and child health-care services to more than 17 million "acceptors" in villages throughout the archipelago. As a result of these efforts, more than 49 percent of married couples use modern contraceptives and the rate of population growth has slowed from 2.9 percent in 1970 to 1.7 percent today.

In pursuing his education in the United States, Haryono was in the vanguard of what started as a trickle, and has more recently turned into a torrent of BKKBN staff obtaining master's and doctoral degrees in the United States with the help of AID fellowships. More than 280 of his colleagues have followed in Haryono's footsteps over the past 17 years, with two-thirds of this number receiving AID fellowships in the last five years.

AID's graduate fellowships to promising

Tom D'Agnes is a consultant working with AID's Office of Population and Health in Jakarta.

young professionals have generally been acknowledged as one of its more cost-effective types of development assistance. It is a symbiotic relationship, with significant benefits for both parties. It allows the United States to share one of its most valuable national assets—its system of higher education—with colleagues in developing countries, allowing them to experience the educational system, the people, the culture, and the flavor of life in the United States. They see the country from a unique perspective, that of a student struggling to survive both physically and academically at a major U.S. university.

These young professionals then return to their countries with the specialized knowledge and skills afforded by their education, and with a unique and, for the most part, quite favorable impression of the States, its culture and its people. As they invariably gravitate toward the higher echelons of authority and power, they tend to retain these warm and special feelings. We would be hard-pressed to find better goodwill ambassadors.

In developing countries, these fellowship opportunities are used to systematically develop a cadre of mid- and upper-level technocrats. Haryono acknowledges the importance of AID fellowships in "building the professionalism" of his organization. In Indonesia, graduate education is still inchoate and places in master's and Ph.D. programs are extremely limited. For this reason, many governments seeking to develop professional competence have looked to the United States for graduate training.

The program at BKKBN started slowly. Between 1972–82 five students per year were sent overseas for AID-sponsored graduate training. As part of a major manpower development initiative, BKKBN and AID were planning to significantly increase that number beginning in 1983. Analysis of the previous ten years had confirmed that many of the graduates moved into leadership positions in BKKBN. However, it also revealed that most of the

*Haryono Suyono:
"An investment in
people is an invest-
ment in the future.
The students we
send for graduate
training today will
be the leaders of
BKKBN
tomorrow."*



participants came from the capital city, Jakarta, and were chosen more for their English language ability than any strategic organizational purposes. Representation from Indonesia's provinces, where the need for trained manpower was most acute, was nominal at best. The cost of sending each student abroad had also risen inexorably, presenting a major obstacle to further expansion. By 1981, total monthly costs per participant had climbed to \$2000 with no relief in sight.

Most important, the evaluation confirmed that BKKBN was itself in no better position to manage a graduate training program in 1982 than it had been in 1972. The agency possessed no organizational capability to enroll its personnel in overseas graduate programs and was totally dependent on AID for this vital function. BKKBN merely submitted names of potential participants, and AID did the rest.

The accelerated overseas graduate training program—finally launched in 1983—had three objectives:

- To increase the number of trainees sent abroad to 30 each year in response to BKKBN's expanded manpower needs;
- to arrest the inflationary spiral in overseas training costs; and

- to develop within BKKBN the institutional capacity needed to manage and administer an overseas training program.

TO CALL THESE objectives ambitions was an understatement. Increasing the number of trainees meant finding 30 persons with a professional background in health and family planning and the requisite English language skills needed to gain acceptance at a major U.S. university. Controlling training costs meant confronting, head on, a major problem plaguing higher education in the United States. And developing an institutional capability within BKKBN meant training agency employees to manage an overseas training program from Jakarta. In the future the agency would not only have to identify potential candidates, it would also have to arrange intensive English training, help students apply to universities, obtain timely acceptances, and provide financial support and academic guidance during the years of the students' studies. Managing this effort from the United States would be a formidable task. Dealing with the Byzantine admissions process at U.S. universities, coping with the vagaries of international mail and the 12-hour time difference in international communication, and managing the financial and academic problems from Indonesia would require a Herculean effort.

In September 1982, the first group of 30 promising students, picked not for their English ability but for their professional competence, assembled in Jakarta to begin preparing for university applications and admissions. Special attention had been given to recruiting participants from the provinces, so these students represented exotic places like Bengkulu, Aceh, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi. The first order of business was to prepare them for the Test of English as a Foreign Language Exam. This acronym would eventually breathe fear into the students' hearts—TOEFL scores frequently meant the difference between university acceptance and rejection, success or failure for many of them. In an intensive English-language program, the students started the slow and painful process of learning to write, read, speak, and understand English fluently enough to function on a graduate level in a U.S. university and to achieve a TOEFL score high enough to satisfy rigid graduate admissions' offices. Participles, gerunds, metaphors, similes, and other grammatical trivia were crammed into their brains six hours per day, six days per week, for four months. When

they finished the language program, they could conjugate a verb, parse a sentence, and dangle a participle better than a native speaker. But the rest of actually using and understanding the language would await their arrival in the States.

The next obstacle was applying for university admissions. The fifteen universities to which these participants applied all had different application forms, recommendation forms, application fees, transcript requirements, and closing dates for receipt of the applications. Admissions' offices are not renowned for their flexibility. Faceless bureaucrats churned out dot matrix form letters demanding original transcripts, additional TOEFL scores, and more letters of recommendation. The students needed help to understand the forms, write the essays, and find and translate transcripts. Half of the applications were lost in the Jakarta post office, the remainder were returned for additional information by the universities' bureaucracy.

In the end, 25 out of the original 30 students weathered the intensive English training, the pressures of TOEFL exams, the hardships of separation from their families during the time they studied in Jakarta, and the demands of the graduate admission process to secure acceptances at such prestigious universities as Johns Hopkins, Southern California, Michigan, North Carolina, Harvard, and Yale.

In the summer of 1983, they left Indonesia with their families to begin their studies in academic areas such as demography, sociology, public health, communications, and public administration. Unlike previous programs that had used an AID-funded contractor to provide services, these students were totally dependent upon BKKBN, some 8000 miles away, for their financial subsistence, academic guidance, and personal support. By working directly with the universities, BKKBN was also able to more closely monitor the students' progress, urging them to work to complete the degree requirements in 18 months, rather than the usual 24 months.

There were many logistical problems to overcome before the new system could be installed. A U.S. adviser worked full time with BKKBN, the universities, and the students to organize and explain the system and to train the Indonesian staff in the intricacies of dealing with U.S. universities. Modern communications and data transfer made it possible to send funds directly to both students and universities, eliminating the need for a U.S. contractor to make financial payments.

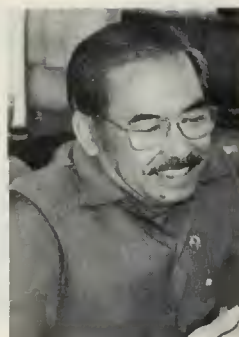
The students' apprehension about the reliability of the new support system began to mitigate when their first maintenance check arrived, and they were enrolled in a health insurance program. Their tuition fees were paid on time, allowing them to register for subsequent semesters. Barring the few crises that inevitably develop while wrinkles are being ironed out, the carefully set-up system was working.

The new system has continued to work with subsequent groups of students—180 students in the last five years. While training costs had spiralled to over \$2000 per month in 1982, the monthly cost for the 1983 group managed totally by BKKBN had dropped to \$1500 per month, with only inflationary increments in monthly costs since then. By managing overseas training themselves and eliminating expensive intermediate overhead fees, BKKBN has managed to reduce training costs by \$650 per student, per-month, a substantial amount when more than 30 persons are being sent overseas each year.

IN ADDITION TO AID-supported participants, the same system is being used to send participants funded by the World Bank overseas for graduate training. The success of the experimental efforts of BKKBN prompted AID to collaborate with the government of Indonesia to establish, in 1983, a National Overseas Training Office serving many government departments and agencies. This office has pioneered work on the creation of a standardized academic screening test, as well as developing new material and approaches to preparing trainees for the challenge of living and working in an alien culture. AID, and the Midwestern Universities' Consortium, which assists the training office, hope that it will play an increasingly important role in meeting Indonesia's higher-level training needs in the next few years.

BKKBN has now established an Overseas Training Division to manage graduate training. The agency's initials are well known in the more than 20 U.S. universities that receive applications from BKKBN, discuss students' academic programs with them, and receive tuition payments directly from them.

Since 1983, 30 students a year have returned to the family-planning agency with their new degree, new knowledge, and new skills. This yearly infusion of talent is analogous to the college draft in professional football or basketball. "The competition among BKKBN's different technical bureaus for these returning



Graduate training effects profound metamorphoses in students. They return as more critical, analytical thinkers with the confidence to state their opinions



Haryono Suyono, chairman of Indonesia's National Family Planning Coordinating Board, meets with Emmanuel Voulgaropoulos, director of AID's Office of Population and Health.

graduates is keen," says Haryono. "They determine the type of person they need, let's say a demographer or a communications specialist, just as your professional teams might target a linebacker or quarterback. Then they 'scout' the upcoming graduates, identify the person most suitable for their needs, and 'draft' that person through BKKBN's personnel system." These graduates get absorbed into mid-level technical and managerial positions where their contributions can be seen quickly. Haryono summarizes this contribution by saying, "A successful organization requires three attributes—legitimation, credibility with others, and professionalism. BKKBN gets its legitimation from the government, but it must build credibility and professionalism itself. Our returning graduates have contributed to our institutional credibility and our organizational professionalism."

The figures would tend to substantiate Haryono's claim. Since 1983, BKKBN has nearly tripled the number of its personnel with advanced education. It now has a large cadre of professionally trained demographers, educators, communicators, statisticians, and managers scattered throughout its central and provincial network. This fact has not gone unnoticed by other governmental departments and has served the agency well in its continuing efforts to sustain both political and budgetary commitment for family planning.

How, beyond a collective organizational contribution, has this investment in education enabled returning graduates to perform more effectively? "The change we see in these people upon their return is dramatic," states Ha-

ryono. "The knowledge gained during their studies makes them more confident and enables them to discuss more maturely and analyze more critically. They have a revitalized work ethic that they transfer to their colleagues. BKKBN views these graduates as a real organizational asset, and they are highly sought-after commodities upon their return." From the perspective of the graduates, their training abroad is an invaluable asset. "Our graduate training confers a degree of legitimacy, which is instantly recognized by our colleagues," explains one returning graduate. "People listen to what we say and consider our professional opinions more seriously. The bureaucracy treats us with more respect than before." Another graduate describes these changes from a personal point of view. "I am more confident in my work now. My education has given me a sound technical foundation for my job. If I don't know an answer, I know where and how to find it."

There is little argument in either BKKBN or AID that overseas graduate training affects profound metamorphoses in these students. They return as more critical, analytical thinkers with the confidence to state their opinions and question their superiors. As managers, they have learned to make decisions and solve problems. The nature of higher education in the United States is largely responsible for these changes. It stimulates and challenges the student. It places the responsibility and burden for learning on the student. It creates a hospitable environment for the pursuit of knowledge. Indonesian students have adapted to this educational system readily and have flourished.

THE GRADUATES of this training, mid-level technocrats and managers, are leaving their unique imprimatur on the family-planning program and making important contributions to the agency's efforts to reduce fertility in the Indonesian archipelago. And, by managing the program from within, BKKBN is not only lowering costs but taking the initiative in a program that is important for its future development. When asked whether the agency would continue its overseas training program, Haryono responded emphatically, "We must! An investment in people is an investment in the future. The students we send for graduate training today will be leaders tomorrow. We can't afford to discontinue." By any standard, BKKBN's investment and AID's financial and management help has been a good one that will pay attractive dividends for a long time to come. □

A CONSERVATIVE VIEW

*Is a liberal State Department
pulling Reagan to the left?*

WILLIAM PASCOE

TO LISTEN TO some conservatives, you would think that George McGovern, not George Shultz, had been serving as secretary of state for the last six years. Many conservatives blame Shultz for attempting to undermine Reagan's foreign policy, promulgating two competing theories: according to the first, Shultz is uninterested in subtle policy changes and consequently allows the Foreign Service to dictate policy; in the second, he knows full well what is going on and agrees with everything.

These conservatives who criticize the State Department look back to the presidential campaigns in 1976 and 1980 and wonder what happened along the way. How could the man whose presidential primary campaign was based largely on attacks against Henry Kissinger and the State Department sign an arms-control treaty with the Soviets that even Kissinger has said is flawed? How could the man who spoke of the "Evil Empire" say that Mikhail Gorbachev is not responsible for the rape of Afghanistan because he "inherited" the problem? How could the president who declared the Sandinista regime a threat to the national security of the United States ask Congress for a paltry \$36 million in aid, most of it non-lethal? How could the man who declared that "support of freedom fighters is self-defense" now contemplate cutting off U.S. assistance to those fighters in Afghanistan, Cambodia, and Angola?

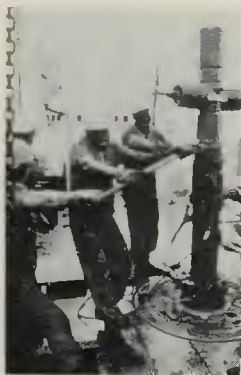
On these issues and more, many conservatives see the hand of George Shultz and the State Department. Together, these conservatives believe, Shultz and the bureaucracy have pulled Reagan to the left and forced him to abandon his own beliefs in favor of their "realism" and "pragmatism." To be a conservative political appointee at State is said to be akin to being a guerrilla warrior behind enemy lines. There is a general feeling through-

out the conservative movement that the Department of State is populated by liberals and leftists intent on doing harm to the perceived security interests of the United States.

This is nonsense. The State Department has its problems. For one thing, the department sees itself as having a mission that transcends particular administrations and hence seeks to wait out any president who does not explicitly agree with a chosen policy direction. But to suggest that its problems add up to a conspiracy to sell out America's national-security interests is balderdash. The State Department, in pushing for negotiations wherever possible, is not part of a plot, nor is it being untrue to its mission. In fact, by being willing to negotiate with any regime at any time, it is being perfectly true to its mandate. For it is the principal job of the State Department—beyond its consular functions, and the collection and analyzing of information—to negotiate. That's what the secretary, our ambassadors abroad, and the entire bureaucracy do for a living. That's what they were trained to do, and what they get paid to do. In many cases, that's what they've spent a lifetime doing. It's time conservatives realized this and stopped talking this nonsense about State Department sell-outs.

Of course, this fact should be obvious. That it is not is the fault of some conservatives who for their own reasons choose to overlook it. In the system of cabinet government we've developed in the United States, especially in the postwar period, it is the job of the Department of State to negotiate, just as it is the job of the Department of Defense to prepare for and make war. In doing so, each department is contributing to keeping the peace. These two bureaucracies should be in perpetual conflict—this is not a sign of the instability of the political structure, but instead a sign of its inherent strength. By deliberately setting up organizations with mutually exclusive missions, the scope of policy recommendations is widened, and each organization serves the

William Pascoe serves as policy analyst for Third World affairs at the Heritage Foundation.



The Cabinda Gulf Oil Company drills off-shore in Angola.

president better.

When speaking of conservative, there is another interesting paradox at work. It is a case for serious semanticists and involves different definitions of conservatism: by conservative, does one mean an individual or organization which seeks to preserve the status quo, or one who responds to the political agenda set by leaders of the recognized "conservative movement?" When State comes under fire from some conservatives for not implementing Reagan's announced policy choices, the allegation often is that the department is not being "conservative enough." But, in fact, State is an inherently conservative institution. For instance, in its lack of enthusiasm for the administration's support of democratic resistance forces fighting Soviet-backed communist regimes, the department is seeking to maintain the status quo at the expense of the revolutionary; what could be more conservative than that? In a case like this, it is the conservative leaders and activists themselves who are not being truly conservative.

We can take a similarly conservative view of the State Department's desire to downplay conflict with another government, even if the cost of avoiding conflict is principle. For instance, when Major Arthur Nicholson was shot in Germany, State sought to minimize the significance of the incident; to do otherwise would have led to deteriorating government-to-government relations with the Soviets, something the department tries to avoid at all costs. In seeking to reduce conflicts, and in attempting to keep U.S. relations with other governments on an even keel, is not the State Department really being conservative?

Let me now provide an example of unnecessary criticism of the State Department by conservatives. A great deal has been made of a seeming paradox in Angola: a U.S. firm—the Chevron Corporation—doing business with a Communist government (pumping oil that provides the regime with approximately 90 percent of its foreign exchange), while the installations themselves are protected by Cuban troops. Meanwhile, the declared policy of the U.S. government is to support the resistance forces fighting the regime.

In the minds of some conservatives, the Chevron management is guilty of aiding and abetting an enemy of the United States. And the U.S. government—the State Department in particular—is guilty of aiding the Angolan regime by not prohibiting Chevron from doing business there. To add to the conservatives' ire, and provide further fuel for their conspiracy theories, there is a familial link between

the State Department and Chevron: Under Secretary for Political Affairs Michael Armacost is the brother of Samuel Armacost who sits on the board of Chevron. To these conservatives, this is evidence of a joint Chevron-State plan to undercut our policy of support for the resistance forces and force diplomatic recognition of the Luanda regime.

It is a particularly intriguing paradox that in the pursuit of their own view of the national security, some conservatives have been calling for what can only be described as massive government intervention in the workings of the free market.

Instead of complaining, conservatives should recognize that Chevron has a right to be in Angola in the absence of a U.S. government decision to prohibit such activity. I am not saying that I believe that Chevron is helping national security interests by remaining in Angola and pumping oil; in fact, I wish Chevron would depart. What I am saying is that our system was deliberately set up to allow for conflict and seeks to guide that conflict into politically and socially acceptable channels. Conservatives should seek to pass legislation prohibiting Chevron from doing business in Angola, if that is what they conclude would better serve the national security interests of the United States; but they should do so in a manner that does not impugn the motives of the Chevron management. Otherwise, conservatives fall into the same trap that leftists do when they call for disinvestment by firms doing business in South Africa.

FORTUNATELY, NOT ALL conservatives have this rather conspiratorial view of a State Department determined to sell out to the highest bidder. The current debate over the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty is instructive in this regard. Many will recall the statements of some conservative leaders that the president had become a "useful idiot for Soviet propaganda" and "an apologist for the Kremlin." But not all conservatives agreed with those who made the statements. While some may have had their doubts about the merits of the treaty itself—in fact, still do have their doubts—they see no gain in personally attacking the president. In fact, the conservative movement is divided on many issues. As it has grown and matured over the years, it has split over how to impact public policy. Much has been written in this election year about the splintering of the old conservative coalition that elected Reagan in 1980, and the inability of any of the Republican candidates to hold this coalition together. But

none of the analyses has touched on what I believe to be one of the fundamental causes of the split: the difference between those conservatives who are seriously interested in governing, and those conservatives who are not.

MAKE NO MISTAKE, not all conservative leaders are concerned with governing. Some are more interested in getting headlines and raising money than with impacting public policy. These are the people who made the foolish statements about the president. They have made the cardinal error of allowing themselves to believe that a 30-second sound bite on the network news has the same influence over the course of events as a 45-minute meeting behind closed doors with the people who run the government.

Those conservative leaders who are actually interested in governing, quietly made known their objections to the INF Treaty and took steps to work in a constructive manner with the administration and the Senate to resolve their differences. Of course, this sort of activity did not make the network news, but it will have a far greater impact on addressing concerns over the treaty than simply making controversial statements at a press conference. And the responsible conservative leaders who adopted this second course of action will have an added benefit: their working relationship with the White House will continue.

There is other evidence of the split in the movement as a result of its growth and maturation over the last seven years. For instance, a reporter covering the conservative movement today would be surprised to learn that the majority of those active in the trenches, actually fighting the battles on behalf of conservative principles in public policy—lobbying congressmen and the administration, writing press releases, organizing demonstrations, hitting the lecture circuit—are new to the movement, and are in fact new to politics. There actually is a new generation of conservatives who have come to Washington to work here during the Reagan administration; but unlike conservatives in previous administrations, these young people plan to stay and make a difference long after Reagan has returned to California.

I recently had a conversation with one of my young, idealistic colleagues, who claimed to have written the line about the president serving as a "useful idiot." I asked him why he would do something so foolish, and he responded that it was not foolish, it was accurate. I asked what good he thought he had

done, because he clearly had done harm to those conservatives who are trying to influence policies. We had all been lumped in together as "right-wing loonies," even though we had not taken part in the statements made by a few.

He responded by claiming that it was clear that the White House was no longer a conservative administration, and therefore wasn't worth working with. I pointed out that Reagan was the most conservative president of the last 50 years, and probably would be for the next 50. As conservatives, we had an obligation to try to take advantage of our time in proximity to power to enact our policy vision. He said he would rather be on the outside, fighting the battle for principle.

I really believe that if conservatives are to have an impact on public policy, we are all going to have to learn how to play the game within the rules already defined because it has become increasingly clear that we cannot rewrite them. Even Reagan could not do that. So conservatives would be far better off trying to work within the system.

In the State Department, that means getting the proper people into positions where they can make decisions and implement the conservatives' agenda. I am one of those conservatives who had an opportunity to go into the Foreign Service but chose not to, on the grounds that I wanted to stay in Washington and build my career here. While that actually was the basis of my decision, there also clearly was a desire on my part to avoid a work environment that I believed would be uncomfortable, given the divergence in my political views from those of most of the Foreign Service. I feel somewhat guilty about that, as I strongly believe that the only way conservatives will ever get the right policy decisions out of State's bureaucracy is to control that bureaucracy. And that will not happen until a committed group of conservative cadres have paid their dues and learned the system from the inside.

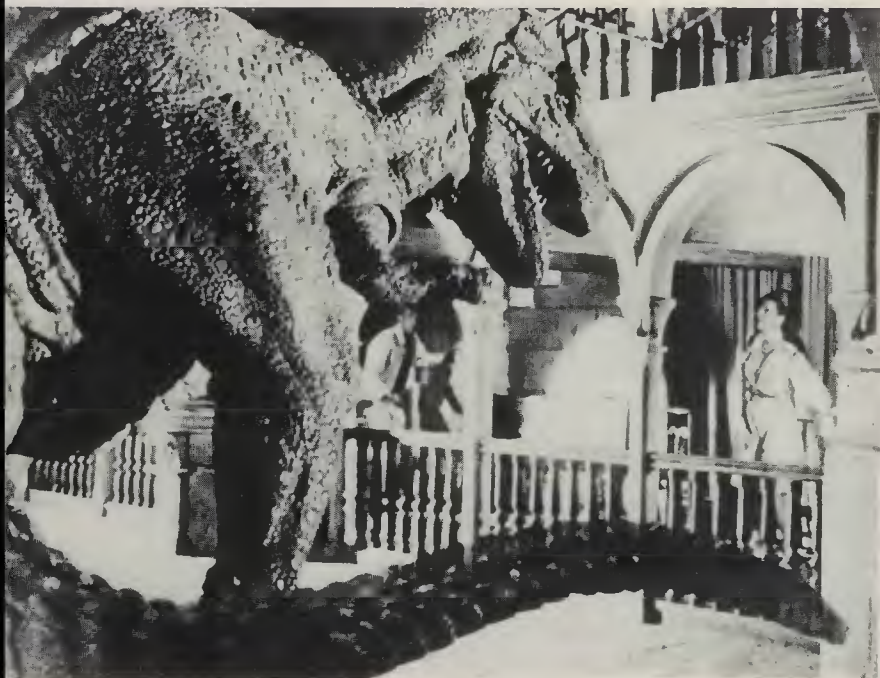
Until that happens, however, conservatives should stop this nonsense about State officials deliberately selling out U.S. interests. We have an obligation to oppose the State Department politically wherever we believe that our interests could be better promoted or defended, but we do not have to do it by impugning anyone's motives. We should do it within already organized, politically acceptable channels of discourse. The State Department is not peopled by fellow-travelers, but by people trying to do their job. The sooner conservatives recognize this and learn how to make it work for them, the better. □



Some conservatives believe that the State Department is aiding the Angolan regime by not prohibiting Chevron from doing business there.

Life and Love in

Once again it's time for summer vacation . . . and to help you begin to relax and enjoy it, here's a lighter look at life in the Foreign Service. This year's captions were written by Si Nadler, a retired Foreign Service officer and long-time contributor to "Life & Love."



"Quick! What's the Malay word for 'Sit!'?"



"You heard about the Big Budget Cut of '88? Well, this is the Motor Pool, and I am the chauffeurs."



"I know making our own entertainment is very rewarding, but I'd rather be in a country developed just enough for me to watch 'I Love Lucy' re-runs on a 12-inch black-and-white TV."

the Foreign Service

"Welcome, Senator! We thought that after your fatiguing flight, you might prefer a leisurely ride to the embassy."



"No problem. You make sure U.S. military and economic assistance keeps coming, and I'll take care of the human rights thing. Trust me."



"Stop that! . . . Quit it! . . . DÉTENTE! DÉTENTE!"



"Is the fireplace supposed to beep?"

JOINED IN SERVICE

*A Foreign Service marriage thrives
when both partners are dedicated to this way of life*

NANCY LIGHT

IN THE 1980s, commitment and marriage are making a comeback. Couples may be older, but they are again making lifetime vows. Chances are good that a new Foreign Service employee will include a spouse in his or her travel orders—a spouse who may be reluctant to embrace the traditional role of unpaid helpmate and instead be intent on establishing a professional identity. When romance fades into the background of everyday life, spouses find that professional satisfaction or frustration prove to be far more important in the success of the marriage than originally anticipated. Claire McCarthy, a counselor with a local dating service that helps professionals in demanding careers find companionship in their precious few off-hours claims that diplomats with whom she has worked qualify a perfect mate as someone “physically attractive, well-spoken, and bright—someone who can fit in at a casual jeans weekend and then make the transition quickly to mingle at an elegant evening embassy dinner.” In short, McCarthy explains, personality and physical bearing override professional interests in choosing a companion or a spouse.

However, career expectation is the one factor that sometimes determines whether or not the couple will stay together. The fact that double-income households are more and more the norm in this country adds to the pressure associated with professional development and satisfaction. Foreign Service employees enter into a marriage with the same expectations as people in less-demanding, more ordinary professions and lifestyles, but they and their spouses soon learn that frequent household moves from one overseas post to another deeply disrupt the professional life of the spouse.

It appears that jobs overseas are limited only by a person's imagination. Foreign Service

spouses are involved in a broad range of occupations, including piloting; clowning; child care management; jewelry and clothing design; antique dealing; photography; karate, yoga, and diving instruction; catering; speech therapy; portrait painting; modeling; and clothing exportation. There are also teachers, counselors, secretaries, editors, attorneys, a doctor, a medical consultant, a tax consultant, and a systems analyst gainfully plying their skills on foreign soil. With this wide range of occupations pursued overseas, it seems as though opportunities for spouses are unlimited. However, when we asked spouses, “Is it possible to pursue a career successfully overseas?” the question was generally met with a resounding round of “no”s. A straight-line career seems an impossible achievement to a spouse moving from post to post. Flexibility is the buzzword—flexibility that will allow a spouse to take advantage of whatever opportunities a post has to offer.

A report published in 1985 by the Forum of the Association of American Foreign Service Women attempted to measure the satisfaction level among spouses in the Foreign Service. The survey, returned by 4,200 spouses, revealed that the highest morale existed among spouses who held paying jobs or had portable free-lance careers. Ironically, frustration about the Foreign Service lifestyle was more acute among those with the strongest academic and professional credentials. The report concluded that the nature of the Foreign Service tended to fragment spouse career objectives and that, in itself, was a major reason spouses chose not to serve abroad with their mates. Furthermore, the polling revealed that spouse commitment to the Foreign Service had declined significantly over the last decade.

According to Maria Escribano King, employment assistant in the Family Liaison Office and herself a Foreign Service spouse and officer, a lack of commitment to the Service is a death knell for any couple. “The commitment from the spouse is equally as important

Nancy Light is a free-lance writer who has lived overseas as a Foreign Service spouse. She never leaves home without her typewriter.



as for the Foreign Service officer—as a way of life, not just as a job. The marriage won't work if both people don't have the same sense of commitment," says King.

Foreign Service spouses seem to fall into two categories; either dynamic, talented, satisfied, and contributing; or dynamic, talented, frustrated, and under- or unemployed. Members of the first group often volunteer their talents and are highly visible in their communities. Some are recognized for their outstanding contributions in a community—model spouses. Members of the second group are less visible and skeptical about any new measures that might help them fulfill their career goals, short of staying home, with or without their spouse. In what appears to be a radical break from the traditional, patriotic Foreign Service wife, growing numbers of spouses are opting not to accompany their partners overseas and tough it out in an unknown, potentially risky job market. Those who have followed their Foreign Service mate to a new post and ambitiously sought a paying position often voice similar complaints and experiences—exploitation usually topping the list. They complain about unrealistically low salaries, jobs that vanish, a general lack of oppor-

tunity and a time frame of two years per posting that limits their opportunities to successfully establish any kind of entrepreneurial effort. A common complaint was the job (or funding source or lead for a job) promised in Washington that suddenly dried up and blew away once the spouse appeared on-site overseas. Sometimes a promising vacancy suddenly went to an outside consultant at the last moment, or sometimes a promised job really just didn't exist. Spouse after spouse told tales of bureaucratic foul-ups, miscommunication, and paper chases that resulted in disappointment, anger, and frustration.

JEANNE, A 20-year Foreign Service spouse, has experienced all the frustration and disappointment of promised jobs evaporating upon arrival at post, but she now views the ups and downs of a Foreign Service lifestyle from a longer perspective. "If you're a writer, a painter, an artist of any kind, you'll always find it easier and have a better time adjusting," she says. She, herself, has operated a craft shop, worked under contract in the mission, and taught in overseas schools. Placing her husband's career ahead of her own

Flexibility is the buzzword—flexibility that will allow a spouse to take advantage of whatever opportunities a post has to offer



Life overseas for a dependent husband is no bed of roses

for most of the last two decades, she has had to make tradeoffs and recognizes that as she and her children grow older, satisfying and challenging things to do are harder to find. She currently works as a real estate management consultant in McLean. "It's hard to return to a fast-paced, career-oriented society when you've been operating in a less harried, less externally pressured way of life," she comments. "I don't do volunteer work here and it's a shame, but I don't have the time," indicating the compromises and challenges of assimilating oneself on home turf again.

Jeanne remains positive about her experiences overseas and looks ahead at the next overseas posting, "I'll have to punt again like last time. I'll try for the community liaison job and short-term economic contracts." Because she has embraced her husband's career as if it were her own, the Foreign Service lifestyle has satisfied her. She is as committed to the Service as if she drew a salary from it herself.

Another spouse remembers resigning her own Foreign Service position to marry a Foreign Service officer in the years before tandem couples existed. "I had vague hopes that when I went overseas as his wife, I would

become involved—the women behind the scenes," she mused. With a master's degree in economics, the officer-cum-wife had wanted to achieve in the field of economic development. Once overseas, she was disappointed to find that her economics degree had no value to the mission—at that time spouses were not even considered as possible candidates for employment within the embassy. "I felt alone," she said. "If other women felt frustrated by their lack of achievement professionally, no one was saying so." The next 15 years proved to be lonely and frustrating ones for her.

Today's Foreign Service spouse has many more resources to help evaluate options. Susan Parsons, the most recent former director of the Family Liaison Office, feels that the creation of realistic expectations is something her office can catalyze in couples about to depart for post. Celebrating its tenth anniversary this year, FLO was chartered as an advocacy office devoted to the needs of the family. It was meant to be a support center replacing the role recognition that women received before the Wives Directive of 1971; a policy reform that freed spouses, largely women, from unpaid representational duties and eliminated them from their husbands' efficiency reports.

THERE HAVE BEEN great strides made since then. FLO has helped negotiate work agreements in 21 countries, resulting in legal, bilateral work agreements with the United States. These agreements enable spouses and dependents of American embassy employees to seek employment in the local economy. Another 69 countries have *de facto* unwritten agreements that allow spouses to seek employment that would not displace a national worker. Work permits are generally less forthcoming in these countries but not impossible to obtain. And a new computer program promises to match job vacancies with the education, work experience, and language skills of spouses being assigned in a given location. The computer job bank was established to meet the growing demand for employment from women who are no longer content to simply volunteer their time overseas.

While more and more younger women entering the Foreign Service as spouses want real money for real jobs, the number of available jobs remains limited. Spouses like Betty Jordan, a former Peace Corp volunteer posted in India with her husband, feel that if a job means typing in the American embassy, "I don't want to." Relevant, stimulating work is what most spouses are looking for—



*Linda Jewell and John Walsh:
"Every rotation involves weighing choices and options—and sometimes the options are not good enough to satisfy both careers."*

experience that can strengthen a resume in the future.

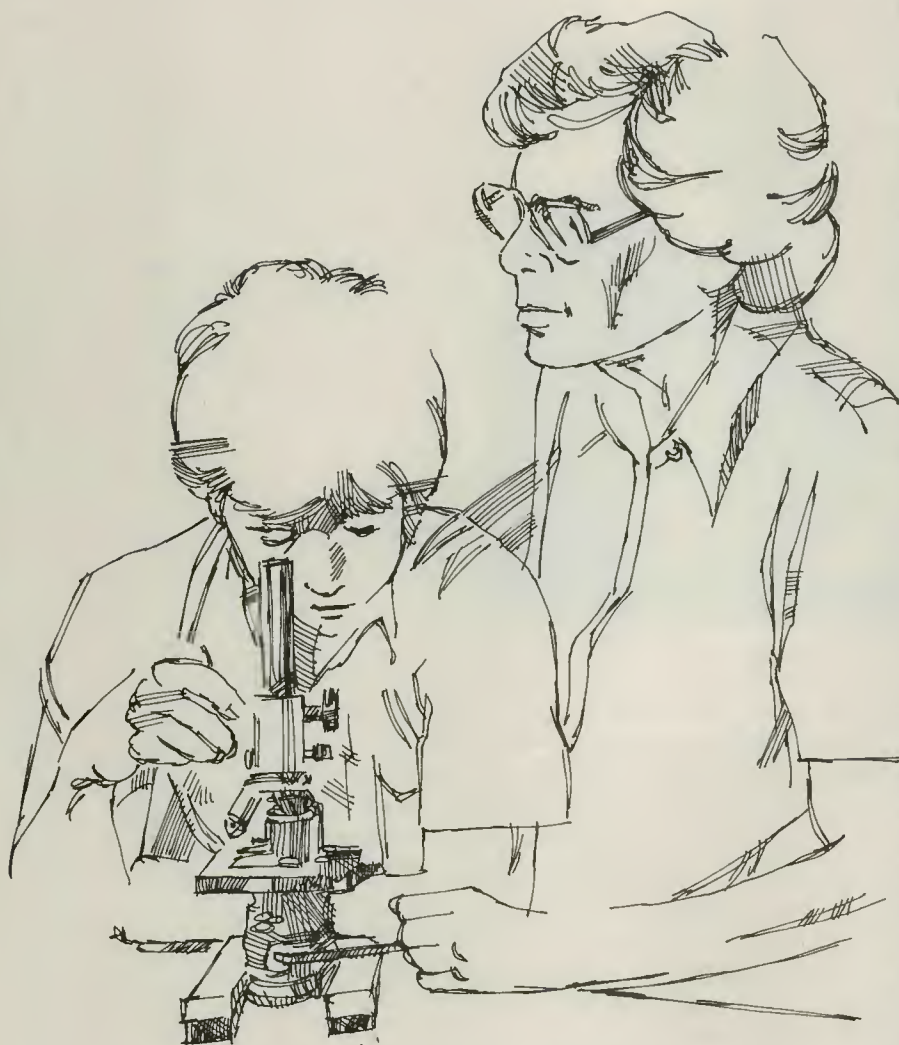
Maria King, FLO employment assistant, counsels about 35 to 40 spouses a month who are preparing to go overseas. Though she cannot match a spouse with an actual job, she does offer information about what opportunities exist at each post, how many spouses are gainfully employed there and what obstacles or advantages the spouse may encounter professionally. She throws her hands up in despair at bankers and lobbyists who earn upwards of \$80,000 a year and expect to duplicate their positions overseas. On the other hand, she expresses satisfaction with the decision of a former pharmacist to work as a computer operator. "A career that a spouse may be forced to choose does not necessarily provide continuity, but one must consider the priorities at a given point in your life. Those who insist on inflexibility are the losers—the Foreign Service is an extraordinarily rich experience," King explains.

The Family Members Skills Bank, as the computer program is called, is geared also to the growing number of husbands who wish to accompany their Foreign Service wives overseas. Though historically spouses often meant women, an increasing number of males are now joining their Foreign Service wives. Approximately 800 male spouses are now counted in the five foreign affairs agencies. "Men think that because they are men they will get a job," observes King. "They come with a self assurance that eventually betrays them."

One male spouse who has accompanied his

wife to a single foreign post is carefully considering his options now. His wife has accepted a three-year tour in Yemen, "not exactly a place where I can go and hang out for several years," he says. After four years teaching in a Northern Virginia high school, Mike, who wishes to remain anonymous, is reluctant to trade his current job satisfaction and salary for the unknown. He feels that the department's efforts to help spouses find employment are very superficial and that American missions abroad are "not that helpful." Though he has contacted the Tunis Community Liaison Office and the American school in Yemen, the prospect of employment does not look promising. It is unclear whether or not Mike will accompany his spouse next fall. Because his career objectives focus on refining his teaching skills, Mike is rather inclined to keep the home fires burning while his wife goes to post. It is an option preferable to facing the undefined social role abroad that tends to identify him as "the husband of a diplomat," and to the ridicule sure to follow in male-dominated societies such as those in Northern Africa.

OTHER CONCERNS also crop up. "As a male dependent spouse, I like visiting new places, but it's hard not to worry about the (household goods in) storage, the house, insurance—anxieties that build up and allow you only to enjoy a new place for about one year of a three-year tour." Mike also points out that the lack of solid, ongoing social relationships,



Foreign Service spouses seem to fall into two categories; either dynamic, talented, satisfied, and contributing; or dynamic, talented, frustrated, and under-employed

and the lack of a male role to fall back on, create "an ongoing stressful situation" for a man in his position. Dependent husbands create a situation that the department is not used to dealing with. "They don't know what to do with male dependents," charges Mike. In fact, some spouses charge that male spouses are treated with an unacknowledged favoritism because people are uncomfortable with an unemployed male.

Mike's experience typifies the dependent role of a Foreign Service spouse where expectations fall short of reality. He expected his wife would pursue the Foreign Service as an interim career, a stepping stone to something else that might afford them a smoother, more stable life together. "But things changed for her," Mike says, "she got caught up with the glamour of it, the importance of it, the worldliness of it." For his part, "it's only an appealing lifestyle for spouses who want a leisure

life with servants, and free time to explore a new culture." Linda Jewell, one-half of a tandem couple at USIA, agrees that life overseas for a dependent husband is no bed of roses. "There's no place for a male spouse overseas—there's a traditional role for a female spouse that doesn't exist for a man. Even when the male spouse manages to stay happy and involved, eyebrows in the community raise as if to say what's he up to, why is he so happy? It would be really difficult to have a spouse not in the Foreign Service," Jewell concludes.

C OUPLES WHO HAVE taken the tandem career route represent nine percent of the total Foreign Service. Though Jewell concedes that there are compromises to work out, and resistances and negative attitudes towards tandem couples, she feels ultimately that her marriage and career have fared well as part of a tandem couple. However, she points out that "other people have had to make less palatable choices than we have," and cites couples who have separated or gone to places they didn't want for the sake of one or another spouse's career. Working as a tandem couple does not necessarily eliminate separations due to career plans. Sometimes, only larger posts have openings for both spouses in the field of their expertise. Every rotation involves weighing choices and options—and sometimes the options are not good enough to satisfy both careers. Almost 50 tandem couples are currently separated by assignments at different posts: 21 are separated at two posts overseas, 27 are apart with one spouse in Washington, one abroad, and 13 couples have one spouse currently on leave without pay. However, Susan Parsons sees that "the Foreign Service is not different from the rest of America—there are a lot of commuter couples domestically. The only difference is that our employees are overseas."

Janet Biggs is a professionally-oriented spouse who has chosen to follow her husband overseas throughout her married life. She describes a time warp in which first she was one of few spouses on her block in suburban Washington to hold a professional job on a full-time basis, and then, after returning to Washington in 1981, she returned as the odd spouse on the block not working.

At her first post in Latin America, Biggs says that she was overwhelmed with the idea of being overseas, moving, adjusting to a new culture, and having a child to take care of. "Though I was professionally oriented" (she had previously worked at the Library of Congress), "I really felt that I didn't have any-

thing to offer because I couldn't deal with the language," she explains.

Although her work career has remained sketchy, Biggs remains positive about the possibilities the Foreign Service lifestyle holds. She feels that the key to success lies in one's resourcefulness. "You may not do the thing you did before, but new experiences are career-expanding," she insists. "It is possible to have a satisfying career. Music teachers, language instructors, any kind of teachers—career paths that don't require language facility are excellent."

FOR FOREIGN SERVICE spouses, the career challenges shift from tenure and tenaciousness to "building an odd conglomerate of talent," says Biggs. She cites an example of success and one of failure. "In Bolivia, a male spouse became a student for a year, but then became bored and asked his wife to resign the Foreign Service, which she did." On the other hand, she tells of the husband who became a much-valued CLO coordinator in Nicaragua, a small post that really needed someone dynamic and effective in the position. Biggs's perspective draws on the traditional role of spouses before 1971. "There's a lot to be said for the (traditional) point of view—you only begin to respect and have a sense of that if you served with some of the older women who undertook representational tasks for a long, long time. There's definitely a talent in having been in this business and knowing how to do a good job as a spouse in terms of representing your country. There are a lot of things traditional spouses learned along the way that make them effective diplomats in their own right." She continues, "Overseas you can make a greater impact in the development of a struggling nation than you can in your own neighborhood back home. As a self-starter, you can make a difference to a large number of people in many different ways."

And some spouses have. "Le Rowell, wife of the ambassador to Portugal, aware of the resources in the embassy and in AID, made more out of being a diplomat's wife by drawing on her own interests. In Bolivia, she got a road built. By knowing how to work the system she got funding and pursued it until it was done," recounted Biggs.

Betty Bao Lord, wife of the ambassador to China and a native Chinese, has taken advantage of her writing talents to collaborate with Chinese filmmakers. She has become an important cultural link between America and



*Janet Biggs:
"You may not do
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It is possible to have
a satisfying career."*

China's community of authors, artists, and performers. It was not something she had planned on, but something she found she could do to become personally involved in bringing vibrancy to China's cultural artists.

Matching resources, personal interests, and people is one way to work the system to everyone's advantage. The spouse at loose ends finds her own way to contribute, to personally challenge him/herself, and to gain valuable resume experience that answers the question, "What did you do when you were overseas?" In the long-term, a personally satisfying job, whether paid or unpaid, can be more richly rewarding than the salary sacrificed, and is indicative of the kind of initiative that employers in Washington seek upon the spouse's return. Best of all, the host country ends up with real, substantive gains. The American embassy doesn't do too badly either when its members are interested and involved in the local community.

Biggs echoes King's approach to people offered the opportunity to live overseas as Foreign Service spouses, "People who are flexible and self-starters get a whole lot more out of living overseas. They are the happiest and come to value the different experience available every two or three years." Her own definition of career has evolved to mean gaining enriching experience worthwhile in a specific place at a specific time. "Sometimes the experience of fulfilling responsibility to family or to other people in need at post fills in the gaps of professional ambitions," she notes. "There are a lot of things that make you see outside yourself overseas." □

Gorbachev's Fourth of July

AS USUAL, Wilfred Trimmings, counselor for science and technology, took a jelly donut and a cafe creme and settled himself comfortably at one of the cafeteria tables to begin his painstaking perusal of *Le Figaro* in preparation for the morning staff meeting. Scarcely had he bisected his donut and opened the newspaper when he was interrupted by Steve Laborare, counselor for labor affairs. Trimmings tucked his newspaper out of sight and asked cheerfully, "Well, what's new in the morning press, Steve?"

"Nothing of national import. I'll tell you what *is* new, though. Late yesterday I received a memo from the ambassador's office asking me to update my list of proposed guests for the Fourth of July party. Every year for as long as I've been here, the front office always asked us to cut our submissions. But this year the memo asked that I *quintuple* my list. I was even asked to be sure to include the secretary general and a large contingent from the Communist-dominated General Confederation of Labor. Either someone up front has blown a fuse or I have finally convinced them that, under this regime at least, real people count for more than the government bureaucrats and down-at-heel gentry who normally clutter our Fourth of July observances."

"Sorry to disabuse you, Steve," said Trimmings, "but I received the same

*The Soviets get more
bang for their buck
when they finance
a big embassy
bash*

JOHN O. GRIMES

memo. So did Longfellow over at USIS. I guess everyone did. Here comes Pardoe. Let's ask him." The tall figure who had just passed the cashier's desk strolled slowly towards them, glancing meaningfully at his watch. "If you two stay here much longer you'll be late for your 10 a.m. coffee break."

Trimmings and Laborare looked pointedly at Pardoe's own glass of tomato juice. "Well, at least I had the decency to check into the office first," said Pardoe defensively. "I've even scanned the morning telegraphic traffic."

"Tell me, Tim," said Laborare, "What's all this from the front office about quintupling our submissions for the Fourth of July bash? Did the ambassador suddenly receive a supplement to his representation funds, or has he broken down and decided to reach into his own pocket? As administrative counselor you should be able to enlighten us."

"This ambassador? Are you kidding? Frankly, I don't know exactly what he's up to—but I don't like it," replied Pardoe. "When I first got wind of his

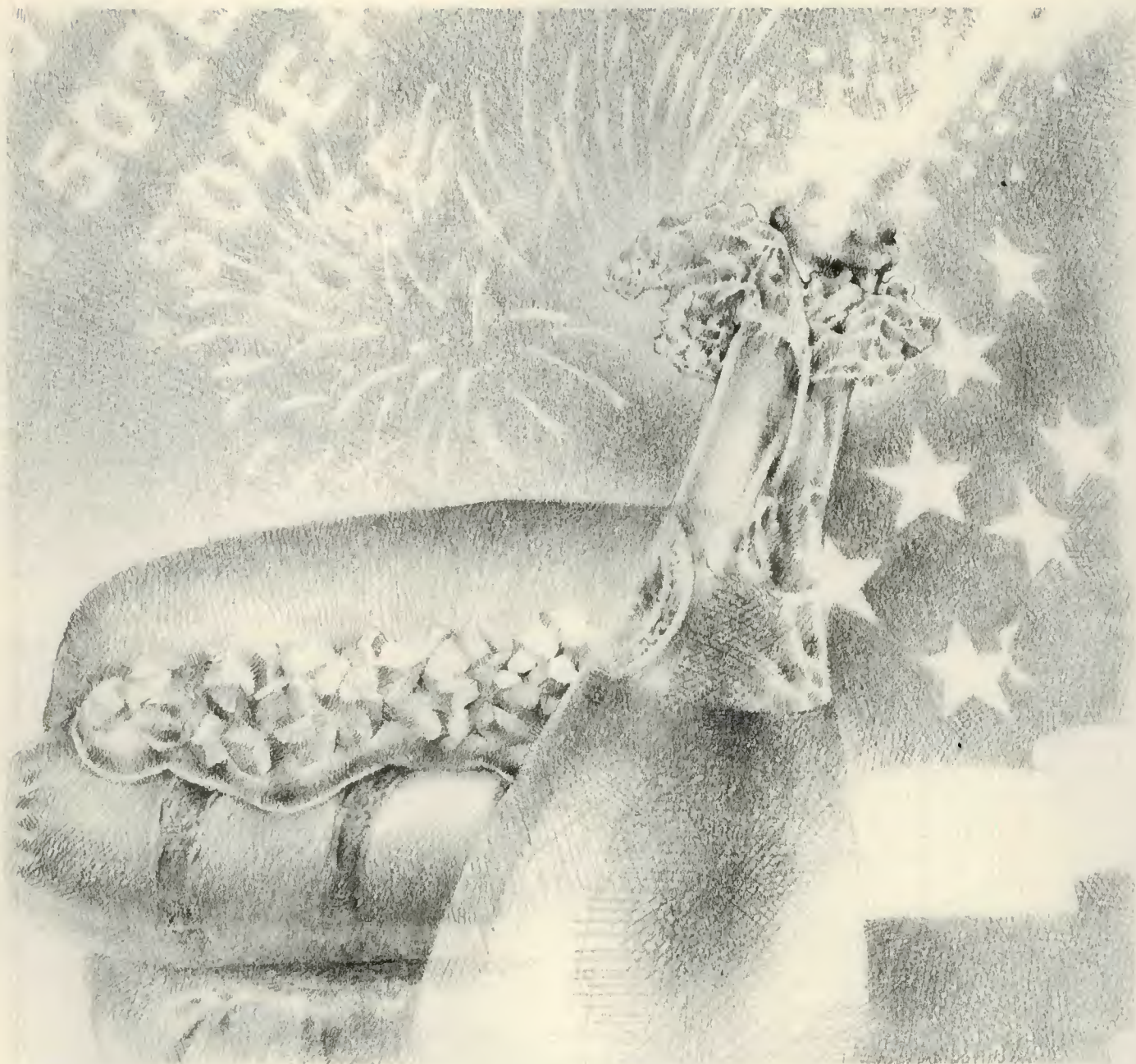
plans for an expanded guest list, I asked to see him. I showed him our accounts and the perennial circular from the department warning of limited funds and recommending against extravagant observances."

Pardoe paused to take a sip of tomato juice. "He told me not to worry about funding. He said that he had received what he called a 'substantial private contribution,' which would cover all costs. I was to get on with the arrangements spelled out in a memo that finally arrived yesterday afternoon. . . . So, if I seem a little shaky," Pardoe broke off and took another sip of juice.

"Cut the mystery, Tim," said Trimmings. "What was in the memo?"

Pardoe leaned closer. "Listen, this is strictly among us three. This year there will be no Fourth of July party. There will be three parties! First is an open house for all U.S. citizens resident in France, plus all the American tourists who care to come. This will be held in the afternoon at the Grand Palais. The ambassador expects about 20,000 people, give or take a couple of thousand. Hot dogs, hamburgers, California champagne, and Bourbon will be dispensed to all comers. The U.S. Marine Band and Sister Mary Boom-Boom of the Order of Perpetual Indulgence will entertain the crowds. "In the early evening, the traditional reception will be held at the ambassador's residence. Working on a shift system, the ambassador and his wife hope to receive at least 3000 carefully selected guests. For some unaccountable reason the ambassador is

John O. Grimes, a retired Foreign Service Officer, is a free-lance writer.



determined to invite the entire staffs of the Soviet embassy and certain other East European embassies, plus all of the leadership of the French Communist Party and the Communist-controlled CGT."

Pardoe paused to tamp the perspiration which had begun to appear on his brow. Returning the handkerchief to his pocket, he continued *sotto voce*. "The invitations for the Communist Party and the CGT have already gone out—without clearance with the CIA station chief. The chief is hopping mad. He has already begun to receive reports of an urgent enquiry by the KGB, who are eager to know what the hell is going on. Apparently, the Soviet

embassy has sought guidance from Moscow as to how to respond.

"I'm afraid that the CIA has already reported its misgivings to Washington through its own channel. This probably accounts for that strange cable we received from the department this morning asking for additional details concerning our planned observances. I guess the department is treading lightly because it doesn't want to bear the onus of killing a good show—particularly since the ambassador, through his own contacts, has already invited (all expenses paid) the full roster of the Senate Foreign Relations and the House Foreign Affairs Committees, as well as their staffs.

"The third event of the day, a banquet, ball, and fireworks display at Versailles, will be for the privileged few. The dinner will be catered by Maxim's. The only information the ambassador will give me is that he has everything under control, including the financing."

HERE PARDOE heaved a sigh and finished off the last of his tomato juice. "My best guess is that the tab for this impending disaster will be on the order of \$2.5 million, balloons included. But remember, this is just among us. Come on, now. We'd bet-

ter get crackin' or we'll be late for this morning's 'show and tell.' ”

The only mention of the Fourth of July at that particular staff meeting was a reminder by the deputy chief of mission that all section heads were to have their final lists of suggested invitees in the front office by the close of business May 15.

Only in succeeding weeks—as plans for the occasion inevitably leaked—did the country team begin to voice its concern. The consul general grumbled repeatedly that, if his section had to address 25,000 invitations to resident Americans, he would require additional staff. The station chief was apprehensive over his Soviet counterpart's concern at the inordinately large number of invitations sent to the Soviet embassy. And the cultural affairs officer fretted aloud over the programming, wondering whether the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence would be culturally compatible with the Marine contingent. Pardoe agonized about funding, suffering considerably under the pressure of having to sign purchase orders and contracts with no covering funds in the official accounts. He had only the ambassador's verbal assurance that the Lord would provide.

But by far the most distraught was the press officer who—harassed by French reporters now hot on the scent—bravely pretended that this would be a Fourth *comme toutes les autres*. Finally, however, he was obliged to lay out the whole triptych: open house, reception, and banquet/ball/fireworks display. The Paris press, never overly friendly towards the United States, was clearly intrigued. The Communist and some of the more radical Socialist dailies saw in the planned scale of the festivities an unseemly disparagement of the modest French observance of Bastille Day. Others, commenting on the unusual overture toward the Soviet embassy, saw this as harbinger of a thaw in Soviet-American relations which, it was predicted, would lead to a resumption of arms-control talks. And *L'Humanite*, official organ of the Communist Party, devoted a series of six articles to explain, in the most tortured terms, how, by this tack, the American embassy hoped to influence the French legislative elections. So great

was the publicity that, by late June, a black market had developed in invitations for the open house at the Grand Palais. All of France it seemed was focused on the Fourth of July.

The event proved entirely worthy of the buildup. French television outdid itself in posing awkward questions to the arriving chairmen of the foreign affairs committees, in commenting patronizingly on the quality of the California champagne, and in featuring a long, incoherent interview with Sister Mary Boom-Boom on the sad state of gay America. There was also some grumbling in the French press over the alleged desecration of a national monument—the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, site of the ball. On balance, however, the press officer concluded that the French public's perception of the event was marginally positive. The Marine Band was particularly well received, as was the honor guard—every man present wearing his unit's *Croix de Guerre* decoration awarded by the French government in the 1914–18 war.

The July 5 issues of the *Herald Tribune*, *New York Times*, and *Washington Post* reported the event in some detail, each commenting favorably on the observances, but wondering pointedly whether such a display of extravagance was altogether proper in a period of high unemployment at home and abroad.

On July 6, the country-team meeting was dedicated entirely to a post-mortem of the event. Speaking first, the ambassador declared that the observances were “like nothing France had ever seen before.” The public affairs officer—with only the slightest ambivalence of tone—agreed that this was most certainly the case. In the round-robin discussion that followed, the CIA chief at first passed. Later, however, he observed that, to one source, our massive invitation was regarded as a blatant—and most unprofessional—attempt to recruit defectors. He also reported that he understood that the Soviet ambassador had been greatly puzzled by our ambassador's comment to him as he left the ball—thanking him for an unforgettable Fourth.

The commercial counselor then re-

ported that he had been contacted by the president of McDonald's International, who was furious that Maxim's, rather than his own French subsidiary, had been selected to cater the event at Versailles.

The labor counselor told the meeting that the AFL-CIO's European representative was deeply troubled at having encountered the secretary general of the Communist-dominated CGT at the embassy reception. Apparently, an altercation between the two had been narrowly averted when a quick-thinking waiter distracted the secretary general by spilling a Coca-Cola down the front of his white silk suit.

The administrative counselor then informed the group that the last of the House and Senate staffers had vacated the Crillon Hotel on July 5, and everything having been on the embassy tag, there had been no unpaid bills to settle. Only a few pieces of excess luggage, a wayward uzi, and two or three wives had been left behind. He hesitated before reporting that the bottom line for the three events would be roughly \$3 million.

FINALLY, TAKING the floor again, the ambassador said that he knew that, for some, the scale of the observances might have appeared a little extravagant. He assured the staff, however, that no official funds had been expended—that all three events had been funded from a private contribution. But when the deputy chief of mission began to praise and gently reprimand the ambassador for an overly-generous use of his own personal resources, the ambassador stopped him short. He assured the group that he had used none of his own money. The funds had, in fact, come from one of the embassy's most junior officers. After the resultant muttering subsided, the ambassador spoke a word into his aide's ear, whereupon the latter left the room to return a moment later with a gangling red-haired young man.

“Gentlemen, allow me to present our benefactor—and the real host of this year's Fourth of July festivities. I give you FSO-7 Atholl McAllister!” The ambassador turned in his chair

and glanced up admiringly at the young Foreign Service officer. "Some of you may already know McAllister," continued the ambassador. "He's one of our gnomes down in economic analysis." Then, turning to McAllister, the ambassador said, "Now, Atholl, I want you to tell us as briefly as you can how you came to make your \$3 million contribution to the representation fund."

"Well," began McAllister, his voice cracking nervously, "when I arrived here two years ago I was assigned to do the economic section's contribution to the embassy's annual report on Communist activity in France. As most of you know, this is a reporting requirement which was levied on us about ten years ago. I guess it used to be a pretty hot item, but nobody seems to pay much attention to it anymore. Our section's contribution is limited to statistics and a little basic number crunching. I guess that's why it falls to the section's most junior officer." He paused, and then continued, "When I had my first go at it last year, I tried to figure out how the French Communist party was financed. A colleague in the political section tried to be helpful, but all of his elements taken together didn't even approximate the sums which we knew the Party was spending. I assumed that the difference was made up by some sort of subsidy from the Soviet Union." McAllister paused again to shove his spectacles back up the bridge of his nose.

"It occurred to me that the most logical conduit would be the Party-controlled Bank for International Commerce. On a hunch, I began to monitor the bank's market operations. I discovered that, from time to time, the bank traded heavily in metals futures—particularly in those metals exported by the Soviet Union. Looking at its market movements, there appeared to be a definite correlation between the timing of the bank's futures contracts and the sudden appearance on the market of large supplies of Soviet metals—supplies large enough to depress prices. What appeared to be happening was that the Soviet authorities gave prior notice to the French Communist party of precisely when they intended to market their stocks. This allowed the

bank to schedule its futures contracts at an advantage, assuring huge profits—this being the USSR's way of indirectly subsidizing the Communist party.

NOT QUITE trusting my conclusion, I thought that I would continue to watch it for a while longer before saying anything. Finally, I couldn't resist testing my theory. I took Azziza's dowry. . . . Azziza is my wife. We met during my first overseas assignment, to Riyadh." McAllister blushed a little more deeply.

"Anyway, with Azziza's dowry as a security blanket, last February I followed the bank's lead in contracting to provide chrome for \$1000 a ton for delivery in April. Sure enough, on April 1, the Soviets dumped their stocks on the market, driving the price down to \$500 a ton, and allowing me to fulfill my contracts for a net profit of \$3 million!" McAllister paused to cast an apologetic look at the economic counselor who sat mouth a-gape.

"Well, at first I wanted to tell the

whole world. But Azziza said that I shouldn't. She said that in her country, I would have my right arm cut off for what I had done. This warning brought suddenly to mind our own Ethics in Government regulations. After a brief bout with my conscience, I discussed the situation with the ambassador's aide, and eventually the ambassador himself. Together, we decided that it really wouldn't be proper for me to keep the money for myself, and we came up with the idea of a super Fourth of July party . . . so that's what I did with the money." Blushing, McAllister again shoved his glasses back up the bridge of his nose and then sat down.

"There you are, Jim," said the ambassador. "I trust that the press section will know where to peddle that story. And so, the Soviet ambassador will finally understand my parting comment. But I'm not sure he's going to like the fact that Soviet money subsidized our Fourth of July party. At least they all got invited. Now let's hear it for young Atholl . . . and for free enterprise!" □



Art by Mignon Khargie.

Loneliness: A Chance to Grow

By J. MERRILL-FOSTER

The framed poster on the wall reads, "The supreme joy of life is the conviction that we are loved." Beneath it sits my lovely young daughter, in tears. We've been sitting together for most of the afternoon, she talking and weeping, I listening.

The cause of the grief is loneliness. Well-ing up inside her is the realization that friends, familiar places and the comfortable feeling of belonging are gone. We've just arrived at a new post and it's raining. Hot, tropical winds blow, and we have retreated to the air-conditioned bedroom. She wonders, "Will I ever find other friends? Will I fit in? What if my clothes are wrong, or everybody here plays squash and I can only play tennis?"

The root of loneliness could be called "the realization of separateness." As children become adolescent, the process of separating themselves from family and parents begins. It is a good and healthy development, but it is also a trying time for both parent and child. One wise father I know was greatly embarrassed by his son's long hair. When I asked him why he didn't do something about it since it bothered him so much, he replied, "If I have to wage war with my son, I think I'll choose a more important battleground."

M. Scott Peck, in his best-selling book, *The Road Less Traveled*, says, "a major characteristic of genuine love is that the distinction between oneself and the other is always maintained and preserved." This kind of love between parent and child can be one of the best ways to help your child through loneliness.

Many psychologists feel that occasional loneliness is a natural part of the human condition. We are each separate from one another and often it is during lonely periods in our children's lives that great growth takes place. Sammy Davis, Jr. puts it correctly when he sings, "How can I be right for somebody else if I'm not right for me?" Learning to "be right" for ourselves is the first step toward "becoming right" for somebody else. As parents, part of our job is

to help guide our children toward this secure sense of their own identity. Unfortunately, our own egos often get in the way.

The athletic father wants his son to be a football star. The academic father wants a straight "A" student. The social mother wants a popular daughter. The super-housekeeper wants a neat, domestic daughter. We often project on our children, without intending to, our own standards and priorities. As loving parents, we do both ourselves and our children a great favor by remembering that a distinction exists between ourselves and them. Their identity is totally separate. Their individuality is uniquely theirs.

I watch my lovely daughter, eyes filled with apprehension and tears. Yes, she is lonely. I listen to her fears. I make us some tea—hers with a clove in it, because she likes it that way. I gently recall to her past relocations and new friends who came into



her life with each move. I suggest dinner at the club so that she can check out what her peers are wearing. Together, we plan a drive to the new school, and we check the phone book to find an available tennis court. I remind her that for every leader, there are followers, and that interior security is what matters. I tell her that her dad and I love her just the way she is. Gradually, the tears stop and she goes off to shower and get ready for dinner.

Two months later, our daughter is out at a performance of "Fiddler on the Roof." She's landed a part in a local production and has been busy with rehearsals every night. Tonight is the last performance. As we are preparing for bed, I hear a car drive

up to the house and go to the door, eager to hear how the show went. There stands my daughter. Behind her, a small mob waits at the gate. "Mom," she whispers, "can we come in and have a cast party here?"

I nod and go to the kitchen to see what we have for an instant party. Pulling out cookies, cold kebabs to reheat, part of a cake, cheeses and crackers, beer, coke, and a big bowl of dip with potato chips, I don't notice the door opening. My daughter comes in, puts an arm around me and says, "Thanks, Mom!"

As I climb back upstairs, I smile to myself. Crammed into our small study sitting on the floor are 20 young people, eating, laughing, and singing. The piano comes alive and the words float up, the song of Reptevia's middle daughter leaving home to join the man she loves.

"How can I hope to make you understand, why I do what I do? Why I must travel to a far-off land, far from the home I love?"

J. Merrill-Foster, the spouse of a former Foreign Service officer, is a free-lance writer living in New Hampshire.

Deaths

MAGDALENA GORRELL, widow of Foreign Service officer Juan L. Gorrell, died March 26 in Oporto, Portugal. She was 78.

Mrs. Gorrell was born in Madrid, Spain, and married Juan Gorrell who served at posts in Ecuador, France, and Washington before he retired from the Service in 1968 to reside in Oporto, Portugal.

GEORGE MACLEAN HELLYER, a retired Foreign Service Information officer and former assistant director of USIA for the Far East, died in Seattle, Washington, on March 12. He was 76.

Mr. Hellyer was born in Riverside, Illinois and was raised in Japan, Switzerland, England, and California. He worked in Japan before enlisting in the army during World War II. He later attended Officer Candidate School. He was awarded the British Military Cross for his service with the Wingate Forces behind enemy lines and the Bronze Star for conducting search and rescue missions for downed pilots.

He joined USIA in 1952 serving in Vietnam. He also worked in Washington as assistant director of the Far East Bureau and was posted to Tokyo as counselor for public affairs. His other assignments included Brussels and Zaire. He retired to Orcas Island, Washington, in 1970.

He is survived by his wife, Margaret Dawson Hellyer of Orcas Island, Wash-

ington; his daughter, Marion H. King of New York City; three sons, Harold J. Hellyer of Steilacoom, Washington, Robert T. Hellyer of Lander, Wyoming, and David R. Hellyer of Chelan, Washington; a brother, David T. Hellyer of Eatonville, Washington; twelve grandchildren; and two great-grandsons.

HELEN JONES HUTCHINSON, wife of retired Foreign Service officer Owen Read Hutchinson, died February 13 at her home in Arlington, Virginia. She was 76.

Mrs. Hutchinson was born in Louisiana and was graduated from the University of Texas. She accompanied her husband on assignments to Latin America, Spain, and the Philippines before returning to the Washington area in 1968. She worked as a secretary and administrative assistant at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History for 10 years before retiring in 1979.

She is survived by her husband; her two sons, Hunter Owen Hutchinson of Herndon, and Cullen Read Hutchinson of New Cumberland, Pennsylvania; and by three grandchildren.

RUPERT PROHME, a retired Foreign Service officer died March 6 in Foster City, California. He was 72.

Mr. Prohme was born in San Francisco and was raised in Burlingame, California. He graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Stanford University with a bachelor's degree in economics, and received a master's degree from Stanford in international relations. He worked in California as a journalist and radio commentator before serving as an army officer in North Africa and Europe during World War II. He was decorated with both the Silver and Bronze stars.

He entered the Foreign Service in 1946; his assignments included tours in Australia, Greece, Belgium, and Washington. In 1967, he served as deputy chief of mission to the U.S. delegation to UNESCO in Paris. He then worked for the U.S. mission to the United Nations Organizations in Geneva. After retiring in 1975, Mr. Prohme worked with the United Nations World Tourism Organization in Spain.

Survivors include his daughter, Cleo Messinger, of Chicago, Illinois, and two stepdaughters, Aline and Corinne Godon of Foster City, California.

EDWARD A. SILVIS, a retired Foreign Service officer with USIA, died March 23 at Arlington Hospital from complications of diabetes. He was 68.

Mr. Silvis was born in Grand Rapids, Michigan, and graduated from the Uni-

versity of Minnesota. He served with the navy in the Pacific theater during World War II. After the war, he returned to Minnesota where he taught until 1958, when he moved to Pakistan to teach English under a Fulbright Fellowship. He joined USIA as a Foreign Service officer in 1962. His assignments included Vietnam, Haiti, Venezuela, and Colombia. Mr. Silvis retired from the Service in 1987.

Survivors include his wife Marjorie Silvis of McLean, Virginia, and two brothers, Robert Silvis of Monroe, Wisconsin, and Arthur Silvis of Grand Rapids, Michigan.

FITZHUGH TURNER, a former news reporter and retired Foreign Service officer, died April 3 in his home in Haymarket, Virginia. He was 73.

Mr. Turner was born in Ogden, Utah, and attended Sacramento City College and the University of Arizona. He worked as a journalist for many years, and in the 1950s was a journalism fellow at the Council of Foreign Relations in New York.

He joined the Foreign Service in 1962, and served as director of U.S. publications in India, and as a psychological warfare specialist in Vietnam and Thailand. He was also public affairs officer for the State Department's worldwide refugee program before retiring in 1975.

Survivors include his wife, Sarah McDarment Turner of Haymarket, Virginia; one daughter by his first marriage, Elizabeth T. Zlatich of Washington; two stepsons, Guy B. Shepard of Santa Fe, New Mexico, and James T. Shepard of Haymarket; and five grandchildren.

GENEVIEVE WALKER, wife of retired Agency for International Development officer A.C. Walker, died September 3 in Washington.

During her husband's career with AID and earlier development agencies, Mrs. Walker accompanied him to posts in Manila, Bangkok, Benghazi, and Rabat. They later returned to Washington, where Mr. Walker served as desk officer in the Office of North African Affairs and senior executive officer in the Bureau for Africa's Office of Management.

Letters of condolence may be sent to: A. C. Walker, 3269 South Leisure World Boulevard, Silver Spring, Maryland 20906.

BETSY B. WHITE, a retired Foreign Service secretary, died on March 3. She was 68.

Ms. White joined the State Department in 1960 and served in Rome, El Salvador, Saigon, Lisbon, Paris, Brussels, Tripoli, and The Hague before retiring in 1974. There are no known survivors.

CHARLES G. WILLIAMSON, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of cancer January 24 in Williamsburg, Virginia. He was 61.

Mr. Williamson was born in Norwalk, Connecticut. He served in the army from 1945-46 before attending the University of Chicago. He moved to Washington in 1951 and joined the Foreign Service. Mr. Williamson became a specialist in African affairs, and during his career at the department he was posted to the embassies in Lebanon, Libya, Somalia, Nigeria, and Ghana. He moved to Williamsburg shortly before retiring in 1983.

He is survived by his wife Ann Williamson of Williamsburg; two daughters, Suzanne Pollak of Hilton Head, South Carolina, and Cynthia Carter of New York City; one son, Todd Williamson of Honolulu, Hawaii; his mother Charlotte Williamson, and a brother, Craig Williamson, both of Bethesda, Maryland; and six grandchildren.

Marriages

HENRY BARDACH, a retired Foreign Service officer, married Cynthia B. Margulies on December 31. Mr. Bardach joined the State Department in 1951 and retired in 1985. His wife's son, Foreign Service officer Alexander H. Margulies, is currently posted to Sofia, Bulgaria. His wife's niece, Merrie Blocker, is serving with USIA in Argentina. Mr. Bardach's son-in-law, Charles Kastenbaum, is with the Foreign Commercial Service at the embassy in Jakarta.

Announcements

The two memorial funds established in 1986 in the name of Lois B. Roth, a distinguished cultural affairs officer in USIA, continue to generate important funds. The money collected is used to promote and supplement international, educational, and cultural programs consistent with Ms. Roth's career in both the USIA and the American Scandinavian Foundation.

One fund exists within USIA and is guided by a board of directors. The other is a private charity. The combined assets of the funds are now more than \$56,000, and this year's program plans to see a doubling of the two fund's activities. For the private fund, tax-deductible contributions should be made payable to the Lois Wersba Roth Endowment, and sent in care of Richard T. Arndt, 1870 Wyoming Avenue NW, Washington D.C. 20009. For the USIA-based fund, checks should be made payable to USIA and sent to: Roth Fund, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Room 849, USIA, 301 Fourth Street SW, Washington, D.C. 20547.

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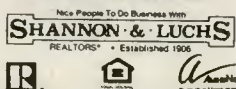
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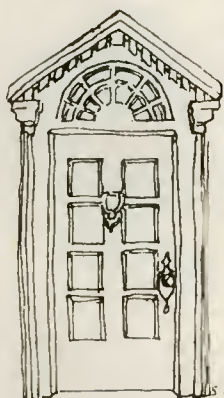
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Awards and luncheon highlight annual Foreign Service Day activities

"Retired and active-duty personnel come together to honor those who exemplify the traditions of excellence and achievement that bind us in one Foreign Service," said AFSA President Perry Shankle at the AFSA Awards Ceremony. "As part of our effort to increase professional activities, we are conferring the annual awards for the first time on Foreign Service Day," he continued.

The ceremony was held in the Dean Acheson auditorium on May 6, with four winners present. Three of the awards went to Foreign Service officers who displayed "extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage, and creative dissent."

The Christian A. Herter Award, for senior officials, was won this year by John C. Monjo, currently ambassador to Malaysia. Christian A. Herter, Jr. presented the award to Deputy Assistant Secretary William Clark, who accepted it on behalf of Ambassador Monjo. The citation read, "As deputy assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs from 1983 to 1987, John C. Monjo displayed initiative, intellectual integrity,

and balanced political perspective in conducting U.S. relations with the countries of Southeast Asia. . . . The most outstanding example . . . was his orchestration of U.S. policy toward the Philippines during the delicate transition from Ferdinand Marcos to Corazon Aquino, as he played a key role in the eventual triumph of democracy in that country." The award includes a \$1000 prize.

The William F. Rivkin Award, for mid-level officers, was presented to Scott R. Loney, an economic officer in Tel Aviv, by Daniel Rivkin, a nephew of the late ambassador. Loney, who was responsible for U.S. aid programs in the Gaza strip, was cited "for showing great initiative in expanding the embassy's knowledge of and involvement in this area. He displayed intellectual courage in discussing his views on U.S. policy and demonstrated creative dissent . . . to bring proper focus to the embassy's efforts in this crucial region." The award carries a \$1000 prize.

The W. Averell Harriman Award, for junior officers, was presented by Pamela Harriman, the late under secretary's wife,

to Douglas A. Silliman. A political officer in Tunis, Silliman "exhibited extraordinary initiative and achievement in reporting and analyzing historic changes in Tunisia's internal political scene." The citation continued, "He demonstrated intellectual courage in insisting on contacts with the largely underground Islamic fundamentalist groups." The award is accompanied by a \$2500 prize.

Maria Alicia Crespo Parkerson received the Avis Bohlen Award, named for the late wife of the late Charles Bohlen, and given to a Foreign Service family member who does the most to advance American interests at an overseas post. "Alicia Parkerson carried out a broad range of activities which forged lasting bonds between the American and Paraguayan communities. . . . As a member of the board of the Bi-National Center she developed a program to encourage young composers and raised funds to restore an 18th-century cultural treasure. . . . She strengthened the curriculum of the American school; arranged for the performance of rediscovered 18th-century Paraguayan music; organized charitable benefits, lectures, and cultural tours; and worked as a volunteer at a Red Cross home for unwed mothers." This award, including a \$2500 prize, was also presented by Pamela Harriman.

Ten officers this year were given Matilda W. Sinclair Language Awards, presented to outstanding achievers in the study of a hard language. Scott Douglas Bellard was the only one present to accept his award "for outstanding achievement in the study of the Chinese language and its associated culture" from Ambassador L. Bruce Laingen, chairman of the AFSA Awards Committee. Other winners of the \$1000 awards were Gerald C. Anderson (Korean), William H. Courtney (Ukrainian), Ronald J. Czarnetzky (Polish), Allen S. Greenberg (Polish), Lawrence C. Greenwood (Japanese), Gerald L. Mitchell (Greek), Sol Polansky (Bulgarian), Judith A. Strotz (Thai), and Lynn Joseph Turk (Korean).



AFSA Award winners Douglas Silliman, Scott Bellard, Scott Loney, and Maria Alicia Crespo Parkerson at the luncheon held in their honor on Foreign Service Day.

Muskie speaks at awards luncheon

At a special luncheon honoring the AFSA Award winners held in the Foreign Service Club on May 6, AFSA President Perry Shankle commented, "The nominations for these awards contain an outstanding record of achievement, intellectual courage, hard work, and dedication to duty. These fine records prove beyond doubt that traditions of excellence and sacrifice continue among Foreign Service members and their families."

Former Secretary of State Edmund Muskie, speaking to the honorees and guests, recalled his early wish to join the Foreign Service. "I feel like an impostor here. I'm not really of the Foreign Service. I spent only eight months and 20 days as Secretary of State, but I entertained the idea of the Foreign Service many years ago. . . . I was offered a scholarship at Cornell Law School. . . . [and] said I was applying for law school not because I wanted to be a lawyer but because I thought it might be a way to get into the Foreign Service. . . . It took me almost 50 years to make that entrance."

Muskie went on to recall his days as Secretary of State in the Carter Admini-

stration, following the aborted hostage rescue attempt. "I will never forget the welcome I received. I had no opportunity to gather a team of my own. So I had to take what I found in the State Department, and I was never disappointed. The people who served with me never let me down."

What Muskie remembered was the enormous support everyone received during the climactic moments of the hostage crisis. "With the assistance of modern technology making possible the transfer of such sums, and modern communication, and modern transportation, [the hostage negotiations] all came together at the same instant one-half hour after we left office. It wouldn't have been possible but for the quality of the institution represented by you in the Foreign Service, who are all too often criticized and all too seldom appreciated for what you've done. I thank you for making those eight months the highlight of my life that it has been. . . . It demonstrated to me the importance of diplomacy in resolving the issues," Muskie concluded, "I'm heartened that at the moment we are in a negotiating mode."



Senator Edmund Muskie talks with Pamela Harriman after his speech at the AFSA Awards luncheon. Mrs. Harriman presented the W. Averell Harriman Award to Douglas Silliman and the Avis Bohlen Award to Maria Parkerson.

AFSA Award Nominees

Below are listed the many fine nominees that were proposed for the awards.

Christian A. Herter Award

Richard W. Aherne, State
Frank Almaguer, AID
Richard K. Archi, AID
Robert C. Chase, AID
Richard E. Combs, State
Michael E. C. Ely, State
Anthony G. Freeman, State
Robert L. Funseth, State
Richard A. Johnson, AID
Robert V. Keeley, State
Francis T. McNamara, State
Francis McNeil, State
John C. Monjo, State
M. Charles Moseley, AID

William R. Rifkin Award

Prudence Bushnell, State
Louis E. Kahn, State
J. Michael Lekson, State
Scott R. Loney, State
James McNaughton, State
Larry Thompson, State
Lynn Turk, State
Paul T. Walters, Commerce

W. Averell Harriman Award

Joseph T. Converse, State
Henry S. Ensher, State
Jeanette A. Hantke, State
Joseph E. Howard, State
Jason Hyland, State
Kathleen J. Scanlon, State
Douglas A. Silliman, State
Janice L. Trickle, State

Avis Bohlen Award

(Agency of Spouse)
Mary Anderson, State
John Crane, USIA
Bonnie Flynn, AID
Mrs. James Ford and Mindy, State
Carol A. LaSor, USIA
Patricia W. McCabe, State
Eva Jane Nagy, State
Maria Alicia Crespo Parkerson, USIA
Catherine Shapleigh, AID
Ruth Singer, AID
Kay Thompson, State
Jo Anne Vaughn, USIA

House defeats bill opposed by AFSA

The Overseas Teachers Act, H.R. 3424, was recently defeated in a floor vote in the House of Representatives. AFSA had testified against this legislation in October 1987, and had since been in contact with committee members involved in the mark-up of the bill. The legislation contained local-hire restrictions that would have effectively prevented Foreign Service spouses from teaching in Department of Defense Dependents Schools, but would have exempted military spouses from these restrictions.

AFSA pointed out that there is no rational basis for this discriminatory treatment, since both Foreign Service and military dependents attend DODDS schools. The Association also argued that the legislation would allocate financial resources in a less cost-effective manner, and could compromise the quality of education.

Ceremony honors those killed in line of duty

"Today we pay tribute to the brave members of our Foreign Service who carry on their heritage of selfless service," said President Reagan in a message delivered by Secretary Shultz on Foreign Service Day. "I have had many opportunities to see, firsthand, the superb dedication and superior performance of the Foreign Service. . . . I have witnessed time and again the Service's often unheralded skill, loyalty, and patriotism," his message continued.

Secretary Shultz joined his colleagues "in paying solemn tribute to the memory of those who have given their lives in service to our country. . . . Our traditions of sacrifice and achievement have never died," said Shultz. "As their predecessors did in earlier eras, the men and women of today's Foreign Service are still going forth with energy and commitment into an uncertain world to protect and promote America's most fundamental interests." Shultz, along with AFSA President Perry Shankle, spoke during the annual dedication of the Memorial Plaque maintained by AFSA in the Diplomatic Lobby of the Department of State.

Added to the plaque this year was the name of Laurence A. Steinhardt, ambassador to Sweden, Peru, the Soviet Union, Turkey, Czechoslovakia, and Canada. He died during his last posting on March 28, 1950 in an airplane crash



AFSA President Perry Shankle and Secretary George Shultz stand at attention after the ceremony in which the names of Laurence A. Steinhardt and William F. Buckley were added to the memorial plaque at State on Foreign Service Day.

near Ottawa. At the time of his death, Secretary of State Dean Acheson said, "His devotion to duty and his keen intelligence enabled him to make a most valuable contribution to the conduct of our foreign relations."

The other name added this year was that of William F. Buckley, political officer at the embassy in Beirut, who was kidnapped on March 16, 1984, and died at the hands of his captors on June 3, 1985. He was honored as a man of leadership, courage, devotion to duty, and personal dedication to humanitarian causes.

Shankle, addressing the relatives and friends of the two honored, as well as

hundreds of Foreign Service members who attended the ceremony said, "We are honoring today a distinguished ambassador of the previous generation, and an outstanding public servant who fell victim to terrorism three short years ago. The deaths of these two diplomats symbolize the changing nature of the hazards facing those who serve abroad in the Foreign Service. During the first century of our nation, the dangers tended to be precarious transportation and tropical diseases. In recent years, the deliberate violence of man has struck repeatedly." Shankle also praised the secretary's strong opposition to international terrorism.

Wounded remembered at plaque ceremony

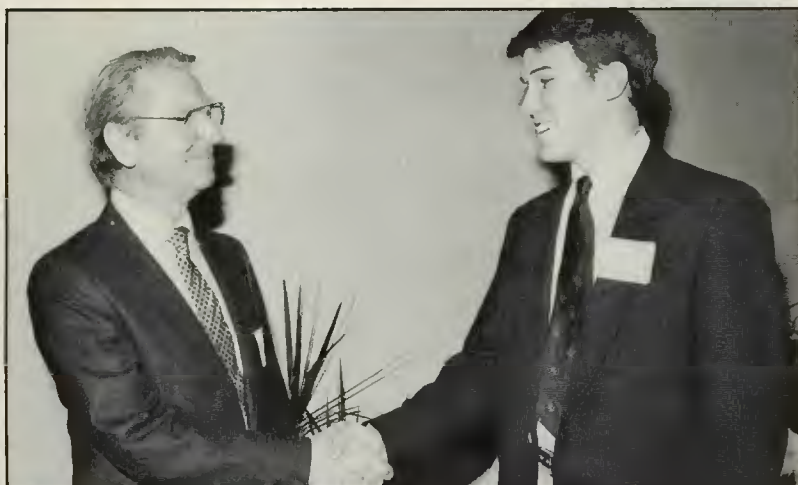
This year marked the first time AFSA has honored those who were wounded while serving their country at our missions abroad. A list of those known to have been wounded in the last five years was compiled for the plaque ceremony. While the list is not a complete record, it is being made public as a recognition of those who survived brushes with death while performing their duties. The list includes:

Albert Alexander, DOC, Beirut; Kevin Barry, State, Beirut; Ambassador Reginald Bartholomew, State, Beirut; Robert Benson, MSG, Beirut; Alan Bigler, State, Beirut; Russell Brant, State, Beirut; Arthur H. Broksas, State, Kuwait; Jimmie Brown, MSG, Beirut; Rayford J. Byers, DAO, Beirut; William J. Calkins, State, Khartoum; Colonel Winchell Craig,

DAO, Beirut; Anne Dammarell, AID, Beirut; Ambassador Robert S. Dillon, State, Beirut; Major Joseph Englehardt, DAO, Beirut; Robert Essington, State, Beirut; John Ford, State, Cairo; Mark Foulon, State, Beirut; Jeffrey Garrell, State, Beirut; Kenneth Gasmire, MSG, Beirut; Larry W. Gill, MSG, Beirut; Robert O. Homme, State, Strasbourg; John Huckle, State, Cairo; Peter J. Hussey, State, Beirut; Bruce Jackman, State, Beirut; James Johnson, DAO, Beirut; Richard A. Johnson, State, Kuwait; Sally Johnson, DAO, Beirut; Charles Kapar, AID, Tehran; David Kelling, State, Beirut; Frank Keys, MSG, Beirut; Jeanne Kinney, State, Beirut; Richard Leydet, MSG, Beirut; Lawrence Liptak, State, La Paz; David Mandel, AID, Beirut; Anders McCullough, State,

Beirut; Debra J. McGowan, State, Port-au-Prince; Mike McFarland, State, Beirut; Mary Lee McIntyre, AID, Beirut; John B. McKennan, State, Beirut; Michael Milroy, State, Beirut; Harmon Morgan, MLO, Kuwait; Harmon Morgan, DAO, Beirut; Robert Pearson, AID, Beirut; Dorothy Pech, State, Beirut; Daniel Pellegrino, DAO, Beirut; Michael Phillips, MSG, Beirut; Arthur L. Pollick, State, Sanaa; John M. Reid, USIA, Beirut; Lora Roberto, State, Beirut; Beth Samuel, USIA, Beirut; Paul Siehart, State, Beirut; Rebecca Smith, State, Beirut; S. Louise Tennant, State, Beirut; Terry Terrell, DAO, Beirut; Yvonne D. Wade, State, Beirut; Harvey Whitaker, Navy, Beirut; Dennis Williams, State, Cairo; Bernard Woerz, State, Beirut; and Jeremy Zeikel, State, Beirut.

Merit Award winner honored



Ambassador Claude G. Ross, chairman of the AFSA committee on education, congratulates Andrew Wilcox, one of the top winners in the annual academic and extracurricular achievement competition that honors graduating high school seniors who are children of Foreign Service personnel. Wilcox was presented with a \$500 award on Foreign Service Day. He represented the 20 merit winners as well as the 12 honorable mention winners, who received \$100 awards. Wilcox is editor-in-chief of the Walt Whitman High School newspaper and was named Maryland High School Journalist of the year. He is the son of Philip and Cindy Wilcox. Biographies and pictures of all the Merit Award winners will be published in the September issue.

New agreement on skill codes

AFSA and the department reached agreement on skill code change regulations in time for implementation by the skill code change panels that met May 24-26. The department accepted changes proposed by AFSA that should lead to greater flexibility, and a shift in emphasis in the purpose of the skill code change exercise from workforce management to developing an effective workforce.

The department has agreed that the director general will consider designating a number of skill code change possibilities in areas that are not specifically in deficit. Furthermore, applicants for a skill code change may qualify on the basis of service in interfunctional positions if the work requirement statements clearly indicate that the work performed was specifically relevant to the skill code to which the applicant aspires. The employee will be expected to have demonstrated skills in all areas of the new skill code commensurate with the employee's grade. Thus FS-03 officers will not be expected to have the same range of experience as FS-01 officers.

Retired members renew friendships at AFSA brunch

"In general, AFSA is in good health, although, as you have been hearing, the Department of State and the Foreign Service itself are not," AFSA President Perry Shankle told about 100 retired members who attended the AFSA brunch at the Foreign Service Club on May 7. He lauded the retirees for helping support AFSA when budget cuts threatened and reminded them that "The outlook for 1989 is not so good, and we continue to be active with Congress."

Shankle also commented that AFSA has "won some notable victories helpful to our members," and continues to represent members' interests on a wide range of issues, including protesting the stoppage of building passes for retired personnel.

Congressional Liaison Officer Robert Beers reassured members that current legislation would protect retirement annuities and cost of living adjustments from Gramm-Rudman cuts through 1992. He also described the congressional proposal of a special cost of living index for those over 62.

The catastrophic care bill now in conference provides payment for all medical

expenses (other than long-term custodial care) after an initial out-of-pocket expenditure. Beers commented that for Federal workers who already have that coverage, such a bill, unless amended, would involve additional social security expense. He warned members to expect attacks on entitlement programs such as social security and Medicare even though social security is in good shape. "The average retirement income is higher now than it was ten years ago, and there is no longer so much sympathy for the elderly poor."

On other issues, Beers said that AFSA is concerned about the problems some retirees are having with the Annuity Payments Branch in the department and has urged State Department management to take immediate steps to hire the additional four employees that are authorized in that office.

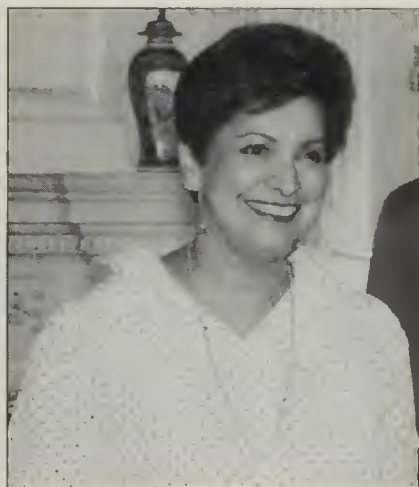
Beers concluded by saying that AFSA was looking forward to working more closely with regional and state Foreign Service retiree organizations to promote wider understanding and appreciation of the role of the Foreign Service in talks among community groups.



Robert Beers, congressional liaison officer, addresses retired AFSA members at the AFSA brunch.

State Standing Committee Open Assignments: A Heretical View

By Evangeline Monroe, Vice President



This year's game of musical chairs, otherwise known as the summer cycle assignment process, is virtually over. By March, more than 50 percent of the summer assignments had been made, including some stretch assignments. With most of the anxiety associated with the assignment cycle out of the way, it is time to take a close look at the process that affects our careers, our personal lives, and ultimately shapes the Service.

The open-assignments agreement that AFSA negotiates with the department is misnamed. The process is not truly open, nor is it exactly equitable. In a sense, the agreement is an agreement to share the misery fairly and reserve the rewards for the chosen few. It gives management an excuse to impose discipline on those employees unfortunate enough not to have a patron, while permitting others to work around the agreement. It also provides a personnel officer with an opportunity to say, "I would like to give you what you want, but I can't because we have an agreement with AFSA."

Fair Share Candidates. The "fair share candidate" is a case in point. Under the terms of the agreement, an employee who has not served in a hardship post in the past eight years may be identified for service at a differential post unless he or she bids on hardship assignments. The agreement does not state that "fair share candidates" must bid

exclusively on hardship assignments, yet a common practice in the office of personnel is to consider seriously only hardship bids. From another perspective, an employee currently serving in a hardship post may feel that the next assignment should be at an easier post and may believe that the agreement is not working if one hardship post is followed by another. To assure that no one has to serve at more than one hardship post in a row, some have suggested that AFSA propose a point system or that assignments be made in tandem, linking a hardship and a non-hardship assignment.

The preceding suggestions may help distribute assignments more equitably, but we can be certain of one thing—these modifications of the open-assignments agreement will not affect those employees who are transferred from plum job to plum job with only a perfunctory nod to the system. In such cases, a job may appear on the open-assignments list for the required two weeks, but the job is never really available for open bidding. We all know cases where the "fix" was in, and the present agreement, however well-intentioned by its negotiators, will not stop the well-connected employee, the bureau, the assistant secretary, or even a friendly coterie of personnel officers from working around the open-assignments agreement.

Special program for minorities. Management's current effort to help minority

AFSA opposes Senate restrictions on post-employment activities

AFSA has been active in opposing a measure recently passed by the Senate that prohibits employees for 18 months after they leave government service from engaging in activities on behalf of a U.S.-membership international organization. The measure was introduced by Senator Jesse Helms as a floor amendment to S. 237, the Integrity in Post Employment Act. The bill now goes to the House for action; AFSA is contacting key legislators to urge that the Helms amendment not be included in the House bill, and that it be dropped in conference. The department concurs with AFSA

in its opposition to S. 237 and has promised to make its views known on Capitol Hill.

AFSA believes that employees should not be prevented from taking advantage of post-employment opportunities with international organizations, particularly as a lifelong career in the Foreign Service becomes less certain due to recent personnel measures and budgetary pressures. The Association also believes that it is consistent with U.S. policy and our national interest to encourage and facilitate the placement of qualified Americans in international organizations.

Hill Contacts

Years ago, it was a common practice for FSOs returning from overseas to call on their representatives and senators. The department still officially encourages such calls. In view of current budget problems, misunderstanding of the Foreign Service, and exaggerated ideas of its perks, it would be very useful for AFSA members to visit the Hill when in Washington. In the AFSA office, Room 3644, we have available briefing materials useful to members making such calls. We especially encourages members to call on representatives and staffers whom they have assisted overseas.

employees provides still another example of the breakdown of the personnel system. This year, the department initiated a program to provide special help with assignments for minority employees. Counselors were to identify minority candidates and help them prepare realistic bids that would further their careers. In practice, they suggested jobs to minority candidates. The counselor then was expected to confer with the minority client, help identify priorities, introduce the employee to the relevant bureaus, and ask them to take a second look at the candidate. This special program sought to assure that a minority employee would not be ignored by the assignments panel as long as he or she was qualified.

Where is the breakdown in the system? To the extent that the program is executed as outlined, there is no breakdown. However, the steps outlined above are steps a counselor should take for all clients. The fact that such a program was designed specifically for minority employees is a tacit admission that personnel officers, like real estate agents, do not act for the client, i.e. the employee seeking an assignment.

The special program has worked for some minority employees, with the rights of non-minority employees protected through competition in the panels. For others, however, even this effort failed because some counselors did not make

suggestions tailored to their clients' interests, or they failed to follow up in introducing their clients to the bureaus.

Too many or not enough counselors? Some counselors may not have time to provide individual attention to their clients. Nevertheless, a frequent criticism is that there are too many personnel counselors. Suggestions for reform range from doing away with all assignments officers in the personnel bureau to doing away with all personnel counselors. One taskforce identified some 80 Bureau of Personnel positions for elimination and judged more than one office expendable. In frustration, one administrative officer suggested doing away with all "holds" in the assignments panel. Another suggested giving the bureaus ten percent of their dearest wishes and, presumably, slugging it out for the rest. "What is needed," said a personnel specialist, "is to forget about employee preferences."

Service discipline. Few would argue with the need for more discipline, but it should be discipline that cuts both ways. The employee should be prepared to accept assignments as given, but the bureaus should be prepared to do the same. Therein lies the rub. Few posts and offices are willing to accept what the system offers unless someone can say that the candidate's corridor reputation is acceptable. There are no negotiations, no grievances, no carefully composed panels, no appeals, if one has an inaccurate

corridor reputation.

We need an open-assignments system that is trusted by all before the participants will subject themselves to discipline. Some yearn for the good old days when the Service was smaller and assignments were frequently a pleasant surprise. Today an assignment requires careful planning and manipulation. We are still a small Service, but we are too large to rely on subjective judgments.

A plea for objectivity. We can probably never eliminate the "fix" in an assignment, nor should we expect that corridor reputation will not influence assignments. But we could mitigate the worst abuses by quantifying requirements for a position and considering candidates according to the number of points a candidate presents. For example, a position might require area expertise (1 point), language (1 point), previous experience, (1 point), specific knowledge or skill (3 points), people skills (2 points), communication skills (1 point). One could factor in points for service in hardship posts, needs of the service, and family and personal requirements. A bureau could still have a favorite candidate, but the bureau would have the burden of showing that the favorite would still be better than the system's candidate with the most points. An objective system might even result in inducing the bureaus to take a second look at an unknown candidate.

Union files lawsuit challenging end of D.C. tax exclusion

AFSA has filed suit to challenge the elimination of the tax exclusion for Foreign Service officers resident in the District of Columbia but domiciled elsewhere, a result of the Helms amendment to the current authorization law. District law provides that any resident who holds a presidential appointment subject to Senate confirmation, who serves at the pleasure of the president, and who maintains a domicile in another state is exempt from income tax. Senator Jesse

Helms's amendment prohibits members of the Foreign Service from taking advantage of the District law.

AFSA's suit challenges the amendment on several constitutional grounds:

- It unjustly discriminates against Foreign Service officers contrary to the 14th Amendment;

- It allows the government to take the property of Foreign Service officers without just compensation, which is prohibited by the 5th Amendment;

- It singles out Foreign Service officers for congressional punishment; and

- It is national legislation designed to overturn local law, prohibited by the 10th Amendment.

AFSA requested that the court declare the amendment unconstitutional, and that the court issue an injunction to prevent the District government from enforcing it. In the meanwhile, the elimination of the income tax exemption remains in effect.

Election-year update: A short guide to absentee voting

Major election years stir civic pride and political involvement in most Americans. But what do you do when you are working at a foreign post and want to be a part of the process? Answer: learn as much as you can, as early as you can, about absentee registration, and voting.

Effective January 1, all overseas Americans who are eligible to vote will be covered by the comprehensive Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act. This law provides a system by which American citizens stationed overseas can vote in state and federal elections. Regulations governing overseas absentee voting can be found in 7EAM, Chapter 1500.

Each post abroad must, according to regulation, designate a principal voting officer to disseminate nonpartisan voting information, hold briefing sessions, answer employee questions, and notarize documents and administer oaths, as necessary. Each voting officer is supplied with materials necessary to carry out this function, including the especially helpful

Department of Defense publication *Voting Assistance Guide*. This invaluable resource details all aspects of the overseas voting process including state-by-state information on registration and absentee voting and useful appendixes on primary dates, taxes, and relevant standard forms.

To vote overseas, an employee must first see the post voting officer and request the Federal Post Card Application, Form SF-76. You must use this form to both register to vote (some states waive this requirement for overseas citizens) and to obtain an absentee ballot for federal, state, and local elections. All editions of the FPCA, from 1979 to the present, can be used. Be prepared to supply your legal or last residence address prior to overseas departure, your party preference (for primary election ballot), and your mailing address. Pay close attention to the state deadlines in Chapter 3 and Appendix B for registration and ballot requests; the dates are not always the same.

Under the UOCAVA, voting in federal elections does not affect the determination of the voter's residence for tax purposes. However, state income tax liability may be incurred in some states by voting in state elections. Check the DOD guidebook's Appendix G for the rules governing state tax liability.

It cannot be overemphasized that the FPCA must be mailed in at least 45 days in advance of elections for previously registered employees or for those employees who are only voting in federal elections. If you are unregistered, where registration is required, you must submit your FPCA two months or more in advance of election day. Well-known delays in pouch service and international mail deliveries are the reason for this long lead time. If there is some doubt that your marked ballot will arrive in time to be counted, send it anyway. Some states count ballots several days after election day.

As of the 1988 general election, over-

Status report on reorganization: Time is running out on the reprieve

Time is running out on the temporary reprieve on reorganization granted by Congress to the Department of State. In preparation for an anticipated budget shortfall in FY 89, the department asked for studies in the areas of personnel, economic function, and administration. Ambassador David H. Popper headed a task force to examine the issue of deputy assistant secretary level positions. Ambassador Paul Boeker was assigned to review the economic function. Administrative reform was left with Ambassador Brandon Grove and his working group.

Ambassador Popper sets out a rational argument for the need for senior-level personnel. He argues that State deals in matters of policy rather than operational programs. He also explains the reason for the growth of deputy assistant secretary positions: the increase in the scope and volume of our foreign relations, and the department's need "to staff itself to maintain as effective and coherent a foreign policy as possible in an increasingly interdependent world."

He admits that "rank affords an *entree* not otherwise available."

Ambassador Popper points out that in 1970, the regional bureaus in the department had 16 deputy assistant secretary positions compared to 29 today. But the growth appears to be greatest in the functional bureaus and other areas in response to congressional directives and political priorities. The Whitehead Plan would have limited DASs to three per bureau. Ambassador Popper proposes eliminating a total of 30 DAS or DAS-equivalent positions.

Ambassador Popper's study recognizes the complexity of our foreign relations. In contrast, Ambassador Boeker makes a plea for a "simpler structure," not only in the Bureau of Economic Affairs but in the department as a whole. He is so taken with his mandate to propose "specific cuts and reorganization in the economic function," that he urges his approach be applied to all functional and regional bureaus. He subjects the economic function to two management prin-

ciples: that there be no unnecessary layers, and that non-essential compartmentalization be avoided. Having constructed his tidy and simple model he reviews all offices in EB in terms of current interest in the issues handled by the offices.

Ambassador Boeker determines that there is very little duplication of effort between EB and the regional bureaus, but that some duplication exists between EB and other functional bureaus. He evenhandedly identifies cuts, particularly in more senior positions, in virtually every office in EB, but he demonstrates what is probably a personal bias toward policy planning and analysis. Ambassador Boeker would strengthen the Planning and Economic Analysis Staff and urges that it be used as a focal point for economic policy development. While the Whitehead plan would eliminate 53 positions, Boeker recommends cutting only 32 positions, but his plan would have a greater impact on promotions because he would cut more senior-level jobs.

Administrative reorganization appar-

seas voters may be able to use the Federal Write-in Absentee Ballot for federal offices as a backup if they are relatively certain their regular absentee ballot will not be received at post, marked, and returned in time. The FWAB can only be used when a voter has already requested a regular absentee ballot. There is also a State Write-in Ballot for those overseas voters who know before the election that they will be unable to use their state's regular absentee voting procedures. Check Chapter 3 of the DOD guidebook for requirements.

For information on political activities of either the Democratic or Republican party, contact: Democrats Abroad, 53 Avenue des Pages, 78110 Le Vesinet, France; Republicans Abroad, 310 1st Street S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

For further information on Foreign Service participation in the Federal Voting Assistance Program contact: Voting Officer, Office of Citizens Consular Services, Department of State.

ently does not lend itself to similar intuitive analysis, nor was there an administrative guru willing to take on the task. The job was left to Ambassador Grove, who would probably be the first to admit that he is no expert in administrative matters. The ambassador used an interesting technique to compensate for the lack of an administrative wiseman. He held a series of meetings with people from the department, plus a few from the private sector who have an interest in administrative and personnel issues. In a spirit of openness uncharacteristic of Whitehead plan initiatives, AFSA was invited to the meetings. Issues, problems, and solutions were identified at separate meetings. The final recommendation to the management council will include suggestions gathered from the meetings, the task force reports that followed the Whitehead plan, and other suggestions, such as AFSA's proposals. By mid-summer, we can expect to see a series of plans for reorganization that is likely to result in a smaller workforce.

A fond farewell to staffers



AFSA President Perry Shankle lauds departing staff members (left to right) Myriam Duncan, membership coordinator; Dawn Cuthell, scholarships administrator; and Steve Dujack, JOURNAL editor, at a party held in their honor.

AFSA responds to restrictions on personal property sales

AFSA has finally received the department's proposed regulations implementing the amendment to the 1988-89 Foreign Affairs Authorization Act that restricts the sale of personal property by U.S. government personnel overseas. The association is pouching these regulations to all overseas posts to obtain their comments and suggestions. In the meantime, the government will be implementing interim regulations which take effect on June 20, 1988—the effective date of the legislation—since in the absence of regulations all personal property sales abroad by government employees would be prohibited.

Under the terms of the legislation, the law applies to all government employees under the jurisdiction of the chief of mission, and the department is responsible for promulgating government-wide regulations to implement it. Because the regulations are government-wide, AFSA's right to influence the implementing regulations is limited by the terms of the Foreign Service Act to "consultation." AFSA has the right to present its views and recommendations regarding the proposed regulations; the department, in turn, must "consider" the Association's comments but is not bound to incorporate them into the final regulations.

AFSA has researched the possibility of legal action to challenge the restrictions on personal property sales. Unfortunately, legal precedent does not support a challenge to such restrictions. In 1965, the department published a worldwide directive prohibiting the sale of personal property at an amount in excess

of a formula price based on the original acquisition cost plus any taxes or customs paid on it. Subsequent department regulations required that excess proceeds be turned over to a designated charity. In response to the regulations, two lawsuits were filed by affected employees.

The courts held that the sale of personal property by an American employee abroad is a privilege, not a right. They found that the government's actions did not constitute a "taking" of property without just compensation, nor did they substantially interfere with the employees' property rights. Such actions taken by the government in pursuit of legitimate foreign policy goals were found to be reasonable, and the courts refused to consider whether the measures adopted really achieved the policy goals as articulated.

Although legal action does not appear to be a viable option, AFSA continues to pursue the possibility of a legislative solution. AFSA recently sent a letter to members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee arguing that the legislation restricting personal-property sales is unfair and unnecessary. Given the nature of this year's legislative calendar, it seems unlikely that any sort of corrective legislation could be passed under the current administration. However, AFSA hopes that by sending this letter to key congressional policymakers, we will lay the groundwork for future legislative reform by discrediting the notion that profiteering is rampant among government employees overseas.

Insurance Trustees' Report An Update on the AFSA Plans

By Hugh Wolff, Chairman, Board of Trustees for Insurance Programs

AFSA's Board of Trustees for Insurance Programs, which was established in 1981 to oversee and improve the Association's group insurance programs, submitted a report to the Governing Board covering the last six months of 1987. The following is a slightly edited reprint, giving highlights of the programs sponsored by AFSA and of recent developments affecting the Foreign Service Health Benefit Plan. As most members know, this plan is not administered by AFSA but by the American Foreign Service Protective Association (AFSPA), which is a separate organization.

Programs Sponsored by AFSA: In a meeting with the board of trustees in February, Ralph Hirshorn, president of the Hirshorn Company, which administers our principal insurance programs, submitted his annual report for 1987. He also presented a check for \$14,194.97 to AFSA Treasurer Sam Mok, representing reimbursement of expenses relating to the marketing and management of these programs. The total amount of such payments since they began in 1981 is now more than \$70,000.

The following is a brief summary of Hirshorn's report on each of the insurance programs.

■ **Accidental Death and Dismemberment:** In 1987 the total number of certificates in force was 1,179, providing over \$198 million in coverage to members and their families. This total was down slightly from the \$203 million in 1986 despite a modest increase in the number of certificates issued, perhaps because the threat of terrorist acts seemed to have abated somewhat. Last year's annual mailing soliciting new buyers yielded only 69 compared with 137 the previous year. Only one claim was paid, but it was for \$125,000—the result of a fatal automobile accident.

■ **In-hospital Income Plan:** Participation in this plan has increased steadily since 1983, when it was transferred to a new carrier and major improvements were made in the coverage. Since then the number of certificates in force has increased from about 100 to over 400, with total premiums last year amounting to \$58,000. This trend should continue as more members become aware of the valuable features that are offered. Claims paid last year amounted to \$10,460, a

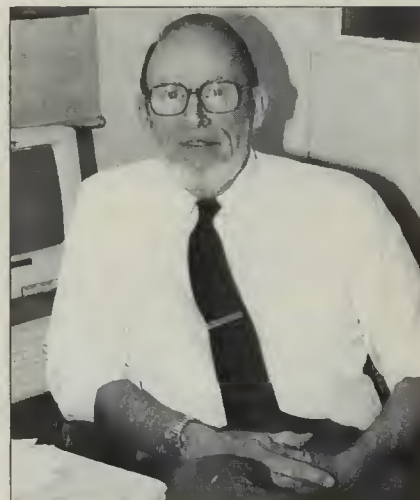
loss ratio of 18 percent.

■ **Personal Insurance Plan:** This plan, although limited to members on foreign assignment, is the largest of the three in terms of premiums. Last year these amounted to \$320,598—a new high. Furthermore, the number of subscribers was up by 18 percent over 1986. Since 1983 the number has grown from 356 to 660. On the negative side, the number of claims was much higher than in previous years, and the total paid out was more than \$239,000. This was a matter of sufficient concern that the board of trustees agreed to a proposal from the underwriters to increase the deductible from \$50 to \$100.

In addition to the programs administered by the Hirshorn Company, AFSA has a long-standing contract providing *Disability Income Insurance* that has been of little interest to members since 1977, when the company revised the terms of coverage and increased the premiums. We have been trying to replace this contract, which now has fewer than 40 subscribers, with a more beneficial one but have not been able to do so. Nevertheless, we plan to keep trying.

We have also been exploring the possibility of obtaining *Professional Liability Insurance* on a group basis for members interested in such coverage. However, this may not be a practical proposition at this time.

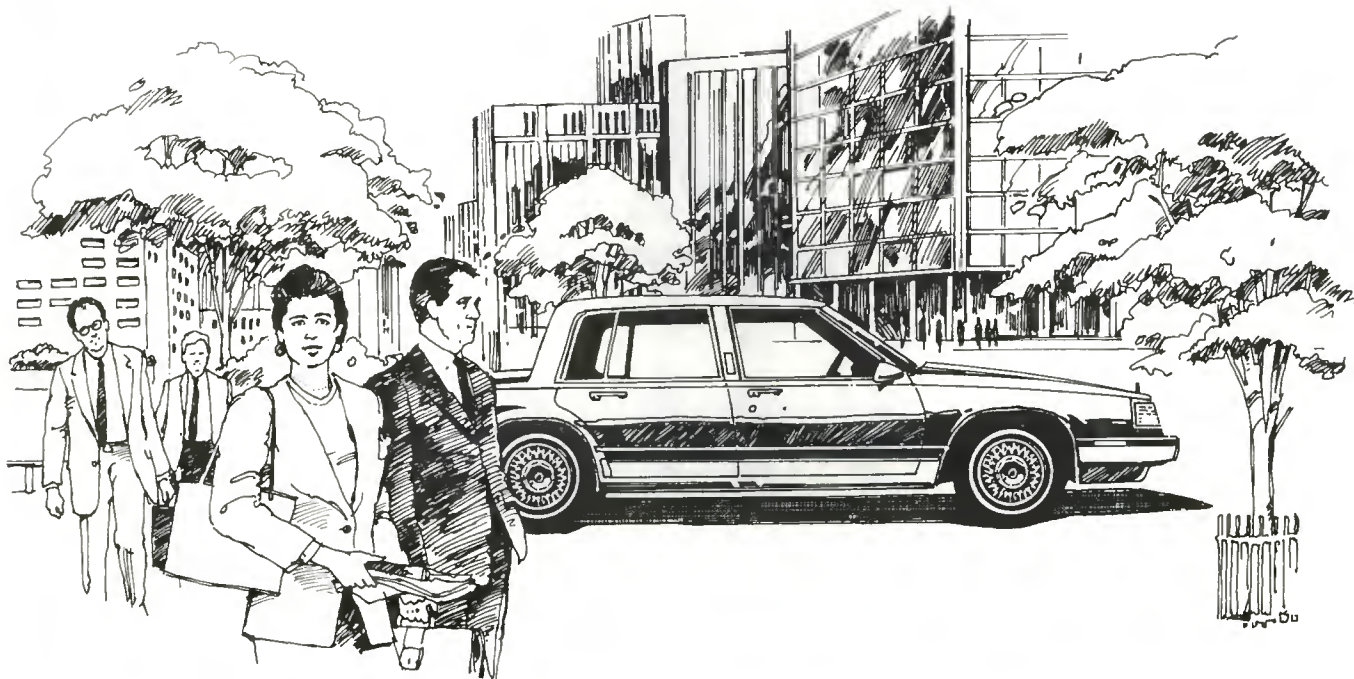
■ **Overseas Option Under the Foreign Service Health Benefit Plan:** Several years ago the board of trustees encouraged and assisted AFSPA in the development of the Overseas Option under the Foreign Service Health Benefit Plan. Last year the State Department notified AFSPA that, because of budget stringencies, it had decided to terminate its "special relationship" with the Protective Association and thereby to write finis to the Overseas Option as of the end of this year. Under that plan, the State Department has been the primary provider of indemnification for hospital expenses incurred by Foreign Service personnel serving abroad, and the Foreign Service Health Plan has provided supplementary coverage, which is considerably cheaper as a consequence. AFSPA, which now has some 3,700 subscribers to the Overseas Option, objected vigorously to the department's



action but without success.

The board of trustees believes that there are compelling reasons for AFSA to contest the department's decision in this matter, and so voted on December 11. Subsequently, Evangeline Monroe, as AFSA's State vice president, wrote to the department asking for formal notification of the action taken by the department.

With respect to the informal proposal put forward over a year ago by AFSPA to purchase our group insurance programs, there have been no further developments since last September, when AFSPA's board of directors refused to consider a draft plan from AFSA for a time-phased merger of the two organizations.



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