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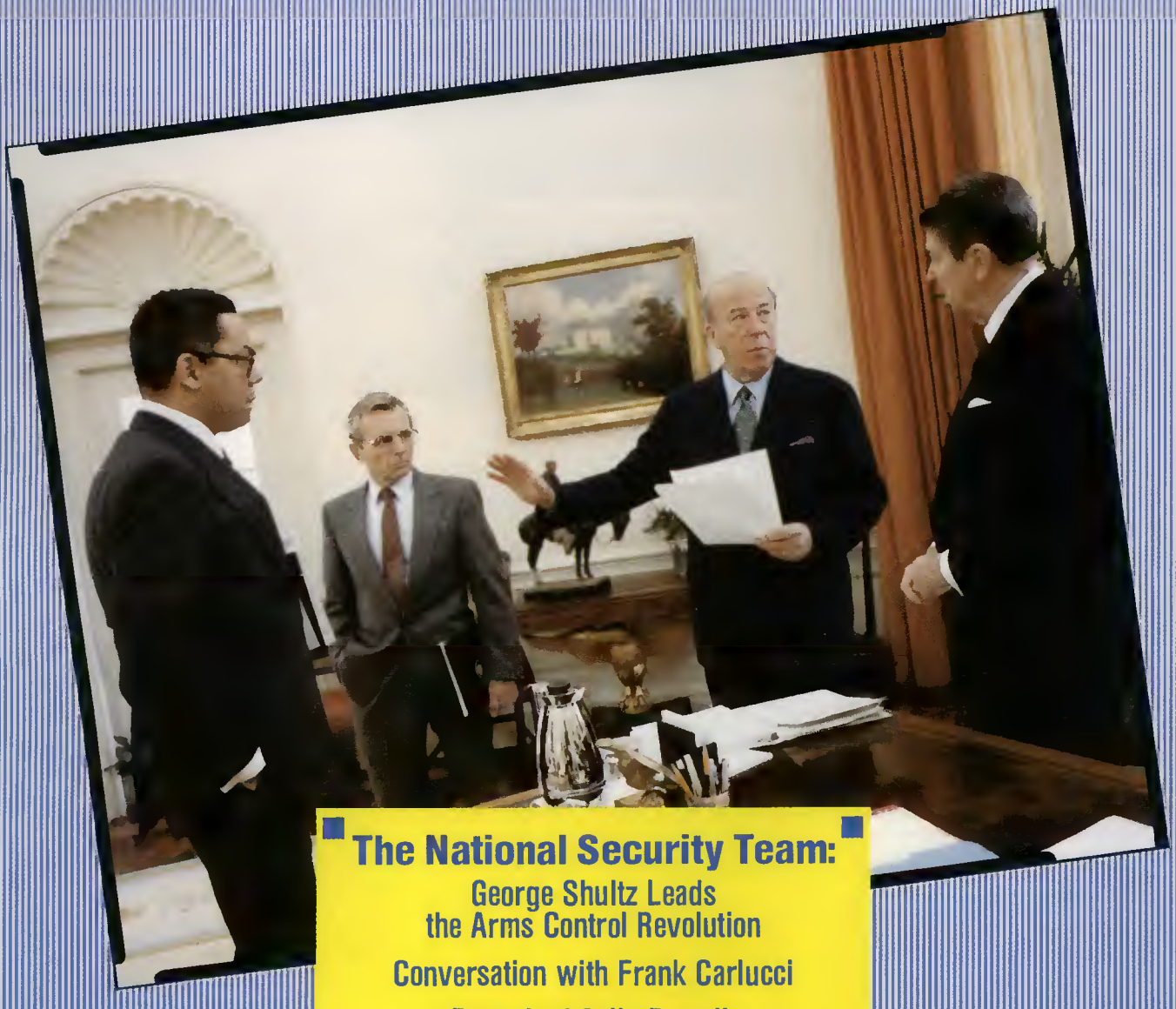

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Managing Professionals

Labor-management relations in the State Department and the Foreign Service are strained, to put it mildly. This is the message of AFSA's comment on the 1987 2402 Report to Congress, printed in its entirety on pages 62 and 63. The problem is not simply the union issues, which people of good will ought to be able to work out at the bargaining table. That part of the relationship is working well and is not the subject here. The problem is much more serious than that. It goes to the very heart of the professionalism of the Foreign Service and of our ability to do our jobs.

It is AFSA's business if the Foreign Service cannot staff its posts overseas with the best the Service can provide. It is AFSA's business if good officers are being forced out of the Service in their prime, if the best officers who move up quickly are the first to go because some clock system has been invented. These are professional issues of significance to us all.

Every spring the department sends out a cable telling ambassadors that they should not expect contact replacements, that some of their key positions will have to be left vacant because the Foreign Service does not have enough people. But, inexplicably, more and more of our members are pushed out of the Service. We are not trying to save those among us who no longer perform. On the contrary, we urge management to devise and implement a fair and dignified system to remove those who should go. But we should keep the ones we need.

We see examples again and again that the personnel system is not working for our members. We see the Foreign Service and its role in the foreign policy process being diminished by the loss of valuable talent. These are serious professional issues for AFSA.

Surely this is not the intent of the Foreign Service Act, which says in its very first section, "a career Foreign Service, characterized by professionalism, is essential in the national interest." Even Senator Jesse Helms recognizes that something is wrong and took the initiative to implement a special personnel commission to study "stability in personnel." Thankfully good people are on this commission. Senator John Kerry is also concerned and is considering hearings this fall on our problems.

Unfortunately, our managers do not want to discuss these issues with us. The Foreign Service Act, they say, does not allow discussion on these issues with AFSA. Besides, we should be patient, we are told, and give the Act more time to resolve personnel problems. AFSA is not advocating repeal or amendment of the 1980 Act. We fully appreciate how dangerous that would be in today's environment.

But we urge the department's leaders to take another look at what they are doing to the Foreign Service and consider alternative paths to a better Service. There are many members of the Foreign Service, in and out of AFSA, who would have much to contribute to such a review. They should be called on and listened to. We in the Foreign Service are professionals. We worry about our profession and have no shortage of ideas on how to improve it. We believe that good management relations calls for no less than communication among ourselves.

—Perry Shankle

Cover: The national security team meets together every morning at 7 a.m. Here NSC Advisor Colin Powell, Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci, and Secretary of State George Shultz talk with President Reagan in the Oval Office.

Photo: The White House/Pete Sousa.

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Editor: ANN LUPPI
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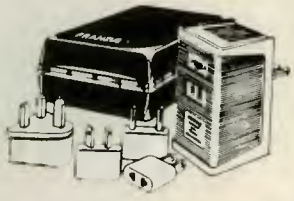

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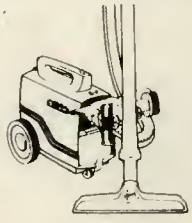

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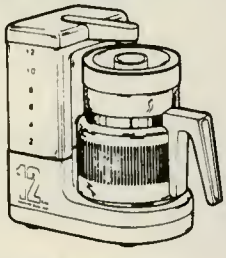

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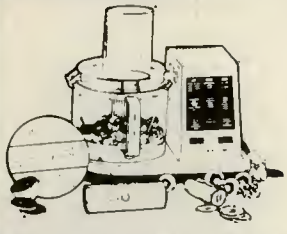

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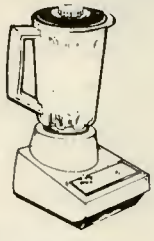

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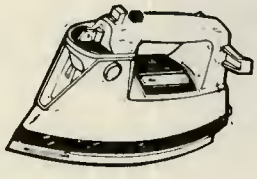

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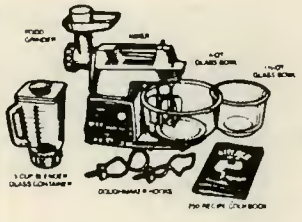

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LETTERS

A Final Word

No sooner had the *Foreign Service Journal* presented a rational, civilized, somewhat genteel account of Public Diplomacy (JOURNAL, April) when ugly reality arose to take a savage bite out of the discussion.

Charles Z. Wick, at a Washington news conference for top Soviet media officials, silenced the Voice of America correspondent. The correspondent was cut off and jammed with the comment, "We're trying to open this to the nongovernment press at the moment." Was this unique or unprecedented? Not really. I can remember the USIA director who told me my request for an interview with President Ford after the Helsinki Conference was audacious nonsense.

One really has to wonder how Robert Chatten, with his experience, can believe that a renaissance in budget and USIA professionalism obviates the need for reorganization, reform, and isolation from forces with their own public relations, political, national, and international agendas. I want our VOA or information program to ask the hard questions and get the real answers. I think on reflection authors Tuch and Chatten can remember and endorse those views, including independence for the VOA, as Mr. Malone already has.

B.H. Kamenske
Bethesda, Maryland

AFSA as Ombudsman

I read with interest the recent article concerning so-called "overpayment of annuity" cases. As a 36-year Foreign Service veteran, I can testify that traumatic cases do happen. I last saw an annuity payment in July 1987, ten months ago. It seems yet another "inadvertent error" took place in the Annuity Payments Branch, that seemingly untouchable tower on the Potomac.

One day I hope to learn just who these people are . . . surely it is not a computer error. Who does not answer frantic airmail letters, or official cables, or is "not available" for international telephone calls?

If it were not for my membership with AFSA, there would be no ombudsman I could turn to. As an example, the latest crunch came when Retirement and Annuity sent separate letters giving two different formulae as to how my income is arrived at. I'll conclude on that preposition.

Name Withheld Upon Request
Class of 1951

Wrong Perception

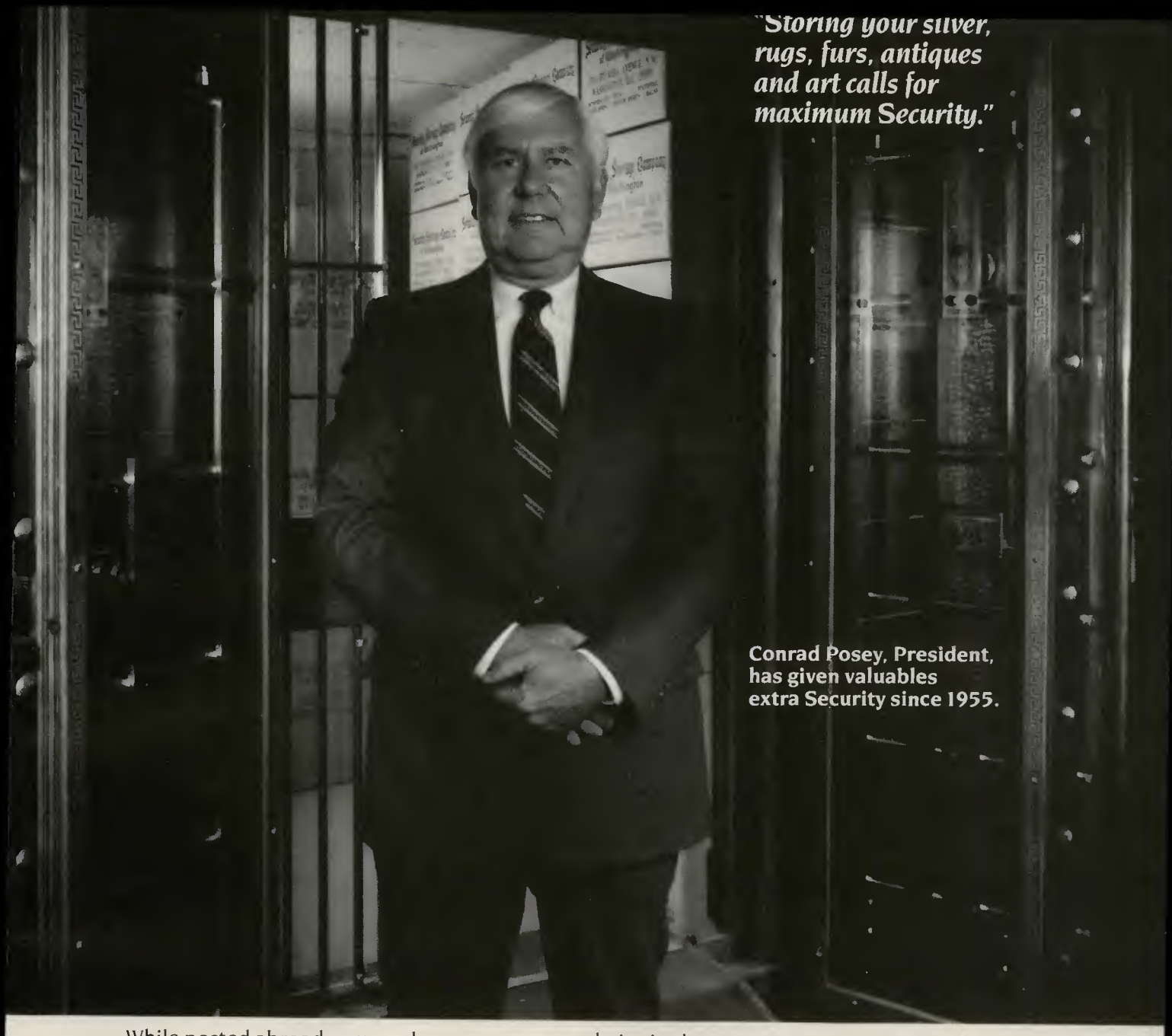
As a member of AFSA, I resent the poor judgment shown by the AFSA president, whose letter to congressmen complaining about statutory ceilings upon the disposal abroad of personal property will tend to confirm the incorrect perception of congressional critics that we in the Foreign Service are spoiled and self-serving.

As Mr. Shankle acknowledges, the purpose of Congressman Jack Brooks' amendment is "to guard against the possibility of profiteering." Why should Federal employees who, as the legislation reads, "by virtue of their official status are exempt from import limitations, customs duties, or taxes which would otherwise apply," be permitted to reap heavy profits from the sale of personal vehicles?

Anyone who has served in the Foreign Service very long has witnessed isolated cases of abuse. Under Brooks' amendment, the department proposes to limit the sales return to the individual to the full acquisition cost of his or her vehicle. Is that unreasonable?

Is it unreasonable that those few employees who have persisted in profiteering from their official position—to the detriment of the reputation of the Foreign Service—should be prevented by law from doing so? I think not. I hope that the representatives and senators who receive Mr. Shankle's appeal will appreciate that the great majority of the American Foreign Service are not seeking to exploit official privilege for personal profit. If they believe [that we are profiteering] I hate to think what further discriminatory legislation may find support. The letter does not represent the view of the professional Foreign Service.

William C. Harrop
Ambassador to Zaire



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AFSA President Shankle replies: We have received a huge influx of cables and letters from members on this issue. They feel that they have been discriminated against, and resent being punished for the actions of a few. More than anything, they resent the implication that the Foreign Service is overrun with profiteers, and the failure of Congress to recognize the many hardships—both financial and otherwise—which are endemic to the Foreign Service. If ever the views of the membership were clear on an issue, it was in this instance, and we have both a right and an obligation to make these views known to Congress. Instances of profiteering, as you yourself note in your letter, are indeed isolated cases of abuse, and are hardly representative of the behavior of most government employees overseas. We feel that this is a problem that should have been addressed internally by the department, not through legislation.

For the record, I should note that your examples of "further discriminatory legislation" have, for the most part, already been enacted as part of the same bill which contained the Brooks Amendment. No letter from AFSA precipitated these actions; they were taken unilaterally by a Congress that was already disposed to believe the worst of the Foreign Service. It is imperative that we defend ourselves on the Hill.

State Department Publication?

The "Special Foreign Service Section" in the May issue made clear that the JOURNAL should be called *State Department Newsletter* not the *Foreign Service Journal*. This article, like the publication, was all State from the administrative officer to the spouse. I resent this. I would imagine that AID and USIS make up 50 percent of AFSA membership. I would also guess that 50 percent of Foreign Service officers killed over the past 10 years have been AID. The JOURNAL only represents half of the Foreign Service.

Kurt Shafer
Uganda

Ed. Note: The special section referred to was contributed in place of the State Standing Committee column. Other agencies were recognized in the body of the magazine. The actual AID membership figure is 12.8 percent.

Career Concerns of Professional Spouses

I have just reread "Joined in Service" by Nancy Light (JOURNAL, July/August). Rereading it in no way changed my very negative reaction. The author seems to have

confused the meaning of the word "career" with the word "job." A career is a profession for which one trains and is undertaken as a permanent calling, e.g. a diplomat. It is in this context that spouses find great dissatisfaction, not in the varied opportunities offered in Foreign Service.

The author seems to feel that Foreign Service wives fall into two categories: either dynamic, talented, satisfied and contributing; or dynamic, talented, frustrated, and under-or-unemployed. This is such pap, as is mentioning the accomplishments of wives of ambassadors. The Foreign Service is an elite service and the wives of the most privileged are in a position to make contributions that are not possible for other spouses.

The very serious problem of credible professional employment for spouses with professional credentials and experience is one that the Foreign Service must face up to if it wishes to continue to attract the caliber of officers it desires. An article that suggests that one-sided compromise is the solution does not fully realize the seriousness of the problem, or what will happen to the Service if this problem continues to be swept under the rug.

Barbara Zucrow Cohen
Artist
Washington, D.C.

Compensation for Spouses

I would like to suggest a direct and just way to provide compensation to spouses who have spent or are spending a lifetime "working" for the Foreign Service. By a minor restructuring of the Foreign Service retirement system, there would be no need for additional appropriations now and in the future.

Currently, if a retiree wishes to have pension payments continue to a designated survivor after the principal's death, the annuity is reduced by approximately ten percent; any survivor then receives 60 percent of the retiree's annuity.

Here is a concrete area where the "two for one" benefit from Foreign Service couples to the U.S. government could be concretely compensated: eliminate the annuity reduction for the survivor's pension, and bring the survivor pension up to the level of the principal's annuity.

Such a change in the Foreign Service retirement system would constitute an effective recognition of the spouse's contribution to diplomacy. The current situation is made all the more inequitable by virtue of the tandem couple growth in the Foreign Service, which presumably results in two full pensions per couple and no survivor's annuity reduction for either one. Where does that leave those to whom this avenue was not open in years past?

I urge all who have retired or who expect to retire from the Foreign Service someday to exert pressure on AFSA's leadership to take a very hard look at this and if it is actuarially feasible, to seek quick remedy.

Gunther K. Rosinus
Washington, D.C.

Insights on Yugoslavia

After reading Philip Rogers' review of Robert Blum's *Diplomatic History* article entitled "Surprised by Tito: The Anatomy of an Intelligence Failure" (JOURNAL, July/August), I was surprised that Rogers failed to note the U.S. embassy's telegram of June 18, 1948, predicting the Stalin-Tito break. This was all the more noticeable since Blum's article gave due credit to the embassy for this message.

As one who participated in the drafting of that message, I have often wondered if we in the embassy could have made our prediction at a somewhat earlier date. My considered answer to that question is—probably not. We now know that the Yugoslav Politburo itself did not realize the depth of Stalin's hostility until Soviet Ambassador Lavrentyev handed Tito the text of Stalin's letter to him dated March 27. The Yugoslav leadership did not reply to this communication until April 13; moreover, the key members of the Yugoslav Politburo probably did not entirely give up hope that Stalin might soften his posture toward them until May 17, when they politely but firmly turned down the Kremlin's proposal to have the dispute discussed and decided at a high-level session of the Cominform.

Given the rigid security surrounding the whole matter in both Moscow and Belgrade, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that on the whole, the embassy in Belgrade deserved the plaudits so graciously accorded to it by Blum in his article.

Charles G. Stefan
Gainesville, Florida

Vivid Memories

I have just received and finished reading "Jerusalem 1948" (JOURNAL, May). So starts a chapter in the "Book of History" (of the American Foreign Service).

I was there, too, and wish I had had the foresight to keep a journal of our daily activities. His excellent write-up helped jog some long-forgotten memories. It would

be most interesting if someone could compile a more personalized and detailed history of this period.

Lawrence B. Munn
Reston, Virginia

Dr. John Freymann's chronicle recalled vivid remembrance of that country and time in 1948. As a U.S. Navy Pharmacist Mate I was one of a small group sent to Jerusalem for the purpose of returning the bodies of Consul-General Wasson and Petty Officer Walker to the United States. After our sad task was completed, the besieged Consulate personnel graciously offered us a shared dinner of military rations and Dr. Freymann's lemon soda.

Some weeks later, I was assigned to the Mission of the United Nations Mediator in Haifa. Serving under Count Bernadotte and later, Ralph Bunche, I traveled throughout the area on medical duty, working and living with both Arab and Jew.

With little notice and without training I believe we Americans assigned to the mission represented the United Nations and the State Department well.

Richard C. Leader
Elkton, Maryland

Consular Options

The Consular Officers' Association is its own worst enemy. In their drive to prove that the consular cone is equal to other cones, the COA insists that only commissioned Foreign Service officers are qualified to perform any level of consular work. Therefore, all junior officers are assigned to the "foxholes" of the Foreign Service. Non-consular cone officers leave the visa line after 18 months with the impression and lasting memory that all consular work is mind-numbing routine more suited to a clerk than an officer.

Admittedly, some entry-level consular positions provide excellent training for officers of all cones. Obviously, a senior consular officer must gain some experience on the line. But the routine visa interviewing and document checking could be performed equally well by a consular staff corps, college interns, and local hire dependents. In many countries of the world, including high-fraud posts, the work could be performed best by Foreign Service nationals.

Trying to fill all consular positions with officers distorts the entire Foreign Service personnel system, producing bulges and selection-outs later on. In these days of shrinking resources, consular officers must face the fact that basic changes must be made. Foreign Service officers should work in consular jobs where they are needed—super-

vising and managing resources. However, we should admit that some work does not require superior skills. Staff employees in the administrative cone are no less important to their missions because they are not officers. The consular cone, too, must free up its officers for the serious work of the Foreign Service and turn the staff-level work over to a new consular staff corps.

James W. Carter
Consular officer, Manila

Senior Seminar Authors

Your choosing two members of the 12th Senior Seminar for major articles in the May issue, Yale Richmond at the beginning of his diplomatic career and Sam Lewis at the end of his, certainly resulted in a quality issue.

Congratulations!

Tom Rogers
Camp Hill, Pennsylvania

Speaking Out

Who Benefits from "Faster-up, Faster-out"?

The current uproar over the Foreign Service Act of 1980 is focused mainly on the injustices of the six-year window. Rightly so. The six-year window is an unnecessary redundancy and should be abolished. It penalizes risk-takers and encourages people to make their six-year window coterminous with their 20-year time-in-class, thus inhibiting the Service's ability to promote its outstanding perfomers into the Senior Foreign Service on a fast track. Soon, the Senior Foreign Service will have very few members promoted into it less than 16 or 17 years after they reached the grade of 0-3. This is a daunting prospect for a service which needs a combination of bright, young hard-chargers as well as seasoned, experienced veterans in its upper ranks.

The debate over the six-year window has not been matched by a debate over an equally serious flaw in the current Foreign Service personnel system: the five-year limit at the minister-counselor level. In view of the limited number of career minister positions, the chances of a minister-counselor being promoted to that level in five years are extremely small. Thus, he faces two choices; either he receives a limited career extension (LCE) or he faces involuntary retirement. At a time when LCEs are shrinking drastically, the odds are becoming greater that a person who reaches the minister-counselor level will face retirement in five years.

Is this fair? Is it in the Service's interest? A major inequity in the current system is that it does not factor in to the time an officer can spend at the minister-counselor level the number of years it took to get there. A person who gets promoted faster than his peers faces the same five years up-or-out window as the average performer who could take as long as 30 years to reach that level. In effect, this means faster-up, faster-out.

This feature of the current system is hardly in the Service's interest either. The Service ought to want to retain competitive officers who were promoted at an above average rate, just as it retains officers who are promoted more slowly.

The risk for rapid-risers is substantially less at the counselor level, both because of the longer time-in-class and the much larger promotion opportunities into minister-counselor rank. Clearly, both equity and the Service's best interests suggest that a modification in the current rigid five-year contract period at the minister-counselor level is in order. One approach would be to base a minister-counselor's retirement date on a combination of years-in-service and years-in-class. Under the current system, people who get promoted faster must forfeit the years they don't spend at the mid-level and at the counselor level. Would it not be fair to add these years to the five-year time-in-class provision? This would eliminate the current disincentive to rapid promotions into the Senior Foreign Service, and allow the Service to make use of the demonstrated talents of these officers for an additional number of years.

No one who is seriously committed to a quality Foreign Service can object to an up-or-out system. On the other hand, a system which pushes out its most successful officers at the peak of their careers, while retaining those who were promoted more slowly is seriously flawed. The faster-up, faster-out feature of the Foreign Service should be rectified in the interests of both the Service and the officers involved.

Joseph Winder
DCM, Bangkok

We invite readers to "speak out" on issues that concern them. The views expressed are not necessarily those of AFSA or the JOURNAL.

CLIPPINGS

If Only Gorby Were Right

For the Washington summit last winter, Gorbachev benefited enormously from first-rate briefings on almost everything and everyone. . . . But in one respect—unfortunately—he got it wrong.

At the beginning of his address at the luncheon hosted by Secretary of State George Shultz, I could hardly believe my ears when hearing Gorbachev felicitously refer to the Department of State as "a highly authoritative body."

If only Congress treated State as such. If only Congress would recognize how vital State is. That department abounds with people who are authorities on most every country and every matter that impacts our foreign relations. But Congress continually hacks the State Department's budget. They have slashed muscle and sinew to the extent that the United States and its representatives in ever more parts of the globe are almost paralysed by threadbare budgets.

Federal legislators are always hitting on the State Department, which has no constituency, except that it stands for, represents the whole nation to the rest of the world. Ironically, Capitol critics often are the first to freeload at our posts and outposts abroad.

Constantly depriving and curtailing the State Department's ability to do its essential job worldwide is mighty dangerous. Let's hope some gutful senators and congressmen will champion a department that sorely needs some.

Malcolm S. Forbes
Forbes, July 26

The Russians are Coming —to Germany

This year has seen a virtual explosion of Soviet-German links. On the agenda are 83 separate sporting events, a blizzard of cultural, political, and business delegations, student exchanges, and speaker exchanges. Germans this summer can see exhibits celebrating 1000 years of Russian art, hear lectures on 1000 years of Russian Christianity and read a new book on 1000 years of Russian German friendship. Soviet Ambassador Yuli Kvitsinsky, the point man for this friendship assault, speaks fluent German, unlike his American counterpart, Richard Burt.

All this comes at a time when a budget-conscious America is cutting back its presence in West Germany. It has closed two of its six consulates and is ending all financing for German-American cultural institutes in seven German cities. Moscow soon will open a consulate, its second, to go along with its embassy and a trade office. The U.S. presence still is larger . . . but the trends, in energy and empathy, are ominous.

A [USIA] poll found that 70 percent of Germans had a favorable opinion of the Soviet Union, a huge jump from 47 percent just six months earlier. More alarming, just 60 percent of Germans expressed a favorable opinion of the U.S.

America is still much in evidence. The Bonn embassy is the largest U.S. embassy in the world. It and the consulates have more than 1000 staffers. . . . Add to that the business and military presence and the total number of Americans in Germany is roughly 570,000.

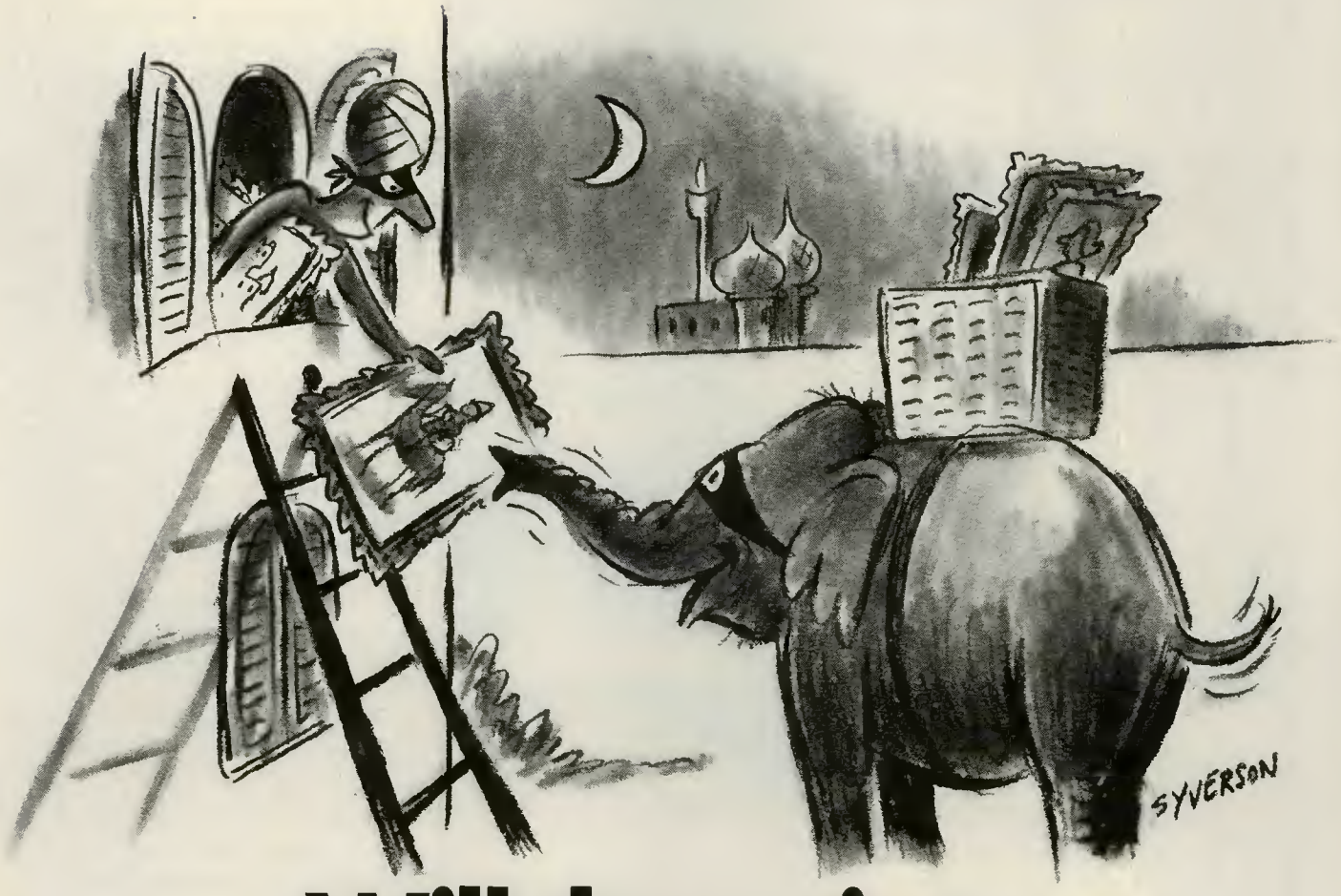
While familiarity hasn't bred contempt, it has bred boredom, plus irritation over the U.S. military presence. . . . After 40-odd years of knuckling under to the U.S., the Germans want to assert their autonomy. And because the Soviets are largely unknown, they are exotic.

So after years of being outgunned by U.S. resources, the Soviets suddenly have the money and the mandate to win hearts and minds in Germany. They can barely hide their glee. Philip Griffin, head of the U.S. consulate in Stuttgart, tells of recounting a string of cutbacks to Anatoly Dobrynin. . . . Dobrynin threw back his head and laughed, You Americans never have enough money," he said.

Wall Street Journal
June 3

Knowledge and Power

A haziness about current events is troubling—especially in light of Congress's expanding role in foreign policy. . . . I therefore propose that every candidate for the House



Will the prints you bought in Prague be covered in Bombay?

Some day, the pieces that stole your heart may be stolen from your home abroad. Chances are, if you bought your insurance overseas, you may not be covered for theft. And, if you were counting on the coverage provided by the U.S. Goverment Claims Act, you may be at a loss again. Because on paintings and pictures, including frames, the Government will only reimburse you up to $500 per item, and $3000 maximum per claim. On other items such as jewelry, furs, cameras and antiques, similar limitations apply.

What's more, the Government doesn't base reimbursement on what it would cost you to replace your articles. So you may wind up feeling as if you've been robbed twice. And, if you can't prove that you exercised "reasonable care" in protecting your goods, the Government might not pay you at all.

On the other hand, if you had the "all-risk" AFSA Plan – sponsored by the American Foreign Service Association – your insured possessions would be covered for the cost of their full replacement value and the issue of "reasonable care" would not be raised.

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or Senate be required to take the general background portion of the written Foreign Service examination. This exam is given to all Foreign Service applicants, and consists of 186 multiple choice questions on U.S. history, economics, international relations and management principles. Although only 18 percent of the 14,000 who take it annually pass, surely most would-be policymakers should be able to do so. Failing the exam would not disqualify any candidate, but candidates would be free to trumpet their knowledge (or ignorance) . . . during the campaign. Cramming would, of course, be highly encouraged.

It is "the bitterest pain among men," said Herodotus, "to have much knowledge but no power." Yet wielding great power in the absence of knowledge is liable to cause even greater pain—pain that might be averted by the adoption of this modest proposal.

Thomas E.L. Dewey
Wall Street Journal, June 29

On the Road—Again

Secretary of State George Shultz spent nine hours, 25 minutes in Geneva, meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to make final preparations for the Moscow summit and to solve problems holding up Senate ratification of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty.

It was a relatively simple trip for Shultz, who has traveled just short of one million miles in his nearly six years in office and who is spending almost as much time on the road as at home in his final year.

Nevertheless, any travel by the secretary of state is an enterprise involving extensive preparations, logistical backup and staff support, as the Geneva trip demonstrated.

The dates and place were finally approved by Shultz and Shevardnadze at the end of their previous meeting, on April 22 in Moscow. The following Monday, State's executive director and travel chief, Patrick Kennedy, telephoned the chief administrative officer of the U.S. mission in Geneva, Theodore Strickler, to break the news of the impending visit.

In the end the Shultz party and its adjuncts—such as State security, the accompanying State press corps and the Geneva police—occupied 124 rooms on five floors at the Intercontinental.

In addition, 21 offices and several conference rooms were put aside for Shultz and his party at the U.S. mission, where two of four Shultz meetings with Shevardnadze were held. Meetings of several "working groups" of U.S.-Soviet aides were also held at the mission, where about 50 offi-

cials were working full time to support the Shultz visit.

On the [U.S. Air Force] plane, in addition to an "augmented" crew of 21 pilots, radio operators, guards and stewards, were beds for Shultz and Powell and seats for about 50 others, to be allocated by State on a need-to-go basis. There was a second 12-passenger plane for additional aides, mostly security personnel, and another six-passenger Air Force plane that brought U.S. Ambassador Jack Matlock to the meetings from his duty station in Moscow. Being "on the trip" is a sign of being "in the loop" within the government, and there was active bureaucratic competition for the seats on Shultz's plane.

Preparations for what Shultz would say to Shevardnadze, and what his aides would tell other Soviets, included several National Security Council meetings at the White House and two private meetings of Shultz with President Reagan. On a less exalted level, Shultz had the benefit of a 60-page "background book" of summaries of all subjects expected to come up, plus 50 pages of talking points of U.S. positions on the central questions. Almost 100 State Department officials in 22 different offices and at other agencies helped prepare these positions.

Dan Oberdorfer
Washington Post, May 17

Managing State

Administrative officers in the State Department face a far greater handicap than power outages and spotty logistical support at remote posts. Quite frankly, you work for an institution that places a very low priority on the management function. Over the past several years, my Legislation and National Security Subcommittee has held hearings on a wide range of State Department management issues. Every one of these hearings has revealed serious deficiencies—and all too often our follow-up reviews show that the problems remain uncorrected year after year.

I have been convinced that a common root cause of these deficiencies has been the department's failure to treat sound management as a priority matter. Therefore, on the theory that acknowledging a problem is the first step toward correcting it, I am pleased the department has finally publicly admitted this underlying institutional bias.

In a hearing before the subcommittee last June, Under Secretary Spiers told the subcommittee "There is a cultural problem in the State Department—management is not regarded as an important mainstream activity." . . . Being a good manager "wasn't part of what you needed to be to get to the top of the Foreign Service." I've heard

State Department people put it far more bluntly—they say "Nobody ever got to be ambassador by counting the embassy silverware."

This institutional bias is illustrated perhaps most clearly by the department's longstanding habit of drawing distinctions between administration and the so-called "substantive" political and economic functions. This is sheer nonsense. . . . It is also very important to assure that the embassy is managed in an efficient and economical manner.

In my opinion, bad management hurts the department in at least three ways. First, it hurts the department's relations with Congress. To be honest, you have fewer friends on Capitol Hill now than at any time in recent memory. . . . Part of the problem is State's reputation for mismanagement. . . . This reputation leaves the department vulnerable to budget cuts [and] has helped lead to increasingly prescriptive provisions in State's authorization and appropriation bills. Such provisions have prompted public complaints of "micromanagement." However, in my opinion, it is unrealistic to expect Congress to passively tolerate the status quo.

Second, poor management hurts the department's relations with other agencies. This is clearly illustrated by continuing problems with FAAS. The government operations committee has long been a strong advocate of shared administrative support.

Third, bad management tarnished Uncle Sam's image abroad. A couple of examples come to mind right away—even leaving out the new embassy in Moscow. One is an attempt to build an ambassador's residence in Cairo. . . . A second example is the lease-purchase deal for a high-rise staff apartment tower in Hong Kong. . . . In neither of these ill-fated projects did the department convey an image of self-assured American competence to the host country government or the local population—and that hurts.

Two other specific recurring problems in the department's operations are especially frustrating. One is the tendency of overseas posts to ignore management directives from headquarters. The other is the lack of individual accountability in the system.

Clearly dramatic improvements are needed in the department's management of the taxpayers' money. I firmly believe the recent establishment of a statutory inspector general can help achieve this goal.

Remarks of Congressman Jack Brooks
May 10

BOOKS

Politics and Security in the Southern Region of the Atlantic Alliance. *By Douglas T. Stuart. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.*

The Dynamics of Subversion and Violence in Contemporary Italy. *By Vittorfranco S. Pisano. Hoover Institution Press, 1987.*

When analysts consider the Mediterranean area, they frequently think in terms of the situation in the Middle East and North Africa. Such focus is understandable; however, it overlooks the fact that much of significance is happening in southern Europe. And with the changing nature of our military posture in the wake of the latest arms-control agreement with the Soviet Union, it is important to keep abreast of developments along NATO's southern flank.

Politics and Security in the Southern Region of the Atlantic Alliance is an up-to-date look at the changing circumstances in France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Turkey. Douglas Stuart has brought together a team of expert European and U.S. analysts and the result is an incisive overview of the specific interests and concerns of these countries. Each analyst deals with a specific country or a general issue, demonstrating how the intra-NATO relationships have changed over the years and how NATO in the late 1980s is a far different creature than the original alliance. Clear descriptions of the countries' differing views on foreign policy, threat assessments, and military priorities enable the reader to see the fundamental incompatibilities among NATO governments on some important matters.

Stuart draws together these threads in a concluding chapter, noting that the southern members of NATO have gone through a three-fold transition which has affected the alliance deeply. This process has been characterized by an increased maturity in the foreign and security policies of these countries, the return to democracy throughout the region, and the fact that most of these countries are governed by Socialists. Understanding these changes is important for the United States, as the European nations are likely to press their own views

and concerns more forcefully than before. Stuart argues that our European partners have developed a "new sense of responsibility and identity" and that they will be "even better allies than they were in the past." This book is a detailed, inside view of the concerns of NATO members vis-a-vis the alliance itself and an argument for greater cooperation between NATO governments.

It is difficult to find single books which comprehensively provide the type of detailed information that *Dynamics of Subversion and Violence in Contemporary Italy* does. Pisano comprehensively addresses Italy's internal security and political situation and its impact on the defense of the Western alliance. By critically reviewing the circumstances surrounding NATO's deployment of cruise missiles in Sicily along with more common-place criminal and political developments, the author puts the internal stability of Italy into a perspective that will allow analysts to understand current developments.

An American who was born and spent much of his life in Italy, Dr. Pisano is a lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Army Reserve currently attending the Army War College. By training, he is a lawyer with degrees from Georgetown University and the University of Rome. He has been consulted on international security affairs and Italian issues by many organizations, including our embassy in Rome.

Pisano's is not a traditional study. Rather, he examines such issues as subversion, political violence, terrorism, organized crime, political corruption, and the pacifist movement. He also examines hostile foreign-intelligence operations within Italy.

What emerges from this study is a complex but intelligible picture of a country beset with social and political problems. According to Pisano, Italy is unstable and lacking in national cohesiveness, yet there is no reason to write it off. The author sees ample room for cautious optimism that Italy can overcome its difficulties and remain a reliable NATO partner.

—MEYER NUDELL

Among the Afghans. *By Arthur Bonner. Duke University Press, 1987.*

The eight-year war in Afghanistan received little coverage in the American news media. Arthur Bonner was one of the few journalists who ventured into Afghanistan with the mujahideen, traveled with them over extensive parts of the country, and actually covered some of their combat operations. A correspondent for the *New York Times*,

he had already made several trips when his newspaper told him to desist; they did not want to be responsible for his safety. Bonner decided it best to resign and to work on a freelance basis.

The thoroughly professional reporting by a tough, motivated journalist gives us the taste and feel of life in mujahideen-controlled Afghanistan, which has endured over a million casualties and created five million refugees.

Bonner devotes considerable space to interviews with Soviet defectors, some who fight with the resistance, others who wish merely to escape the war. The total number does not appear high, but the reasons for defection are interesting: disgust with indiscriminate killing, and resentment of the Soviet caste system.

In August 1987, wanting to go to Afghanistan again, he found himself boycotted because of previous articles he had written concerning the extensive poppy and marijuana cultivation in Afghanistan; he had also pointed out the divisiveness of the Afghan resistance and how difficult it was for the disparate elements to unite in a coordinated effort against the Soviets. His observations on drugs are fairly accurate, although the divisiveness can be argued. In 1988, even as the Soviets pull out, the Afghan war and this book deserve attention.

—SOL SCHINDLER

Debt and Danger; The World Financial Crisis. *By Harold Lever and Christopher Huhne. The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1987.*

The authors, with laudable objectivity, sketch the history of major international bank involvement in Latin American lending. Lever and Huhne are relentless in stressing the seriousness of the international debt problem and the potential it has for throwing the world into a major financial crisis should one of the heavily indebted nations default. The temptation to assign the role of villain to international financial institutions is avoided. Instead, effort is taken to explain how major bank loan involvement with the developing nations served as an alternative funding source for these nations.

Debt and Danger was written before the current round of bailouts, swaps, and loan write-offs, which have attempted to deal with the inability of Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and other major debtors to pay off the amounts due. The time-marking strategies that featured borrowing even more funds to pay off interest charges are explained with precision and serve as fine background

material for understanding current attempts to deal in a more constructive manner with the debt question.

Some might feel that the authors are overly casual in their generalized assumptions that African debt questions are relatively easily managed. This work might have profited from a closer look at the priorities and techniques of the major international organizations in dealing with Africa. Because of this failure, the book has far more relevance to the problems of the moderately developed world than to the less developed one.

Similarly, it seems fair to note that the authors seem far more at ease in discussing the problems than in proposing answers. Their plea for increased capital flow into debtor nations seems oddly out of tune with political realities in today's world. The book might also have gained from a deeper discussion of the moral arguments for a cooperative international write-off of Latin American financial obligations. Nonetheless, as a general introduction and a reasoned voice in the dialogue on the debt question, this book that could be read with profit by all.

—FRANK J. PARKER

For Lust of Knowing. *By Archie Roosevelt. Little, Brown and Company, 1988.*

This is an appealing book in several ways. For someone who knows little of the peoples and the politics of the region, it is a fascinating account, partly as a journal of Roosevelt's travels in Muslim lands, and partly for his reporting on persons he met, their nations, politics, and history.

For the student of the contemporary Middle East, this account is useful because of Roosevelt's experiences in the region during World War II when much—the more colorful part—was different from today. But the knowledgeable reader may find the rest to be entirely too much the same.

The style is that of a traditional 19th-century memoir. Conscious of tradition, Roosevelt gracefully acknowledges his advantages of family, upbringing, and education, showing as well how early in his life he was drawn—to use his own analogy—to the road to Samarkand, following another path than family tradition suggested.

A notable feature of the book is the fact that Roosevelt separates his opinions on the Middle East from his objective accounts. So much of what we hear in this country about that area—as it was with Vietnam and still is with Central America—reflects more of the political prejudices of the speaker than it does of the country itself. Yet Roosevelt is not shy about defining mistakes the United States has made in dealing with the Middle East. The book is worth reading for his perspective on Iran and the Shi'ite Muslims alone.

His observations in the final chapters cannot help but please intelligence officers. They should be excerpted for the inspiration of those who aspire to devote their life to this work. Roosevelt insists on the intelligence officer's objectivity, "an ability to analyze the truth without regard to accepted beliefs, which might distort his findings," and serves up examples of the ideologies of zealots and politicians distorting our views of the world. In these last chapters Roosevelt is talking as he might to old intelligence officer friends about what the profession has meant to him. But his remarks should be widely read by all those who care about intelligence work.

—JOHN HORTON

The Senior Seminar at 30: A Watershed Year

by ELIZABETH LEE FITZGERALD

"I hear and I forget; I see and I remember; I do and I understand." So goes a Confucian saying quoted by Ambassador James Bullington as he philosophizes about the "experiential" learning techniques he introduced last year as dean of the Foreign Service Institute's 30th Senior Seminar.

The dynamic annual program, which runs from Labor Day to early June, enhances leadership skills, generates a broader understanding of the ideas and values that shape American society, and addresses major national security issues and policy formulation.

Half of each year's 25 to 30 participants are drawn from the senior personnel of the State Department; the other half are from Agriculture, Commerce, and Treasury, the Central Intelligence Agency, the U.S. Information Agency, the Agency for International Development, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the five military services, and other Federal departments and agencies involved in foreign affairs.

Two of the general areas of study, domestic affairs and national security/foreign policy, have formed part of the Seminar since its inception in 1958. The third, leadership and executive development, was introduced three years ago. Though Bullington maintained the basic structure when he was appointed Dean, his fresh ideas have given the course new life.

Bullington, who in his 26 years with the Foreign Service has served in Burundi, Benin, Chad, Burma, Thailand and Vietnam and is a graduate of Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government and the Army War College, actually took charge of the Seminar in 1986. At that time, he explains, it "was based on an academic model" of classroom study, and that first year he followed along. But last year he risked a new approach based on experiential learning.

To the class entering in September 1987, he gave a schedule with only the first seven weeks blocked in. Then it was up to the members, as he calls the participants, to fill in the remaining time. Working within the three broad study units, members were to choose specific subjects to cover and handle the detailed planning.

Bullington believes self-scheduling not only helps build leadership skills but also makes for a more successful program because Seminar members, who generally have about 20 years of experience, "know what they need to learn." And because "they learn as much from sharing this experience and interacting with each other as from any other aspect of the training," the Seminar is geared toward "turning loose the power that's already there."

Accordingly, Bullington has also introduced a change in the way case studies are used in the course. Traditionally, members pored over situations written up by professional training teams. Now they prepare and present their own, based on personal experience. Not only do members feel more in control and involved in their training, but they feel the studies are more relevant to their work. For example, real-life dilemmas presented during the 1987-88 Seminar included one of the first AIDS cases reported at an embassy overseas, the restructuring of the Moscow embassy after the local staff was replaced, how an organization copes with technological change, and what to do when one disagrees on policy.

Another major component of the leadership skills unit is the new health and fitness program. During the first seven weeks of the Seminar, members participate in a "wilderness lab" designed to bond the group together as a team through shared physical challenges. The lab also encourages risk-taking, which Bullington believes is essential to leaders who will be "not just executing policy, but formulating policy." The fitness aspect is maintained throughout the nine months by devoting two afternoons a week to exercise. The underlying idea, says Bullington, is that physical health affects mental health, but also that "physical activities serve as metaphors for intellectual situations." To round out the leadership skills unit, a new "executive development" program drills members in negotiating, public speaking, and dealing with the press.

The domestic affairs unit, designed to build cross-cultural awareness and communication skills, has also been revised. As an addition to the program, members last year did volunteer work or minimum-wage jobs during the three-day Thanksgiving weekend. To some, the experience allowed a glimpse of another world, and Bullington says many members continue their volunteer activities.

One portion of the Seminar retained from previous years is the field trips to far-flung points in the United States. Last year the group traveled to Detroit, where they got a first-hand look at some urban problems as they joined in night patrols with local police. In El Paso, Texas, they accompanied border patrols in a study of illegal immigration. The trips teach a lesson like no classroom lecture could, Bullington says; what you read may soon be forgotten, but witnessing Detroit at night from the seat of a squad car is something that "ten years from now you're not going to forget."

The third study unit, national security and domestic policy, focuses on the process of developing policies and is designed mainly by the members themselves. The middle four weeks of the Seminar are devoted to individual research projects, as a way of digging deeper into the three study areas. This activity, too, has been modified to emphasize experience. Instead of preparing the traditional 25-30 page paper, members last year had the option of working on Capitol Hill, as a "Diplomat-in-Residence" at a college or university far from Washington, with state or local government offices, with private voluntary organizations, or in business or industry.

Now Bullington is gearing up for his third and final year as Seminar dean. Again he's scheduled just the first seven weeks, providing only a general outline for the remaining time. As he ponders the future of his new techniques, he shares some of the comments he's received from his recent June graduates: "A wonderful, mind-expanding, learning experience!"; "far exceeded my hopes and expectations"; "a tour de force, even better than billed." If these rave reviews are any indication, experiential learning could be the hallmark of the Seminar for the next 30 years to come.

NOTE: *For those interested in further details of the Seminar's early years, the newly formed Senior Seminar Alumni Association has organized a committee, chaired by 1965 Seminar graduate Maurice Mountain, to compile a history of the first 30 years.*

Elizabeth Lee Fitzgerald formerly worked for the Associated Press as a reporter and editor. Her husband is in the 43rd A-100 class and they are awaiting their first assignment.

10 • 25 • 50

Foreign Service Journal, September 1978: As the current session of Congress draws to a close, AFSA can claim to have won a number of benefits and forestalled some disasters for the Foreign Service. Perhaps the most important benefit is a retirement incentive permitting executive-level Foreign Service people to compute their retirement on the basis of the final year's salary, rather than the average of the highest three years.

AFSA also took action on other provisions in the conference version of the bill, [including] per diem for family members . . . while they are on TDY en route to or from an assignment; employing qualified family members . . . in certain positions . . . designating the United States, as well as overseas locations for rest and recuperation travel; amending the "Fly America" act. — *AFSA Editorial*

Foreign Service Journal, September 1963: You might be interested to know whether being a former member of the Foreign Service helped me in politics. I think it did because both politics and diplomacy are alike in that they really are concerned with dealing with people, handling people, and trying to follow that old diplomatic adage of letting the other man have your way.

Many in politics lack zeal, but all try to appear as though they have it, whereas the secret in diplomacy is to work as hard as possible without appearing to work at all. At least this is my own personal view.
— *Diplomacy and Politics by Claiborne Pell*

Foreign Service Journal, September 1938: Secretary of State Cordell Hull, in writing of the hard and dangerous tasks many of our representatives abroad are performing, says, "We are apt to forget that while a few of our envoys go to the courts in the great capitals of the world, many others go to the out-of-the-way places . . . carrying on the work of their government. Not infrequently, it requires as much courage and as much physical stamina to serve in a diplomatic post as in the front lines in a military campaign." Secretary Hull does well to remind us that the diplomatic service produces its quota of heroism, no less than does the department of military defense.
— *Press Comment from the Houston Post*

COOPERATION OR CONFLICT?

A proposal for forging a new national security team in the next administration

ROBERT E. HUNTER

THE ELECTION of a new president raises a perennial question about the making of national security policy. Can the three giants at State, Defense, and the NSC work together? Or is conflict inevitable, pitting the two cabinet secretaries and the national security advisor against one another? Recent administrations do not provide much ground for optimism that natural and healthy competitions can be kept within bounds. Yet there is nothing inevitable about the debilitating struggle for turf, the bickering and, eventually, the damage to the nation's interests abroad.

If things go either right or wrong, primary responsibility rests where the American people place it: with the president. Few come to the office well-versed in foreign policy. Fewer still take the time beforehand to become well-acquainted with potential candidates for senior national security positions. And almost none—at least not before election—take seriously the demands of organizing for national security. This time, there will be 73 days between election and inauguration. Whoever wins—George Bush or Michael Dukakis—will have to scramble to build a team and create a method that will serve America's interests in a difficult world.

Obviously, every president has his own style of governing, his idiosyncrasies, his predilections. His most important insight will be about himself and the kind of people he needs to serve him in international affairs. There is no point in demanding that an oral president read reams of briefing papers, nor that a reading president sit through interminable meetings.

Nevertheless, there are some rules of thumb, tested for many years, that limit what a president can do in organizing and staffing his administration. If he follows these rules, he increases his chances of executing his responsibilities—of being able to make best use of his ability to lead. He will also increase the chances for relative harmony among his top national security advisers. Otherwise, some major failure in foreign policy will be almost inevitable.

It is trite to say that the president needs to appoint people with a thorough grounding in foreign affairs—trite but still necessary to say, because a tradition of appointing talented amateurs dies hard. In the complex and challenging world of the 1980s and beyond, any president must henceforth pay much more attention to selecting people adept at the special craft of national security affairs if he is to have a team capable of governing. Of course, that isn't enough: Increasingly, he will need close to hand people who can also relate foreign policy to domestic policy and politics. This has become critical, as the line between what happens abroad and its impact at home has become so blurred. Like it or not, there will be no foreign policy without Congressional involvement and popular support. And the next president will be well-served if he begins immediately to create a basis for a bipartisan foreign policy—which is more likely now than it has been since the early days of the Vietnam War. To this end, he should retain some officials from the current administration, choose some individuals from Capitol Hill, and phase in appointments to some positions where continuity is important. And he should make clear, from the beginning, his respect for the career services.

The director of Central Intelligence needs special mention. The current incumbent has been admirable in restoring confidence in the CIA. The next president might want to keep him in the office. Inevitably, however, the DCI plays a policy role, if only in making decisions about questions to ask and areas to empha-

Robert Hunter is the director of European Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. At the National Security Council, he served as director of West European affairs and Middle East affairs. He is the author of Presidential Control of Foreign Policy: Management or Mishap.

Implementation of national security policy should be entrusted to the departments and kept well-removed from the NSC staff and the White House.

size, thus like other senior officials, he should serve at the president's pleasure.

Integrating national security policy with economics—both international and domestic—is one of the most daunting organizational problems facing the next president and also deserves special consideration. The secretary of the treasury should be made a statutory member of the National Security Council, and the president should ensure that economic policy is effectively coordinated within the White House.

Critics of the frequent squabbling among top national security officials often argue that all of a president's team should share similar if not identical views about the world and America's role in it. Beyond seeking a level of mutual compatibility sufficient to govern, that is not necessarily a desirable goal, especially at a time when there is no underlying consensus about U.S. foreign policy. A president should seek out a variety of opinions, even different ways of looking at international affairs. Teamwork is a valuable asset, but it should derive primarily from the president's leadership. Candidates unable to put the nation's interests ahead of their own ambitions should be sorted out. However, teamwork does not mean choosing people incapable of holding and expressing strong views, even significantly different views. Indeed, on major issues, a president should be most wary when all of his advisers agree.

FOR THE NEW PRESIDENT to be able to lead the nation in international affairs, he must choose at least one of his top advisers for the particular talent of being able to think strategically. This means having a well-honed ability to relate the disparate parts of national security—the apples and oranges—to one another, to understand the full range of critical choices facing the nation, and to help the president chart national directions and priorities that are as long-term, far-sighted, and consistent as possible, in both means and ends.

When the United States was relatively more powerful than it is now, it could rely more on classic American pragmatism—that is, solving a succession of problems, without enormous concern about husbanding material or political resources. Those days are over, and the success of U.S. foreign policy will, to an unprecedented degree, depend on brain rather than brawn. Because neither Bush nor Dukakis has yet demonstrated a proclivity for developing his own strategic view of America's role—unlike, say, Richard Nixon—there is an added premium on the next president's having at least one such person at the top level. In practice, that means either the national security advisor or the secretary of state. However, it is also becoming critical that any NSC advisor have considerable skill in dealing with a broad range of issues, relating them to one another, and defining strategic choices.

Each department and agency should also ensure that it has this capability among its senior personnel. And it should ensure that position papers presented within the NSC system reflect strategic analysis. For example, the State Department process of clearing papers often leads them to lose sharpness and a sense of priority and strategic direction before they come to the NSC. To be competitive with the NSC staff, the other departments and agencies must pitch their presentations at a presidential level of ideas and analysis.

If the president is to develop a national security team that can work well together—with a minimum of friction beyond what is inevitable in view of the stakes—then he should be careful about the way he makes his senior-level appointments, down to the level of assistant secretary. Members of the top team should be appointed with clear attention to the balance among them in temperament, skills, and viewpoint. The NSC-level appointments should be made as early as possible after the election, and then each key official should take charge of conducting his or her part of the transition from the Reagan administration. Yet the president should not delegate entirely the process of selecting other senior officials to serve under these NSC-level appointees. While they must be able to exercise authority within their departments and the NSC staff, the president must also exercise oversight, in order to ensure that the administration as a whole attracts the most outstanding individuals and has a good chance of working together. He must beware of becoming anyone's prisoner, including his cabinet secretaries' and the NSC advisor's.

Equally important, the new president must provide clear guidelines for organizing the National Security Council system. In the presidencies of Nixon, Ford, and Carter, this was done at the outset, although some flexibility and change were needed later. By contrast, the Reagan administration went through a period of trial-and-error before a formal structure was laid down. In fact, the administration was more than mid-way through its second term before the making and carrying out of national security policy finally settled down.

AS THE PRESIDENT seeks to have his team work together, he needs to resolve several key issues. Experience suggests that five issues are most important in developing productive relations among top officials in international affairs.

○ **Spokesman.** Someone needs to be designated as chief spokesman for national security policy, after the president. Ideally, this should be the secretary of state. Confirmed by the Senate—unlike the national security advisor—he is subject to the call of Congress and is expected, by foreign governments and the American people, to be the president's principal deputy in setting the foreign policy tone for the nation. At times, the national security advisor, the secretaries of defense and treasury, and other officials may speak out on behalf of the president's policies, and they will no doubt need to meet with foreign leaders and officials. But great pains must be taken to ensure that all of this activity is known to the secretary of state and is fully consistent with his leading role, both as public spokesman and principal diplomat. Conflicts should be resolved in his favor.

○ **Congressional Relations.** Likewise, the president must decide, early, who will be primarily responsible for relations with Congress. This decision is not as clear-cut, because every department and agency has its own constituency on Capitol Hill, as well as its own legally-mandated role to play. Furthermore, the blurring of distinctions between foreign and domestic policy means that relations with Congress on a wide range of international issues must increasingly involve the president and the White House staff. Yet to move responsibility for directing Congressional relations to the national security advisor could undercut the authority of the competent cabinet secretaries. To this complex issue there is probably no simple answer. The best solution is likely to be a careful coordination of all agencies' and the NSC staff's contacts with Capitol Hill, with close involvement of the White House Office of Legislative Affairs which, for key presidential initiatives, should have primacy.

○ **Implementation.** Recent events have also underscored another important rule: In general, the implementation of national security policy should be entrusted to the departments and agencies and kept well-removed from the NSC staff and the White House. It is rare that the latter have the necessary competence or needed depth of staffing. More important, it is most unlikely that the NSC advisor and staff can carry out policy—beyond providing a broad and necessary oversight on behalf of the president—and retain the trust of cabinet members, departments, and the bureaucracy at large that is critical to the functioning of the National Security Council system. If that trust is lost—if the NSC advisor and staff become competitive to a fault—then internal crisis becomes inevitable.

The national security team meets with President Reagan. Shultz, Carlucci, and Powell meet together every morning when they are in Washington.

○ **Coordination.** This element of trust is also important because of one function that must be placed in the White House—the overall coordination of national security policy. A president may choose to make the secretary of state his principal adviser, conceptualizer, strategist, spokesman, and diplomat. But he can no longer entrust management of the process of pulling policy together to anyone who is not part of his official White House family—in practice, the national security advisor. This is naturally unpalatable to many people who serve in the State Department. But to oppose this inevitable centralization of process is to violate George Marshall's famous maxim: "Don't fight the problem."

The need to place responsibility for coordinating national security policy in the NSC advisor derives from the changed nature of America's role in the world. Few major issues can any longer be termed just "foreign" policy, any more than there are many strictly "defense" policies. Virtually every part of the federal bureaucracy has foreign interests and programs. And a growing part of the international agenda impacts immediately on the way in which individual Americans live their lives. This list includes not just those economic

Few major issues can any longer be termed just foreign policy, any more than there are many strictly defense policies.

areas that are equally foreign and domestic, such as trade, agriculture, energy, the role of the dollar, and cross-border environmental concerns. It also includes such emotionally charged issues as terrorism and drugs.

In reconciling differences of interest within the bureaucracy, in parcelling out resources, and in merging foreign, domestic, and economic issues—both within the executive branch and with the Congress—competence to act can lie only in the office of the president. In practice, that means action under the leadership of the national security advisor, working with other staffs within the White House, and with the president as ultimate arbiter. This is a lesson that the next president cannot ignore without risking major bureaucratic, and hence policy, failure. But it is also one that demands that the NSC advisor make his top priority the effective management of the system—based on earned trust—rather than pressing his own views of policy. He must be particularly scrupulous to ensure unimpeded access for cabinet members and their views to the Oval Office.

○ **Special Tools.** To make this process of coordination effective, a president has wide latitude in organizing the flow of paper, the way in which his advisers meet together and with him, and the degree to which he delegates responsibility. But three well-tried rules are important. They may seem minor, but they are crucial to creating clear lines of bureaucratic behavior that can be both respected and effective.

First, all senior-level interagency meetings should take place in the White House complex—"neutral ground" in Washington. Whenever subject matter clearly cuts across bureaucratic lines, and there is no clearly recognized leader among the cabinet-level officials, the national security advisor should chair. By contrast, the system of Senior Interdepartmental Groups (SIGs) has been most flawed when it sites meetings at different departments, which also chairs them, thus exciting natural competitions and jealousies.

Second, in preparing issues for decision, the president should require that his top-level advisers meet regularly and systematically, without his being present. On key issues, that preparation cannot be left to subordinates, as often happens with the SIGs. The president's involvement inevitably changes the nature of discussion, and relying regularly on full NSC meetings either brings too many issues to him to decide or leads many issues not to be decided at all.

Third, the overall management of crises should be conducted from the White House, for reasons already discussed. This should be done even if the secretary of state or defense—neither of whom is likely to be as effective, bureaucratically, as a crisis manager as the national security advisor—is placed in the chair at key meetings.

This is a fairly narrow list of "dos and don'ts" for the next president in national security affairs. But whether or not he follows them will be most important in determining his ability to ensure that the means of making and carrying out policy will support its ends.

PRODUCTIVE RELATIONS among the various elements of the National Security Council system, as well as successful policy, can also be promoted by following a handful of other suggestions. Three stand out:

○ **Ambassadorships.** During every administration, there is tension between the White House and the State Department over the disposition of U.S. ambassadorships. An influx of political appointees is naturally resented by the department. A new president, however, may wish to appoint some outsiders in order to put his personal stamp on relations with particular countries. In these cases, he may believe that U.S. interests can be well-served, provided that talented Foreign Service officers serve as deputy chiefs of mission. It is also inevitable that presidents will use embassies to reward the politically faithful or generous. And in a few countries, the U.S. ambassador's effectiveness depends on his being known to have a personal relationship with the president. But the practice of assigning less-than-the-best to represent the nation abroad—whether career or political appointees—is increasingly an unaffordable luxury for U.S. foreign policy. The next president should make a point of reducing the percentage of political appointees to embassies, while increasing the talent and experience of those who are selected. This has the added benefit of preserving more senior-level posts for the Foreign Service, thus increasing the chances of retaining talented mid-career officers.

○ **NSC Staff.** The national security advisor should draw many of his staff members from the departments and agencies. These should include seasoned professionals from the State Department, U.S. Information Agency, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Defense Department (both civilian and military), the intelligence community, economic agencies, and elsewhere. These individuals can

help to craft and coordinate policy, and to oversee its execution, because of their special purview. In particular, they can ease the passage for a new administration and identify potential pitfalls—especially about policies that cannot be implemented—before it is too late. Indeed, the NSC staff should ideally be such a blend of talents and experience—from inside the executive branch, from Capitol Hill, from academia and elsewhere—that it is not instinctively regarded as the enemy of the departments and agencies but as the facilitator it is designed to be.

○ **Foreign Service.** The Foreign Service must also play its part. Often, service on the NSC staff has not been regarded as valuable experience that will contribute to an individual's career advancement and provide the department with valuable access to policy coordination at the White House level. Indeed, such service can be a career handicap to FSOs. This is an error rarely made by the military services, which usually welcome a chance to assign their most outstanding mid-career officers to NSC duty and reward them for this time spent away from a conventional career path.

This deformation stems in part from difficulties associated with the Foreign Service Act of 1980. Some changes will no doubt be needed, both for this reason and to retain a pool of specialized talents that could otherwise be seriously depleted. But it also stems from a habit of mind. Indeed, if the Foreign Service is to play its most effective role, it should provide significant career rewards for periods of service at the NSC, on Capitol Hill, on interagency assignment, or as diplomats-in-residence at colleges, universities, and think-tanks. In tomorrow's world, getting to know other parts of the U.S. government and the American nation will increasingly be a requirement for being adept in making policy, carrying it out, and representing the United States abroad. This type of assignment can also help to reduce tensions within the National Security Council system—as well as between the executive and legislative branches—that derive from bureaucratic lines that are too rigid.

FINALLY, TWO IDEAS, which will help guide the president as he seeks to manage the National Security Council system, are particularly worthy of consideration. First, establish an interagency national security planning staff, based in the White House. It should draw on personnel from the agencies, whose careers should be rewarded for this service. This national security planning staff would enable agencies to have a direct role in strategic planning for the nation.

Second, change the way that funds are budgeted and allocated for the different parts of national security, in order to increase presidential discretion. There is no easy or flexible means of determining that, say, the nation would be better served by keeping open a consulate or building a new VOA transmitter than by building an additional fighter aircraft. Also, the performance of diplomatic, political, and analytical functions at many U.S. embassies is handicapped because of the balance of funding between State Department officers and employees of other agencies. Both problems are being compounded by the current budget crunch. But it is precisely now—when resources must be put to the best advantage in a world where the United States no longer has the same margins of power—that a larger percentage of scarce resources should be invested in tools of national security policy that relate to "brain" rather than to "brawn" and that can increase the chances of developing a strategic view of foreign policy. Congressional strictures and overall limits on resources within the U.S. economy create part of the difficulty. Misallocation of resources within the executive branch is a more important cause.

The suggestions presented here are not an exhaustive guide to organizing the U.S. government for the proper conduct of international affairs. Instead, they focus on one major part of a new president's problem: to reduce unnecessary tensions within the National Security Council system while increasing its chances for success.

Beginning on November 9, 1988, the man who will become the 41st President of the United States must begin putting together his team and organizing his administration to be effective in national security policy. No president before him has had such a wealth of talent to choose from, nor career services better prepared to serve the nation. But he must inform himself and then choose wisely. He will be responsible for setting in motion those developments that will produce a team of top officials who are known not for their competitions, but for working together to promote the interests of the United States. □

With this article, the JOURNAL begins a series on the transition to a new administration. We welcome readers' views on the prospective roles of the foreign affairs agencies.

If the Foreign Service is to play its most effective role, it should provide significant career rewards for periods of service at the NSC.

BEYOND REYKJAVIK

Secretary of State Shultz deserves credit for leading the arms-control revolution

DAVID CALLAHAN

ON A CHILLY OCTOBER weekend in 1986, Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev met in Reykjavik, Iceland, in an attempt to push forward the arms-control process. For two days, the leaders and their advisers cloistered themselves in a turn-of-the-century house on a frosty bay. After general discussions, teams of Soviet and American negotiators met in the evening to work out the basis for new agreements. Laboring through the night, the negotiators developed a formula to cut U.S. and Soviet long-range nuclear missiles by 50 percent and agreed to reduce intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) down to 1000 missiles on each side. In one all-night negotiating session, the rules of arms control were fundamentally rewritten, with each superpower now accepting the goal of deep cuts rather than token limitations.

Yet despite these gains, there was to be no agreement at Reykjavik. On Sunday, Gorbachev stated that he would agree to nothing unless the United States pledged not to deploy a strategic defense system for at least 10 years. Reagan refused. With neither side willing to make concessions, the summit collapsed.

At the time, many considered the Iceland meeting an embarrassing debacle. But as subsequent events have shown, the 1986 summit was actually a crucial turning point in the history of U.S.-Soviet relations. Dramatic progress on the INF issue made possible the treaty signed in Washington last December. More importantly, Reykjavik laid the foundation for deep cuts in the most menacing component of the nuclear arsenals: long-range strategic missiles. While it is doubtful that the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) will yield a treaty before President Reagan leaves office, the stage is clearly set for the next president to complete such a pact.

For moving the arms control process so far, Reagan and Gorbachev have been praised around the world. In all likelihood they will share the 1988 Nobel Peace Prize. However, there is one man who deserves as much if not more of the credit for ushering in this new era of superpower amity: Secretary of State George Shultz.

Since taking office in 1982, Shultz has made arms control his primary focus. He has mastered the arcane details of the various negotiations. He has cultivated a close working relationship with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. On numerous trips to Europe and the Soviet Union, and through countless hours of grueling negotiations, Shultz has been instrumental in laying the groundwork for the four summit meetings between Reagan and Gorbachev. Perhaps most importantly, the secretary of state has used all the weight of his department and the force of his often underestimated personality to overcome the bureaucratic opposition to arms control that was once endemic to the Reagan administration. By spearheading dramatic reductions in nuclear arms, Shultz's achievements in the realm of U.S.-Soviet relations equal, if not exceed, those of any previous secretary of state.

Shortly after the breakthroughs in Iceland, Shultz remarked: "Make no mistake about it. It has been tough getting this far." The path has, indeed, been long and tortuous. Appointed secretary of state after Alexander Haig resigned in the summer of 1982, Shultz arrived in office with no experience in arms control. His background was in economics, not international relations. His previous posts in government had been as secretary of labor, director of the office of management and budget, and secretary of the treasury. He had never held a position in the national security establishment.

When Shultz moved into his seventh-floor office at the State Department, he found the government's arms-control policy in disarray. At the time, negotiations with the Soviets were taking place in two principal forums: the INF

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President Reagan discusses arms reductions with General Secretary Gorbachev in 1986 at Hofdi House, Reykjavik.

talks and START. Both were deadlocked. And the chief reason for the lack of progress in Geneva was the lack of consensus in Washington on how to conduct the negotiations.

On the one hand, stood Pentagon civilians led by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Assistant Secretary Richard Perle. The INF talks had the highest priority, since the United States planned to deploy new missiles to Europe in 1983 if there were no agreement. The Pentagon team felt that the United States should hold firm with its position—known as the Zero Option—requiring that the Soviets remove all its SS-20 missiles in exchange for a U.S. pledge not to deploy cruise and Pershing II missiles.

Allied against that view were the chief INF negotiator, Paul Nitze, and State Department officials such as Richard Burt. They were convinced that the only way to cut a deal in Geneva was to move away from the Zero Option and toward making some concessions to the Soviets.

IN CONGRESS and elsewhere, Shultz's appointment raised the hope that the negotiating deadlock would be broken. The new secretary was known as a moderate and a compromiser, a man who might be able to bring together a divided administration. At first, Shultz was inclined to side with those at State who called for flexibility. Yet as a veteran of previous interdepartmental fights, he realized that nothing could be achieved in arms control without first building a consensus. "We've got to move, but we've got to move together," Shultz would say. As the secretary of state, Shultz saw himself as the logical person to impose order on the arms-control deliberations. Lawrence Eagleburger, the under secretary for political affairs, encouraged him in this direction. Eagleburger had worked with Kissinger on SALT and proved an indispensable tutor in the intricacies of the national security bureaucracy. He also sought to be an inspiring one. "If anyone can carry the government forward," he told Shultz, "it's the secretary of state."

But during his first months, the secretary was preoccupied with the Middle East and other matters. Although he tried to introduce greater flexibility to the administration's negotiating position, Shultz lacked both the influence and the bureaucratic savvy to outmaneuver hardliners like Perle and Weinberger. In December 1983, the arms control process collapsed when the United States began deploying Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe, and the Soviets responded by walking out of the Geneva talks.

A tense 13 months passed before the United States and the Soviet Union again began speaking to each other about the need to rein in the nuclear-arms race. In January 1985, Shultz traveled to Geneva to discuss arms control

Soviet leader Gorbachev gestures toward Secretary Shultz and President Reagan at their fourth meeting, the Moscow summit this past June.

with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. Fifteen hours of talks produced an agreement that the superpowers would reopen negotiations on both intermediate- and long-range nuclear weapons. The two sides also initiated talks on strategic defenses.

BY EARLY FALL 1985, relations between the United States and the Soviet Union had been resuscitated to the point that planning was initiated for a first summit meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev. Tentatively scheduled for late November or December, the proposed summit set off intense negotiations between the two powers and within the U.S. government. At the center of this activity was a new, and some thought radical, proposal by the Soviet Union to cut long-range strategic missiles by 50 percent. To Shultz, the proposal signaled a new seriousness on the part of Moscow: "For the first time," he said in September, "the Soviets are talking about genuine reductions." Prospects for an arms-control agreement looked better than at any point since Reagan took office. "We are in a new phase of the negotiations in which, if the Soviets are serious, real progress can be made."

Imbued by this time with a greater confidence in the realm of arms control, Shultz was determined to capitalize on the emerging situation. Strengthening his hand was Paul Nitze, a veteran of five administrations and former SALT negotiator, now working as special adviser on arms control matters. Nitze not only was steeped in the esoteric details of arms control, he possessed the bureaucratic savvy needed to plot a strategy for dealing with administration hardliners. Also, with Robert McFarlane now Reagan's national security advisor, the secretary of state had a moderate ally in the White House.

In late October 1985, Shultz flew to Moscow to meet with the Soviet leadership. The trip, he explained, was "part of a continuing and intensive process to prepare the way for the president's meeting in Geneva with Mr. Gorbachev." Shultz held talks with Soviet Minister Shevardnadze and with Gorbachev himself. Afterwards he tried to play down what would be possible at the November summit: "We have said from the beginning that we have to be realistic about it, that there are great differences between our two countries. It is important therefore to have a strong conversation between the president and the general secretary."

In fact, Reagan and Gorbachev did have "a strong conversation" at Geneva. But that was about all. Disagreement over SDI prevented the two leaders from agreeing on a framework for cuts in long-range nuclear missiles. Gorbachev maintained that he would not agree to missile reductions unless the U.S. restrained SDI. As he had said before the summit: "If there is no ban on the militarization of space, if an arms race in space is not prevented, nothing else will work." Reagan was unwilling to accept such a ban.

In the end, all that came out of the Geneva summit was a generally worded joint-communique, which stated that the two sides would accelerate the work of the negotiations so that there might be "early progress, in particular in areas where there is common ground, including the principle of 50 percent reductions in the nuclear arms of the U.S. and U.S.S.R. appropriately applied, as well as the idea of an interim INF agreement."

But that summit did establish a precedent: in dealings with the Soviet Union, the secretary of state would be Reagan's principal adviser. Shultz had not only arranged the meeting with Gorbachev and set much of the agenda, but had also managed to have Perle and Weinberger excluded from the U.S. entourage.

Yet if Geneva signalled an increased arms-control role for Shultz, the summit did little to resolve the bureaucratic deadlock in Washington. The administration remained as divided as ever. Along with McFarlane and Nitze, Shultz believed that the United States should show flexibility on SDI in order to move the Soviets toward deep cuts in long-range missiles. Bitterly opposing this position were the

Pentagon civilians and the president himself.

Shultz's position in the government suffered a setback when McFarlane resigned his post at the White House. Throughout the first part of 1986, the arms talks again lapsed into a stalemate.

In August, negotiations crept forward when Nitze led a group of U.S. arms-control officials to the Soviet Union in an attempt to force breakthroughs in the talks. That meeting was followed up in September by a trip to the United States by Shevardnadze. For two days, he and Shultz held serious discussions, spending some 14 hours in meetings. Afterwards, Shultz expressed optimism about what they accomplished: "There are quite a few items that seemed to be insoluble a year ago that are working themselves out." The secretary of state was particularly upbeat about the businesslike relationship that he was cultivating with Shevardnadze. "I might say that we have, on a personal level, I think, a very good capacity to communicate." Most importantly, though, Shultz had come to trust his Soviet counterpart. "I don't have any doubt in my mind," he said, "that Mr. Shevardnadze has approached our discussions in a good-faith way." And with good faith, anything was possible.

FROM THE SEPTEMBER 1986 talks emerged an agreement to meet the following month in Reykjavik. It was not to be a full-fledged summit. Instead, the aim would be to achieve arms-control breakthroughs—principally in the INF negotiations—and lay the groundwork for a later Washington summit. Shultz was also determined to make progress in the area of long-range strategic missiles. An INF agreement was important, but the real challenge lay in limiting weapons like ICBMs, SLBMs, and long-range bombers. As he said in early October, "Top attention needs to be paid to radical reductions of strategic nuclear arms. It's the gigantic arsenal of armaments, particularly ballistic missiles, which are the source of greatest concern and the greatest potential damage and instability."

In pursuing this elusive goal of "radical reductions," the Reykjavik meeting was a stunning success. After more than a year of haggling over the concept of 50-percent reductions in strategic missiles, the two sides finally made concrete progress toward working out a formula for such cuts. Agreement was reached that each side would retain 6,000 warheads on 1,600 launchers. It was a historic breakthrough which overshadowed the fact that the meeting ultimately collapsed in acrimony. Shultz was elated. "My own judgment," he said later, "is that in a few years we will look back at the meeting at Hofdi House as something of a watershed, a potential turning point in our strategy for deterring war and encouraging peace." Nothing coming close to the breakthroughs at Reykjavik had ever been achieved before. "For the first time in the long history of arms control talks, a genuine possibility of substantial reductions in Soviet and American arms appeared."

In early November, Shultz led a high-powered salvage team of U.S. arms control officials to Vienna. In a private discussion, he and Shevardnadze talked for a long time about how to build on the gains made in Iceland. The meeting went well. "The progress made at Reykjavik needs to be vigorously pursued." Shultz stated. "Our two nations now have a historic opportunity to move quickly to formal agreement on these reductions in offensive nuclear weapons."

At the end of 1986, the arms control process was temporarily derailed when the Iran-contra scandal erupted. With the president besieged and the NSC in a state of chaos, decisive action on any foreign policy problem was impossible. The long-term effect of the affair, however, was to strengthen Shultz's hand in the bureaucracy. National Security Advisor John Poindexter was replaced by Frank Carlucci, and Howard Baker took over Don Regan's job as chief of staff. Both men were moderates and compromisers. Carlucci's appointment was of particular significance. Unlike Poindexter, the new national security advisor was knowledgeable about arms-control issues and determined to work on the problem. He shared Shultz's belief that U.S. concessions on SDI would probably be necessary to move forward. And by early 1987, a new alliance between the State Department and the NSC had begun to take shape. Shultz's position was further strengthened in March when Richard Perle announced that he would leave the Pentagon.

Throughout 1987, U.S.-Soviet relations continued to improve. An INF treaty was nearing completion and there was a mounting momentum behind the arms control process. Both nations hoped to hold a summit in Washington near the end of the year, and preparations for the event were accelerated. In October, Shultz traveled to Moscow to speed up the INF negotiations. While agreement had already been reached that all intermediate-range nuclear forces in Europe would be elimi-

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Shultz's achievements in the realm of U.S.-Soviet relations equal, if not exceed, those of any previous secretary of state.

nated, there remained differences over short-range missiles and verification provisions. In meetings with Soviet officials, Shultz and the U.S. negotiating team managed to eliminate most of the outstanding points of contention. "In the field of intermediate-range missiles," Shultz told a news conference afterwards, "we have made progress through some of the stickiest issues. We are—I think both sides agree—virtually there."

YET EVEN AS THE OBSTACLES to an INF treaty dissolved amid concessions by both sides, discord on SDI again threatened to halt the process. In a five-hour meeting with Shultz, Gorbachev made it clear that he did not want another summit to end in acrimony. He felt uncomfortable going to Washington when the issue of strategic defenses remained unresolved. "I need to think about this a little longer," the Soviet leader told Shultz. No date was set for a summit. Afterwards the secretary of state said that the major sticking point was over how and when either side could withdraw from the ABM treaty and deploy strategic defenses. "The length of time that the Soviets desire to have non-withdrawal is longer than ours," he said.

As the U.S. negotiators headed back to the United States, it appeared that SDI would continue indefinitely to impede the pursuit of arms control. A year earlier, former Defense Secretary James Schlesinger had summed up the fundamental problem: "By asking the Soviets to reduce offense while we pose to them the possibility of greatly increased American defense, the administration has created a situation in which the Soviets cannot accommodate the United States even if they really wanted to."

Yet only one week after Shultz returned to the United States, Gorbachev dramatically reversed himself. Shevardnadze flew to the United States to convey the message that the general secretary would agree to a summit after all. Domestic problems, it turned out, had been the real reason behind Gorbachev's hesitancy to set a summit date. With Shevardnadze's visit, arms control was back on track.

In late November 1987, Shultz traveled to Geneva to put the finishing touches on the INF treaty. After two days of talks, he called a news conference at the American embassy and announced, "We have now completed agreement on all of the outstanding INF issues." It was an historic moment. "This treaty, which is now basically complete, will for the first time, by agreement, result in major reductions in nuclear arms." The Soviet Union would eliminate about 1,500 warheads on intermediate- and short-range missiles. The U.S. would eliminate about 350 warheads by removing its Cruise and Pershing II missiles.

Returning to Washington, Shultz now found himself in almost total control of U.S. arms-control policy. On November 23, Frank Carlucci, moving from the NSC, was sworn in as secretary of defense. Caspar Weinberger, the administration's most powerful hardliner, would no longer be around to throw roadblocks in Shultz's path. Two other hardliners, ACDA head Kenneth Adelman and Pentagon official Frank Gaffney, were also leaving the government. For the first time since President Reagan took office, peace would reign in the arms-control bureaucracy. Instead of feuding, the secretaries of state and defense began to work closely together in pursuit of the most important arms-control agreement of all: a treaty reducing long-range strategic missiles by 50 percent.

WHEN GORBACHEV visited Washington in early December, the prospects for a START agreement were given a major boost. In a departure from their earlier position, the Soviets agreed that negotiations on strategic weapons could move ahead without a resolution of the SDI issue. A vaguely worded joint statement issued on the last day of the summit stated that after a period of adherence to the ABM treaty of unspecified duration, "each side will be free to decide its course of action." For the first time, SDI no longer loomed as an insurmountable obstacle to the arms-control process. The statement affirmed that both sides would seek to conclude a START agreement "at the earliest possible date, preferably in time for signature of the treaty during the next meeting of leaders of state in the first half of 1988."

Following the Washington summit, some observers charged that administration was moving too fast, too rashly, toward reductions in strategic arms. Many doubted that the complexities of a 50-percent cut in long-range missiles could be overcome by the time Reagan traveled to Moscow. Shultz, however, was optimistic. He felt the two sides were almost there. "As far as the START treaty is concerned, the necessary fundamental numbers involved were achieved in Reykjavik." To those who argued that the administration was trying to rush things, the secretary replied that deadlines were

During the Washington summit, top members of the administration met in the Oval Office with General Secretary Gorbachev and the Soviet arms-control delegation.

essential for progress in arms control. "Having time pressure and a deadline," he said, "is a good thing." In any case, the secretary of state was not about to settle for a poor treaty. "The purpose of arms-control negotiations," he had remarked in 1985, "is not agreement for its own sake."

LATE IN February 1988, Shultz flew to Moscow to speed up work on the START treaty and begin preparations for a spring summit. In 20 hours of talks, progress was made toward narrowing the differences that remained between the two sides. Afterwards, Shultz was upbeat about the prospect that an agreement would be reached before the summit. "It's more probable than I thought it would be," he said. Shevardnadze shared his optimism. "After a sober, sensible, and realistic assessment of the state of affairs," he commented, "we have come to the conclusion that there are no unresolvable problems. Although there are major difficulties, they can be resolved." The two statesmen agreed to meet in Washington in late March to continue their work.

The March meeting yielded more progress, but it also produced a new realism: as committed as both sides were to finishing the START treaty before Moscow, it was not going to happen. There were too many points of contention, too many loose ends. The treaty was harder to finish than Shultz had thought.

The Moscow meeting in June 1988 proved sobering. Despite all the good will and the feeling of accomplishment about how far Reagan and Gorbachev had come, the momentum behind START was clearly lost. There was a feeling of resignation among arms-control negotiators on both sides. Ahead lay a long summer and then the American election season—notoriously poor times to get anything of substance done in Washington. After that there would be a new president, a long transition, and different personnel and priorities.

Amid such a tangle, START could be delayed for at least a year, maybe longer. And when the treaty finally is signed, George Shultz will almost certainly have left the State Department. Mention, of course, is sure to be made of those who laid the groundwork for the treaty. But as has so often been the case, Shultz's role will probably be underestimated.

The historical record, however, speaks for itself. And what it so clearly shows is that perhaps more than any other single person, Secretary of State George P. Shultz has done the most to bring about the arms-control revolution. □

Conversation with Frank Carlucci

DEFENSE AND SECURITY: OPPOSITE SIDES OF THE SAME COIN

The secretary of defense comments on the relationship between Defense and State

A former career minister in the Foreign Service, Frank Carlucci served as assistant to the president for national security affairs before becoming secretary of defense in November 1987.

Carlucci joined the Department of State in 1956 and was posted to Johannesburg, Kinshasa, Zanzibar, and Rio de Janeiro. In his long government career, he has served as director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, deputy director of the Office of Management and Budget, under secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and deputy director of Central Intelligence. In 1976, he was appointed ambassador to Portugal.

This June interview was conducted by David A. Sadoff, a presidential management intern with the State Department, presently detailed to the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Export Enforcement.

Mr. Secretary, how do you think your Foreign Service career has helped shape your approach to problems that you face at the Pentagon?

A large part of this job is engaging in a form of international diplomacy. Indeed, the line between Defense and State becomes increasingly blurred as the means of communication improve, a steady stream of visitors come through Washington, and we're all traveling around the world.

Just to take two examples. I spent most of today meeting with the new German defense minister. While we spent a fair amount of time on purely military and procurement matters, most of our time was spent discussing changes in the Soviet Union and negotiating strategy for START and conventional arms reductions. These are a form of diplomacy. Another example: When I was in Japan, my host at dinner was the Japanese foreign minister. So I have spent a lot of time on this job serving in a diplomatic role.

In recent crisis situations, such as Panama and the Persian Gulf, State and Defense have each made policy recommendations in accord with the other's primary instrument of policy, with Defense supporting diplomatic overtures, and State advocating military commitments. Is this apparent institutional role reversal becoming more and more common?

First of all, you have to look at situations like Panama in their broader policy context. One of the reasons you have a National Security Council is that, in 1947, President Truman and the nation recognized the need for a forum in which issues of diplomacy and national security can come together because they are opposite sides of the same coin.

When the State Department deliberates on a course of action or when they negotiate, they have to be aware of the underlying military strategy. Similarly, when the State Department talks of the possible need to use the military in any contingency, Defense has to look at it in terms of achieving the goal, its cost, the level of readiness, and what lives will be at risk. Obviously, in such cases, Defense expresses a view. So, there's nothing unnatural about each department talking about the skills and resources of the other.

You are one of only a handful of civilians with diplomatic experience to serve as the president's national security advisor. Why do you think Foreign Service officers have so seldom held this particular post?

Basically, the national security advisor is a staff job, and it's very much a president's individual choice. The question of why presidents select certain individuals as opposed to other individuals is almost impossible to answer.

There have been Foreign Service officers in many, many NSC jobs, including the current deputy national security advisor, John Negroponte. I doubt very much that any president takes into consideration whether somebody is a military man or a Foreign Service officer when making the choice. It certainly wasn't the case when Colin Powell succeeded me. The president looked upon him as an individual. He had worked with him; he had confidence in him. I don't think that there is any institutional bias in the White House against picking FSOs as national security advisors. On the other hand, the various presidents, from time to time, have expressed views about the Foreign Service, not all of which have been complimentary.

To the best of your knowledge, how has cabinet-level decision-making involving the State Department, the Defense Department, and the National Security Council changed in the past two years? What is the role of ideology today?

All I can do is address the current situation. I think most people are agreed that the working relationships between State, Defense, and the National Security Council have never been better. When we are in town, George, Colin, and I meet every morning at 7 a.m. Nobody else is in the room, which is unusual in itself. I can't recall this ever happening before. We compare notes every day, and on Mondays we talk about longer-range matters. We are in constant communication. This doesn't mean we agree all the time. Where we disagree, we sort it out in private. So, my own feeling is that the relationships are now excellent.

As far as ideology is concerned, it's the president who sets the tone for the administration; it's his responsibility to deal with the broad policy issues, the public posture, and the role of ideology. The secretaries of defense and state, and the national security advisor are not independent entities; we are appointed by the president to respond to his guidance.

Secretary of Defense Carlucci speaks to the press on the deck of the guided missle cruiser *USS San Jacinto.*

Given the enormous and sprawling nature of government departments, what thoughts do you—as the head of the largest of these—have on controlling policy activities across a wide array of complex issues?

The key throughout my years has been to appoint good people, and change them if they don't work out. What you have to do once you move into one of these jobs is to make your personnel moves quickly, because if you don't, you get caught up in the day-to-day business and never make them.

I've been a little handicapped in this job because of the prolonged confirmation process and it being so late in the administration, I haven't been able to make a large number of changes. I have made some. Anyone who comes into an agency—even a modest-sized one—thinking he can run it all by himself is in for a very rough time.

Also, to the degree that you can, you have to make sure that the lines of responsibility and accountability are clear. That's always a problem in government because Congress—particularly with the Department of Defense—likes to interfere with those lines. There's hardly a bill that comes out of Congress that doesn't have some operational change for the Defense Department.

German Minister of Defense Manfred Woerner is hosted by Secretary Carlucci during a visit to Washington.

Finally, you need to motivate your people so that they can assume the full degree of responsibility they are accorded.

Fifteen years ago you said that some of the finest management talent in the world serves in the federal government. Would you make the same claim today?

I think yes. I think we have very fine management talent, but I have to say in all candor that sometimes I think we're losing it. It's very hard to get people to serve in the government today. It's much harder than it was 15 years ago. There's the question of compensation, which is a very real question. There's the question of divestiture. There's the question of constant exposure to public criticism. But probably most serious of all is that the process itself has become so complicated. It's very difficult to get somebody through the process, and it becomes increasingly hard to achieve your goals. Most people come into the government because they're goal-oriented, they have a certain amount of idealism, a certain amount of conviction, and want to achieve something.

Now, today, with the tension between the executive and legislative branches, with all the regulations and legislation, and the tendency for every policy decision to become public before it is necessarily finalized or can be defended, it is very difficult to accomplish things. Also, there's the tendency of some politicians in both parties to make government employees political scapegoats. I think we have good people, but we need to worry about retaining them.

Having held top-level positions in both the federal government and private industry, what do you think are the salient differences in the management skills needed in the two sectors?

Once you reach a decision in the private sector, that's the end of the process. In the government, by contrast, once you reach a decision, that's the beginning of the process. At that point, you need to convince a plethora of people that your decision is right before it can be implemented. The government moves much more by consensus than the private sector does.

Second, in the private sector, you have much more of a free hand in personnel decisions. If I wanted to hire or fire somebody, I could do it. Here in the government that becomes much more difficult.

Third, people are very much driven by the profit motive in the private sector: everything has a standard criterion. In government, there is no single criterion; it's an exercise in judgment. A single standard is an advantage in the sense that everything is clear; it's a disadvantage in that it's a rather narrow motivation. In government, people tend to be motivated by broader issues. Indeed, that's one of the advantages of serving in government. However, both sectors are challenging in their own way.

As your term in the Reagan Administration approaches its end, how would you most like to be remembered as secretary of defense?

I haven't tried to attain any single dramatic achievement; that isn't particularly my style. But there are a number of things we've tried to do that I hope could be followed up on. We've tried to set very clear priorities even in a period of declining budgets. We've sought to emphasize quality: quality of people, quality of training, quality of the weapons systems, and quality of the procurement process.

These priorities have been reflected in the budget with emphasis on people, readiness, sustainability, and on producing weapons systems at efficient rates. We have started an initiative in the procurement area which I hope will catch on.

I think we've managed to strengthen our alliances not just during my period, but over the period of my predecessor, and we now have very strong alliances with a number of countries. □

A Facilitator Takes Charge

Reagans's final NSC advisor is a loyal deputy and an able manager

Steve Ryan

When Frank Carlucci left the NSC for the Department of Defense last November, Colin Powell was the only name considered for the top national security job. Powell is Reagan's seventh appointee in the position. Finally, in lame-duck days, Reagan may have found the kind of national security advisor he wanted: a skilled manager with steadfast loyalty. The NSC leadership under Colin Powell will not be distinguished by broad strokes of brilliance as with Kissinger, and certainly not by the chicanery under Poindexter. Instead, Powell brings a flair for management, a reputation for stolid reliability, and a commitment to facilitating the Reagan agenda.

The newest advisor sees himself as a loyal deputy, in charge of the NSC, not a reformer or shaper of it. Given the opportunity to remake the the council in the wake of the Tower Commission's report, he chose not to do so. But some changes were made—the abolition of the politico-military office, the prohibition against staff involving itself in intelligence operations or undertaking covert actions, the addition of a legal advisor, the creation of the Interagency Policy Review Group, and the tightening up of the chain of command. Powell feels these measures have been sufficient.

The Reagan revolution has only a few months to run its course. Powell's contribution has been a streamlining of the machinery of the executive, not the addition of a new voice to it. He does not see himself using the NSC as a vehicle for changing the direction of foreign policy. In a wide-ranging interview last April, he described his current role as that of ensuring that all the component parts function smoothly. "My first and foremost job is to make sure that the staff system and the interagency process work. The NSC system was set up so the president would get the benefit of a systematic process of advice and deliberation before making a decision. The integrity of that process is my responsibility." He makes clear that it is the president who calls the shots. "The only policy I should advocate is the president's policy. If what I see serves the president's objective, I hand it in. If I think it does not, then as the president's personal adviser I am free to give him my own advice, whether it is consistent or inconsistent with the views of the NSC's principle officers. But first and foremost, I make the process work, make the system work, and then provide my own individual perspective, recognizing that I am not a confirmed cabinet official."

Powell is hardly a stranger to the Washington or the halls of power here. From January to May 1981, he served as senior military assistant to then Deputy Secretary of Defense Carlucci. He returned in the period 1983–86 as senior military assistant to Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. However, Powell is not a political general in the mold of Alexander Haig, or a member of the privileged military elite that graduates each year from the service academies. He grew up the son of immigrant parents in New York City and attended New York's City College—a school for students possessing brains if not money. He served in Viet Nam, receiving a painful foot injury from a Viet Cong booby trap. He holds the Distinguished Service Medal, the Soldiers Medal, the Bronze Star, the Air Medal, and the Purple Heart. Before going to the NSC, he commanded the Army's V corps stationed in Frankfurt, Germany. He served as deputy commanding general of the Army's Combined Arms Combat Development Activity at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, from 1982–83, and as assistant division commander of the 4th Infantry Division at Fort Carson, Colorado, from 1981–82.

There is little likelihood that scandal will mar his tenure. Former Secretary of Defense Weinberger told the *Washington Post*, "he was the person I used to carry out the president's directions to make arrangements for transferring the [Iranian-bound] arms to the CIA." However, Weinburger noted, "It ended there."

Steve Ryan is the Pentagon correspondent for Defense Daily.

Powell brings a flair for management, a reputation for stolid reliability, and a commitment to facilitating the Reagan agenda.

POWELL'S PROXIMITY TO the Iran-contra shenanigans generated little controversy when his appointment was debated in Congress, although Senator Sam Nunn (D-Georgia) questioned the appointment, believing that it would undercut our principle of retaining civilian control of the military: "A military officer knows that his next promotion depends on the secretary of defense and the top generals and admirals in the Pentagon." He added that if the president wanted the military viewpoint on a subject, he could turn to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Senator Thomas Harkin (D-Iowa) introduced a bill in March 1987 (S. 715) that would prohibit any active-duty military officer from serving as NSC advisor. Yet neither man objected to Powell himself, and on the Senate floor, Harkin praised the lieutenant general, saying, "I assume he will serve the president well in the remaining months of the administration." Nunn himself told the Senate, "I do not suggest that General Powell does not have the required independence, and certainly I know he has the skills." An aide of Nunn's confirmed that any of the senator's comments were aimed at the uniform and not the man, noting that Powell made a good impression on the Senate.

Indeed, this military man evokes nothing but praise from collagues. Those with whom he has worked describe him as diligent and hardworking. An old boss, former Secretary of Defense Harold Brown notes his "drive and ambition. I suppose you could associate it with his having to fight his way up from the South Bronx. He comes from a modest background, but an achievement-oriented one. His parents are Jamaican, and that traditionally has resulted in a disciplined household where there is an emphasis upon education, achievement, and upward mobility."

Russell Rourke, former secretary of the air force and an under secretary of defense, knows Powell well. "I first met Colin when he was Frank Carlucci's military assistant. Coincidentally, both of us happened to be from the Bronx; in fact we went to competing high schools. Powell is one of the quietest yet most effective and dedicated men I have ever known. Unlike many of the people I have met in my 30 years of service, he never rants, never raves, he just totally commits himself to the task at hand." Rourke also notes, "He has a sensitivity to people, and he doesn't take himself too seriously. He can laugh like hell, and that is an ingredient missing among many people in this business."

Rourke believes that Powell is especially effective when dealing with Congress or the civilian foreign-relations agencies. "Whether on Capitol Hill, in the White House, or in the Pentagon, one always finds those who scream, 'We do everything right, and then they screw it up.' There were some I knew, for example, who regarded Congress as a nuisance, to be fed when necessary and ignored when possible. But Colin understood that the president proposes and Congress disposes. He understands the whole mix, and can anticipate the positions of Congress, of State, of the White House."

Described as being professional almost to a fault, Powell's ambition is the same one shared by most career officers. "If you are a politician, you want to be president; if you are a career army man, you want to be the chief of staff," Rourke notes. "However," he adds, "he has never said anything to me." When the demands of the service and the lure of Washington beckoned, Powell heeded the calling. It is commonly known that the military believes that officers who tarry too long at the Pentagon are beginning to feather their nest. "When Powell was on Weinburger's staff, the time came when he felt that he had stayed too long at the fair. Weinburger hated to part with him, but relented when he saw that staying could damage his career," Rourke recalled.

Loyalty is also a key trait attributed to the NSC advisor. Former Secretary Brown explained that "there's always a risk that an assistant to a senior officer will speak in that officer's behalf when if fact he is merely voicing his own opinions. I never knew Powell to do that; he would say what the boss wanted said."

ON MOST ISSUES Powell's personal views are unclear, but some of his actions have influenced events. According to reports, he sided with the Pentagon to thwart the ambitious plans of Secretary of State George Shultz and Assistant Secretary Elliot Abrams to drive Panama strongman Manuel Noriega out of office. "Noriega has proved to be very persistent," Powell said last spring. "I always thought he would be."

However, in the aftermath of the Iran-contra scandal, Powell wants to dispel any impression that his tenure will be marked by the cloak-and-dagger escapades allegedly committed by former NSC staffers. Powell insists that his office will function as a conduit of information to the president and as an advocate of "the president's policies." Indeed, he goes to great lengths to stake out boundaries of

National Security Advisor Colin Powell discusses the NSC agenda with President Reagan.

his authority, and to proscribe the sort of decisions he might make. "I am not the secretary of state; I have not been confirmed by Congress to be secretary of state. I do not try to be secretary of state. My job, and the job of my staff is to make the secretary of state's job easier, to make the secretary of defense's job easier, and to help them bring issues into the western wing of the White House."

Yet Powell is adamant that he should serve only one boss, that no proposal for subjecting the NSC advisor to congressional approval (he calls it "a terrible idea") should break the intimate relationship the president shares with his advisor. "I am an assistant to the president; I am on his personal staff. My relationship with him should be a personal one, not one that is subject to advice and consent by the Senate."

Powell is at once a representative of the Reagan administration and a career military man, and his views are shaped by both. Asked what role he foresaw for the military in foreign policy, he responded with allusions to classical military theory. "I am very Clausewitzian," he replied. "Diplomacy and military strength are two tools in a foreign-policy toolbox. You have to have both. The military should not exist in isolation, as if it bears no relation to political or foreign-policy needs of the nation. It is a tool of foreign policy." This, of course, is a prescription for a strong military: "You want to have a good military force to do that." For Powell, military preparation is not a preparation for war, but a guarantor of peace. "You hire diplomats to keep [war] from happening, and the biggest tool diplomats have is a good, strong military capability. It makes the diplomat's life easier, not more difficult. Chamberlain, going to Munich in 1938, would have been enormously strengthened in his ability to negotiate something with Hitler had he had well-equipped, strong, prepared armed forces behind him."

Nor does Powell believe that the tail has grown so large that it now wags the dog. He does not have much truck with many of Washington's military reformers, those that argue that our military has grown too large and devotes too much money to high-tech weaponry.

He believes that "we have to be ready to respond to whatever threat we see out there. We have a solid force in NATO, a heavy mechanized force with sophisticated high-technology weapons . . . you cannot just abandon that because you might run into low-intensity conflicts somewhere else in the world. We have to have a balanced force, one that deals with the heavy, technical medium, and which can also deal with the low-intensity insurgency or terrorist-type activity elsewhere."

"My job, and the job of my staff, is to make the secretaries' jobs easier, and to help them bring issues into the White House."

THE ADMINISTRATION'S foreign policy is keyed primarily to the relations between the superpowers; but according to Powell, there is still a chilly wind blowing through that relationship. "We are very interested and impressed with what Gorbachev is trying to do with *Glastnost* and *Peristroika*. Now what this will produce in the Soviet Union remains to be seen, but it is best to examine the evidence."

The evidence that concerns Powell is the $500 million worth of military aid going to Nicaragua, a small country that "seems not to mean well in its relations to its neighbors," and eight years of Soviet interference in Afghanistan. "Is this the act of an expansionist power, an opportunistic power, a status-quo power?" he asks. "I will let you judge. All I know is that it is a power that has to be dealt with, a power that has to be negotiated with from a position of strength, a position of realism, and a position of great businesslike relationships . . . not on a basis of wishful thinking. No cute words, no funny expressions can express our complex relationships with the Soviet Union. Detente, cooperation, these are catchwords that are simply not up to the task of capturing the complex relationship that exists between the two greatest powers on earth."

Powell continues, "The Soviets go along fault lines; they look for opportunities. If you provide them with opportunities, by that I mean show them weaknesses, you can expect them to go through." The national security advisor cautions policymakers to "listen to the general secretary's words, watch his actions, but determine our actions based on the results and not just the rhetoric."

Powell contends that the Soviet Union has shifted the focus of superpower conflict to new arenas. "We've essentially checked Soviet expansionism in Western Europe. We've done so with NATO for the last 30 years, the recent NATO summit reaffirming that. We are strong, and they see that. They see a strong alliance, politically strong, economically superior, culturally superior, morally superior, militarily adequate to the task of deterrence. There isn't much they can do against that, and so they have fished in other waters: Afghanistan, Cuba, sort of an end-run strategy." Powell blasts the Soviet Union for being the "last great imperial power on the face of the earth. Is this an unfair charge?" he asks rhetorically. "Well, millions of dollars [in military aid] going to a little country in Central America, Cuban officers in Angola, Soviet armies in Eastern Europe, and the Soviet army in Afghanistan indicate otherwise." He added that the issue of our embassy is still a sore point.

President Reagan's four-part doctrine continues to be our *modus operandi* toward the Soviet Union, says Powell, as "arms control, human rights, regional matters, and various bilateral matters" form the cornerstones of our relationship. Arms control, Powell believes, can only flow from a position of military strength. "President Reagan finally was able to get the Soviets to come back to the negotiating table . . . after he deployed the INF systems. If he had never deployed these systems, if he had been scared off by the protests in Europe, and if Congress had failed to fund the money, we would never have gotten rid of the Soviet systems. We deployed the American systems and now both are gone. We got that because we were prepared to negotiate from a position of strength."

AMERICAN POLICY will continue to focus on human rights, an area in which our two systems "are most directly in conflict," sometimes almost irreconcilably so. "We have to continue to explain to them the nature of our system," he said, "where people are allowed to leave a country in which they no longer wish to live, where they can express their thoughts and practice their religion."

Turning to other parts of Asia, Powell pins great hopes on the emergence of China. "In the next 20 years, China will clearly become a great player on the world stage. Will it join the ranks of the superpowers? One cannot tell. There is, however, enormous human potential there. There is a greater openness to ideas—economic ideas especially—than one finds in the Soviet Union. They are trying to reduce the size of their army to something reasonable and affordable."

Powell notes Japan's economic success, but cautions, "Once before we saw a Japan that decided to help its neighbors, but after the war that was fought as a result, constitutional constraints were put on the Japanese, which both we and they were quite happy to have." He does note, however, that Japan has taken up more of the burden for defending its home waters.

The instability of Latin America, Powell believes, requires that the United States possess a capacity to intervene directly with its own forces. "What went on recently in Honduras is interesting. Consider that in a matter of some 20 hours we were able to alert, transport, and deliver 3000 soldiers about 1500 miles. That's pretty good." Powell noted that

Colin Powell greets Mikhail Gorbachev during the 1988 Moscow summit.

both the president and the Pentagon have made the increase of special forces a priority. All this preparation means that we will not retreat from our global commitments. "It is our job to protect the interests of the United States, to protect our alliances, to protect our allies and our friends."

HOWEVER, HE is quick to point out that the Reagan administration "has had a devil of a problem in recent years getting an adequate level of funding for security and economic assistance, things that help build nations and build armed forces to protect nations. We have fledgling democracies in place in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. All of them were right-wing dictatorships ten years ago, now they are all democracies. They are not established democracies with 200 years of tradition like ours, they are democracies under siege by Nicaragua and the right wing in their own countries. So fledgling democracies like that need economic assistance, and they need military assistance for their armed forces to provide internal security. This military assistance goes not to suppress their people or to control the people, but to provide support for the democratic process."

Other parts of the world require less Draconian solutions. Powell describes the problem of Africa as one of too much intervention in people's lives rather than too little. The issue for Sub-Saharan Africa is free enterprise, what he calls the "revolution in thinking" that is going on there. "African leaders who followed two decades of well-intentioned but disastrous post-colonial economic policies are now looking at the early success stories of the Ivory Coast, Kenya, and Cameroon, and they are turning away from state-run economies toward a market-based system that offers real hope of liberating Africa's economic potential." Powell adds that Africa's famine and other economic woes are "exacerbated by self-defeating economic policies."

Taking the world situation in total, Powell believes that democracy can win. "In the mid-70s, only a third of the people in Latin America enjoyed democratic government. Today, it's over 90 percent. We've seen in Latin America, in the Philippines, in the Republic of Korea, and elsewhere, how authoritarian structures are giving way to popular pressure and civilian rule. . . . Around the world, we see an increasing realization that the real source of prosperity and technological innovation is the energy, creativity, and enterprise of the individual, not the centralized planning by a state bureaucracy." America remains the inspiration for the world. "This is something [Americans] can all be proud of. It's our ideals and our faith in freedom that are being vindicated. That is why America has a continuing role of leadership in the world, and a crucial responsibility to play that role, in order to advance those ideas." □

Real-Life Perestroika

A hotel robbery highlights the difficulties of freedom

By Jim Anderson

THIS STORY begins on April 22, the eve of Lenin's 118th birthday. The setting is the Hotel Ukraine, one of the seven Stalinesque wedding-cake structures that dominate the skyline along the Moscow river. Now beginning to shed their stone facades, to the peril of pedestrians below, the still-impressive buildings are a reminder that Josef Stalin, apart from his other faults and virtues, had a terrible sense of scale.

But, like Mussolini, he knew something about style. There is a mysterious air about the Hotel Ukraine. The rooms have a monk-like austerity and the corridors an endless, intimidating quality. The red-bordered flowered carpeting does not cheer the place up; it evokes images of an immense factory, turning out miles of this stuff to be laid on the floors of hotels, office buildings, and police stations. I always try to imagine how a member of a Bulgarian trade delegation in the Stalinist era would have felt in the place; probably a mixture of awe and fear.

In the Hotel Ukraine, there are always employees, mostly women, sitting and talking in rooms with half-open doors. The ninth floor of the hotel, where I stayed, employs scores of people, and there are 38 other floors in the hotel.

The women behind the counter of the lunch buffets on each floor would fit right in at the Motor Vehicle Administration in any American state. The austere selection of food is a reminder, in this prestigious symbol of Soviet hospitality, that the system has a ways to go. Some days cheese appears, other days it is absent. There is always plenty of butter, but sometimes the only bread is shank ends of dried-out loaves. The hard-boiled eggs—no other kind is offered—disappear in the middle of the afternoon. Sometimes there are oranges, but tiny, scarred apples, the kind that make applesauce in other countries, are the proffered fruit. But the prices are right: for about a dollar you can get a snack made up of what a Soviet hotel-buffet apparently considers the four basic food groups: potato chips, fruit, salami, and hard-boiled eggs.

The locks on the heavy wooden doors are different from other hotels, with an odd spring arrangement in which the lock pops shut if you put the key in just right. The lock represents a very basic kind of contract between me, the occupant of room 979, and the Soviet government. If I exercise care, the locks (and the government) will protect me and my belongings.

My trip had begun at 5:30 a.m. in Helsinki, where I, as a reporter for United Press International, had come with Secretary of State George Shultz, who was in Moscow for talks with Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. Arriving in Moscow, I went directly to the UPI bureau and returned to the hotel just before 10 p.m., a bit spacy from fatigue, jet-lag, and hunger. There had been no time for lunch, and I was too tired to wait for an evening meal in any Moscow restaurant, always a test of patience. Since the buffet on my floor of the hotel was closed, I stopped in the American embassy's hotel press room to buy a bottle of Finnish mineral water. The embassy believes there is a chance of picking up a persistent and pesky, but not fatal, parasitic intestinal ailment from the water in Moscow and Leningrad and supplies the Finnish water for $2.75 a bottle. I paid for the water, put my wallet back into my inside jacket pocket and, as they say in police reports, proceeded to my ninth-floor room and went to bed, hungry and exhausted.

About an hour after I had gone to bed, an automobile burglar alarm began to sound beneath my hotel window. The blasting of the horn continued for half an hour while passersby stared helplessly, or tried unsuccessfully to open the car door and the hood. They probably wondered, as I did looking down upon the scene, why anybody would put an elaborate burglar

Jim Anderson is the UPI reporter for the State Department.

alarm system on an ordinary Lada, the Soviet-built version of a 1955 Fiat 1600. But automobile burglar alarms are just one example of the subtle changes that are evident in the Soviet system today. Another innovation is the hard-currency restaurant on the ground floor of the hotel, where dollars or marks or yen are the currency of choice.

In the restaurant, there's usually an amplified rock band playing something that sounds like Ukrainian-folk-fusion. It is the sort of music that a combined culture ministry/secret police music committee would approve. Ethnic enough to be acceptable; decadent enough to attract the fringes of society. It is generally assumed that one branch of the police tolerates or even operates this den because of entrapment possibilities, while another branch deals with the law enforcement ramifications. The restaurant does bring some unusual people into the hotel.

The Soviet version of Alice's Restaurant, this is where you can get almost anything you want, including alcoholic drinks at any hour, black-market rubles, and—judging from their dress—girls, and even, boys who do not make their living as tractor drivers. I know of one case where a homosexual Western correspondent was identified, contacted, and compromised in the Hotel Ukraine's hard-currency restaurant, in spite of the fact that in the Soviet Union there is an automatic five-year labor-camp term for homosexual activity. He was not exposed, but he was used to plant some information in the Western press—but that's another story.

Around midnight, after the battery had finally died on the bleating Lada beneath my window, I went back to bed. I noticed that the hall light in my room was on, and that the door, while it was closed, hadn't been fully latched. Strange, I thought, but I had no confidence in my ability to work that strange spring-lock system.

This is a time when *Glasnost* and *Perestroika* are under attack and the struggle, as we shall see, soon reached the ninth floor of the Ukraine Hotel. I awoke early the next morning, in time to go for a run along the Moscow River. When I returned after 45 minutes, I spent another half hour in the shower. I dressed hurriedly, rushing to join the press pool covering the encounter between Shultz and Gorbachev. I couldn't find my wallet, but I had to leave. When I got back, I did a hands-and-knees search of the room and my luggage, and then I began to sweat. It wasn't there. I was in the Soviet Union without money, credit cards, or the ability to speak more than three words of Russian. My wallet was most certainly gone.

My passport had remained in the possession of the U.S. delegation and the only other thing missing was my reporter's notebook. It had been in the other inside pocket of the tweed sports coat hanging in the closet at the entrance of my room. I did not consider this to be suspicious, since I imagined a situation in which some slick burglar scooped up everything quickly and checked the booty later. However, some people, including State Department officials, thought the missing reporter's notebook was significant, but they don't know that the KGB and the NSA, combined, couldn't decipher one of my notebooks. Sometimes I can't figure out my own shorthand.

I WENT FOR HELP to the U.S. embassy press room, where I found a Russian-speaking official. He said it wasn't an embassy matter because my passport wasn't missing. He checked with the Soviet Foreign Ministry, who decided it wasn't their problem, either. Together we went down to the government Intourist office where I made a short, written statement, and the manager made a couple of telephone calls, presumably to her superiors. The case was now in the system; I signed pieces of paper and the "responsible organs" were notified.

The first representatives of those organs arrived that night just after I returned to the hotel. Clearly the two men who knocked at my door had been waiting for me. Both were young

and would be, let's say, corporals in any equivalent American organization. The blond one said, "police," apparently the only word he knew in English, and held out a little red folder with his identification. I said one of the few phrases I knew in Russian, "*Ne po russki.*" We then resorted to sign language as he held up 10 fingers, his watch, and pointed to the floor. "Wait here, I'll be back in 10 minutes."

I said, "*Da.*" They soon returned with a young woman translator who relayed my story to them, while they asked me to write down what I had just said. Written, signed statements are obviously very important in Soviet law. This was my second one—the first was the shorter version written at the Intourist office in which I said I thought that I might have left the wallet on the desk in my room.

After they left, it was too late to go out so I watched a superb performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony on television, in honor of Lenin's birthday. The telephone rang. It was the lady from Intourist, telling me, "The police are coming in 15 minutes. Please stay in your room." There was tension in her voice.

I thought she was mistaken, that she didn't realize the police had already been there. But soon there was another knock at the door and this time five people entered: the young blond policeman, the translator, two obviously terrified women, identified as hotel employees, and a second man. He was wearing a trench coat. Let's call him the Inspector. Stocky, in his mid-thirties with a brutally flattened nose, he had hair like wire gauze. He never smiled. I don't know if one of his front teeth was protruding, or if one of them was missing. However, only one tooth was visible, and with the broken nose, he resembled a hockey player turned cop.

He was in control. He led the small procession into the room. Without bidding, he pulled up the wooden chair at the desk, and moved it to one side, where he could watch me. He began asking questions, in Russian, translated by the young lady. They were short questions, but some required long answers. "How do you know you had the wallet when you came back to your room?"

"I bought the bottle of mineral water in the press room on the third floor of the hotel and came right to my room, and then I took my jacket off and I felt it there," I replied.

"But you didn't see it after the American press room." No question. A statement.

"Yes, but I felt it and it was this thick," holding my fingers about an inch apart.

"Write it down." He shuffled some papers in front of him. "You said you had the wallet on the desk in the first statement. Now you say it was in your jacket."

"That's right. I sometimes put it on my desk when I am going to wear a different jacket. In this case I was going to wear a dark suit because I would be attending the meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev and Mr. Shultz." A foolish, perhaps guilty sounding attempt to drop names on my part.

It didn't work. "Write it down."

THE TWO WOMEN employed by the hotel stood silent, twisting their rings. Were they witnesses or suspects, I wondered. The young corporal listened respectfully, also standing. I sat at a small table, writing the new statement on paper the Inspector had brought, one side of which had a curious powdery feel. He sat five feet away at the desk, shuffling a stack of translations of my earlier statements and shooting questions as soon as I had finished writing and the translator had read him what I had written. I was annoyed to find myself perspiring.

However, I was glad, at that moment, not to be young or strange-looking like some of the people who inhabit the hard-currency restaurant. I thought of the rodent-like waiter who offered me double the legal rate if I wanted to change some dollars, an offer that I was now doubly pleased that I had turned down. I was happy that I had adhered to my rule in life, which is to never have anything to do with black-market currency dealers, anywhere, on the theory that they leave me, as a foreign journalist, open to blackmail.

As the interrogation continued, with no apparent resolution in sight, I began to sympathize with the "responsible Soviet organs." It was clear to me that the Inspector was trying to deal with a New York-style hotel robbery. But it was the kind of crime that never occurred in Moscow under previous regimes when the majestic Ukraine Hotel was reserved for official delegations. Stolen wallets didn't happen before the doors were opened to Western influences and European tourists, who frequented the hard-currency restaurant, bringing in the shadowy local entrepreneurs who deal in Western currency.

Now the Inspector had to deal with me as a victim of a crime that might not have occurred if criminals had not been allowed to proliferate in the "Glasnostian" environment created by the relaxation of former controls—a relaxation he would have opposed, much the way a New York detective would have complained about the Miranda Rule.

The former concept of Socialist legality, where nothing could stand in the way of the primacy of the state and the party, had collided with the fact that economic freedom entails political freedom and sometimes fosters such things as black-market currency dealers, careless Western visitors, and hotel burglars. Not only was crime now happening in the Soviet Union, it was being reported in Soviet newspapers. The next morning another member of the U.S. delegation discovered a jewelry case had been taken from her luggage.

I have not heard from the Inspector since he walked out of my room, followed by the cast he had assembled for the interrogation. But I can imagine the dossier that is being assembled in some vast Stalinist office building, its floors covered with the same red carpet as the Hotel Ukraine.

My stolen property has not turned up. And when I read about the resistance to Gorbachev's reforms, I remember the Inspector and think of what I wished I had told him as he led the little procession out of my room that night: No one ever said *Perestroika* was going to be easy.

1988 Merit Award Recipients

The 1988 AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards, recognizing outstanding academic records and leadership qualities, were given this year in memory of Walter J. Stoessel, Jr., who was considered one of the giants in the world of diplomacy. Funds for these awards are provided jointly by the AAFSW Bookfair and the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

Twenty students received $500 awards. This year, nine winners graduated from U.S. high schools and 11 winners completed their high school studies overseas. The students represent Foreign Service personnel in five agencies: State, AID, USIA, Agriculture, and Commerce.

Eligible students who will be graduating from high school in 1989, and who are qualified dependents of career Foreign Service personnel, are encouraged to write for applications to AFSA Scholarship Programs, 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, D.C., 20037. Applications will be mailed for both the Merit and the Financial Aid programs in late October. Merit Awards are based solely on academic excellence; financial-aid grants for full-time undergraduate students studying in the United States are based solely on need. The deadline for completion and return of all program materials and applications to the AFSA office is February 15, 1989. Please apply early and be sure to state your qualifying Foreign Service agency.

Kristen M. Champagne, the daughter of John and Penelope Champagne, AID, is a graduate of Stonewall Jackson High School in Manassas, Virginia. She was vice president of the National Honor Society and vice president of her class. She also attended Girls State and the 1987 state indoor track championships. Her special interests include track, cross country, and chorus. She has lived in Bangkok and Panama City, and plans to attend the University of Virginia to study international business.

Brian Macleod Coan, son of Roderick and Joan Coan, Agriculture, currently posted in Nassau, graduated valedictorian of his class at the American School of the Hague in the Netherlands. He received the ECIS Award for International Understanding and was a member of the "Best Delegation" at the Hague International Model U.N. His special interests include long-distance running, writing, and music. He plans to attend Williams College to study philosophy and political science.

Michael P. Doane is the son of Jeannine and James Doane Jr., State. Michael, who has lived in Belgium, Italy, Romania, Iran, and the USSR, graduated from McLean High School in Virginia. Michael is a National Merit Commended Student, an Air Force ROTC scholarship recipient and was on the All-District Swim Team. His special interests include skiing, tennis, and swimming. He will be entering MIT to study engineering.

Chris Groening is the son of Eva and William Groening, State. Chris recently graduated from Gonzaga High School in Washington, D.C. He was on the honor roll throughout high school and has special interest sin music and sports. He has lived in Poland, England, and Costa Rica and will attend the University of California, San Diego in the fall.

Nancy Ruth Harris, the daughter of Gene and Bonnie Harris, Commerce, has lived in Ghana, the United Kingdom, France, Tanzania, Reunion Island, and Saudi Arabia. A National Merit Scholar, she graduated salutatorian of Cairo American College. She was a member of the National Honor Society, and enjoys playing the oboe and piano, acting, singing, traveling, and reading. She will attend Rice University to study engineering.

Jonathan D. Holtaway, son of James and Deneith Holtaway, AID, graduated from the American School in Switzerland. He was president of the Young Republicans, a representative to the Model U.N. in the Hague, and received a National Merit honorable mention. His interests include sports and studying 20th century military history. His family, currently posted in Barbados, has also lived in Tunisia, Sudan, and Switzerland. Jonathan will attend the University of Pennsylvania.

Merit Award Recipients 1988 (continued)

Monica Christine Lamberty is the daughter of Gerald and Elisa Lamberty, State. She recently graduated valedictorian of her class at Colegio Maya in Guatemala. She has also lived in the Dominican Republic, Poland, and Peru. Monica was a member of the national and Spanish honor societies, attended the Virginia Governor's school, and received two varsity letters. Her special interests include writing, traveling, volleyball, cooking, and drawing. She will attend Williams College in the fall to study history and Spanish.

Jeremy Arian Lite, the son of Jeffrey and Carol Lite, graduated from Magruder High School in Maryland where he received an award for creative thinking and an honorable mention for his work on the school newspaper. His special interests include the Third World, archaeology, volleyball, windsurfing, and "anything French." He has lived in Iran, Nigeria, France, and Haiti. Jeremy will attend the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor to study history.

Katherine Wells Meighan is the daughter of Robert and Gail Meighan, AID, currently posted in Rabat. Katherine, who graduated from the Rabat American School plans to enter the College of William and Mary in the fall to study economics. She was a National Merit semifinalist and Presidential Scholar semifinalist, and enjoys tennis, horse-back riding, languages, and traveling. She has lived in Kenya, Nicaragua, Barbados, and Morocco.

Edward Michael Muniak, son of Edward and Janet Muniak, AID, now posted in the Phillipines, graduated from South Lakes High School in Virginia, where he received letters in football and baseball, was a member of an all-region band, and received an award for all "A's" four quarters in 1986. His interests include football, baseball, and playing the trumpet. He has lived in the United States and Thailand. Edward plans to attend Cornell University to study science and math.

Michele Lee Penner is the daughter of Darryl and Margaret Penner, USIA, posted in Syria. Michele graduated from Sidwell Friends School in Washington D.C., where she was a member of the National Honor Society. She also enjoys singing and performing in musicals, as well as playing the guitar and running cross-country. She has lived in Nigeria, Laos, Turkey, and Morocco. She will attend Washington University in St. Louis on a merit scholarship to study political science and economics.

Cindy Ann Purifoy, daughter of Leroy and Le Thu Hyunh Purifoy, AID, graduated from the International School Manila. She has lived in Vietnam, Kenya, Ethiopia, Syria, and Sri Lanka. In high school, Cindy was the vice president of the honor society, a delegate to the model U.N. in Bangkok, and played tennis and swam in overseas meets. She is also interested in drama and debate. Cindy will attend the University of Pennsylvania in the fall to study law.

Kristina Alexandra Silberstein, daughter of Anita and Spencer Silberstein, AID, graduated from the American Embassy School in New Delhi. During her four years of high school, she participated in swimming, field hockey, peer counseling, student government, and piano studies. She was a member of National Honor Society, and received awards for academic excellence, excellence in Spanish, and an award for "outstanding senior" of the year. She will attend Mt. Holyoke College in the fall.

Benjamin Thomas Simons is the son of Margaret and Thomas Simons Jr., State. Benjamin recently graduated from Sidwell Friends School in Washington, D.C. He was captain of the All-IAC Soccer team and also enjoys playing frizbee. He has lived in Russia, Poland, England, and Romania. Benjamin will attend Yale University to study liberal arts.

Gregory R. Smith, son of Gary and Kerry Smith, USIA, posted in Osaka, Japan, recently graduated from the Canadian Academy there. Gregory was a National Merit Scholar, captain of the varsity soccer team, and the band student director. His interests include soccer, baseball, computers, chemistry, and playing the trumpet. He will attend Stanford University to study computer science or chemical engineering.

John Edward Thompson is the son of Richard and Kathleen Thompson, State. John graduated from St. Alban's School in Washington, D.C., where he was a member of the Cum Laude society, and a National Merit Scholar. John has also lived in Vietnam, France, and Algeria. His special interests include history, philosophy, French, and political theory. He will attend Columbia University.

Amy Wajda is the daughter of Thomas and Madeline Wajda, State. Amy is a recent graduate of West Springfield High School in Virginia, where she enjoyed studying music and working for the school literary magazine. A National Merit Commended student, she placed 2nd in Virginia and 5th in the Mid-atlantic region in a national French exam. She also won the Louis Armstrong Jazz Award in 1986. Amy has lived in New Zealand, Senegal, and France. She will attend the University of Virginia.

Andrew Wilcox, son of Philip and Cynda Wilcox, State, graduated from Walt Whitman High School in Bethesda Maryland, where he was editor-in-chief of the school newspaper, a member of the National French Honor Society, a National Merit Commended student and 1988 Maryland High School Journalist of the Year. His other interests include soccer, basketball ,and skiing. Andrew has lived in Indonesia and Bangladesh. He will be attending Stanford University.

Chris Williams is the son of Dennis and Terri Williams, State. He recently graduated from Cairo American College, where he was a Presidential Scholar semifinalist, and a National Merit Scholar. He has also lived in Jamaica and Japan. His other interests include acting, singing, theater, Model U.N., scuba diving, and playing wargames. He plans to enter Princeton to study engineering.

Curtis Yarvin, son of Herb and Sue Yarvin, State, recently graduated from Wilde Lake High School in Columbia, Maryland. Curtis has also lived in the Dominican Republic and Cyprus. He was a National Merit Scholar and on the "It's Academic" team. He also enjoys playing raquetball. Curtis will attend the Johns Hopkins University to study computer science.

Rachael's Farewell: Chocolate Bars and Dandelions

by SONJA G. SWEEK

Typical of most American subteen girls, Rachael's adolescence began with a bang at about age 12. She had always been a rather standoffish child, and with adolescence, this was greatly magnified. I was a single parent serving in Santiago as assistant information officer, and within the Chilean context, it was becoming difficult not to notice the warm greetings and kisses on the cheek given to parents as their children came and went. But, given that she was an American and not a Chilean, I tried not to let myself dwell on it.

Before arriving in Santiago, I had vowed to enroll my children in a Chilean school. Two years in the American school in Costa Rica had contributed very little to their Spanish or to their knowledge of the country's culture. We found an excellent private school only 15 minutes from home, and Rachael began eighth grade. Her basic courses were taught in English, although all electives were in Spanish. Natural ability, enthusiasm, and peer pressure all contributed to her Spanish. I was proud when I heard her chattering to her Chilean friends in Spanish.

Rachael also began French, taught in Spanish. Our one concern was that the next year, in ninth grade, all classes, except English, of course, would be taught in Spanish. Her teacher insisted that she attend special Spanish classes, and warned Rachael that at the beginning of ninth grade her grades would probably drop from their usual honors level.

It was at that moment that her personal decision to attend college coalesced with a frank assessment of our finances (three younger children to put through college) and with her concern about the next year's grades. She asked me if boarding school might not be an option, stating that she knew that if she made good grades in high school, she might win a university scholarship.

I was truly surprised by her proposal, but promised to look into the possibility. She, meantime, agreed to begin ninth grade in Chile (in March, according to the southern hemisphere school calendar). She would take advantage of the opportunity for additional practice in Spanish and French, and would begin ninth grade again in the U.S. We researched schools, applied, and she was accepted at her first choice, a highly rated school in Portland, Oregon, where my father lived. The members of the admissions committee were excited about her background as a Foreign Service child and her language ability.

Our cooperation on the school-research project provided a welcome oasis in days filled with door-slamming, name-calling, and general surliness. A cynicism about family life in general had taken hold of Rachael, and the brunt of most of her dissatisfaction was her younger brother, 12, who for two years had heard "Joshua, you are such a nerd."

Rachael Sweek—her mother had mixed feelings about seeing her leave for boarding school

On the plus side, I could understand why the school was so interested in my Foreign Service child. She spoke fluent Chilean Spanish (at times using so much "teenage lingo" that I had trouble understanding her). She was very knowledgeable about the politics of at least two Latin American countries. All the children had been as proud of President Oscar Arias' Nobel prize as any Costa Rican. Her knowledge of the issues of the upcoming Chilean presidential plebiscite would probably be more thorough than that of any of her U.S. classmates or teachers.

Rachael's familiarity with Chilean political issues had a personal side—one of her classmates was a presidential grandchild, and Rachael had a great deal of empathy for him. At the same time, as did many of his friends, she had shamelessly taken advantage of his special situation to cadge rides to the shopping mall and to the movies with his bodyguards.

When my Latin American friends heard of Rachael's plans, most could not accept the idea that I would send my child away. At times, neither could I. Although my ex-husband is British, and I thought I understood sending kids to boarding school, never did I think I would be doing it. However, most U.S. friends were supportive. My response, in order to deflect criticism, was to agree that "yes, it is a very difficult thing to do, but she really wants to do it." And in some ways, I was quite pleased that things had worked as they had. I knew that the present 10- to 11-hour workdays in the embassy press section would become even longer as the plebiscite neared, and life minus one teenager seemed ideal. Besides, I could reclaim my clothes, my shoes, my bathroom, and my car radio.

Rachael learned that a former American classmate had returned home to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and had tested in and out of high school Spanish in the same day. Rachael was delighted, expecting that she, too, would be highly advanced in Spanish in her new school. When her proposed class schedule arrived, Spanish was listed. However, French, and a possible third language were not indicated. We wrote a note insisting on more language classes. Her love of languages was one of the most important legacies that four years in the Foreign Service had given her, and it had to be nurtured.

All seemed to be going along swimmingly, and I was counting the months until departure. As Rachael entered the ninth grade in March, no one had any second thoughts. In fact, I felt sorry for other parents of 14-year-olds who still had four years of adolescence ahead of them. Despite the predicted plunge of her grades as she tackled chemistry, biology, physics, and second-year algebra, all taught in Spanish, her natural competitiveness brought

her grades back up to a normal level within eight weeks.

I did worry a bit about her gung-ho acceptance of things Chilean—buying her new school clothes here, taping 30 cassettes of Latin music—and thought maybe we had gone overboard. She had begun to giggle at people (such as her mother) who spoke Spanish with an accent.

In the final three months, each pay period we invested in one or two beautiful hand-knit Chilean sweaters. She readied a stack to take to the United States, for herself and as gifts. One day she snagged one, and I advised her to push the snag through to the inside and not to cut it.

The next day, as I sat at my desk, I remembered the advice about the sweater. Unexpectedly, as plainly and as painfully as a slap across the face, it struck me that this would be my last opportunity to advise her on this or on one thousand and one other possible "snags" as she entered adulthood. Our family rule was that there would be no dating until 16, and I suddenly realized that I would not be around to meet the first boyfriend. I tried to push those thoughts away.

The countdown continued; Rachael took a week to pack, and then it was the night before the flight. She chose a restaurant and we all went out for dinner. The lack of customers should have warned us. We discovered that a pizza with "caramelized" ham meant a regular ham and cheese pizza with half a cup of sugar melted on top. What a disaster! We all went home and had cheese sandwiches.

That night, dreaming, I visualized the cord connecting me with Rachael, and I wondered if it would stretch all the way to Oregon, or if it would snap somewhere over Miami. When morning came, I found myself sitting bolt upright in bed while my brain screamed, "Fourteen, fourteen, she's only fourteen! Unfair, unfair! Not yet!" I got to my feet shakily and began the day. I was determined not to get choked up, and what was I doing having these problems, anyway? This was supposed to be painless.

Everyone left for a typically busy Saturday, but by 4 p.m., we were all home again loading luggage into the car. While Rachael went to the kitchen to say good-bye to the maid, with a typically off-hand "Ciao, Adriana," our puppy-size dog crawled inside the car and perched on top of the luggage. She loves all the kids, but absolutely adores Rachael. She had to be lifted out.

Then we were on our way to the airport. Rachael asked "How often will I be doing my laundry, Mom? Once a week?" Sweater snags. Stab. We arrive, she is processed and is ready to go through the departure gate. This is an awkward moment for our undemonstrative Rachael. She finally gives the two little ones a quick kiss, me a quick hug, and to her brother, "Bye, nerd." The others run off to play video games, while I sit in the lounge watching the plane lumber down the runway. Because I will it so strongly, it lifts off safely.

At dinner, both the little sister and the "nerdy" brother insist on saying their own, separate blessings, asking for a safe journey. I put a new movie on the VCR, and we stay occupied until bedtime.

I go upstairs and discover the dog has paid me back by doing a number on the rug beside my bed. That cleaned up, I crawl in and close my eyes. I try, I toss, I turn. I can't sleep. Rachael will be at the mercy of the airlines for 25 hours. Could it possibly be that I am missing the thump, thump, thump of her stereo?

Then I try counting sheep, but instead of sheep, I have a vision of chocolate bars and dandelions, chasing each other in circles. Chocolate bars—because I know that if someone were to ask me right now, this night, about sending my child to boarding school—I would have to describe it as a bittersweet experience, rather like a bar of dark chocolate. And dandelions? I guess because when I was a child, I could never understand why something as beautiful as a dandelion didn't smell better. Chocolate bars and dandelions. Rachael, I love you.

Sonja Sweek wrote this article less than 48 hours after sending Rachael to the United States. She was responding to Donald Tyson's request in the June JOURNAL for a parent's insight on sending a child away to school.

In Memory

BRUNA MARIA FRANCESCHI STAHNKE, wife of retired Foreign Service officer Paul K. Stahnke, died June 22 at Fairfax Hospital in Arlington, Virginia. She was 63.

Mrs. Stahnke was born in Arezzo, Italy and educated there and in Florence. She accompanied her husband on assignments to Germany, Italy, Japan, Somalia, Denmark, France, and Thailand, with three Washington tours in between. She was a professional artist who did gift portraits of leading personalities in many of the contries in which she was posted, and donated a number of her paintings to charities, especially in Thailand.

She is survived by her husband; one son, Christopher; two daughters, Lizanne and Barbara; and three grandchildren.

FRANK WADE ARRINGTON, a retired AID inspections and investigations chief for Latin America and the Caribbean, died of cancer April 6 at a hospital in Panama. He was 65.

Mr. Arrington was born in Midland, Texas and was graduated Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Texas. He received masters degrees from the University of Texas and Johns Hopkins University's School for Advanced International Studies.

He served with the army in Europe during World War II before moving to the Washington area and joining the State Department in 1950. In 1955, he joined a predecessor organization of AID and was sent to Paris. He was later assigned to Morocco, Saigon, Tunisia, Bangkok, Rio de Janeiro, Jordan, Guatemala, Cuba and Panama. He retired from AID in Panama in 1981.

He is survived by his wife Theresa, and his sister Patsy Lou Barton of Dallas.

MARGARET R.T. MORGAN, wife of retired ambassador George A. Morgan, died of cancer in Gainesville, Florida on June 27.

Mrs. Morgan was born in 1914 in British Columbia of American parents. She was graduated from the University of Arizona in 1933. The following year she worked in New York on the staff of the International House of the Institute of Pacific Relations and of the Twentieth Century Fund. From 1945 to 1951, she was chief of the Division of Public Liaison in the Department of State, and was given the Superior Service award for her work. From 1961 to 1964, she was special assistant of Trade Policy in the White House.

She accompanied her husband overseas to Tokyo and Abidjan. She taught English at the American International School in Vienna, Austria after her husband retired in 1969. The couple later moved to Florida where Mrs. Morgan became vice chairman of the Council of Diplomats of the Florida International Alliance, an organization that worked to provide better high school teaching about U.S. foreign policy and the Foreign Service.

She is survived by her husband, and her two daughters Anne and Gael.

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AFSA ♦ NEWS

Post-employment restriction under consideration in Congress

AFSA has taken initiatives to influence the drafting of the "Integrity in Post-Employment Act" currently being debated in the 100th Congress. The legislation restricts post-employment for senior people after leaving government service. No AFSA member would argue the need for effective ethics-in-government laws. But as presently amended, the Act bars government employees from working on behalf of an international organization of which the U.S. is a member for a period of 18 months. AFSA is actively seeking removal of this bar from H.R. 4917, the House version sponsored by Representative Barney Frank (D-MA).

AFSA strongly supports an amendment to the House bill offered by Representative Howard L. Berman (D-CA) in early July, that allows all government employees to represent, aid, or advise any international organization of which the United States is a member. This amendment has been approved in the subcommittee on Administrative Law and Governmental Relations and will be going before the full Judiciary committee very soon.

As explained in the July/August *AFSA News*, the measure currently being considered by the House was passed by the Senate. On April 19, Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) got a floor amendment accepted that includes international organizations under the definition of foreign or substantially foreign-controlled entities in S. 237, the Senate version of the Integrity in Post-Employment Act.

In the floor debates, Helms used the example of a Foreign Service officer who left the Department of State to work for the United Nations. Indications from Capitol Hill are that his fellow Senators did not think it worth fighting Helms on the floor but would wait to see what came out of committee this summer. AFSA received helpful comments on its position from Senate staff who followed the development of the original Act, which was sponsored by Senator Strom Thurmond (D-SC).

In AFSA's communications with both the Senate and the House, we relayed insights given by members in posts with international organizations. These examples contributed valuable arguments on how this particular restriction would hurt both our country's international standing and our influence on the direction international organizations may take. Such observations on the value of Foreign Service-trained Americans to the U.S. and to affiliate international entities are the kind Congress needs to hear from our members.

DC tax exclusion

The U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia has set a date for a status conference to discuss the case schedule of AFSA's lawsuit against the elimination of the income tax exclusion for Foreign Service officers.

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 the income tax. Senator Jesse Helms had the current law amended so that it specifically excludes members of the Foreign Service from coverage under the District law. Supreme Court justices, Congressional staffers, and certain executive officers are still exempt from D.C. income tax if domiciled elsewhere.

Nondisclosure suit will go to Supreme Court

"AFSA has the right to challenge the Government's use of nondisclosure agreements, because AFSA's purpose is to protect its members' interests," the U.S. District Court ruled on May 27. But it held that though federal agencies may have violated the law, the actual legislation banning the use of nondisclosure agreements is unconstitutional, and thus AFSA may not compel its enforcement.

As reported in the June *AFSA News*, AFSA and seven members of Congress had co-filed this lawsuit to prevent federal agencies from requiring employees to sign certain nondisclosure agreements. Because the forms are ambiguous and interfere with the right of Congress to obtain executive branch information, Congress banned their use. However, many government employees still were asked to sign the forms. AFSA asserted that the administration's continuing use, despite the ban, is a violation of the law.

After the suit was filed, but before the court issued its opinion, AFSA achieved a partial victory when William Webster, Director of Central Intelligence, issued a new nondisclosure form for use by all affected agencies as a step toward compliance with the law. The new form deletes the word "classifiable" which AFSA contends required employees to guess whether information will ever be subject to classification.

The new form was approved for implementation as of last March. However, AFSA learned that the department has in some cases continued to require employees to execute the old form or has refused to offer the new form.

The court based its May 27 decision on what it viewed as the president's role in overseeing national security information. The court said that since the president has broad discretion to regulate access to and disclosure of national security information, the statute impermissibly restricts the power of the president.

AFSA has appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court on the grounds that the district court erred in its opinion that the law is unconstitutional.

USUN employees face tax on government housing supplement

On October 9, 1988, the IRS will begin taxing the housing supplement currently accorded to certain employees posted to the State Department's United Nations mission (USUN). Employees residing in government-leased housing at USUN will also be taxed based on the department's rental costs. Given the exorbitant rents in New York, this will place a severe tax burden on employees posted to USUN and exacerbate the department's difficulties in recruiting employees for this critical post.

The IRS, after discussions with the department, decided not to make the new tax ruling retroactive, but this concession does not ease the personal tax burden of USUN personnel after October 9. Further detrimental impact would ensue from Senator Lawton Chiles' (D-FL) proposal to eliminate USUN housing supplements entirely. AFSA is working to block this legislation on Capitol Hill and wants the department to take action against the IRS ruling.

It must be noted that there have been abuses, identified by the recently appointed inspector general, Sherman M. Funk. According to a Jack Anderson and Joseph Spear column in *The Washington Post*, July 21, Mr. Funk has reported overspending on housing and improper use of official limousines among the USUN delegation. We agree that abuses should be corrected, but zeal to correct abuses should not lead to the elimination of housing allowances.

United Nations headquarters, New York. UN/Lois Conner

Unfortunately, the State Department's options on USUN housing for Foreign Service personnel posted in New York are limited because it is already committed to a number of costly long-term leases. While AFSA is sympathetic to the department's quandary, we think it is imperative that the United States maintain a strong presence in the United Nations and in other international organizations. If housing costs make it impossible for Foreign Service employees to serve at USUN, our international influence will be reduced and our status as a world power diminished.

Honduras incident review board convened without approved procedures

The April 7 attack on the U.S. Embassy annex in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, is under investigation by a State Department Accountability Review Board, according to the July *State* newsletter. AFSA believes the creation and convening of this board are in direct violation of the Collective Bargaining Agreement between AFSA and the department. AFSA does not dispute the department's right to determine accountability concerning a possible breach of security at a U.S. mission abroad. This right is clearly outlined in the Foreign Service Act of 1980. But the department is also obligated by the Collective Bargaining Agreement to negotiate the specific procedures governing the operation of such a board.

Despite repeated requests from AFSA Vice President Evangeline Monroe, the association has not received any information about the board or been given the right to formally negotiate procedures governing its operation. Because of the serious nature of an accountability investigation in this instance and the potential consequences of a finding by this board against an embassy employee, AFSA has filed an institutional grievance against the department, citing failure to negotiate. In order to safeguard the rights of Foreign Service employees in matters such as the Honduras incident, AFSA is seeking the immediate suspension of this board pending formal negotiations with the department.

Department moves to end Overseas Option

Employees overseas enrolled in the AFSPA Overseas Option must pay higher premiums as of January, 1989, when the State Department plans to discontinue this valuable benefit. It justifies its decision as a cost-cutting measure.

The Overseas Option is a low-cost health insurance plan offered by the American Foreign Service Protective Association to Foreign Service employees serving overseas. This plan was originally designed to wrap around the health benefits provided by the department under the Foreign Service Act. As a result of the plan's termination, employees overseas will be required to pay for unnecessary coverage that is already guaranteed to them by the Foreign Service Act. The department never officially informed AFSA about its plan.

AFSA plans to file suit regarding the termination of the Overseas Option. Individuals currently enrolled in the AFSPA Overseas Option are encouraged to contact AFSA and join as plaintiffs in a lawsuit. To date, there has been an impressive show of strength in response to this suggestion.

AID member comments invited on affirmative action plan

AID management has recently proposed a five-year affirmative action plan that AFSA does not favor. We support the spirit of the proposal, but not all of the suggested methods for achieving the desired results.

The most objectionable component of the plan involves the agency's ability to reach up to five names below the promotion cut-off line to select a designated minority person. In other words, if 30 were recommended for promotion, and the line were drawn at 15, AID could also promote number 20—over the heads of 16 - 19—if he or she were a designated minority. AFSA currently is not included in the planning for designated minority recruitment.

The rank-order system may be somewhat subjective but it is subjective for all employees on an equitable basis.

If you would like to comment on the affirmative action plan, or wish additional information, please let us know.

AID standing committee looks at selection boards, RIG investigations

The AID Standing Committee, along with AID employees at post and in Washington, is concerned that Selection Board members are not openly identified. The committee has requested that management provide AFSA with the names of all Selection Board members dating back to 1980. This information will enable AFSA to analyze patterns in the composition of AID Selection Boards and to use this information in the future.

In addition, the committee will monitor current Selection Boards. AFSA will obtain the names of all members on this year's AID Selection Boards and will provide this information to the field.

The Standing Committee also has been looking at the process by which AID RIG investigations are conducted. We are researching the procedures governing RIG investigations and the provisions for protecting employee rights.

Information has been requested from employees concerning their experience with RIG investigations worldwide. Once AFSA receives enough documentation, the Standing Committee will determine the best course of action to protect AID employee rights.

AID participation encouraged

The AID Standing Committee encourages more members to participate actively in AFSA. This solicitation is directed especially to members recently or soon to be assigned to Washington. The current Standing Committee members do their best on behalf of the membership, but are handicapped by lack of broad representation. Underrepresented participants include women, minorities, junior officers, and secretaries. Meetings are open to members without special invitation, Thursdays at noon, Room 3894 N.S.

Leave-sharing begins at State, AID

An innovative new leave-sharing program has begun for employees of both State and AID. AFSA bargained the regulations implementing the program, in sessions with both State and AID management. Negotiations with AID have been completed; an agreement with State is close to completion as of this writing, but is already in effect since AFSA—to permit employees to utilize this benefit as quickly as possible—allowed the department to initiate the program before the end of negotiations (any revisions resulting from the final agreement will be retroactive).

The leave-sharing program came from legislation sponsored by Representative Frank Wolf (R-VA) and passed by Congress in 1987. It provides for the transfer of employees' unused annual leave (not sick leave) to fellow employees who have personal emergencies but insufficient leave time. "Personal emergency" is defined as a medical or family emergency or other hardship situation likely to cause prolonged absence and result in loss of income.

AFSA's main concern in both sets of negotiations was the manner in which leave time would be solicited from possible donors. Both State and AID regulations as proposed would have forced employees approved for the leave-sharing program to forego their privacy and "advertise" for leave donations. AFSA's view was that employees should have the option of preserving their anonymity if they so desired, and both State and AID management agreed.

Another issue raised in both sets of negotiations was the lack of an appeal process. Neither agency considered the question of redress if an employee's application for leave-sharing was refused. At AFSA's urging, an appeal mechanism was included in both agreements.

DS employees' salary dispute

Working closely with a number of Diplomatic Security employees, AFSA has been able to help them obtain an equitable entry level salary.

Earlier this year, the Grievance Baord ruled favorably on a grievance, stating that the State Department did not follow the applicable regulations when arriving at an initial salary level for a Diplomatic Security employee. Prior to the Grievance Board's decision, a number of other Diplomatic Security employees had filed grievances over the same issue.

The State Department, as instructed by the Board, issued a new Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) under which the salaries of all D.S. employees who were appointed between August 1, 1985 and June 1, 1988 are to be reevaluated. Unfortunately, the new SOP also fails to reflect the applicable regulations and employees continue to be adversely affected.

In light of these developments, AFSA has assisted approximately 30 DS employees in preparing a group grievance, arguing that the new SOP continues to violate applicable regulations in determining initial salary rates for Diplomatic Security employees.

AFSA encourages department to improve pouch service

AFSA continues to receive periodic complaints from employees regarding pouch service. Association staff recently met with department officials to discuss pouch service and encouraged them to implement proposed improvements.

The department is investigating the cost of building or leasing a new mail facility in the metropolitan Washington area which will be operational by the summer of 1989. When the facility is established, automated sorting equipment will be installed to process all unclassified mail; classified mail will continue to be sorted at the main State building.

A division reorganization plan is in the works which would encourage mailroom employees to participate in training programs for the new automated equipment, and hopefully attract new employees. In addition, once a new mailroom is fully operational, a third State Department zip code would be designated.

Several changes over the past year have improved the quality of the pouch service. The Post Office agreed to assign a zip-code-plus-four number to each overseas post. This allows for greater accuracy in mechanically sorting mail, thereby reducing delivery time.

Additionally, a Computer Oriented Pouch and mail Exchange (COPE) program was introduced. Initial applications included purchasing, a locator database, an incoming pouch tracing system, and an electronic receipting system. However, this program is expensive and will be enhanced only as funds permit.

AFSA continues to monitor pouch service and will urge the department to implement corrective measures as necessary. When further improvements are made, we will inform the members.

Child-care planned

Congress recently gave the General Services Administration the authority to allot space in federal buildings for child-care facilities. AFSA is participating in a child-care working group consisting of labor and management officials from State, AID and ACDA. The group is exploring the feasibility of opening two centers, one in the Foggy Bottom area, the other close to the Foreign Service Institute.

In May 1988, the department issued a survey to assess the child-care needs of its working parents. This survey should aid in determining how to provide and maintain these facilites. There were some delays in the distribution of these surveys, both in Washington and overseas, which the department has since attempted to remedy. Anyone who has not received the survey through official channels can obtain one through AFSA. Although a deadline of August 31 has been set for responses, surveys received after that date will still be useful to the working group.

New AFSA Staffers

New AFSA employees (left to right): Jodie Booth, Executive Assistant; Chris Perine, Legal Assistant; Mari Radford, Membership Coordinator; Janet Schoumacher, Member Services Representative.

Journal Editor Appointed

We welcome Ann Luppi as editor of the Foreign Service Journal. Formerly managing editor of *Middle East Insight*, Ann comes to the Journal with experience in many aspects of publishing. She grew up in the Foreign Service and is a graduate of the International School of Islamabad, Pakistan, and Harvard.

2402 Report for 1987: Comments and Views of Exclusive Representative

The Foreign Service Act of 1980 requires the foreign affairs agencies to report to Congress annually on the implementation of the Act. The annual report is known as the 2402 Report. The law also provides for comments from the Exclusive Representative—AFSA, in the case of the Department of State. These comments were submitted to Congress in June 1988.

Summary: The Department of State in 1987 failed to consult fully with AFSA on developments affecting both employees and the stability of the Foreign Service. Differences over the budget crisis have aggravated a lack of rapport between management and labor. Problems in the relationship have been reflected in the increased number of Unfair Labor Practice (ULP) charges and institutional grievances AFSA filed in 1987. AFSA is particularly concerned that the department's implementation of the 1980 Foreign Service Act is weakening the Foreign Service and its ability to perform its duties as envisioned by the Act.

AFSA's relations with the State department have been turbulent in recent years because of AFSA's disagreement with the department's interpretation of the 1980 Foreign Service Act. AFSA believes that interpretation is misguided. Department policies forced large numbers of senior and class-one officers into early retirement. In many instances the exodus of officers represents the loss of persons with outstanding performance records who have years of training and expertise in foreign affairs. The loss of personnel reduces the department's ability to promote effective inter-agency coordination of U.S. foreign policy and wastes talent, training, and funds. The Agency for International Development has experienced a similar exodus of senior officers, although in smaller numbers.

Problems between AFSA and the department were exacerbated by the 1987 budget crisis. Anticipating a shortfall budget for 1988, the department developed a plan to cope with a shortfall by cutting back salaries and expenses and eliminating as many as 1257 positions.

AFSA believed this radical reorganization would severely restrict the ability of the department to fulfill its mission and have a long-term impact on the conduct of foreign affairs. The Association developed an alternative solution and identified economies in areas other than the termination of employees. State management largely ignored these suggestions. But Congress proved far more receptive; some of the Association's ideas were incorporated into the final version of the Authorization Bill.

Congress ultimately decided to adjust funding levels for FY 1988 slightly upwards—avoiding the need for large-scale cutbacks. AFSA welcomed this decision but is concerned about the department's continued determination to eliminate positions, on the grounds that the "budget summit"ceilings for FY 1989 will not allow adequate appropriations to fund needed positions. Thus, the department has continued to pursue some of the injurious proposals that were purportedly initiated only as a reaction to the budget crisis. The department has specifically targeted reductions in employee rights and benefits, contributing to more instability in Foreign Service careers.

Erosion of employee benefits. Less sweeping in scope than eliminating positions, but damaging in their own right, were cutbacks instituted by the department, again rationalized under the recent budget crisis:

● Last fall the department decided to eliminate "special differential pay and language incentives." Current State department regulations authorize the allocation of differential pay for certain positions in which employees are consistently required to maintain long or unusual hours. In September 1987, senior management officials were instructed to cease certifying positions for differential pay. AFSA was not given advance notice of the department's plans, and State agreed to negotiate only after AFSA had prepared an Unfair Labor Practice (ULP) charge and an institutional grievance against the department.

After the budget crisis eased, it appeared that the proposal to cut the differential would be shelved once and for all. However, the department later announced that it is going ahead with a modified version of its original plan which would reduce the differential payment for some employees and terminate it for others.

Despite a widely acclaimed study on the need to strengthen foreign language capability, early morning language classes were cut, and plans to reduce incentives to study hard languages continue.

● Senior officers are still another group singled out for reduction of benefits. Management severely curtailed the payment of senior officer performance pay, despite the fact that performance pay was intended to compensate for the limited tenure available to members of the Senior Foreign Service.

● The department continues to study a proposal to eliminate the special relationship with the American Foreign Service Protective Association (AFSPA) and has informed the insurer of its intention. AFSA believes that State will not save money if it cancels this contract. More than 2,680 Foreign Service employees who chose the overseas option will have to pay higher medical insurance premiums as a result of this cancellation.

AFSA believes that the department's interpretation of the 1980 Foreign Service Act is misguided.

Medical benefits. The department has not implemented certain provisions of the 1980 Act, but continues to apply the more restrictive provisions of the 1946 Act. A health care program to maintain the physical and mental health of employees and their families abroad, non-cosmetic dental care, and waivers on limits on payments for illness, injury or medical condition incurred or aggravated abroad were all authorized in the 1980 Act. It also eliminated outdated provisions prohibiting treatment for a condition resulting from "vicious habits, intemperance, or misconduct." In 1986, AFSA had proposed regulations to implement these provisions, but the department broke off negotiations, claiming that the proposal was outside the scope of bargaining.

Training. AFSA agrees that training

is vitally important to the future well-being of the Foreign Service and should not be cut. However, AFSA believes the department should worry more about training capability than about construction of facilities in a time of severe budget constraints. AFSA would like to see a new FSI campus, but it should not be the first priority.

Institutional Grievances and Unfair Labor Practice (ULP) charges. A more deeply rooted problem is a reluctance of management to consult with AFSA on other than the most superficial basis. AFSA increasingly finds it necessary to file ULP charges and institutional grievances as a means of negotiating with the department, since management choses to bypass AFSA rather than to adhere to the laws and regulations governing labor-management relations.

● In October 1987, AFSA filed an institutional grievance after the department refused to transmit several cables on AFSA's Congressional Outreach Program. State's action violated the Collective Bargaining Agreement, as well as the Foreign Service Act; it also contradicted past practice. Ultimately, the department concluded that AFSA's grievance was meritorious, and agreed to approve the cables for transmission.

● AFSA also filed and won an institutional grievance charging that management had violated law and regulation by refusing to negotiate changes in the State shuttle bus schedule.

Congress proved far more receptive; some of the Association's ideas were incorporated into the final version of the Authorization Bill.

● AFSA was forced to file a ULP charge with the Federal Labor Relations Authority in November 1987, after revisions to security regulations were issued without negotiating the revisions. The Association did not learn of these revisions until after they had been promulgated, and the department declined to suspend implementation of the new regulations despite AFSA's repeated insistence. After AFSA filed its ULP charge, the department agreed to negotiate and an agreement has now been reached.

Security issues and employee rights. The department continues to emphasize security safeguards, at times despite some highly intrusive aspects of its new provisions. AFSA is second to none in its concern over the protection of official secrets as well as the people of the Foreign Service, and applauds the department's efforts to bolster security where necessary. However, AFSA is concerned that efforts to improve security measures are not only sometimes wide of the mark but are undermining employee rights in the process. AFSA questions, for example, whether it is necessary for Foreign Service employees to report relationships with all foreign nationals—even those of closely allied countries. Similarly, AFSA questions the value of a recent proposal to establish a highly dubious psychological testing program for all employees assigned to the Soviet Union or Eastern Bloc countries.

The past year has shown a sharp increase in the number of employee investigations by the Bureau of Diplomatic Security. This would not be a matter of concern if it appeared that substantive circumstances dictated this upswing, but AFSA's experience representing employees under investigation has indicated that this is not the case. In many instances the department simply seems to be engaging in "fishing expeditions," and even legitimate investigations have been plagued by procedural lapses and unnecessary delays. Nonadherence to departmental guidelines has resulted in numerous violations of employee rights, and the constant delays in the completion of investigations may result in irreparable career damage even if an employee is ultimately cleared.

The Association has also been involved in cases in which employees under investigation have been denied their statutory right to AFSA representation and has filed an institutional grievance in one such case. Equally disturbing were instances in which employees were effectively denied their right to review when dismissed for cause. Employees under investigation by the department were stripped of their security clearances and termination procedures initiated because the employees could not carry out their duties without a clearance. AFSA is conducting negotiations with the department, which would establish the grievability of security clearance revocations.

Grievances. The number of grievances filed rose in 1987 due to the mass filing of grievances by officers at the FS-01 level who have been selected out for failure to win promotion into the Senior Foreign Service. AFSA believes that the involuntary selection out of FS-01 and senior officers is a direct result of inappropriate implementation of the Foreign Service Act, but it has been unable to convince the department's management to reconsider its policy of granting an insufficient number of limited career extensions to seniors and of providing too few opportunities for promotion for FS-01's to the senior level.

The Association is concerned that efforts to improve security measures are not only wide of the mark but are undermining employee rights.

As has been the case in past years, approximately 25 percent of the grievances are the result of the department's failure to maintain accurate employee personnel records. With the continuing decrease in promotional opportunities it is crucial to an employee's advancement that achievements and potential are properly documented and made available to promotion boards. Over the past eight years AFSA has represented employees in numerous grievances where the department failed to submit evaluation reports, awards or even entire files for promotion review. The majority of grievances caused by administrative error are settled without recourse to the Foreign Service Grievance Board. AFSA has cooperated in lessening the burden on the Grievance Board by encouraging settlements with the department whenever possible.

Conclusion. All in all, 1987 was a low point in AFSA's relationship with the management of the department. Given the steady downward trend evident since the impact of the department's implementation of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 became clear, AFSA is deeply concerned that 1988 will be worse yet. Even more important, AFSA fears that it will be unable to protect the Foreign Service against the corrosive effects of a management that appears indifferent to employee morale.
(As we go to press, AFSA is preparing to take legal action against the department for withdrawing its support for the overseas option in medical insurance. See related information, page 59.)

Eagleburger speaks on future of Foreign Service

Lawrence S. Eagleburger kicked off the American Foreign Service Association's professional issues luncheon series on July 22 by urging the next administration—Republican or Democratic—to study the past and not just look to the future when planning new directions for U.S. foreign policy.

"We must learn from the lessons of this century sufficiently so that we do not take them with us or repeat them in the 21st century," said the former career Foreign Service officer, who was Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, 1980-84.

Eagleburger pointed to the present "excessive euphoria" over detente with the Soviet Union—he urged government officials to recall the experience of the early 1970s, when high hopes were not enough to achieve strategic arms limitation success. Eagleburger was then-Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's "institutional insider" and assistant on SALT I.

Eagleburger asserted that the Foreign Service should have a key role in the next administration's foreign policy plans, as the part of the U.S. government most able to identify and to propose solutions for such pressing concerns. What the Foreign Service can do best to help the new administration formulate effective foreign policy is to give "consistency, professionalism, and honest-to-God tough advice to its political betters," he urged. The Foreign Service must then have the discipline to carry out policies, even those it doesn't like.

Former Under Secretary of Political Affairs Lawrence S. Eagleburger at the Foreign Service Club, July 22.

Eagleburger also pointed out that recent challenges to an effective Foreign Service—including shortfall budgets, possible overemphasis on security issues to the detriment of political and economic reporting, and Congressional micromanagement rather than substantive approaches to foreign policy—are directly related to the lessened ability of the president to run the foreign policy of the United States.

Speaking before a distinguished audience of Foreign Service officers and other government leaders, Eagleburger also cautioned the next administration to prepare new ways of addressing the Atlantic alliance and relations with Japan. "We must think through and develop long-term strategies for pushing forward U.S. interests through cooperative, multilateral planning with our allies," he said. He emphasized that the effectiveness and clout of modern multilateral institutions, such as NATO, OECD, IBRD, and GATT, are in jeopardy, partially because the United States "has lost the rudder of commitment to steer these multilateral institutions," which came into being to prevent some of the excesses of nationalism witnessed in this century.

Not enough has been done by the United States to prepare American businesses for the single market the European Community will implement in 1992, Eagleburger believes. Protectionism is also a worry, he added; "America is not willing enough to tell Europe our ideas about the process by which they should build the single market." The concern is the shock that will ensue if American business were locked out of competing in the single market.

Specifically on Japan, he stressed his view that current talk about convincing Japan to pay for its own defense is dangerous. "We should remove ourselves from the question of defense-burden sharing and instead think of ways to bring Japan into a more active development role in the 21st century." Japan should assume some of the nation-building responsibilities the United States took on for itself in 1945.

"The new administration must expand the American vision of the conditions we are facing into the 21st century," he said, mentioning Third World debt and the Western technology revolution as two potential sources for widening the rift between rich and poor nations . "We should manage both in order to reduce rather than increase disparities," he advised. □

Members wishing to be informed of future luncheon speakers and discussions may telephone AFSA Coordinator for Professional Issues Dick Thompson or Administrative Secretary Karen Dent, at 338-4045, or write us.

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