

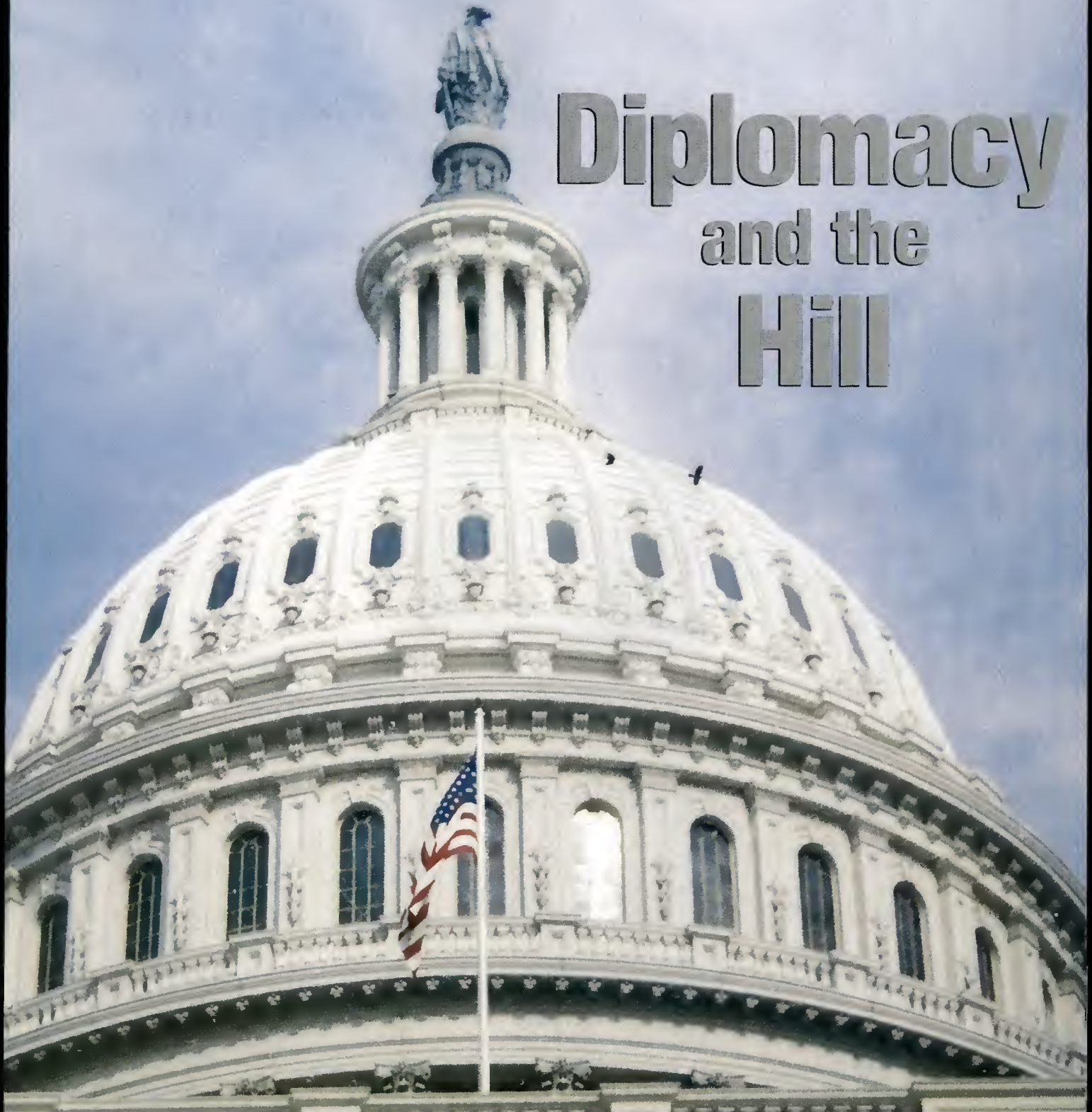
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Diplomacy and the Hill





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A Message to the Next President

The next President of the United States will need a strong Foreign Service to implement his foreign policies and meet his strategic goals in the world at large. At no time since the end of World War II has there been a greater need for a properly staffed and funded Foreign Service. Yet the Foreign Service is in trouble. Budget cuts and forced early retirements of some of our most valued officers have taken their toll. Strengthening the Foreign Service and using it as an important element of national security will help the President maintain our country's leadership and assure its prosperity in a multipolar world where our friends and allies have achieved economic parity.

Foreign Affairs Challenges. The next President will have to do more with less. As we enter an era of shifting alliance relationships and competition for global resources the President must have a Foreign Service ready to capitalize through adroit diplomacy on America's political, economic and military strength. American leadership is needed to engage European and Japanese economic cooperation toward a healthier global economy. Whereas in the past the United States has been able to impose its will or allocate vast resources, in the future we will have to rely more on the tools of diplomacy—international negotiations, persuasion and coalition building.

What the Foreign Service offers. The Foreign Service offers the next President its expertise in negotiations and analysis of international affairs. It has the linguistic, interpersonal and intercultural skills needed to defend American interests against foreign competition. It provides a high degree of professional competence in such important areas as arms control, East-West relations, Middle East conflicts, Japanese economic growth, security and economic relationships with Europe, democracy and economic development in Third World countries, counterterrorism, narcotics, and environmental and scientific concerns.

Problems of the Foreign Service. In the eight years since the passage of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, the Department of State has embarked on a misguided program to shrink the Foreign Service at its mid-career and senior levels, forcing the involuntary retirement of hundreds of competent, experienced Foreign Service officers. These skilled professionals have not been replaced, their expertise has been lost to national service, and key positions in our embassies abroad and in Washington are left vacant for extended periods. The process must stop and the Foreign Service must be rebuilt. The problem is made worse by budget cuts. Regardless of how the next administration deals with the budget crisis, it should not continue the current starvation diet on which American diplomacy now barely lives. There must be a better way. No matter how severe the budget situation becomes, the next administration must ensure that the Department of State and the Foreign Service are adequately funded to do their job.

Political Appointees. The American Foreign Service Association endorses the tradition of partnership between political leadership and the career service. AFSA only asks that political appointees also understand this tradition. AFSA's concern is that the numbers of political appointees continue to increase while the size of the Service decreases. The damage to the career service is apparent. The issue goes beyond who gets which ambassadorial post. Political appointees are placed at all grade levels, either for reasons of patronage or ideology.

A Loyal Service. The Foreign Service is not partisan. It is loyal to the political leadership and committed to providing non-partisan, unbiased support. The Foreign Service offers the next President the skill and experience in foreign affairs he needs to succeed. Above all, the Foreign Service is composed of professionals who take pride in their service to the country.

What is Needed.

- AFSA recommends that the President consider a strong Foreign Service an important element of national security—the first line of defense in peacetime.
- AFSA urges the President to take the lead in persuading Congress to provide adequate funding for the Foreign Service.
- AFSA recommends a quality control process for ambassadorial appointments and the top positions in the Department, for both political and career appointees, and a stop to the placement of political appointees at lower levels.
- AFSA proposes that the President adopt these steps to make the Foreign Service an example in restoring faith in public service as an attractive and prestigious vocation for the best our country has to offer.

— This message was prepared by the AFSA Governing Board and delivered to each of the Presidential candidates in September.



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Cover photo by Patty J. Meier

Diplomacy and the Hill

People working in Congress and in State are often misunderstood. In this issue, a series of articles presents various sides of the cultural gap and some suggestions for bridging the divide.

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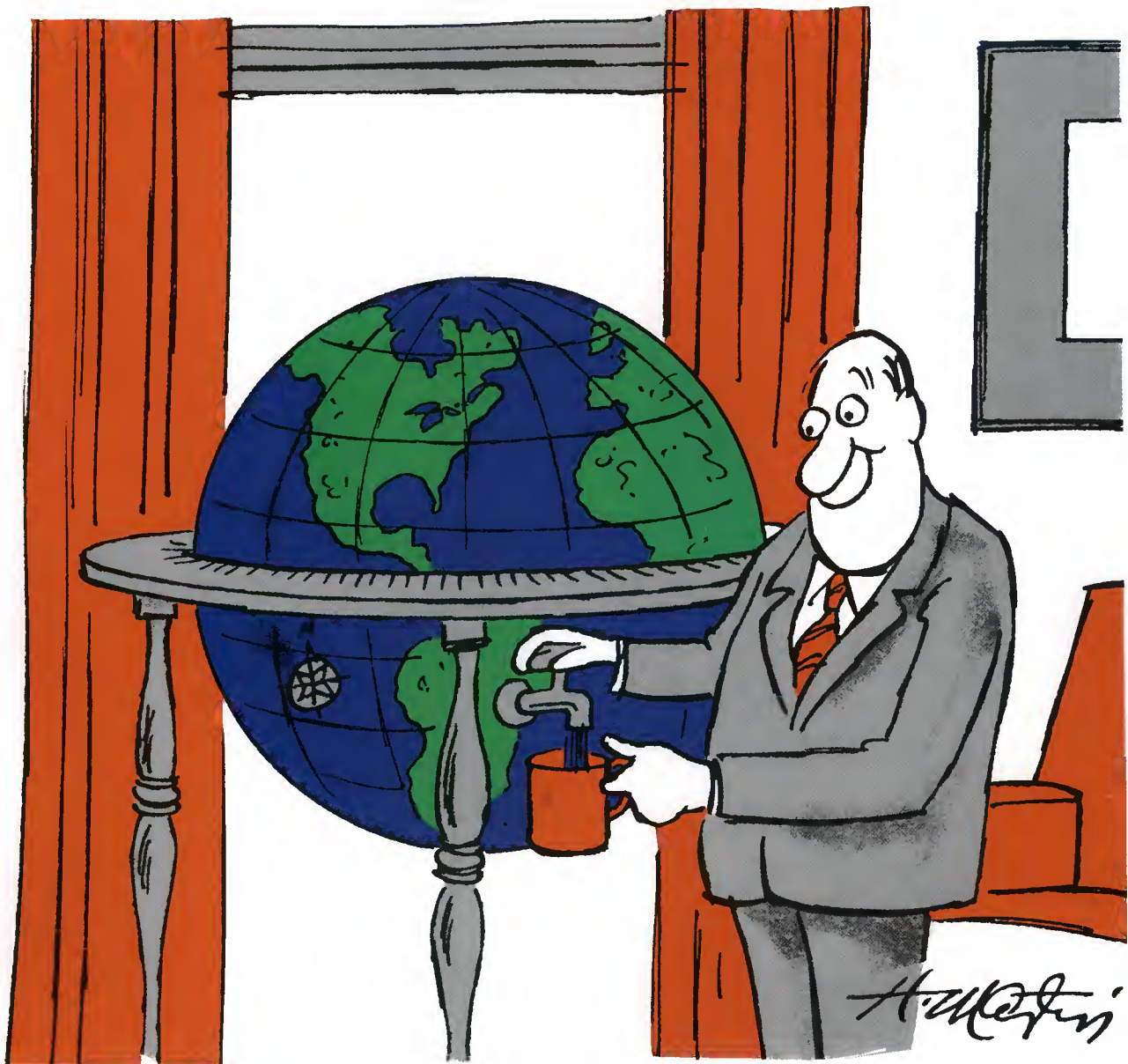
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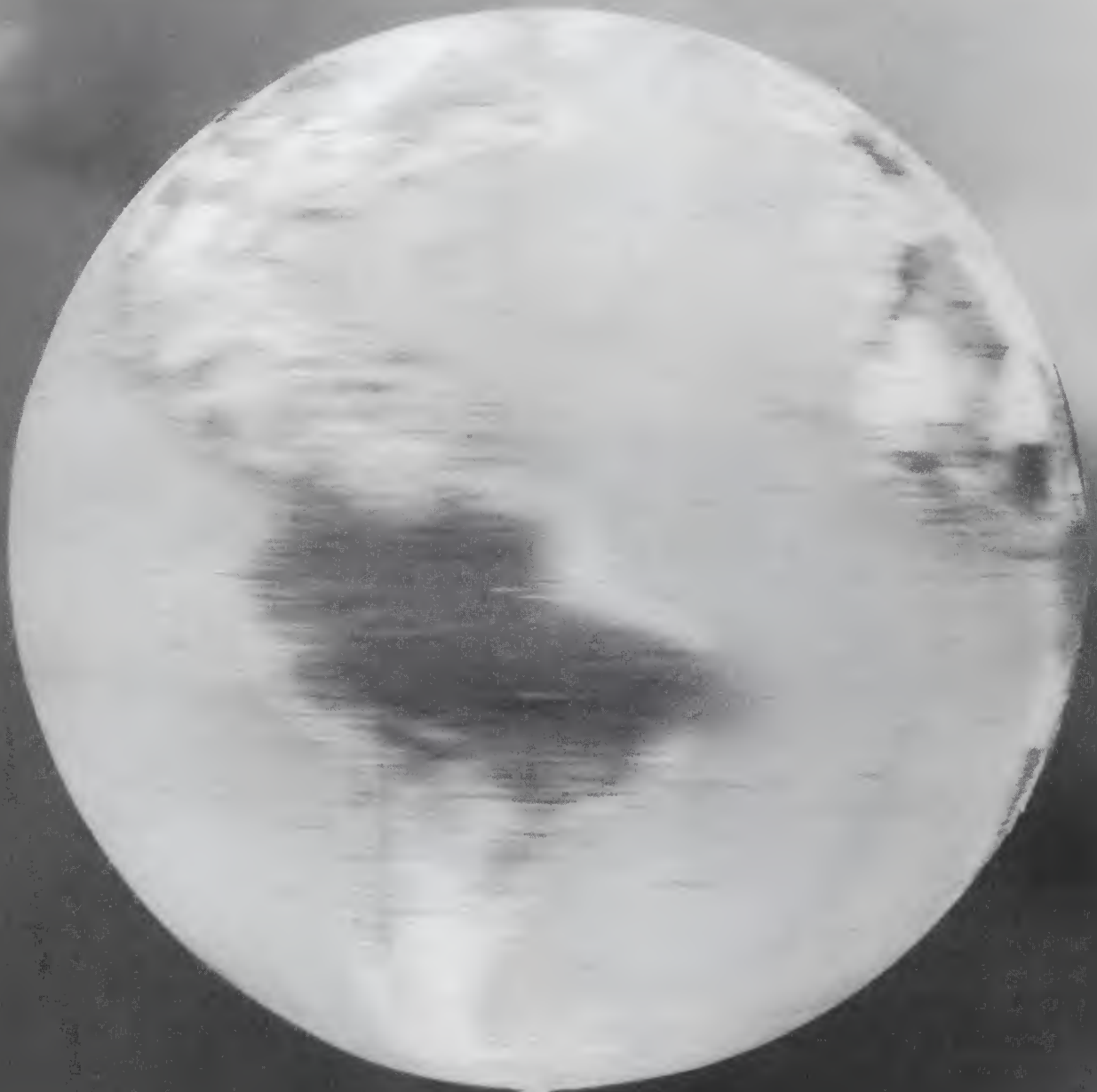


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Foreign Service Politics

The most sought-after party favors are ambassadorships. The Reagan presidency has been lavish . . . in handing out these grace-and-favor appointments. During the Reagan administration, 37 percent of U.S. ambassadors have been political appointees—7 percent higher than in any administration in the past three decades, according to State Department figures.

The average for such presidential appointments is 30 percent or fewer, with Jimmy Carter coming in at a virtuous record of 25 percent. But now the last of the Reagan ambassadorial appointments are in a receiving line, awaiting the statutory advice and consent of the Senate.

Since all ambassadors have to offer their resignations after the inauguration, it would seem the new appointees would hardly get to where they're going before they'd have to come back. Still, even such short tenure has its advantages. The sacred law of the Foreign Service is "once an ambassador, always an ambassador." No matter how brief the posting, it entitles the envoy forever after to be styled ambassador.

Sarah Booth Conroy in The Washington Post, July 24

Secretary Shultz tentatively decided late last year on a top-level reshuffle that would have assigned some of the State Department's most important posts to diplomats whom Shultz had come to regard as among the top performers of the Foreign Service.

"Operation Big Switch," as the proposed changeover informally was known, would have seen Ronald Spiers, undersecretary of state for management, become ambassador to Canada, with Thomas Pickering, ambassador to Israel, replacing him in the management job. In terms of personal rank, Pickering and Spiers are the two highest-ranking members of the Foreign Service.

William Brown, ambassador to Thailand, was tabbed to replace Pickering in Tel Aviv, and Thomas Niles would have been reassigned from the embassy in Canada to become assistant secretary for intelligence and research. Niles would have replaced Morton Abramowitz, slated to become ambassador in India.

However, the shifts did not take place because of objections from several quarters as the outlines of Shultz's plan became known. In some cases, the opposition was political. Spiers, for example, has made ene-

mies among White House staffers who control patronage and have expressed annoyance at his frequent public criticisms of the Reagan administration's practice of giving what some consider an inordinately large number of ambassadorships to political appointees. . . .

But, State Department officials said, the biggest problem was posed by congressional leaders who contended that it was inappropriate and potentially wasteful to make so many high-level changes during the last year of a presidential administration.

"Shultz . . . was reminded that last year the department found itself in a severe budgetary crunch that required a last-minute bailout by Congress," [one senior department official said.] "So the argument was made that the State Department should save its money and not spend it to move around a lot of people, who might have wound up spending only a few months in their new jobs before someone decided to move them again."

What happens to the career officers will be watched closely in the department as a sign of whether the tradition of promoting deserving Foreign Service officers will continue without regard to which party is in power.

John M. Goshko in The Washington Post, September 1

Fresh Recruits

The United States Foreign Service of the late 1980s [is] a "different crowd" from the service of decades past, its director general, George Vest, said.

On average, those joining the corps of about 4,500 Foreign Service officers today are 31 years old and more often than not have come to the service from other careers as diverse as science and law, Vest said.

Those representing the United States abroad reflect the attitudes of a society increasingly given to dabbling and soul-searching. "This is very characteristic of today's society," he said. "Today people go through college, come out and they don't make up their minds right away. They tend to maybe get a law degree, a graduate degree, do some teaching and begin to get their thoughts together. Young people today just don't sign on for life fast." As a result, the Foreign Service is becoming infused with valuable and varied expertise.

Today's Foreign Service is also more repre-

sentative of the society it represents. About a third of the incoming Foreign Service officers are women; a few decades ago women in the Service were rare. About 6 percent of the incoming officers each year are black. In hopes of increasing that figure, [the department] is conducting recruiting drives at historically black universities, although Vest acknowledges that it still has a long way to go. He went on to say that the service hopes to attract other minorities.

Vest, a former United States representative at the European Economic Community, recalled his class when he entered the service in 1947: "There were approximately 42 of us. There was one woman; there were no minorities. We were beginning to break the sound barrier because a majority of us did not come from Ivy League colleges. Most of us were coming out of the war and had not had jobs. We did not have enough background in economics, and we did not have much facility for languages."

The New York Times, August 30

Pay Gap View


There are 242.2 million people in this country. About 2.8 million of them work for the U.S. government. Meaning most don't.

Nothing better illustrates the understanding gap than the so-called pay gap. . . . The pay gap is how much Uncle Sam allegedly underpays civil servants compared to employees in the private sector. According to government data, the gap is now 26 percent. Both sides agree that is a lot. That is where the agreement ends.

Nonfederal workers have trouble with the pay gap because they don't understand the professional, high-technology nature of the federal government compared to the overall U.S. labor market.

The private sector has millions of low-paying jobs that simply don't exist in government. One national pizza chain has 85,000 drivers. Uncle Sam has no pizza delivery service. Nor does the government run many textile mills, barber shops, or single-family farms or have people addressing envelopes at home, or working as short-order cooks.

On the other hand, Montgomery Ward has no air traffic controllers. McDonald's doesn't need nuclear weapons specialists. Jiffy Lube has no diplomatic corps. People outside of government who engrave and print \$20 bills often wind up in a federal



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The two labor markets are different. That is why up to one is down to another. Comparing federal and private pay is complex. If people realize the government is different, the pay gap would make more sense.

If U.S. workers in this high-cost, high-wage area realized how absurd (even if true) a 26 percent pay gap sounds to a North Dakotan making \$16,157, or a Californian averaging \$21,998, they could better understand why the public thinks Federal workers are overpaid, and why nobody runs for president promising a 26 percent Federal pay raise.

*Mike Causey in The Washington Post,
August 30*

Justice and Diplomacy

To a degree unthinkable a few years ago, the Justice Department is investigating and prosecuting citizens of other nations, including heads of state and their top advisers.

In many cases, the Justice Department's role has taken on elements of diplomacy as it is forced to weigh the needs of American foreign policy in determining whether to bring criminal cases. The department has recently tightened its procedures to prevent prosecutors from undermining the work of the State Department and intelligence agencies.

Under the new policies, the possible indictment of a foreign official will be presented to an inter-agency panel, including representatives of the State Department, the Defense Department and the Central Intelligence Agency, at a relatively early stage of the investigation.

Among the questions to be addressed: How will an indictment affect American national security and economic interests? Will criminal charges make it less likely, as in the Noriega case, that a foreign leader will step down peacefully? Will they compromise intelligence operations and American diplomats abroad?

"Our purpose is to make sure that all competing views are thoroughly advocated and understood," said Assistant Attorney General Edward Dennis Jr., head of the criminal division. "In some cases there is a compelling public responsibility to go forward with a case. In other cases, the foreign policy implications may overwhelm the criminal justice issues. Our role is changing," he said. "We've always worn the policeman's cap. Now we have to wear the hat of the statesman, too."

*Philip Shenon in The New York Times
August 28*

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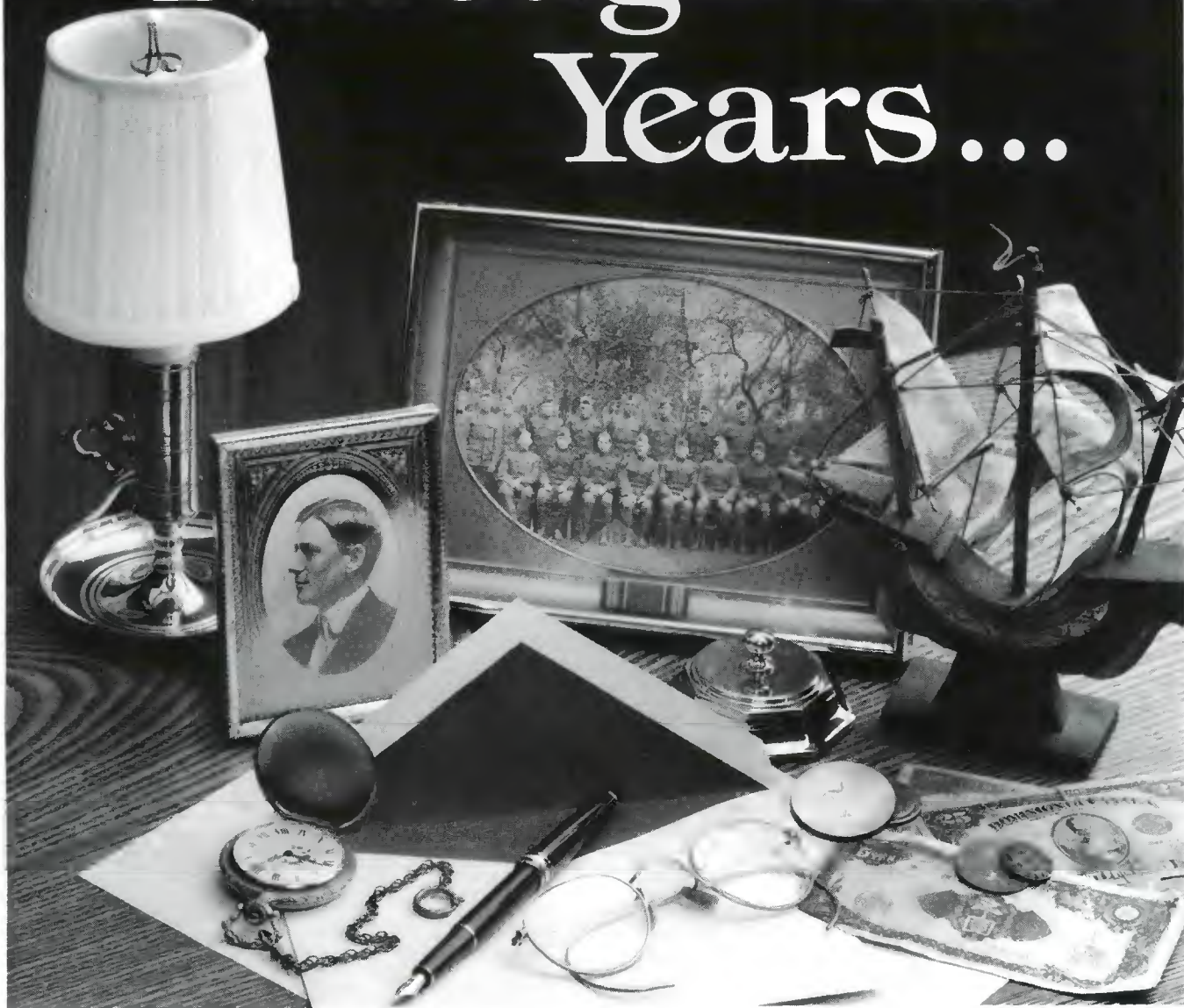
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Foreign Service Journal, November 1978: "As I see it, it's not life overseas that wives object to so much, it's that they perform hard work and don't get any pay for it. Baxter, we are going to solve the problem by employing the wives."

"I don't think Congress will approve the budget, sir. Not when they have been getting the work from the wives all these years for free."

"It's not going to cost any more, Baxter. You see, that's the beauty of my plan. We are going to RIF the husbands and hire the wives."

"My God, sir, you can't have some art history major doing analytical political reporting."

"They aren't going to do any political reporting, Baxter. They are going to do what they have always done—run women's club charity projects, give dinners and receptions, pack and unpack, hassle with servants."

"But who will carry on the regular work of the Foreign Service?"

"The men—as volunteers. Everyone will do exactly what they were doing before,

only the women will get the salary checks."

"The Foreign Service Wives Rebellion, 1978"
by Jane Beckman

Foreign Service Journal, November 1963: The Federal service in Washington would stagger a Byzantine bureaucrat. There are 21,000 clerks, 1,100 messengers, 5,600 stenographers, 9,600 typists, 3,900 accountants, 281 internal revenue agents, 3,900 lawyers, 1,600 intelligence specialists, 1,475 statisticians, 1,900 economists and 173 historians. State makes a relatively modest contribution to those multitudes—6,468. Defense comes first, with 74,613 employees. Congress, "an outfit rather fond of swinging a budget cutter's axe," has 21,982. [1988 figures would stagger anyone, Byzantine bureaucrat or not.]

Washington Post's Potomac Magazine

Foreign Service Journal, November 1938: American Foreign Service officers start out with several handicaps which officers of other world powers do not have to cope with. Other countries have built up

foreign office families for generations. The son follows the father's footsteps and is trained from childhood for this service. These countries maintain special academies of training for such positions.

Uncle Sam's representative must be sociable and generous . . . During office hours the officer must listen to all kinds of human suffering. We hear little about these wocs and plenty about the good times. Officers perform many heroic tasks but very seldom does anyone hear about them. They are trying to do their very best to put us and our accomplishments in a good light before other nations and to keep us informed and free from entanglements. Yet, we criticize them and hamper them in the performance of their various difficult and dangerous tasks.

If we compare the foreign officers of other nations with ours and compare what their government and people do for them and how we hamper ours, we realize how lucky and proud we may be of our representatives and of the State Department.

Press Clipping, Washington Star

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Books

Third World Issues

Soviet Power and the Third World. By Rajan Menon. Yale University Press, 1987.

East-West Tensions in the Third World. Edited by Marshall Shulman. Norton, 1987.

The Struggle for the Third World. By Jerry F. Hough. Brookings Institute, 1987.

The Challenge to U.S. Policy in the Third World. By Thomas Thornton, Westview Press, 1987.

These four books focus on the nature of competition between the United States and the Soviet Union—a competition that spills into the Third World. Following World War II, the United States launched its policy of containment, as well as far-flung foreign aid programs, to ensure Western precedence throughout nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The Soviets made parallel efforts of their own. Recently, regional issues have moved rapidly toward the forefront of the Soviet agenda. The sequence

of Reagan-Gorbachev summit meetings has included talks on conflicts in Central America, Southern Africa, Afghanistan, the Horn of Africa, and Southeast Asia. The Persian Gulf has emerged as another area of tension, challenging U.S. and Soviet policymakers to find common ground that is also acceptable to non-aligned nations in the region.

Rajan Menon's *Soviet Power and the Third World* concludes that the West has had little to fear in terms of expanding Soviet hegemony. Menon divides postwar Soviet policy toward the Third World into three phases: 1945-53, when the burdens of war recovery precluded major initiatives abroad; 1954-69, when the Soviets aimed to win over new regimes with economic aid and arms transfers; and 1970 to the present, when new Soviet ability to project military power has been coupled with a willingness to intervene in the developing world.

During the 1970s, Soviet policymakers believed that certain key trends favored socialist revolutions. Radical Third World ideology was ascendant, some right-wing governments were toppled, and American con-

fidence in overseas ventures was badly shaken by Vietnam. The Soviet Union responded with massive arms transfers to selected Third World regimes. Soviet motives were easily identified: to gain influence with military elites who often held political reins of power as well; to curry favor for Soviet policy objectives elsewhere; and to win access to ports and airfields. Soviet initiatives in Ethiopia, Angola, and Afghanistan reflected all of these objectives.

Menon argues that the Soviets, since 1980, have learned discouraging lessons about buying friends with conventional arms. Third World clients have proven too fickle, too often. A number of regimes are questioning socialist economic prescriptions in light of the Soviet Union's own economic stagnation. The impasse in Afghanistan severely damaged Soviet prestige and credibility. Mozambique, for example, is liberalizing its economy while seeking Western aid and investment, evidently in recognition of where its genuine interests lie. For the future, we can expect the Soviets to be far more judicious in their overseas ventures. Most importantly, Western na-

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tions should take satisfaction in observing that key Third World powers—Argentina, Brazil, India, Nigeria, and Indonesia—are well along a capitalist path of development.

Various aspects of the Soviet competition in the developing world are explored in the six essays contained in Marshall Shulman's *East-West Tensions in the Third World*. Perhaps the most provocative chapter is Jorge Dominguez's analysis of United States, Soviet, and Cuban behavior in Latin America. He argues that the legacy of the Monroe Doctrine has served the interests of both the East and West. The Soviets retain considerable flexibility without hard and fast obligations in their relations with Latin regimes and revolutionary movements. Cuba can operate in the region with considerable autonomy, despite its economic dependence on Soviet subsidies. The United States benefits from ambiguity in Soviet-Cuban defense commitments, and the opportunity, yet unused, to strike independent bargains with Cuba.

Dominguez points out that Cuba, not the Soviet Union, traditionally has been first to support radical revolution in Latin

America. But the Soviets have followed up with infusions of military and economic aid once revolutionary movements have taken hold. Since 1980, Soviet activism in Central America has outstripped the longer-running and more ideologically oriented Cuban initiatives in the region. The result, for the United States, is a new set of security concerns which divert American military resources from Europe and East Asia.

Jerry Hough's *The Struggle for the Third World* is the product of an eight-year study of Soviet academic debates about foreign policy toward the developing world. He draws heavily on writings in leading Soviet journals, publications from the Soviet Union's Institute of World Economics and International Relations, and interviews with more than 200 Soviet scholars. Hough finds that leading Soviet thinkers have come to challenge much of the dogma associated with Marxist-Leninist theory. Many have admitted that capitalistic economies in the Third World exhibit faster economic growth rates than those proceeding along a socialist course. Other academicians argue that the record of Third World events refutes

Marx's historical dialectic that begins with communalism and passes through stages of slaveholding, feudalism, capitalism, and socialist revolution. Such reexamination of traditional theories has led Soviet scholars to view Third World policy options much more practically. Various schools of thought have emerged, mostly based on some measure of support for national liberation movements sympathetic to the Soviet cause.

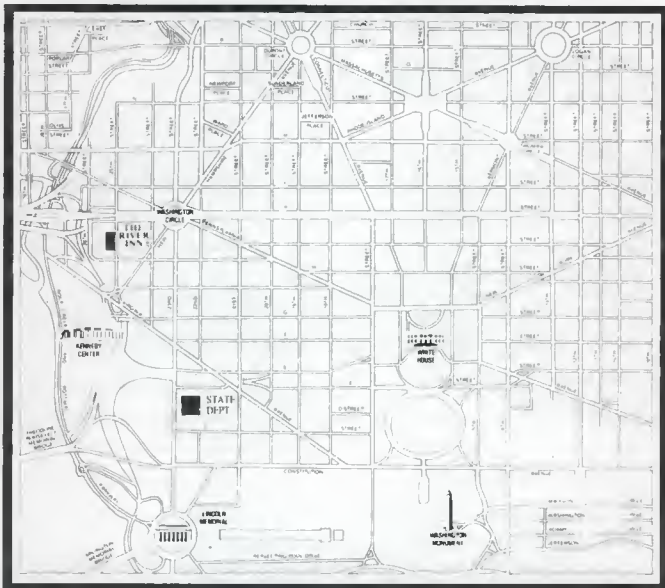
Sophisticated Soviet analysts recognize that their foreign policy should be a blend of competition and cooperation with the West. Third World ventures should therefore be viewed carefully in light of material costs and the risks of provoking a superpower confrontation.

Hough presents us with a gracefully written compendium that lays out remarkable diversity in Soviet academic thinking. The problem with this type of analysis, which he freely admits, is the evident divergence between scholarly writings and actual Soviet practice. He firmly believes that we should side with moderates in the Soviet Union, advocating U.S. policy in the Third World that "avoids either unilateral accom-

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modation or all-out confrontation.”

Where does the competition leave us? Thomas Thorton, in *The Challenge to U.S. Policy in the Third World*, advocates a policy of devolution, in which regional groups of states take on increasing responsibility for their own interests. We should promote regional interests in a manner that coincides with our own interests, which in turn range from resisting Soviet-inspired threats to fostering economic growth. We will do best if we work through emergent groupings such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the Gulf Cooperation Council, the Contadora Group, and the Organization of African Unity. Thorton does not rule out U.S. military intervention in the Third World when necessary, but he sets a high standard for such action: a given threat must vitally affect national security, the threat cannot be resolved by any measures short of military intervention, and if U.S. involvement is not certain to be effective then a failed attempt must be preferable to inaction.

Thorton's volume is especially timely when read in the context of such recent

books as Paul Kennedy's *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, which suggests re-evaluation of U.S. policy in the wake of a relative decline in U.S. wealth and influence. Indeed, Thorton begins from this very premise, and several of his recommendations have been echoed by others. These books advocate that in the years to come, U.S. administrations should consult more closely with Third World regimes, Europe and Japan should participate more actively in decision-making that affects worldwide security interests, we should build a strong domestic consensus for Third World policies, and U.S. officials should rein in occasionally excessive rhetoric.

—CHRISTOPHER MURRAY

Success in Diplomacy

Diplomacy and the American Democracy.
By David D. Newsom, *Indiana University Press, 1988.*

David Newsom's highly readable guide to American diplomacy is addressed primarily to thoughtful citizens outside the for-



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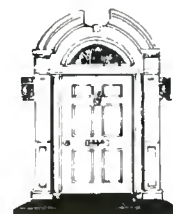
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eign affairs community whose concern over perceived shortcomings in America's diplomatic performance is not always matched by knowledge of how the system actually works. Newsom not only describes the system but also makes the critical point that success in foreign affairs depends at least as much on the message as on the messenger—that particular lesson will come as no surprise to members of the foreign affairs community who on occasion have had to work with ill-chosen policies. For them, however, there is a second and equally important lesson—that "U.S. diplomats must live with democracy's anomalies" and, that by implication, they will be better diplomats if they understand the ways in which the American democracy shapes and constrains policy outcomes.

It is a lesson Newsom is particularly well qualified to teach. A former assistant secretary, undersecretary, and three-time ambassador, he has melded his extensive experience into a sound analytical framework that sets American diplomacy firmly in its political and social context. In this book, which covers everything from basic American attitudes in foreign affairs to the appropriate use of intelligence, Newsom illustrates key points with well-chosen anecdotes drawn from his own career. Whether writing about foreign assistance, human rights, or the problems of trying to explain U.S. actions to a skeptical audience, Newsom offers common-sense advice and fresh insights. This is a book that belongs on every Foreign Service-related reading list. It might even help members of the Foreign Service disprove the oft-repeated accusation that they understand other societies better than their own.

—ANDREW L. STEIGMAN

Banana Diplomacy

Banana Diplomacy. By Roy Gutman. Simon and Schuster, 1988.

When the Reagan administration announced it was "on a roll" in foreign policy, there were two notable omissions: the Middle East and Central America. This book, by the national security correspondent of *Newsday*, explains one of those gaps, the tragicomedy of American policy toward Nicaragua during the Reagan years.

Gutman has paid his dues, with frequent trips to Central America, doggedly asking people like Tom Enders, Phil Habib, and Craig Johnstone the right questions, get-

ting on-the-record answers, and putting it all together in a coherent, absorbing account. Foreign Service readers will not know whether to laugh or cry. You probably should do both.

As recounted by Gutman, clearly no fan of Elliott Abrams, the debacle of U.S. policy in Central America is the natural result of desire defeating common sense. In human affairs, this results in unwanted pregnancies; in foreign policy, this creates low-level wars with no conceivable end and breakdown of confidence in the entire government apparatus.

Gutman painstakingly goes through the whole debacle, including the Iran arms—contra connection, of what happens when ideology replaces professionalism. As he recounts it, it is especially perilous when a superpower has a president who demands action on things he and his ideological followers believe in but know very little about. It is compounded by an administration that is frequently at war with itself. The passive role of George Shultz described by Gutman will not enhance his historic position.

The author raises important questions about what Foreign Service officers knew, when they knew it, and what they did about it. He suggests other disasters in the making (not even touching Panama and the Noriega episode). It is not a pretty story, but it is well told, and should be read by Foreign Service people who care about their country and their profession.

—JIM ANDERSON

By Our Readers

An Introduction to Kurdish Rugs and Other Weavings. By William Eagleton. *Interlink, Brooklyn, NY, 1988.*

More than 30 years of collecting and research stand behind the author's comprehensive classification of Kurdish rugs, including a major study on Kurdish history, religion, and society. No one is more qualified for this task than Ambassador Eagleton, whose career has been devoted to the region. The Kurds, who rank among the most imaginative and prolific of weavers, have been accessible to only a few of those who study textiles. This book, illustrated with 136 color plates, traces the sources and evolution of Kurdish rugs.

Hosting Soviet Visitors, A Handbook. Edited by Yale Richmond. *Delphi Press, Washington, D.C., 1988.*

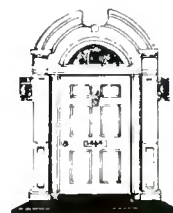
This handbook is for anyone interested in hosting Soviet citizens or in learning about programs for U.S.-Soviet exchange. It is designed as a reference guide for both the professional seasoned in U.S.-Soviet exchanges, and those whose interest in the field is new. The author is a veteran Foreign Service officer who was involved with such exchanges for 20 years.

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Letters

Don't Change VOA

I recognize with gratitude Bernie Kamenske's long and honorable service to USIA as news director of the Voice of America. Unfortunately, in his letter (JOURNAL, September), he focuses on only one of three articles in the VOA charter to allege that USIA Director Charles Wick "censored" a VOA reporter, and then uses that incident to reiterate his oft-repeated argument that VOA should be "independent."

VOA's congressional charter not only charges it with serving as "a consistently reliable and authoritative source of news" but also with presenting "the policies of the United States clearly and effectively . . ." It should be readily apparent that in order to carry out the latter, VOA must receive policy guidance from its parent agency, USIA.

When I served as acting director of VOA's Latin American division, I respected Kamenske's news judgement, but I also ensured that we carried out our policy advocacy role in accordance with the charter. I

don't think Congress or the taxpayers ever intended VOA to be an institutional adversary of the government that finances and operates it.

In my opinion, VOA owes much of its impressive worldwide listenership to the fact that it is the official radio station of the U.S. government. Therefore, I think former VOA deputy directors Bob Chatten and Tom Tuch were right: VOA should remain right where it is—as the radio arm of USIA carrying out its news and advocacy roles in accordance with its congressionally mandated charter.

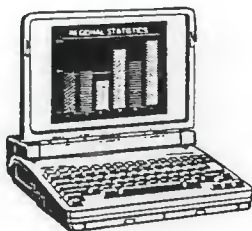
GUY W. FARMER
Counselor for Public Affairs
Caracas, Venezuela

Missing Names

We applaud AFSA for arranging the ceremony in which Secretary Shultz paid tribute to members of the Foreign Service killed or wounded while on missions for their country (JOURNAL, July/August), and adding two new names to the memorial plaque.

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It is important for us to remember always those among us who gave of their physical well-being and even their lives. Unfortunately, neither the plaque nor the list is complete.

We know of two other officers who were killed in the line of duty and whose names have not been memorialized by their colleagues. They are: Bruce Bailey and Garnett "Zim" Zimmerly. Bruce was killed in Vietnam during December, 1972, in the crash of a Vietnamese Air Force plane while providing aid to refugees. Zim, AID's mission director to the Philippines, was killed in 1974. He was returning to Manila in a small aircraft in hazardous weather conditions after an up-country inspection trip.

We believe there may be others who, working in dangerous conditions, also gave their lives while in the service of their country. They certainly deserve recognition. We recommend that your readers submit additional names to AFSA for review.

WILLIAM H. FAULKNER *JAMES D. KRAUS*
AID *SFS, Retired*

Comment: The Plaque Committee in general bases its work on the premise that past deaths of members of the Foreign Service were considered on a contemporary basis by the Plaque Committee and Governing Board at that time. However, we are looking into the two cases submitted in the letter from Mr. Kraus and Mr. Faulkner, and we will stand ready to consider any additional names submitted in response to the suggestion in their letter.

AFSA Plaque Committee

Compensate Spouses

Gunther Rosinus is right on the mark when he proposes that benefits under the Foreign Service retirement system be augmented to compensate spouses for their unpaid work on behalf of American interests abroad (JOURNAL, September). But it is not just a matter of partially remunerating them for work performed, but also of indemnifying them for careers and pensions lost by virtue of their enforced service overseas.

On that day in Washington, 15 years ago, when I happily announced at home

that I had been asked to be minister for public affairs at our embassy in New Delhi, my wife blurted out that her employers were considering her for the editorship of their national journal. Had we not gone abroad then, my pension would now be the same, but she could still be enjoying her work, or drawing a pension of her own. Such stories are legion, and their lesson is not lost. Most young officers today are not prepared to sacrifice the career desires of their spouses. In sheer economic terms, they realize that in case of death or divorce, a spouse long excluded from the workplace is not likely to find satisfactory employment for want of that seamless "resume."

These, then, are some of the special circumstances that differentiate the needs and concerns of Foreign Service spouses from their counterparts in other government services. For the solution, extra benefits to spouses under the retirement system would not be without cost, but a cost that is justified.

In short, I second Mr. Rosinus' motion: AFSA needs to give this matter priority attention and pursue it to a favorable reso-

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lution. Not just out of fairness to the individuals concerned, but to assure the quality of our nation's Foreign Service in the years ahead.

*ALBERT E. HEMSING
Brewster, Massachusetts*

Consular Service Valuable

The letter by James Carter (JOURNAL, September) suggesting that college interns, dependents, and Foreign Service nationals replace consular cone Foreign Service officers is a disservice to our consular colleagues. Carter's argument that non-consular cone officers have the impression that "all consular work is mind-numbing routine more suited to a clerk than an officer" is equally unpalatable to the many officers of all cones who labored—and yes, even enjoyed—their consular assignments.

Consular service, typically non-immigrant visa interviews at a high-volume post, is an experience that is rightly required of all officers. Visa work is a high-pressure, fast-paced job which requires officers to consult their knowledge of law and precedent; to develop the ability to quickly assess in-

dividuals; to make good decisions from the data available to them; to hone their skill in dealing with the public; often to deliver an unwelcome message firmly, clearly, and with the conviction that it is the correct decision. These are exactly the traits any Foreign Service officer should possess.

Consular service provides a number of other opportunities for development. A visa officer should have a good perspective on the local scene. Unlike his or her "reporting" associates who tend to mix with the elite, consular officers meet people from throughout society. And remember that in the eyes of the public, American foreign policy is the way in which they are treated in a visa interview and whether or not they are allowed to visit the U.S.

Consular work is an ideal setting in which to assess the potential of officers in all cones. Officers supervising a consular section have the opportunity to evaluate how junior officers deal with Foreign Service nationals, visa applicants, distressed American citizens, irate relatives, fellow officers, overbearing lawyers, pushy congressional offices, and sleazy visa-brokers.

Consular officers are the first individu-

als to evaluate a new officer's performance on the job. Unfortunately consular officers often have been reluctant to use this power to weed out those unsuitable for the work of diplomacy.

Instead of doing away with the requirement of consular service, we as a Service should use it to develop the abilities of all officers, regardless of cone, and to identify those unsuitable or unworthy of the title Foreign Service officer.

*PAUL D. STEPHENSON
Economic Officer
Washington, D.C.*

Vivid Memories

I have just read "Jerusalem 1948" (JOURNAL, May). So starts a chapter in the "Book of History" (of the Foreign Service). I was there, too, and wish I had had the foresight to keep a journal of our daily activities. This excellent write-up helped jog some long-forgotten memories. It would be interesting to compile a more personalized and detailed history of this period.

*LEWRIGHT B. MUNN
Reston, Virginia*

Your Memo to the New Secretary of State

Don't you wish you could have two minutes of the new Secretary of State's attention to focus on a particular issue or problem?

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Salute to Stephen Dujack

The departure of Stephen Dujack as editor of our JOURNAL should not pass without a warm salute to his innovative genius and expression of appreciation for his improvement of the JOURNAL and thus his constructive contribution to the Service.

One reason that the American public and academic community have not taken the Service more seriously over the years is that the JOURNAL itself conveyed an image of a career rather than a professional network. It was Dujack's perceptive grasp of the Service and its role in the conduct of our foreign relations which accounts for his striking innovations.

As long as the JOURNAL'S analyses of problems are objective and tactfully worded, they cannot but help to keep the air cleared and the ship of State on an even keel.

The president of AFSA has said that "these are dangerous times for the Foreign Service and for AFSA." More than ever we need a courageous, innovative JOURNAL to tackle the issues which confront us and to inform friends and critics alike of what we are doing, correcting their misperceptions and insisting upon the resources needed to perform well our national security role. Steve Dujack helped the JOURNAL do this.

SMITH SIMPSON
FSO retired

Oral History Project

The history of the men and women of the Foreign Service and other civilian agencies who were concerned with the Vietnam war will be essentially unrecorded unless we do it ourselves. The most practical way of making their work public is to establish an oral history project on Vietnam using volunteer members of the Foreign Service, both active and retired. Before setting out, we need to know if there is genuine interest in proceeding with such a history of our involvement in Vietnam and if there are volunteers who are available to run the program.

Anyone who is interested in helping with this program, especially in managing the undertaking, can write to me: Charles Stuart Kennedy, Director, Foreign Affairs Oral History Program, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

CHARLES STUART KENNEDY
Georgetown University

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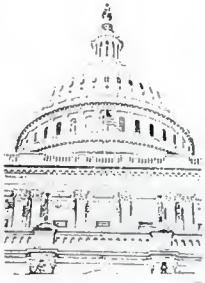
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state & congress: culture shock at

THE FOREIGN SERVICE includes many who are adept at learning to respect foreign cultures, understanding alien ways of thinking, getting cooperation from suspicious or even hostile officials, and extracting information in a foreign language from someone with little reason to share it. Yet one of the best ways to produce rolling eyes and sweaty palms in Foggy Bottom is to mention the word "Congress." That is one alien culture many FSOs despair of understanding. Conversely, from the Hill the State Department often appears complacent and untrustworthy. Misunderstanding between State and Congress at the working level, together with other well known problems, contributes to friction in resolving foreign policy issues.

This friction is based in part on the competition for power established by the framers of the Constitution. Over the course of our national history there has been an ebb and flow of influence over foreign policy between Congress and the executive branch. The separation of powers makes some conflict inevitable and often beneficial.

At the working level, however, stereotypes are more sharply drawn but no more accurate than those held by the American public regarding their State Department and Congress. From the Hill, Foreign Service officers seem elitist, too cautious, evasive, and inclined to take the foreigners' point of view. From the State Department, Hill staffers appear hostile, superficial, prone to leak, and ignorant of the purposes of diplomacy. This is a large cultural gap.

What can be done? The most fundamental

Roger L. Hart, former Foreign Service officer, is legislative assistant for foreign affairs to Representative James McClure Clarke of North Carolina.

factors causing State-Congress friction cannot be changed much, and some probably should not be. Within limits, an adversarial relationship is both constitutional and healthy, providing a check on executive policies unsupported by public opinion and hence not tenable over the long term.

In practice, Congress and the department approach foreign policy in fundamentally different ways inherent in the nature of the institutions. Behind these institutional differences may be the fact that diplomacy is somewhat incompatible with democracy. Diplomacy needs continuity and the steady hand of experience; it wants to be secretive, or at least discreet. American democracy, however, resists the idea that experts are any better than the rest of us, likes to throw the rascals and their policies out, and demands full public information. Congress is the most democratic branch of the government, as the framers intended, but the Foreign Service is the closest thing to an elite among American career public employees.

This difference is worth exploring further, because it may underlie the cultural gap mentioned above. The differences between Hill staffers and FSOs are due in part to the collision of diplomacy and democracy but are reinforced by that great Washington perceptual divide between those who seem to advance through methodical bureaucratic skills and those who appear to rise by political connections or personal magnetism. That is not to denigrate the talents of those on either side: there is plenty of wheeling and dealing in the bureaucracy and a lot of expertise in the world of politics. Nevertheless, there is often a feeling of "us" and "them."

Officers at State are (mostly) selected by a uniform system based (in principle) on merit.

the working level

Promotion is decided bureaucratically and rewards caution and discipline as well as energy. Experience in the Foreign Service feeds a sense of sharing an expertise other Americans do not have, an important part of the Service's tattered *esprit de corps*. Nothing in the selection or promotion system rewards special knowledge of American politics or Congress, with the result that many FSOs have little more understanding of the legislative branch than the average educated American does.

In contrast, most people who work on the Hill know more about the Foreign Service than the general public does. Congressional staff are selected not by standard tests but by whatever method the congressman may choose. If the staffers themselves are not all survivors of the winnowing process of election campaigns, their bosses are. Like selection, career advancement is political: performance serves the goal of protecting the boss's power base back home or within Congress, or both.

Experience on the Hill encourages the belief that one is in touch with the country and its thinking. Election victories confer confidence and legitimacy.

OF COURSE, there are people at the working level in State and on the Hill who manage to understand each other and who collaborate productively to mutual benefit. Even more proof that cooperation is possible, if it is needed, lies in the effective congressional relations of other foreign affairs agencies, notably AID.

Working out major policy conflicts depends largely on the relationships between department principals and congressional leaders, and

on the consultation procedures they follow. The executive branch has a problem in knowing whom to consult on the Hill, especially since the power-diffusing congressional reforms of the 1970s. Some of the answer is greater initiative on the congressional side in indicating interest in particular issues to those who handle them at State, and in following up over time. Committee leadership and staffs may be able to help members make known their interest in a given issue. As crucial as high-level contacts are, however, attitudes at the working level have some importance too.

Each side should learn more about the other. Edward Derwinski, former congressman and counselor in the State Department, has noted (JOURNAL, September 1986) that too many FSOs trying to deal with Congress know too little about it. Congressional Fellowships, a major remedy, are in big demand. FSI's one-week seminar on the Congress is very worthwhile for officers in all cones. Personnel returning from overseas assignments should visit the home-district congressman, taking a few minutes to meet the staffer who handles foreign policy. Given the high turnover on the Hill, this will probably be a different person after each overseas tour, one who might profit from a small window on the Foreign Service. One of the many good ideas in J. T. Kendrick's 1987 study on 'Executive-Legislative Consultation on Foreign Policy' is to admit congressional staff to FSI courses like area studies. A better-informed Hill would help the department too.

The House Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East has consulted in the past on a regular basis with State bureaus and offices in its area. Other foreign affairs subcommittees should consider trying that, if they have not. Inclusion of some aides from members'

differences between them are due in part to the collision of diplomacy and democracy, but each side can benefit from learning more about the other

ROGER L. HART

Increased contacts will not do much good unless accompanied by mutual respect.

own offices would deepen their expertise and strengthen the contribution that Congress can make best in such contacts: awareness of domestic political realities.

ALTHOUGH I HAVE encountered one or two helpful people in the Bureau of Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs (H), I have learned that calling other bureaus usually works better. Why is this bureau so ineffective? Why does the department's presence on the Hill seem so weak, aside from the occasional testimony of certain principals? While it is true that State is simply smaller than some other agencies, the answer may be that the department's main orientation has always been toward the immediate problems of foreign affairs, not the constituencies of domestic politics. The question remains how to use State's beleaguered resources in the best way to bring about more productive relations with the Hill.

Derwinski called for an monopoly of Hill contacts, warning of possible "bureaucratic anarchy" otherwise. Obviously, the department has to sing from one piece of music, but the Legislative Bureau may need help. Those handling legislative liaison need convincing expertise in the regional and functional areas they cover, knowledge of Congress, the ability to think and act like politicians as well as bureaucrats, and the imagination to apply some of their overseas experience to congressional relations. The department should nurture and use these skills more efficiently. Office directors should be allowed to expand their own and their officers' Hill contacts, in coordination with the legislative bureau and in accordance with their best judgment of the issues and the personal skills available. The alternative, making the bureau good enough to handle a monopoly of congressional contacts, would likely take more energy and attention than the seventh floor can spare from the three crises of the day.

Former Congressional Fellows are a natural cadre for improving the Legislative Bureau or spreading its function around. Regional bureaus should know who they are and use their experience. Along with former FSOs working on the Hill, they are a natural nucleus for an informal lunch group of mid-level department officers and congressional staffers. More executive-legislative cocktail parties have been suggested, but softball games might be more fun. If anybody can be persuaded to invest the time, informal contacts would pay

dividends come crisis or State-Congress confrontation.

Increased contacts will not do much good unless accompanied by mutual respect. A breakdown of negative stereotypes allows more realistic and more productive attitudes. Department officers could come to understand that some, even many, Hill staffers are serious and know a lot of things FSOs don't. Hill staffers could realize that some, even many, Foreign Service officers are basically forthright and cooperative. Admittedly, given human nature, a few on both sides fit the stereotypes, but in general both sides would gain from more give and take.

Better relations at the working level could trickle up to the principals, although they are sometimes incorrigible. Many congressional hearings could use less posturing and more listening, on both sides. The best hearings produce new insights in the interaction of very different institutional viewpoints. Some department witnesses might say they are so defensive because the questioning is so offensive. Sometimes it is, but many of them would do well to bring a sense of humor to the Hill along with their talking points. Memos for officials going up to testify could include a reminder that many Congressmen do not talk to each other in the measured nuances of diplomacy. They have been known to berate each other for the record and then go off for a friendly game of handball. Witnesses who get ranted at should not take it personally. They might lose a chance to win over somebody in the room.

VISITING CONGRESSIONAL delegations are a major cause of resentment at overseas posts. Those visitors usually have no idea how much they disrupt an embassy or consulate, taking officers, staff, and FSNs from normal duties and tying up the administrative section's assets for days at a time. Yes, it's awful, but it may help to bear a few points in mind. First, CODELS are going to keep coming, even if posts make them foot the bills, as they should. Second, junior and mid-level FSOs who have few other opportunities to meet people from the Hill could learn something by meeting CODELS. Third, they are often more worthwhile than they may seem. Traveling overseas isolates members of Congress from daily interruptions and offers a rare chance to focus on one set of problems for several days. Even those with no serious purpose other than heavy

shopping, if fortunate enough to have an astute escort officer, can learn something about the Foreign Service as well as a different culture. Finally, it pays to know whom the post is dealing with. A serious visitor like Sander Levin or Al Gore should have every chance to work as hard as he wants to. An experienced and determined junketeer should be shown a good time. Every member of Congress should get proper democratic respect, which does not mean obsequious groveling.

Many Hill staffers grow accustomed to speaking for their bosses back in Washington, and some may let it go to their heads on overseas trips. Their aggressiveness may also stem from executive-legislative rivalry, policy disagreements, efforts to protect their bosses' status or comforts in an unfamiliar environment, or inexperience. Nevertheless, members' personal staffers, if handled right, can go home with increased understanding for the Foreign Service and a bit more knowledge of foreign areas which could help next time a quick judgment is required on a bill. Senior committee staff, in particular, should be taken seriously and provided a substantive program. Post officers who judge congressional visitors carefully can create an informal dissent channel by mentioning problems of human rights, corruption, or economic weakness that are systematically edited out of draft cables. If that is done correctly, it is not disloyal to the Service or to the nation.

MUCH OF THE ABERRANT behavior of congressmen and staffers back on the Hill, as well as on CODELS, can only be understood in light of the implications of one simple fact: the congressman, not to mention his whole staff, can be fired by the voters at any election. The cheap-shot resolution oversimplifying a difficult foreign policy problem or the shoot-from-the-hip press conference on a whirlwind overseas visit may be intended to get through to the voters. An FSO who writes a boring memo won't lose his job. A congressman who fails to connect with his constituents is asking for trouble. Considering the attention span of the public and the temptation of expediency, it is often remarkable how many members of Congress vote their convictions, or even recall them. If you think it's easy, run for office sometime.

Consular officers receive many requests or demands for assistance from congressional offices. These may be a burden, but if a con-



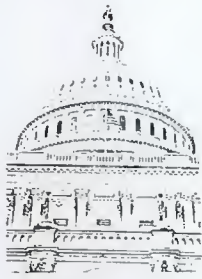
Patry J. Meier

gressman gets a request for assistance from a constituent, he has no choice but to do everything possible to help. If consular officers cannot produce the requested visa or solution to the travelling constituent's problem, they should remember that what the congressman needs in that case is something to show that he did all he could. Members and staff simply cannot appear indifferent to the voters. FSOs irritated at congressional interest might consider some of the foreign bureaucracies they are familiar with. There are few countries in the world where citizens have such effective recourse to bureaucratic stonewalling as Americans have by calling their congressman. Like a free press, this may be one of the ways in which democracy seems inconvenient until one considers the alternatives.

More generally, just as the world of politics needs to understand better the benefits of a strong corps of professional diplomats, the Foreign Service sometimes forgets that "politicization" of an issue, like a congressman's "interference" for a constituent, is democracy in action. For better or worse, Congress is far more representative of the country than the State Department is, and any persistent misunderstanding between the two can only weaken the nation's professional diplomacy.

As for the stereotypes, they contain a bit of truth, as most caricatures do, but I have tried to show that I do not accept either one. Most FSOs and most Hill staffers I know are men and women of intelligence and good will who work hard, take risks, and make principled compromises which serve our nation's interest. □

State Department officials testify before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.



more understanding of the hill's priorities and targeting within the pearson program are needed to defuse executive-hill antipathy

bridging

OVER THE YEARS the Department of State has paid almost as much attention to relations with Congress as it has to studies of efficiency reports and reviews of "whither the Foreign Service."

The focus on Congress is hardly surprising. The virtual requirement for detailed interaction between State and the Hill reflects the tension stimulated by a political generation in which the executive branch has had to battle Congress on every significant substantive issue. This conclusion is not to suggest that pre-1950 politics were an endless executive-legislative love feast; but compared with the tensions of the past 30 years, they could be contrasted to the differences between a professional boxing match and a gutter brawl.

In 16 of the past 20 years, the split between a Republican-led executive branch and a Democratic-led Congress has put a high polish on this intrinsic antagonism. President Carter's term was no exception due to Carter's inability to develop cordial relations with Congress. Reacting to causes as disparate as executive branch ascendancy during the Roosevelt and Truman presidencies, the Vietnam war, the duplicity endemic during the Nixon years, and the Iran-contra affair, Congress has sought greater control over foreign policy. Substantive differences on such issues have been fueled by partisan political considerations.

Intellectually regrettable and resource wasteful as this conflict appears, it will be a given for U.S. foreign policy presumably for the remainder of the century. Even the election of an executive branch and Congress of the same party is unlikely to mitigate prevailing tension. Difficulties are more likely to be eased on a personal basis or ad hoc agreement on an individual issue than by structural change or administrative tinkering.

The Department of State has only slowly grown to realize that Congress poses not a mere management or administrative problem but a persistent challenge akin to that of any major executive agency in Washington. Congressional involvement in foreign affairs is not going to alter any more than DOD is going to eliminate military attaches, CIA yield up embassy-based intelligence operations, or Commerce return commercial attaches to State control. The United States may not have "ministerial government" de jure, but in foreign affairs it moves closer to this status each year as congressional actors insist on a role.

So far as the interagency process is concerned, this realization means that we need to examine characteristics of Hill staff and Hill operations in order to tailor department action to appropriately manage programs and approaches. As the average FSO is more likely to deal with staff than congressmen, the following observations primarily reflect insights on congressional staff.

The Hill's Priorities are Different. Hill priorities are to get it fast, get it media attention, and get it right. This is not to say that the Hill is indifferent to accuracy. Congressmen would certainly prefer to be more right than wrong. But given the imperatives of the media, the lack of accountability, and the short attention span of most of the public, they will gamble with accuracy in their desire for media attention and timeliness. During the INF treaty review, for example, a major committee reviewed an issue with the negotiators, vigorously cautioning them during the hearing on the importance of confidentiality. Immediately following the hearing, however, prominent committee members held a TV press conference on the issues discussed.

the divide: do pearson fellows have a mission?

DAVID T. JONES

The Hill is in a Hurry. The time frame is foreshortened. A bureaucrat thinks of action in terms of months and years. An FSO steeped in current issues “knows” there are no quick answers but primarily processes to be managed. The Hill, on the other hand, needs immediate answers. Constituents do not care what you did for them last week or last month; they want to know what you are doing for them now.

An FSO regards a year as a short assignment, barely sufficient to accomplish something substantive. The Hill views a year very differently. A year is half a congressional term, and consequently half a representative’s record must be made in a year. The House and one third of the Senate are either gearing up for the next election or campaigning each year.

THE HILL is Instantly Expert. Congressional staff is very thin—even in large senatorial offices. Staffers cover multiple topics, concentrating on the few areas in which their boss has a special interest. For those congressmen who are expected to have a position on every topic, foreign or domestic, the remarkable aspect is not their errors but the fact that they are usually at least “in the ballpark” with their comments. These congressmen are in effect attempting to run the world (and the U.S.) with a staff approximately the dimensions of a medium-sized embassy.

How then does a staffer respond to a requirement for an instant answer? A rapid reading of available media, some supplementary phone calls, and, if time permits, a request to the

David T. Jones is currently a Una Chapman Cox fellow and has served on the Hill in the Pearson program.

We need to examine characteristics of Hill staff and operations to tailor department action more appropriately.

Library of Congress, whose researchers can provide virtually any fact or analysis in short order. Without question the congressional staffers are not just smart, but fast as well—or they are gone. What they lack, particularly in foreign affairs, is a sense of proportion and perspective; a sense of what can be done in what time frame; and a failure to recognize that every twist of the substantive road is not a major turning point in history.

Thus, due to a shortage of personnel—particularly those knowledgeable on foreign affairs, the Hill has institutionalized the phenomenon of the “instant expert.” For example, on the Hill an intern is a valuable commodity, as an intelligent student can obtain a glib, “media level” familiarity with a number of issues from a few hours or days of reading and briefings from real experts. Indeed, for what most Congressmen require, this is enough. Consequently, the month can be filled with substantive work, constituent contacts, letter writing, and a research project or two. At State, however, despite our best intentions, a comparable amount of time is frequently devoted to giving an intern a vague overview of how a State Department office works—usually very slowly. Although unfair, the comparison can be devastating—action versus inaction.

The Hill is Young. Any Hill observer is immediately struck by the youth of personal staff. Some of this impression is distorted by the steady stream of interns who spend an academic semester or do a public service project in a congressional office. Nevertheless, the bulk of congressional staff comes directly from the university, law, or other graduate school. They are eager to play a part in real government. They are semi-cynically exploited by being paid low salaries, but believe that they will gain vital experience and make useful contacts to their future profit.

Congressional offices are allotted staff funding in a lump sum based on state or district population. Recognizing the need to provide their constituents with assistance in the specialized public services (social security, welfare, veterans affairs), the congressman is likely to see more merit in four bright young people at \$15,000 a head than one seasoned expert at \$60,000.

Staff intellectual quality is high. They have attended good schools and done well in them. If not by definition America’s “best and brightest,” they are certainly a group of intelligent entry-level trainees, capable of becoming highly qualified experts in many fields.

Then there is the job instability. Through death, defeat, or retirement, the Hill turns over approximately 40-50 members each Congress. Very few of the staff make a direct switch from incumbent to successor. Additionally there is the “serve at the pleasure” rule wherein congressional personal staff has no civil service-style job tenure. The potential for such change has an effect on thinking and planning of individual staffers and certainly makes loyalties more personal and less abstract or institutional.

Committee staffs are more stable with a greater premium placed on experience. All such staff recall, however, that Senator Lugar fired the Senator Percy-hired Foreign Relations Committee staff en masse upon becoming chairman in 1981. And the favor was largely repaid when the Democrats regained control of the committee after the 1986 election.

THE HILL is Arrogant—perhaps as arrogant as FSOs. It is widely commented that there are 535 secretaries of state on the Hill. Likewise, it is a rare Hill staffer who does not believe that he can handle the foreign policy issue under discussion at least as well as any FSO. It is hard to find a member or staffer who is not convinced, on the basis of “instant expertise” (or, to be honest, detailed knowledge) that congressional suggestions or proposals should not be adopted forthwith. The Hill’s conviction of its substantive expertise is perhaps connected with the implicit belief that election by hundreds of thousands of people conveys special powers of insight and wisdom.

While most FSOs would readily acknowledge congressional expertise in gaining the popular approval necessary for elected office, the Hill appears reluctant to cede to FSOs commensurate expertise in their areas of specialization. Obviously the Hill’s view of its foreign policy expertise is resented by FSOs who see themselves as custodians of this subject. While Congress would brush off with a polite smile an FSO’s tactical political suggestion for a state or district election, the Hill expects the department to agree unquestionably with comparable congressional suggestions on foreign affairs and to implement them with alacrity. Any show of reluctance is quickly chalked up to executive branch arrogance. However, regardless of the merits of such opposing views, the department ignores the Hill’s estimate of its self worth at its peril.

A recent illustration of this phenomenon occurred during INF ratification when the possibility of INF missiles based on “futuristic”

technology (an essentially tertiary technical point) was seized upon by selected senators and staffers and expanded upon in congressional and public debate until it required a meeting at the secretary level to close it off.

The Hill embraces New Technology. Hill staff put a premium on rapid communication and information retrieval. Widespread computer data bases are available for every office and the Library of Congress has sophisticated retrieval programs far outclassing what is available at the department. Congressional staffers are comfortable with such techniques and expect others to use such high-tech tools. For example, prior to the INF debate, the Senate created a special office and an expensive, labor intensive project to code by key word more than 20 volumes of the INF negotiating record. Subsequently, a staffer expressed irritation that they had to go to such effort *because State would not share its program with them*. When informed that the executive branch did not have and could not afford such a project, the reaction was that State should certainly have such a program.

The Hill is not Colorblind. Walking through the staff cafeterias, corridors, and committee rooms, one has the impression that the Hill is disproportionately white. Most visible non-whites are those in service/support functions. The Hill is not racist (despite the fact that Congress exempted itself from various minority hiring requirements). Indeed, except for being predominantly white, staffers are a standard cross section of young America—egalitarian in personal views and generally without perceptible ethnic or racial bias. One hypothesis is that the absence of proportionate numbers of black representatives and senators reduces the automatic attraction congressmen would have for talented black staff. Unless individual offices make a conscious effort to hire minorities, well qualified whites are available to fill the positions.

BRIDGING THE DIVIDE. There is no facile solution to the growing congressional role in foreign affairs. The answer may be as nebulous as many of today's multifaceted questions: more intense study of the phenomenon; keener analysis of its components; and tougher response to the challenge.

Political and personal stereotypes are a natural phenomena. But for reasonable people, interests are subject to change with exposure

to conflicting impressions. For example, the number of FSOs lost to terrorists over the years has reduced the impression that we have a free ride on the taxpayers money at plush overseas posts. Closer attention to what is happening on the Hill will alter FSO preconceptions that individual members and staffers are more concerned about a good place to eat and shop when overseas than they are in the substance of foreign affairs.

The Department of State seemingly has many ways to influence Congress: The secretary testifies, ranking officials and ambassadors appear before committees explaining issues, press statements are made, "white papers" are released, questions from individual congressmen are answered, representatives from the Legislative Bureau ply the corridors of the House and Senate. Although these exercises are important, even vital on a day-to-day basis, they are essentially transient. The secretary's statement is forgotten in a day or week as a fresh crisis arises. The press statements and white papers are consigned to the circular or vertical files respectively. The Legislative Bureau representative has a new ambassador to shepherd through hearings.

One long-term mechanism that the department has for congressional influence is the Pearson Congressional Fellowship program. Stimulated by former Senator Pearson, it is designed to expose a limited number of Foreign Service officers to congressional offices in the hope of generating better understanding between Foggy Bottom and the Hill. As in most such arrangements, each side hopes to benefit. The Hill anticipates that subsequently in their careers individual FSOs will be more sensitive to congressional perspectives. The department seeks both to provide focused, intelligent perspectives on specific foreign policy points and to create a legacy of respect for State and the Foreign Service.

The State Department Pearson Fellowship program is frequently lumped together with the Congressional Fellowship program run by the American Political Science Association (APSA)—the programs appear to be similar, in that annually each sends approximately five FSOs to the Hill for an "academic year" of association with the office of a senator or representative. The APSA fellowships involve employees of a number of U.S. agencies, including State, as well as selected media representatives, and the program opens with extended academic study of Congress. Each APSA fellow then individually pursues an association with a congressman. Theoretically, the APSA fellow is supposed to spend half the year with

One mechanism for congressional influence is the Pearson Fellowship program.

While the Pearson program has been a success for the individual FSO, it is less clear that it has been equally successful for the department writ large.

a senator and half with a representative.

The State Department Pearson program is structured differently. (The handling of any Pearson fellows from USIA and AID is not reviewed in this analysis). Although an individual is free to seek out a congressman and attempt to sell him on the value of having an FSO on staff for a year, by and large, Pearson fellows respond to requests by individual congressmen who inform the department that they would like to have a Pearson fellow. Following an interview, the FSO then joins the office staff for the full year. A primary selling point to any congressional office is that a Pearson fellow is by definition one of the department's best mid-level officers and, perhaps equally significant, a "free gift" as State continues to pay salary and benefits.

While the Pearson program has been an unparalleled success for the individual FSO—many return with vivid memories, experience, and knowledge—it is less clear that it has been equally successful for the department writ large. At the basis of the program there has been a quite correct effort to avoid any intimation that a fellow will be a shill for the current administration line. During a decade of operation, Pearson fellows have been the equivalents of Caesar's wife in avoiding suspicion that they are reporting back on their activities to State officials. During the assignment process, the department scrupulously avoids directing them toward specific congressmen. Indeed, it is rare for Pearson fellows to have other than administrative contacts with the department during their Hill tours.

However, in our effort to avoid congressional suspicion that we are attempting to plant some species of "mole" in offices, we have failed to get maximum benefit from the program. State needs to readjust its planning, within the parameters of preserving the Pearson fellow's integrity as an independent agent, to expand its long-term influence by sharpening the focus of the program.

Obviously, we cannot hope to affect every member of Congress directly through the Pearson program. In the last decade, there have been 45 program participants, while approximately 800 individuals have served as members of Congress. But any effort to affect congressional views on foreign policy through Pearson fellows will have to be targeted.

Unfortunately, the Pearson program has concentrated too many individual fellows with too few congressmen and paid insufficient attention to the likely influence of those 26 senators and representatives to whom the 45 Pearson fellows have been assigned. Four fellows

have been assigned to congressmen with no association with defense, foreign affairs, or intelligence. Five have been assigned to committees, but only one (House Armed Services) had State policy relevance. Pearsons have been assigned four times to Senator Kennedy's personal staff and twice to the Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Immigration and Refugees headed by Senator Kennedy. Certainly this must be regarded as overkill. Likewise Congressman Fascell has had six Pearson fellows, both before and after he became House Foreign Affairs Committee (HFAC) chairman.

Table 1, on page 33, shows total membership in the key House and Senate committees and the number of members who have had a Pearson Fellow assigned from the 96th through 100th Congress. The Pearson program has had a direct effect on fewer than 10 percent of those senators and representatives who have the most direct bearing on State Department interests.

In addition, Pearson fellows have worked primarily with Democrats. Over the decade, participants have been assigned to 17 Democrats versus nine Republicans. Even during the 1980-1986 period when the Republicans controlled the Senate, there were ten "Pearson years" devoted to Democratic senators versus six to Republicans. In 1987-1988, no participants were placed with Republicans.

Over the ten-year period, fellows worked for congressmen with records as diverse as an Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) rating of 100 percent and an American Conservative Union (ACU) rating of 100 percent. Nevertheless, as the following table shows, the overall thrust of the Pearson program is to have worked for liberal rather than conservative congressmen, regardless of party.

Pearson Fellow Assignments

1979-1988	ADA	ACU
Overall	68%	22%
Democrats	81%	7%
Republicans	38%	58%

The foregoing observations are not to suggest that we have totally wasted our efforts. Of the 26 senators and representatives assigned Pearson fellows over the last decade, only five have left Congress, a point that suggests persistent residual benefit. A Pearson fellow was assigned to Senator Dole while he was majority leader. Senators Bradley and Wallop, both of whom can be characterized as within the

emerging generation of congressional leadership, have had Pearson fellows. Pearsons have repeatedly been assigned to Senate Foreign Relations Committee (SFRC) Chairman Pell and HFAC Chairman Fascell. By fortunate coincidence the only Pearson assigned to an House Armed Service Committee (HASC) member worked for the current Chairman Les Aspin.

Nevertheless, for the most part, Pearson fellows have gone not just to the department's friends but to our traditional supporters. This may be comforting, but is akin to discussing the security of Europe only with London and Bonn, ignoring not only more prickly allies but our entire range of adversaries.

Indeed, the galaxy of those who have not had a Pearson fellow or did not have one during their congressional careers includes many of the major figures in recent American politics. Those who have figured prominently in foreign relations and defense issues are particularly obvious. Among the Republicans are Senators Baker (former majority leader); Goldwater (former SASC chairman); Helms (minority ranking SFRC); Kassebaum; Percy (former SFRC chairman); Quayle; Tower (former SASC chairman) and Thurmond. Prominent Democrats include Senators Biden; Church (former SFRC chairman); Cranston; Jackson (former SASC chairman); Moynihan; Muskie; Nunn (SASC chairman); and Stennis. On the House side, the long-time minority ranking members of the HFAC and the HASC, Representatives Broomfield and Dickinson, are obvious exceptions (as was former State Department Counselor Derwinski when he was the ranking minority member of the HFAC). Likewise prominent Democrats on HFAC and HASC such as Gilman, Price, Bennett, and Stratton.

Outside the interlock of the foreign policy and defense committees, we have also missed an obvious candidate such as Majority Leader Byrd and bellwether senators such as Bumpers, Hatfield, Packwood, and Simpson. Nor have we shown any attention to local senators, ignoring Warner (ranking minority SASC) and Tribble from Virginia, and Mikulski and Sarbanes from Maryland. On the other hand, during 1986, his last year in office, Senator Mathias had the assistance of a fellow.

We do not need to turn the Pearson program into a relentlessly targeted lobbyist-style operation to achieve greater benefits for the department. No one who has ever participated in the program would prohibit an officer from spending his Pearson year with a congressman with whom he has a special personal relation

Table 1

Committee	# of Members	# of Pearsons
Senate Foreign Relations	32	6
Senate Armed Services	32	4
House Foreign Affairs	78	9
House Armed Services	90	1
Totals	232	20

or keen substantive interest. What is needed, however, is greater recognition that dealing only with our friends is cosy but of only marginal utility.

Needless to say wider distribution of Pearson fellows will not be instantly easy. The relatively small stable of congressmen to which the department has dispatched candidates has served the personnel interests of some senators and representatives who recognize that a free FSO is not an insignificant addition to their staff. It has also served the personal interests of some FSOs concerned with having congressional staffers unfamiliar with State's EERs making statements on their careers.

Consequently, expanding the ranks of potential Pearson recipients will take work. Some key Republican and/or conservative members may have to be sold on the value of a Pearson fellow. If Pearson access to some key members cannot be managed on normal administrative levels, a quiet telephone call by an assistant secretary or the director general to a Senator Nunn, a Senator Dole, or a Senator Byrd might open the door. A longer list of those requesting Pearson fellows might result in bruised egos among those who do not attract fellows. However, this could reflect a greater appreciation of the value of individual FSOs and could even lead to modest expansion of the program. And there might be need of counseling for prospective fellows for some assignments (Who would be the first Pearson with Senator Helms? Clearly a challenge, but not as much a hardship as being an INF inspector at Votkinsk.) Likewise, the already attentive department review of Pearson fellow EERs would have to be even more carefully carried out.

Thus the conclusion must be that while the Pearson program is a personal success for the individual FSO, it can become more of an institutional benefit for the department without sacrificing either the competence or the integrity of its fellows. Likewise, a wider spectrum of congressmen affected by the Pearson program will, over time, provide a better appreciation in Congress of FSO competence and department bipartanship. □

Communicating through the Media

JEFFREY R. BIGGS

Those advocating more of a role for Congress in foreign policy focus on improving the process of consultation between the executive and legislative branches. A lack of knowledge about Congress in the executive branch seems to be endemic: "Few officials know which members might be able to give them the most insight or help in a particular problem," observed Ellen Collier in her 1980 Congressional Research Study on "Executive-Legislative Consultation on Foreign Policy."

Part of the problem of understanding Congress appears to have been resolved in the last decade. Congress, by making itself more accessible to the media, is increasingly available for a type of indirect consultation and communication to both the public and the executive branch. While this may not be the most effective type of communication, increased media coverage of Congress as an institution, as well as individual members of the leadership, has sharpened the debate and given prominence to individual member's particular concerns on a range of issues.

Almost 30 years ago, Douglas Cater wrote a highly influential study of the media, *The Fourth Branch of Government*, in which he observed that the press had become as much an institution on Capitol Hill as Congress itself. The kind of political persuasion that members had traditionally directed at each other in the chambers and corridors of the Capitol, Cater argued, was now also being directed at the journalists seated in the galleries. In 1959, however, Cater was somewhat ahead of institutional developments, as neither the Senate nor House had yet allowed television

cameras to cover floor action. In a January 1987 comment on the Senate floor, Majority Leader Robert Byrd recalled his early advocacy of television in the Senate when he had argued that "without television, we are going to become the invisible half of Congress and Congress is going to become the subordinate branch of government."

Televising Congress may, in retrospect, seem to have been a logical step for an institution designed to be open to the people, but it did not come easily to two chambers that have always had some anxiety about exposing eccentricities to the public. Not surprisingly, the feeling that the public had a right to know was felt most keenly by members elected in the post-Watergate period who put less stock in the older congressional maxim that government functions best at the lowest level of visibility. Satellite technology, which enabled a correspondent and camera crew in Washington, D.C. to broadcast live to a station anywhere in the country at a reasonable cost, clearly provides members a new forum from which to address their constituents.

The coincidence of new media technology and changed congressional values was probably best reflected in press accreditation. In 1953 there were 155 journalists accredited to the House and Senate radio-television galleries; in July 1987, there were 2,263. In 1953, there were 798 print journalists accredited to the House and Senate press galleries; in 1987, there were 2,089.

Congress replied in kind. Press secretaries are a relatively recent addition to the Capitol Hill bureaucracy, but by 1980, 98 out of 100 Senators and 389 out of 435 members of the House listed press secretaries on their staffs.

The journalists are here. Press secretaries are here. And C-SPAN's 2,650 cable systems make House coverage available in 31 million homes. The impact of the media on Congress, however, goes beyond the dates and figures. For example, the House speaker's historic low profile seems to have permanently ended. The speaker, with new media exposure, is going to join the vice president, the chief justice, and a few cabinet members in the forefront of public recognition. Today, while the media focuses on House leaders as political symbols and sources of news more frequently than in the past, the House leadership also uses the media to accomplish their own legislative goals. *Congressional Quarterly* notes that while the House Foreign Affairs Committee is not primarily a legislative committee, membership nonetheless offers its congressmen an "unparalleled chance to talk, and to be listened to, not

only by colleagues but by the media and the public." A decade ago most key congressional leaders would have argued that success was measured by patiently persuading colleagues. Now that's only part of the story. Floor fights, or fights with the executive branch, are often won by orchestrating a campaign aimed over the heads of the members at the country at large.

For the past few years, *Congressional Quarterly* notes, nearly any showdown on a major issue—trade legislation, arms control proposals, aid to the Contras, or democratic consolidation in the Philippines—has been preceded by a congressional leadership media effort orchestrated to match whatever campaign the executive branch was waging. Not only have congressional and executive branch leadership discussed issues together on television, but it is arguable that legislative media efforts might have helped prompt subsequent consultations. The legislative skirmish with the White House over the 60-day plant-closing notification provision of the 1988 omnibus trade bill is one of the more recent dramatic examples in which the congressional leadership used the media to rally public support to overcome a presidential veto. Through programs such as "Meet the Press" virtually any members who want to publicize issues can do it.

Whether one looks at congressional daily press conferences, gavel-to-gavel coverage of floor sessions, the use of special televised hearings, increased congressional appearances on weekend news programs, or expanded use of satellite television, Congress has found a new vehicle for engaging in policy debates, including foreign policy. Their sense of electoral accountability to the public has increasingly led Congress to share what has been referred to as the "bully pulpit" quality of the presidency.

There are no signs that the current congressional media momentum is likely to wane. It seems equally clear that the media is serving to better acquaint the public and the executive branch with congressional attitudes. But a cautionary note remains appropriate, particularly in the area of foreign policy. Legislative-executive debate through the media has yet to offer an adequate substitute for the meaningful, timely, and face-to-face involvement of Congress with the Department of State in the making of significant foreign policy decisions.

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diplomacy on the hill

“W E OUGHT TO HAVE a U.S. Desk at the State Department to look after our own interests.” So said a senator after an unsatisfying, classified briefing with a secretary of state. While that does not say everything about relations between State and Congress, much can be inferred from such a statement.

It suggests that partisan politics as well as the national interest motivate both elected officials and cabinet members. It calls forth recollections of a time when the loyalty of the Foreign Service was questioned in brutal public attacks. While that time is past, its blurred image still emerges in times of tension.

That the Department of State is sometimes the scapegoat of foreign policy failures and is rarely praised is hardly a new or startling observation. However, many other government agencies seem to have developed methods of defending themselves from attack or mounting counter-efforts to obtain the respect, funding, or support they desire.

The difficulties of dealing with Congress have not gone unnoticed within the department. State's suggestions and analyses for improving the atmosphere often imply that senators and representatives exercise poor judgment in assessing FSOs and State, much to the detriment of the national interest. Even if true, that is not a sufficient premise on which to base a strategy for change. Additionally, State and its defenders often explain the problem by citing factors such as differences in attitude and the lack of a supportive domestic constituency. They contend that members of Congress develop little interest in foreign policy because there is no political “pork” and no payoff with voters at home. In this respect State's defenders compare themselves unfavorably to the military. The attractiveness and political value of military projects and the large number of military families and veterans high-

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light the lack of such a constituency in the Foreign Service.

In the course of the budget debates last year, *The Washington Post* proposed a variant on this theme. An October 13, 1987, editorial deplored the savaging of State, indicating that President Reagan's promotion of military power as the primary tool of foreign policy and the extensive use of covert operations set the stage for State's budget problems. In the *Post's* view, these policies encouraged the notion of U.S. diplomats as sissies, elitists, and conspirators against “our real interests.” According to the editorial, Congress, which had been “making inroads on the executive branch's foreign policy prerogatives,” had nearly finished the job. A vandal Senate, led by Jesse Helms, dealt a crippling budgetary blow from which the Department of State might not rise.

The State Department was defended in an October 19, 1987, piece from the pen of Assistant Secretary Elliott Abrams. Already embroiled in controversy on the Hill because of accusations that he misled Congress repeatedly in the Iran-contra affair, his defense did little to help State's cause. On October 29, Representatives Dan Mica and Olympia Snowe, the chairman and ranking minority member respectively of the House Foreign Affairs International Operations Subcommittee, reacted sharply to the Abrams article. Their *Washington Post* commentary described the bad communication between the department and Congress, and they were uncharacteristically blunt in accusing Foggy Bottom of bad faith. They concluded by saying that the department's attitude toward Congress would have to change if any improvements were to be expected.

Impossible as it may seem to befriend a declared ideological foe like Senator Helms, it should certainly be possible to make friends of those who would be friends. In contrast to the Foreign Service, the military has always known how to appeal to the Hill. Congress has a predilection for old-fashioned rhetoric and good humor, so the southern patina of much of our military reflects sympathetically

a congressional veteran views the foreign service from the perspective of the hill

MARK A. EPSTEIN



The skills and attitudes necessary for diplomacy are different from congressional skills.

in congressional eyes, and if Foreign Service officers are a relatively rare sight on the Hill, the minions of the military are legion. The military, instinctively and by training, recognizes rank and power, and whatever may be simmering within, tends to appear dutiful and decorous. Members of Congress, sensitive to slight and conscious of their own power, earned vote by vote and dollar by campaign dollar, feel well treated by the military.

The skills and attitudes necessary for diplomacy are different from congressional skills. FSOs develop the ability to speak in a non-committal fashion to avoid binding themselves, the department, or the government unwittingly to some policy or view. They also spend much time dealing with other foreign and American professionals whose behavior is similar.

Elected officials, having run for office and met thousands of people from all walks of life, are usually perceptive. They are sensitive to evasive or unclear statements and sense immediately that natural diplomatic tendency to keep "unnecessary" knowledge from outsiders, among whom the Foreign Service often numbers Congress and its staff. Sometimes, the State Department is seen as not willing to report all its information to the Hill, which is not ignorant of foreign matters. Often the judgment of concerned legislators is both informed and prudent.

ANOTHER AREA of hot debate and source of constant friction between Congress and State is the matter of congressional travel. Few crises create as much dread in the hearts of FSOs as a CODEL. Whether CODELS are good or bad, intrusive or demanding, or come at a bad time, the real question is why professional diplomatic skills sometimes fail utterly in the presence of our own elected officials.

If there is a congressional stereotype of Foreign Service officers, the reverse also exists. Still, elected officials are elected by the people and have a legal standing in the chain of command. Sometimes inadvertently, FSOs behave toward elected officials in ways which would cost many congressional staffers their jobs.

When confronted with the requests of traveling legislators, some diplomats behave very undiplomatically. Incidents that the author has witnessed include: speaking in a tone of voice that is clearly and noticeably condescending; replying to requests for information by saying somebody else is responsible and the FSO cannot be expected to know; insisting that there is no time to freshen up before an official

dinner (after a full day of meetings); keeping a delegation waiting while conversing with local citizens; telling a delegation underway since breakfast that it is impossible to shorten a dinner and discussion by even 30 minutes, for fear of offending the hosts. Sometimes Foreign Service officers tell staff members that their boss is ignorant, badly behaved, votes incorrectly, has created problems for them, or is otherwise impossible. Imagine the impression made by complaints during the Iran-contra hearings that, "obviously," even the Democrats on the joint House-Senate committee wanted to whitewash the issue and were not brave enough to investigate it fully.

This is not the treatment Senate and House members are accustomed to receiving from "staff." They are used to staff doing whatever is asked, whenever it is asked. Their employees are personal appointees without civil service protection and no mechanism for appeal; the consequences of making the boss unhappy are certainly clear, often immediate.

The issue here is not whether the observations of diplomats about the nature and character of legislators and their votes are correct or incorrect, nor whether FSOs must sacrifice their right of free speech in the presence of the mighty. Would an officer consider treating an ambassador that way? Would natural professional reserve break down and an FSO share such feelings about his or her superior in front of a total stranger? Do officers routinely behave this way toward politically appointed ambassadors in their presence? However justifiable such attitudes may seem, they ignore an important reality: the ultimate annual performance report is written each year by Congress in the form of a budget.

This is not to suggest that there are not good, even excellent encounters between diplomats and legislators. There are, but just like the "man bites dog" rule in journalism, the satisfactory encounters have less impact than the poor ones. Since elected officials expect to be treated with respect and deference, the better experiences do not stand out as exceptional. Even assuming there are absolutely no potential benefits to be derived from the good will of senators and representatives, offending them is certainly self-defeating.

Another factor is frequently cited to explain the department's lack of clout. People argue that Americans are generally uninformed and disinterested in foreign policy. Therefore, the logic runs, there is no grass-roots support for State and its mission.

It may well be that elections are decided on domestic "pocket-book" issues, not for-

eign affairs. However, there is actually intense citizen interest in foreign policy matters, and citizens have become increasingly drawn into the realm of constituent politics. Rather than too little interest in foreign affairs, the State Department's problem may be too much public interest, coupled with the increasing ability of citizen organizations to influence policy through Congress and the media.

REFORMS WITHIN CONGRESS have greatly increased the involvement of individual members in the public debate. This is as true for foreign as for domestic issues. The days when a few members of the congressional leadership and a few interested legislators reached a bipartisan understanding with the White House about the thrust of foreign policy and proceeded accordingly may be gone forever.

In 1975, reform of the congressional committee system dethroned chairmen who had wielded immense power for years, and whose wishes generally prevailed. With the creation of subcommittees, power was distributed widely, albeit in smaller doses. Now that more elected officials occupy positions of influence as subcommittee chairmen, they and their staffs are lobbied directly by numerous groups with clear, often heartfelt foreign policy views.

The Ralph Naders of the Washington world demonstrate that lobbying Congress is no longer the exclusive domain of business or industry or anyone else. Non-governmental organizations are outspoken about such major questions as East-West relations and arms control, and their demands are often extremely specific, even going so far as to provide draft language for proposed legislation. Compromise solutions to sticky problems are often perceived by them and their supporters as defeats. One is almost nostalgic for the days of reasonable compromises among professional wheeler-dealers, who considered getting part of the pie a good outcome.

In this new world of competitive lobbying on foreign policy, elected officials feel obliged to respond to the requests of citizen organizations, leading both private organizations and legislators to make their views known directly to the desks of the higher-ups at State. For better or for worse, private organizations that find the department inaccessible or unresponsive often seek congressional help in bringing pressure to bear on State.

Congressional interest in "micro-managing" foreign policy is magnified by the ease with which foreign policy issues can be exploited

in the media to promote political agendas. Well publicized debates, televised hearings, narrowly directed legislation, "Dear Colleague" letters, and "sense of the Congress" resolutions are some of the characteristics of this new era. Distasteful as it may seem to professional diplomats that serious matters of foreign policy should be bandied about in this way, the situation is unlikely to change much in the foreseeable future.

These persistent tensions and misunderstandings between State and Congress need to be acknowledged before strategies to shore up State's image and influence are discussed. It is clear that the department recognizes the difficulties it faces. The fact that these issues are being discussed openly and vigorously is a sign of concern, as are the programs to create broader public support. There have been proposals to strengthen the Bureau of Legislative Affairs, and talk of doing more at FSI. There are also numerous programs to work with local foreign affairs councils, intended to shore up grass-roots support for State. Certainly those steps will be part of any strategy to improve the situation, but there is a larger, more elusive, preliminary task.

It might help to adopt some basic working premises before devising strategies for attacking the problem. The first premise is that Congress has more power over the department than vice versa. Since contact with the Hill is often sporadic and episodic, it is tempting to dismiss or underestimate congressional clout until a crisis occurs. Since the department's fiscal lifeblood and its influence are at stake, the raw power equation should always be kept in mind.

The second is that Congress has a range of implicit rights deriving from the Constitution, including the right to be wrong; exercise poor judgment; and even to behave undiplomatically. Barring violations of the law, for which there are legal mechanisms, their constituents are the ones to judge them.

The third is the successful lobbyist's watchword. Senators and representatives value accurate, reliable information on the basis of which they can weigh consequences and make informed decisions. They respect and appreciate those who provide it.

The final premise is that Congress as a whole is less concerned about relations with State than is the department, perhaps even unconcerned. That may be wrong, but it is so. Therefore, if the relationship is to be improved, it is the Department of State that will have to take the initiative and make the effort. If it is done well, there will be progress. □

The ultimate annual performance report is written each year by Congress in the form of a budget.



new development directions for congress and AID

the creation
of the
development
fund for africa
represents a
conscious
decision by
congress to play
a greater role in
development
assistance

GARY BOMBARDIER

IN RECENT YEARS the economic plight of sub-Saharan Africa has been the focus of renewed interest in the United States. While public attention has focused on the recurring images of drought, famine, and human suffering, specialists have sought to address the three more intractable issues of aid, trade, and development.

Numerous studies have documented the need for a substantial infusion of funds to promote economic growth and long-term development in Africa, and a number of new initiatives have been undertaken by international institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. At the same time, most studies suggest that a significant financing gap remains that can only be filled by increased bilateral assistance, either in the form of new infusions of aid or in the form of debt relief.

While many observers have been critical of the U.S. response to Africa's economic problems, one potentially important recent development—the creation of the Development Fund for Africa (DFA) and the role Congress played in its creation—has received little or no attention.

Originally proposed by Senators Kennedy and Kasten and later refined by others in the executive and legislative branches, the Fund has never formally been authorized by Congress. However, tucked away in the fiscal year 1988 continuing resolution is a provision of less than 750 words that has effectively brought the DFA into existence.

The establishment of the Development Fund for Africa is significant for a number of reasons. First, its creation represents a conscious decision by Congress to play a greater role in determining Africa's share of U.S. develop-

ment assistance.

As used here, development assistance refers to funding provided in the annual foreign aid appropriations bill under the following appropriation accounts: agriculture, rural development and nutrition, family planning, child survival and health, education and human resources development, science and technology, and energy and the environment. This definition excludes funding provided under the Economic Support Fund (ESF) and P.L. 480 (Food for Peace) programs. While both programs are important for a larger understanding of recent U.S. responses to Africa's economic problems, they fall outside the specific focus of this article.

In the past, Congress rarely played a role in the process by which U.S. development assistance was allocated to specific countries and regions, leaving those decisions largely up to AID. Consequently, the Africa Bureau had to compete with other AID bureaus to obtain a share of those funds. The establishment of the DFA reflected a growing congressional concern that Africa was not receiving a fair share of U.S. assistance in general, and of development assistance in particular.

When the Carter administration left office in 1981, the amount of funding in the foreign aid appropriations bill totaled \$14.4 billion. By 1985 that figure had increased to \$20.9 billion. Within this total, development assistance also increased. Yet, whereas development funding for some regions of the world, notably Central America, increased substantially, funding for sub-Saharan Africa increased at a far more modest rate. (See Figure 1) In real terms, taking inflation into account, development funding for sub-Saharan Africa actually declined, as did its share of all U.S. development assistance. (See Figure 2)

Defenders of the Reagan administration's response to Africa's economic problems would correctly point out that sub-Saharan Africa

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was a major beneficiary of increased funding under the ESF and P.L. 480 programs throughout this period.

However, much of the increase in P.L. 480 funding took place over Reagan administration objections, and regions other than sub-Saharan Africa benefited far more from growth in the ESF program. Moreover, much of the increase in ESF assistance to sub-Saharan Africa was offset by reduced aid flows to that region from institutions like the World Bank, which resulted from cuts in U.S. commitments to those institutions.

In short, the conviction that African economic problems were being shortchanged by the Reagan administration was well developed in Congress by 1985. Since 1985 that conviction has resulted in a number of congressional initiatives designed to address those problems. Over Reagan administration objections, for example, Congress funded a \$136.6 million U.S. contribution to the World Bank's Special Facility for sub-Saharan Africa in 1986 and 1987, and a smaller contribution to the International Fund for Agricultural Development's Special Programme for sub-Saharan African countries.

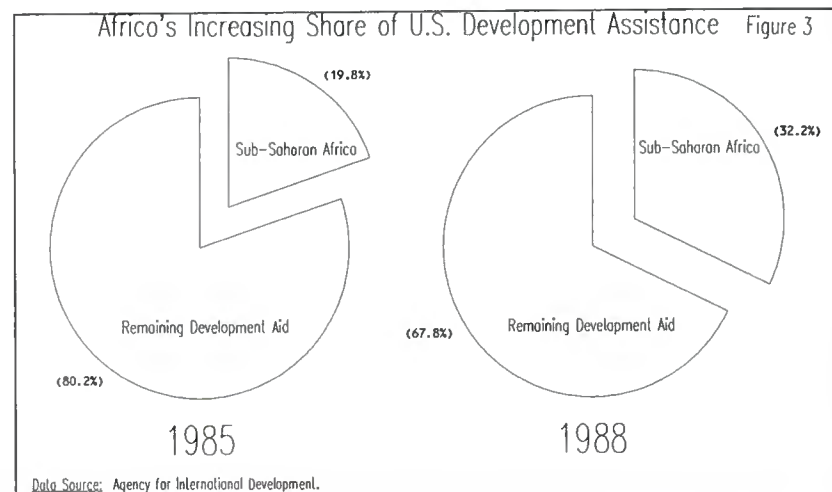
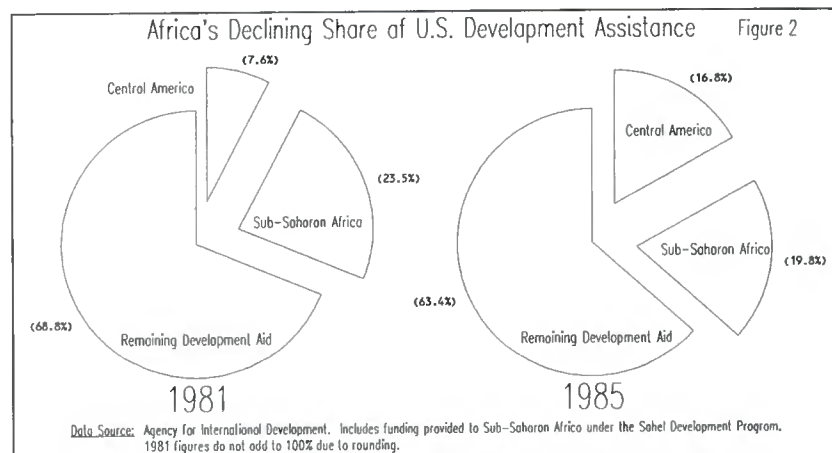
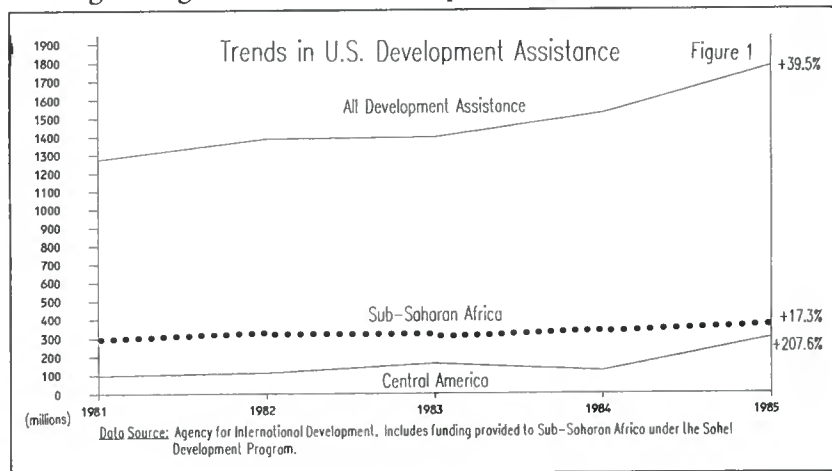
In terms of development aid, frustration with Africa's share of assistance led Congress to limit funding for Central America, which was the fastest growing recipient of development assistance, and in 1987, establish a minimum level of development funding for sub-Saharan Africa. The establishment of the DFA thus represented the final culmination of congressional efforts to involve itself more fully in determining development assistance in sub-Saharan Africa.

Whether Congress will ultimately prove more sympathetic than the Reagan administration to Africa remains to be seen. As Figure 3 indicates, however, the steps it has already taken have substantially increased development aid to the region and significantly boosted Africa's share of the total program, from 19.8 percent in 1985 to 32.2 percent in 1988.

A second important feature of the Development Fund for Africa is the expanded flexibility it provides to AID in programming funds. The provision bringing the Fund into existence states that DFA money can be used "for any economic development assistance activities." Before this language was adopted, AID's Africa Bureau would be allocated a share of funds for agriculture, family planning, and a variety of other specific purposes. In turn, AID missions in African countries would compete for a share of each of these pots of money. The missions would then have to spend funds

allocated to them from each pot for projects in those specific areas. By contrast, DFA money can be used for *any* economic development assistance purpose.

This expanded flexibility holds the potential for shifting incentives within the Africa Bureau. Under the old system, the incentive was to find problems on which to spend money and the system rewarded those who could do so quickly. Since population funds could only be used for voluntary family planning activities, for example, the incentive was to find ways to spend the money rather than carefully thinking through whether such an expendi-



The incentive should be on first defining what problems exist and the system should reward those who do the best job of making use of scarce resources.

ture represented the best use of scarce resources. Instead, there was a tendency to equate "money spent" with "development done."

As one recent evaluation of AID activities in Africa noted, the system affected "the career incentives of AID employees by rewarding them for procedural and tactical knowledge and for becoming experts at moving money, regardless of their technical competence or the impact of their work on a country's development." In theory, at least, that has now changed. The incentive should now be on first defining what problems exist and the system should reward those who do the best job of making use of scarce resources. But it is too soon to tell whether that will prove to be the case.

Two other features of the Development Fund are noteworthy. First, the DFA waives "buy-America" rules when it comes to procurement for Africa. AID could do this in the past on a case-by-case basis, but the expanded authority to do so should help to insure that projects are implemented in a more timely fashion. Finally, because DFA money is provided on a grant basis, U.S. assistance will not further exacerbate African debt problems.

Ultimately, success or failure of the DFA may well depend upon answers to three larger questions:

- Will the establishment of the Fund lead to a greater commitment of U.S. development aid to Africa?
- What role will Congress play in the future evolution of the Fund?
- Will AID's Africa Bureau be able to define an acceptable model for its future involvement in Africa?

FUNDING PROSPECTS. Recently, seven prominent black organizations called for a tripling of U.S. aid to Africa. They believe the United States should increase its current level of assistance to \$2-\$3 billion annually. However, any increase is likely to depend in part upon the new administration's sympathies to the region and whether it is more willing to address the larger budgetary crisis facing the United States.

As noted previously, foreign aid experienced substantial growth during the Reagan administration's first term. But beginning in 1986, as pressures to address the Federal deficit mounted in Congress, aid funding fell just as rapidly as it had grown earlier. By 1988, overall foreign aid funding had declined to \$13.6 billion, well below the level the Reagan administration had inherited.

As long as the United States refuses to address the problem posed by continuing Federal budget deficits, it is unlikely that the amount of funds available for foreign assistance will increase significantly from current levels. As the chairman of the House Foreign Operations Subcommittee, David R. Obey, has noted: "In the best of circumstances the next administration can plan on modest annual increases in foreign aid. But if progress on reducing the budget deficit does not occur, the next administration should plan on continuing decreases."

Yet, even assuming that the overall size of the foreign assistance budget remains stable or declines, both Congress and the next administration will need to rethink the issue of priorities. When Congress voted to establish the DFA, it also increased development aid funding for Africa (including funding for the Southern African Development Coordination Conference) to \$550 million. That \$153.3 million (38.7 percent) increase was a significant achievement since it occurred at a time when the foreign assistance budget was being cut for the third year in a row. In taking this action, moreover, Congress boosted sub-Saharan Africa's share to a little under one-third of all U.S. development aid.

Subsequently, when the Reagan administration sought to reduce development funding for Africa from \$550 million to \$510 million in fiscal year 1989, both the House and the Senate voted to restore the \$40 million cut. Yet, while Congress has clearly demonstrated its sympathy with Africa, it has not systematically addressed the question of what constitutes a fair share of funding for that region. Congressional action has tended to reflect what the traffic would seem to bear at any given point in time.

However, there is no reason why Congress could not decide that Africa should receive a specific percentage of development aid funds within whatever resources are available. CIDA, the Canadian development agency, currently targets about 40 percent of its resources to Africa. If Congress is serious about playing a larger role in the allocation process, it needs to set its own target and stick to it.

In turn, the next administration will have to think through what it can accomplish in Africa with whatever resources are available. As the Congressional Research Service has noted, U.S. aid has played a minor role in sub-Saharan Africa, in part because our assistance has typically been spread broadly among a large number of countries. The new administration will have to decide whether that con-

tinues to make sense, or whether a further focusing of resources on a more limited range of countries would be desirable.

THE ROLE OF CONGRESS. Regardless of the level of funding, the success or failure of the DFA ultimately may depend more upon whether Congress continues to provide needed flexibility to AID in administering the Fund. Here, too, the prospects seem questionable.

When the Fund was established, Congress did not earmark funds for specific purposes. To be sure, it did direct the AID administrator to target 10 percent of the funds in three areas: increasing agricultural production in ways that protect and restore the natural resource base, improving health conditions, and providing increased access to voluntary family planning services. However, these were targets that AID itself had suggested.

In addition, Congress created flexibility by allowing the Africa Bureau to count centrally funded programs administered by other AID bureaus in meeting these targets: for example, funding from the Office of Population is counted toward the target for family planning.

Congress also provided greater flexibility to AID by allowing it to use up to 30 percent of DFA money for non-project assistance (although it did prohibit the use of such assistance for structural adjustment programs, arguing that AID should focus on priority sectors like agriculture rather than on larger macroeconomic issues typically addressed in structural adjustment programs).

When Congress considered the foreign aid bill for 1989, however, enormous pressures built to earmark the Development Fund for specific purposes. For example, voluntary family planning organizations sought a straight earmarking of 10 percent of the DFA for their programs, not wanting AID to count centrally funded programs in reaching that target.

Similarly, pressures were also brought to bear to earmark funds for projects favored by the land-grant colleges and universities, and for child survival and basic education activities. While most of the proposed earmarks were rejected, the House effectively earmarked \$10 million in DFA money for disadvantaged South Africans and an additional \$29 million for African child survival initiatives. The Senate bill required AID to initiate six new basic education projects in Africa over the course of the next three years.

If this year is typical, then, pressures to ear-

mark funds for specific purposes are likely to increase. And once Congress begins doing that, it will be difficult to hold off those who would earmark for specific countries. The groups that seek earmarks are well entrenched and active, and the causes for which they seek earmarks—family planning, child survival, basic education—are difficult to oppose, especially since they could help build broader political support for the Development Fund.

There is no question that Africa needs more of everything—more food, more basic education, more family planning, and better access to health services—or that AID can spend funds earmarked for these purposes. What is questionable is whether African nations can sustain these services out of their own resources, and whether Congress will be doing Africa a favor if it encourages spending that cannot be sustained.

In short, there is a difference between doing good and promoting long-term development. To the extent that Congress earmarks funds for specific purposes, it may feel good and it may exercise authority. But it will lose its ability to hold AID accountable for results, since it will have substituted its own judgment as to what will best promote development for that of the Agency. In doing so, moreover, it will recreate an incentive system that rewards moving money.

But it is difficult for Congress to avoid earmarking. Earmarking is one important way in which Congress has traditionally demonstrated that it is a vital institution that can affect policy. Moreover, the groups that favor earmarks are well organized and active.

Ultimately, it is doubtful that Congress will be persuaded to avoid earmarking unless two things happen. AID's Africa Bureau, if it wishes to retain maximum flexibility, must recognize that it operates in a political context and needs to do more in areas that have strong constituencies. Given Africa's health problems, for example, it is difficult to make the case for a DFA that allocates less than 2.5 percent of its funding to health initiatives.

If Congress is to be encouraged to avoid earmarking, moreover, it needs to be engaged in the Fund's evolution in other ways, particularly in terms of oversight. There are at least three ways in which Congress can play a constructive oversight role.

First, it can look at specific programs, projects, and activities proposed by the Africa Bureau and raise questions regarding their merits. For example, one new project that AID has proposed in Lesotho includes funding to support range management reforms. Yet, an

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evaluation of AID agricultural activities in Africa suggests that AID has a poor track record in implementing these kinds of programs.

Congress needs to be encouraged to ask tough questions regarding AID projects; however, members of Congress deal within a wide range of issues. They are neither experts on the more than 40 African economies that are potential beneficiaries under the Fund nor development experts. Thus, congressional involvement at this level is likely to be episodic.

At another level, Congress can raise broader issues regarding the future evolution of the Fund. As noted, for example, Congress set three funding targets and has also limited the amount of the Fund that can be used for non-project assistance. On a continuing basis, Congress needs to ask whether those targets and that limitation make sense. Similar cross-cutting issues are likely to arise in the future.

AID, itself, has suggested a third way in which Congress can remain engaged by indicating that it will make its programs more performance-based by shifting resources to countries where results are being achieved. It has also indicated that 90 percent of the Development Fund will be targeted to some 20 priority countries in fiscal year 1989.

Congress can play an important role by reviewing whether these are the right countries, the criteria used in deciding which countries shall receive priority, and whether a further focusing of U.S. efforts would be desirable. For example, Nigeria is not a priority country. Does it make sense for the United States to ignore the country with the largest population in Africa? Zaire is a priority country, but it is also noted for widespread corruption. Can long-term development really be fostered in a climate of pervasive corruption?

While developmental criteria should play a significant role in the allocation of funds to specific countries, political considerations will also play a role. For example, AID admits that Ghana is a good performer and that Somalia is not. Yet, both were originally scheduled to receive about the same level of funding from the DFA this year because of ongoing political concerns raised by the State Department regarding Ghana.

In short, the establishment of the DFA has not eliminated the need for political judgment in the allocation process. Congress should participate with the State Department and AID in the process of making those judgments.

At whichever of these levels Congress engages itself, however, it is important for it to foster an ongoing dialogue with the Africa Bureau, and to substitute its own judgment

for the Bureau's only in the most egregious of circumstances.

DEFINING DEVELOPMENT MODELS. A final issue that will play a role in determining the success or failure of the Development Fund is whether AID can define its role in Africa in a manner acceptable to both the new administration and Congress. In recent years the Agency has been under pressure to choose between two competing models of development, both of which come in many variants.

To oversimplify, bottom-up development models suggest that development is something that takes place at the grass roots and that requires the active involvement of African villagers in all stages of the process, from problem identification to project evaluation. These types of models usually stress a major role for private voluntary organizations (PVOs) in the development process. They place a heavy emphasis on participation, since development is seen as a process of liberating the energies and talents of people, thus reducing dependency. Proponents of bottom-up models believe that AID must play a much larger role in promoting grass-roots development in its programming.

Top-down models view development as a process resulting from the accumulation of wealth and focus on a range of issues designed to alter African economies at the national level in order to trigger more rapid capital accumulation. Advocates of top-down models typically seek to draw attention to a broad range of macroeconomic issues: pricing and market mechanisms, exchange rates, budget deficits, and defining appropriate roles for government and the private sector. Changes in policy at the national level are seen as necessary to encourage capital accumulation, which in turn is needed to promote growth and alleviate poverty.

Debates between proponents of these competing models often become entangled in a variety of other issues: growth versus equity, basic human needs versus the need to adjust, and the extent of participation by intended beneficiaries in the development process. While AID has pursued both models at varying times depending upon the prevailing climate in Washington, it does not appear to be uniquely positioned to pursue either very well.

With regard to bottom-up models, AID lacks sufficient staff to meaningfully pursue this approach to development. While it is often noted that AID's mission system is one of its

great strengths as compared to other donors, AID is closing missions in Africa in part because of staff constraints and in part because it lacks sufficient operating expenses to keep them open. Unless AID's Africa Bureau is to become an organization primarily funding PVOs, proponents of bottom-up models should be asked how they propose to finance the very substantial increases in AID staffing and operating expenses that will be necessary to pursue this approach effectively.

Even if more staff and funding were available, proponents of bottom-up models may underestimate the problems AID's Africa Bureau faces. Attracting people to work in Africa is difficult because of harsh living conditions. Beyond that, AID missions are pushed and pulled by a variety of pressures that limit their ability to get into the field.

Yet, if AID is not well equipped to pursue this kind of approach to development, it has no special advantage in addressing the types of issues typically raised by top-down models of development, at least as compared to the World Bank and the IMF. Many on Capitol Hill doubt that AID is staffed with people who have both the macroeconomic skills and the detailed knowledge of local conditions needed to develop appropriate policy guidance for a large number of African countries. In addition, the level of assistance given to most African countries provides little incentive for those countries to accept U.S. policy guidance, which is likely to be perceived as less acceptable in any event than advice offered by non-political organizations such as the World Bank.

Even in the limited range of countries where AID has been a significant donor in recent years, such as Liberia and Somalia, the results of this approach have not been encouraging, in large part because the governments recognize that they can ignore U.S. policy guidance with impunity. They understand that U.S. assistance to their countries is driven primarily by security concerns, not how well they do in adhering to policy guidance.

In short, AID is neither a large PVO nor a small World Bank. Thus, the Agency must carve out a distinctive role, perhaps serving as a mechanism for bridging gaps between macro and micro development models by facilitating the efforts of others and focusing on those areas in which it has a comparative advantage.

For example, although typically initiated from the top, efforts to inoculate children against contagious diseases usually are implemented at the bottom, and AID has a role

to play in facilitating the efforts of PVOs at that level. But these activities cannot be sustained without a rationalization of African budgets that encourages the allocation of more resources to the health sector. While that issue may better be left to institutions like the World Bank, AID could focus its own resources on strengthening the health ministries of those African countries that are prepared to accept such policy guidance.

In the end, of course, one could argue that bottom-up and top-down models are irrelevant for a continent as diverse as Africa and that what is needed is the flexibility to tailor development plans for individual countries based upon their specific problems and needs.

While there is a strong element of common sense in this point, AID will undoubtedly continue to be pushed by proponents of these different models. Thus, Congress and the new administration need to come to a better understanding of the role they realistically expect the Africa Bureau to play in Africa.

While the establishment and future evolution of the Development Fund for Africa ultimately may prove significant, it only addresses the issue of aid. If the U.S. is to have a comprehensive response to African economic problems, additional measures are needed to come to grips with the issues of trade and debt.

ON THE DEBT FRONT, at least, Congress seems to be moving in the right direction. Both the House and Senate foreign aid bills for fiscal year 1989 contain provisions that allow the President to permit least-developed countries, such as those in sub-Saharan Africa, to repay principal and interest on development debt in local currencies. Those repayments would remain available in the country for development purposes. In addition, the President may forgive debt entirely if he chooses.

While the provision is modest in terms of the potential loss of revenues to the U.S. Treasury and does not address some of the most important debt owed by African countries to the United States, it is a step in the right direction. But the provision will only be meaningful if the next administration makes use of it and works closely with Congress in the future evolution of the DFA.

In short, while Congress has taken a number of steps to address African economic problems, the U.S. response to those problems will remain partial unless the new administration provides greater leadership. □



Inoculating children against disease is one Congress—AID development goal .

African Shells

IN THE DARKNESS, a dog barked—a chorus of replies echoed as others joined him. In the distance, the baby of one of the servants cried intermittently.

Audrey turned over for the dozenth time. No, she thought, it's not the dogs or the baby keeping me awake. It's this place; it's the foreignness, the strangeness of this country. But I'm the stranger here, she reminded herself; it's me who's different and I must get used to it. She rolled over again, sighed, and tried futilely to quell her apprehension.

It had been six months since Tom had come home from work with the news. His company was opening a branch in East Africa, and he had been offered the chance to initiate and manage the operation for the first three years. It was a marvelous opportunity for promotion and advancement. It was a chance for adventure, a chance to break out of the shell of suburban life that they had been living in, a rare opportunity to do something unique. They discussed it and decided to accept the offer, passing on their excitement as they told their two small boys, Greg and Tommy, of the new home they would have in Africa.

The months had passed quickly, full of preparations for the move. Audrey made encyclopedic shopping lists.

Bonnie Schmiel has returned from Mombasa, Kenya, with her family and is now teaching in Fairfax County, Virginia.

*After the frenzy of moving,
a family faces the reality
of a new culture.*

BONNIE SCHMIEL

When she wasn't signing documents, getting shots, or having photos taken, she chiseled away at the lists. She followed department store ads and discount sales, buying and storing in the basement everything from detergent and drain cleaner to Kleenex and contact lens solution. She bought six pairs of sneakers in graduated sizes for each boy, and tried to estimate a year's supply of underwear, shorts, T-shirts, and tube socks. She approached the challenge of moving with a determination that surprised even herself.

The house was sold, and the furniture put into storage. Wills were written, and powers-of-attorney conferred. One windy spring Saturday, they held a huge "Moving to Africa" yard sale. Audrey's mood was ebullient, even exhilarated, as she answered for the thousandth time the question, "Aren't you excited?"

The move was exciting, but I never let the reality of living in Africa penetrate the frenzy of preparation, she thought. I never took time to think about how I really felt moving 9,000 miles from home. I never considered that I might feel alone and strange.

Once again Audrey felt the familiar stab of panic and struggled to control it. She turned again in a fruitless effort to find a comfortable spot in which to calm herself to sleep.

Darkness turned abruptly to dawn as the sun rose rapidly over the equator. Brilliant light filled the room. The noise of the day's beginning invaded Audrey's ears as she fought the drowsiness of a poor night's sleep. The gentle voices of the servants talking to each other filtered through the window. The metallic clink of silverware and dishes and the splash of water signaled breakfast preparations. The rich odor of the local coffee slid up the stairs and into the bedroom. Tom was already up, shaved, dressing.

"Did you sleep last night, Aud?" he asked.

"Some, but the dogs were barking again, and then Albert's baby began to cry."

"You know, we can close up the house and turn on the air conditioners if the noise bothers you," Tom proposed.

"No, no, I like the fresh air at night and the breezes are cool," Audrey explained. If only you knew how easy it would be for me to close myself in, to hide in this house, to build a wall around myself, she thought. I can't allow myself to retreat into a shell because I'm afraid of this strangeness.

Audrey spent the morning in the routine of least resistance that had imposed itself over the last two weeks.

With the laundry, housework, and cooking chores assumed by servants, she settled herself into a garden chair under the shade of the deep, sloping roof of the veranda. She watched Greg and Tommy chase a rainbow lizard down the stone walk as she listlessly turned the pages of a novel. In about half an hour they would walk down the road to the beach where the boys would play in the waves and sand and hunt for seashells until lunch. After eating they would nap through the hottest part of the day, awakening in time to hear the crunch of the gravel driveway as Tom came home.

At least the boys seem happy, Audrey thought as she forced herself to pay attention to Greg's shouts.

"Mom! Mom! Can we go to the beach now? Is it time? I think the tide's going out now. We can find the best shells."

Audrey glanced at her watch. By the time they had assembled blankets, sun screen, buckets, reef sandals, and so forth, it would be time to go.

"Yes, let's get ready now, boys."

Audrey gathered the beach towels while Albert filled the thermos. Greg and Tommy changed to their swim trunks and fastened plastic sandals on their feet for protection against sea urchins and sharp coral.

"I think we have everything. Are you both ready? You've got to help me carry things." Both boys gathered buckets, shovels, and towels in their arms. They set off across the tarmac road down a path between palm trees and bougainvillea bushes.

As the path broke into the open at the edge of the sand, Audrey's eyes took in the scene before her. Despite her anxiety, the sight of the beach filled her with a tension-relieving satisfaction. Swaying palm trees, lush, deep green vegetation, white sand, and the aquamarine waters of the Indian Ocean: this was really the tropics, the coast of Africa as she had dreamed of it.

There were about a dozen men standing in waist-deep water rhythmically pulling in a large net of fish. Some African children played at the edge of the water trying to catch a hermit crab. They looked up and smiled shyly as Audrey and the boys approached. Two weeks ago the children had been

curious about the family who had come to their beach. Now they accepted their presence with the calm equanimity Audrey had seen on the faces of other Africans.

Greg and Tommy dropped their bundles at her feet and raced across the sand to the sun-flecked water.

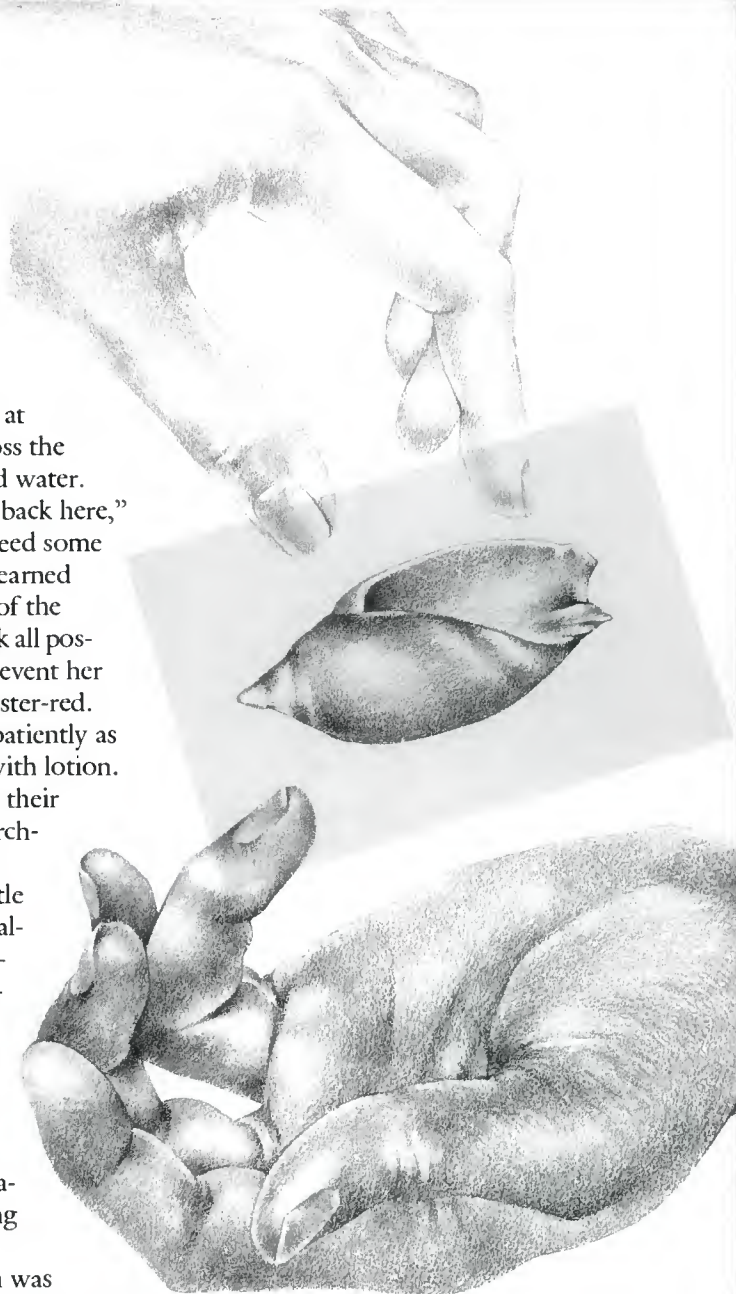
"Wait, boys. Come back here," called Audrey. "You need some sun screen." She had learned quickly the fierceness of the equatorial sun and took all possible precautions to prevent her boys from turning lobster-red.

The boys stood impatiently as Audrey coated them with lotion. Then they returned to their original purposes: searching for shells, chasing crabs, and catching little speckled fish in the shallow water. Audrey settled on her beach blanket under a palm tree at the shaded edge of the sand. Her face shadowed by a large sun hat, she gazed at the boys and felt the familiar lethargy creeping over her again.

Suddenly her vision was blocked by the dark form of a man. An old African stood before her on spindly legs, leaning with one hand on a stick. The other he thrust out before her. In it he held three smooth, oblong, porcelain-like shells. With his red-shot eyes, he silently offered them to her.

Audrey sighed. For what seemed like the hundredth time, she began to explain that she was not a tourist, that she lived here, that she didn't need to buy souvenir shells. I hope he understands a little English, she thought.

"No, for you, memsahib, for you and the little ones," the man used the old, colonial form of address. He put his hand further toward Audrey. "The little ones, they try to find these shells, but it is hard. You must know where to look. They are buried in the sand."



Audrey felt the acceptance in his words, and her eyes filled with tears as she gratefully reached for the shells. Her voice trembled slightly as she spoke, "Thank you . . . mzee."

The old African nodded slightly and slowly moved away. As Audrey watched him, she felt the smooth, rounded shells in her hand. There was a comfortable, familiar feeling to them, not cold or hard, but warm and safe and almost friendly. She glanced to the edge of the water. There Tommy and Greg were kneeling down, peering into the shallow sea pool.

"Hey, Mom, come here!" Tommy shouted. "We've found something great!"

Audrey stood up and waved. "I'm coming; I've found something too." □

Learning Disabilities and the Foreign Service Family

By ELIZABETH LEE FITZGERALD

For Foreign Service families with children, choosing a post can be a difficult and complex process, but when the special needs of a learning disabled child must be considered, the process becomes even more complicated, emotional, and stressful.

Between 7 and 10 percent of children in the general population have learning disabilities. Maryann Minutillo, director of the Family Liaison Office (FLO) says, "Our Foreign Service population is similar. So, we have to help Foreign Service families know what resources are available to them at various posts."

By Federal definition, learning disabilities "is a disorder in one or more of the basic psychological processes involved in understanding or in using language, spoken or written, which may manifest itself in an imperfect ability to listen, think, speak, read, write, spell, or to do mathematical calculations." A proposed amendment to the definition would include problems in acquiring social skills as well.

A common misconception is that dyslexia—a condition that causes a person to reverse letters and read words backwards—is the sole type of disability, but it is only one possible manifestation. Indeed, the disability pattern for each child is different. "Information is recorded in the brain through the five senses," the National Institute of Dyslexia explains. "This input, once recorded, is organized and comprehended, a process called integration. Once integrated, the information may be used or stored so that it can be retrieved (memory). Finally, one must be able to communicate this information to others. In the person with learning disabilities, something interferes with one or more of these steps."

These disabilities, presumed to be due to dysfunction of the central nervous system, can be found in children of average to superior intelligence, adequate sensory and motor systems, and adequate learning opportunities. Throughout life these disabilities can affect self-esteem, education, vocation, socialization, and daily living activities. This doesn't mean a learning disabled (LD) child is retarded or incapable of learning. "Each person with learning disabilities has learning strengths as well," the

Institute reminds parents of LD children. "It is important to recognize those strengths and build on them rather than be frustrated by the weaknesses."

Children with learning disabilities can learn, says Kay Eakin, Education Counselor at FLO, "they just need to learn differently." Most LD children require a school staffed by professionals trained to recognize their strengths and weaknesses and treat their particular needs. In considering a post, parents must determine the child's exact educational needs; review school literature; write directly to the school for specific information; research the availability of other community resources such as tutors, counselors, and recreational and medical facilities; consider acquiring some tutorial training in order to assist the child at post; consider one of the U.S. boarding schools that specializes in programs for the special needs child; and review all alternatives.

"It is critical that the family acknowledge educational concerns and request appropriate evaluations well in advance of a posting," FLO advises. As Minutillo stresses, "Only with sufficient information can a family realistically consider the options available both overseas and in the U.S." She adds that it's important for parents to keep informed about which posts may be more suitable for LD children because "it's a very changing situation."

FLO tries to pull together primary information, such as school recommendations, Minutillo says, but parents should also contact the Employee Consultation Service and the Office of Overseas Schools (A/OS) at the State Department for further details. There is also a Washington Parent Support Network, a recently organized group specifically for parents of children with special needs.

Once parents have gathered all possible information and have narrowed down their choices, Minutillo believes they have a good chance of ending up at their chosen post. "There is a human aspect to the Personnel department," she says encouragingly, "and the open assignment system does allow for choices."

"I think the system is more responsive [than before] to issues such as this," Eakin agrees, partly due to increased awareness. FLO has produced and distributed a packet of informational material on learning disabilities which is "part of a large awareness-raising campaign," Minutillo says. It is

hoped that those who make assignments will become aware of LD issues as well.

The packet, which contains information on everything from testing and diagnosis to tutor training for Foreign Service spouses, can be obtained from the FLO office at the Department of State and also from school directors of A/OS assisted schools, community liaison officers, and doctors and nurse practitioners at posts abroad.

Elizabeth Fitzgerald, a free-lance writer, will soon be posted with her FSO husband to Guayaquil, Ecuador.

A Parent's Viewpoint

By SUE PHILLEY

Knowledge of perceptual and cognitive disorders has exploded in recent years and special services are mandated by U.S. law for students who qualify for them. Many Foreign Service families, however, find that a number of overseas schools lack skilled teachers, tutors, and therapists.

The problems connected with learning disabilities have an impact on not only the child but also the whole family. The stresses on individual and family relationships ultimately can influence employee performance, marital stability, and sibling well-being. When professional support services are not available, families must face returning to the United States, where services are available and free, or sending the child to a specialized boarding school.

Often the very things that attracted a Foreign Service officer to an overseas career—travel, cultural and language differences—present challenges that may make LD children's lives more difficult. One characteristic of children with learning disabilities is their need for a consistent and predictable environment—not the moves and changes that may stimulate the parents. The frequent moves also mean different schools, with the resulting lack of consistent educational approaches and materials. Moves may hinder follow-up, close supervision, and continuity in even the best schools. In addition, outlets for physical and mental energy may be limited by urban or cultural or safety constraints not found at home, and there may be fewer opportunities for hands-on training or part-time employment.

One mother of an 18-year-old who has

Focus on Bilingualism

By PHYLLIS RAYNOR

Learning disabilities in children manifest themselves through numerous symptoms. Some children may experience difficulty in keeping attention focused, show inconsistent performance in school, or exhibit impulsive behavior. Spatial orientation problems such as reversal of letters and placement of letters in words may be evident. Poor fine motor control is visible in handwriting. Problems in sequencing cause difficulty in following directions and organizing school or homework. Some children struggle with oral, aural, or written language. The degree of disability differs with every child.

Foreign Service children often experience another dimension in their development—the exposure to a second language. It is difficult to generalize about bilingual children, but generally when a bilingual child has difficulty with reading in his first language, or delayed language acquisition, the child probably will also experience similar difficulties learning a

second language. It is believed that bilingualism is not the basis of a reading problem, but that the characteristic signs of a reading disorder are present in both languages, appearing in native and acquired languages with differing degrees, depending on the mastery and complexity of either language.

However, research indicates that bilingual proficiency is a worthwhile goal of any educational program—even one dealing with LD children. A single language policy is not necessarily most beneficial to such children, and in fact may ignore linguistic skills that help a Foreign Service child. Given the proper conditions, bilingual proficiency is not beyond the grasp of children experiencing reading or developmental disabilities, and acquisition of a second language may actually benefit the self-esteem of such children. Problems in instruction are often outweighed by the resulting boost in self-concept.

The LD child's success in learning a second language will depend on the appropriateness of instruction. Accommodations need to be arranged by the special education teacher, reading specialist, and

foreign language instructor. A multi-sensory approach, using visual, auditory, kinesthetic, and tactical techniques is recommended.

The educational assessment of LD bilingual children is complex and depends on many factors. Common sense is necessary in interpreting the tests as the norms may not accurately apply to a bilingual child who has not lived many years in the United States.

Decisions necessary in planning for the learning disabled bilingual child are complex and depend on many variables. The level of intelligence, degree of learning disability, motivation of the student, and the level of exposure to the foreign language are among the factors which must be taken into consideration. Successful classroom instruction will depend on the availability of feasible accommodation provided in the educational setting.

Phyllis Raynor, EdD, is a reading specialist in the Montgomery County, Maryland, Public Schools.

had consistent learning problems says that the family's frequent moves was probably the greatest single factor contributing to his reading problems. Experiencing difficulty in comprehending phonics in first and second grade, he then moved 11 times before the end of high school. Hindered by the demands of different curriculums and expectations, he compensated by becoming a very popular class clown.

However, there are many steps parents can take to help their LD child. In fact, most of these suggestions would help the educational development of any child.

- If your suspect that your child may have a learning disability, arrange with the school to have him or her tested. This may often be accomplished during a home-leave or vacation to the United States. A multi-disciplinary team evaluation is ideal and is usually available at pediatric centers affiliated with large teaching hospitals. Discourage too frequent testing, which may single your child out and be demeaning. A mobile lifestyle increases the importance of accurate record-keeping and awareness of a child's current and future academic requirements and achievements.

- Form a parent-support group that meets regularly to offer advice, share experiences and information, discuss school programs and services, and work with teachers and administrators in making long-term plans to better serve LD students—a

group in Bangkok holds monthly programs, shares books, and supports teacher training and tutor training. The Bangkok group offers diagnostic services to LD students, supports a resource room, offers a list of tutors, and provides services to children as early as in kindergarten. Recently the group became an official chapter of the National Association for Children with Learning Disabilities.

- Parents who are informed and contact the school in a non-confrontational, cooperative manner will be much more effective with teachers and administrators. Sympathetic teachers may be aware of student needs and may help identify students who require additional services. Students should be tested early for placement and services and to keep them on grade level. Once this special-needs population is defined, a special education staff of counselors, psychologists, and tutors may need to be hired. Another way to expand services for LD students is to increase "hands on" classes such as science, photography, and shop.

- Encourage positive role models. In one school, a basketball coach was asked by a parent to talk about ways he has dealt with his disabilities. Help your child to focus on his strengths. Find ways he can excel and gain self-esteem that are not academically related. Avenues may include sports, art, music, or travel. Encourage pay for work—it builds self-esteem. Support em-

bassy-sponsored summer work programs and summer camp opportunities.

- When you are on home leave, look into one of the summer camps in the United States specifically designed to bring LD children's performance closer to their grade level. Explore the possibility of using computer programs with your child. There are some programs specifically designed for learning disabled children.

- Discuss your child's abilities and disabilities openly to help him explain his condition. Encourage him to explain to his teacher that he learns best by active participation, or that he needs to take an untimed test because he has a learning disability.

- Read children's books or high school texts into a tape recorder; identify and point out information that relates to your child's life experiences; reinforce the written word whenever and however possible.

- Finally, at some posts, consider supplementing your child's classroom experience with correspondence study with the Calvert School of Washington, D.C., or the University of Nebraska. With parental involvement, a child with learning disabilities can flourish in the Foreign Service as well as in the more structured educational environment of a U.S. school system.

Sue Philley is one of the founding members of the LD support group in Bangkok.

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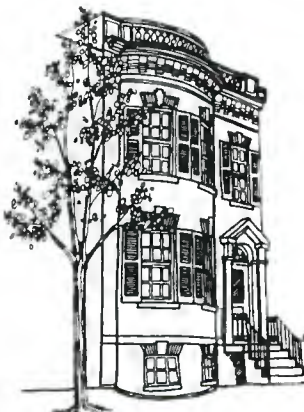
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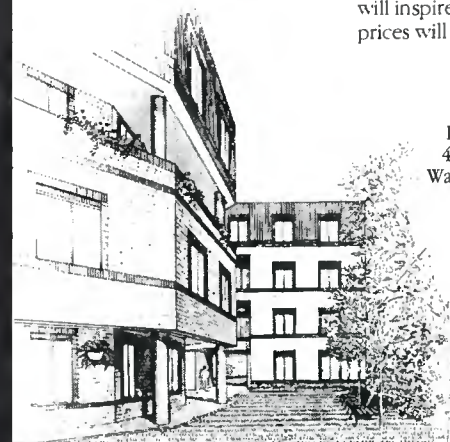
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Annual Report of the Governing Board 1987-88

President's Overview

This has been a difficult year for the Foreign Service, which made it a busy and difficult one for AFSA, one in which we have been deeply involved in a range of issues. At the outset, we engaged in a tough fight to maintain an operating budget for the Foreign Service. We played a leadership role in persuading Congress to relieve the critical budget shortfall for the Department of State. We did this with the help of many of our active duty and retired members. The other foreign affairs agencies were not faced with the financial crisis State was. State is still underfunded, on a starvation diet, as a result of administration and congressional policies. We are determined to work hard to change this critical situation through our 1988-89 legislative agenda.

Within AFSA, there have been structural changes that have had a positive impact. Consistent with our campaign agenda, AFSA established an office on professional issues, with the goal of restoring AFSA's historic focus on Foreign Service professional concerns. We are making a difference in how we convey AFSA's dual identity of trade union and professional association. We also began publishing the Retiree Letter, to communicate better with that significant group of members. We are pleased with the sense of involvement we are getting from members, in the form of participation in AFSA events here in Washington and in correspondence from the field.

AFSA has also done much to promote better understanding of the Foreign Service on Capitol Hill, beyond the budgetary requirements. We have gone to the Hill numerous times this year for personal meetings with key members of Congress and congressional staffers on a range of Foreign Service issues. AFSA officers testified on behalf of members at committee hearings on several subjects. The most recent was at the Simon Hearings on Foreign Language Competence in the Foreign Service in September, on the continuing need for language-incentive funds in addition to improved training. The benefit of such journeying to the Hill, in person or even merely by frequent letters to Congress, cannot be overestimated. The members need to do more also.

The next year offers exciting opportunities. We will have a new administration, politically and at the management levels of the agencies AFSA represents. The Foreign Service is a valuable resource if properly nourished and used, and we look forward to the opportunity to demonstrate this to the next administration.

—Perry Shankle, President

State Standing Committee

The budget crisis and reorganization proposals by management challenged the State Standing Committee throughout the year. Following Secretary Shultz's announcement in September of

1987, that budget cuts would force the elimination of positions and closing down of posts, the State Standing Committee mobilized volunteers to provide information to Congress about the need to fund the State Department. The Committee developed talking points for use on the Hill and with the press. AFSA's plan to effect savings without cutting positions helped to establish AFSA's credibility on the Hill with the key committees. The lines of communication established during that period have been useful subsequently as AFSA continues its effort to improve relations with Congress.

We were pleased by the many responses from members to the State Standing Committee's request for suggestions on how to find savings. These suggestions were compiled and submitted to the Office of Management Operations.

Views of subcommittees on personnel issues and comments from members helped shape AFSA's comments to the committee of experts mandated by Congress to study the personnel system of the Foreign Service. The subcommittees' work also formed the basis of three negotiations: Skill Cone Change, Precepts for Promotion, and Open Assignments.

- This year AFSA took the initiative to change the regulations to permit greater flexibility in skill code changes. The department agreed to AFSA's proposal that experience in IROG positions would count toward fulfilling the amount of time needed to apply for a skill code change. Equally important was the agreement that the director general would consider changes even if there did not appear to be a deficit in a cone and grade.

- The Precepts for Promotion agreement permits officers of all cones to develop a multifunctional career beginning in grade FS-3 and across the senior threshold. Requirements for functional promotions were made more compatible with actual experience. AFSA argued successfully for greater emphasis on leading and training subordinates. The agreement provides for Limited Career Extensions (LCEs) at grade FS-1 for specialists.

- A major improvement in the Open Assignments agreement is management's acceptance of AFSA's proposal that more information be provided about how the system works. The director general will send a yearly message to all employees explaining in detail what happens from the time a bid is received to the time an assignment is actually made.

We have sought through various means to encourage the department's management to provide more training for employees. AFSA agreed to the department's proposal to suspend the time-in-class for students of certain hard languages. We have also asked the department to suspend time-in-class for other training and detail assignments. We have asked that language training be provided to secretaries and specialists.

AFSA was in a position to provide useful comments to the Management Council when it considered the assignment of junior officers to consular positions. The State Standing Committee had polled junior officers overseas to determine how they felt about serving more than one visa tour in a row.

When the inspector general suggested radical changes in the assignment of junior officers, AFSA was able to speak authoritatively on behalf of the employees.

The Committee worked closely with the AFSA staff and drafted position papers and talking points on issues that have required legal or legislative action such as diplomatic immunity, post employment with international organizations, USUN housing, psychological testing, special allowances and language incentives, and revocation of security clearances.

The Committee deliberated and helped prepare a message to the presidential candidates and will work on bringing Foreign Service concerns to the attention of the transition team. We prepared a comment on the department's report to Congress describing the implementation of the Foreign Service Act. We sent copies of our comments to members of the House and Senate Foreign Relations Committees.

Committee members are: Evangeline Monroe (chairman), Jonathan Farrar, Chuck Schmitz, Sandra Odor, Ross Quan, Dave Smith, Ted Wilkinson, Jim Leader, Bill Duffy, Yvette Wong, and Robert Downey. Jim Derrick, Barbara Hughes, Ward Barmon, Shelley Johnson, and John St Denis were members until they were assigned overseas.

—Evangeline Monroe, State Vice President

AID Standing Committee

The AID Standing Committee has had another active year. Accomplishments included negotiation of new agreements regarding time-in-class (TIC) for FS-01s and below, revised promotion precepts to accompany the new EER form, and further modification of the EER form (negotiated last year), eliminating the adjectival ratings. That progress on our own agenda was not as great as we had hoped may be attributable to (1) the nearly complete turnover in personnel over the year, and (2) our being blindsided by a management proposal that required an unanticipated, major investment of time and effort—the review and negotiation of a new Affirmative Action Plan (AAP) for 1988-92. Negotiations on the AAP are still underway, and we hope to complete them within the next few weeks. AFSA is pushing for an AAP that holds management to a higher standard of achievement and accountability in the area of affirmative action while protecting the integrity of the assignment and promotion processes.

Institution of a TIC limitation for all Foreign Service personnel was mandated in the Foreign Service Act. The Committee was successful in negotiating a relatively liberal TIC requirement of 25 years from date of tenuring through the 01 grade. Still in the works are our investigation into IG practices and steps to protect employee interests in this area; monitoring of the Agency's compliance with the spirit and letter of the Obey Amendment; and completion of a Collective Bargaining Agreement with the Agency that would provide, most importantly, for a full-time AID AFSA position comparable to the two such positions for the State Department. The exclusively volunteer members of the Standing Committee have been kept occupied dealing with management-generated business; with a full-time position we should be able to be more responsive to both members' and management's interests and concerns.

Much remains to be done. We must do a better job of anticipating major work requirements and scheduling and promoting our own agenda. In this regard, we need your ideas on the upcoming year's agenda as well as continued feedback

and support if we are to be successful in representing and negotiating with management on behalf of AID Foreign Service employees. The field input we received regarding both the IG and affirmative action questions was very useful, and we look forward to hearing from you in the future.

—Charles Uphaus, AID Representative

USIA Standing Committee

Activities. The USIA Standing Committee organized a number of events for members and prospective members of USIA. New Junior Officer Trainings (JOTs) were hosted for get-acquainted sessions. A spring meeting featured staffer Deborah Sussman of the House Foreign Relations Committee, who discussed legislative initiatives and the mood on Capitol Hill regarding the Foreign Service.

Worker Bees. After several years of yeoman service working on AFSA issues in a variety of capacities, Steve Telkins relinquished the USIA Vice President's position to William "Jake" Jacobsen who was elected to succeed him. Vance Pace was elected to succeed John Walsh as USIA Representative. Guy Barton and Linda Jewell turned over duties on the AFSA Editorial Board to Lynn Sever and Larry Fuchsberg. Bruce Byers replaced Shelly Avenius on the USIA Elections Committee.

A Look Ahead. Total USIA membership fell to just below 200 by mid-year. We would like to bring back into the fold some former members, as well as attract some fresh faces among Agency personnel who are new to the Foreign Service. You in the field will be hearing from us by letter. And if you are in Washington, perhaps you would like to join us for a series of AFSA events for USIA members (and others) focused on the following subjects:

- The OER. A panel discussion with members from this year's selection boards setting forth the do's and don'ts of preparing and reacting to annual rating reports.
- The Agency—An Outsider's View. A session led by State officers on secondment to USIA and others who have been brought in from outside to serve in the Agency.
- Government Thrift Savings Plan. We'll hear from one of the financial experts who actually manages our assets.
- The Future of USIA as an Agency. We'll examine some of the proposals which have been floated over the years to restructure USIA.

Remember—your comments, questions, critiques or complaints are always welcome.

—William L. Jacobsen, USIA Vice President

Finance Committee

1988 turned out to be a year of change for the Finance Committee. Ambassador Ross, Jim Derrick, Steve Telkins, John Walsh, and Hank Merrill have moved on with reassignments. They have been replaced by Ambassador Lydman, Sandra Odor, Jake Jacobsen and the incoming AID Vice President.

While we are not very satisfied with the performance of our investment custodian, American Express/Shearson Lehman, we have decided not to seek a new custodian in the immediate future due to the uncertainty of the market place. We will monitor frequent communication with our account executive. The investment proceeds from the portfolio fund the AFSA scholarship program. Therefore, the return on investment in this case means more than just financial measure-

ment of performance.

We are pleased with our relationship with the Riggs National Bank. We have instituted lock-box deposits for our receipts and we are implementing other state-of-the-art cash management practices as the opportunities become available. We have also obtained corporate credit cards for use by our president, State vice president, myself, and the director of administration. The use of these credit cards has reduced the need for cash advances, provides for better audit trail, and strengthens the documentation of expenses.

Monthly financial statements are now provided to all Governing Board members. In addition, budget versus actual variance analyses are also added as part of the monthly report. The top officers of AFSA are now equipped with good and up-to-date financial information to assist them in the managerial decision process. We have changed our fiscal year from June/July to January/December, in conformance with the calendar year. This will simplify financial reporting and provide a better basis of reflecting the seasonality of our business.

Last, but not least, I would like to express my deepest appreciation for the excellent work and loyal support of Ellen Tenn, AFSA's fine controller.

—Sam Mok, Treasurer

Administration

1987-88 was a busy and productive period with many challenges for AFSA's administration. We consolidated and reorganized staff responsibilities, upgraded our State Department offices, improved the services and appearance of the Foreign Service Club and even found a few areas for cost savings.

A continuing challenge remains the upkeep and maintenance of the aging AFSA building, including equipment, structure, plumbing and electrical systems. Replacement of these items will eventually require major funding. With careful monitoring, timely repairs and a monthly maintenance program, we have been able to prolong the life of the roof, the furnaces and commercial kitchen appliances—most over 15 years old.

AFSA is committed to provide its Washington area members with a pleasant dining experience at the Foreign Service Club. Early this year, we contracted with new Club management and have been pleased with the result. Chef Manager Rosemary Brodeur, a graduate of the Culinary Institute of New York, specializes in light, California style cuisine. To give the Club its Foreign Service identity, we lined the walls with framed photographs of 175 graduating Foreign Service classes, dating back to 1922.

AFSA saw major personnel changes this year. Two new positions were added to meet our members' increasing requests for services and to develop a constituency for the Foreign Service. We eliminated an administrative assistant position. We also experienced a large staff turnover this year. Despite limited resources, AFSA is fortunate in continuing to attract highly motivated, versatile and talented professionals who work hard to meet the needs of our members.

During the year ahead, we hope to continue improvements in facilities management, data processing and reorganization of the headquarters offices. We also hope to be able to improve the appearance of the Club conference and dining rooms on the second floor within the near future.

—Sabine Sisk, Director for Administration

Legal Affairs

In addition to the numerous individual matters requiring legal action, the Legal Department handled a variety of institutional matters in 1987-88. Areas of involvement included:

Discontinuation of the AFSPA Overseas Option. AFSA filed suit against the department for termination of its special relationship with the American Foreign Service Protective Association (AFSPA), pursuant to which the department served as primary insurer. The decision takes effect January, 1989. As a consequence, AFSPA has discontinued its Overseas Option, and employees enrolled in the plan will be forced to obtain a new plan, at a higher cost. AFSA is seeking reinstatement of the department's role as primary insurer and AFSPA's continuation of the Overseas Option.

Nondisclosure Lawsuit. Along with seven members of Congress, AFSA filed suit to prevent the department from requiring employees to sign certain agreements which prohibit disclosure of "classifiable information." Because these forms are unreasonably vague, Congress enacted legislation banning their use. However, the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia ruled that the legislation was itself unconstitutional. AFSA won a partial victory when CIA Director William Webster issued a new nondisclosure form. The new form deletes the word "classifiable," which AFSA contends requires employees to guess whether information will ever be subject to classification. AFSA has appealed the district court decision to the United States Supreme Court.

D.C. Income Tax Lawsuit. AFSA filed suit challenging the constitutionality of new legislation that precludes Foreign Service officers from availing themselves of the long-standing exemption from D.C. income taxation for officers residing in the District but domiciled in another state. Foreign Service officers were the only group targeted by the legislation.

Psychological Testing. The department proposed a psychological testing program for Foreign Service employees, spouses, and adult dependents assigned to Eastern bloc countries. The program would involve oral and written psychological tests administered by M/MED. The department based its decision to initiate this program on the recommendations of the Laird Commission. The department has been reluctant to provide AFSA with information about the proposed program and has notified AFSA of its intention to impose psychological testing prior to completing negotiations. AFSA filed charges seeking a stay of the program.

Grievance Filing Time Limit. The department proposed to limit the time for filing a grievance to three years from the event giving rise to the grievance. AFSA proposed a waiver of the three-year time limit when the grievance involves a "continuing condition" or ongoing violation. The department claimed AFSA's proposal is illegal; AFSA appealed to the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board for a ruling.

Elimination of Language Incentive and Reduction of Special Differential. AFSA filed a negotiability appeal with the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board in response to the department's claim that its proposals to significantly decrease the special allowance for employees who are regularly required to work more than a normal 40-hour work week and to eliminate the monetary incentive for study and proficiency of designated hard languages are not negotiable. We are awaiting a ruling. In the interim, the department has stayed implementation of its proposals.

FS-1 "Cohort" Grievance. AFSA intervened in the class

grievance on behalf of all those FS-1's who contend they were misled by department statements concerning opportunities for promotion into the Senior Foreign Service and that the department's implementation of the senior threshold window violates the Foreign Service Act of 1980. The cases are currently before the Foreign Service Grievance Board.

Post-employment Restrictions. AFSA is actively opposing a bill barring individuals leaving government service from employment with any international organization of which the U.S. is a member for a period of 18 months. AFSA believes that this legislation would hinder the staffing of international organizations with people who have developed a sensitivity to U.S. foreign policy objectives.

Accountability Review Boards. Accountability Review Boards are established to investigate incidents involving injury, loss of life, or destruction of property, including making determinations as to possible breaches of duty on the part of employees. The department has convened Boards to investigate damage to the annex of the U.S. embassy in Honduras and the murder of the defense attache at the U.S. embassy in Athens. AFSA has pressed for formalized regulations governing the operation of these boards, and has insisted that the regulations be negotiated with us. The department disputes its obligation to negotiate. AFSA filed an institutional grievance, and we are awaiting a ruling.

Travel Advances. AFSA filed an institutional grievance in response to the department's August 1988 directive regarding the delinquent repayment of travel advances. The directive instructs rating officers to note an employee's delinquent repayment in his evaluation report. AFSA has requested immediate suspension of this new policy pending negotiations.

Sale of Personal Property. Congress enacted legislation banning U.S. Government employees serving abroad from retaining a profit from the sale of personal property. Because this new policy is government-wide, AFSA does not have the right to negotiate the final version of the regulations. AFSA submitted formal comments on the regulations to the department, proposing that employees be permitted to retain an amount from sale of an item of personal property equal to the tax liability incurred by the unrealized capital gain; that individuals be allowed to retain the fair replacement cost of the item sold; that interest expenses be included in calculating the basis or purchase price of the item; and that individuals be "grandfathered" so they have a reasonable amount of time to dispose of personal property prior to implementation of the regulations.

Marriage, Cohabitation, and "Equivalent Bonds." The department issued regulations requiring reporting of relations with foreign nationals, without notifying AFSA or providing us the opportunity to bargain. AFSA filed an unfair labor practice charge against the department and was able to obtain important concessions, including a more workable definition of cohabitation. AFSA also negotiated a proviso that non-reporting of a relationship under the criterion of the regulations will not constitute a security violation or result in disciplinary action, and that DS will not suspend an employee's clearance solely on the grounds that the employee did not report the relationship under the criterion.

Tandem Couples. AFSA intervened in the grievance of a tandem-couple member who was denied shipment of household effects and consumables allowance upon assignment to post. AFSA disputes the department's position that a member of a tandem couple who travels to post on her spouse's orders

on leave without pay is not entitled to her own shipment of household effects or consumables unless she enters a funded position within 60 days of arrival at post. The case is before the Foreign Service Grievance Board.

Revocation of Security Clearances. An increasing number of employees has been notified of the proposed revocation of their security clearances on the grounds that their security eligibility is not "clearly consistent with the interests of the national security." AFSA has represented many of these employees to ensure they receive the maximum due process protections and that the regulations are not applied in a capricious manner, to target specific individuals or groups.

Shuttle Bus Service. In January, the department cut in half its shuttle bus service among the department's office buildings. The reduced schedule resulted in rush-hour delays and severe bus overcrowding. AFSA filed an institutional grievance, demanding that the department return to the previous schedule pending formal negotiations. AFSA won its case and the shuttle bus was returned to its original schedule.

Post Differential Pay Cap. AFSA has formally noted its objection to the department's decision to cap the pay of all Foreign Service employees. The department claims that this change is necessary to comply with the spirit of recent legislation which limits the salaries of chiefs of mission. However, AFSA feels the new policy is an illogical response to the congressional action.

USUN Housing Allowance. AFSA worked successfully with Congress to avoid legislation that would have eliminated the USUN housing program.

Overtime Pay for Diplomatic Security Agents. AFSA filed an institutional grievance against the department when it "reinterpreted" its regulations governing "workday" and "workweek" to curtail the payment of overtime pay to diplomatic security agents. The department refused AFSA's request to negotiate this change and to revert to the status quo pending negotiations. We are awaiting a decision on the grievance.

—Susan Holik, General Counsel

Member Services

The case load of the Member Services Department has continued to expand in the past year. Grievance submissions have remained steady, but our role as a "bureaucratic trouble-shooter" has grown markedly, due to a plethora of payroll/administrative problems in the State Department (such problems are considerably less frequent in AID).

Grievances. This year AFSA represented employees in approximately 200 complaints, grievances, and mediations at the agency and Grievance Board level. We were successful in settling a good number of these cases informally, sparing employees the time and effort of the lengthy grievance process.

There continue to be a large number of grievances in the department that are caused by administrative error. The department has, on a number of occasions, failed to adhere to settlement agreements or Grievance Board decisions by not properly maintaining personnel files. We urge members to review their files periodically to verify that they are complete, accurate, and up-to-date, although it should be noted that file-related problems appear to be much more prevalent in State than they are in AID.

The majority of grievances concern performance evaluations. Improperly prepared evaluations can be particularly damaging in cases where employees have not yet been granted tenure.

As a result of a provision in the 1988-89 Foreign Relations Authorization Act, the Foreign Service Grievance Board has been accorded the authority to grant employees tenure.

AFSA is in the process of negotiating changes to the existing grievance regulations (3 FAM 660). In a related matter, AFSA has submitted comments to the Foreign Service Grievance Board regarding proposed changes in the Board's procedures (most of the changes codify steps mandated in the 1988-89 Foreign Relations Authorization Act, but some do not).

Backpay. Changes mandated in a recent appropriations bill permit, for the first time, interest on backpay awards. Interest is payable to any employee who, on or after December 22, 1987, has been found in a final judgment or decision to be entitled to backpay because of an "unjustified or unwarranted personnel action." Applications for payment under this provision are allowable only until December 22, 1988; affected employees should contact AFSA for further details.

Entry-Level Salary Disputes. AFSA is assisting employees whose initial salary was set in violation of applicable laws and regulations. We are working with a number of employees in AID's International Development Intern program who feel that they were brought on at inappropriate salary levels.

The largest affected group are certain classes of diplomatic security agents, many of whom have filed grievances. In response to one of these grievances, the Foreign Service Grievance Board ordered the department to issue a new Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) under which the salaries of all DS 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; as a result, AFSA has helped a number of employees file a new group grievance.

COLA Adjustments. AFSA is assisting a group of employees who filed a grievance when the cost of living rates at post were not adjusted for an extended period of time during the holiday season.

Payroll Problems. Problems stemming from the Office of the Comptroller (M/COMP) have become increasingly prevalent for State employees. These problems range from missing annuitant checks to untimely reimbursement of funds to inaccurate accounting of employee balances. AFSA has repeatedly brought these matters to the attention of management, but we always receive the same response: a shortage of trained personnel makes timely processing of claims and auditing of accounts difficult. AFSA continues to act as a trouble-shooter for employees, sometimes accompanying them in person to speak with department officials.

Travel Advances. The department has issued a directive stating that travelers who fail to submit travel vouchers within 30 days may be held liable in their performance ratings. AFSA does not believe that employees should be held liable when internal controls in M/COMP remain an extensive problem.

Management has argued that this is not a negotiable issue; AFSA has responded by filing a negotiability dispute with the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board (see Legal Department report). AFSA is also challenging the department's refusal to alter a management directive stating that employees with travel advances outstanding for more than 30 days are subject to payroll deductions. This provision does not adhere to 4 FAM 333.2-5, which allows for salary deductions only after a employee has been notified.

Credit Cards. AFSA continues to monitor the department's experiment with Diners Club credit cards, which are now

being issued in lieu of travel advances for domestically based employees going on temporary duty. AFSA has obtained assurances from management that the department's agreement with Diners Club prohibits the assessment of any finance or interest charges as long as the card is used for official purposes; the agreement further prohibits Diners Club from releasing any information resulting from employees' use of the card which could reflect on personal credit ratings. Any employee whose experience with the credit card program contradicts the terms outlined should contact AFSA immediately.

Language Proficiency AFSA provided assistance to a number of employees who had not received step increases for language proficiency upon entry into the Foreign Service. In a related matter, the Association has made a proposal to management regarding additions to the language incentive list.

Medical Issues. AFSA assisted a number of employees with medical concerns in the past year. Some of these cases involved employees who felt they had an inappropriate medical clearance and were thus being denied desired assignments; other cases involved workers compensation for injuries incurred on the job, or improper denial of other types of claims relating to medical problems.

Child Care. Congress recently gave the General Services Administration the authority to allot space in federal buildings for child care facilities. AFSA is an active participant in an organizing committee 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.

Pouch Service. AFSA is continually working to trouble-shoot problems which arise with pouch service to individual posts; in addition, we have been meeting with the department to help effect long-term improvements in pouch service. Improvements instituted in the past year include the establishment of a zip-code-plus-four code for each overseas post, and the introduction of a sophisticated computer program which can be used to trace pouches.

Leave Regulations. AFSA is close to completing negotiations on revisions to existing leave regulations. In a related matter, the Association recently completed separate negotiations with State and AID on a new "leave-sharing" program which will allow employees to donate unused annual 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.

—Chris Bazar, Director of Member Services

Professional Issues

Responding to a widespread feeling that AFSA should do more as a professional organization, the Governing Board created the position of Coordinator for Professional Issues which was filled in January.

AFSA Awards. A renewed emphasis on the awards program included an appeal by Awards Committee Chairman Bruce Laingen and a joint message to the field by Perry Shankle and Director General George Vest. These efforts brought forth 42 nominations, far more than in any recent year, for the four principal awards: the Christian A. Herter Award for senior officers, the William R. Rivkin Award for mid-level officers, the W. Averell Harriman Award for junior officers, and the Avis Bohlen Award for a family member. The winners

were honored on May 6, Foreign Service Day, first at a luncheon at the Foreign Service Club, which was addressed by former Secretary of State Edmund Muskie, and then at a ceremony in the Dean Acheson Auditorium, attended by Deputy Secretary Whitehead. The Matilda W. Sinclair Language Award was conferred on the one winner who could be present, representing the 10 winners of that award this year. (Nominations for next year's awards are due December 31, 1988.)

Memorial Plaque. Secretary Shultz read a message from the President at the traditional ceremony before the AFSA Memorial Plaque on Foreign Service Day honoring those who have lost their lives under heroic or other inspirational circumstances while serving their country abroad. Two names were added to the Plaque this year: Ambassador Laurence A. Steinhardt, killed in a plane crash in 1950, and William F. Buckley, murdered by terrorists in 1985. AFSA also honored 58 persons wounded over the past five years while serving their country overseas.

Foreign Service Day Brunch. AFSA also hosted the traditional brunch the day after Foreign Service Day, giving retired members an opportunity to socialize and to discuss current AFSA activities of special interest to retirees.

Lecture Series. A new series of lectures and seminars was launched July 22 with a luncheon address on the future of the Foreign Service by former Under Secretary for Political Affairs Lawrence S. Eagleburger at the Foreign Service Club. In August Ambassador Richard H. Melton led a candid, off-the-record lunch-time discussion on 'Professionalism and Political Pressures: The Nicaraguan Example.' Members should watch for notices of seminars on other professional issues.

Duty and Danger. AFSA published a booklet under this title describing examples of devotion to duty at unusual personal risk.

—Richard Thompson, Coordinator for Professional Issues

Retirement Interests

Over the past year, AFSA has sought to encourage its retired members to participate more actively in AFSA's program activities. To further this objective, we inaugurated the AFSA Retiree Letter, mailed bimonthly to retired members. The Retiree Letter reports on all developments affecting retirement benefits and suggests ways that retirees can take part in activities in support of the Foreign Service.

AFSA believes that Foreign Service retirees can represent the nucleus of a domestic constituency from which can flow wider public understanding and appreciation of the role of the Foreign Service. AFSA has a speakers' kit to help retired members in preparing talks before civic and other groups in their communities; so many have asked for this material that we are optimistic that a significant community speakers' program is getting under way.

There are an increasing number of state and regional Foreign Service retiree organizations being formed around the country. AFSA looks forward to assisting them in gaining members and planning program activities.

We also participate regularly in the department's retirement counselling seminars. Until the termination of the transfer period on June 30, 1988, we continued to provide advisory services to employees considering whether to transfer from the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System to the new Foreign Service Pension System.

In the legislative arena, AFSA promoted the enactment of

a provision in a technical amendments bill to the Tax Reform Act which would modify the "windfall benefits" penalty imposed upon Social Security payments to those retiring after December 31, 1985, with less than 30 years' Social Security coverage. Also, the Catastrophic Care Act, which became law on July 1, 1988, greatly expands Medicare coverage. It has many ramifications for Foreign Service retirees who are Medicare-eligible, so AFSA will continue to track any legislative proposals in the health insurance field which have a special impact on Foreign Service retirees.

—Robert Beers, Congressional Liaison Officer

AFSA Scholarship Programs

This year marked the end of an era in the scholarships office. Dawn Cuthell, who directed the program from early 1980, retired in June 1988 to return to school to prepare for a second career in the field of ecology. Her stewardship saw the growth of the financial aid program from 55 grants worth \$37,055 in 1979/80 to 72 grants last year worth \$93,900.

Twenty Foreign Service dependents received AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards in the spring of 1988. These awards to high school seniors from schools in the U.S. and abroad are in recognition of their outstanding academic records, their leadership qualities, and their extra-curricular activities. The \$500 awards this year were in memory of Walter J. Stoessel, Jr., outstanding career ambassador. The recipients were honored at Foreign Service Day in May when Director General George Vest presented a check and certificate to one student who represented all the winners. This year for the first time the Merit Awards included cash awards of \$100 each for twelve Honorable Mention winners, a reflection of the keenness of the competition and the difficulty of the choices.

The Merit Awards, created by AFSA and the Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW) in 1976, are determined by volunteer review panelists from AAFSW, AID, State, USIA, and the retired Foreign Service community. Of the \$11,200 distributed in Merit Awards, \$5,700 came from AFSA and \$5,500 was donated by AAFSW.

The Financial Aid scholarships, first offered by AFSA in 1927, are for full-time undergraduate study in U.S. colleges and universities and are determined solely on need. In academic year 1987-88, \$93,900 was awarded to 72 dependent children of career Foreign Service personnel. Forty-five percent of these funds were contributed by the AAFSW. These grants range from \$200 to \$2000, depending on need and the amount allowed by individual schools. More than 90 percent of the AFSA scholarship funds distributed in 1987-88 were used for these financial aid grants.

Contributions to the AFSA Scholarship Programs are always voluntary—they are never solicited. They come as memorial donations, contributions with dues, bequests, royalties, and honoraria, as well as from AAFSW BOOKFAIR receipts. As education costs rise, our grants have kept pace due to the generous support of the Foreign Service community, continuing income from the AFSA Scholarship Fund, and the large annual donation from AAFSW. During 1987-88, Claude G. Ross was chairman of the AFSA Committee on Education. Members included William R. Ford, AID; Monica N. Greeley, AAFSW; Mark E. Mohr, State; David W. Smith, State; and William J. Weinhold, USIA.

—Janet M. Biggs and Joan McGinley,
Scholarship Programs Administrators

Insurance Programs

Oversight of AFSA's group insurance programs has been the responsibility of a Board of Trustees established for that purpose by the Governing Board in 1981. The trustees determine the scope and nature of the program, negotiate and contract with insurance companies, administrators and others as necessary to provide a viable and beneficial program of insurance for our members. By its charter, the seven-member Board includes the treasurer of AFSA and one other member of the Governing Board—currently the State Vice President, Evangeline Monroe.

One of the first actions of the Board of Trustees was to encourage and assist the Foreign Service Protective Association (AFSPA) in the development of a special option under the Foreign Service Health Benefit Plan for personnel serving abroad. Following approval by the State Department, OPM and the General Accounting Office, AFSPA introduced the Overseas Option in 1986. This meant that the department reassumed its legislatively assigned role as the primary insurer of hospital costs incurred overseas, which in turn meant a considerable reduction in health insurance premiums for those who took advantage of the program.

Last year, however, the department notified AFSPA that because of budget constraints it would not continue as primary insurer after December 31, 1988, thus putting an end to the Overseas Option at that point. As of this writing the Governing Board was preparing to go to court to preserve this important benefit for the Foreign Service.

During the past year, three AFSA-sponsored insurance programs continued to grow and to provide security and more tangible benefits for many insured members. The largest program in terms of claims paid to members was the **Personal Insurance Plan**, providing insurance of personal property and legal liability for persons serving abroad. Last year claims amounting to more than \$100,000 were paid to AFSA members under this plan. Participation increased by 18 percent and, over the last five years, has nearly doubled. Under the program insuring against **Accidental Death and Dismemberment** the total amount of coverage in force for 1,200 insureds was approximately \$2 million. The **In-Hospital Income Plan**, with about 400 subscribers, grew as more members became aware of its special features and surprisingly low cost. The trustees are convinced that these programs offer unique benefits that cannot be matched elsewhere and that the costs are as low as or lower than those of most competing programs.

For the future, the trustees are considering a new proposal that would insure members (and their parents, if necessary) against the cost of *long-term care in nursing homes and at home, including custodial care*. They are also pursuing their search for an improved plan providing *disability income* insurance in response to the interest expressed by members. Any additional suggestions or comments would be welcome.

—H. W. Wolff, Chairman,
Board of Trustees for Insurance Programs

Membership

This has been a busy year for the Membership Department. Transition from one data processing center to another, coupled with staff changes, was difficult and caused more computer glitches than we had anticipated. A continuing chal-

lenge is to keep track of our very mobile membership especially during summer transfer season.

AFSA membership is at a current year high of 9,250. The breakdown includes: State, 4,660; AID, 1,180; USIA, 180; Commerce, 46; Agriculture, 11; Retired, 2,550; Associate, 370; Honorary, 15; Lifetime, 193; Jubilee, 45. Drives for associate and State members helped achieve the increase. AID, USIA and retiree membership drives are all planned for 1989.

Renewal response has increased significantly—to an all-time high of 45 percent for the initial October 1988 billing. This means reduced invoice generation and mailing costs, and a higher percentage of collected dues at year's end.

Various projects the Membership Department has been working on include: the annual Retiree Directory (already in production); the LAF drive; a data base clean-up (eliminating duplicate records, billing irregularities and incorrect addresses); and investigating alternative data base management systems.

—Mari Radford, Membership Coordinator

Communications Department

Two new staffmembers joined this summer: Ann Luppi as editor/director of communications and Patty J. Meier as the assistant editor/advertising manager.

During the transition to a new editor, Nancy Johnson, associate editor, ably served as acting editor for the July/August issue of the Foreign Service Journal. She continues to manage the monthly process of getting a quality magazine to its 10,014 recipients.

Patty Meier successfully oversaw a necessary increase in advertising rates which will be applied to all advertisers as their current contracts expire over the coming year. The results of a survey conducted in the spring, when approximately 10 percent of Journal readers were polled, provided the data that support the advertising rate increase. For example, one out of two readers in the past five years has made one or more purchases from a Journal ad. The results showed that each copy is read by an average 1.6 people—a total of 16,000 readers. They also gave excellent insights on what readers would like to see more of, such as articles on Congress and Foreign Service professional and personnel issues.

Beginning with the November 1988 issue, the Journal's paper has been upgraded to a type on which color advertising can be printed. This will allow us to offer a color advertising option and, we hope, contribute to the presentation of the editorial content as well.

In every issue this year, talented Foreign Service writers shared their personal impressions, professional opinions and creative storytelling with their peers. The Journal continues as the best and most effective publishing forum for writing by the active and retired Foreign Service community, along with top-notch journalists and policy analysts who write on relevant issues exclusively for our readers.

The editorial board had a large turnover this year, as six of the eleven board members were assigned overseas or had other obligations. When it reconvened, the board elected Anthony C.E. Quainton, State, as chairman, and Philip-Michael Gary, AID, vice-chairman. Under its new composition, the board continues to determine Journal content and goals.

—Ann Luppi, Director of Communications

State Standing Committee Cultivating Grass Roots

Evangeline Monroe, State Vice President



Do you remember what your grandparents said when you announced you were joining the Foreign Service? Mine thought I was going to teach school abroad.

The Foreign Service has no domestic visibility. We do our work in distant places. The American people have no idea what it takes to staff a non-proliferation treaty or a treaty to protect the ozone layer, or to gain landing rights for American airlines. The Bureau of European Affairs last year logged more than 40 years of uncompensated overtime, but this gift, which the equivalent of \$1.5 million, goes unappreciated. When the public does come into direct contact with the Foreign Service it is frequently under conditions of stress, in seeking help in finding relatives or friends overseas or in trying to replace a lost passport.

It is often said that the Foreign Service has no constituency. The fact is that the entire country is our constituency. It just does not always know it. Americans have a fair idea of what a member of the uniformed services does when they run into him or her in a drug store, a movie line or the public library. But when a member of the Foreign Service moves into a neighborhood, there is no instant recognition.

Even worse than ignorance of the Foreign Service is the misunderstanding that leads to the accusation that the Foreign Service does not represent American interests. As if we were more interested in protecting foreign interests than American interests. The Foreign Service serves all American interests, not just one region, not just one industry or sector. Which is more deserving, the spinner of fibers or the producer of textiles, the food producer or the food processor, the Port of San Francisco or the Port of Corpus Christi, Lockheed or McDonnell Douglas? What about the American consumer? The fact is, that the answers to these conflicting claims are determined in Washington, in a series of debates among agencies, between Congress and the executive, with a healthy

input by lobbyists and the press. The Foreign Service is a player all right, but its most visible role is sometimes as the bearer of bad news.

Fortunately, there is an increasing interest in foreign affairs, particularly in international economic affairs on the part of state and local governments. The Foreign Service must employ this interest to seek a better appreciation of the Service and to develop a constituency. Senator John McCain routinely tells new classes at the National Defense University that they must make speeches in schools and clubs to explain their role and maintain support for the armed forces. I thoroughly agree, and believe strongly that the Foreign Service is in no position to do less. Our work is too important. The United States must now deal with ever widening capabilities abroad. Our country faces stiff competition in agriculture, heavy industry, the production of consumer goods, and the development of new technologies. This process poses a particular challenge for American diplomacy. We must be able to field a diplomatic service that can deal with skeptics in Europe and the new leaders in countries such as Taiwan, Korea, Singapore, Mexico, and Brazil who believe that their rapidly growing economic power gives them a greater voice in world affairs. We must be able to gain economic advantage for the United States through negotiations and sound diplomacy.

Despite economic challenges from our friends and allies, the United States is still the leader of the free world. Our country deserves a Foreign Service strong enough to provide that leadership. American security depends on it.

The work the Foreign Service does is engrossing. We frequently feel we do not have time to worry about a constituency, but we cannot afford to ignore Senator McCain's advice. I would add to that advice the importance of keeping Congress informed about the Foreign Service.

AFSA is seeking the advice of public relations specialists and employs two part time lobbyists, but more needs to be done, and AFSA cannot do it alone. Without direct participation in the business of building a constituency by the members of the Foreign Service, we could continue on our unsupported path.

AFSA Holiday Festivities

Thursday, December 8
4—7 p.m.

Foreign Service Club



Old but New

AFSA is reestablishing the above emblem as its official and only logo. It identifies our founding date of 1924, which reiterates our motto of "for over 60 years AFSA has been the voice of the Foreign Service." The round seal symbolizes global identification.

Currently three logos are in use. Our insurance brochures still show the original stern and angular AFSA eagle, which was in use for several decades. During the last few years a modern design, the dual globe, was adopted.

No cost to the membership is involved in the change, but it may take awhile before you see the "old" logo uniformly in use, since we'll only replace it as existing supplies of stationary and brochures are depleted.

Scholarship Programs

WHO? For dependent students of all Foreign Service personnel who are serving or have served abroad for foreign affairs agencies covered by the Foreign Service Act of 1980.

WHAT? *Merit Awards* for graduating high school students in 1989 only, based on academic merit. *Financial Aid Grants* to full-time undergraduate students in the United States, based on need.

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

WHEN? All applications must be completed and materials returned to AFSA before February 15, 1989.



Managing Your Money

1989 Health Insurance Premiums to Rise 20 to 30 Percent!

Sabine Sisk, Director of Administration

These are the alarming headlines that Foreign Service employees and retirees in the U.S. have been reading in their morning papers during the last few months.

With the arrival of the open season for the 1989 Federal Employees Health Benefit Plan, Foreign Service personnel face the problem of deciding whether to stay with their plan or switch. AFSA is frequently asked to assist in choosing health insurance. However, so much depends on individual need, resources and family size, as well as options and differences in the many types of coverage offered, that only participants can make an informed decision. Nevertheless, we can give you a general overview on procedures, on 1989 costs of some of the

most popular plans, and some key points to bear in mind when comparing the smorgasbord of coverage offered.

Open season, from November 14 to December 9, 1988, is the period during which you can switch plans. New rates go into effect in January 1989. Detailed guidelines on procedures will be cabled to all overseas posts and comparison brochures will be mailed to all participants by their agencies as soon as received from OPM. Overseas personnel, unable to meet the deadline because of late receipt of the OPM guidelines, are granted a specified delayed registration period.

Insurance premiums are determined by contracts negotiated every year between OPM and individual insurance carriers. Premium costs are shared by participants and the government, with the government contributing at least 60 percent of the premium.

All health plans cover basics such as hospitalization, surgery, catastrophic illness, substance abuse treatment and mental care. In addition, some offer dental coverage, well-baby care, hospice care, prescription drugs, physical therapy, home nursing and organ transplants. Premiums also depend on whether standard care or "high option" is desired.

Be sure to obtain brochures for all plans under consideration and examine them carefully. Do not rely on summary information and charts in the OPM guidebook, as these don't purport to tell the whole story.

In all these plans, you are **co-insurer** to some extent. The carrier may pay 100 percent of hospital and emergency treatment, but will generally pay only 75 to 80 percent for outpatient treatment. Be sure that you know the extent to which you are co-insurer for various types of coverage, such as physician's services, treatment for mental illness, etc.

Be sure to be fully informed of all **exclusions and deductibles**. They are likely to differ in various plans, particularly with respect to maternity benefits, mental illness and substance abuse, dental services, etc.

Foreign Service personnel are sometimes exposed to special stress and hardships and should therefore be particularly concerned about the benefits provided for mental illness. In many plans such coverage is severely limited as to the number of visits covered, the mone-

tary benefits per visit and coinsurance requirements.

Catastrophic protection is one of the most important features of the FEHB. While all plans provide coverage against the cost of catastrophic illness, specific terms and conditions vary, and it is essential that you check this feature carefully. Look for special exclusions to the catastrophic coverage and be sure you understand them.

Last but not least, following is a review of some of the 1989 rates, as reported by the *Washington Post*. Premiums shown are bi-weekly.

Foreign Service Plan: The bad news is that the low cost overseas option is no longer available, unless we get relief from the courts. The good news is that the rates for the standard option are decreasing by 15 percent for single to \$21.91, and by 11 percent for family coverage to \$64.27.

AETNA: High single: \$77.84, up \$16.53; high family: \$147.09, up \$43.67; standard single: \$30.48, up \$14.06, standard family: \$71.08, up \$31.13.

AFGE: High single: \$78.87, up \$46.61; high family: \$143.78, up \$74.93. standard single: \$10.61, up \$3.25; standard family: \$23.06, up \$7.05.

Alliance: High single: \$31.66, down \$9.67; high family: \$105.50, down \$22. standard single: \$9.38, up \$3.65; standard family: \$25.27, up \$9.85.

Blue Cross-Blue Shield: High single: \$84.48, up \$33.64; high family: \$174.77, up \$69.42 standard single: \$15.10, up \$1.37; standard family: \$31.74, up \$5.16.

GEHA: Single: \$17.82, up \$1.31; family: \$33.69, up \$1.11.

Mail Handlers: High single: \$10.96, up \$1.52; high family: \$28.30, up \$3.91; standard single: \$10.60, up \$4.17; standard family: \$25.08, up \$9.88.

NAGE: High single: \$70.23, up \$43.51; high family: \$170.75, up \$102.23; standard single: \$12.36, up \$5.09; standard family: \$29.48, up \$12.13.

NFFE: High single: \$55.29, up \$26.49; high family: \$131.07, up \$60.77. standard single: \$23.51, up \$13.37; standard family: \$62.49, up \$38.67.

NTEU: Single: \$12.49, up \$3.56; family: \$28.20, up \$8.03.

AFSA Annual Membership Meeting November 15, 1988, noon Dean Acheson Auditorium Department of State

How will the Foreign Service fare in the next administration? What should we be doing in preparation? We need your views, suggestions, and guidance on these and other serious issues facing the Service and AFSA.

We want to tell you what we've been doing since our last membership meeting a year ago—the budget crisis and the Whitehead plan, DC taxes, psychological testing, shuttle bus, differentials, language incentives, congressional testimony—to mention just a few of the issues we've worked on.

Under AFSA bylaws, members may propose and vote on motions, and recommend a decision or course of action to the Board, providing such items appear on the agenda of the meeting and are within the authority of the Board. Any member having items for, or questions regarding the agenda, should contact the AFSA office at 647-8160. Proposed agenda items must be received by AFSA no later than November 10, 1988.



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