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Perry Shankle, AFSA President, 11/23/88

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Nominations for governing board positions must be received by the election committee no later than 30 days following the date of the election call. The election committee urges AFSA members to start thinking now of possible candidates, including themselves, for these positions so that they will be in a position to make nominations promptly after the issuance of the election call.

*Names may be submitted to: Elections Committee,
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*"Mr. Wonderful" wood carving
 by Pete Cecere, FSO - USIA*

Photo - Frances L. Trojci

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

Beefing Up Personnel

The Foreign Service personnel system wavers between developing expertise and encouraging generalists. A proponent of each method suggests revised strategies. And excerpts from The Prune Book tell what it takes to fill some high-level State Department jobs.

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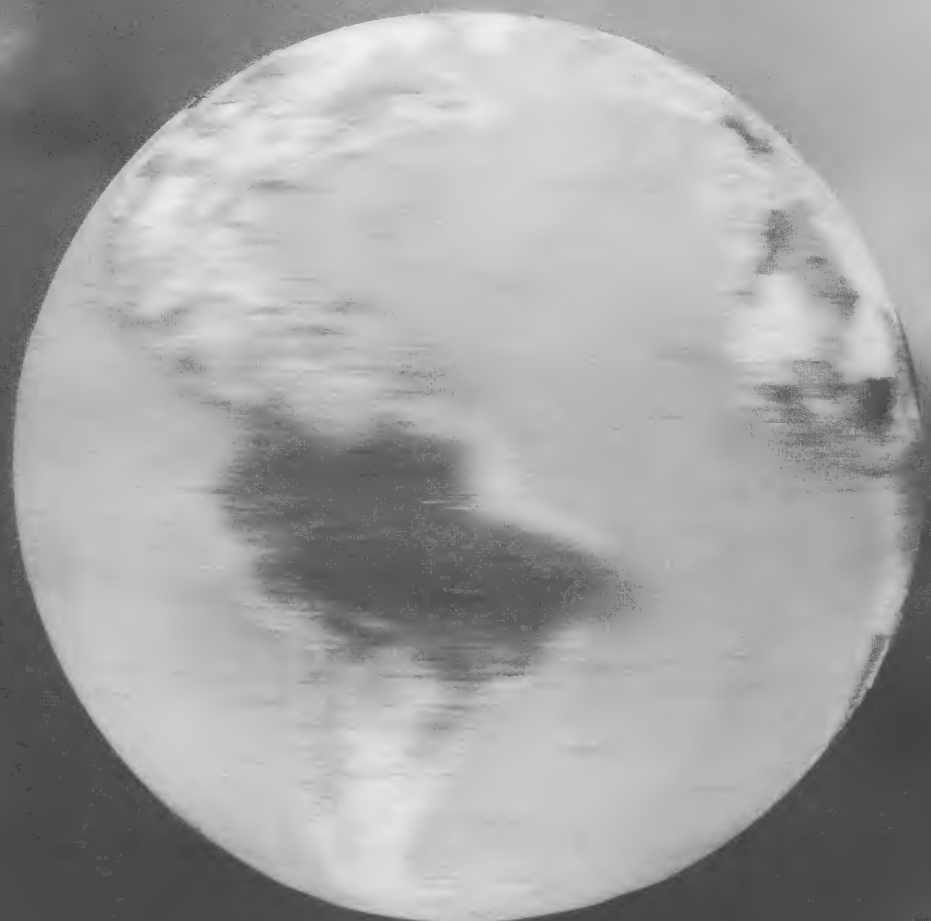
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Letters

AFSA Awards Criteria

As a member of one of last summer's promotion boards, I found the material in the October JOURNAL on the AFSA awards particularly timely. I was struck, in reviewing the files on consular and economic officers, by the surprising number whose records would have made them strong competitors for, say, the Rivkin Award. There probably were a couple of dozen consular and economic 0-2's who admirably met Perry Shankle's summary statement of the necessary qualifications—"the kind of demonstrated service and capacity for creative dissent that mark an exceptionally able and productive public servant."

At the same time, I was concerned, particularly in the case of the consular officers, that rating and reviewing officers who cared enough to write superb evaluation reports perhaps did not connect the work of consular and administrative officers with the criteria for the AFSA awards. Again, Mr.

Shankle's admonition that the criteria for the awards embrace all four Foreign Service "cones" is welcome and timely. We should all keep these criteria very much in mind not only at EER time but throughout the year, as we work to find ways to reward the risk-taker and the truly exceptional accomplishment.

RAY CALDWELL, FSO
Washington, D.C.

Helpful Information

I have been watching over the new Catastrophic Health Bill, giving speeches on the subject, and reporting on it to my NARFE colleagues.

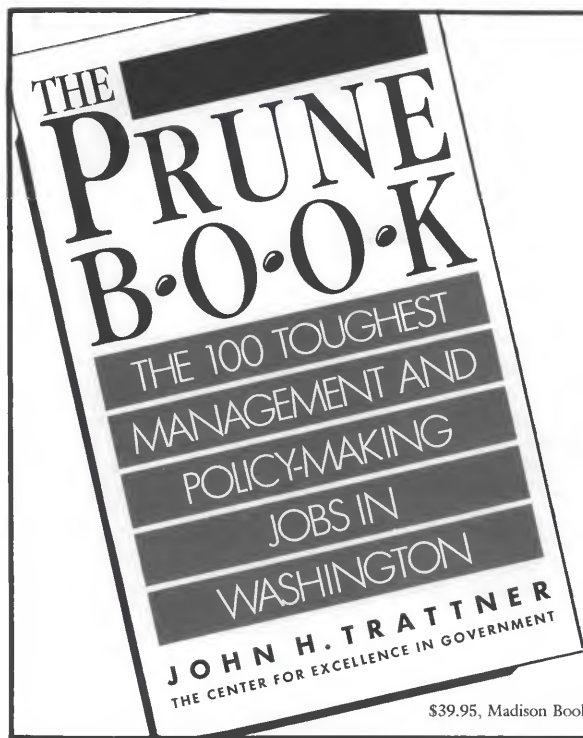
The article by Robert Beers in the October JOURNAL was so good that I felt I had to write and congratulate both Mr. Beers and the editorial staff for proposing this timely topic. There is a lot of misinformation out on this new bill, so reading Mr.

Beers' article was especially interesting. Thanks!

JOSEPH M. KEMPER,
FSR Retired and Member of
Senator John McCain's Council on Aging

Insurance Ideas

Sabine Sisk's report on 1989 health insurance premiums in the November JOURNAL was a welcome (and hopefully annual) summary of the different plans available under the Federal Employees Health Benefit Program. I would only add one important fact to be kept in mind by AFSA members who expect to transfer during 1989. Whenever you move from an overseas assignment to the United States, or from the United States to overseas, you can change your health plan in mid-year. You do not have to wait for the November-December open season. My personal recommendation is to have the Foreign Service Plan when you are over-



The Prune Book equips the new administration with insights into one of its most difficult initial tasks: staffing the key sub-cabinet positions that will carry out the President's mandates throughout the executive branch of government.

Based on interviews with nearly 400 individuals who currently hold these posts or have held them over the past two decades, **The Prune Book** describes the major responsibilities, necessary professional and personal experience and skills, and political and managerial realities of each position. The book captures the experience of those who know these demanding jobs intimately and have the perspective to articulate the challenges they hold for the new administration.

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scas because it understands what overseas conditions are all about. When you are in the United States, however, shop around. Some of the other plans are much more attractive in price, and provide very good service. I had GEHA for a number of years and was very satisfied.

HERMAN J. COHEN
Washington, D.C.

Supports Drug Legalization

It was with great interest that I read Dorothy Dillon's thoughts on the legalization of drugs in the October JOURNAL. Her views are precisely those I have held myself for a number of years.

Don't get me wrong. I am totally opposed to the use of narcotics except in clinical surroundings—and even then I have reservations. But to ban habit-forming drugs with stiff penalties is as hopeless as was the prohibitionists' campaign against liquor, as well as efforts made to ban to-

bacco—and these substances kill just as surely as drugs.

I suspect the article will get a lot of adverse reaction, which is one reason to demonstrate there are those on the author's side too. Drug legalization is not around the corner, but it is coming and the country will be the better for it, just as after repeal of the Volstead Act.

ANDREW J. KAUFFMAN, II
Washington, D.C.

Counseling Services

The November JOURNAL article on learning disabilities provides useful information on a topic of considerable concern to many Foreign Service parents. The article stresses the importance of obtaining appropriate evaluations when learning disabilities are suspected and urges careful consideration of school options. The Employee Consultation Service (ECS) is mentioned as a resource, and I thought it might be helpful

to explain more about the services this office provides.

The Employee Consultation Service arranges evaluations for children with special needs. The staff of clinical social workers is available to discuss parents' concerns and will assist with boarding school placement of children needing special education. FLO refers parents with special educational concerns to this office and we also welcome direct parent contact.

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Books

The Soft War

By Tom Barry and Deb Preusch, Grove Press, 1988.

U.S. Ends and Means in Central America: A Debate

By Ernest Van den Haag and Tom J. Faver, Plenum, 1988.

Crisis in Central America: Regional Dynamics and U.S. Policy in the 1980s

Nora Hamilton, Jeffrey A. Frieden, Linda Fuller, and Manuel Pastor, Jr., editors. Westview Press, 1988.

After more than 10 years of revolutionary turmoil in Central America, the debate still rages as to who are the good guys and who are the bad. Three recent books address this issue from a variety of perspectives, although all are essentially essays in

demonology, with the United States and its oligarchical allies cast in the role of devils. On the side of the angels are revolutionaries (Sandinistas and others), the Contadora countries, and the European Social Democrats. Only Ernest Van den Haag bucks the trend and speaks out unequivocally for freedom, U.S. national security interests, and an assertive and interventionist role for the United States. All are polemical in tone, arguing vigorously from distinct ideological points of view. These works, however, are not monolithic and represent different points in the political spectrum. Each in its own way tries to come to grips with the fundamental dilemma for the United States in Central America—how to relate global resources to regional goals; how to adapt means to ends.

While not ignoring ends, the writers concentrate on means, on those economic, military, and political instruments the U.S. has used to advance its objectives in Central America. In this they mirror the public debate on U.S. Central American policy. From

the administration's point of view the essential and overarching goal has been freedom—political freedom through democratic elections, economic freedom through market economies. Revolutionaries in Central America have not been interested in either—their goal, aside from power, is a radical redistribution of wealth in the name of justice and equality. These books do not, however, lay out this dichotomy clearly, and yet it is fundamental to an understanding of the ongoing political debate on U.S. Central American policy and the emotional polarization of attitudes in American public opinion. With the exception of Van den Haag, the authors and editors are skeptical about the administration's freedom agenda, assuming it is either a cover for naked ambition on the part of the United States or that freedom is irrelevant or unattainable until some substantial degree of social and economic justice has been achieved.

In these works, the United States is generally portrayed as a lawless promoter of both low-intensity conflict and skewed eco-

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conomic development priorities. To counter these "misplaced priorities," Professor Farer argues vigorously for the application of international law to Central America (law which Van den Haag dismisses as a figment of Farer's judicial imagination).

Authors Barry and Preusch claim that AID's strategy of developing export industries is condemning Central America to permanent underdevelopment, economic subservience to the United States, and rule by existing elites. They also assert that the preoccupation with low-intensity conflict is merely a cover for counterrevolution.

The third work, edited by Hamilton et al., is a more thoughtful compilation of articles on the region from a leftist perspective. The various authors analyze congressional attitudes, economic strategies, and the role of the Catholic Church. Less polemical in tone than either of the other works, it still counterpoises a United States desiring hegemony and a region needing radical restructuring of its economics. While some writers such as Xavier Gorostia note the weaknesses and the limitations of the Sandinista economic model, there is a tendency to forgive the shortcomings of radical economic and social policies and to assert the need for a reversal of America's regional priorities.

All in all, these works are long on exhortation and short on specifics. They urge the United States to change its political policies, to abandon its friends, and revise its development priorities. They assume that a commitment to nonintervention, an opening of the North American market to Central American goods, and formal repudiation of entrepreneurial elites in Central America would lead to positive outcomes for the United States and for the region. The authors ask that these assertions be accepted on faith.

Perhaps they are correct since present policies, Van den Haag's views not withstanding, have not offered clear or easy solutions. However, these are books whose arguments and analyses should be approached with a healthy skepticism although they are designed to make readers ponder the current discontinuity between American goals and means. In their ensemble they are provocative, eloquent, and animated by a desire for positive change in America's relations with Central America.

Anthony C. E. Quainton

Comparing Foreign Intelligence—The U.S., the USSR, the U.K. and the Third World

Edited by Roy Godson. Pergamon-Brassey's, 1988.

The fascinating series of essays brought together by Roy Godson is less about intelligence services than about "the new study of intelligence," as Godson terms this growing field of scholarship. The essays are serious, lively, thoughtful, provoking, stimulating—important reading for everyone.

A British student of intelligence, Kenneth Robertson, finds the United States to be the most influential center of intelligence study. However, he considers our "anxieties" about this work to be our main weakness and is encouraged by the influence of the "realist" school of thought expounded by Godson. The theme of another British authority, Christopher Andrew, is the relative difficulty of developing sources on the intelligence establishment in the United Kingdom. Andrew writes amusingly of outlandish government attitudes, but shows how he himself has still managed to gather reliable data.

John Dziak, a leading authority on the KGB, develops his thesis of the Soviet Union as "the counterintelligence state." Dziak believes that it is easier to get good data on the intelligence services of the Soviet Union than on those of the United Kingdom and scorns the weakness of studies that ignore the role of the KGB in the Soviet Union, "a state security system that can eliminate tens of millions of its own citizens at the party's bidding."

Dale Eickelman uses anthropological techniques to study the security service of Oman with consequent insights into both politics and culture. He has excellent suggestions for trying to understand the working of any foreign organization. Another required reading for all foreign affairs training courses should be Adda Bozeman's essay, "Political Intelligence in Non-Western Societies."

Intelligence often has been viewed by the Foreign Service as a specialty, rather out of the mainstream, if not actually distasteful. These authors, writing from academic points of view, treat intelligence services as key parts of the political structure, strongly reflecting national culture, rather than extraneous and mysterious boxes in

a chart of governmental organization.

John Horton

Swords and Shields: NATO, the USSR, and New Choices for Long-Range Offense and Defense

Edited by Fred S. Hoffman, Albert Wohlstetter, and David S. Yost. Lexington, 1987.

This is a compendium of articles on strategic and theater ballistic missile defense, nuclear deterrence, and Soviet military doctrine written by defense specialists, many of whom are serving or have served in government. There is an emphasis on new technologies of offense and defense.

Several common themes emerge. Many of the authors enthusiastically support the development by the West of ballistic missile defenses to enhance deterrence, to hedge against violations of arms control agreements, and to limit destruction as much as possible should deterrence fail. At the same time, a few express doubt on the crucial issue of whether such defenses would be cost effective at the margin.

There is even more consensus among the authors in their analysis of Soviet doctrine. As William Odorn puts it, "the so-called revolution in military affairs announced by the Soviet military in the 1950s and 1960s had as its logical development the trend away from massive and indiscriminate use of nuclear weapons toward discrete targeting as part of Soviet combined arms doctrine." The authors also believe that the Soviets incline toward surprise and preemption and that they have a strong preference for confining conflict to the level of conventional arms. Several see a danger to the West from high-accuracy intercontinental and theater conventional missiles, although one author raises doubt that such a threat will in fact emerge.

As in most collections of articles, there is some unevenness of quality and some redundancy in the collection. Thus the book is best read selectively. Particularly noteworthy are Notra Trulock's piece on Soviet perspectives on limited nuclear warfare, David Yost's analysis of strategic defense in Soviet doctrine and force posture, and James Thomson's essay on deterrence, stability, and strategic defenses.

David M. Adamson

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Periodicals

Columbia Journalism Review

When the Voice of America Ignores its Charter. By Carolyn Weaver. November/December 1988.

Weaver, a part-time writer for VOA, calls for the reestablishment of VOA as an independent corporation because the association with USIA, at least during the Reagan administration, has compromised its journalistic integrity.

According to Weaver, the Reagan administration view of USIA as a proactive agent in "public diplomacy" contradicts the "objective news" mission for VOA ordained in its charter. Weaver alleges that VOA music programs and news coverage were used on several occasions to send covert signals inside Soviet Georgia, Poland, and Iran.

VOA employees who questioned unusual requests, e.g. playing a Georgian folk tune on a show dedicated to American rock music, were told that the matter was "hush-hush" and that it had authorization from the very highest levels of the U.S. government.

Weaver also describes suspicious connections between Oliver North and one present and one former USIA official as part of an alleged effort to use VOA to advance Reagan administration Central American policy. The name of Edwin Warner, former head of current affairs in VOA, appeared in the notebooks of Oliver North in connection with three contra leaders. According to North's appointment books, Walter Raymond, now assistant director of USIA and a former senior officer in the operations directorate of the CIA, met frequently with North. Raymond admits organizing and managing the NSC inter-agency group responsible for public diplomacy but he denies attempting to monitor or influence VOA news coverage.

Whoever was responsible, the writer contends that much recent VOA coverage of Nicaragua (and other issues such as SDI) has been strongly slanted toward the administration's positions.

Although several outside studies of VOA have praised the high quality and objectivity of most of its reporting, these studies

have also mentioned the politicization of the editorials and some of the news coverage toward a pro-Reagan administration position. Using USIA for "public diplomacy" is exacting a cost in the international credibility of the organization, argues Weaver. The next administration should take steps to make VOA independent so that VOA can reclaim its most valuable asset: its integrity.

Arms Control Today

The End of the Sofaer Doctrine: A Victory for Arms Control and the Constitution. By Senator Joseph Biden and John Ritch. September 1988.

Biden and Ritch contend that the Senate scored a major victory in its struggle against "the (legal) sophistry" of Abraham Sofaer, legal adviser to the State Department, on the issue of the "treaty powers" of the president. The victory came last spring in the form of a condition to the resolution for ratification of the INF treaty.

Actually, the "Biden condition" was not directed at INF but to a dispute over presidential prerogatives in the reinterpretation of the 1972 ABM treaty. The dispute began when the Reagan administration claimed that certain planned tests of "exotic" SDI technology would not violate the ABM treaty; SDI opponents disagreed.

Sofaer first claimed that administration testimony during the 1972 Senate hearings on the ABM treaty supported the broad interpretation. But that claim proved to be patently false, as a reexamination of the legislative record clearly demonstrated. President Nixon himself repudiated this assertion.

The second administration approach hinged on an assertion that the negotiating record with the Soviets (as compared with what the senators were told in 1972) supported the more permissive interpretation. Senator Nunn, who later studied this negotiating record, took exception, but the administration, in the person of Abraham Sofaer, persisted. Sofaer argued that a president was bound by a particular interpretation of a treaty only if this interpretation had been: 1) "generally understood" by the Senate; 2) "clearly intended" by the Senate and 3) "relied upon" by the Senate. To his critics, however, these criteria, which they labeled the "Sofaer doctrine," masked "the

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most flagrant abuse of the Constitution's treaty powers in 200 years of history." In fact, Biden and Ritch claimed, "these beguiling principles" would be so difficult to demonstrate in actual practice, that a president would almost never be bound by what he told the Senate.

To buttress their position, the senators used the leverage of the INF ratification debate. Biden successfully attached a condi-

tion to the resolution for ratification which stated, in effect, that the executive's formal representations to the Senate on a particular treaty constitute the proper basis for subsequent understanding of the treaty and that the president could not unilaterally reinterpret a treaty. With Senate approval, the condition and the resolution were sent to the president.

President Reagan, in a post-ratification

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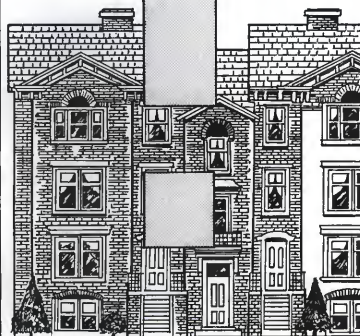
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letter to the Senate, claimed that a condition in a resolution of ratification could not alter "the allocation of rights and duties under the Constitution." In a last salvo, Senator Nunn responded: "The president's letter is entertaining but irrelevant . . . the treaty, including this condition, is now the law of the land."

Parameters

Congressional Resurgence and the Destabilization of U.S. Foreign Policy.
By Wallace Walker. September 1988.

Walker believes that the resurgence of congressional involvement in the post-Vietnam era "destabilized" U.S. foreign policy. This recent congressional assertion of power was not an aberration, however; in fact it followed a typical historical cycle of presidential expansion of power during a war and congressional reassertion following a war.

The Cold War and the advent of nuclear technology temporarily disrupted this cycle with presidential dominance and biparti-

san consensus. But once this consensus was broken, Congress reasserted its power with a vengeance, enacting 170 foreign policy actions, including the War Powers Act, all of which directly or indirectly constrained needed administrative flexibility. Moreover, congressional resurgence took place in an institution characterized by "member-centered government," i.e., a significant decline in party loyalty and a devolution of power to committees and subcommittees.

When foreign policy issues began to attain more electoral saliency, congressmen throughout this disaggregated system became involved in micromanagement of a myriad of foreign policy issues. Also, this decentralization provided more access points for intervention by new groups of extragovernmental lobbyists. In addition to restricting essential presidential flexibility, these "domestication" and "democratization" trends produced a breakdown in the coherence, consistency, and general efficacy of U.S. foreign policy. (Ironically, congressional involvement has given the president an excuse when foreign policies fail;

he can now blame Congress.)

To remedy this situation, Walker calls on Congress to limit itself to the role of "developing consensus on the broad parameters of grand strategy and pressing the executive to develop specific policies within that grand design."

Washington Quarterly

International Law, the Reagan Doctrine, and World Peace: Going Back to the Future. By Robert F. Turner. Autumn 1988.

The Reagan doctrine is not a repudiation of international law; properly understood and applied, it is a necessary affirmation of international law.

Reciprocity, self-determination, and non-intervention are fundamental principles in international law; if a state interferes by force in the internal affairs of another state, it is, in effect, cutting the sinews of international law and thereby repudiating its own rights under the law. Tucker argues that one can legitimately intervene by force

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in two cases: when that regime was installed partly as a result of the intervention of another, external power (e.g. as a result of Soviet-sponsored revolution) and/or when the regime is seeking to interfere itself in the affairs of other nations.

Tucker worries that some in the Reagan administration may see the Reagan doctrine as carte blanche for interference even in the absence of his two prerequisites. Perhaps not just the critics view the doctrine as antithetical to international law. Any misunderstanding should be clarified in the next administration.

Journal of Conflict Resolution

Public Attitudes Toward Key Foreign Policy Events. By Ronald Hinkley. June 1988.

On the basis of his own public-opinion work and recent work of others, the author argues that the foreign policy attitudes of

the American public are fragmented into six types of orientations; given the strength of these beliefs and their multiplicity, it will be very difficult to build an overarching U.S. foreign policy consensus.

Hinkley asserts that public opinion does have an effect on foreign policy at least in terms of setting the broad outlines of acceptable action. Vietnam did not so much create new divisions as expose differences that were already there, covered by the veneer of "bipartisan consensus" during the Cold War. Hinkley postulated three possible foreign policy divisions: isolationist-internationalist; unilateralist-multilateralist; and pro-force/anti-force. He then empirically examined public-opinion surveys to see how well these divisions described differences. On the basis of this data, he defined six types: hardliners; soft internationalists; accommodationists; forceful isolationists; and restrained isolationists. The coalitions between these groups shifted with the issue.

—by PHILIP ROGERS

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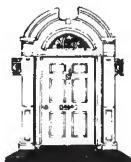
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Foreign Service Journal, January 1979:

The uniqueness and greatness of our Service may be self-evident to us, but experience tells us that it must be both asserted and demonstrated every day to an indifferent, skeptical, and sometimes hostile world outside. We must show that we really do believe in excellence by supporting efforts to recruit the best available people to our Service from all sectors of American society and by accepting meaningful selection-out and other procedures to maintain and raise our average standard of performance. We need equitable assignment procedures, but when they have been properly applied, we must put into practice the concept of worldwide availability by, in the end, going wherever they send us. We must not only maintain the core skills of diplomacy, but also be prepared to apply these skills to some of the newer areas of international relations. We must continue to become more sensitive and more proficient in our relations with the American people and the Congress. We must fight against the occupational diseases of our profession . . . which

can make us seem to others like the representative of a foreign country rather than our own. And we must rise above our own internal distinctions based on cones, skill codes, pay plans, and agencies—the guilds and castes of our profession. . . . There is more that unites us than divides us.

by AFSA President Lars H. Hydle

Foreign Service Journal, January 1954:

The great need in overseas work is for more people of the highest quality to fill senior officer positions. There are certain requirements at the senior level: great energy, passionate interest in the work, mature judgment in foreign affairs . . . the capacity to lead and inspire staff, insistence on precision, a liking for working in foreign countries, a capacity to adjust to change, and a capacity to win the respect, and, hopefully, the affection of colleagues and the people of the countries in which the officer serves.

It is not whether a man is a generalist or a specialist that brings him to the top, but whether he has capacity, breadth, interest and initiative—what we call flair. For

example, an agricultural attaché in the normal course of his work has the opportunity to meet farmers and peasants, develop contracts with agricultural leaders, civil servants, managers of agricultural banks, etc. If he sees his job in the widest context, he can use his specialty to illuminate for the benefit of the embassy all manner of political, economic, and social problems. The broader the interest of the specialist, the greater his capacity and initiative, the more he can contribute to the operations of an embassy, and the higher he can aspire.

Conversely, the senior generalist who is familiar with all problems but has failed to develop a deep and critical grasp of any of the major fields will lack the self-confidence required to make independent judgments, evaluations, and decisions. In short, the great need in the Foreign Service is for more officers at the top—whether they are generalists or specialists—who have drive and the kind of experience that enables them to relate one field to another.

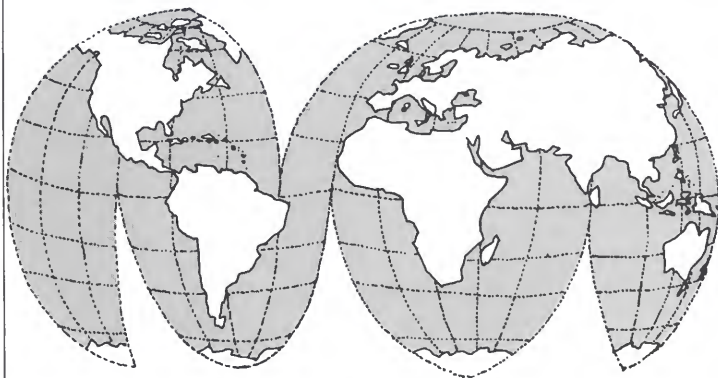
*by Ambassador Samuel Berger
"Staffing and Operation Problems"*

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Foreign Service Journal, January 1939: On Thanksgiving Eve, November 23, NBC presented a one-hour program entitled "Messenger of Peace." The double thesis of the broadcast was the role played by modern methods of communication in the conduct of state affairs, and the importance of the Department of State for peace.

The efficacy of radio communication was brought out in a skit based upon the rescue of the American legation at Addis Ababa in 1936. While the Italian armies were approaching the city, bands of looters and infuriated natives were threatening instant death to any white person who might appear in the streets. The legation walls were protected by native guards but they numbered only a handful, and the mobs were beginning to attack. The American minister to Ethiopia is heard reviewing the dangerous situation with his officers. Only the British have adequate military force, but direct communication with their legation, four miles away, is out of the question. Their only hope of saving themselves, their

women and children, lies in short-wave radio messages to the Department of State.

After a harrowing experience, the miracle is performed with the arrival of three truck-loads of Sikhs. The radio message has been picked up in Cavite, the Philippines, and sent to the Navy Department, whence it was relayed to the Department of State, all within a half hour. A telephone call to the American embassy in London, a call to Downing Street, one radio message to Cairo and another from there to Addis Ababa completed the cycle; 2,500 miles to reach one legation from another, which was four miles away.

As a finale to the broadcast, a short address was given by Secretary of State [Cordell Hull]. . . . concluding, "The wise formulation of policy depends in large measure upon the complete, accurate, and up-to-date information and mature judgment furnished by the experienced officers of the Foreign Service."

News article

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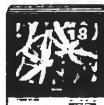
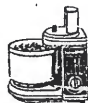
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Bush's first decision

Transcript of President-elect

Bush's news conference, November 10, 1988

Today I can inform you of my first decision regarding my cabinet. I talked to Secretary of State George Shultz this morning, and he told me that he enthusiastically endorsed my choice for the next secretary of state. George Shultz has given a great deal of extraordinary service to this country, a distinguished career. And he's given us the highest possible standards for public service, and he has helped our president achieve many foreign policy successes. And I salute him. As his successor, it is my intention to name James A. Baker III. I first persuaded Jim Baker to leave Houston and come to Washington many years ago in the Ford administration when he first came up to the Commerce Department. And since then, he has distinguished himself in every position that he has held.

In the Reagan administration, he set a

new standard of excellence in his four-year tenure as White House chief of staff and then over three years as secretary of the Treasury in that experience. His 7½ years as a member of the National Security Council, his proven skills as a negotiator and the personal respect in which he is held will allow him again to demonstrate the highest standards of performance as our next secretary of state. He has big shoes to fill but will get the job done. And I know he feels as I do about the distinguished men and women in our Foreign Service. He will lead them and he will work constructively with them to achieve our foreign-policy objectives. In these coming months, Jim Baker will not only prepare for his responsibilities, but he'll also serve as an adviser to me on key aspects of the transition.

That said, on the subject of appointments, I note the obvious. President Reagan is still the president of the United States, and I will not be using the tran-

sition to try to make or unduly influence decisions that are properly the president's. And, rather, I will be using the transition to assemble the very best possible team to meet the challenges that lie before us while also doing what I can to help bring us together after this long and difficult campaign.

As I said in the campaign, I will, for the most part, bring in a brand new team of people from across the country, and in my view that will reinvigorate the process. It will in no way reflect lack of confidence in those who have served President Reagan so well.

Baker's potential role

The Wall Street Journal,

November 18, 1988

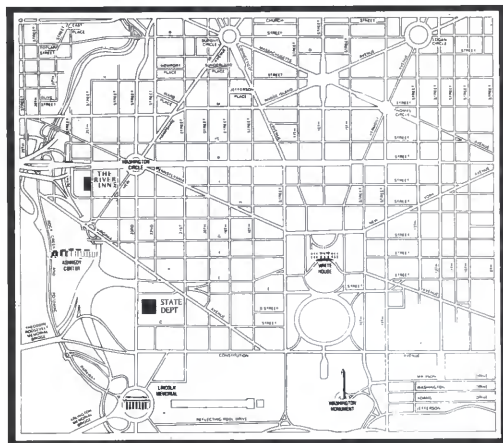
Some use the term deputy president, some say prime minister of the Bush administration.

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is that Secretary of State-designate James Baker will be the most influential cabinet member in modern times, exerting influence over a wide range of foreign and domestic policies under President-elect Bush.

"There's absolutely no record of a secretary of state who had the political background or the background in other jobs that Mr. Baker brings to his new job," says Kevin Phillips, a GOP political analyst.

For his part, Mr. Baker insists that he doesn't even have any interest in the kind of exalted role many suggest he will assume. "The notion of a deputy president, I would tell you, he feels strongly that that's absurd," says Margaret Tutwiler, a spokeswoman for Mr. Baker.

Several other factors, which will be worked out in coming weeks, will determine whether Mr. Baker plays the dominant role many expect or whether Mr. Bush chooses either to retain more power for himself or to spread it around. Those factors include . . . Mr. Baker's own choice

as his deputy secretary of state. If Mr. Baker hopes to devote time to playing a broad policymaking role, he will need an experienced deputy qualified to run the State Department on a day-to-day basis. Someone like former Under Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger would fit the bill.

Of course, regardless of how such matters are resolved, Mr. Baker could decide that it's in his best interest to simply tend to foreign-policy concerns. "It isn't good for him in the foreign-policy field if people think his time is divided and he spends a great deal of time operating on things that have nothing to do with foreign policy," says Mr. Sears.

And the pace of international affairs could become so intense so quickly that Mr. Baker wouldn't have time to weigh in on other matters. His style has always been to focus on a few issues where the chances for success are good, and national-security affairs alone could fill his short list of issues.

By Gerald F. Seib and Michel McQueen

Bush endorses strict ethics

The Washington Post, November 16, 1988

President-elect George Bush, seeking to head off conflicts of interest that have plagued past transitions, will require extensive financial disclosure and a strict ethics pledge from every person who serves in his 73-day transition, according to the counsel for the transition.

The president-elect intends to staff his transition teams with men and women who will be nominated for appointments in that department, Gray said, rather than individuals brought in from the private sector for two months to see their work ignored.

"A lot of erudite people worked on the State Department transition in 1981, and Secretary (Alexander) Haig . . . threw it all into the circular file. It's a waste of time and money," [said C. Boyden Gray, transition counsel].

"The rules sound obvious," said Marshall J. Breger, chairman of the Adminis-

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trative Conference of the United States. "In a certain sense, ethics rules always sound obvious, but they are frequently not focused on the rough and tumble of governing."

"You shouldn't have someone who served on the State Department transition team trying to influence the State Department on behalf of a foreign government," he said.

By Judith Havemann

Latest available statistics

Harper's Index, December 1988

Chances that a presidential appointee has received no formal training for the job: 4 in 5.

Percentage of presidential appointees who say they have trouble understanding financial disclosure forms: 70.

Restructure USIA?

The Wall Street Journal, October 4

The new administration must communicate its policies to foreigners more credibly and persuasively than is now the case.

USIA's first three tasks should be an integral part of the organization that plans, implements and conducts our foreign policy: the State Department. The department's Bureau of Public Affairs fulfills USIA's informational responsibilities here at home; there are sound reasons for not separating these activities overseas.

USIA's informational activities should be transferred to the State Department's Bureau of Public Affairs. A new area of specialization should be established in the department for information officers, who would serve entire careers in press postings at embassies around the world.

Journalists would view these spokespersons as an integral part of the U.S. government's chief foreign-policy-setting entity, and inevitably they would be accepted as more authoritative and credible than the press attachés now representing what is widely regarded as a "propaganda agency" or, at best, the U.S. government's "public

relations arm."

Ultimately, incorporating USIA's informational activities into the State Department should make our policymakers more sensitive to the importance of shaping public opinion abroad. This restructuring would also revitalize those cultural and academic programs designed to increase mutual understanding overseas. Conservatives are prone to oppose putting more duties in the hands of the State Department, whose intentions they don't trust. But they should address their concern over the leadership of State directly, rather than try an end-run that undercuts the proper mission of USIA.

By Diane Stanley, USIA Retired

Letter, The Wall Street Journal, October 18, 1988

The debate over how the international information and cultural programs of the U.S. should be organized is an old one. Diane Stanley's editorial-page article . . . adds little that is new to an issue of considerable interest to the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, a bipartisan presidential commission charged with oversight of the U.S. Information Agency.

The advisory commission recently canvassed all U.S. ambassadors on the relationship between USIA's information and cultural programs and how they advance American embassy goals. The responses from 71 chiefs of mission overwhelmingly support USIA's current structure and public-diplomacy mandate. Not one ambassador supported putting USIA's information programs in the State Department. Not one showed any concern that USIA operates with a "propaganda" taint, or that foreign journalists "resent" USIA's role in communicating foreign policy, or that information and cultural programs suffer from being co-located in a single foreign-affairs agency.

. . . As one ambassador put it, "I don't think it serves the U.S. government's public-diplomacy effectiveness to keep digging up the USIA plant to look at its roots."

*From Edwin J. Feulner, Jr.
Chairman, U.S. Advisory Commission
on Public Diplomacy*

Supreme Court to hear secrecy pledge appeal

The Wall Street Journal, November 1, 1988

The Supreme Court agreed to decide whether Congress may restrict the president's power to require that federal workers sign secrecy pledges covering government information.

Judge Oliver Gasch ruled last May that it is unconstitutional for Congress to limit the use of secrecy pledges for federal workers. Judge Gasch said such congressional action interfered with the constitutional powers of the president to protect information involving national security.

A bipartisan group of seven members of Congress and AFSA appealed to the Supreme Court.

The case involves a policy adopted by President Reagan in 1983 requiring federal employees to sign a secrecy pledge before gaining access to classified information. The policy was challenged by federal workers who argued that the pledge was too broad and covered unclassified material as well. In particular they objected to part of the pledge barring release of "classifiable" material, which they said could mean material that hasn't yet been classified.

While the suit was pending, Congress in December, 1987, barred the president from requiring a pledge covering "classifiable" material. Administration officials then defined "classifiable" to mean information that isn't clearly marked as classified or is in the process of being classified.

A new suit was then filed by the members of Congress and AFSA, arguing that by continuing to require secrecy pledges, the administration was violating the 1987 congressional prohibition. Judge Gasch then ruled that the 1987 prohibition by Congress was unconstitutional.

The Justice Department argued that there was no need for the high court to hear arguments in the case, and that the justices should simply affirm Judge Gasch's ruling. But Patti Goldman, a lawyer with the consumer-oriented Public Citizen Litigation Group, which represents the union and the members of Congress, warned that Judge Gasch's ruling "is so broad that the logic could bar Congress from acting in a wide range of national security areas."

By Stephen Wermiel

Adverse environments and Foreign Service children

ROBERT W. MAULE and SUE M. MAULE

Much has been written about the problems of the Foreign Service family. Commendable efforts are being made to ease the stress and strain of overseas life and the equally difficult trauma of reentry. But health is an even more important family issue. The children are the most innocent of victims. Not only are their young bodies much more vulnerable to overseas environmental hazards than are adults, they have no alternative but to suffer those risks. Foreign Service children, who resided abroad in adverse environments and only later discover the catastrophic medical consequences of that life, are cut off from the department's medical program the moment they reach age 22.

According to the medical division, the department bears no responsibility for medical conditions of former dependent chil-

dren unless there is incontrovertible evidence that life abroad in the Foreign Service was the primary cause. Unless the condition was identified in a separation medical examination (which was not always offered to dependent children), absolute evidence of causation is required. Given the inherent difficulties in establishing the cause of environmentally induced medical conditions, that is an unrealistic standard.

Only recently have we begun to understand the full impact of environmental hazards, the dangers of which fall heaviest on the growing bodies of children. The tragic consequences, sometimes in the form of cancer, may not manifest themselves until many years later, sometimes during the individual's mid or late twenties. Many former Foreign Service children who are now in the 25-35 age bracket were toddlers when

substances such as DDT were considered entirely benign. Some spent childhood years in Third World countries where controls on pesticide use were inadequate.

What has been the impact of early environmental hazards on Foreign Service families? If catastrophic illnesses strike now, the "DDT generation" of children is just at the age of greatest financial vulnerability. Medical bankruptcy may be the fate of some of our children unless the department can be induced to demand a less absolute, more reasonable standard of proof of the causes of serious, late-developing illnesses.

We gave this problem little thought until this year when both our daughters, now 28 and 29, developed serious endocrine-system cancers. As doctors told us that there is no genetic link between their two forms of cancer, we began to search for environ-



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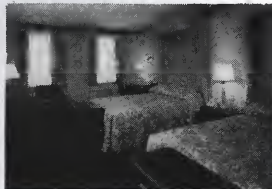
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mental dangers common to the lives of both daughters. Neither girl had smoked, used drugs, drunk more than modest amounts of wine, or otherwise abused her body. Thus other less well known factors must be involved. There were two possibilities—one daughter had been exposed to more radiation than normal and both had been subjected to extremely heavy amounts of DDT and other pesticides.

The children, two girls and a boy, were young when we lived in Baghdad, Iraq (1960-1963) and Port-au-Prince, Haiti (1963-1966). In Baghdad, our walled garden was gassed weekly by clouds of DDT misted from a truck. Sometimes we were not quick enough to get the children inside and, in any case, they were soon back outside playing. During our three and a half years in Haiti, DDT exposure was even more pervasive. An all-out malaria eradication program was in progress. Twice a year crews came to the house to spray heavy oil-based DDT on all inside walls. We complained, but only because of the mess and the inconvenience. Everybody assured us

that the chemicals were harmless to humans.

Also in Haiti, all children contracted mild cases of tuberculosis. Our younger daughter was left with a hard-to-diagnose lung cyst, and at age nine, was subjected to dozens of chest x-rays. A final diagnosis was never made, but her exposure to TB in Haiti appears to have been the most likely cause.

Early in January of last year, our older daughter's physician detected what he thought was a liver cyst. After removal of the cyst, her adrenal glands and other cancerous tissue, the definitive diagnosis was made: adrenal-cortical carcinoma, a very rare (one tenth of one percent of all cancers) and usually fatal disease.

Our younger daughter then thought it prudent to have a complete physical. Her doctor detected a lump in her neck and a complete thyroidectomy was performed. The final diagnosis was papillary/follicular carcinoma of the thyroid. Other potential problems are developing and she may need more surgery as well as chemotherapy.

Our older daughter has three children under age six. She was excluded from her husband's medical coverage and the family is having difficulty paying medical bills. Her treatment is debilitating and she needs more home help than they can afford. They have moved in with relatives and are losing their house.

Our younger daughter is now in her last year of study for a Ph.D. in psychology. Her student medical insurance was woefully inadequate and she had to beg her way into the hospital. Whatever the eventual medical results may be, neither daughter is likely to be fully insurable in the future.

Our son has escaped, so far, perhaps because males are believed to be less vulnerable because of lower levels of estrogen.

The odds against these cancers "just happening" to both our female offspring seemed too high for credibility. It was then that we went to the State Department medical division for assistance and support. Unfortunately, the department's environmental expert was entirely negative. Animal ex-

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perimentation notwithstanding, he was convinced that DDT has never been proved harmful to humans. We were informed categorically that nothing can be done without firm proof that our daughters' cancers would not have occurred anyway had we remained in the United States. Even our specific request that the department conduct an epidemiological study of former dependents who were subjected to similar hazards was refused for lack of data and resources.

We then turned to the National Institute of Health for help in researching medical literature on the risks of exposure to DDT and radiation. We found abundant evidence that DDT induces cancers in laboratory animals. There is indirect evidence of the impact of DDT on human cancer. One study determined that DDT residues were eight times more concentrated in cancerous than in normal human uterine tissue. DDT has also been shown to inhibit metabolic cooperation between human cancer cells, a trait that has been correlated with tumor activity. While the evidence may be less than absolute, it was sufficient to lead the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health to recommend that DDT be treated as a potential human carcinogen and to declare that exposure be limited to the lowest possible levels.

AfSA presented much of this evidence to the department but the response was the same. No absolute proof, no help, and no interest in looking further to see if there may be a more general problem. Is ours an isolated case, or do the environmental hazards faced by Foreign Service children constitute a ticking time-bomb for all of us? As the department will not or cannot conduct an epidemiological survey, perhaps we as parents can do so. We would be interested in hearing from colleagues whose children have suffered from medical conditions that may have been caused by overseas environmental health hazards. Just how many victimized former dependents are there? Please write to us in care of AfSA.

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

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The Foreign Service should build on

In the unending competition for influence over American foreign policy and control of key diplomatic posts, the greatest strength of the Foreign Service is in-depth expertise. As Malcolm Forbes, Sr. observed in the July 26 edition of *Forbes* magazine, the fact that the Foreign Service "abounds with people who are authorities on most every country and every matter which impacts on our foreign relations" makes it worthy of much greater public support. Indeed, the Foreign Service Act of 1980 stipulated that it intended to create a Service "characterized by leadership qualities and highly developed functional, foreign language, and area expertise."

Although most observers, inside and outside government, would agree on the critical importance of expertise for the Foreign Service, the Service lacks both strong professional standards for filling positions and a personnel system to develop true professional credentials in fields of foreign policy and operations. What makes this issue so timely today are two developments in recent years which strongly affect Foreign Service officers: the inundation of political appointees, many lacking professional credentials, and the new emphasis on a 20-year career, which for many makes the acquisition of transferable expertise a necessity. The Foreign Service should move decisively to adopt a personnel system which embraces the development of in-depth expertise as its core function.

Defining the Issue

Professional expertise and competence are the measure of the effectiveness of the Foreign Service in carrying out its central functions: advising the president and the secretary on foreign policy; representing U.S. positions to foreign governments; conducting international negotiations; analyzing international developments relevant to national interests; managing U.S. government operations abroad;

and informing Congress and the American public.

As American resources have grown more limited and other centers of political and economic power have arisen in the postwar world, diplomacy and international negotiation have become critical instruments of national policy. The nation has never been more dependent upon the arts of diplomacy: negotiation, persuasion, coalition-building, and accurate analysis. In addition, an authoritative Foreign Service will ensure that presidential foreign policy decisions are faithfully executed by all U.S. government agencies abroad and that the Department of State is strongly represented in interagency councils at home.

In-depth expertise is also very much to the benefit of the Foreign Service. The higher the standards which the Foreign Service sets for itself, the stronger its case against ill-prepared political appointees. The development of in-depth specialization in a definable field of international relations will also give each Foreign Service officer greater mobility in finding careers outside the State Department—a crucial point for junior and mid-grade officers who now have to prepare for the contingency of leaving the Foreign Service when they are in their forties or early fifties, especially given the difficulties which FSOs experience in finding second careers. Professional expertise will build self-confidence as Foreign Service officers become increasingly knowledgeable and recognized in their respective fields of specialization. It will also make the Foreign Service more attractive to the most promising young Americans, who will see an opportunity not just to perform rewarding public service but also to establish credentials in a recognized field of international relations.

Yet, despite such advantages in specialization, the Foreign Service personnel system is not moving in that direction. Consider a few examples.

First, the personnel system works on the principle of filling positions based on an officer's personal rank far more than on pro-

WITH EXPERTISE

its strong points: area and functional experts.

fessional qualifications for the job. Stories are legion about individuals who are well qualified and have advanced language skills in one area suddenly being sent to an entirely different area for which they have no qualifications. The system prohibits "stretch" assignments which facilitate placing individuals in positions for which they have the optimum background.

Second, Foreign Service officers have to wait longer and longer to enter into an area of specialization—despite the fact that they have only 20 years after tenure to develop a transferable skill. Mandatory assignments as consular officers and to hardship posts delay the development of expertise. Tours of duty in given area and functional assignments are too short to develop true expertise and valuable contacts.

Third, professional training and development in given fields have low priority. As the Stearns Report demonstrated, language proficiency in the Foreign Service is well below acceptable standards. Officers are assigned to new areas and functions without serious training programs. And the Foreign Service does not promote with positive incentives precisely those activities which help officers establish their professional credentials and help the department broaden its constituency: details to other federal agencies, to the Hill, universities, and private research institutions, as well as writing and lecturing in their field of expertise. Although such activities are permitted, they should be *required* for promotion, not be a disincentive to promotion.

These policies are sapping the Foreign Service of its greatest asset: the professional expertise of its individual officers. A continuation of this trend will vitiate the nation's ability to conduct diplomacy at full effectiveness and will further muddle the policymaking process by weakening the Department of State and strengthening rival centers of power in Washington that formulate and conduct the nation's foreign policy.

The Foreign Service itself can reverse this trend and restore a sense of authority and clan

to its beleaguered ranks. Indeed, a more assertive, competent, and self-confident Foreign Service can also regain a greater voice in fields where it has lost ground in the postwar years: trade negotiations, political reporting and analysis, national security policy, arms control, public information, export promotion, and immigration policy. With little or no expertise in these key dimensions of U.S. foreign policy, the Foreign Service cannot rightfully claim the lead role in advising the president and the secretary of state on foreign policy.

The following proposal would concentrate the efforts of the personnel system on the development of professional expertise. This does not require new legislation—although the Foreign Service should consult closely with Congress. The suggestions proposed below can be effected through changes in current policies toward assignments and training. No changes in the Foreign Service Act or in the "cone" system will be required. No additional funds will be needed.

Greater Specialization

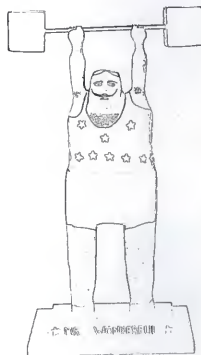
The current four-cone system would be retained, but areas of specialization would be established within each cone. (See Box A for proposed areas of specialization by cone.)

The term "specialist" has always had a somewhat derogatory resonance, because it implies a kind of career where officers become minutely focused on excessively specialized or programmatic work which ill equips them for broader management responsibilities.

This view overlooks the fact that professional expertise in a geographic or functional area requires a broadly based person with a

Leo Reddy, currently detailed at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C., is a specialist in politico-military affairs with a sub-specialty in European affairs.

LEO REDDY



***Each bureau
would be
responsible for
its own
recruitment
program***

command of several different professional skills. For example, a true geographic area "specialist" in Foreign Service terms would be an individual who could speak at least one and preferably two area languages fluently; have a well developed set of contacts with influential individuals in the area; know the history, politics, economics, and cultural heritage of every nation in the geographic area; and have an authoritative knowledge of U.S. foreign policy objectives throughout that area. Another overlooked fact is that area and functional specialists gain management experience as they move up the ladder in their respective fields.

Entry level. All candidates for the Foreign Service exam would be given a brochure detailing the opportunities for specialization. At the time of the exam, the applicant would choose one of the four cones and two alternative areas of specialization. Based upon the needs of the individual bureaus, a quota would be established for each cone and area of specialization from which successful candidates would be ranked for selection.

The Foreign Service would also search for promising candidates in order to encourage

them to take the exam. Each bureau would be responsible for its own recruitment program and would be expected to be in close contact with those institutions which train in the fields of interest to the bureaus.

Career development. A new Foreign Service officer's career would begin with an assignment in his area of specialization, immediately following the basic orientation course (A-100) and appropriate language/area/functional training. (To relieve the current requirement that junior FSOs perform consular work, the department would contract qualified and interested spouses to provide basic visa and passport services abroad.) During the officer's second assignment, which would also be in his or her primary area of specialization, the officer would select a second area of specialization. The second area could be selected from within one's own cone or from another cone, but must be substantively related to the officer's primary specialization. Typically, an officer would complement a functional area of specialization and a geographic specialization, but this would not be mandatory. (Box B presents an illustrative mix of primary and secondary areas of specialization.)

Training and credentials. Each officer would be required to develop strong professional skills in both the primary and secondary field of specialization. High priority would be given to language proficiency for area specialists and functional training for functional specialists. Over the course of 20 years, the officer would be required to have at least one detail outside of the department in a relevant government or private organization. The officer would be recognized favorably for developing contacts outside the department and for writing and lecturing.

At the high mid-grade level (FS-1), an officer would have to appear before a specialization credentials committee and be examined for professional competence in that field. The director general of the Foreign Service would be responsible for establishing the criteria for defining credentials so that they would be uniform and fair across all the areas of specialization. The credentials would then be drawn up by each bureau with participation by a given number of outside experts in each field and submitted to the director general for approval. Approval by a credentials committee would be required for an officer to be promoted to the Senior Foreign Service. Officers would be permitted to take the exam more than once and could also seek credentialing in their sub-specialization, but the latter would not be a prerequisite for promotion

Box A
Areas of Specialization by Cone

Administrative Cone:

- Administrative Operations
- Communications Systems
- Financial Management
- Management Operations
- Personnel

Economic Cone:

- Commercial Policy
- Energy and Resources Policy
- Environmental, Scientific and Technological Affairs
- International Finance and Development
- Trade Policy
- Transportation Policy

Consular and Security Cone:

- Diplomatic Security and Counterterrorism
- Narcotics Affairs
- Overseas Citizens Services
- Passport Services and Nationality Policy
- Refugee Affairs
- Visa Services and Immigration Policy

Political Cone:

- African Affairs
- East Asian and Pacific Affairs
- European and Canadian Affairs
- Inter-American Affairs
- International Organization Affairs
- Near East and South Asian Affairs
- Politico-Military Affairs
- Public Information and Legislative Affairs

to the Senior Foreign Service.

Selected officers at the high mid-grade (FS-1) or beginning senior grade (FE-OC) level, who were credentialed, would be assigned to a mandatory two-to-three month senior officers course on U.S. foreign and management policy and operations worldwide.

Highest levels. As part of its effort to develop credentials for officers at the FS-1 level, the Foreign Service would also publish credentials that applicants should possess to fill positions at the assistant secretary or ambassadorial level. Senior Foreign Service officers would compete for those positions in their areas of specialization or sub-specialization. A bipartisan commission appointed by the president would review these candidates, comparing their credentials with applicants from outside the Foreign Service. The president would not be bound by the commission's recommendations; as with federal judgeships and other appointments, the ultimate decision is his. But effective work by an impartial bipartisan commission would reduce the excessive politicization of the Foreign Service while allowing the Service to upgrade its professional standards.

The foregoing proposal may sound radical by Foreign Service standards, but it is squarely in the mainstream of the personnel policies of nearly every other large organization, business, military, or professional, in the United States.

In most other organizations, individuals are brought in to perform specific functions and grow to increasing levels of managerial responsibility. When individuals have proven themselves in their field, they are given broader responsibilities which build upon demonstrated abilities as managers. Expertise is expected. For example, a recent *Fortune* survey of chief executive officers of major businesses included the following among the seven keys to leadership: "Be an expert. From boardroom to mail room, everyone had better understand that you know what you're talking about." Establishing credentials is common to nearly every American professional organization, whether it be in law, medicine, architecture, engineering, or management consulting.

Even more instructively, this proposal does not differ widely from what occurs de facto in the Foreign Service. All the strictures of the formal personnel system notwithstanding, successful officers tend to move up the ladder through close identification with one or two bureaus. There is nothing wrong with such "clubs." The professionals in the bureaus are

Box B Examples of Matching Areas of Specialization

Primary Area:

African Affairs

Energy and Resources

Administrative Operations

Diplomatic Security and Counterterrorism

Narcotics Affairs

European and Canadian Affairs

Trade Policy

Commercial Policy

Politico-Military Affairs

Environmental, Scientific and Technological Affairs

Refugee Affairs

Financial Management

Secondary Area:

International Finance and Development; International Organization Affairs

Near East and South Asian Affairs

One geographic area

Near East and South Asian Affairs; Inter-American Affairs

Inter-American Affairs

Trade Policy; Politico-Military Affairs

East Asian and Pacific Affairs; European and Canadian Affairs

One geographic area

European and Canadian Affairs; East Asian and Pacific Affairs

Politico-Military Affairs; International Organization Affairs

Near East and South Asia; or East Asian and Pacific Affairs

One geographic area; Public or Legislative Affairs

the best judges of the competence of the officers who work there. What is wrong is that the centralized personnel system is so often in conflict with this healthy practice.

One of the foes of the kind of professional specialization advocated here was former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Reportedly vexed by what he viewed as excessive narrowness of chiefs of mission in one geographic area, he ordered that officers who had served more than two tours in one area should be transferred to another. This ill-advised policy caused major disruptions in the body of expertise nurtured over the years by the various geographic and functional bureaus and stationed officers in locations where they lacked even elementary language and area skills.

It was ironic that this policy came from Dr. Kissinger, an academic from a university world that insists on the very highest credentials, and a person who built his own career on expertise in nuclear and strategic affairs. The solution is not to tear officers away from their areas of expertise, but to broaden their experience and exposure to individuals who are working in the same field outside the confines of the State Department.

The Foreign Service will not flourish until it adopts a personnel system which is rooted in the premise that professional expertise is the basic building block of a strong Foreign Service, well equipped to protect the nation's interest—and its own interests. □

Why has the Foreign Service failed to find a stable personnel strategy that produces the most qualified experts in its fields of endeavor? Why has it failed to nominate the best qualified candidates for the top positions in foreign affairs? Why have the internal debates over personnel issues become personal and anecdotal, rather than strategic and relevant to the national interest?

In my opinion, the failure to raise standards, improve quality, enhance the Foreign Service's reputation—in short the failure to settle on a long-term personnel strategy—stems from the fact that the very nature of the Foreign Service, especially at the top, remains ill-defined and at issue.



The interagency model is the way to go.

DEVELOP EXPERTS AND GENERALISTS

Why this is so defies logic, because the goals of the Foreign Service personnel system—recognized by every major study and by legislation since World War II—are self-evident and necessary. These goals are:

—To provide the professional expertise to formulate and execute foreign policies and programs. Thus in each foreign affairs agency that uses the Foreign Service personnel system, that system must produce officers, at all levels, who can get the agency's business done in a superior fashion. This means functional and area skills: political, economic, information, cultural, development, administrative, consular, etc. These officers we call experts, and their jobs exist at all levels in the Service.

—To provide enough officers who can operate across functional and agency boundaries to address adequately the growing number of interagency and multi-functional foreign affairs problems, both in Washington and in our overseas missions. This goal recognizes the interagency nature of our foreign affairs system and calls for career patterns that go beyond the traditional areas of expertise. These officers we call generalists, although their functions are as much a specialty as those performed by the experts. Generalist jobs also exist at all levels in the Service.

—To provide the pool of proven talent, drawn from both experts and generalists, from which the president selects career officers for some of the top, executive positions in the foreign affairs community. To prepare for these positions, both experts and generalists require executive training and experience to complement their relatively focused career patterns.

LANNON WALKER

Lannon Walker is currently assigned to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D.C. He has served as deputy assistant secretary of state for African affairs and as ambassador to Senegal.

These recognized roles of the personnel system lead to the conclusion that a strategy must be designed to produce better experts and better generalists and to prepare the best of both of these categories for our leadership positions, including presidential appointments.

Certainly, the best way to accomplish this is through a rigorous professional development program which combines all of the tools of the personnel system—from recruitment, through assignments, training, promotions, and the judicious use of egress mechanisms. It is equally clear, in the light of history, that only a personnel system which has the authority to define and stick to a long-term strategy stands any chance of success.

The Strategic Choices

The Foreign Service personnel system was last reformed by Congress when it passed the Foreign Service Act of 1980 creating a Senior Foreign Service and mandating a return to a more competitive system overall. The ways in which the act was implemented have led to serious morale problems among the mid-career ranks, who believe that they have been forced to assume most of the burden of adjustment to the new system. Senior Foreign Service officers are also unhappy, mainly because they see too many of the top jobs going to political appointees. Many in both groups call for more career stability, that is, less rapid promotions, but longer careers.

In the meantime, the personnel system is not producing the required number and quality of either experts or generalists needed to help formulate and implement U.S. foreign policy. And now Congress has again, at the initiative of Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC), mandated a special commission to make recommendations for change in the Foreign Service personnel system. Clearly, the time has come for foreign affairs professionals to combine their energies behind a personnel strategy that will best serve both national and career interests.

To do this, we need to realize that neither personal career problems nor the broader dilemmas of the personnel system can be satisfactorily dealt with until the Foreign Service finally resolves the key, strategic issues that have bedeviled it since the end of the second world war. These basic issues concern the following trade-offs: a single Foreign Service representing all foreign affairs agencies versus separate agency services; experts versus generalists; the civil service versus the Foreign Service

system; stiff competition and relatively rapid promotions versus career stability.

The Foreign Service Act of 1980 addressed each of these issues, but settled only one—the confusion of Foreign Service and civil service models. On the other key questions, the act gave personnel managers the tools to move to a single Foreign Service, to establish professional development programs for both experts and generalists, and to perfect a stable and equitable promotion flow through the system. On balance, we have not implemented the act as its drafters intended—mainly because there is no consensus concerning the nature of the Foreign Service.

Two alternative sets of assumptions about the nature of the foreign affairs system hold the keys to such a minimum consensus.

The conservative view argues that the de facto Foreign Services in State, AID, USIA, Commerce, etc., should concentrate on their basic sets of expertise as the surest bases of both interagency influence and a sound personnel system. This view worries that the Service, because it has emphasized managerial experience, has lost the respect it once had as the repository of area and related functional abilities.

Those who want better leadership and broader career opportunities in the foreign affairs community criticize the foregoing strategy as too narrow and self-defeating. They would instead emphasize the development of both experts and generalists on the grounds that we need talent not only in the traditional areas, but also in the newer specialties—and we need to produce some leaders who can operate effectively across agency lines. This view harkens back to the single Foreign Service of the United States as it was established in the act of 1946.

Because the primacy of either alternative has never been settled, the Foreign Service has been able to avoid adopting a coherent personnel strategy. As a result, we do not produce the kinds of officers required to effectively staff either an “expert” system or an “interagency” system. Let’s consider the implications of each of these models.

The Expert Model

The proponents of this model put strong emphasis on high standards, deep expertise, and concentration on the core skills. This view espouses professional development that would be used for separate Foreign Services

in the various agencies:

Recruit—for as much expertise as you can get through the examination process. Shift some of the training burden back onto the private sector—e.g., attract the China expert who already has the academic and work experience and the language. Do the same with the other specialties, including administrative and consular.

Assign—junior officers immediately to the career track for which they were recruited. Continue through mid-career with a combination of field and Washington assignments designed to maximize expertise. Keep geographic experts in the same area, in some cases in the same country, or country-related assignments. Functional experts, including administrative and consular officers, stay in their specialties but move through various geographic regions.

Train—through mid-career, basically to fill gaps in expertise. Tailor training to individual needs, including use of private institutions here and abroad. Training, like assignments, must become part of a long-term plan for professional development so that each officer knows from the beginning what is expected.

Promote—into the higher ranks on the basis of demonstrated expertise, more than potential for leadership. Leaders will arise, as they have in the past and do in other organizations, from the ranks of the experts. In some cases, promotion to a higher rank and assignment to executive positions can be coordinated with a broadening training experience.

The Interagency Model

The proponents of this model plan for a family of compatible services producing the experts and generalists required in the foreign affairs agencies up to the senior threshold. Then, the Senior Foreign Service would be set up as a single organization covering all foreign affairs agencies—a pool from which both the senior agency experts and the senior interagency generalists would be chosen as candidates for top positions. This model builds on the expert model. It would:

Recruit—for the various agency specialists exactly as the expert model does, but also look for younger candidates from a variety of educational backgrounds and with the right kinds of experience and qualities to be a good generalist. This approach would require a range of written examinations, from the old-style classical education model to tests for specific expertise.

Assign—junior experts straight off to their

chosen fields as in the expert model, but junior generalists would spend their first and perhaps second tours in rotational positions which would allow them to work a year in each of the traditional functions in the agency which recruited them. After tenure, the generalist would take the interagency track which would include positions in all foreign affairs agencies, centered on either a geographic area, a functional skill, or both.

Train—specialists as in the expert model, but add programs aimed at broadening interagency generalists, as well as selected experts—such as the Pearson Program, MBA work, etc. Executive development programs would apply to both experts and generalists, since neither would have the monopoly on executive positions.

Promote—through the ranks and across the senior threshold only within competition groups—i.e., experts among experts, generalists among themselves, all by sub-category. This is especially critical at the senior threshold, by which time an officer's professional development program should have clearly defined his qualifications in his chosen field. Promotions must be calculated upon the number of senior positions available in a given area of expertise or for jobs requiring generalist credentials.

Each of these models has strong arguments on its side. Choosing either one and sticking with it will permit us finally to solve not only structural issues, but difficult questions of procedure as well.

Clearly, the expert model, because it emphasizes deep training, longer tours, and accumulated knowledge, takes us toward longer, more stable careers. The interagency model combines more career stability for some because it includes the expert model for the various agencies. But it also emphasizes relatively rapid flow-through for others because the generalist track is more vulnerable. Both generalists and experts submit to rigorous competition, but we can plan more easily for the number and types of experts we need, while the generalists are more likely to find themselves without a job as they progress through the senior ranks.

Elements of a Consensus

The important point is that by defining a clear personnel strategy, we can deal effectively with the questions of competition, promotion rates, and career longevity—and everyone will know what to expect. So, too,

can we deal with the issue of quality in the Foreign Service. Both models emphasize serious professional development programs which are linked through training, assignments, and promotions. By requiring officers to compete for promotion only within their chosen areas, either the expert model or the interagency model will better define what we are and raise standards in the Foreign Service.

This necessity for choice among competition groups at the senior threshold, based upon clear precepts—a requirement which was previously negotiated between AFSA and management but recently dropped before it became effective—is critical to the proper functioning of any Foreign Service personnel system. Without this requirement, there is no incentive for an officer to make the long-term investments in training or non-mainstream assignments that are required by any serious professional development program.

How many officers, in today's system for example, raise their hands for advanced language training at the S-4/R-4 level or actively seek a series of related assignments in various agencies? Why should they, since they can compete twice at the threshold, once in their specialty and once "interfunctionally"? Why should they, since positions in the Senior Foreign Service are undefined? What is the incentive to improve your qualifications in a given area since the very top of the system has so few standards? Isn't it obvious that—along with a coherent professional development program and the requirement to choose among competition groups at the senior threshold—all senior positions must be clearly defined as requiring either functional/area expertise or generalist credentials?

In 1980, during the in-house and congressional debates over the new act, some argued to establish clear qualifications for each senior position, based on either expert or generalist credentials that existing seniors must meet to be selected into the proposed Senior Foreign Service. If we had settled on the mix between experts and generalists in the Senior Service and insisted that seniors meet those standards, the burden of adjustment to the new system would not have fallen on those trying to cross the senior threshold. If we now had sound professional development programs based on the skills we require in the numbers we need, it would be possible to use a computer model of the personnel system to set rational egress and promotion rates, taking into account career stability.

More than this, a system based upon high standards and clear qualifications at all levels,

a personnel system geared to the realities of Foreign Service work, would result in a product of extraordinary quality—a product which would be sought after, perhaps even honored.

What is the optimal strategic choice for the Foreign Service personnel system? For me, the expert option is a second best solution. It is a model that, because of its high standards and relevance to the work which each foreign affairs agency must perform, does put the Foreign Service on much sounder footing than is now the case. But it is not enough.

I believe the interagency model, which aims at producing both broadly based and deep seated career leadership for the foreign affairs community, is the way to go. Only the interagency model consciously addresses the three main functions of the Foreign Service personnel system which were set forth in the beginning of this article and which culminate in a requirement to produce both experts and generalists and to prepare the best of both of these categories for the top, executive positions in foreign affairs.

By emphasizing high standards and qualifications and by insisting that positions be defined either as interagency or expert, many fears can be laid to rest. Officers who are truly qualified in both tracks could compete in both at the threshold and hold both kinds of jobs. For those who wonder how they can get a crack at an ambassadorship outside their home bureaus, look to the interagency track. And the worry that non-career appointees will use the interagency category to penetrate further into the career system is groundless because standards would be set equally high in each career track.

More than this, the interagency model reflects reality. It may look to be a radical solution by requiring the creation of a single, independent Senior Foreign Service, but in fact it recognizes the true nature of the foreign affairs community as it has evolved since 1946. A reformed Senior Foreign Service, outside of but serving the foreign affairs agencies that use our personnel system, would become in fact a magnet which would inexorably move the various agency personnel systems toward the highest standards of excellence.

The Foreign Service is unlikely, however, to attain an improved personnel system until we stop debating endlessly among ourselves and tinkering with an inadequate system. When we career professionals achieve a minimum consensus and decide on one of the strategic options available to us, only then will our political leaders listen and perhaps opt for true and lasting reform. □



THE PRUNE B•O•O•K

JOHN H. TRATTNER

*I*mmediately after George Bush was elected the 41st President of the United States, dozens of "how-to" publications were in the mail to his transition team. Most of those think-tank produced manuals aimed at influencing policy. But one of the most notable contributions, *The Prune Book: The 100 Toughest Management and Policy-Making Jobs in Washington*, gives the lowdown on positions the Center for Excellence in Government identified for priority staffing.

The title plays on "The Plum Book," the nickname for the Government Printing Office's "U.S. Government Policy and Supporting Positions," a list of the 5,342 policy-making and patronage jobs a new president may fill. A prune, says writer John H. Trattner (profile on page 39), is a wiser, experienced plum. In providing a job-qualifications guide, the Center for Excellence in Government wanted to "contrast between the plum's seductive suggestive surface but uncertain sweetness and the prune's wrinkled skin but reliable flavor.

Since wisdom born of on-the-job experience and wear and tear is central to what [the book] offers, the analogy was inevitable."

Excerpted here are parts of chapter 2, "Forces Shaping Appointment," and three top positions in the State Department. In addition, the book looks at State assistant secretaries for economic and business affairs, African affairs, East Asian and Pacific affairs, European and Canadian affairs, Inter-American affairs, and Near Eastern and South Asian affairs, and legal adviser. Commerce, Agriculture, Treasury, and Executive Office of the President/Office of Management and Budget positions in international affairs are also described. The administrator of the Foreign Agricultural Service and the directors of USIA and ACDA were given "close call" mention; AID positions were not in the book. Reprinted by permission of the Center for Excellence in Government and Madison Books, 1988. Cartoons by Shelly Fischman for the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL.

Forces Shaping Appointment

A newly chosen president and close advisers must make many of the most important policy and job decisions, including sub-Cabinet positions, in the approximate 10 weeks between the election and the inauguration. Within three months thereafter, they must complete the rest of the process if the new administration is to have its full complement of appointees confirmed and get off to a fast, coordinated and comprehensive start.

The November-January transition period is all too brief and chaotic a period for a new crew to examine the government they are taking control of. They must assess the structure and missions of departments and agencies, the senior jobs within them, and a staggering panoply of urgent issues which won't wait. A budget revision process must get underway. Conclusions must be drawn about the changes necessary to try to mold the vast federal establishment to the policies and objectives of the president-elect. Work on these tasks can be delayed or ignored only at the risk of piecemeal decisions made under the critical stare of the press. . . .

Realistically, the transition will remain what a veteran of several transitions calls it—impossible to do perfectly, but possible to do well. All the advice about it from experienced hands centers on a few ideas: keep the transition staff small; concentrate on Cabinet-level appointments first; avoid trying to plan every policy initiative right away; and—easier said than done—keep job seekers off the transition team.

Political Contexts. *The Prune Book* does not proceed from any notion that one can appoint people to positions of authority and influence in the federal government in isolation from the realities of the American political system. . . . If these jobs are vital cogs in the business of running a government well, most of them are also trophies in the power game, symbols of achievement, and vehicles for broadening professional skills and horizons.

As such, they are prizes to be fought for and won, not only by those who would occupy the positions but by those with something to gain if individuals of their preference are appointed. No surprise, then, that the appointments counselor and staff of an incoming president are quickly overwhelmed in a barrage of resumes and inquiries from seekers after the most desirable jobs. No surprise, either, that they also find themselves at the

center of a crossfire of demands, pleas, and proposed trade-offs from other quarters.

There is another, more important political reality which the appointments process must manage. Nearly every president takes office with some set of ideas about where the country should go and what the government should do to take it there. History judges the correctness of those views. But no administration can mobilize its policies effectively unless the people it puts into high-level management and policy positions are basically and substantially in accord with the president's intentions.

At this point of truth, however, an administration's approach to its political appointments runs the greatest risk of breaking down. Time is short; the pressures are great; the president's strongest supporters, and the country, are waiting. At such a time, political affinity can become the big measuring stick; if a prospective appointee qualifies on that score, the unexamined assumption is that competence in the job follows naturally—and that, if competence is obviously lacking, affinity alone will carry the day.

However, political compatibility need not conflict with professional competence in filling important senior positions in government. A more careful match between jobs and qualifications would enable a president to place loyal supporters with specific skills in positions where they can be especially useful. But making those and all other matches correctly means understanding what the positions require.

Organizational Contexts. While political compatibility and professional competence can consistently be recruited in single individuals, it is not always possible to find individuals who are equally strong in every dimension of the complex leadership positions in federal agencies. "Water walkers" come in limited quantities.



The effective response to this standard problem is to maximize the strength of the department or agency team by appointing individuals with complementary skills and strengths in closely related positions. Perhaps the most common combination is a department secretary with strong policy identification with the president, and a strong internal manager in the deputy or undersecretary position. Other combinations, however, have also proved successful. For example, a department with a very heavy congressional workload might try to concentrate it in the number two job to help the secretary avoid spending excessive time on the Hill.

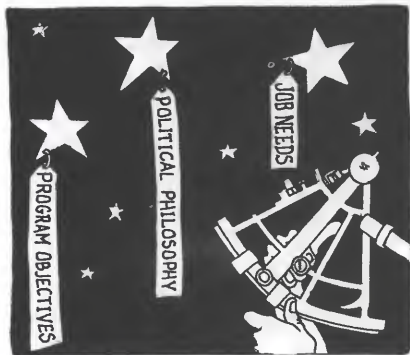
Thus the wise appointments process will consider the top two appointments together. And this principle need not stop there. For instance, if the second-ranking position is deeply involved with congressional work, as in the above example, the interaction and complementary skills and personality of the assistant secretary for legislation need to be considered.

More generally, effective department and agency performance will depend in important ways on the level of cooperation and coordination among its appointed leaders. While a very strong department secretary may be able to commandeer such collaboration no matter who fills the subordinate senior jobs, an appointments philosophy which takes the coordination factor into account is more likely to satisfy the president and prove beneficial to the country.

Further, the effective matching of talents is possible at the second and third levels of the departments and agencies in both staff and line positions to produce successful combinations of intellectual capabilities, communication and interpersonal skills, and managerial experience. Without such matching, presidential and departmental policies and initiatives may never travel beyond the rhetorical state to implementation and action.

In the avalanche of mail, telephone calls, and other more subtle probing of job possibilities that marks the first transition weeks, the appointments staff steers a course basically marked out by the president's wishes. In addition, the appointments office hears continuously from members of Congress, campaign staff, campaign contributors, the president's own intimate circle, newly designated cabinet secretaries and agency heads, and groups in every sector of U.S. business, professional, and working life.

It requires organization and discipline to



navigate this storm while remaining consistent with the administration's political philosophy, program objectives, and the substantive needs of individual jobs. . . .

The balance of power between department heads and the White House represents a longstanding battleground in the winnowing and selection process. A Cabinet secretary with carte blanche appointments power might take a department into unwanted adventures with a group of cronies who lack connection or loyalty to the president. Conversely, a Cabinet secretary whose key subordinates are imposed without consultation may understandably not feel accountable if they perform poorly. All recent experience suggests, in fact, that neither side should win or lose these contests completely. The best route seems to be one in which the department or agency head always takes part in decisions about that organization's positions, with strong disagreements resolved evenhandedly by the president.

While names may abound for most jobs, the dragnet for suggestions should be broad. Presidential personnel staffs should turn regularly to additional sources with some expertise to contribute. Examples of these are law groups, trade associations, other organizations representing professionals like former career diplomats, and the Senior Executive Service. To be sure, such groups are not disinterested observers of the process. However, their institutional, less personal nature and longer-term perspectives lend steadiness and balance to their ideas for potential job candidates and to their counsel about proposed nominations.

A different, but important consideration in the selection process should include a mutual set of expectations about tenure in office. Almost all observers suggest that less than two years in a job produces little value for the time and confidence invested in the individ-

ual. While progress has been made on longer retention in some positions, the average time continues to decline. In its own best interest, the new administration in 1989 should devise a plan to reverse this trend.

Whatever is done about lengthening tenure, the appointments process of course continues beyond the first round and, in less hectic fashion, throughout the life of an administration. But its priorities and procedures should remain the same. Subsequent appointments occur in an environment where considerably more development of administration objectives has occurred, and thus closer matching can occur between needs and candidates. These later appointments can also be used to fill gaps in an organization's aggregate talents and should be viewed from that perspective.

The Department of State

This venerable, vital department has steamed through increasingly stormy seas over recent years. Bad news has come in several varieties. A severely shrinking budget has brought the department to the threshold of a reduction in work force and further closures of diplomatic posts overseas. New foreign service legislation, designed to speed the advancement of promising middle-grade officers and prune the over-the-hill ranks, has also meant the loss of solid, experienced, able seniors. Terrorism has changed the expectations and operating styles of foreign policy people at home and abroad. Having lost its foreign commercial function to another agency, the department faces continuing challenges within the foreign policy community to its leadership role. Morale, suffering under these blows, isn't helped by what some department veterans view as a devaluation of the ambassadorial position and function.

But like a galleon of old, the ship of State carries treasure accumulated with great care and labor over long years, and not easily replaced. The department continues to carry out an essential, extensive mission which, even if it were conceivable, no other part of government would for years be able to do nearly as well. If the department loses significant headway and direction in the present rough weather, its considerable store of talent and high standards will dissipate and an incomparable base of experience and knowledge will decay. Indeed, some assert that those processes have already begun.

No one knows all the answers. Clearly, how-

ever, the next administration and the Congress must take the department's funding requirements deeply, realistically and permanently into account. State has never had the kind of domestic constituencies that other departments can energize in the Congress. Nonetheless, some of those who look at the situation from the vantage point of the Hill believe the department's management of its congressional relationships has lost it valuable ground in the battle for resources. Some of this criticism goes to what is seen as a low level of directness and candor in testimony and a reticence about sharing information or seeking advice when the occasion calls for it. Some of it relates to a perceived recent instinct to confront the Congress with policy initiatives known to arouse congressional concerns—or, conversely, to be unnecessarily deferential and erratic.

There seems to be some support among senior career veterans of the department for the view that part of its problem can be attacked by reorganization. One formula for this would reduce the number of undersecretaries and eliminate some of the layering in areas like economic affairs. Economic and political affairs would be grouped under one undersecretary and resources management and administrative support under another; the latter, and perhaps both, would be politically appointed, and both would remain at the third-ranking level, under the secretary and deputy secretary. The career service would continue to handle geographic and functional responsibilities.

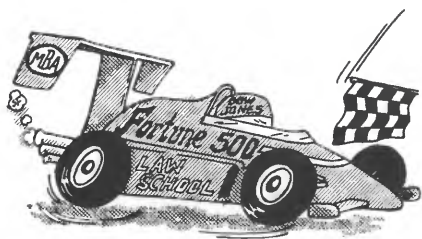
Another suggested reform would concentrate control of the budget of the foreign affairs community in the hands of the secretary. In the words of a proponent of this change, the secretary, "as the principal foreign policy agent of the president, should make the decisions on how most effectively to spend the money the political process allocates for the conduct of foreign relations."

It's worth noting, finally, that the leadership positions of a number of American diplomatic missions abroad carry responsibilities which qualify them for mention. Although not described in detail here, these ambassadorial jobs should be the object of careful study in examining the skills and backgrounds of those who will fill them. Several qualified careerists who were asked about this listed Korea, the Philippines, Turkey, Pakistan, Canada, China, the Soviet Union and Mexico as foremost among the countries whose economic, political or strategic importance to the United States warrants such consideration.



Deputy Secretary

Necessary Experience: No requisites exist for this position as to specific career history. To move confidently in the areas and kinds of problems most often involved, however, a deputy secretary with a good track record in the law or business seems to have a clear leg up.



An experienced State Department watcher says that "management skills are primary." Negotiating and analytical experience have great value for this job, and the more that all these credentials have been acquired in an international context, the better. Prior work and residence abroad add a helpful resource, and knowledge of a world language can often speed or otherwise facilitate performance.

Insight: More than in most other departments, the stature and personal style of the secretary of state usually define the real dimensions of the number two job. That, in turn, goes far in determining what individual abilities are most useful in the deputy's position, and who will be effective and satisfied in it. "There's no job description," asserts one former occupant. Rather, the nature of the job reflects "how the president wants to use the secretary of state and how the secretary wants to use the deputy."

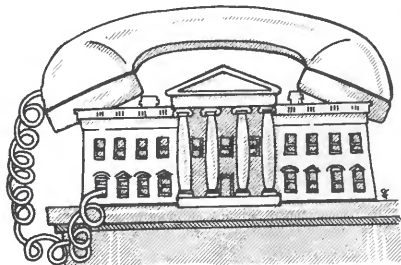
Whatever the equation turns out to be in a given administration, some key responsibilities of this job remain unchanged. Warren Christopher, who held the job in 1977-81, points out that the deputy secretary "inevitably has a direct relationship with the White House and, unless the situation is working very badly, with the president himself." When the secretary is away and the president is in Washington, which happens often, the deputy "has to be able to relate directly to the president," he says. "That's important in considering can-

didates for the position, because a lot of people freeze in dealing with the President of the United States."

Whether as second in command or as acting secretary—in multifold duties that can range from running the department to testifying to the Congress to heading policy-oriented missions overseas—the deputy secretary has reasonably high public, political and diplomatic visibility. This requires an articulate personal presence and authority that can handle the television camera or speaker's rostrum, plus what a former deputy calls "a sense of the do-able, of what will fly politically." At the same time, says another, the deputy must recognize and expect, in many public and congressional appearances, to confront audiences which really prefer the secretary of state. The deputy "will always be, in a sense, second best."

Even so, the occupant of this job needs a feel for congressional propensities and sensitivities. At the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, with which the deputy has regular and frequent contact, an official thinks the secretary of state should choose the deputy partly with the Congress in mind. The secretary, this authority says, ought to ask "how do I think this guy is going to help me deal with the Congress, whether it's on the budget issues or on the substantive foreign policy issues?"

The workload can assume desperate proportions. As a one-time deputy secretary remembers his tenure, the job means that "you're going to be thrown instantaneously into matters of high importance where you have relatively little background and have to try to catch up." This requires "somebody who is adaptable and quick, who'll be able to read the secretary and instinctively know what needs to be done. You don't want somebody who, when he gets that new assignment, immediately thinks he has to chart an entirely new course. He has to be able to pick it up and move it along."



Undersecretary for Management

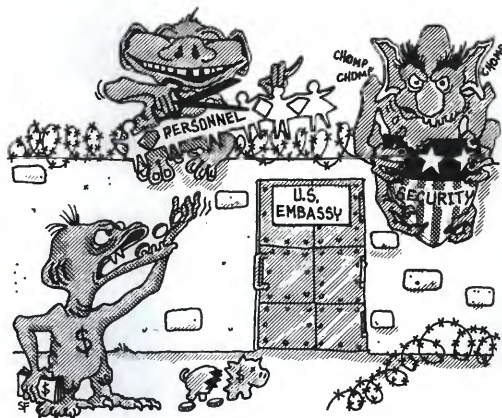
Necessary Background: Views differ whether the management undersecretary should come from the career ranks of the department or from the outside. Regardless of origin, however, the consensus is that this position needs someone who knows the State Department, is familiar with how it and the Congress work, and understands the budget process and OMB. It does not permit on-the-job training.

Insight: The State Department's worst management problems in the past five years come down to three words—money, security, and personnel.

Serious alarm bells resounded in Washington and shook embassies abroad when the Congress seemed about to appropriate some \$84 million less in salaries and operating expenses for fiscal 1988 than the department felt was the minimum necessary to continue functioning at existing levels. Plans for dramatic cutbacks in personnel and foreign missions were announced. Only the White House-congressional budget summit in November, 1987 averted that particular axe. But, says Ronald I. Spiers, undersecretary since late 1983, that doesn't even represent a reprieve. "What we have is an agreement which gives us a two percent growth to cover an increase of 10.5 percent in our requirements—because of exchange rate losses and inflation differentials overseas—even without any new programs. And we keep getting new programs." Since much of the department's outlay goes to personnel expenses, Spiers points out, "the handwriting's on the wall. We're going to have to shrink the work force of the State Department."

Establishing and sustaining the physical protection of U.S. diplomatic facilities at home and overseas has absorbed increased amounts of planning, time, effort, and money. These demands seem unlikely to slacken in the visible future. Construction and renovation of U.S. missions abroad remain a continuing requirement; as an additional special task, the undersecretary coordinates plans to demolish the new but bug-ridden American embassy building in Moscow and build another.

Legislation in 1980 reorganized the Senior Foreign Service personnel system with emphasis on an up-and-out philosophy. Seen at the time as a beneficial tonic to the service and the department, the new structure nonetheless requires some decisions which "are painful for a lot of our Foreign Service officers,"



Spiers says. "Senior officers are unhappy with me because we give too few career extensions, and middle-level officers because we give too many, which tends to frustrate their promotion possibilities."

While he believes that problem "will solve itself in another couple of years," Spiers thinks the tough personnel decisions an undersecretary must share in are one argument against putting a professional career individual into the position. "This is a job where you do not make anybody happy," he explains, "and what that does is militate against your career interests. Further, he says, "you've inevitably got people on the Hill who are unhappy with you, particularly on the security front where I've had to argue against a lot of things they wanted to do which we believed didn't make sense."

The area of responsibility in this job covers a number of widely differing functions, among them budget, personnel, administration, communications, buildings, security, accounting, medical services, family liaison, and the Foreign Service Institute. Transfer payments—for such purposes as refugee and narcotics programs or United Nations dues—take half of the \$4 billion budget the undersecretary manages. There is a \$10 billion real estate operation to oversee. Travel abroad, to look at U.S. establishments and talk to employees at first-hand, absorbs up to a third of the time spent outside the office and can average 15-20 U.S. diplomatic missions a year. Spiers spends "a lot of time with the Congress, traveling with them, testifying, just chatting with members and staff. The congressional dimension is very important."

Undersecretary for Political Affairs

Necessary Background: Established as the senior career position in the department, this job since the Nixon administration has seen only career department officers (while of course requiring Senate confirmation). One of the position's former occupants states flatly that appointment to it from the outside "is not a good idea."



But note carefully that he would also shun anyone who took merely a Foreign Service approach to the job. In his words, "no one should be in that position without an appreciation of the political structure and the fact that the department and Foreign Service are part of the organization of an elected president." In point of fact, the undersecretary operates most of the time in the busy intersection where professional service and political structure meet. Understanding both, and the nature of the equation between them, is not optional equipment for this job; it is basic. An undersecretary also needs high-level management experience, perhaps developed by running an embassy abroad or a bureau in Washington, plus firsthand familiarity with the Congress, and expertise in one or more areas of the world.

Insight: If the secretary of state fills the accipitrine slot on the senior department team and his deputy comes on when needed in long relief, the undersecretary for political affairs operates as utility infielder. "There are no hard and fast guidelines about the assignment and permanence of responsibilities" at the top level, says David D. Newsom, who had the job from 1978 to 1981. "There is a management role on the seventh floor—the management of proc-

ess. And the undersecretary is well-placed to try to get a sense of where things are on that floor and in the department generally, to be sure there is no uncertainty or overlapping of responsibilities."

An experienced congressional source says "the idea of the undersecretary position is to focus on the major issues, making sure that what needs to be done down the line is done in terms of input and information and recommendations to the secretary. He ensures that all these issues are being addressed in a coherent way both for what the secretary sees and what flows down from him for action. The undersecretary plays to some extent a filtering and directing role in what the secretary ought to know in a critical area and what the secretary ought to be doing."

As coordinator for actions that cross bureau lines—the U.S. vote on a UN Security Council resolution, for example—the occupant of this position has to referee some occasionally awesome disputes over substance and jurisdiction. Three or four geographic and functional areas of the department might be involved.

These and many other policy decisions, including guidance for the press spokesman, also require the undersecretary to determine whether he can act on his own authority or must consult at the highest level in the department or at the White House. . . .

Former undersecretary Lawrence Eagleburger (1982-84) notes other problems of the chronic variety. "There's a tendency within the State Department," he says, "not to tell the seventh floor what's going on, and not to give alternatives so much as the preferred alternative." When necessary to force the development of genuine policy choices, he says, "you have to be a son of a bitch." □



A profile of the writer

Some might say it's almost too predictable that a former Foreign Service officer would be the writer of *The Prune Book*, the Center for Excellence in Government's study on necessary qualifications for political appointees to key jobs. After all, a reputed Foreign Service lament is that too many political appointees earn their jobs primarily by their ideological fervency or amount of campaign contributions.

John Trattner avows that he and *The Prune Book* do have a bias, "but it's a good bias. The book shows why the president must appoint competent as well as politically attuned senior executives," Trattner explains. The definition of competence changes with the job in question, as the excerpts on senior positions in the Department of State show, but essentially it means background, training, experience, and intellectual leanings that qualify one to serve in the particular job in question.

"It's manifest that the president can't fill every position on merit alone. He obviously must honor certain promises and recognize certain supporters," Trattner acknowledges. "But appointments must be governed by an understanding of what each job requires." He cites numerous examples where political zealotry substituted for careful schooling in the constraints of government operations, most notoriously Watergate and Iran-contra, but says that not-so-visible positions better illustrate the unfortunate results of people, appointed on the basis of reward or loyalty, who wind up draining the government of time and energy.

"Anybody who has been in government service has to subscribe to the proposition that the ability to be effective is the most important single ingredient in making a political appointment," Trattner says. Based on hundreds of interviews with in-

cumbent and veteran job holders, Trattner and the Center for Excellence transmit a consensus opinion in *The Prune Book*: personnel appointments are the key to what will get done during an administration's term in office. "The great majority of experienced career people in government believe that sensitive, important jobs should go to those who, like themselves, have had years to learn, train, observe, and acquire increasing degrees of responsibility in managing and in implementing policy. They not only merit them, they can best do them. At the same time, any experienced government servant believes that talented outsiders have a lot of ability and relevancy to contribute," he relates. *The Prune Book* does not suggest how the Department of State should be led; it simply points out what experienced people have learned: "you can't just throw people at jobs—jobs must be matched with the right people."

Although never a political appointee himself, and with broad personal exposure to political appointees in only one area, foreign affairs, Trattner felt comfortable writing the book, because "I have a grasp of the nightmares and dreams that appointees grapple with in the federal government." During 20 years in the Foreign Service with USIA, he worked under political appointees in the form of ambassadors and State Department executives. He observes that career personnel work to the full extent of their ability for the administration in office, because "part of the definition of career government service is you're there to do a job for the United States, under whichever party is leading the government."

He notes that career employees keep an open mind and won't decide that a new boss is "hopeless" without exploring many ways to

work reasonably. The career service must "try to demonstrate in a straightforward way the strengths the career service can put at the appointee's disposal." At the same time, he advises, "don't be obsequious, don't give way at every turn; follow the dictates of conscience." Wisdom is the quality most needed during the initial period, when both political and career job-holders must recognize what is demanded of them.

After earning a bachelor's degree at Yale and serving a stint in the Navy during the Korean War, Trattner did graduate studies in music. But the muse of journalism beckoned him on to six years in the U.S. as a newspaper and wire service reporter and in Western Europe as a free-lance correspondent. He joined USIA's Foreign Service in 1963, as editor and broadcaster of a Voice of America daily show to Europe. He served as a press attaché abroad and in the State Department Press Office in Washington, with increasing responsibility as deputy spokesman to Hodding Carter, senior assistant to Deputy Secretary Christopher, and spokesman for Secretary Muskie. Following retirement in 1982, he was press secretary to Senator George Mitchell, now Senate Majority Leader. He and the Center for Excellence in Government are currently at work on a "survivor's guide for political appointees—a light, sophisticated, irreverent, but deadly serious aid for those who've never been through it before." A.L.

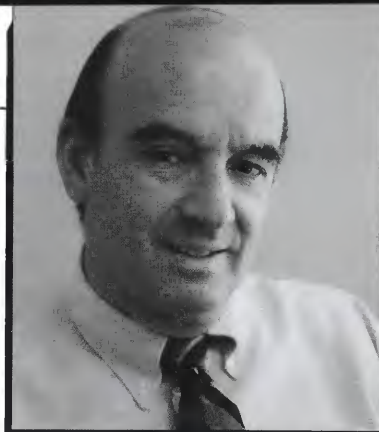


Photo by Patty J. Meier

Waiting for
family planning
consultation at a
clinic in San Salvador.



THE HEADLINE screams "Because they know she can't fight back," the haunting eyes of a mother and child from an unidentified, but clearly foreign country, stare relentlessly. The message in the ad boasts, "Thanks to two decades of hard work and United States aid almost half the women in developing countries now have access to family planning services." It then goes on to question the fate of the other half, which it claims is threatened with destruction by a handful of "extremists" in both Congress and the Agency for International Development, concluding that "if the extremists succeed, all the good we've done will be undone. With less family planning, there will be more abortions. Families—women and children—will suffer and die needlessly."

That is the dramatic public line that Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA) has taken on behalf of its international division, Family Planning International Assistance (FPIA). They have chosen to oppose AID and

the Reagan administration's population policy through litigation, congressional lobbying, and an aggressive advertising campaign. The issue is the Reagan administration's conservative stance on funding for population programs. But, the current act is only part of a long-playing drama which began more than two decades ago.

Twenty years ago, AID was the primary donor to family planning programs. Indeed, since the early 1960s, according to AID's Office of Population, "the United States has accounted for over 50 percent of population program assistance." This funding included supplying contraceptives, training in delivery and management aspects of programs, as well as medical and demographic research. AID also assisted Third World countries with population policy formulation, law and population issues, and a host of large and small projects designed to expand family planning services. In all of these programs, the overall goal was to help women control their fertility. In addi-

Politics keep AID's population programs off-balance

THE FUNDING



ton to bilateral programs, AID also was a primary donor to the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), the London-based, private sector International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), and a myriad of U.S.-based organizations. AID and the United States were definitely in the forefront of all that was being done in the population field.

Meanwhile, before 1974, world attention was focused on population problems only fitfully. Two global conferences, one in Rome in 1954 and another in Belgrade in 1965 did encourage both general concern and initial, global policy formation. By the late 1960s many national leaders from countries throughout the world had signed "The World Leaders Declaration on Population." Then in 1974, the UN sponsored the Bucharest conference as the center point to the Population Year, which, in turn, marked the start of the Population Decade. At that historic conference, 137 countries were represented and a "World Population Plan of Action" was adopted. This plan

called for, in part, "socioeconomic development as well as health and family planning programs designed to reduce excess fertility." It endorsed the basic human right of all couples or individuals to determine the number and spacing of their offspring and called on governments to supply the information and means to make this a reality.

The plan of action was born out of conflict, particularly surrounding allegations by a coalition of developing and Eastern-bloc countries that the United States wanted to limit and manipulate the world population in favor of the rich. This group expressed concern that the United States was more interested in controlling fertility than in helping development. As a result of this conflict, when finally written the plan had the typical language of compromise. Population experts felt the fertility control language was not strong enough, yet they had succeeded in having adopted by acclamation the policy that fertility control was a "basic human right." This was a victory.

THE NEXT several years were to see many countries move to aggressively ensure that their women had access to that basic human right of fertility control. The goal was approached differently in each country. Some chose to change anti-contraceptive laws which had been left as a legacy by conservative colonial governments. Others changed health delivery priorities to attack more rigorously the primary health care issues of child survival and health care for women. In fact, in the 18 months after the conference there were an unprecedented number of changes in both laws and policies in many countries. As a 1974 Population Report notes, "there were . . . laws and/or policies to increase the availability of information about family planning services, as well as the services themselves. These changes included liberalization of delivery systems for oral contraceptives by removing prescription requirements. Abortion laws were also liberalized [with] wider recognition of the hazards of illegal abortion, greater appreciation of a woman's right to control her own body and to privacy, emphasis on the importance of bear-

NANCY PIET-PELON

CONTROVERSY

ing children who are wanted and could be properly cared for."

From that time on population programs gained momentum rapidly. By 1981, 93 percent of the developing world's people lived in countries with some kind of official population policy: an AID memo notes that "79 percent (35 countries) had an official policy to reduce population growth, and an additional 14 percent gave official support of family planning based on health and basic human rights."

THUS THE WORLD looked forward in a different way to the second UN-sponsored Population Conference held in Mexico City in 1984. While 147 countries prepared their statements, many with clear indicators of progress on reducing fertility, AID was in the throes of a growing dilemma. During the years of progress in developing countries on population issues, the United States was experiencing a different phenomenon, a direct result of the growth of political conservatism in America.

In 1974, the United States Supreme Court had ruled on abortion through the now famous *Roe v. Wade* and *Doe v. Bolton* cases. Conservatives worked systematically and constantly to restrict the principles enunciated in these cases, including lobbying to change how AID could provide funding for population programs. The abortion rights of Third World women were thus compromised a year after such rights had been granted in the United States.

It was in 1974 that the "New Right," with its champion in Senator Jesse Helms, first pushed through an amendment to the Foreign Service Act that prohibited the use of U.S. funds for abortion. Meanwhile, the figures on illegal abortion-related deaths continued to grow. Worldwide 150,000 women died annually as a result of illegal abortion. This figure represented an estimated 30 to 50 percent of all maternal deaths associated with pregnancy and childbirth. However, by 1976, 60 percent of the world's population lived in countries where abortion was legal either for social or economic reasons. Another 16 percent lived

in countries where abortion was permitted on medical grounds or for humanitarian reasons associated with rape or incest. These facts, however, did not influence Congress and the restrictive Helms amendment remained.

Family planning organizations protested to Congress that the Helms amendment was an unfair interference in the internal policies of countries and the personal decisions of women. But in 1984, a White House-selected, "New Right" delegation was the official delegation to the Mexico Conference. Headed by James L. Buckley, the U.S. delegates were determined to reverse 17 years of worldwide population policy. They argued at the conference that population growth was a "neutral issue" in development and that economic growth could overcome any size population growth. The position paper, which began as a White House document, was an obvious and clear disavowal of the longstanding U.S. policy toward international family planning efforts and programs. The United States presented the argument that "population growth is, of itself, neither good nor bad." They argued for deregulation of economies, rather than population planning, as the best means of fighting poverty in developing countries. They reiterated the administration's support of legal protection for fetuses, and set forth new funding guidelines to promote its anti-abortion views. Under the new guidelines, private organizations that performed or actively promoted abortion as a method of family planning in other nations would be ineligible for any U.S. population assistance, even if the abortion-related activities were underwritten purely with private money.

The official U.S. delegation stood alone in Mexico City. They were opposed by an unofficial American delegation which presented a strong pro-population control agenda. The countries of the Third World at the conference universally expressed concern with the problems of rapid population growth, infant and child mortality, urban migration, and the effects of these forces on their economies and overall development. In spite of official U.S. opposition, the final statement of the conference included endorsement of the principle that governments should "as a matter of urgency" make family planning services "uni-

1973 *Roe v. Wade* ruling by the Supreme Court making a woman's right to abortion a "protected right."

1974 Senator Jesse Helms' amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act states, "None of the funds may be used to pay for abortions or to motivate any person to practice abortions."

1974 UN population conference in Bucharest where the World Population Plan of Action included the statement that access to family planning was a "basic human right."

1984 UN population conference in Mexico City—the U.S. delegation position stated "population was a 'neutral factor' in development and the U.S. would give no support to organizations supporting abortions."

versally available."

The irony of the U.S. position was not lost on the delegates and many returned to their countries ruefully wondering what game the United States was playing. While many countries had developed family planning programs that were supported financially and philosophically by their own governments, others were not at that level of maturity and worried that they would experience interference if they requested AID funding.

The result of the new guidelines has been more restrictions on AID's family planning programs. The 1985 congressional "continuing resolution" prohibited direct support for any country or organization which included "involuntary abortion" as part of its population planning programs. Congress had received what it considered credible reports of coercion and forced abortions, particularly about the Chinese program. China was aggressively pursuing a one-child family goal, and Congress went after those organizations which supported the management of the program there. As a result, both IPPF and UNFPA program funding was terminated. In the case of IPPF, AID informed them that none of their funds, regardless of source, could be used for abortions, even in countries where the government had made abortion legal. IPPF would not accept this restriction and AID ended 17 years of support in 1985. The fact that UNFPA funded only Chinese census data-gathering and that reports of coercion in China were never substantiated by any neutral party did not deter the termination of its funding.

By February 1985, pressure from the White House resulted in new language being included in all grant agreements with private family planning organizations. Aid grantees had to pledge, in writing, never to fund hospitals or clinics that provided routine counseling about abortion services.

Since 1985, all private organizations working with AID population funds have been asked to sign the new guidelines in order to be eligible for funding. These guidelines provide that "The recipient agrees that it will not furnish assistance under this cooperative agreement to any foreign private organization which

performs or actively promotes abortion as a method of family planning in AID-recipient countries or which provides financial support to any other foreign private organization that conducts such activities." It is this clause that Planned Parenthood of America refuses to sign. According to PPFA, the guidelines interfere with both the sovereign rights of a country and the basic human rights of women. In many countries where AID works, abortion is legal, but even in those countries, private projects that receive funds from AID could not provide or counsel a woman about all options in the case of an unwanted pregnancy.

IN JANUARY 1987, Planned Parenthood filed suit against AID and its then-administrator, M. Peter McPherson. The lawsuit seeks to have the Mexico City abortion clause removed from Family Planning International Assistance's next funding agreement with AID; to have the abortion clause excluded from all future agreements between population grantees and AID; and to have the abortion clause declared invalid in those earlier agreements with AID that were signed under protest by organizations. The lawsuit claims that the clause violates the first amendment rights of both clients and service providers.

Consequently, in July 1988, U.S. District Court Judge June L. Green ruled that the abortion clause that had been introduced in Mexico City violates First Amendment rights to free speech and she prohibited AID from requiring foreign organizations to certify that they do not promote or perform abortions. Green wrote in a 35-page opinion that AID "is in essence coercing the [family-planning groups] to refrain from abortion-related programs if they wish to receive AID funding, even though they are using their own money for [these] programs." The decision will be appealed, and an AID spokesman said that "We believe that the policy and AID's implementation procedures fully comply with the Constitution. And we are confident that the government will be successful on appeal."



Because they know she can't fight back.

Despite a new threat of death and imprisonment, women in China are still being forced to have abortions. The Chinese government is using the threat of death and imprisonment to force women to have abortions. The Chinese government is using the threat of death and imprisonment to force women to have abortions. The Chinese government is using the threat of death and imprisonment to force women to have abortions.

If the extremists win, the whole world loses. Help us fight back. Planned Parenthood.

This and similar ads were widely published in 1988 in an effort to rally public support for international family planning.

1985 Continuing Appropriations Act (Kemp-Inouye amendment) prohibited the distribution of AID funds to any group "which includes as part of its population planning programs involuntary abortion."

1985 Based on Mexico City policy paper, AID terminates funding to IPPF and UNFPA.

1987 PPFA files suit against AID and its director, challenging the right of AID to require signing the abortion clause as part of every new AID grant.

1988-89 The lawsuit is still in the courts. AID is ordered to continue funding until the case is settled.



A young mother receives family planning advice at an urban clinic in Tunis.

THIS LAWSUIT is the most visible part of the present controversy. A less visible, but no less fundamental issue is the extent to which U.S. domestic political pressure can and should be allowed to affect the lives of Third World women. Both those who advocate liberal population policies, as well as those who oppose them, have become strident in support of their causes. The liberals are concerned that the funding strictures will drive up the number of abortions and put the lives of more, rather than less, women in jeopardy. In 1987, the World Health Organization estimated that 500,000 women die every year from complications of pregnancy, illegal abortion, and childbirth. Put another way, 25 percent of all deaths among women between the ages of 15-49 in developing countries are maternal deaths (compared to one percent in the United States).

The health question is only one of several related issues. The idea that the United States could take a stand which puts population growth in the category of a "neutral factor" is untenable for many. The World Bank has estimated that 42,000 infants die every day, while an overwhelming 80 million are born yearly. As the Bangladesh Minister of Health and Family Planning, Salahuddin Quader Chowdhury says, "In Bangladesh, 'right to life' means helping a child survive for the first five years of its life: 'right to life' in the West is the concern for a baby not yet born. The 'right to life' concerns of Washington, D.C., have no relevance in Bangladesh society."

Relevant or not, the controversy continues to be a U.S. domestic political issue. In 1987, Acting Administrator Jay Morris stated that 800 institutions in 70 countries had signed the population clause, implying that FPIA's actions did not represent a real problem in population programs. Other AID officials point out further that the Reagan administration has spent more on voluntary family planning than the administrations of Johnson, Nixon, and Carter combined and that many organizations are ready to sign the disputed clause, obtain AID funding, and keep the field projects running.

The issue is marked with stridency by both sides, which only rarely look at what women in the Third World actually have in terms of rights, voice, and needs. Twenty years ago, when AID gave the first of the \$3 billion which has since been granted in this sector, the statistics on the status of women in most Third World countries were grim. Their access to education, health care, or any rights to con-

trol their lives were appallingly limited. But the world has changed, and the status of women in many countries, as well as governments' commitments to all of their citizens has become more "democratic." Expenditures for family planning programs have increased dramatically. The most populous developing countries—India, China, and Indonesia—now pay for most of their programs themselves. Large numbers of women are also being provided with family planning services through private sector delivery systems. Most important of all, women in the Third World now have strong advocates for their rights within their own countries, most notably women in politics and social work. Family planning programs and services will not stop in countries where the commitment to those programs is strong. Population programs no longer stand or fall because of AID—if that ever was the case.

In that perspective, it is a small sum that FPIA contributes to the whole. A mere \$60 million over the next five years is planned. If this funding were lost, the gap probably could be filled by some other local or foreign organization. Yet, it is not FPIA's contribution per se that should be focused upon. Rather, it is the position which the Reagan administration has forced AID to take on this issue—a position that interferes with the laws of other sovereign countries and the rights of women. U.S. political forces have tried to interfere in the internal decisions of two large and influential organizations—IPPF and UNFPA.

This issue should not be taken lightly or pushed to a "back burner." The number of currently married women of child-bearing age in the Third World (not including China) is about 350 million. If the world is to reach the demographic goal of having population stabilization, 70-80 percent of these women would have to use some method of family planning. At present only about 20 percent are actively involved in family planning.

It could be argued that the situation of women is not as extreme as the PPFA ads make it. However, at this moment, with countries throughout the world working eagerly to control their own populations and to deliver timely and appropriate health care to women and children, AID should be free to help as needed. □

Nancy Piet-Pelon is a family-planning consultant in Nepal.

Metriphobia

An American Disease?

GOING to a new post, especially one beyond the familiar confines of Western Europe, is likely to produce mixed feeling of fascination, frustration, and the excitement of settling into a strange new environment. Some of the exotic facts you can be expected to absorb in those first days are political ("no, he's not PURS, he's the deputy head of the PDFP"), some cultural ("... and never use your left hand"), and some sheer survival ("above all, don't ever bite into the red ones!"). Those of you old enough to count in terms of decades rather than years will recall an additional set of exotica that we—and particularly our spouses—used to grapple with as we settled in: "How many annas are there in a rupee?" "The cook says the staff needs two maunds of rice a week." "Will a viss be enough to feed six people?" "He says it's about three li from here."

There was a time not so long ago when every country between Suez and Papeete had its own unique way of measuring things, and woe to the person who didn't come to terms with it. Two maunds of rice may not sound like much, but wait until you get the bill! Even our British, Australian, and Canadian cousins had their own eccentricities to confuse the visitor. To be told that you weighed eleven-stone-six, that there were two sixpence in a

Why can't Americans learn to compute by tens?

EDWARD C. INGRAHAM

shilling, that the coat in the window cost nine guineas, and that candy—sorry, sweets—came by the penny-weight, didn't make life for the new arrival any simpler. Gradually, though, you would master the alien system. By the time your transfer came through, you'd find yourself not only using it with confidence but even thinking in it. "Let's see, we need three catties of this and a seer of that. . . ."

I had the opportunity to reflect on those long-gone days during recent vacation trips to India, Australia, and Canada, all of them countries my wife and I had known well in decades past. Among the many changes we found from our earlier travels was one that could hardly be called dramatic but was certainly pervasive: all had converted to the metric system since our last visit, as had just about everyone else beyond U.S. borders. From Jaipur to Perth to Halifax, on a warm day with temperatures in the high 20s, one may fill up his car with 30 liters of gasoline, drive eight kilometers to the shop, buy two kilograms of mutton and three meters of cloth, pay for them

in decimal currency and happily return to his quarter-hectare. What struck us was not that the governments had officially embraced the metric system, but that people everywhere, on the roads, in offices, in the shops and bazaars, had reached the stage at which they were actually talking and thinking in metric terms.

Not quite everyone: in Western Australia, a sixtyish contemporary of ours would still advise us that the best beach for snorkeling was about 10 miles down the road, although even she complained about the unusual heat; "close to 40 this afternoon." To the younger generation in all three countries, however, distance meant kilometers, weight meant kilograms, and beer came in half-liter bottles. Sometimes they would try to make it easier for us elderly foreigners by impromptu conversions into miles, pounds, and pints as they chatted, but it was clearly an effort.

Anyone who wonders how far metrification has spread need only drive—as we did this summer—from Maine to New Brunswick. From Bangor to the border is 94 miles, with a speed limit of 55 miles per hour; from the border to Saint John, 108 kilometers, speed limit 100 kilometers per hour. Same thing on the southern border: beyond Brownsville it's all metric right down to Patagonia. We are surrounded by what has become an almost completely

metric world.

The metric system, one of the last products of the Age of Enlightenment, was first adopted by revolutionary France in 1790. It proved so patently superior to the existing global tangle of weights and measures that it spread progressively throughout Europe, on to the overseas colonies and then to most of the rest of the world. China adopted it in 1914, the new Soviet Union in 1919. There was one major hold-out: Britain and its English-speaking offshoots, including the United States.

To many Englishmen, the metric system from the beginning was one of those suspect things devised by foreigners from the other side of the channel. Far better to wrestle with 12 inches to the foot and 16 tablespoons to the cup than to borrow an alien system, however logical, created by people who ate frogs. And so it went for 175 years, while the non-English world inexorably turned metric. In the end, though, the inconvenience of their unwieldy system in an ever more intercommunicating world became too great even for the Brits. In 1965, Parliament reluctantly mandated a 10-year conversion program into metric. Although there was initial grumbling, today Brits buy their tea by the kilo and their petrol by the liter just like the continentals. New Zealand followed in 1969, Australia and Canada in 1970.

Which left, among the significant nations of the world, only us. We, too, saw the inevitability of the metric system (which, following an international conference in 1960, had been formally renamed the "Système International d'Unités" or SI). Congress in 1968 ordered a study of SI, which concluded that we would undoubtedly join the rest of the world in the metric system and recommended legislation to encourage the process. The result was the Metric Conversion Act, signed by President Ford in 1975, which speci-



Photo by Frances L. Troje

fied that our policy "shall be to coordinate and plan the increasing use of the metric system . . . through voluntary conversion" and set up a Metric Board to oversee the conversion.

You may recall the immediately succeeding years. New signs cropped up on highways, informing us that the speed limit was 55 miles or 88 kilometers an hour. Gas stations, some of them, started selling fuel by the liter. Measuring cups began to show British measurements on one side, metric on the other. It seemed clear that, just as in Britain and Canada, the new generation of Americans would soon be thinking metric and the old folks would simply have to learn.

Then something happened. As we moved into the 1980s, the momentum of our seemingly irreversible move into metric faltered, stopped, and slid into reverse. Along with high taxes, the Vietnam War, gasoline shortages, and public accountability, it became part of the baggage of the unhappy 1970s, to be gratefully discarded in the brave new era of family values and feeling good about ourselves. Just about the only remnants of metric conversion one encounters today (outside of Hawaii, where I vaguely remember buying gasoline by the liter) are dutiful throwaway lines in public radio weather broadcasts: "today's maximum was 88 degrees, or 31 degrees celsius."

This, admittedly, is no big deal. An infinite number of higher priority issues clamor for attention in our national scheme of things. And, where

forced to, our people have come to terms with the metric system: American manufacturers in the export sector have adopted metric measurements, while the armed forces, which have had to face the fact that anyone we fight, either against or along side of, is almost certainly going to be marching to a metric drum, have devised a rather cumbersome hybrid, less than totally metric

but metric enough to ensure that we and our NATO allies can agree on how far away that enemy tank is. For the rest of us in the late 1980s, though, the thought of switching the nation over to the metric system scarcely crosses our collective mind.

Which is too bad. It's not just that the metric system is obviously superior to our present neo-medieval weights and measures, although of course it is. The question is one of our making the effort to do something, temporarily rather uncomfortable, that will benefit us in the longer term. Our Indian, Canadian, and Australian friends tell us that it did require a conscious effort to start thinking in metric and that the process was frustrating at times. They all agreed, though, that it was a wise move, and a necessary one. It's pretty clear that we have no present intention of following their example, a non-decision which seems both shortsighted and self-indulgent.

On the other hand, there are compensations in being odd man out in weights-and-measures. One can envisage eavesdropping on the newly arrived first secretary from lower Ruritania and his wife as they begin their tour of duty in Washington:

"Vladimir, how many ounces are there in a pint?"

"Thirty-two, I think. No, dammit, that was for a quart. Ask the cook."

"He's not here, I'm afraid. I sent him off to the market on his bicycle. I wonder why he complained—it's only seven miles." □

Significant others: the unmarried dilemma

ELIZABETH LEE FITZGERALD

As the unmarried partner of a Foreign Service officer in Mexico, Claire recalls, "I was basically treated like a live-in prostitute" by the local community. Though the Americans in the consulate were friendly, "the host country nationals wouldn't even look at me. They'd come to parties at our house and they wouldn't even say my name. They'd look away when I was in the room."

Claire's experience during her four months in Mexico reflects one of the great difficulties facing people who accompany their partner to post as a "significant other" without the benefits accorded a legal spouse—ostracism. Aside from the host country, there is the uncertainty of acceptance by the community at the mission, both on a social and professional level.

Unmarried partners (like all non-dependents, including parents and non-custodial children) receive no State Department benefits such as paid transportation to and from post, education allowances, commissary privileges, duty-free entry of goods and services, and most significantly, medical care. And they are not exempt from local taxes. But what really irks many partners is the perceived lack of support from the State Department at a time when they feel they need it most. Instead, they feel palpable pressure to marry.

According to the 1980 census, some 1.6 million Americans were living together as unmarried couples, a 300 percent increase from the figure in 1970; in 1988, the figure rose to 2.6 million. No one knows exactly how prevalent the practice is in the Foreign Service—how many FSOs bring a partner to post. Unofficial estimates put the figure at about five per incoming class. With junior officers, the situation arises usually because the job is offered at a point in the relationship when the couple is not ready to make a commitment to marriage.

Jackie (all names have been changed), 29, who recently accompanied her partner to post in the Caribbean, found herself in this bind. When her partner got the call, they decided she would join him in Washington and they'd explore their situation thereafter. Before arriving in Washington, Jackie remembers, "We heard a lot of different things about what we should do, and

what people thought of what we were doing. We didn't know if it would be accepted in Washington, and we actually still don't know how it is being accepted at post."

She was so unsure of the rules and her possible reception by the Foreign Service community that when she introduced herself before a class at the Overseas Briefing Center (OBC), she lied and said she was engaged. "I wondered what some of the women would think of me if I said I was here with my boyfriend," she admits. "I was so completely out of my own life that I just wanted to be inconspicuous. I knew I was different and I wasn't sure how to deal with it. Nobody seems to know anything or be able to tell you what you could do. They say 'if you were married, then this, this and this, and if you're not married, well, I don't know.'"

Though Jackie found that "the OBC has been very welcoming and very encouraging," her partner is more frustrated. "Being helpful with visas, all of the resources which you would take for granted for a spouse—the OBC, FLO, part-time employment . . . it's made explicit all along that they aren't available to someone who isn't a spouse," Mike explains.

And Claire, 24, shares his view. "The problem with the State Department is that you really don't matter—you're basically just a friend—so they're not going to help you . . . they don't even want to talk to you, and they don't want to talk about your situation." She tells of an introductory talk by an OBC representative to the A-100 training class in which they said, "If you have a significant other, come and talk to us, we talk about that as well." But she found that it wasn't that easy.

When Claire's partner was posted to London from Mexico a year ago, she went to the OBC and talked about living with him there. She remembers them saying, "You'll never get a visa, we won't help you get a visa. You'll never be able to work unless you do it illegally." To a suggestion that they get married, Claire replied, "That's kind of a big step to take just to get work."

But many incoming officers take that step. Claire, who herself has just completed the A-100 course, says of her class: "Peo-

ple introduced themselves as engaged, sort of, saying the marriage date depends on the State Department. It's like a father with a shotgun, saying 'we'll make your life a lot easier if you just get married.'"

Jackie's partner Mike, 25, believes that "there are a lot of people who really feel forced into marriage. I know that there's a real problem with divorce and frustration among [Foreign Service] spouses, and to some extent that might be a result of the need to make a decision without knowing all the ramifications."

The knowledge of marital problems among Foreign Service couples, the many unknowns about what lies ahead, and the relative youth of many junior officers make them hesitate to make a marriage commitment. Nick, 23, who with his 22-year-old partner has just begun serving his first tour, ruminates, "If I were older, I would probably think in terms of now or never." But his assignment—like Mike's—to the English-speaking Caribbean, where local custom accepts extra-legal relationships, allows him and his friend time at post to work out some basic questions.

For Jackie and Mike, the Caribbean posting was a blessing as well as a curse. It meant that without the need for language training, they didn't have much time in Washington to figure things out. So now they're testing the situation at post. "I think it's a good idea to go to a post and see how it is," Jackie says pensively. "I mean, it's just you and this person, and maybe you've never spent that much time with them because of your family and friends, because of your work and all the other things you do, and suddenly you're somewhere far away from home with just this person. If you haven't even worked out your basic problems, let alone all the new problems that creates, you're in trouble."

As Mike says, "Those are problems that people are dealing with throughout society, but it's really pronounced in the Foreign Service, where the procedures are more formalized." Claire concurs: The problems "are magnified when you get abroad, and you're in a totally different place without your friends and your attachments. It's hard to carve a place for yourself anyway, and if you're not looked upon as having some

kind of legitimate status, it makes it even harder."

Couples deal with the various pressures in different ways. Claire left Mexico after four months because there was nothing for her to do there. She then opted not to go with her partner to London, and joined the Foreign Service herself. Nick and his partner are braving it out at post, leaving the future undecided. Jackie and Mike became engaged a few weeks before they packed out, but have not yet set a date for the wedding. As Jackie sees it, being engaged means "we're committed to working toward marriage, and yet we're still not married, if it turns out to be disastrous."

Among the State Department and its various support agencies such as the Family Liaison Office and the OBC, there is mixed opinion as to how to deal with the issue. George Vest, director general of the Foreign Service, states flatly, "We don't have written regulations that give guidance on the situation. The government doesn't interfere either positively or negatively." When asked about the possible impact on the career of an unmarried officer who lives with a partner at post, Vest recognizes that there is a risk of judgment by the local community and superiors at the mission. "But when you are very young these things don't loom as large," he believes. "It's when you're older that it needs to be considered more seriously." Personally, however, he feels that for junior officers "it's just bringing more instability to post, when what you really need is all the stability and support you can get."

As Nancy Forbord of the OBC interprets State's policy, "It certainly isn't the State Department saying you can't go unmarried, it's just that they're trying to warn people that if you put yourself in that situation you could be at a lot of risk."

According to Eileen Milas of FLO, the biggest risk is not acceptance by host country nationals or fellow Americans, but "that you do not have official status, and thus no diplomatic immunity. In some posts it's not going to be a problem, but can become a major factor in others," she says. "It's not like we're not going to help if a private U.S. citizen gets into trouble," but there is much less protection available than when dealing with someone covered by diplomatic immunity. As to whether this factor is taken into account when assignments are made, Milas assures that it is not. Though some believe they've been given a break

because they've spoken about bringing along a partner, Milas explains that "there's a lot of compassion in determining assignments, but the needs of the Service come first."

Forbord underscores that idea. "You can imagine how people would begin to feel. You can't go around sending all people who are unmarried to non-hardship posts and those who are to hardship posts." The department tries to take into consideration personal situations that are completely unavoidable, for example officers with elderly parents who need care or children with certain disabilities or handicaps, but she emphasizes, "all of their situations are special."

Those taught in the bind are well aware that their problems aren't unique, and most accept congressional constraints on other

able, but "I really feel like there should be some middle ground between having to get married and having to break up a relationship."

His fiancée Jackie offers, "I can understand their perspective. I haven't felt they were unreasonable." However, what would help, she suggests, is "a list of people you could call if you had questions; a support system or a way of gathering information and being able to identify yourself without worrying about acceptance."

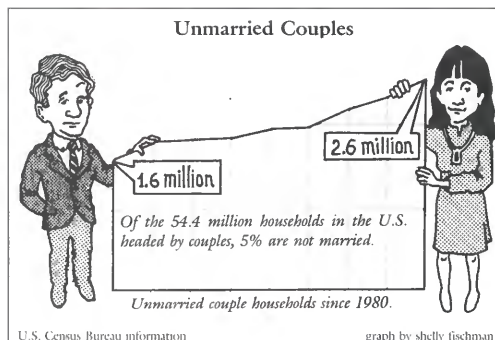
For other diplomatic services there are some precedents for recognizing significant others as legitimate partners. The Canadian government has recognized such non-legal relationships since about 1978, and now they are quite common. Canada allows full spousal benefits to an unmarried partner "if that person was already co-

habitating prior to assignment" of the officer and is considered a couple by their friends and neighbors, says a spokesman for the Canadian embassy in Washington, D.C. The situation is trickier if the relationship begins while at post. Then there is a qualifying period of a year, during which time the couple must live together in a marital relationship. And after this period, it is still up to the head of mission to decide whether the relationship is genuine, not just a practical arrangement for financial purposes. In either case, the couple must sign a statement declaring their relationship.

As FLO's Milas acknowledges, "it is a current issue not only in the State Department but in society as a whole." She, like Forbord of the OBC, encourages unmarried partners to come in and talk about their situation.

But according to Vest, the U.S. government has no intention of officially meeting the issue head on. He claims that unmarried couples in the Foreign Service are nothing new, and says conclusively, "I don't see any policy being formulated to deal with this."

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



government employees. "I support the present system," Nick says without hesitation, because the rules are congressionally mandated and any special treatment for Foreign Service officers "would be unfair."

Claire is not so accepting. Though she has no answers herself, she feels the problem needs to be dealt with more realistically. "I know people who've lived together for 15 years," she says, "and for all intents and purposes are married. Why would you not accord them the same benefits as a married couple? There are unmarried couples who stay together for only a matter of a few months or years, but there are married couples who do that as well. So why would you have the State Department get into the business of predicting how serious your relationship is or what its prospects are? It's a different world," she adds. "A lot of people choose not to get married and just live together."

As for Mike, the rules are understand-

In Memory

GREGORY HENDERSON, 66, died October 16 at Lawrence Memorial Hospital in Medford, MA, the result of a fall.

A specialist in Korean affairs, he was an associate in research at the John King Fairbank Center for East Asian Research at Harvard University. He had served as a Foreign Service officer in the State Department from 1947 to 1964 with two posts in Korea and others in Berlin, Japan, and Washington, D.C.

From 1964 to 1966 he was a faculty research associate at Harvard's Center for International Studies. During that time, he wrote *Korea: Politics of the Vortex*, a book published by Harvard University Press.

In 1969, he served as senior research officer at the United Nations Institute for Training and Research and had a related position at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University.

Born and raised in Cambridge, MA, he was a graduate of Phillips Exeter Academy and Harvard University. In World War II, he served as a first lieutenant in the Marine Corps in the Pacific and in the occupation of Japan. He subsequently was graduated from the Harvard Business School.

He is survived by his wife, Maria von Magnus, his mother, Lucy Gregory of Cambridge and his sister, Martha Coolidge of Beverly, MA.

PAUL E. WHEELER, a retired Foreign Service officer, died November 4 at the age of 65.

A native of Corning, NY, Mr. Wheeler attended Syracuse University, received his degree from the University of Southern California and did post-graduate work at the Geneva School of Foreign Affairs. He entered the Foreign Service in 1950, serving in Palermo, Trieste, Bucharest, Belgrade, Rio de Janeiro, and Washington, D.C. Mr. Wheeler served as a public affairs officer, cultural attaché, and USIA's director of cultural arts. In 1981, he retired to Manchester, VT.

In Manchester, Mr. Wheeler was active in the Dorset Theater Playhouse and the Vermont Council of the Arts; he served as a trustee of the Long Trail School and on the Board of Directors of the Nikolski/Louis Foundation for Dance.

He is survived by one daughter, Laura Dias Leite of Rio de Janeiro, Bra-

zil; one son, Paul E. Wheeler Jr. of New York, NY; one sister, Elizabeth Falk of Port Charlotte, FL; and three grandchildren. His wife, Vera Louise Cloos, died in 1987.

Memorial contributions may be made in his name to the Paul E. Wheeler Fund, Factory Point National Bank, Manchester Center, VT, 05255.

LEOPOLD JOSEPH LECLAIR, a Foreign Service officer for more than 30 years, died at his home in Peterborough, NH, on September 30. He was 70.

Mr. LeClair was born in Amherst, MA. He received a B.A. from the University of Massachusetts in 1939 and an M.A. in foreign affairs from George Washington University in 1965.

Upon graduation from college, he entered publishing in New York as editor of *Wild West Weekly*, one of the last old-fashioned pulp weeklies. After World War II, he joined the Foreign Service and served in Athens, Paris, Algiers, Bordeaux, Beirut, Colombo, Saigon, Ottawa, and Washington, D.C. He attended the U.S. Army War College in 1965 and received a distinguished civilian service award for his work in Vietnam in 1968.

Mr. LeClair and his wife, Ellenanne Marsh LeClair, settled in Peterborough in 1974 where he was active in cultural activities. His enthusiastic avocation in his retirement was watercolor painting. Exhibits of his work were held in Peterborough and elsewhere.

He is survived by his wife of 43 years; by four children, Joelle LeClair Whitmarsh of E. Dennis, MA, Isabella LeClair of Los Angeles, CA, Amory LeClair of Ottawa, Canada, and Amelia LeClair of Newtonville, MA; four grandchildren; and a sister, Mrs. Daniel Woods of Tryon, NC.

In lieu of flowers, the family requests that donations be made to St. Joseph's Monastery ("The Common"), Old Street Road, Peterborough, NH, or to Monadnock Hospice, 477 Old Street Road, Peterborough, NH 03458.

Announcement

Monica G. Kelley, daughter of James P. and Gisela Kelley, married David Martin, son of Colonel John and Cecelia Martin of Falls Church, VA, in Vienna, Austria, where the bride's parents are assigned. The bride is a graduate of the American High School in Tokyo, Japan, and the groom is a graduate of McLean High School in McLean, VA.

Notes on Real Estate

By John Clunan

For many Foreign Service families returning to Washington can be quite a shock, especially when confronted with the price of housing in the Washington area.

Most families must sell property they own elsewhere or property they have outgrown just to afford the down payment for suitable housing in Washington.

In order to maximize your gains from the sale of another property you might consider a tax-free exchange. Whenever real estate is sold, the capital gains or the difference between the tax basis and sales price is taxable. In 1979, the *Starker v. The Internal Revenue Service* case established the right of taxpayers to exchange investment or productive property without taxation on the capital gains. The concept of the tax-free or "Starker" exchange allows an owner to substitute one property for another by carrying the tax basis from the original property over to the new property.

The theory behind the tax-free exchange is that the purchaser of the original property does not really buy it, rather the purchaser offers another property in exchange for the original one. In reality, however, it is hard to find two persons who want to make a straight trade; therefore, a tax-free exchange is engineered using a third party.

For example, you are in Rome and have been renting out the house you own in Arlington. During home leave you find a buyer for your house in Arlington which your family has outgrown and you see a house you want to buy in Bethesda which you plan to rent for at least a year until you return from overseas. At this point the buyer of your Arlington house would deposit the money with an escrow agent who would then turn it over to the seller of the house in Bethesda at settlement. You have thus completed the exchange.

This is only one of many types of real estate transactions. If you have a problem or a question or would like information about the personal residence counterpart to the tax-free exchange please write or call.



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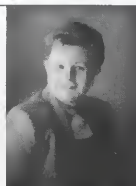


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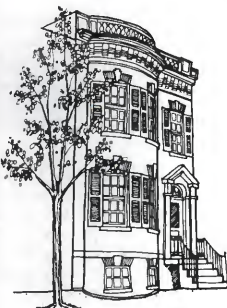
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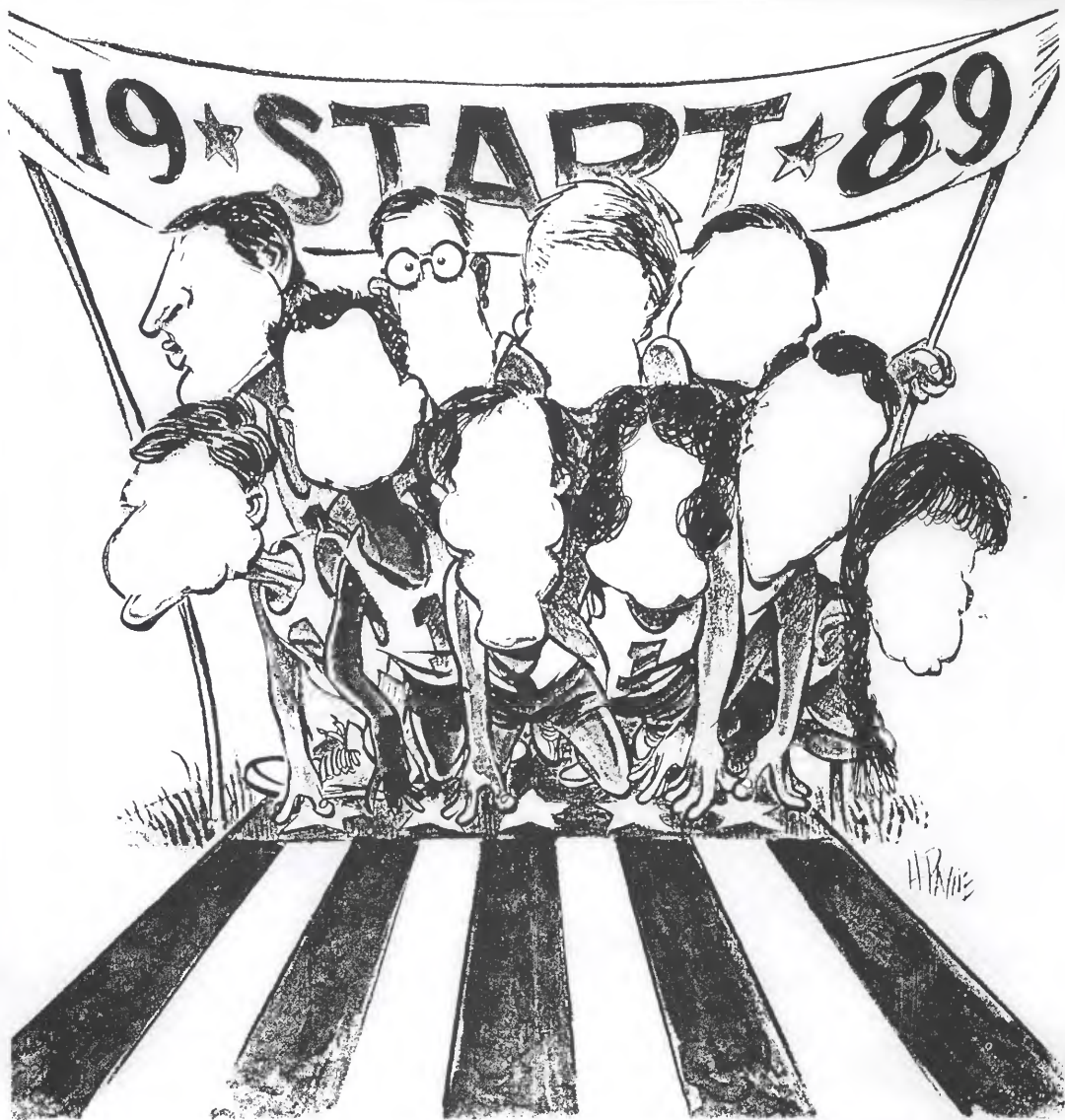
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On February 1, 1989, the American Foreign Service Association Elections Committee will be issuing an election call to start the process of electing a new governing board of AFSA, to take office on July 15, 1989.

Nominations for governing board positions must be received by the election committee no later than 30 days following the date of the election call. The election committee urges AFSA members to start thinking now of possible candidates, including themselves, for these positions so that they will be in a position to make nominations promptly after the issuance of the election call.

Names may be submitted to: Elections Committee, P.O. 15710, Chevy Chase, MD 20815

State Department drug testing imminent

The department has informed AFSA of its intention to begin drug testing to comply with legislation requiring all federal agencies to establish a Drug-Free Workplace Plan. The department declared that 12,400 "sensitive" positions will be designated for testing. Foreign Service career and career conditional personnel with Top Secret clearances will be subject to random drug testing.

Because AFSA's negotiating rights are limited to impact and implementation bargaining and legislation is specific in terms of what the agencies are required to do, AFSA is likely to have only a marginal influence upon the administration of the program. We will, of course, seek more information about the reliability of the tests and will bargain strenuously to provide safeguards to employees against false tests and unfair sanctions and procedures.

AFSA cannot legally stop the program through negotiations. However, a lawsuit challenging the program on constitutional grounds is a possibility being considered by AFSA. The outcome of such a legal challenge is uncertain, and the fact that security is an element in designating drug testing positions at State would probably weaken our case.

The following are elements of the department's proposed Drug-Free Workplace Plan:

- **Who will be tested.** Fifteen percent of employees in test-designated positions will be tested on a random basis. The department may also test employees if there is reasonable suspicion of drug use or if an employee caused an accident or unsafe practice resulting in death or personal injury requiring hospitalization or damage to government property in excess of \$ 5,000. Tests will be administered only in Washington until State determines whether it is practical and cost effective to test overseas.

- **Testing Procedures.** Employees selected for random drug testing and their immediate supervisors will be notified the day of testing preferably within two hours. Testing may be deferred if the supervisor certifies that the employee is on leave or is about to embark on offi-

cial travel. Urine specimens may be provided in private so that the employee is not observed while providing the sample. Collection personnel of the same gender may observe if they have reason to believe the individual may alter or substitute the specimen, i.e. when a person is suspected of using drugs.

- **Sanctions.** Refusal to submit to testing will result in initiation of disciplinary action up to and including dismissal. Disciplinary action against individuals found to use illegal drugs will be either a written reprimand, suspension of varying lengths of time, or removal from the Service. Employees found to use illegal drugs must submit to counseling and rehabilitation and will be subjected to further testing. Discipline will not be mandatory in the case of employees who voluntarily admit to drug use and who complete counseling, rehabilitation, and show through tests that they have subsequently refrained from drug use.

- **Appeals.** Employees who believe a position has been wrongly test-designated may file an administrative appeal in writing within 15 days of notification. The decision of the designated official is final and is not subject to further administrative review. Employees whose tests yield positive results may justify a

positive result to a medical review officer. Justification may include but is not limited to a valid prescription or verification from the individual's physician of a valid prescription. Employees who are the subject of a drug test shall have access to records relating to the drug test and the results of any relevant certification, review, revocation or proceedings.

- **Confidentiality.** Results of the tests will be confidential but may be disclosed to the medical review officer, the employee-assistance program administrator, any supervisory or management official having authority to take adverse personnel action, or pursuant to a court order to defend against any challenge against any adverse personnel action.

AFSA has made specific proposals to the department based upon comments solicited from employees both in Washington and abroad. Our proposals focus on the need for increased protection against inaccurate test results, confidentiality of test results, and limiting of drug tests to cases in which there is probable cause an individual is a drug user. State will be responding to our proposals shortly and AFSA will continue to advise the membership of any new developments.

AFSA meeting challenges members

"The Foreign Service is underfunded and undersupported," AFSA President Perry Shankle told a small number of interested members at the annual meeting on November 15. "We are now in the position of dealing with a new leadership, with opportunities as well as dangers."

Shankle spoke of the challenge AFSA faces to improve the image of the Service with Congress and restore the concept of professionalism within the Foreign Service. "AFSA is the only voice for the Foreign Service with the new administration and with Congress." He concluded by saying he hoped that people would become involved in this AFSA election year.

Evangeline Monroe, State vice-president, reiterated AFSA's pride in constructively influencing the 1988 budget battle. She commented, "We may have won the 1988 battle, but have we lost the war?" She continued, "AFSA is concerned that too many people are leaving the Service," and stressed that the Foreign Service must have a predictable and stable personnel policy. Another area of AFSA concern is the nature of congressional involvement in foreign affairs, especially the recent hold on two Senior Foreign Service promotions. In ending, Monroe asked that each member make his or her views known on how AFSA should relate to the new administration.

Charles Uphaus, representing AID,

continued on page 56

AID affirmative action plan at impasse

After reviewing reaction from the field on AID's proposed Affirmative Action Plan (AAP) for 1988-92, AFSA commenced negotiation of the plan with management in August. On the most problematic issue—special promotion consideration for EEO target groups—we could not reach agreement; as a result, management has initiated impasse proceedings with the Foreign Service Impasse Disputes Panel.

Management has refused to move from its original proposal, which would allow the agency to reach up to five places below the established promotion cutoff line to promote ranked members of targeted EEO groups at a given grade level in cases where there is an imbalance or absence of minority representation. Management's proposal would have given five-year, across-the-board authority to ignore the rank-order promotion system established by the 1980 Foreign Service Act in order to meet EEO goals.

After considering the views of its members, AFSA made a counterproposal, which would have allowed the agency to draw the promotion cutoff line lower

to pick up members of targeted EEO groups as long as everyone above that line was also promoted. In a subsequent negotiating session, AFSA went further and offered to allow promotion out of the rank order to address instances of "conspicuous absence" (of the two determinants of the need for affirmative action—"conspicuous absence" and "manifest imbalance"—the former is the more glaring discrepancy). Management, however, did not move from its initial position on this issue and determined that it had no recourse but to file for impasse.

AFSA is again soliciting views from its members on this issue. This input will help the association determine whether it should adhere to its current position during impasse proceedings, or develop a modified stance. AFSA is also seeking input on AID's proposal to make any agreement reached on the AAP retroactive to the 1988 Selection Board rankings. Views are also being solicited from concerned minority interest groups such as the Thursday Luncheon Group and the Women's Action Organization.

MEETING, from page 55



AFSA President Perry Shankle spoke on the future for the Foreign Service under the Bush administration; other Governing Board members in photo (left to right): Sam Mok, treasurer; David Schneider, retiree representative; Evangeline Monroe, State vice president; Charles Uphaus, AID representative; and Jake Jacobsen, USIA vice president.

explained that the AID Standing Committee had lost three members in summer transfers. He stressed that the support and active involvement of each AID member was needed to progress on the many issues of active concern, including investigations by the inspector general's office, spouse employment overseas, and AID's proposed Affirmative Action Plan.

USIA Vice-President Jake Jacobsen announced that AFSA will sponsor USIA-tailored programs that would deal with professional issues. The committee would attempt to recruit more members, de-

spite the many limitations on AFSA activity at USIA.

David Schneider, retiree representative, described the publications AFSA produces for its retired members, including a bimonthly newsletter and a directory of addresses. He emphasized that AFSA helps retirees on two levels, assisting them to maintain contact with their profession and keeping them informed on bread and butter issues of concern to retirees. The meeting ended with questions from the floor.

Supreme Court agrees to hear nondisclosure suit in March

The Supreme Court has agreed to hear AFSA's case involving nondisclosure agreements. As reported in the September *AFSA News*, AFSA filed suit in Federal District Court last February to block the use of nondisclosure form SF 4193. This form contains the word "classifiable", which called upon individuals to determine whether information not currently classified could be classified at some time in the future.

The Information Security Oversight Office developed new forms (SF 312 and SF 4355) which do not contain the word "classifiable". Despite the change in language, the new forms continue to be vague. This case is scheduled for argument before the Supreme Court in March of 1989. AFSA will continue to inform its members of any further developments in this important case.

DS limits questions

The Bureau of Diplomatic Security (DS) has agreed to limit the questions posed to individuals being investigated for alleged homosexual activity. DS has informed AFSA that security investigations are conducted in response to allegations of employee homosexual activity in order to determine if there is a connection between "alleged activity and departmental security and suitability standards."

AFSA's concerns arise from the sharp increase in investigations of alleged homosexual activity conducted by DS over the past two years and the reports by individuals that investigators have been asking highly intrusive and irrelevant questions during the course of these investigations.

In response to AFSA's expressed concerns regarding this issue, DS has changed its policy. Investigators have been advised to alter questions in an attempt to be minimally intrusive.

Professional Issues

How did this USIA officer make a difference?

On November 3, the AFSA USIA Standing Committee presented a discussion on "OERs and the Promotion Process." Panel members Hal Morton, Bob Gosende, and "Buck" Shinkman had recently completed assignments as members of USIA's Agency Selection Boards. W.L. "Jake" Jacobsen, AFSA USIA vice president, was moderator.

The panelists stressed that both rated and rating officer should keep notes throughout the year, so that the employee does not end up with a rating for only the last months of the cycle. Employees should see that the rating officer has a record documenting performance. Morton cautioned employees not to be overly modest in their lists, but not to take credit for everything!

Rating and rated officer should establish early what is expected, with dialogue throughout the rating period, including criticism for lapses in performance: there should be no surprises when the OER is drafted. Morton said that any rebuttal to critical comments should be drafted and then set aside for a few days and reviewed dispassionately. Panel members warned that in a number of cases, officers who were criticized for poor writing skills used those same skills (or lack thereof) to write a poor rebuttal, thereby confirming the rating officer's judgment.

Rating and subsequent reviewing officers should "divide up" their commentary, with the reviewing officer providing additional insights about an officer's performance. It was agreed that a reviewing officer's comments are especially important.

Speaking about their experience as members of the selection boards, panelists noted that every write-up seems to include a comment to the effect that "this officer is the best ever and has cleaned up the mess left by the previous occupant." However, the board is looking for specifics, "Why did this officer make a difference this year?" Details on how well the officer accomplished the job and what his or her performance meant to the office's responsibilities are essential. Numerical ratings must be supported by specifics if they are to be believed. A panel member noted that one critical report is not given undue weight if the other OERs do not indicate a pattern of problems.

Shinkman spoke for everyone when he opposed the practice of writing too much and trying, by photo-reducing and eliminating margins, to fit excess words



Panel members (l-r): Jake Jacobsen, Bob Gosende, Hal Morton, and Buck Shinkman discuss OES issues with USIA participants.

onto the OER form.

Gosende noted that the promotion boards at the Senior Foreign Service level are looking for management skills, and "if the officer sought to play a management role." He believes there are many opportunities within the agency to gain such experience, such as PAO in a hardship post, which the agency traditionally has a hard time filling, or a supervisory position in Washington. An officer needs various posts, including difficult posts, and "not just information officer jobs in large posts." The panelists underscored the responsibility of officers to plan careers carefully, keeping in mind that the assignments they select have a bearing on the qualifications they can demonstrate when up for promotion.

Questions about the relative advantages and disadvantages of a Washington assignment elicited the comment that

"it is easier to stand out at a posting abroad," but that it really comes down to how a candidate performs in any particular job.

Others questioned if the boards were color and sex blind when rating officers. Panelists insisted that except for obvious Hispanic or Asian names, there really was no way for a board to know if an officer was a minority member. Even though names do distinguish gender, members also felt that sexism was not a factor in board decisions. However, all agreed that the low percentage of women in the Senior Foreign Service indicated that genuine equal opportunity is yet to be reached.

The panelists ended by cautioning officers to make sure their OERs are correct and accurate. "It is impossible to overemphasize the importance of taking the OER process seriously."

Discussion treats assignment process

Anticipating the 1989 open assignments season, AFSA sponsored a discussion with Ambassador Raymond C. Ewing, director of the Office of Foreign Service Career Development and Assignments (PER/FCA), and PER colleagues Robert Rackmales, Jonathan Rickert and Guyle Cavin, on October 20. All four currently serve on assignment panels.

"The new administration will have some effect on the timing of some senior assignments, but we are otherwise proceeding on a business-as-usual basis," Ewing led off.

The open assignment message is negotiated with AFSA. The most recent agreement will serve for the 1989 and 1990 assignment cycles. For Fall 1988, AFSA asked the director general to send a cable to the field providing a detailed account of the assignment process and explaining the roles of the different players.

The director general, who has the authority to make assignments, delegates

that responsibility to PER/FCA, which establishes various panels to consider each assignment. Though the DG retains final say, he rarely overrules the PER/FCA panels. Fewer than a dozen of the more than 1,500 assignments made in 1987 were DG-directed, Cavin explained.

As everyone should know, the process works through a peer assignment and counseling system. Each employee has a career development officer (CDO); it is wise to ensure that your CDO has full understanding of your career objectives. Overseas bidders should see their CDOs whenever they come to Washington and take an interest in the assignment process through cable, phone, or letters.

In preparing a bid, "take a look at your Personal Audit Report (PAR)," added Rackmales. "It has the most influence on your assignment, next to the bid itself." A CDO doesn't have time to

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Membership

Mari Radford
Membership Coordinator



AFSA membership is currently at an all-time high—topping 9,300. In the coming new year, membership drives are

being planned for these groups: retirees, State, AID, USIA, and associates. We hope to see further increases in response to these marketing efforts.

Currently, we are engaged in an on-going promotional campaign for USIA personnel, both overseas and stateside, sponsoring a series of issue-orientated seminars, and hosting lunches for junior officer training classes. USIA membership has suffered some attrition over the past year—a point of concern for AFSA's USIA Board members. But with their assistance, we are pursuing new members and renewals of former members.

Speaking of adding new AFSA members to the ranks, we could use the help of every AFSA member in this pursuit. When you are finished reading your copy of the JOURNAL—why not pass it along to a colleague who *isn't* an AFSA member? AFSA offers professional services, grievance counseling, legal services, retiree services, tax advice, scholarships for Foreign Service dependents, insurance programs, the Foreign Service Club, and membership discounts on periodicals, books, furniture, and automobiles. Take advantage of these programs we've designed for you—the AFSA member. Write in care of the Membership Department for more information on any of these.

Our membership data-base is now completely computerized and running smoothly. But an on-going problem is out-dated addresses. Please remember to send us your change of address.

Since we lost many of our Post Representatives during the summer transfer season, I'd like to encourage all posts without a Rep to hold elections in the immediate future. AFSA Post Reps are your helping hand at post—acting as liaison with management and bringing AFSA resources to assist you. It's a vital job and an opportunity to become better acquainted with your association. Get involved now!

ASSIGNMENTS, from page 57

check the accuracy of each PAR; it's up to you to correct and update it.

To develop the list of positions available, each bureau goes over its anticipated vacancies in the department and the field, confirms them, and then forwards the list in early September to PER/FCA. Everyone should check the worldwide add/delete cables, sent monthly beginning in October. The panelists insisted that advertising is not pro forma; no job is filled till it's advertised for two weeks and, while bureaus may have an initial favorite, new interest or a fresh face never goes unexamined.

Bids are officially due on November 1. There is no prescribed penalty if you delay, though your bids might not be circulated for possible assignments or PER/FCA may consider you as someone willing to go anywhere. Assignments are not made until December, but November is used for consultation between FCA and bureaus.

The assignment system is computerized, which is why bids are in a fixed format. To compensate computer limitations, the narrative section of the bid provides the opportunity to highlight what personal, family, or career factors are relevant to your next assignment. Responsibility rests with the employee to express choices and to make concerns known. For example, "all tandems have an obligation to ensure the panel is aware of tandem status; remind us when you submit bids about which member should take the lead in that assignment cycle," Ewing said.

Seventy-five percent of assignments are a "happy meeting of employee and bureau preference, cone, grade, language assessment." However, 25 percent are argued at panel or in preparation for the panel. Decisions are arrived at by a majority of voting panel members.

When the panel considers your bid, your CDO has a voice. For instance, with FS-1s, the CDO is particularly sensitive to the threshold requirements for the Senior Foreign Service. He or she will argue against appointing an FS-2 to a stretch job over a qualified FS-1 who needs that experience. The CDO can also apply a three-week "hold" if an assignment is felt to be the wrong one for the employee.

A common reason for rebidding or a panel "shoot out" is the "fair share" system. An employee who has not served at a differential post within the last eight years must include such posts in a bid. Those who don't "may be placed at a post not of their choosing," as Ewing diplomatically phrased it. The department offers certain incentives in assign-

ments, to encourage bidding for hardship posts and hard-to-fill posts in Washington, D.C. These include stretch assignments, a sixth year in the capital, and facilitating cross-cone acceptance.

A panel vote may also arise from an imperfect match between the preference of the employee and that of the receiving bureau. The issue of bureau selectivity generated several comments. "Any FSO was not 'born yesterday'; many seemingly open assignments are not because a bureau has someone lined up," one attendee complained.

The personnel representatives responded that bureaus, offices, and mission chiefs naturally are interested in who their staff will be. But they don't make assignments, Ewing cautioned. A bureau's argument for someone will be listened to, but the assignment panel is part of the centralized personnel system, which considers a variety of factors, including the employee's career concerns.

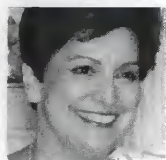
"Are the 'closed clubs,' the German or Arabic language officer pools, a concern or simply a factor," asked another attendee. With two or more years of paid training in a language, the Foreign Service has a right to expect some sort of career commitment, the panelists replied. "I don't agree that such 'clubs' are closed," Ewing said. "But we are looking for people who are willing to take more than one assignment with their languages." The panels generally try to assign those with the language or available for training. There are no limitations on age or grade for language training for designated positions.

A question was asked about the generalist/specialist distinction, especially in the administrative area. "The department continues to hire specialists, and offers secretaries opportunities to bid and compete for such jobs," Ewing said. "But generalists are often assigned to specialist positions because sometimes there are not enough people in the specialties available. Some degree of interchange is healthy." The department is not moving toward preference for either category at this time, Ewing added.

In response to a question on prospective change in the assignment process, Ewing suggested that "there have been too many changes in the last 20 years. We're going in the right direction now in terms of a more open, more understandable process to make procedures more clear. AFSA, by initiating the explanatory cable and this seminar, is helping on this." In general, he said, "it operates under healthy and creative tension most of the time."

State Standing Committee

Evangeline Monroe State Vice President



The following message was drafted by the State Standing Committee for Secretary Baker's Transition Team:

The American Foreign Service Association (AFSA) has represented the Foreign Service since 1924. In 1972 the Foreign Service voted for AFSA to be its exclusive bargaining agent in the Department of State. Since then AFSA has been both a professional association and a labor union dedicated to the professionalism of the Foreign Service.

AFSA would welcome the opportunity to work with the transition team toward the goal of strengthening the professional role of the U.S. Foreign Service in the Bush administration. A strong and effective diplomatic service is essential to the maintenance of our national security and the promotion of U.S. interests abroad. In an era of increasingly complex international relations, astute diplomacy is needed more than ever. U.S. relationships are evolving as the Soviet Union undergoes major internal change, as our European allies move toward integration, and as the economic strength of Japan and other Asian nations grow.

To help the new administration adjust to change, the resources of the Foreign Service include analytical skills, cross-cultural understanding, foreign language ability, historical background, and experience in providing essential services to Americans abroad. We offer valuable expertise to draw upon as the new Administration confronts the persistent challenges of conflict in the Middle East and Central America, and of North-South economic problems. We believe that the Foreign Service has contributed in substantial measure to the achievements of past administrations in arms control negotiations, in the resolution of regional threats to peace, and in the expansion of world trade. We deeply appreciate President-elect Bush's warm words, on the day after his election, in recognizing the contributions of the men and women of the Foreign Service.

We take pride in this recognition, and we expect that the Foreign Service will forge a firm partnership with the Bush administration, as it has with previous ones. Unfortunately, the decline of bipartisanship in foreign policy has led

some members of both political parties to question whether the Foreign Service is "trustworthy," and can be counted on to carry out controversial policies. Let us set the record straight.

When new ideas are proposed or circumstances change, the members of the Foreign Service have seen their duty, as the president's career foreign policy advisers, in responding with straightforward advice. We believe the president and the secretary of state need to continue receiving the candid views of a professional Foreign Service throughout their tenure. The department has correctly sought to encourage officers to contribute their own analyses to policy formulation, so that the continuing validity of assessments and policies in changing circumstances can be challenged and, as appropriate, reaffirmed. Once the president has decided on a course of action, the Foreign Service has always accepted the responsibility for carrying it out fully and faithfully. AFSA is confident that the new administration will find the same strong support from the Foreign Service for the implementation of its decisions that both Republican and Democratic administrations have found in the past.

AFSA welcomes with enthusiasm the early nomination of James Baker to be secretary of state. As nominations are considered for ambassadorships and for other key domestic leadership positions in State, we urge the transition team to recommend careful deliberation before replacing career incumbents. The U.S. has been well-served by many distinguished "political" appointees, but there is a wealth of talent and experience in the Foreign Service too! We trust this reservoir will be fully tapped.

Once candidates for leadership positions, career or non-career, have been identified, we assume that the new administration will seek swift and smooth confirmation. We note that in recent years Senate Foreign Relations Committee action on many nominations has been subject to partisan bickering, trade-offs and delay—all embarrassing to both the candidates and to the administration. To avert or reduce this in the future, we encourage the transition team to consider ways to assure that the candidates' qualifications meet an objective review of requirements for the job before their nominations are submitted to the Senate.

As the transition team focuses on the current operations of the State Department, AFSA urges that due consideration be given to the department's budget.

The Foreign Service is already pared to the bone and has fewer resources available to it for analysis and implementation of foreign policy than other national security agencies. U.S. interests around the world multiply, yet the Foreign Service shrinks. The number of Foreign Service officers has declined to some 4,200 to staff the department and 256 posts abroad. It is important that there be adequate training resources and sufficient manpower to permit training. At present the department's resources permit training selected personnel in languages only to the "3/3" level, yet truly effective use of a foreign language requires greater fluency. The present policy is tantamount to sending unarmed soldiers into battle.

The Department of State's budget must also be adequate to meet our obligations to international organizations and to rebuild the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. AFSA recognizes that the new administration has some difficult budgetary choices to make. We believe that the survival of the Foreign Service depends on the secretary of state's working with the Congress and the White House to assure that the department's salaries and expenses account is not reduced to make payments to international organizations or to pay for other programs.

Personnel and management policies in the department over the past seven years have eroded the stability of the Foreign Service as a career and have created a more junior, less experienced Service. Several hundred FS-O1's and seniors have been involuntarily retired in recent years while still in their prime and have taken with them expertise and foreign language skills that will be difficult and costly to replace. In addition the downgrading of senior positions has further weakened the Foreign Service. Junior and mid-grade officers are increasingly viewing the Foreign Service as a short term career. The fact that in 1987 13 percent fewer applicants took the Foreign Service examination than in the previous year speaks for itself.

AFSA awaits with interest the report of the Commission on the Foreign Service Personnel System. We believe improvements in the system are essential, but they must be phased in gradually to avoid distortions and greater insecurity. There is widespread support for a longer career, selection out for poor performance, greater flexibility in the cone system, and more opportunity for secretaries and specialists. AFSA expects to discuss more detailed personnel proposals with the transition team.

Legislative Action Fund Contributions 1988

The following individuals are a partial list of those who gave their support to the American Foreign Service Association's legislative efforts in 1988.

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Scholarships

Cristen K. Springet Scholarship Administrator



When I began my position as scholarship administrator six weeks ago, someone said it would be hard to work in the

scholarship office and not get personally involved. I thought about that, wondering if my "professional demeanor" would be in jeopardy. But in reviewing the files that cover more than 61 years, it is impossible not to get caught up in the living history

of the Foreign Service scholarships—from the original trust, the Harriman Award established in 1927, to the present.

I am impressed not with just facts and figures, but with the hard work and dedication of the long-time scholarship administrator, Dawn Cuthell, a legacy that is reflected in the many letters of appreciation from students, parents, and friends.

Also reflective of the personal nature of the program are, of course, the grants which ambassadors and secretaries, senior and junior Foreign Service officers have given for scholarships. Most of the scholarship donors

remain unknown, but they have recognized that our Foreign Service juniors are special people with special needs, and their grants help fund the education of these remarkable young people.

The real measure of the scholarship program is the winners themselves. I already know that whoever the applicants are this year, they will provide me with an insightful view of Foreign Service life. I look forward to reviewing the applications for both the Merit and Financial Aid program. Remember, the application deadline is February 15, 1989!

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Hilton Hotel
5-233111
Joe Arnold

KOREA

April
Hyatt Regency
Seoul
Nancy Sheetz

TOKYO

6-9 March
Okura Hotel
03-582-011
Judy Hamilton

MANILA

12-14 January
Hilton Hotel
57-3711
Joe Arnold

Europe -

BONN

11 March 10am-4pm
American Embassy
Sales Store
Kennedy Allee
(0228) 373196

HOLLAND/ HEERLEN

2 March 11am-5pm
Grand Hotel
045-713846
Pat Richter

BELGIUM/ CASTEAU/MONS

27-28 February 10am-5pm
Crest Hotel
065-72-87-41
Pat Richter

BRUSSELS

1 March 10am-5pm
Holiday Inn Airport
02-720-58-65
Pat Richter

LONDON

19 February 1pm-5pm
13-15 February 10am-5pm
London Marriott
44(1) 493-1232
Mary Ellen Josephson

MADRID

17 March
Hotel Castellano
Paseo Castellano
4100200
Mimi Nun

ROME

22 February
10am-1pm 4pm-8pm
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Not everyone is cut out for foreign service. And for that matter, neither is every automobile. Different parts of the world impose different demands.

So, given the choice of average or world-class, you would naturally choose a car with world-class credentials. A world-class, front-wheel drive Ford Taurus.

"Best-in-class" attitude. World-class credentials.

Taurus' "best-in-class" design philosophy—striving wherever possible to equal or surpass, feature for feature, many of the world's finest cars—is proof that world-class stature isn't achieved with a second-class attitude.

Ford's highly sophisticated EEC-IV computer instantaneously "fine-tunes" the multi-port fuel-injected V-6, even under varying conditions.

The 4-wheel independent suspension is engineered for balanced ride and handling and made even more capable by Taurus' highly acclaimed aerodynamic shape.

And the Taurus interior, as comfortably roomy as it is remarkably ergonomic, likewise shows Ford's emphasis on functional design in every detail.

Unquestionably, Taurus is a 6-passenger driving enthusiast's car with the world-class credentials to put it right at home, anywhere in the world.

Best-built American cars...eight years running.

For the past eight consecutive years, Ford quality has led all other American car companies. This is based on an average of owner-reported problems in a series of surveys of '81-'88 models designed and built in North America.

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