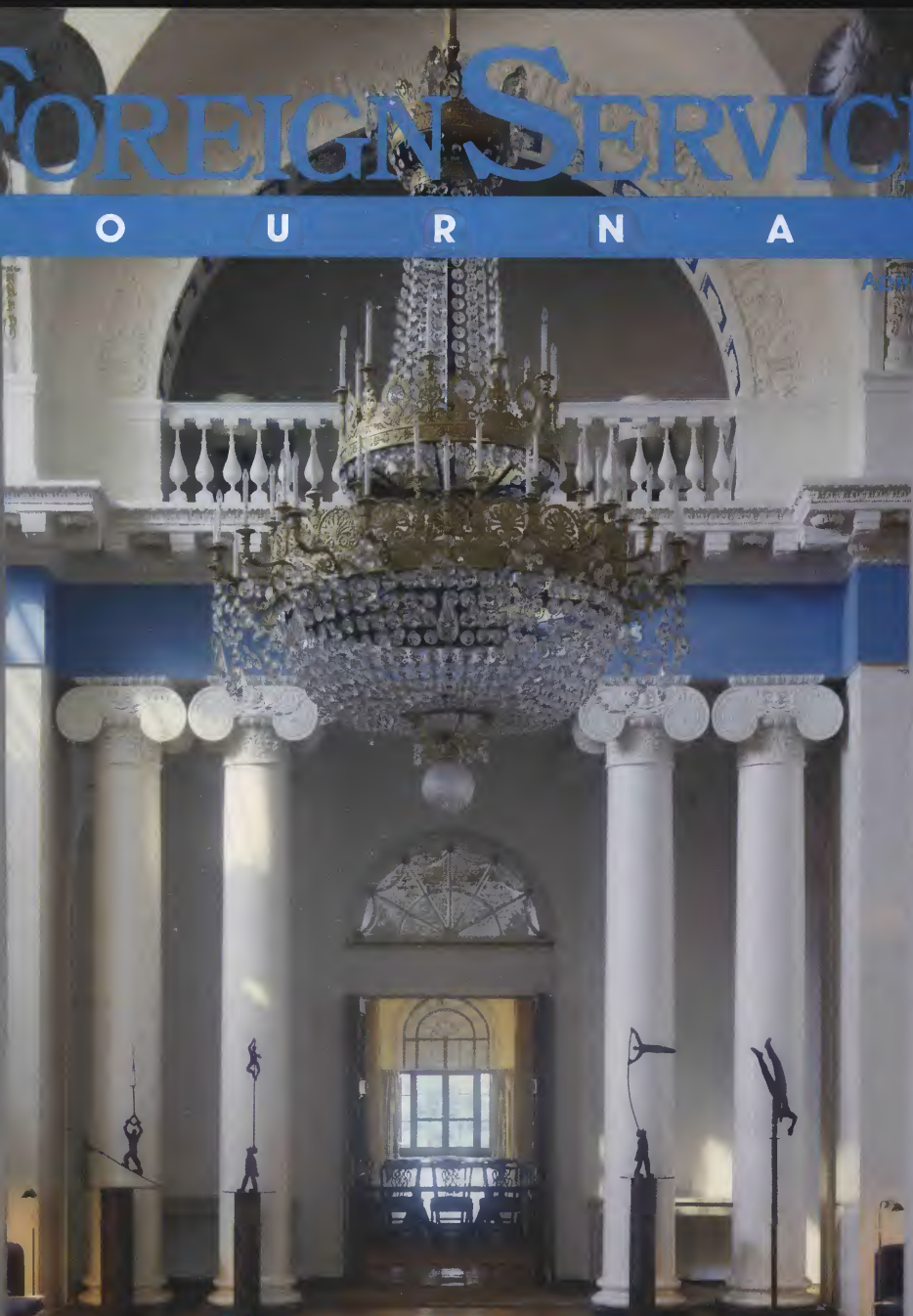
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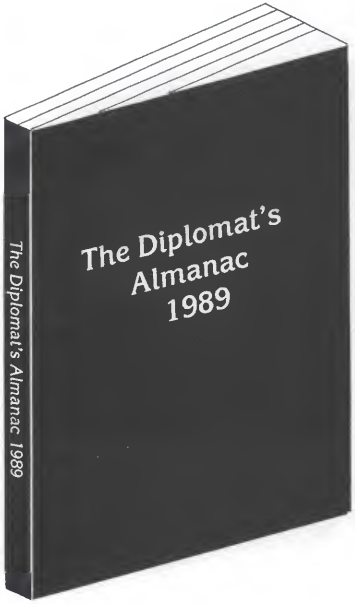


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Three proposed amendments to the AFSA bylaws were published in the March issue of the JOURNAL. The constitution provides that for 45 days following the date of publication of the proposed bylaws, members may submit statements in opposition to these proposed amendments, provided that each statement is signed by not less than 10 members, and no two statements are signed by the same member. Statements must be in the hands of the Election Committee no later than April 28, 1989. The Election Committee will inform the membership of statements in opposition to the proposed amendments during the upcoming election.

During the election period, an Elections Committee member will screen the April, May, and June issues of the JOURNAL to assure compliance with the following policy:

The Committee on Elections will not authorize publication of letters to the editor, editorials, or articles on, by, or referring to the candidates, or bearing on the election in a manner not compatible with the Election Committee's responsibility to assure that the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL and *AFSA News* are not used to support or oppose any candidate or slate."

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Cover photo of the interior of Spaso House, the U.S. ambassador's residence in Moscow, by Sergei Petrov, courtesy of Ambassador and Mrs. Arthur Hartman. Petrov, a 36-year-old Soviet citizen who is trying to obtain permission to leave the USSR, has worked as a freelance photographer for embassies and news bureaus in Moscow since 1981. His photographs have appeared in *Architectual Digest* and at the State Department and at various American universities.

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Letters

A CEO for State

I wish to draw to your attention a typographical error in the item I contributed to your "Dear Mr. Secretary" section in the February issue. As one of my recommendations I suggested that the under secretary for management position be filled not by a career FSO, "but rather by a qualified manager, perhaps a retired CEO." As printed, the letter read retired FSO instead of CEO. This error detracted from the basic point I had hoped to make: that a professional manager from outside the system may be better able, through both managerial competency and credibility with Congress and within the administration, to foster an effective personnel system than could an "insider" in charge of the management function.

I recognize an element of blasphemy in this proposition, given the record of a number of outstanding FSOs successfully running large overseas missions. Nevertheless, the challenge of the "M" function requires, I feel, more formalized training and experience in the management field than FSOs heretofore have generally possessed. The naming of the head of a 2,500-employee company to become the new under secretary for management is an interesting postscript to this suggestion. Congratulations and best wishes, Mr. Selin!

W. Scott Butcher
Washington, D.C.

Kabul closing

The department should be congratulated on closing our embassy in Kabul. Despite all the money that has been spent on improving the security at U.S. embassies throughout the world, our personnel will remain defenseless whenever a local government is unwilling (Iran) or unable (Lebanon) to defend them. The only option in such cases is evacuation.

The U.S. government should make clear to the world that decisions to close our embassies do not necessarily reflect our unhappiness with host governments. Unless we can gain acceptance for this principle, Foreign Service personnel and U.S. foreign policy will continue to run unnecessary risks because we are afraid to appear to be sending a political message.

Gerald P. Lamberty
Guatemala City, Guatemala

Do not surrender

Modern philosophers tell us that something cannot be right in theory and wrong in practice, for in such a case the theory is wrong. Andrew Kauffman's letter in the January JOURNAL provides us with a fallacious theory when he intimates that legalization of the alcohol drug is akin to legalization of the cocaine drug.

His theory: ". . . to ban habit-forming drugs with stiff penalties is as helpless as was the prohibitionist's campaign against liquor." To show the weakness of his theory, simply substitute the word "murder" for "habit-forming drugs." Surrendering to the enemy—in this case the crack pushers—is definitely not the way to solve a problem, theory or no theory.

Richard P. Wilson
Mobile, Alabama

Sweepstakes of survival

I entirely agree with Mr. Hollingsworth's recommendation in February that the JOURNAL publish obituaries of all Foreign Service personnel, as the *State Department Newsletter* does. I am astonished by the editors' answer: that the JOURNAL has other fish to fry and that the insertion of death notices should be left to the initiative of its readers. Even assuming that more than a small minority of friends or family members would take such initiative, I don't think obituaries can be relegated to the status of classified ads.

Editors are better placed than readers to judge their space requirements, but I doubt that reprints from the *Newsletter* would prove excessive. Old crocks like me, eccentric though we may seem, follow closely the sweepstakes of survival and extinction in which we must compete. For some, the JOURNAL's other features may occupy a less than commanding position on the intellectual horizon than one might think. In that event, we might do better to subscribe to the less ambitious *Newsletter* and to grope our way onward without the guiding lights of the JOURNAL.

John Bovey
Cambridge, Massachusetts

A personnel view

I read with keen interest my friend Leo Reddy's thoughts on improving the Foreign Service personnel system. I think he is on the right track in focusing on the need to provide more meaningful opportunities for accumulating expertise and yardsticks for measuring it—however much I might question his view that junior officers should get out of the visa business or that mandatory consular or hardship postings are somehow inconsistent with early development of expertise.

However, speaking as one who has spent years acquiring in-depth understanding of the South Asia region and of politico-military affairs, I am sympathetic to his interest in how best to reward, retain, and utilize our storehouse of functional and foreign-area expertise in a manner best suited to support the conduct of effective and informed foreign policy. I would like to offer the following additional thoughts on personnel problems.

I have been dismayed repeatedly over the years at how freely the Service squanders priceless knowledge and understanding of complex foreign areas and cultures within its ranks. There are, of course, many examples of excellent use of our unique foreign-area credentials. But even accepting the usefulness of assignments out of area for broadening outlook and developing functional

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Letters

skills, there are still too many misuses (or non-uses) of the skills accumulated by officers through years of study and experience.

In the private sector, there is growing attention given to use of computer technology to ensure that the balance of skills and experience matches the anticipated needs of senior levels of the organization. In contrast, Foreign Service promotions seem to have virtually nothing to do with the quite specific foreign affairs needs of the Service in senior grades—beyond, of course, controlling overall numbers and maintaining some balance among cones—nor is there any way to ensure that promotion panels do not inadvertently strip the Service of expertise by selecting out those most knowledgeable about some key area of the world.

I am nearly as dismayed at the contrast between the continuing lip service paid to the need for officers to gain and demonstrate managerial experience and the factors actually dictating the assignment process. Time and again, I have seen choice senior managerial positions filled with officers who have demonstrated little or no managerial experience, skill, or interest.

This last goes hand in hand with what I believe to be a major anomaly between how much emphasis the Foreign Service places on one's personnel file in making judgments about awards, promotions, and tenure, and how irrelevant that file seems to be in terms of key assignment decisions, which are critical to both promotion and retention. For senior officers, personal knowledge and corridor reputation are far more important to gaining choice assignments than is any positive information about performance or expertise in the personnel file. Yet that file is *the* basis for promotion panel decisions, which impact most heavily on retention.

In all of this, I found Reddy's suggestions thought provoking, an excellent first step, and in my view better than what I regard as excessive concern with the generalist in Lannon Walker's article. New thinking on both specialization and generalization is needed, however, in light of the near-decade of experience with the 1980 Act, and I welcome the debate provoked by both authors' contributions.

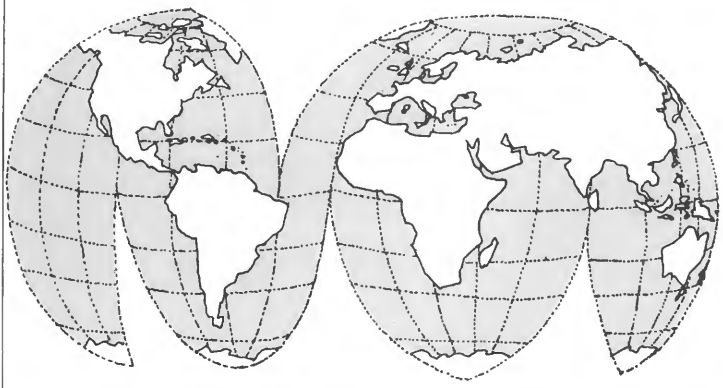
Herbert G. Hagerty
Washington, D.C.

PIT is the pits

I think that the acronym for a part-time, intermittent, temporary employee should be changed to something other than PIT. Acronyms are often acrostic, forming a word that represents the overall meaning of the phrase. PIT means a hole in the ground, the abode of evil

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spirits, or the stone of a fruit.

PIT employees do not appreciate being referred to as "PITs." They often work full-time performing the same duties as their regular Foreign Service colleagues, at half the pay and with no allowances. I suggest that the designation of such employees be officially changed to "temporary, intermittent, part-time" (TIP) or "temporary or part-time" (TOP). It is an easy step to take for the good of employee morale.

Jim W. Carter
Manila, Philippines

No smoking overseas

During the time I was an active FSO, I served on many committees which had as their primary raison d'etre the banning of smoking in the Department of State and all of the annexes. While I was gratified recently to see that a smoking ban is in effect in most areas of Foggy Bottom and annexes, I continue to question why similar regulations are not enforced overseas.

Recently, I was overseas and noted that smoking seemed to be widespread, not only by Americans but by Foreign Service nationals and contract staff members as well. When I asked AFSA chapter representatives why, I was told that regulations promulgated in Washington are not applicable overseas. I find this to be totally irrational and lacking in any fundamental concern for employee welfare and health.

Employees stationed abroad, many in less developed countries, don't need an additional health risk such as smoking present. Can someone please explain to me why regulations negotiated by AFSA at the Washington level cannot and do not apply overseas? I find the present policy so lacking in logic and rationale that it defies belief.

Roy A. Harrell, Jr.
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Focus

China and Russia: Contrasts in history

STEPHEN N. SESTANOVICH

Americans easily believe the Chinese when they speak of *kai-fang,* openness and moderation. Chinese ways appeal to Americans. We admire Chinese art, philosophy, and religions and express great respect for the way the Chinese honor agreements: a handshake is as good as a signed contract. In addition, all those years of Yales-in-China, Berkeleys-in-China, Cornells-in-China, and Stanfords-in-China have borne fruit. These exchanges created bonds of understanding and ties that overcame 15 decades of unequal treaties, economic exploitation, extraterritoriality, cultural proselytizing, and defamation by American merchants and government officials. Despite our history, the Chinese people still crave the respect and friendship of the United States.

In contrast, American attitudes toward Russians have sprung from less-firm roots. Americans have reservations about the reality of change in the USSR. The Russians' xenophobic ways have not drawn them to American hearts. We treasure their Eastern religious icons, but our sense of religious freedom is offended by Soviet stifling of that religion. "Trust, but verify" has been an essential underpinning of agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union. The manipulation of Soviet history, as well as their pretensions to the status of an economic superpower, have disconcerted many fair-minded friends in the West. American and Soviet students, and czarist students before them, have enjoyed only token representation on each other's college campuses.

The flow of Chinese students to America began long before Presidents Nixon or Reagan claimed to open the Asian world to the West. Credit should be shared with the Treaty of Wanghia and the Boxer Rebellion. The 1844 Treaty of Wanghia created a peace so dreadful that it precipitated the Boxer Rebellion against Western exploitation. In 1901, under the terms of the treaty that ended this rebellion, China was required to pay $300 million in reparations to England, Germany, France, Japan, Russia, and the United States. In an unprecedented gesture, the United States turned around and refunded its share of the indemnity (less than $100 million, a lot of money in the early days of this century) to support Chinese students in American colleges and universities. By any measure, it was the investment of the century. By 1948, this small amount of seed money, to which larger sums were

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added later, had educated 35,000 Chinese students in American universities.

So great was the appetite for Western ideas and American higher education that carbon copies of American campuses sprang up throughout China. American educational foundations, religious organizations, and private benefactors became involved in educational, scientific, and cultural exchange programs on a scale never before approached, and exceeded only by the Fulbright programs later.

Liberal infusions of money from the United States fostered binational cooperation in all the arts and sciences. A national research academy (Academia Sinica) was established in 1928. The imperial palace in Beijing was converted into a museum. A new national library stimulated the upgrading of provincial libraries. Archaeological field work was started.

Meanwhile, in the United States, between 1900-48, America's infant technological revolution intrigued young Chinese students. American management and marketing techniques created in Chinese minds visions of a China vaulting across centuries of industrial and governmental inertia.

All this came to a grinding halt in 1948, with the Communist victories that drove out the old nationalists. Mao's government diverted Chinese students from study abroad, except for those who were authorized to study in countries of the "fraternal" Communist sphere. But Chinese fathers, who prepared their children for campuses in Ohio, Pennsylvania, New England, and California, were not happy sending their offspring to the likes of Patrice Lumumba University.

Chinese students scattered. Many went to Hong Kong, Singapore, and other countries of Asia. Some remained in the United States, clinging to their American diplomas and textbooks. Some died in the bloodbath of the cultural revolution. Those who knew the ropes of Chinese Communist behavior survived. A sizable cadre of U.S.-trained specialists in many fields stayed on the job in China. Some directed government ministries and university faculties. Sadly their numbers are dwindling, but all was not lost.

Today, more than 20,000 students from China are again on American campuses. Their appetite is as insatiable as ever. The bonding, nourished by deep historic roots, flourishes. While much friendship exists between the Soviet Union and America, there is a magic glue that binds the Chinese to the American people.

Mr. Sestanovich writes from California. He is a former U.S. diplomat with many years of experience in cultural and educational exchange programs in East Asia.

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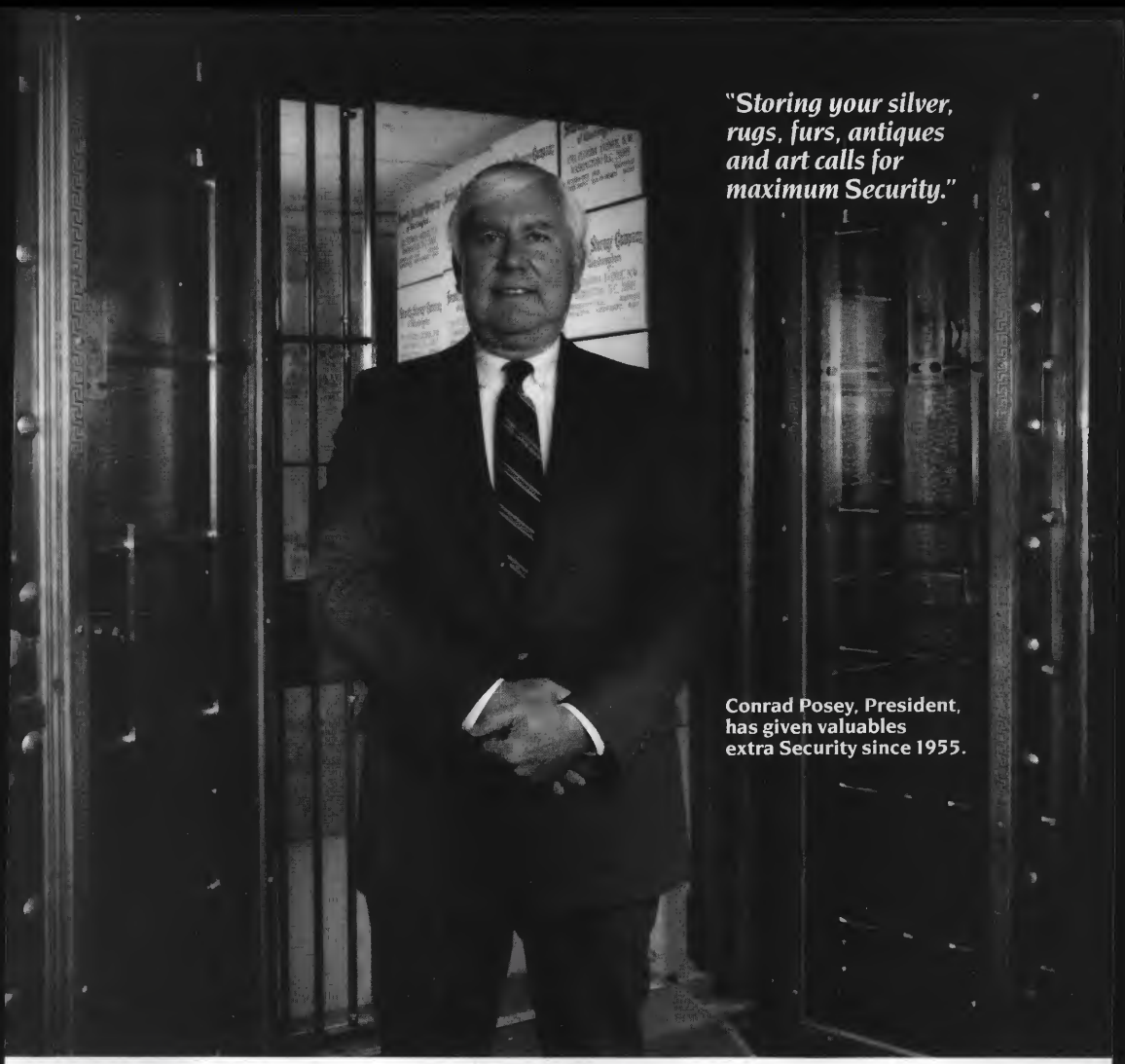
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Books

Letters to the Next President

by Richard Lugar. Simon and Schuster, 1988.

Senator Lugar, former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has distilled his years of experience into a series of seven precepts which he offers to President Bush in this book. For foreign policy professionals, the points are basic.

The structure of the book, using letters describing actual events, provides the senator with real, vivid examples of foreign policy events that were successful when these precepts were followed and examples of how and why foreign policy failed when they were not. Lugar made judicious choices: Iran-contra, our policy in Central America, and the Philippines.

The senator was an observer to the Philippines' February 1986 elections, observing a variety of acts of election fraud, enough to make him question the election's fairness. When President Reagan announced publicly that election fraud had been committed "on both sides," the senator both privately and publicly began to tell a different story—a story that ended with the Marcoses' flight.

This short description, given in greater detail in two of the letters, illustrates many of the senator's points. Tell the truth—do not be afraid to share your knowledge even if it contradicts expressed policy or public statements by senior officials. Create a nonpartisan foreign policy—in the Philippines' case, a foreign policy in which Republicans had to resolve their own differences. Encourage democratic institution building—the central dilemma in this case. Is it in the best interest of the United States to have dictators and repressive regimes as allies, or is it self-defeating? If U.S. foreign policy is meant to reflect and extend American values, such as democracy, then we need to support the tender shoots of such governments, even if it means abandoning an old ally. Public opinion worldwide has borne out the wisdom of such a course.

For foreign policy professionals, the senator has another lesson to offer: Foreign policy is not only to be made by the executive branch agencies. In fact, without bipartisan congressional support, the senator says, most foreign policy initiatives are doomed to failure. This central point of Senator Lugar's book is worth remembering by all those engaged in the process.

Jerrold Keilson

Restructuring American Foreign Policy

Edited by John D. Steinbrunner. The Brookings Institution, 1988.

This pithy analysis of the changes in international affairs questions important assumptions about American foreign policy that have prevailed for nearly 40 years. It is obviously Brookings' effort to influence the thinking of the new administration. Its contributors offer major insights and provocative thoughts.

Barry Bosworth and Robert Lawrence persuasively outline how the thrust of international politics has shifted to economic questions. Harry Harding and Ed Hewett suggest that the transition to open economies in the USSR and China is already occurring; the important questions are how far and how fast will it go, and how will the West relate to it?

The uneasiness engendered by W.W. Kaufmann's description of the Kafka-like hopelessness of maintaining adequate military readiness with declining budgets is ameliorated only slightly by Steinbrunner's thesis that the Gorbachev reductions in Soviet force may "materially improve conditions of international security."

Chapters on East Asia and the Arab-Israeli dispute reinforce another of the book's main themes: that political issues, as opposed to politico-military ones, are emerging as the dominant interacting forces among peoples and nations. In the next decade, pressure for political liberalization in East Asia will change the way those governments cope with a whole range of problems and force a greater focus on their internal problems rather than on external issues. Harold Saunder's six propositions on the conduct of international relations are worth the price of the book. They are relevant beyond the Middle East, the area to which he applies them.

The book's one major flaw stems partly from its own success. The authors assert that effective, astute diplomacy is more vital than before to defend the prosperity and ultimate security of the United States. Yet none of them addresses the implications of the progressive deterioration of the American diplomatic establishment and the Foreign Service because of the continuing budget crisis. Just when we need greater capacity to deal with complex international debt and trade problems and when key military spending issues are inextricably tied up with arms control initiatives, the State Department and the Foreign Service spend too much valuable time battling to keep posts open and dodging double-digit personnel cuts.

If shifts in Soviet policy and other developments are really "the stuff out of which new eras of history are made," are we going to be left at the starting gate in the race to shape the future? Any serious restructuring of U.S. foreign policy must successfully come to grips with the resources issue, and sooner rather than later.

John D. Stempel

The Power Game: How Washington Works

by Hedrick Smith. Random House, 1988.

This book, about the size and weight of a brick, holds few secrets for even Foreign Service beginners. At exhaustive length, it tells approximately the same message that is carried in the daily paper. In fact, although there are

many (usually self-serving) interviews of Washington figures by the author, much of the book is a cut-and-paste job from other publications, recounting the familiar stories—politicians and senior executives sometimes chat, they massage each other when they are not stabbing one another, they are dependent to a shameful degree on powerful and rich lobbying groups, and the presidential selection process does not necessarily produce the best man.

It is also not news that television is extremely important and that it distorts the political and governmental process, and that the defense procurement situation is a continuing scandal. We knew that. A reader has the right to expect more from Smith, former Washington bureau chief of *The New York Times* and the author of the superb study of the Soviet Union, *The Russians*. A heavier editing would have helped this study of how Washington works, but the main problem is that this book, after rounding up the usual suspects and discussing their modus operandi, does not take us anywhere.

Apart from a few homilies and bland quotes ("We need to work at it harder than we do," says George Shultz), the author and those he interviews don't offer any real remedies for the ailing system he describes. The overall effect is of reading an interminable copy of *Parade* magazine; it gets you a little bit angry, but not sore enough to want to do anything about it, and the author himself pulls his final punch when it is his turn to suggest something.

Jim Anderson

Discos and Democracy: China in the Throes of Reform

by Orville Schell. Pantheon Books, 1988.

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Books

China's search for its cultural and spiritual essence remains unfulfilled. The Chinese Communists under Mao's leadership consciously assailed religion, the family, traditional arts and crafts, literature, China's historical legacy, Confucianism, myth and legend, social roles—virtually every aspect of Chinese society and culture was attacked and if not destroyed, at least seriously injured by the chairman's quest for continuous revolution. As a result, China today lies culturally exhausted, its indigenous literature, opera, art, theater, and morality only just beginning to reemerge after years of suppression.

The unfortunate result of the systematic destruction of one of the world's richest cultural legacies is a cultural and moral vacuum in China today. With the ascendancy of Deng Xiaoping and his coterie of like-minded reformers, China has begun to open to the West and as a consequence myriad aspects of Western "culture" have rushed in to fill the void. Orville Schell's latest book examines the impact of this Western onslaught on China beginning in the mid-1980s.

Schell bemusedly describes the wild popularity of the shallowest aspects of Western culture in China (disco, bodybuilding, cosmetic surgery, stretch limousines, fast food). But the real value of Schell's book is not these lighthearted portrayals of Western kitsch, but a serious examination of the democratization movement and discussions with China's leading dissidents.

Schell offers a concise and timely review of the 1986 student democracy movement and of its leaders. The author aptly demonstrates that the substance of Western cultures—humanism, democracy, intellectual freedom—has penetrated China along with the monotonous bass line of disco. While the constant mass political movements of

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the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s transformed many Chinese into apolitical individuals interested only in economic success, a core group of dissidents advocating increased democracy has survived despite the purges and upheavals. This book details their struggle and discusses some of China's leading dissidents today.

Schell concludes that the extent of economic liberalization underway in China today makes a return to the purges and mass political movements of yesterday increasingly unlikely. The Chinese leadership is slowly recognizing the linkage between political and economic development, foreign investment and political stability, intellectual freedom and modernization. While the Communists are in no imminent danger of losing power, Schell remains cautiously optimistic that the scope of reforms since 1978 make it virtually impossible to return to the bad old days

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of constant political upheaval. His analysis and commentary in these sections is first rate and should offer insights into China's contemporary political scene to neophytes and experts alike.

Paul D. Stephenson

The Koreans

by Donald MacDonald. Westview Press, 1988.

The Japanese

by Edwin O. Reischauer. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1988.

Korean hands—old and new—will want to have Professor MacDonald's *The Koreans* on their bookshelves. His book is a model of what Foreign Service personnel want to know about a country—its politics, economics, culture, and favorite beverage—rooted in a personal perspective lacking in an area handbook.

MacDonald packs a great deal of information into one volume. He does so with imagination, coming up with an encyclopedic work that is a good read as well.

The author sets out "to explain why Korea is important—strategically, economically, and culturally." He ranges widely, discussing the country's history, culture, division in 1945, and the subsequent development of different and mutually hostile governments, societies, economies, and foreign policies in South and North. His chapter on the knotty problem of reunification is an excellent review of the positions of the two sides over the last four decades.

The book's great strength is its focus on the Korean people—North and South—as men and women shaped, shaping, and being shaped by a dynamic mix of native Korean, Confucian Chinese, and, most recently, Western (including Marxist) influences.

MacDonald begins with the reminder that "Korea should be understood as a single nation, even though it was divided into two states by superpower rivalry and ideological differences." Two ideas—division and "uniqueness"—are central to Korean consciousness today.

MacDonald's key point is well taken: South Korea is undergoing tremendous strain as it transforms itself from an agricultural to an industrial society. A "Chinese Confucian pattern of institutions and behavior, with its emphasis on hierarchy, virtue, and proper form," remains strong. A Western "model of political democracy is only beginning to penetrate below the surface level in Korea, although intellectuals have been long admirers." (The same can also be said of North Korea, though "socialism" should be substituted for "democracy.") What is impressive is how well Koreans perform under this stress. The

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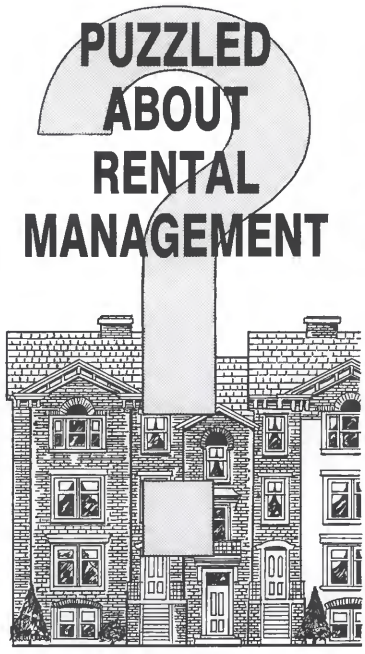
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pressures generated by change, so destructive in other societies, have provided the energy for much positive development on the peninsula.

The author highlights the U.S. role in Korea's modern history. Having seen the view from the inside, he is understanding of the problems faced by policymakers. But quite a few in Korea, and the United States, hold a harshly critical view of U.S. behavior in Korea. FSOs—and Americans in general—must come to grips with these arguments. MacDonald touches too briefly on the debate—a real disappointment, for it is the core of the "anti-American" rhetoric which has surfaced so loudly in Seoul of late.

The author of *The Japanese* is an American "living national treasure" of U.S.-Japanese relations. Scholar and diplomat (JFK's ambassador to Tokyo), Professor Edwin O. Reischauer is one of the pioneers of Japanese studies.

The first edition of *The Japanese* was an all-encompassing work to help Americans understand our former mortal enemies to whom we had become amicably tied by security, trade, and political interests. This significantly revised edition is a terrific introduction to Japan, particularly for the Foreign Service reader. Reischauer examines a people determined to be thoroughly modern while carefully holding on to traditions which they believe make them "unique." The book's strength is its focus on the fascinating question of why the Japanese feel so uncertain about their position in the world, even their own identity, when their economy and society seem so strong and dynamic.

Since the Meiji Restoration of 1868, Japan has been engaged in a determined national effort to take what its people consider their rightful place among the leading nations of the world. This drive made Japan the first non-European "newly industrialized country" prior to World War II but was, in part, responsible for the destructive tragedy of that war itself. But why, many outside Japan ask, don't the Japanese realize that they have arrived, economically and politically, and, if not because of their own priorities as much as the "MacArthur Constitution," militarily?

To explain the problem, Reischauer examines Japan's history, society, politics, and economy. The story is well told, although at 412 pages perhaps too long. But the book includes concise and informative discussions of Japan's society, politics, and business, and an enlightening final section on the efforts of the Japanese to deal with "uniqueness and internationalism."

Ted Kloth

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Books

Intercultural Marriages: Promises and Pitfalls

by Dugan Romano. Intercultural Press, Inc., 1988.

This how-to marriage manual is especially appropriate for readers in the Foreign Service community: if they themselves aren't part of an intercultural couple, they know someone who is. And though they are probably already aware of many of the obstacles—and rewards—involved in such relationships, Dugan Romano's concise but thorough treatment enlightens the obvious issues and points out more subtle cultural differences that can be just as divisive. The author discusses these myriad difficulties in a refreshingly straightforward and unsentimental way.

Intercultural Marriages is divided into three sections: in the first, Romano lists "personality tendencies and matrimonial motives" that draw people into intercultural marriages, and explains "why these marriages are different, special, or unique." In the second, she identifies "troublespots" in such relationships, which range from politics and religion to finances, sex, and food. In the final section, she offers some suggestions for dealing with the differences and "making them work for, rather than against, the marriage." She also suggests some issues people should consider before committing themselves to an intercultural marriage.

The author, who has 17 years' experience in an intercultural marriage, enriches the book with case studies she's been involved with during her 10 years as a cross-cultural trainer and counselor. She doesn't claim to have all the answers, but she does provide a starting point for discussion, a sense of hope and shared experience, and a belief that "intercultural marriage, while not for the weak of spirit, can provide incomparable opportunities for experiencing not only personal expansion, but for finding a love and closeness more special *because* of the extra effort it takes."

Though Romano talks specifically of marriage between people of different nationalities, the barriers she discusses—age, race, socioeconomic background, education, communication, etc.—crop up in any relationship, romantic, platonic, or professional. Her suggestions for overcoming these obstacles are just as valid for the monocultural as for the intercultural couple.

Elizabeth Lee Fitzgerald

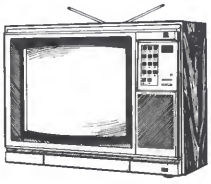
Arthur Burns and the Successor Generation

by Hans N. Tuch. University Press of America, 1988.

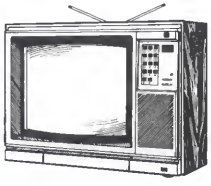
In this slim volume, Hans Tuch collects Arthur Burns's writings on the problems facing young people in the United States and Europe. His suggested remedies include better education and more youth exchanges.

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FSJ, April 1979:

An ambassador, who shall be nameless, taught me what may have been my most valuable lesson about communicating—the imaginative use of alternative channels. It was at a weekly staff meeting at a post in the Far East that a junior officer complained of not having received any response to a despatch he had transmitted to Washington some two months before. Ambassador Nameless bestowed a kindly glance upon the junior officer. "Young man," he said, "when you have been in the Service as long as I, you will realize that nobody in Washington reads despatches. They read telegrams, but seldom pay attention to what is reported or requested." He paused. "When I want the department to take heed of what I report, or to act upon what I request, I call in [a reporter] of *The New York Times* and leak it to him. Next morning, it appears in the *Times*, which everybody in Washington reads. And believes. And obeys."

S. I. Nadler

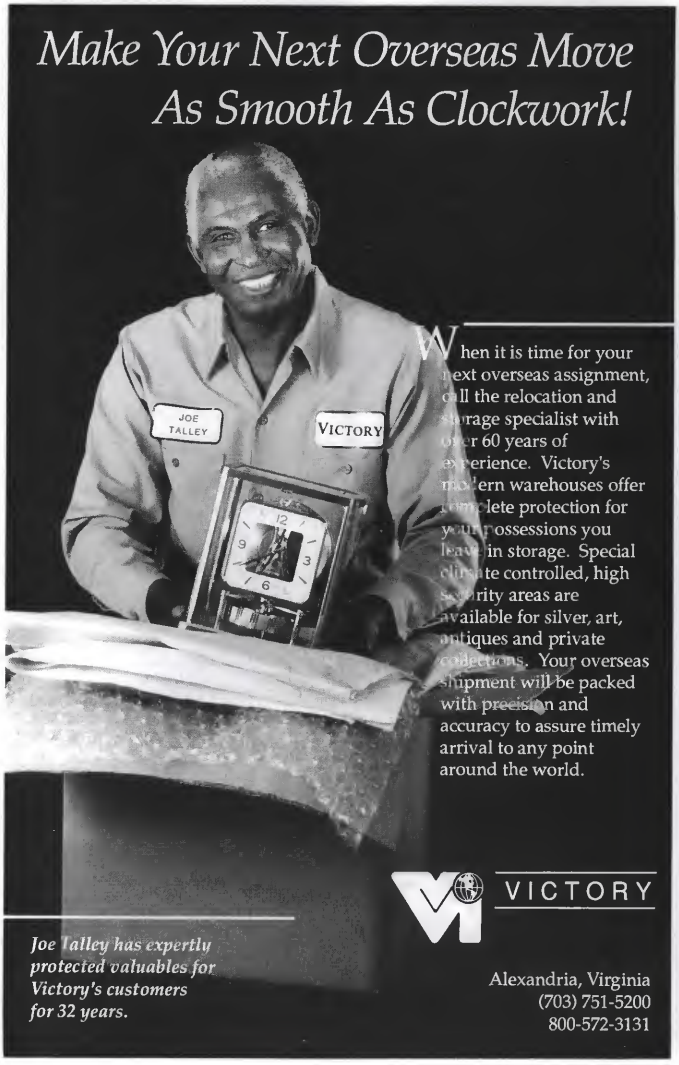
FSJ, April 1964:

USIA must most of the time choose the selective approach over the mass because it simply cannot do other. Selectivity may . . . be itself a virtue. But whether it is or not, the limited resources of the agency has constituted the necessity of making it one.

It is mainly true, though an oversimplification, that the number of people you can reach in an advertising or propaganda campaign is directly related to the amount of money you have. However large the potential clientale for the USIA product, the number of pamphlets and books it can print, the number of radio and television shows it can make, the number of binational centers it can support are all related to the number of dollars it can spend.

That is not to say the so-called "mass media"—press, radio, television, movies—do not reach large audiences. . . . However, certain factors operate to make even mass media audiences "selected": literacy is one—pamphlets and books are no good unless you can read them; economics is another—in many countires only the well-to-do can afford to buy radio and television sets and movie tickets. . . . The agency does not have the men, money, and materials to reach carefully identified mass audiences overseas with consistency. As of now, USIA has to take the classes over the masses.

"Target: the masses or the classes?"
John P. McKnight



10 • 25 • 50

FSJ, April 1939:

The young men who are thinking these days of entering the Foreign Service because they may have a good time in the various European capitals might just as well forget the words "good time." These days the staffs of the foreign missions from the chiefs down to the youngest attachés work overtime.

The traveler visiting American diplomatic missions cannot fail to be impressed by the high efficiency and the tremendous amount of hard work that these former pink-tea hounds are delivering. They all seem to have eaten lion steaks or something.

In olden days an American diplomatic mission was generally the center of misinformation. Social life was the predominant factor in the activities of the ambassador and his staff. Now social life is merely a means to obtain information and hints about things to come.

And all the men are overworked because most of the missions are understaffed. For instance, since the disappearance of Austria—at one time one of the most important listening centers in Europe—the political importance of Budapest has greatly increased. In the meantime, the legation in that city has been confronted with an enormous task of taking care of thousands of people who are attempting to obtain admission into the United States.

The legation has the same diplomatic staff it had before the annexation of Austria. That staff has now not only to cope with a wider field of diplomatic reporting but is compelled to assist the consular staff in handling immigration applications. The Hungarian immigration quota is 875 a year. At the present time an average of 650 aliens apply every day for admission to the United States.

The era of cookie-pushing and parties is over for the American Foreign Service. It's hard work and little pay. The fun they get is in the work.

Constantine Brown,
excerpted from The Washington Star

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Behind the scenes

Washington Post, February 5, 1989
One of the heretofore overlooked ironies of the [Cuban] crisis is that President Kennedy, known for his scoffing at the usefulness of professional diplomats, was decisively guided throughout those fateful 13 days by a career Foreign Service officer, my late husband, Llewellyn E. Thompson.

As the crisis unfolded, Kennedy had access to intelligence profiles and analyses of the Soviet leader's intentions, but these were no substitute for the day-by-day interpretations of a trained diplomat with a decade of Moscow experience, who had spent hundreds of hours with Khrushchev over a period that included times of both détente and Cold War. With this in mind, the president installed Tommy on his now-famous crisis-management panel, Ex Comm.

On October 16, the day the president learned of the Soviet missiles, his advisers leaned toward an air attack on the Soviet bases. Tommy dissuaded them, warning that Khrushchev was more sensitive than most national leaders to the killing of his troops and that this therefore bore a greater risk of escalation than the president may have realized. . . . Tommy's long professional history with Khrushchev gave him the confidence to make these and other vital recommendations and to persuade the president.

My husband was a self-effacing man. He never wrote his memoirs. . . . Dean Rusk, secretary of state in 1962, has written, "I doubt that the full account of Llewellyn's contribution to the Cuban missile crisis will ever be recorded, but his role proved to be crucial behind the scenes." Robert McNamara, secretary of defense, has called Tommy "the unsung hero of the crisis."

As demonstrated by Llewellyn E. Thompson's contribution, the Cuban episode shows the value of giving American presidents the advice of trained men and women who have worked with foreign leaders for years and who can provide the context and penetrating insight that special emissaries and ad hoc crisis managers cannot.

Jane M. Thompson

The Washingtonian, February 1989
The one thing you have to say about the State Department is that Foreign Service officers keep you from making terrible mistakes.

Abe Sofaer, legal adviser, interviewed by Ken Adelman

Elusive allusions

Time, February 13, 1989
This is one department, I'm told, that tends to capture you if you're not care-

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ful. I hope to be very careful. I want to be the president's man at the State Department, instead of the State Department's man at the White House.

Secretary James A. Baker
in a Time magazine interview

The New Republic, March 6, 1989
The complaining inside the State Department has already begun to die down. (Though not before one of Baker's inner circle overheard some FSOs griping about him in the elevator and told them, "I hope you guys are more discreet overseas than you are here.") Baker brought in a dozen or so senior Foreign Service officers for chats, promised them plum ambassadorships abroad, and assured them that while he plans not to be captured by "the building" as many of his predecessors have been, he still respects the professionals for their expertise.

Morton M. Kondrake

The ship of State

Wall Street Journal,February 16, 1989
This president is doing what presidents do, which is to name old cronies and campaign contributors to high diplomatic posts, whether or not they are qualified for the jobs. That's probably okay, since our friends and clients abroad are used to this peculiar American custom. . . . They have seen our political appointees come and go and know that their relations with us will probably survive even the most inept.

While it seems logical to some experts that the State Department should have the power to go with its alleged foreign policy leadership role, that is not a popular position elsewhere in government or on Capitol Hill. The professionals at State are widely mistrusted, primarily because, having been around when various policy wheels were be-

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ing invented in the past to no particular effect, they are not inclined to enthusiasm when variations on the old policies are offered up as brilliant innovations.

It is also true, however, that the State Department is poorly structured and staffed to handle the wide variety of issues that are now subsumed under the heading of America's foreign interests. Nor is domestic political adroitness high on the list of qualifications for the Foreign Service.

Listing the objections to giving any of the existing departments and agencies actual control of American foreign policy helps explain why nothing meaningful has been done in recent years. There is bureaucratic, political, and operational inertia favoring inaction. Whenever the status quo gives everyone a piece of the pie, the status quo seems to be in everyone's interest.

Perhaps this president intends to pursue business as usual in the foreign policy field, as his ambassadorial appointments seem to confirm. If so, he's making a mistake . . . there are too many hands on the wheel, too many charts in the pilot house, and too few agreed destinations. That way lies shipwreck.

Hodding Carter III

Foreign aid changes?

Washington Post, February 27, 1989

Congress and the Bush administration are gearing up to push through the most sweeping changes [in the U.S. foreign aid program] in decades. One possible far-reaching change may be a curb—or an end—to the practice of "earmarks" under which the bulk of U.S. assistance has come to be set aside for a limited number of special countries or causes. Another suggested change is to reorient the ever-shrinking aid effort away from its current shotgun approach in seeking to provide the "basic needs" of life like food, shelter and literacy toward a new focus on promoting "sustainable, broad-based economic growth" in developing countries.

That at least is the goal of AID Administrator Alan Woods, whose agency has just published a report suggesting that such a reorientation is badly needed. But there are powerful lobbies inside and out of Congress that want to continue, even strengthen, the U.S. commitment to ending the effects of poverty. They are likely to resist strenuously the new Woods orientation.

Secretary of State Baker told the House Foreign Affairs Committee last week that the administration will shortly put forward a new authorization bill incorporating "some substantive changes" and "some initiatives" to stretch scarce foreign aid dollars. "It is clear to me that we will need new legislation so that the executive branch will have the latitude to manage effectively the limited resources at our disposal," he said.

Baker and Woods have not tried to conceal their delight with a recently published report by a special House Foreign Affairs Task Force that concluded the U.S. foreign aid program needs "a new premise, a new framework, and a new purpose to meet the challenges of today" and proposed an end to "most of the conditions, restrictions, directives, and earmarks" on current legislation. Woods said the [Hamilton-Gilman] report had created "quite a sensation" within AID and had laid the basis for "a new spirit of cooperation and unity" between Congress and the administration over mapping a new foreign aid bill.

Some of the administration's new approaches to foreign aid began to emerge when Baker appeared before the committee to present its request for $14.6 billion in bilateral and multilateral foreign aid for fiscal 1990.

While the mood within Congress and the administration clearly favors the writing of a new foreign aid authorization bill, it is far from clear if time will permit it for the coming fiscal year. Easter is the tentative deadline for getting a foreign aid authorization bill to the floor of the House.

David B. Ottaway

GAO opens mail issue

Washington Times, February 7, 1989

Random inspections of State Department diplomatic pouches should be conducted by State officials to ensure that contraband—including narcotics—is not being shipped through the worldwide courier system, the General Accounting Office says. . . . "State has not performed routine spot inspections or periodic test checks of ordinary pouched packages or crates to have reasonable assurance that drugs, liquor, and other prohibited material are not entering the system."

In response, State officials said it is not practical to unpack, examine, and repack the estimated 200,000 classified and unclassified items received each day at State's pouching center in Washington. However . . . State officials said they were in the process of setting up a pouch contents control program where a few items are spot checked each month.

Another serious problem with the courier system, the GAO said, is the increasing use of "non-professional" couriers [designated executive branch employees] to deliver diplomatic pouches.

Another area of growing concern to State officials is the shipment of large, bulky items—such as building materials for construction of a new embassy in Moscow—and how to handle them. New larger vehicles that can accommodate oversized loads are being purchased and warehouses have been constructed in two European locations.

John Purnell

Diplomacy is . . .

Los Angeles Times Syndicate

Dear Readers:

After I printed Will Rogers' definition of diplomacy I received dozens more. The best: Diplomacy is telling someone to go to hell in such a way that they look forward to the trip.

Ann Landers

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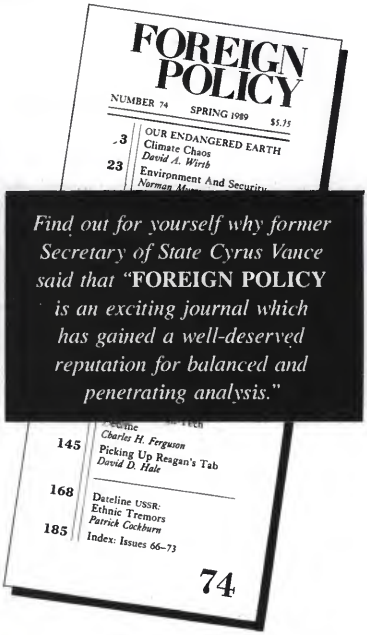
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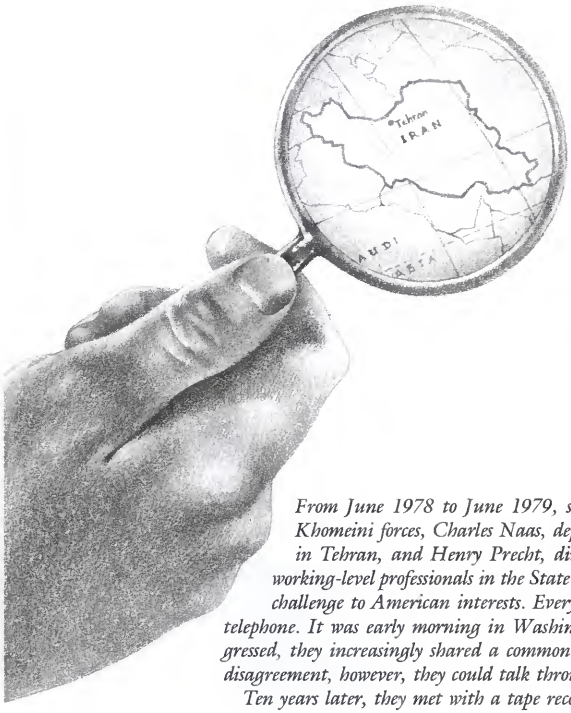
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Iran

HENRY PRECHT and CHARLES NAAS

From June 1978 to June 1979, six months before and six months after the triumph of Khomeini forces, Charles Naas, deputy chief of mission and later in charge of our embassy in Tehran, and Henry Precht, director of Iranian affairs in Washington, were the two working-level professionals in the State Department managing the Iranian revolution's massive challenge to American interests. Every day during that year, Naas and Precht talked on the telephone. It was early morning in Washington, late afternoon in Tehran. As the revolution progressed, they increasingly shared a common analysis and perspective on U.S. policy. Even in sharp disagreement, however, they could talk through their differences.

Ten years later, they met with a tape recorder between them and reflected on lessons learned.

Naas: Looking back, it's clear that most of us liberally educated Americans were ill prepared to understand the complex ingredients of the revolution. Some very Western assumptions misled us. Iran's two decades of forced-pace economic and industrial modernization, expanded educational opportunities, emancipation of women, land reform—all that, we thought, had put Iran firmly in the 20th century. Americans instinctively read those kinds of achievements as good—in themselves and because they displace traditional forces we see as a drag on progress.

Precht: When I served in Iran, 1972-76, we didn't think a lot about traditional forces; we focused on the people we knew, the Westernized elites. The dilemma for them, the shah's regime, and U.S. interests was whether a traditional society could develop so quickly—depending on great numbers of technical people who had no real political rights—and remain stable.

Politics didn't exist for our Iranian friends, but they were making big money for the first time in their families' history. Embassy officers coming from the USSR to Iran said the shah had a tighter regime. Could Iran continue its economic advance without political change? My answer then was that political participation didn't matter much as long as cash flow was adequate.

Naas: Conditions in south Tehran and the bazaars of the major cities were pretty abysmal by any standards. Peasants had flooded into the cities. Inflation was hurting the middle class. But, despite these flaws, most people seemed materially much better off. If you went to south Tehran, you saw TV antennas, motorcycles, cars. But, in fact, those people, while enjoying some of the payout from development, felt the shah's state was increasingly alienated from their religion and their traditions.

Precht: Iran was really two countries: one nation was the northern suburbs of Tehran; the other was everywhere else. In the first,

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Henry Precht and Charles Naas retired from the Foreign Service after 26 and 30 years respectively. Precht is president of the Cleveland Council on World Affairs and Naas is now a consultant and lecturer.

Historical Perspective

housed in sumptuous villas, were the Westernized developers of the new Iran. Some assumed that the small enclave would in a short time spread over the country and erase the traditional sector.

We Just Didn't Know

Naas: President Jimmy Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and others faulted the failure of intelligence. They were right in a broad sense, but were wrong in 1978. They looked on Iran as a nation essentially modern: a large army, an impressive leader, a country that by the 1990s would be a major regional power. All of us failed to register that in the 1960s and 1970s there was a tremendous boom in religious societies, religious literature, mosque attendance. Millions of people were looking for roots, and they turned to Islam. We didn't see those things because we weren't looking for them; we were dazzled by the imperial successes.

The problem of analysis in 1978 long preceded us. After 1965, when Khomeini was exiled, our embassy, Washington, and most academics paid practically no attention to the religious movement. We just didn't have people steeped in Iranian culture.

Precht: There were two basic problems in our reporting and analysis of Iran. One was that the shah didn't want us to know the weaknesses of his regime. In the mid-1970s, he vetoed the meeting of an embassy officer with a mullah; we never tried again until the revolution was in full swing.

Secondly, Iran was plainly a success for American policy. Washington didn't want bad news. Henry Kissinger and company didn't ask if there were cracks in that grand edifice. When, rarely, we did report unpleasantness, there was never any follow-up response.

But we knew that we didn't know the country. A few months after Richard Helms arrived as ambassador in 1973, he called all us political and economic officers together and told us quite sharply, "This country is a black hole. We don't understand the society. We don't know what goes on beyond the embassy walls." And, he said, with a sharp jab at me because my job was to follow the military, "The darkest corner of that black hole is the military." He had us give him a memo every week listing the Iranians we talked to and the subjects we covered. That was hard work. Pretty soon we were down to listing barbers, language teachers, shopkeepers. We just didn't know Iranians in any number, especially those who were unhappy with the regime.

Naas: That problem persisted. When William Sullivan was being briefed in Washington in 1977 before going out as ambassador, I told him I never had worked on a country about which I knew so little, and that I felt very uneasy about our ignorance. In fact, Sullivan stimulated more aggressive reporting right away. That in itself helped create two new problems: it made the shah very nervous and it made his opposition believe—quite incorrectly—that we were distancing ourselves from the regime.

Precht: In defence of us embassy officers,

When a large number of bright young people are willing to die we had better look pretty hard at their society

Iran is extremely difficult to know. The reality of Iran is those garden walls. Within those walls only the extended family and their friends come together. It's almost impossible for an outsider, particularly an American diplomat without the language, to get behind the walls and really understand the society.

Naas: By the mid-1970s, the people following Khomeimi viewed the United States as part of their problem, if not their main problem. They had little desire to meet Americans. And, as we had our own problems, we made no effort to know them.

Precht: It's not easy to get to know people who are shooting at you. In my four years of service in Iran, six Americans were gunned down, and there were attacks on others. You don't debate in coffee shops with terrorists.

Naas: A real intellectual problem comes from labeling people "terrorists." That label blocks thought—quite understandably, when your own survival is at risk. But the attacks should have sent a strong signal that something was seriously wrong in a society whose young people, almost all educated, were willing to die for their beliefs. We should have understood the implicit fragility of modern Iran. Yet we didn't take the intellectual leap to ask why those young people were ready to die.

Precht: After one of the assassinations, our public affairs officer told a staff meeting that his university contacts approved of the killing. Our reaction was shock and disgust, rather than curiosity about what was going on inside Iranian society.

Naas: My maxim is, when a large number of bright young people are willing to die we had better look pretty hard at their society. It doesn't mean a government is going to be overthrown, but it does mean serious issues lie beneath the surface and we ought to dig to understand them.

Precht: My maxim from those days is that any government that has to use torture to hold power is narrowly based and we ought to be careful about relying on it.

The Two Shahs

Naas: Another thing that misled us was historical precedence. We didn't look back far enough into Iranian history, say, to the similar constitutional eruption of 1906. But we were overly aware that, following the eviction of Prime Minister Mosadeq in 1953 and the arrest of Khomeini in 1963, the shah had successfully dealt with uprisings. Until November 1978, I felt that since the shah had handled earlier crises well, we could assume he would again use his vast resources to restore order. I was misled by my limited knowledge of history.

Precht: On my way to Tehran in 1972, I asked the State Department desk officer to recommend books on Iran's political history. His answer was, "There are none." There were a few, I learned later, but they were critical of the regime, and not recommended by the department. The question I wrestled with throughout the revolution was, "What was different about the Iran of 1978, and the Iran of 1963? How was it possible for the shah to put down that popular uprising and fail to handle the revolution?"

It seems to me quite clear now that Iranian society had changed in very fundamental ways. It was a young society, 65 percent below age 21, with little memory of past hardship. In large numbers, Iranians became literate. They traveled overseas and came to know and envy or scorn other societies. Then, their expectations and self pride, raised by the boom of 1960-75, were deflated by the oil price sag and retrenchment of the mid-1970s. The Iranian man in the streets in 1978 was a different person from his father in 1963. The father went home when troops fired; the son came back the next day.

Naas: Also in those 15 years, Iran became more accessible to the international media. The quickness of the West to go after human rights abuses made the shah less willing to use force—had he truly wanted to. He was awfully sensitive about his reputation abroad.

Precht: Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi was a complex personality. I attended meetings with him perhaps half a dozen times. Extremely impressive. He spoke with authority on any international issue, from drought in the Sahel to economic prospects of the ASEAN countries. He was wise and judicious, easily the equal of any world leader on foreign affairs. The question from visitors he was never able to answer, however, was the nature of his opposition in Iran. He fell back on labels and slogans. He didn't know his own country.

Yet he fooled our bosses. He seemed to them so masterfully informed and cooperative that they forgot there were two shahs. In the 1950s, he didn't count for much. He initially vacillated during the Mosadeq crisis. That was the little man in the fancy uniform, inflated by a zooming GNP. We confused Iran with the successful shah. And we picked the wrong man—forgetting the real one, the weak leader.

Naas: None of us knew that he was seriously ill by 1978. He knew he had very little time to bring Iran into the 20th century and if he did not succeed in making Iran an industrialized, secular nation before he died, Iran might fall back into the 19th century.

U.S. Policy in Shah's Basket

Precht: When I met with Ayatollah Montazeri [Khomeini's deputy] in October 1979, he told me he was in prison when Carter was elected in 1976, and his heart "leapt up" with hope that America was changing its policy toward Iran. Policy, however, did not change under Carter. There was talk about human rights, but there was no plan, no pressure, no clear message to Iranians, except in their own perceptions—the hopes of some and the fears of others for a new American role.

Naas: As desk officer for Iran, I bridged the Ford and Carter years. There had been little real change in the policies that dated from World War II. Carter recognized the importance of Iran. Nevertheless, the shah was quite apprehensive when Carter invited him to Washington in November 1977. When I saw the shah at the White House on that visit, after his private conversation with the president, he was elated. He told me the exchange had gone extremely well. Still, the shah's suspicions of Carter were apparently eating at him, and when he continued to see mixed signals from Washington, those doubts consumed him.

Precht: Carter came to Washington determined to create a policy for arms sales where there had been none. It was a psychological disaster, despite the fact that Carter's ceiling for selling arms abroad never touched Iran.

Naas: The shah was always concerned when the Democrats came to office. He had little understanding or compatibility with their liberal approach. There's no doubt that, quite innocently, Carter's heavy emphasis on human rights and on limiting the export of conventional arms was seen in quite a different light in Iran. Here those ideals were laudable moral objectives. In Iran, people saw us turning our back on an ally. One of the revolution's leaders told me after the shah's fall that he had been much encouraged and also much misled by Carter's heavy emphasis on human rights. He thought he saw a signal that we were cutting our support for the shah. That wasn't intended by any means.

Precht: On my first day as your successor on the Iran desk, a recent visitor to the shah reported that the shah thought we had turned against him—that the CIA was promoting the demonstrations, that we had decided, as the British did with the Russians in the 19th century, to divide Iran with the USSR. Or that we were replacing him with religious leadership to better resist Communist penetration. I was shocked, deeply worried. He depended on us while distrusting us. Our interests were set on a terrible foundation, if we depended on this confused and unhappy man to protect us.



Henry Precht greets Foreign Minister Kalatbari under the gaze of the shah.

Naas: When I was chargé in Tehran, a diplomatic colleague told me that three visitors from his country had had separate audiences with the shah and in each of them he raised the question of U.S. betrayal. He was like many other Iranians in his obsession with conspiracy theories. They saw an outside hand behind virtually every domestic problem. To their credit, the "foreign hand" theory does, in fact, explain much Iranian history. But the shah and many Iranians believed the United States had far more power in their country than we actually did. Our every action or inaction assumed great importance.

Precht: Right, we contributed to the conspiratorial mind set by our inconsistencies in Washington. When we changed arms sales pol-

I decided the shah just wasn't going to make it, that sometime in the near future he would no longer be around

icy, delayed the shah's orders for tear gas, mouthed human rights statements, we created doubt about our real purposes. The truth was those actions reflected a Washington that was clumsy, fragmented, and unable to come to coherent analyses and decisions on policy toward Iran. It would have been strange had the Iranians not been confused. The vacillation of the shah's government and encouragement for its opposition were partly a result of our own ineptitude and disarray.

The shah never understood that within the American government, life is a constant struggle between agencies and personalities. The distrust between agencies and personalities became sharper as the revolution intensified. The White House thought the State Department was weak in our support for the shah. Ambassador Sullivan told me after an August 1978 meeting that Brzezinski was adamant that we stand behind the shah to resist the Communist threat to Iran. I didn't see a threat, but I did see American flexibility as essential for dealing with a fast evolving crisis.

Naas: Brzezinski's view was consistent with every administration since the 1960s. The Nixon doctrine and the Kissinger "green light" on arms sales were the highest expressions of Iran's great importance to us. What strikes me is how the weight of our geopolitical approach and reliance on the shah affected how we analyzed that country. At no time, except in the summer of 1978 when it was too late, was there ever a truly searching review of policy, a hard look at Iran's changing society. In other words, we put all our eggs in the shah's basket. Perhaps in consequence, we were much more at the end of the shah's leash than he was on ours. He became, in our geopolitical view, so important we couldn't imagine Iran without him.

The Fateful Shower

Precht: As the revolution began to heat up in August and early September 1978, with massive demonstrations at the end of the holy month of Ramazan, a fundamental change occurred, at least in my mind. I came to a precise, new judgment during my morning shower on September 8, the Saturday after the Jaleh Square massacre. I decided that the shah just wasn't going to make it, that sometime in the near future he would no longer be around.

Therefore, we ought to prepare ourselves to deal with a very different future, one we couldn't describe, but which was not going to include the shah. At the same time, if a transition was to be orderly and protective of our interests, the shah had to play a part in it. The last thing we wanted was for him to pack up and head for the south of France, leaving the country in the hands of street mobs. We needed a transfer of power to people we could hope to deal with in order to build a new relationship.

Naas: I still believed, even after Jaleh Square, that the shah had room to maneuver. He had a strong military and capable bureaucratic government, but he was never able to bring himself to use the forces at hand. Once the shah decided not to use his power effectively, events escaped his control. I arrived at your conclusion about two months later, in November.

Precht: I guess I differed with many analysts in Washington at that time in my assessment of the Iranian military. After all, it had been my job for four years to understand that establishment. The conclusion I reached was that the Iranian forces were not like those in South America, Pakistan, or Egypt. The overriding principle was loyalty to the shah. I knew many fine officers in the senior ranks, but I didn't think that in general they were distinguished by imagination, competence, or toughness, and I couldn't believe they could sustain a military defense of the shah.

The character of the army had also changed with the shah's massive buildup. Earlier, officers had been recruited from the aristocracy; with expansion and the demand for technical skills, the army had to recruit from the lower middle classes. That such people would continue to kill their brothers across the barricades seemed to me exceedingly unlikely. In the end, the erosion of military morale through continued warfare against civilians proved fatal for the shah. You're right, the shah lacked the will to unleash his army against unarmed people. Perhaps he understood its weakness better than we did.

Naas: Frequently, Henry, you and I were on different wavelengths, or when we agreed, it was at different times. You asked the embassy's assessment of the military's reliability in late October 1978, just before the shah put them in charge of the government. The embassy's opinion was pretty much the same as yours. Again, we arrived at the same point, but in different time sequences. Maybe that was one of the problems. We never had the chance to sit and talk through with each other our differing perceptions. The telephone and telegram aren't the best means of communication. Also, the way Washington works, we always feared that a frank, informal exchange—

probing together for answers by cable—would be leaked to the press.

Precht: There was definitely a breakdown in communications because we couldn't sit across the table and talk through these problems. Sullivan and you had to be on the spot in Tehran, and we didn't want to give a wrong signal by sending out senior people—making us appear nervous about the shah's fate. But there was a worse problem in communications. I had my differences with the National Security Council (NSC) staff, which intensified day by day. I was upset by their insistence on issuing statements of support for the shah when I thought those excessive gestures made it more difficult for us to develop the relationship we lacked with the opposition, a connection that might help us better understand them and vice versa. Those White House statements—urged by the Iranian ambassador to the United States, Ardeshir Zahedi—also reflected poorly on the shah, making him appear dependent on us. The NSC even wanted the shah, shattered personality that he had become, to appear on TV to "lead" the people. I argued for lower, not higher visibility. At any rate, disagreement reached such a level between Gary Sick, the NSC's Iran specialist, and me that he stopped talking to me. That break in coordination hurt us badly.

Conflicting Interests

Naas: If it was difficult for you in Washington, you can imagine how hard it was for us in Tehran to see those divisions discussed in the press and to read in *The New York Times* in late December almost the full text of very sensitive telegrams we had just sent. You get a kind of paranoia about colleagues in Washington when that happens. That fear of leaks and our suspicion of the White House—in error, it is now clear—led us to more secret modes of communicating with you that yet further complicated exchanges with the White House.

Precht: We bureaucrats, Charlie, cling to a bad dream. We imagine that just as we can beat foreign governments in negotiations, we can lick the press in its contest with us. But the tracks of truth and policy defense don't always follow the same compass, and they sure didn't with Iran. I didn't leak to reporters, but I couldn't tell an outright lie. I tried to be as honest as I could short of directly undermining our disastrous policy. I could have been a more honorable servant if the administration had not been preoccupied with its weak image abroad or apprehensive that it would appear to be responsible for the feared evils to come in Iran.



"Khomeini sent us and only he can tell us to leave," said the mujahideen "guards" that accompanied Charles Naas whenever he left the embassy in mid-1978.

Naas: You and I, despite our many scars, would still fight for a free press, but it sure complicates day-to-day operations in a crisis. In fact, carrying out foreign policy in the United States is probably more difficult than in any other country. Another burden is Congress, through the good or mal-intent of its actions.

Then there is the sheer number of American interests beyond our control. The Justice Department scared the shah by investigating the alleged misuse of Iranian money in financing the demonstrations during his visit to Washington in November 1977. After the revolution, the courts got heavily involved when they blocked shipments of goods that Iran owned until American firms got compensation for their losses in the revolution. Human rights groups, all those single-issue people, get involved, so that carrying out policy in a crisis is not just a question of bureaucrats working with policymakers. All these other influences come to bear, consuming time and effort, distorting foreign perceptions, and, often, American decisions.

Precht: The Iranian revolutionaries, after they took power, always believed the American press was an arm of the U.S. government. Immediately after the revolution's success, the press shifted from an anti-shah line to attacks on Khomeini's Iran. Journalists went after every excess—executions, limitations on women's

We had to make a basic decision whether we wanted to construct a new relatonship with Iran or honor an old one with its exiled ruler

rights, anti-democratic statements—all worthy of criticism to be sure. In the eyes of the Iranians, however, the media spoke the true thoughts of the American government. That wasn't a new perception in Iran. The shah himself had had the same reaction to criticism, different only in its conspiratorial analysis. Once, after a spate of stories critical of the way the oil boom was being mismanaged, the shah sent a complaint through an envoy to Jerusalem. He believed Israel had ultimate power over our press.

Naas: When I was chargé in the spring of 1979, every single minister of the new government I called on attacked American press coverage. I had no answer except to point out the obvious, that the American press was totally independent. As with the shah, they never believed it. In desperation, I finally said that our press must be doing something right because the new Iranian government was criticizing it in precisely the same terms as the shah.

The Shah Lobby

Precht: Iranian revolutionaries, even those who had spent years in the United States, never seemed to grasp the working of our institutions, particularly Congress. They didn't understand Congress is not beholden to the president and frequently strays far from executive branch policy. In May 1979, after Walt Cutler was appointed ambassador, approved by the Senate, and accepted by Tehran, and a meeting was arranged with Khomeini for the first time, the Senate passed the Javits Resolution criticizing the Iranian regime for executing the shah's supporters. It was a proper subject for criticism, but the resolution was prepared and voted without consultation with us, and it went completely against our plan for repairing relations with Iran.

Naas: The Javits Resolution completely undermined everything we were doing to patch together a tenuous relationship with the revolutionary regime. In retrospect, however, was there any likelihood we might have established a reasonable relationship with the new government? I think that is questionable. The revolution had its own dynamic. But whatever slim odds we had were severely undercut by that resolution. It was seen as a return to major U.S. interference in Iran's domestic affairs. We had enormous demonstrations outside the embassy for days after that. Mehdi Bazargan, Khomeini's first prime minister, had no choice but to accept Khomeini's demand that Iran react forcefully to show its independence. I was later told that Khomeini, on hearing about the resolution, wanted immediately to end all diplomatic relations with us and that the moderates prevailed on him to settle for rejecting Cutler. Any thought of meeting with Iran's leader, of course, was ruled out and no other cleric would see us for months.

Precht: That incident illustrates how an inconsequential action here, one that few senators spent more than 15 minutes thinking about, had such an enormous impact on the conduct of our diplomacy.

On the unanswerable question, Charlie, whether we could have developed a passable relationship with Iran, there are some who think it was all inevitable; that, after the revolution, we were fated for the kind of collision that occurred in the hostage crisis. When I was told, in February 1979, immediately after the revolution succeeded, that the White House had decided to work for a new relationship with Iran, I thought our chances were slim indeed. We had a lot to live down—a history of close relations with the shah, especially during the bitter days of the revolution.

With hindsight, our effort was a mistake. It would have been better if we had pulled out and let Iran simmer and seethe for a few years—then try to come back in. But at the time we didn't feel we could walk away from a country that was so important. There wasn't only oil and the false specter of Russian advantage in our absence, there were the minorities and other Iranian friends who needed our visas. And there was the potential for renewed commercial benefit. So we tried to construct something new with Iran. The policy foundered on the burden of our past relations, on the chaotic conditions there, and on the persisting divisions in Washington.

Naas: I disagree. It would have been irresponsible, in view of our long-term interests, to have withdrawn. As you know, I was never optimistic, but I thought we had to make the effort. The men in the new government were delighted that we did not leave Iran and that we were trying to build a relationship with them. One major problem was a persisting lack of comprehension at the top in Washington about what had really happened in Iran. When I met with our seniors in March 1979, it struck me vividly that they just didn't understand the total change that had occurred. Perhaps it wasn't that they didn't understand; maybe they just couldn't cope with what had happened to U.S. policy in the region—the loss of one of Nixon's "twin pillars" [Iran and Saudi Arabia] of regional security.

Precht: One of the crucial points that wasn't understood was the status of the shah. It seemed to me we had to make a basic decision whether we wanted to construct a new relationship with Iran or honor an old one with its exiled ruler. The former choice was supported by geopolitics. The latter had the force of a compelling human bond and implications for other despots. Would we turn our back on an old friend?

It always seemed strange to me that master geopoliticians like Kissinger and Brzezinski opted for the soft, human values in that dilemma. I felt that, coldhearted as it was, we had to treat the shah in a very unkind way and keep him out of the United States while we tried to build a more stable basis for ties with the new regime. That policy was under constant pressure from people like David Rockefeller, John McCloy, Brzezinski, and Kissinger, and supported by the press. Ultimately, it failed because the weakened Carter administration could not stand up to the criticism of turning away a sick shah. The compromise was to pursue conflicting objectives: be nice to the shah and be normal with Iran. That impossible, flawed decision gave us the hostage crisis.

Naas: I had great admiration for the shah and his immediate family. It was with much personal pain when I came back to the States in March 1979 that I carried out Ambassador Sullivan's instructions to explain that the shah should not be permitted in the United States until the dust had settled. I felt bad about my role, but I thought it was the only way we could keep the door ajar for some kind of relationship with the revolutionary regime.

Historical Perspective

Precht: Aside from the shah, a major problem with the new regime was in military affairs. It was a vast, complex connection and few Iranians—or Americans—really understood the complexities. The Iranians thought they had been ripped off by us and their corrupt agents and generals. They wanted the hardware they thought they had paid for. Our military had the accounts, wanted payment in hand, and wanted to make absolutely sure they knew what kind of regime they were dealing with before shipping arms. When our embassy was seized we were beginning to make progress in explaining the rules and building a little confidence. An impossible job, though. I don't envy our official who has this chore when we reopen in Tehran.

Naas: We were making small progress in 1979 in resolving many problems. But Washington was deluding itself that the people in government really had much power. Unfortunately, it was well after the revolution that full translations were available to us of Khomeini's writings, and we started to comprehend the real scope of his plans for Iran. Getting back to the point of the inevitability of a U.S. failure with Iran, Khomeini's absolute aim of creating an Islamic state, combined with misperceptions and divisions in Washington and in Tehran probably doomed the efforts we made in 1979.



Precht: I wouldn't place as much emphasis as you do on Khomeini's pre-ordained plan. To be sure, his overriding goal was the construction of an Islamic state, guided by the principle of ultimate religious control. But almost as important as his own vision was the pressure put on him by the clerics he found in Iran when he returned from exile. The radicalized mullahs exercised great influence over him, pushed aside competing semi-secularists such as Bazargan, and nourished Khomeini's hostility toward the United States. Most of those clerics knew little of government or the outside world. In the last three or four years they have made great progress in learning that governance means a recognition of limits and some tolerance. So you get a much more pragmatic Iran now than you had immediately after the revolution.

Naas: Another maxim, Henry. When a charismatic leader spells out his plans for the future, they deserve careful thought.

Precht: The essential rule for professionals to keep before them is that you can't make sharp changes in policy if the press and Congress are against you. That was behind our failure in 1979 and also the Iran-contra disaster. The absolute prerequisite for policy change is a benign public opinion. Unhappily, neither the Carter nor Reagan administrations had senior people able or willing to persuade the public of the wisdom of what they wanted to do with Iran.

Naas: One of my chief concerns is that as a bureaucracy and perhaps as a people we're ill equipped to respond to challenges like the Iranian revolution. The current Foreign Service, of course, is not encouraging area specialization; it is not urging young people to spend their careers learning a culture and a language in-depth. And in a presidential term of four or eight years, it is extraordinarily difficult to get any administration, Republican

Know history, but more importantly, know how history has changed

or Democrat, to reexamine policies that have been accepted and seem to work. Only massive outside events that jar our people can bring a fresh look. For example, those huge demonstrations in Manila were necessary to bring a change of attitude in Washington.

Precht: In good part, the successful handling of the Philippine turmoil by Reagan's people was because they went to school on our mistakes with Iran. The administration stuck together, didn't leak, and acted quickly and decisively. It also helped that professionals and the public knew something about our history with the Philippines and the recent changes there. That's another rule from Iran: know history, but, more importantly, know how history has changed. We wouldn't have been surprised last summer by the Iranian acceptance of a cease-fire if we had understood the quiet changes in Tehran since 1981. We wouldn't have been surprised by Gorbachev or the Palestinian uprising if our professionals and, especially, the press had brought us real understanding in advance. It's unfortunately true that judgments of our leaders are shaped much more by press reports and analyses than by what the Foreign Service says. You have to ask, is the press up to the job?

Naas: A leading journalist did a survey after the Iranian revolution of press reporting and of published telegrams that came out of the embassy and Washington. He concluded that the bureaucracy, however inadequate, was far better informed than the press.

Precht: We praise the pluralistic nature of our society, but as we move into an era of complicated economic and political confrontations, we should be aware of the costs. When the United States is so vulnerable, can our competition with Japan and Western Europe continue to tolerate the self-serving actions of Congress, of competing government agencies, of the multitude of private businesses and groups? When the Japanese, the Europeans, the Soviets are so much better coordinated, so much more thoroughly unified in their purposes than we are, can we hope to prevail? In my cheerful moments, I reason that our competing institutions, the free functioning of a pluralistic society, give us unique strength. And if we ever re-connect with Iran it probably will start and last longer if there are educational, cultural, and commercial connections, not just diplomatic negotiations, as essential as they are.

Naas: We bureaucrats delude ourselves thinking that whatever a great power does can shape Third World politics. The Iranian revolution was essentially beyond our ability to control. Foreign autocrats ought to learn from that experience that they can't depend on us to save their "skin." And we should know not to let our "skin" be caught in any leader's tight embrace. It is simple, essential good sense for us to have contacts across a country's political spectrum—no matter what a dictator thinks. And dictators had better have a vacation refuge some place outside the United States.

Precht: I confess I thought a religious-led government wouldn't last more than six months. I failed to see there would be qualified Iranians willing to work for their government no matter who was in charge, and many others who truly preferred a cleric-led state and who were technically competent to run an oil industry, a foreign ministry, or a central bank. I think Iran is headed toward a synthesis of major strands in its national life. One of the shah's failings was his exclusion of the Islamic element from the society he planned. That couldn't be done and no future political society in Iran will be without an Islamic formation. The country that I knew in the 1970s listened to the great medieval poets Hafez and Saadi on prime time radio, treasured classical Iranian music, and delighted in having a bottle of vodka under the table at meals. That Iran survives. The elements of secularism and religion will somehow work out a formula for coexistence. The United States can't affect that process much, but it must try to understand it as it proceeds. □



Lost in Creation

NANCY BERNKOPF TUCKER

A diplomatic historian contends that the Foreign Service abuses the historical record

"Foreign Service officers refuse to be constrained by history," remarked a member of the State Dcpartmcnt's policy planning staff at a reccnt meeting of the American Historical Association. Determined not to be controlled by a past they hope to reshape, FSOs often insist history lacks relevance.

Reflecting a widcly held American disinterest in history, today's Foreign Service officers, more than ever before, have the ability to translate indiffcrence and distaste into permanently destructive action. But they would do well to consider whether the nation's security is best scrved by the largely thoughtless elimination of those lessons of the past that ought to provide guidance for futurc policymaking. Already the damage has been profound, but it can be arrested.

My exposure to this historians' nightmare came as a result of an exhilarating year, 1987-88, spent with the Department of State as an international affairs fellow. Annually, the Council on Foreign Relations givcs up to 15 fellowships to policymakers, who are given timc to reflect and write away from job pressures, and scholars, who enter the high-velocity lifc of decision making in mostly international or federal organizations. As a diplomatic historian who specializes in American-Chinese relations, I chose to spend nine months in the department's Office of Chinese and Mongolian Affairs and three months serving at thc U.S. embassy in Beijing.

My arrival at the desk was welcomed cordially, but the reservations about what useful role I might play were palpable. The fellowship mandates direct participation in the work of the department, not observer status, and so I had to be given real responsibilities. There was almost an audible sigh of relief when I proved able to draft memos and meet deadlines.

The problems of using and abusing history at the Department of State quickly became apparent to me. From the first, I was warned that there would be no time for scholarly reflection. The speed of breaking evcnts, the need for immediate turn-around on "taskers" from the senior levels of the department and on congressional correspondence, thc constant telephone inquiries, and the mountain of daily reporting cables would keep me in constant motion. At the same time, the department seemed to bc structured in ways that aggravated such difficulties. There is the tension, for example, between the idea that dcsk officers should be country specialists with language training and societal expertise, and the belief that, to produce a senior corps of globally competent generalists, people must serve in at least two different regional bureaus. This means that in every office there are FSOs who know very little about the nation they are monitoring and analyzing.

Absence of background can be aggravated by the lack of resources at the desk for even thc simplest reference work. Maintenance of biographical files tends to be a very low priority, and other historical tools nonexistent. The department library, although a good one, is unknown territory to most officers I encountered. Telephone calls to the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), CIA or USIA (not to the Congressional Research Service, because everything on Capitol Hill was perceived as in the enemy camp) elicits informa-

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The Wang system reduces the amount of paper the department produces and saves time, but the cost to history is great

tion, but access to analysts can be serendipitous. Dependence, moreover, on a different agency with different priorities was not always suitable or desirable. The Intelligence and Research (INR) bureau ably filled many gaps but often shared the present-oriented blinders restricting desk officers.

Historical myopia was not an affliction only at State. The Commerce Department's China section planned to hold a ceremony in Washington to commemorate the United States victory in the Boxer Rebellion and called to ask which Chinese they should invite—mainland or Taiwan? Desk officers tried as gently as possible to point out that neither would welcome the opportunity to remember a humiliating defeat at Western hands and urged that the entire project be scrapped.

The absence of historical memory is also heightened by two-year rotations of assignments. If the first months of a tour are spent settling down, learning, and making contacts, the middle of the tour in trying to secure a favorable next posting, and the final two to three months distracted by preparations for moving and the new job, there is not much time to focus on the ease at hand. In the summer of 1987, with China approaching the potentially critical meeting of the Thirteenth Party Congress, virtually the entire embassy political section left Beijing. Contacts cultivated over time were lost, experience and knowledge of past events eliminated, and a new staff, some with no prior exposure to China, had to make sense of a complicated event. That the embassy would have been better served by staggered departures seemed evident to everyone, but the bureaucratic machinery that dictated the change could not be stopped.

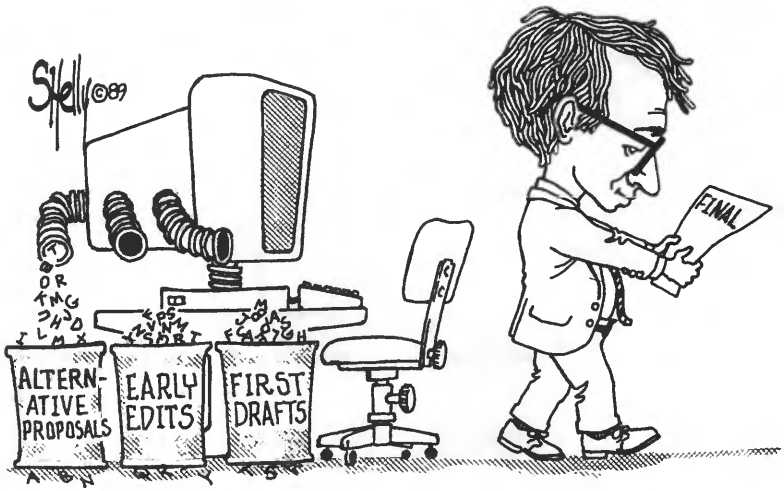
The most invidious dilemma for the historian, however, grows out of the combination of modern technology and the individual officer's disinterest in history. The arrival of the Wang word processing system at Foggy Bottom revolutionized the way work is done and rendered history a devastating blow. Today, the paper trail that makes clear how policy recommendations evolve, how differing views are reconciled, is disappearing. The department has begun to produce only final versions of documents now that officers have the ability to write memos, briefing papers, and cables on the Wang, send preliminary drafts to higher officials by disk, and have them revise an author's words on that disk, all without ever printing a hard copy. The evolution of ideas and alternative arguments is not traceable, and the files which once allowed historians to explain why the State Department held particular positions or advocated certain tactics no longer exist—indeed are never generated.

Imagine trying to account for initial American involvement in Vietnam without such documents. There would be no evidence showing the Asian experts in the State Department arguing strongly that American interests were not at stake in southeast Asia and that Asian nationalism precluded reimposition of colonial empires in the wake of World War II. Historians could not confidently point to the primacy given relations with the French and the felt need to render support to Paris so that growing Communist influence in France could be thwarted. Nor could the Atlantic-first orientation that gave priority to French adherence to a European defense community (unlikely, given Germany's adherence) over loyalty to principles of national self determination be adequately demonstrated to future historians.

It is not surprising that European issues took precedence over Asian needs. But the debate within the Department of State that produced this result is of significance in understanding America's descent into the war in Vietnam.

Of course, the Wang system reduces the amount of paper the department produces and saves time. But the cost for history is too great. When Oliver North tried to hide decisions with a shredding machine or Richard Nixon erased critical minutes of surreptitious tape recordings, they were indulging in a deliberate destruction of the historical record, which differs only by degree from what the Department of State, however innocently, does on a routine basis.

A more historically aware Foreign Service corps could do much to prevent this disaster. The secretary of state must believe and make clear to department personnel that history should not be regarded as an enemy, that preservation of the past is in the national interest. Intermediate drafts could be printed and saved. The Historian's Office, which today is a department appendage rarely noticed by most operational officers, could be directed to undertake an educational program to tell people what is and is not useful to retain. A brief word in an A-100 classroom before officers are actually involved in department routine is not, from my observations, adequate guidance to protect the historical record.



The classification process is also a stumbling block for historians. The most obvious problem is the over-classification of documents, which delays their release to the public. Foreign Service personnel are naturally most concerned about national security, but often classification decisions are made not for security reasons. Sometimes, it appears, a paper will receive a higher than necessary label to draw attention to it, making a prima facie case for its acuity, interest, and significance. More often problems are created by the label "OADR" (Originating Agency's Determination Required), which means that the originating agency must be consulted on when a document may be released, and permits the officer not to think about when a paper could be safely opened to the public. The old system that required an individual to calculate in years when a document could be released at least had the potential of being realistic. Finally, the custom mandating that all replies should be sent at the same level of classification as an inquiry or initial correspondence perpetuates exaggerated classifying.

As a practicing historian/researcher withsizable Freedom of Information Act and mandatory review requests lodged with various agencies around Washington, I know from personal experience that large amounts of material remain classified foolishly and burdensomely. Most recently a letter (for which I paid 35 cents in copying fees) with top secret markings was released to me. In it, Foreign Service officers discussed what should be given Chiang Kai-shek by an American official on a 1950s visit to Taiwan. The generalissimo had received a picture of President Eisenhower on a previous occasion, hence the dilemma. Although it might have been embarrassing in the 1950s to give Chiang two pictures, it is difficult to see why 30 years later it should have required a mandatory review request, the labors of archivists at the Eisenhower Library in Abilene, Kansas and the State Department's Classification/Declassification Center (CDC) declassifiers in Washington, and a period of three years to gain access to that piece of paper. Instances such as this abound and it is clear that the burden involved does not fall just on the unhappy researcher but also on the resources of an under-budgeted State Department and National Archives system.

As Ernest May has written in two award-winning books (*'Lessons' of the Past* and *Thinking in Time*), history, properly read, helps policymakers avoid repeating mistakes in designing more intelligent decisions for the future. It is in the interests of the entire nation that the history being written should be well-informed, accurate, and comprehensive. When secrecy and ignorance dominate those responsible for protecting the United States overseas, the nation cannot be adequately served and bilateral relations in a confusing, multipolar world will suffer. □

Backdrop to History

Spaso House

"May this lovely home never lack for visitors, and shared meals, and the sounds of spirited conversation—and even the peal of hearty laughter."

REBECCA B. MATLOCK

Assembled under the gold and crystal chandelier of Spaso House, the residence of the ambassador of the United States to the Soviet Union, were more than 500 Americans who had gathered to say goodbye to President and Mrs. Ronald Reagan at the end of their June 1988 visit to the Soviet Union. The President said with a twinkle in his eye and smile in his voice, "If I could have gathered a crowd this big in Hollywood, I'd still be there!"

During their historic visit to Moscow, the four-room vice-presidential suite on the second floor was renamed the presidential suite in their honor, and Spaso House adapted itself to the needs of the president of the United States.

Spaso House, a mansion built in the classic revival style, was designed and built by Moscow architects Adamovich and Mayat for the Siberian merchant family of Nikolai Aleksandrovich Vtorov. It was completed in 1914, and takes its name from both the pleasant square on which it is located and the small Russian Orthodox church, the Church of the Savior on the Sands, nearby. Spaso House is at number 10, Spasospeskovskaya Ploshchadka.

An extraordinary chandelier, the work of a master silversmith named Myshkov, dominates the domed reception room's white columns and white marble walls. It must have been a factor in the selection of Spaso House as an appropriate residence of the American ambassador when diplomatic relations were established between the United States and the Soviet Union in 1933.

George Kennan, then a young Foreign Service officer, had the responsibility of negotiating the lease and preparing the residence for the ambassador. In a diary he kept of his efforts during January and February of 1934, he describes the complications of drawing up the lease, of determining an acceptable rate of rent, whether payment would be in gold rubles or in dollars, who would pay the insurance, and how long the lease would run. Three years was considered too long because the Central Executive Committee of Narkomindel, now the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which had been using Spaso House as an entertainment center and rooming house for impor-

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Rebecca Matlock is writing a book on Spaso House. This article first appeared in the Soviet periodical, International Life.

tant officials, might want it back sooner.

Estimates for the cost of repairs and remodeling were difficult to get. Having been received, they had to be translated into English, transmitted to the State Department, and approved. The embassy, after negotiation, agreed to pay for the removal of snow from the roof in order to determine its condition. New interior walls would be made of plaster, but the new bathrooms would be painted rather than tiled because all tiles produced were going into subway construction. When additional fireplaces were required they were removed from the Narkomindel building and installed in the house. Although the State Department had budgeted $5,000 for the work on Spaso House, the actual cost was $5,800.

Makeshift offices also had to be set up at Spaso House. Although the building that would become the American embassy, near Red Square and next door to the National Hotel, appeared ready for occupancy, the embassy staff was not allowed to move in for more than six months. This, according to Kennan, left Ambassador William C. Bullitt steaming with fury. It was confessed later that the reason the Americans were not allowed to occupy the building was that the ground was shifting during subway construction and it was not absolutely certain the building would not collapse.

President Roosevelt sent five ambassadors to the Soviet Union during his time in office, 1932-45. All were personal friends, all political appointees. While Bullitt was ambassador, there were many contacts between Soviet citizens and Americans and memorable parties were held at Spaso House, attended not only by high-ranking Soviets and foreigners, but also by animals from the Durov Animal Museum, which performed in both expected and unexpected ways.

Ambassador Joseph E. Davies was a particularly active ambassador, sympathetic to the Soviet Union, and a collector of Russian art. During his tenure in Moscow, the ballroom, also in neoclassical style, was added. His book, *Mission to Moscow*, which was supportive of Stalin's regime, was made into a popular American movie.

During the war, while Laurence Steinhardt was ambassador, 1939-41, maintenance at Spaso House was almost nonexistent. The bombing of 1941 broke window panes, and openings were covered with beaverboard. Wind blew around the edges of the windows and the large rooms were dark. Some rooms were usable only when the people inside were dressed in warm clothing. Kerosene stoves sitting in boxes of sand were used to supplement the heating system, which was in bad repair.

Spaso House was described by Admiral Standley, upon his arrival as ambassador in 1942, as being "an impressive looking mansion behind a facade of considerable shoddiness." He described how stucco had peeled from the walls in irregular patches, and how the bannister railings and columns were plastered over with cheap cement. However, he exulted over the "magnificent chandelier." Since there was no money available from the State Department for furnishing the ambassador's residence, Admiral Standley, at President Roosevelt's suggestion, had Spaso House outfitted as a newly commissioned battleship.

Kathleen Harriman Mortimer, the daughter of Ambassador Averell Harriman and his hostess while he was ambassador from 1943 to 1946, observed that when they arrived the residence was incredibly dank and dark, but that it had one luxury she enjoyed—hot water. It took, she said, until the summer of 1944 to have the beaverboard replaced by glass so the sun could at last filter in. Kathleen was unhappy about the interior decoration of the "spacious but bleak rooms."

President Roosevelt died just before the end of the war. Foreign Minister Molotov himself came to Spaso House to offer condolences.

General Dwight D. Eisenhower, commander of allied forces in Europe, was a guest at Spaso House when the news of the surrender of Japan came. Stalin invited General Eisenhower and Ambassador Harriman to stand with him and the Soviet leaders on top of Lenin's Tomb to review a physical culture parade, the first time foreign representatives had been so honored.

President Harry S. Truman sent General Walter Bedell Smith to Moscow in 1946. Ambassador Smith described the house as a two-story masonry and stucco structure with a good deal of wasted space. He thought that the pre-revolutionary millionaire who built it was primarily interested in a large reception room, and that he put most of his money into the magnificent gold and crystal chandelier, which must have weighed a ton, and then added on the living quarters as an afterthought.

He described large cracks on the outside walls, handsome cornices and frescoes that were mildewed and flaky, and silk and satin wall coverings that were dirty, split and hanging down in shreds, details which had been ig-

At Roosevelt's suggestion, Spaso House was outfitted as a newly commissioned battleship

nored during wartime, when the embassy was evacuated to Kuibyshev and Spaso House served as headquarters for Lend Lease.

Admiral Alan G. Kirk arrived in 1949 and remained until 1951. Mrs. Lydia Kirk described Spaso as being an immense neoclassical palace which looked tidy and secure set back behind an untidy green space beside the ruins of an old church. Inside, she found the interior of the house far better than she had feared, dignified, and not difficult to live with. The house had been freshly painted. The furniture was American; although out of scale with the huge rooms, she thought it unobjectionable.

Kennan, sent by President Truman to become the first professional diplomat to be U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, found Spaso House, upon his return after several years, "barnlike and empty and a little sad, despite the freshly painted rooms." Particularly objectionable, he thought, was being cut off completely from Soviet citizens by the fence that surrounded the residence like a prison wall.



Rebecca Matlock

Spaso House in 1988.

Charles Bohlen, also a Russian-speaking professional diplomat, was sent to Moscow by President Eisenhower. He returned to Moscow in 1953, not having been there since 1945. He found many changes at Spaso House, all for the best. The grounds had been spruced up, the rooms painted and refurnished and the house, he thought, more pleasant and comfortable than it had been since 1934 when he had lived there as one of the young Russian specialists brought to Moscow by Ambassador Bullitt.

President Eisenhower replaced Bohlen with Llewellyn E. Thompson in 1957. Former President Nixon and Mrs. Nixon stayed at Spaso House in 1959 when he was vice-president. He stayed up one whole night preparing, with the help of the ambassador, a speech that made him the first American official to speak to the Soviet people on television.

My husband, Jack Matlock, was first sent to Moscow as a second secretary to work in the consular section of the embassy during Thompson's tenure. Spaso House seemed grandiose to me when I saw it for the first time in 1961. I went to pay an obligatory social call on Mrs. Jane Thompson. I was ushered into the immense reception area where hung the largest chandelier I had ever seen.

Mrs. Thompson invited me to join her in the Blue Room, which was actually painted green. It was a much smaller, more comfortable room with high ceilings and impressive architectural details. It contained several bookcases. There was a fire in a fine marble fireplace. The Andrew Wyeth painting "Christina's World" was hanging above a chest.

A few months later I was in the same room with Mrs. Kohler, whose husband, Foy Kohler, sent by President John F. Kennedy, became ambassador in 1962. Ambassador Kohler had first met Nikita Khrushchev during his visit to the United States in 1959, and the two men developed a good relationship. The general secretary attended a Fourth of July reception at Spaso House.

After President Kennedy was assassinated in 1963, President Lyndon B. Johnson kept Ambassador Kohler in Moscow for several more years, replacing him with Ambassador Kohler's predecessor, Llewellyn E. Thompson, when Leonid Brezhnev became general secretary in 1967. With his two terms as ambassador, Thompson served longer than any other American ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Jacob D. Beam, Nixon's ambassador to the Soviet Union, was appointed in 1969. He was an experienced diplomat who had been chargé d'affaires when Stalin died. He was ambassador when Nixon came to the Soviet Union for the first summit meeting with Brezhnev in 1972. President Nixon was the first American president to visit Moscow while in office, Roosevelt having remained in Yalta during his wartime visit to the Soviet Union.

In 1973, the ambassador resigned and his deputy chief of mission, Adolph Dubs, remained chargé d'affaires for more than a year. In June 1974, Nixon went to the Soviet Union to meet again with Brezhnev. During both visits official dinners were held at Spaso House, and it was at one of these that Nixon quoted Leonid Brezhnev as saying, upon being served baked Alaska, "Look, the Americans really are

miracle workers! They have found a way to set ice cream on fire!"

When my husband returned to Moscow in 1974, as minister counselor and deputy chief of mission, Walter Stoessel was ambassador, having been appointed by Nixon earlier that year. We found that Spaso House had been redecorated and looked like a delicate watercolor, a good set for a classical ballet, with pastel curtains and furniture coverings, and impressive examples of nonrepresentational work by contemporary American artists floating on the white walls.

"Détente" was strengthened during this time by the meeting of President Gerald Ford with General Secretary Brezhnev in Vladivostok. During the height of détente, following the termination of American military activity in Vietnam, Spaso House came alive with receptions, dinners, and movie parties attended by many hundreds of Soviet citizens.

Of historic interest was a gathering at Spaso House to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the meeting at the Elbe of Russian and American forces in 1945. Mr. Anastas Mikoyan, together with high-ranking members of the government and of the military forces, attended the dinner held in honor of veterans of the meeting and of former Ambassador Averell Harriman, who had remained in Moscow while others were evacuated during the war, and of other Britons and Americans who had cooperated in the herculean task of destroying Nazi power to bring an end to World War II.

Mrs. Harriman remembered that because many more guests than were expected came, dinner was not served until 10 p.m. She observed that everybody was extremely gay, and that the dinner at tables for ten was extremely pleasant. She recalled that the toasts, given by Ambassador Stoessel and others saluting the Red Army, the Soviet people, the British armed forces, and the American armed forces, gave appropriate tribute to the heroism of the cooperative effort. The evening did not end until 1 a.m.

The largest party ever held at the residence was on July 4, 1976, to commemorate the U.S. bicentennial. Tang, the Chinese butler who had worked at Spaso House for more than 40 years, greeted each guest personally; in addition to Americans assembled earlier, his counter recorded 3,001 persons. Even though it rained, the chandelier room, the ballroom, the library, and the dining room managed to accommodate them all.

After his inauguration, President Jimmy Carter supported the interim appointment of professional diplomat Malcolm Toon as ambassador. As chargé d'affaires in the absence of the ambassador, Jack and I hosted our first reception at Spaso House. It was to commemorate the success of the joint U.S.-USSR mission in space. All American and Soviet astronauts and cosmonauts who had traveled in space attended. For the buffet we combined Russian specialties such as *pelmeni*, *pirozhki* and *caviar zakuski* with favorite American hors d'oeuvres such as raw vegetables served with a dip, miniature ham sandwiches, and small pizzas. Since the ambassador was not there to disappear with his wife when the party officially ended, several hundred guests stayed well beyond the party's appointed end. It was the last large party at Spaso House, as the cooperation of the détente period began to wane.

Ambassador Toon was replaced in 1979 by Thomas J. Watson, Jr., the first nonprofessional diplomat to be sent to Moscow since 1952. His time was difficult because of the coolness between the United States and the Soviet Union brought on by the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, which occurred two months after his arrival.

When Reagan was elected, my husband returned early in 1981 to be chargé d'affaires following Watson's departure. We found many changes in the house, particularly in the paneled State Dining Room, where there was a new crystal chandelier, a bright red rug, two beautiful white and gold hand-painted screens, and handsome red and white curtains. The most spectacular change was that the large window had been replaced to duplicate the original blue and crystal fanlight. There was a bust of President Kennedy, a smaller version of the one that is in the Kennedy Center in Washington. The Watsons had been very generous.

During 1981, Mr. and Mrs. Elton Hyder made gifts of an English case clock and mahogany secretary for the representational library together with furnishings for the ambassador's library upstairs. The Hyders were supportive of our efforts to make Spaso House hospitable even when there was no art on loan from private lenders and museums.

Ambassador Arthur Hartman came to Moscow from Paris, where he had been ambassador. During the years that Hartman was in Moscow, from 1981 to 1987, there were summit meetings in Geneva and in Reykjavik, and the possibility of summit meetings in Washington and in Moscow began to be discussed.

In April 1987, Reagan sent my husband to

The largest party ever held at the residence was on July 4, 1976 to commemorate the U.S. bicentennial; 3,001 persons were recorded

It is important, in addition to formal representational areas, to have a comfortable place to receive guests

Moscow as ambassador. Spaso House had been transformed. The walls and ceilings had been painted vibrant colors, and new rugs had been designed and woven to coordinate with the new decor. In the lobby were a very large American eagle, a figure of Columbia (another symbol of America) holding a sheaf of wheat in her hand, and a cigar store Indian. Throughout the representational rooms were paintings and art objects by important American artists. This impressive collection of Americana had been assembled by the Hartmans to commemorate 50 years of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Since this collection had been loaned to Ambassador Hartman personally, it was time for the individual pieces to be returned to their owners. However, several artists donated individual pieces to the permanent Spaso House collection, where they remain on display.

Through the Department of State's Art in Embassies program, we arranged to borrow art by mid-20th century American artists. We also showed works by outstanding young contemporary artists. The Corning Museum loaned 18 pieces of studio glass from their permanent holdings. It took well over a year to assemble, ship, and install these collections. They were in place before the Moscow summit of 1988, and a catalog listing the major works was published with the assistance of private supporters.

It was important, we felt, in addition to the formal representational areas of Spaso House, to have a comfortable and attractive place to receive guests. In that context, I decided to try to reproduce the traditional library I remembered from my first visit in 1961. I searched the house for appropriate furniture and found four glass-fronted bookshelves, several mahogany chests of Empire design, wingback chairs, and oval coffee tables. Together with the grandfather clock, the mahogany secretary, and an ornate gilt mirror which had been donated in 1981, we were able to create a room of warmth and comfort for private conversations and for small groups of guests.

In preparation for the visit of the Reagans, the Greek-revival ceiling in the vestibule was restored. Master restorers worked on this curved space for several weeks, carefully applying paint and gold leaf to recreate the original classic designs.

For Spaso House, the dinner the Reagans gave for General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev was the highlight of the visit. New white curtains were hung throughout the house, and masses of flowers were arranged in all the representational rooms. Pink peonies were used as centerpieces on the round tables in the ballroom where the dinner took place. Special platforms were built in the back of the room for the press cameras and at the opposite end for Dave Brubeck and his jazz ensemble to entertain the guests after dinner.

Reagan, in his toast at dinner, concluded, "Spaso House has, as I said, seen quiet times—yet the animated conversation of this evening has already done much to make up for them. And so, I would like to raise a glass to the continued interchange between our two nations—and, if I may, to Spaso House itself, as a symbol of our relations. May this lovely home never lack for visitors, and shared meals, and the sounds of spirited conversation—and even the peal of hearty laughter. Thank you and God bless you."

Gorbachev, in his response, described his vision of "a world more reliable and safer, a world that is needed by all people on earth, their children and granchildren, so that they can acquire and preserve the basic human rights—the right to life, to work, to freedom, and to the pursuit of happiness." He ended by saying, "Let the coming years bring about an improvement in the international situation! Let life triumph!"

With these words, spoken by the leaders of the U.S. and the USSR, Spaso House, which for 55 years had furnished an elegant backdrop to history, experienced one of its finest hours. □



Rebecca Matlock

The Church of the Savior on the Sands.

Back in the USSR

NICOLE and ALAN LOGAN

In Fall 1988, Alan and Nicole Logan obtained a family visa to spend three weeks with Russian friends in Moscow—an experience that would have been unheard of a few years ago. This personal, firsthand account of life in Moscow today is recounted by a husband and wife who lived in the Soviet Union in the 1960s.

Nicole: Try spending three weeks with friends; chances are they may not remain your friends for long. Not so in the Soviet Union! Russian friends recently gave us a lesson in hospitality and generosity by graciously putting up with us for three weeks. In a country where living space is limited, where food is hard to get, where everyone holds a full time job, the way they pampered, entertained, and showed us around constituted a real tour de force.

Freshly ground coffee greeted us in the morning. No matter what time of the day we returned to the apartment, we found golden "piroshkis" and a thick soup awaiting us on the stove. The freezer was stocked with meat and fish; there was always a bowl of fresh fruit on our window sill. They made this constant feast look effortless, but we knew the planning, the running around, the standing in line, and the extravagant expenses all this meant.

Hunting for everyday necessities in the Soviet Union requires an incredible amount of stamina. I have seen the utter exhaustion and the expression of explosive anger on the face of people standing in lines in the "Gastronoms" of Gorky Street at the end of a long workday. Survival also requires an ability to adapt, to be flexible. One does not decide ahead of time what will be for dinner. The sale of products happens unexpectedly at street corners and lasts as long as the supplies do. One night, all Moscow ate bananas from Colombia, another night it was pomegranates and lemons from Turkey.

Our hosts are both engineers, highly educated, articulate, and conversant in current affairs. They live in Lenin Hills, in a handsome brick building dating back to the 1950s. They have turned their three spacious rooms into multipurpose use. Their apartment, like many others we have seen, is uncluttered. They are ingenious in making efficient use of every inch of space, as one would on a sailboat, to fit in thousands of books, a piano, and an entire workshop.

Although our friends belong to the upper middle class, their salaries are low—less than 250 rubles per month—and have changed little for 20 years. (1 ruble/100 kopecks = 1.4 $U.S.). When they retire, their pension will be only 130 rubles. Although blue collar workers are allowed to hold several jobs, our friends, as professionals, do not have this right.

It is usually said that low salaries correspond to low living expenses. Granted, their monthly rent is only 20 rubles, including utilities; a bus ride costs 5 kopecks; a loaf of bread, 15 kopecks; an orchestra seat at the Bolshoi, only 3 rubles. Granted, medical care and yearly vacations are paid for. But many things are not accessible to them because of the cost. We visited the best market in Moscow, which caters to the upper class and foreigners, where the products were beautiful: pyramids of peaches, apples, tomatoes, grapes, appetizing honey, good-looking meat and fish. "The prices are too high," remarked our friend. "We do our regular shopping in government stores, where prices are lower even though quality and choice are also

Alan Logan retired in 1982 after 31 years in the Foreign Service, including two years as political officer in Moscow. Nicole Logan received her M.A. in Russian Studies from American University in 1987.

lower." A pair of blue jeans at 120 rubles is a luxury Who can afford a cassette deck costing several hundred rubles or a VCR at several thousand?

At a time when expectations and needs have risen, we saw impatience and frustration at the continued scarcity of goods. On the other hand, we saw relief and excitement at the new free flow of information, at being able to express opinions so long kept hidden, at having access to the works of heretofore censured writers, and at the lifting of the secrecy which had shrouded their historical past.

Alan: Our very presence in Moscow as guests of a Soviet family exemplified the changes that are taking place in the USSR. American and British diplomats found it unprecedented that Soviet authorities would grant visas for a private visit to a retired U.S. State Department colleague who had been the object of an unjustified attack in the Soviet press 23 years earlier.

During the three weeks that we were authorized to stay with our Soviet friends, Nicole and I lived like Russians as we tried to understand the changing Soviet scene. In contrast to our tour with the American embassy in the 1960s and during subsequent visits, we had no feeling that we were under surveillance or that the authorities had any interest in us.

The changes that have taken place and are continuing to take place at a dizzy pace are truly amazing and profound. Very few of the Russians or foreigners we spoke to have a clear idea of where the process of reform launched by Communist party leader Mikhail Gorbachev is going to lead the USSR, and they doubt he knows at this time. General opposition to openness and restructuring as represented under the buzz words of *glasnost* and *perestroika* is strong in some circles, and individual elements of Gorbachev's program are openly criticized. For example, many felt the reduction in the supply of all alcoholic beverages was too drastic and was badly timed. While nominally approving a more market-oriented economic system, others criticized the state encouragement of private cooperatives for creating a new wealthy class.

The process Gorbachev has initiated is complex and may release forces and ideas which can be neither foreseen nor controlled. As a result, there is great apprehension, and some of our friends fear that the Soviet Union may be entering a new "time of troubles" similar to those which periodically shook Tsarist Russia in the past. We felt, however, that the great majority of Soviet citizens welcome *glasnost*.

Our first direct exposure to the changing Soviet scene was on the single railroad car which shuttles between Paris and Moscow. During our two-day journey, we met a young Estonian film maker who seems to be free to travel to the West despite the fact that—to our surprise—he expressed strong support for Estonian nationalism. While insisting that the efforts of Estonians for greater autonomy are completely different from those of the Armenian claim for territory in Azerbaijan, he recognized the dilemma faced by Moscow authorities in dealing with these and similar demands.



Alan Logan in the GUM department store in Moscow.

We were also struck by the extent to which travelers on our railcar felt free to bring in publications and general consumer goods difficult to find in Moscow. Electronic equipment scattered in several compartments by an Armenian mother and son appeared sufficient to stock a small retail outlet (which might have been the intention!). Vietnamese and African students were also loaded with new hi-fi and television equipment. A French translator working for a Moscow weekly magazine was bringing in a small library of books, including some by dissident emigrés, and video cassettes.

At the Brest border post, customs officials were extremely thorough in determining the contents of the mountains of cases and trunks filling our railcar. We were told that pornographic and "excessively" religious or anti-Soviet material is still not admitted, and one of our fellow travelers was subject to a third degree grilling when the customs official found undeclared Bibles (worth over $125 each on the Moscow black market) and supposedly Zionist propaganda. However, in the end, to our surprise, everything was admitted and no duty was charged.

We arrived at the Beloruski Station in Moscow and recalled that 22 years earlier in broad daylight three tires of my personal car were slashed in virtually acknowledged KGB retaliation for the vandalizing of the car of a Soviet diplomat on a back street in Washington, D.C. According to American and British diplomatic colleagues, this type of act still occurs and the official treatment of Western diplomats is one area where there has been little improvement since the 1960s and possibly some deterioration, particularly for Americans. Despite some relaxation of restrictions for senior diplomatic staff, there is less opportunity for travel in the country as a whole, largely because of the competing demands by tourists for limited travel and hotel accommodations. Americans are subject to special restrictions. They are not allowed to invite family members or friends as house guests nor to bring in non-American nannies. The American diplomatic community seems to be retreating behind an iron curtain of its own making. Several Russians commented on the irony that as Soviet society is becoming more open, the U.S. official presence appears to be becoming more closed. This impres-

sion is not helped by the new embassy compound and empty chancery building; its stark massive brick walls without outside windows or color make it look more like a fort or penitentiary than the outpost of a free society open to the local citizenry for business and dialogue.

With the departure of all Soviet employees in 1987, the embassy has had to close its cultural library. Relaxation of Soviet restrictions on travel abroad has resulted in an increase in demand for U.S. visas. The lines of visa applicants waiting in the street add to the impression that the embassy is deliberately keeping Soviet citizens out. The general attitude was well captured by a young Marine guard when he kept us from entering for a look at the new embassy compound: "We are in a hostile environment," he said, "surrounded by unfriendly elements."

The most striking change we observed in Soviet society was the willingness—verging on eagerness—of the people to talk openly and frankly. There are still some limits, however, for as one Russian friend put it, "We now can talk about anything—but not everything."

Most of the Soviet people we met liked and respected Gorbachev. One high party official told us that for the first time in decades the USSR has a leader who, driven by economic necessity, knows in which direction he wants to go, in contrast to his predecessors, who were opportunists reacting to events in order to hold power or make short-term gains. He admitted that some people may feel lost without the comfort of an ideology. As he said, "in this period of change we don't even know what is communism."

While there was general support of Gorbachev's attempts to reform and restructure the economy, many were pessimistic and even cynical as to what may be accomplished. One senior official said that he finds the same inefficiencies, shortages of food and consumer goods, long lines, stagnating and stultifying bureaucracy, decaying buildings, and state of disrepair as before. He feels that fundamental change is impossible. However, his wife is optimistic, and they both recognize and welcome the greater freedom and access to information. Another friend also feels that there are too many millions of people at the top and in the bureaucracy with a vested interest in preserving the status quo or too afraid of the unknown to depart from it. One long-time French resident, on the other hand, felt that the process of change and restructuring was irreversible, and that the people will be motivated by the promise of a better way of life to create a more rational and productive economy. We were left with the impression, however, that most of the people we met underestimate and probably do not really understand the problems of converting a centrally administered, planned economy with controlled prices, distribution, and employment into a more market-oriented one controlled by competitive forces.

Nicole: "What do you think of *perestroika*?" we asked everyone. The answers ranged from pessimism, to skepticism, to enthusiasm. Foreign diplomats, still surrounded by an atmosphere of suspicion and restrictions, expressed a great deal of caution as to the future of *perestroika*. They feel that many people still revere Stalin and miss his law-and-order society.

But the overwhelming majority of the Russians we met expressed hope and excitement. An optimistic hairdresser-turned-gardener told us: "Maybe it will take 15 years, but it will work. The new generation will not accept lies any more." A member of the influential privileged class shared this enthusiasm but qualified it, saying, "The changes are very exciting but, the pace cannot be maintained. The pendulum of history will eventually come back to the center."

Alan: We heard charges that the people are worse off now. The difficulties of everyday life and the search for consumer goods certainly continue. But the contrast with the 1960s and even the late 1970s is striking: Housing construction in Moscow and the surrounding towns and rural areas is most impressive; people are better dressed and more attentive to their appearance; there is a big improvement in the supplies of food and consumer goods in the state outlets at reasonable prices. A variety of fruits, vegetables, and flowers, and some consumer goods are available in large quantities at the established farmers' markets or cooperatives, although at admittedly high prices. Though difficult to judge, we had the impression that people had more money to spend then in earlier years. They grumbled but were willing to pay these high prices for higher quality products.

Nicole: The creation of cooperatives is one of the most exciting and promising trends toward free enterprise. More than 50,000 are already in operation in various sectors of the economy: small industry, transports, farming, repairs, servicing of cars, housing, restaurants, and even public toilets.

Some private enterprises are run very efficiently; however, there is still plenty of room for improvement. Cooperative cafes and restaurants are too expensive for average citizens. Some of them would not last very long in a truly competitive context. The service is mediocre, and they run out of merchandise. One afternoon Alan and I decided to go into a tearoom. A few tables were already occupied. We ordered tea, and the manager abruptly asked, "Is that all you want?" " Yes," we answered. He retorted, "We do not have and will not have any tea," pushing us out of the room and hanging a "closed" sign at the door.

Alan: The most important vehicle of change is the mass media. The press reports of Stalin's crimes and corruption under Brezhnev, of Soviet economic and technological backwardness, and of various criminal and social problems such as prostitution, youth gangs, and black markets, must appear amazingly frank to Soviet citizens. The press even carries articles or letters of dissent against current policy, including some defending Stalin. Accidents or natural disasters in the USSR, efforts of different Soviet nationalities for greater autonomy, international problems and developments (including internal opposition to the Soviet military in Afghanistan), or foreign criticism of the USSR are reported in a relatively objective way.

Nicole: *Glasnost* brings into the open more and more social topics. In the 1960s, the theater, poetry readings, and underground literature were the most important channels of dissent but only reached a few thousands in the city. As a means of criticism of the regime and Soviet society these have now been overtaken by films and television reaching millions throughout the Soviet Union.

Vocal and now legal "informal organizations" are a new tool for the free expression of ideas. They also act as lobbying groups formed to put pressure on the authorities. The weekly *Moscow News* reported the creation of the first consumer rights organization in October 1988. From an expression of spontaneous environmental protest against industrial plans for the area, this body developed into a legal entity to defend the inhabitants' interests on all local issues.

Spontaneous discussion groups and orators haranguing the crowds are a frequent sight in Moscow's Pushkin Square. Each living room at night becomes an open forum where heated commentaries are triggered by the themes of social concern presented by the TV.

Now full of news and opinions, the daily newspapers and periodicals are read avidly. One has to get up at 5 a.m. to buy *Izvestia* or any other daily newspaper. At 10 a.m. the kiosks are empty. Some periodicals disappear before they are even put on sale.

The cinema has undergone a total change and is merciless in its indictment of Soviet society today. Drugs, promiscuity, violence—the social comment is damning to the point of exaggeration. One cannot help wondering how the Russian audience, fundamentally puritanical and moral, reacts to such a new vision of society and whether this kind of shock treatment will have a lasting effect on traditional values.

Alan: One of the most important but difficult areas to judge is the current attitude of young people in the USSR. From our contacts, we had the impression that the open criticism of so many aspects of Soviet life is leading to great disillusionment among young people. They still go through the ritual of membership in the youth communist organizations (first Pioneers followed by Komosol) as necessary to passage into and through the select high schools and universities, but with little enthusiasm and minimum activity. As one mother told us: "My children feel they have been lied to for years; now they want the truth and will never accept a return to the past." While many young people remain considerate and polite, the proportion that appears loud, rebellious, and unruly has greatly increased.

High school and university students regard the compulsory month they have to spend every year helping the inefficient agricultural sector harvest its crops not as a voluntary contribution for the benefit of society but as something to be avoided, if possible. Both boys and girls feel the time they have to spend in military training beginning at age 13 is a waste and of questionable patriotic value.

The Soviet people are eager to learn more about America, but considerable effort is necessary to overcome misconceptions and suspicions resulting from years of isolation and official propaganda. We were subject to many searching questions regarding what Russians believe are the negative aspects of American society and policies, such as poverty and homelessness, unemployment, mistreatment of native Americans and minorities, actions against Nicaragua, and continued restrictions on our economic relations with the USSR. Although most of the people we spoke to opposed Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, they asked why we were supplying American weapons to kill or wound Soviet youth in that country. Americans should be prepared to respond honestly to such questions. On the other hand, many Soviet citizens have exaggerated visions of the United States as the land of unbounded freedom, incredible bounty, and "milk and honey". Americans should also try to temper these exaggerations with reality.

Nicole: Living with a family gave us the opportunity to see how much physical and intellectual alertness is required from the Soviet people today in order to adapt to the changes. This period of transition is a difficult one, not only for the government leaders but also for each single individual. One of the qualities we have most admired in our Soviet friends is their extreme pride. They wanted to give us the best and to show us the best in their country. Their concern for material goods was not greed but only the expression of human need.

The second trait which impressed us is the energy they devote to their work, their studies, or their friendships. We admired the tour guide, who after a day-long excursion told his group that he does not mind doing overtime, or the high school girl who complained about not being called on more often in class and does several hours of homework every night.

If this energy, this dedication to one's occupation, this enthusiasm were mobilized into constructive channels instead of being wasted in queues or fighting red tape, *glasnost* and *perestroika* would have a better chance to work.

Alan: We left Moscow convinced that Gorbachev, in the few years he has assumed power, has indeed launched his country on a course which can only be described as revolutionary. The USSR emerging from this decade will be very different from the country that entered it and should contribute to a better and safer world. □



Nicole Logan boards a Paris-to-Moscow train.

Fast Times at Hindi High

A Foreign Service "brat" looks at the pluses and minuses of growing up overseas.

KITTY THUERMER

My sister and I share a recurring nightmare. We are posted in a far-off land. One day we are taken hostage—mistaken for spies from a neighboring country. We flash our diplomatic passports, but our captors laugh in our faces. They refuse to believe we are Americans since we are fluent in the local language. We beg to be released. After a month of imprisonment, our captors finally agree to release us on one condition: that we pass a test to prove that we are true Americans. We are greatly relieved, but our relief turns to horror as we survey the three questions:

Name one state that borders Kansas.
Who is Joe Namath?
What was the name of Beaver's mother on *Leave it to Beaver*?

We are shot at dawn.

Not long ago I was sitting next to a Namibian gentleman at a party in Washington. We exchanged pleasantries, but I knew he was merely humoring me. Finally I slipped the word "Windhoek" into the conversation—pronounced with a "v"—and he was so overcome he choked on his bread stick. We spent the rest of the evening carrying on an animated discussion of current events, punctuated only by his grunts of delight at my unexpected worldliness.

Later in the evening the non-American guests were drawn into our conversation, swayed by the Namibian's pronouncement that all Americans are total ignoramuses when it comes to world affairs. I listened in uncharacteristic silence. Finally I turned to my tablemate and said, "Excuse me, but for the last two hours haven't we carried on an interesting conversation?"

He looked at me. "Yes."

"About international issues?"

"Sure."

"Well," I stuck out my chin, *"I'm an American!"*

He laughed. "Oh, you don't count." And then, dismissing me with a wave, "You're not a real American."

Visions of the firing squad danced through my head.

When I returned to Thestates (one word) after growing up overseas, I taught myself a little survival game: "How to Pass as an American." Over the years I have managed to bluff my way through an 18-year "gap" in my knowledge of Americana. Why would I want to do such a thing? The humiliation of not being able to identify the top rock songs, the snorts of laughter following my pronunciation of "Mooslim," and my conspicuous silence amidst a chorus of TV Jeopardy answers was too cruel to bear repeating. So I began to fake it.



In the process, however, I soon discovered that unlike other learning disabilities, it was futile to try and overcompensate my ignorance by demonstrating brilliance in another arena. So what if I knew the capital of Madagascar or could sing the Indian national anthem; to admit it would have been a one-way ticket to social Siberia. And of course I knew exactly where Siberia is.

My double life began when I was introduced to someone. "Hi, I'm Kitty." A pause, and then the inevitable crack about Kitty Carlisle or Miss Kitty of Gunsmoke. To this day, I grimace politely and only have the vaguest notion of who they're talking about.

The political milestones that marked my 1960s generation found me not protesting in their midst, but rather languishing in some exotic locale. I only remember John F. Kennedy's death from the tattered *Life* magazine pictures that I saw in a USIS library years later. Robert Kennedy's assassination found our family in the middle of a safari on the Serengeti plains. When the 1967 Arab-Israeli war broke out, I was floating on a houseboat in a lake full of lilies in Kashmir. It was in India that I learned about Martin Luther King's death, the tragedies of Kent State and Jackson State, and the distant rumblings of a land called Vietnam. The fall of Nixon found me jetting halfway round the world to Madagascar, and the day I left Mali was the signing of the Camp David peace accords.

Paranoid parents are always concerned about how their children will "turn out" after they have been brought up abroad. As long as we're using this culinary metaphor, I have to confess that my own experience was rather like a turkey being roasted in an oven the old-fashioned way—browned evenly on all sides and reasonably marinated in the local culture. Today's children, alas, are weaned on MTV in Bangui; they are the microwave expats.

Some parents are afraid their children won't get the proper dosage of allegiance to the United States; foods, flags, and the Fourth of July. This is a legitimate concern. Every single day for three years in grade school I proudly shouted out the Ghanaian national an-

them while my friend Barbara stood stiffly next to me with her lips grimly pursed.

When our fourth grade teacher announced that New York was the capital of the United States, Barbara turned to me in a fury. What could I do? I no more knew the capital of my own country than I knew our national anthem. And when Queen Elizabeth came to town I lined up with the other school children on the roadside and waved the Ghanaian flag—thrilled that she had come to see *our* President—Kwame Nkrumah.

Naturally, parents overseas are also concerned about sex and their children's activities overseas. My own opinion is that sex overseas is no different than the home-grown variety. In fact, worried parents should keep their eyes more on the American boy next door. As insidious as sex, of course, are drugs. Drugs can indeed be a bit of a problem overseas. Especially when the harmless old man swathed in a shawl squatting outside the New Delhi school is selling hashish. The drug education of an American classmate only ended this year with his release, after eight years, from a Thai prison for heroin smuggling. But drugs are everywhere and kids will be exposed to them no matter where they live.

So what's the good news about growing up overseas? Well, aside from humiliation at home, just about everything. When I walked into my African history class my freshman year at Yale I laughed out loud to see the names of Osei Tutu, Apuku Wari, and Akomfo Anachi scrawled on the blackboard. The resurrection of the Ashanti kings of Ghana, whose names remained branded in my memory since the second grade, was much more gratifying to me than the fascinating career of Martin Van Buren.

When I took a year off from school to work on a leprosy project in Madagascar it took me two full days to arrive at the Antananarivo airport, only to discover I had no visa, no local money, no one to meet me. Then the woman standing behind me keeled over in an epileptic fit. How did I cope? International savoir-faire and a dash of Hindi High French.

During Peace Corps training in Mali, I was assigned to a health clinic run by Chinese acupuncturists. Since this was the height of ping-pong diplomacy, I was anxious to communicate with my erstwhile comrades. I was sorely disappointed to discover that their French was as poor as my Bambara, until I realized I could use my Saturday-morning-nothing-better-to-do Mandarin.

At graduate school in East Lansing, Michigan, I made friends with students from all over the world and in the process discovered I actually had a skill I could offer the locals: workshops on African studies, which I conducted throughout the state.

And despite the very privileged life we lived overseas, I like to think that a seed of global humanitarianism was planted somewhere along the way. Of course it didn't always bear fruit. During my junior year in Delhi, my Indian girlfriend and I plotted a movement to ban the Junior Prom and use the money to purchase tube-wells for a parched Rajasthan. Our efforts were rewarded with zero rupees and no date for the prom.

Nowadays, I still try to pass for an American. I think I'm getting better at it. A few months ago I was attending a conference in St. Louis when I ran into an old family friend, fresh from his ambassadorship in Chile. At dinner, the keynote speaker made a caustic remark about the presidential campaign which compared the behavior of one of the candidates to the antics of David Letterman. I knew I had made it when I could come to the aid of my distinguished friend, a 30-year Foreign Service veteran, when he leaned over to me and whispered, "Who is David Letterman?" □

Kitty Thuermer currently works for the National Council of Returned Peace Corps Volunteers.

In Memory

The following is excerpted from remarks at the memorial service for three FSOs who died in the Locherbie plane crash, held at Fort Meyer Chapel, January 9, 1989.

The Bureau of Diplomatic Security was born out of our nation's commitment to protect all of the people who would do our nation's work abroad. It is a world in which DS has made a difference. It touches us deeply, therefore, to gather here today to mourn the loss of young men who dedicated their lives to protecting others.

These men represent the highest traditions of government service—America's best. Special agents Ron Lariviere and Dan O'Conner had survived the rigorous screening and a tough examination process to be selected from thousands of applicants for Diplomatic Security. Both endured long hours and demanding assignments to prepare them for the future.

Matthew Gannon was especially close to us in DS. . . . he worked closely with us as political officer in Beirut, his last post. We consider him a member of our family.

All three of these men had volunteered for their last assignments, accepting without question, the dangers of their work—and dangerous it is. The Foreign Service and the Department of State are for many of us like an extended family. But the members of the Diplomatic Security Service share a special bond drawn from the nature of our work, the frequent and difficult travel, the shift work, and the long hours. . . . Our families grow accustomed to the sacrifices and accept them with love and understanding. Today, we are reminded how great those sacrifices can ultimately be.

Matthew Kevin Gannon
Daniel Emmett O'Conner
Ronald Albert Lariviere

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Notes on Real Estate

By John Clunan

In the previous Notes on Real Estate I gave a brief overview of buyer's brokerage. One of the key elements to buyer's brokerage is selecting a competent broker. Purchasing a home is an emotional and a financially draining endeavor and just as you would not randomly pick a lawyer to represent you, you should not haphazardly select a broker. What follows is a list of tips that should be helpful when selecting a broker:

1) You should feel completely comfortable with your agent. This will make the whole process of purchasing a home a lot easier for you as well as the agent.

2) If possible try to find an agent who specializes in the area you are interested in.

3) Does your broker have access to the local Mutliple Listing Service? If not, s/he will probably not have access to all the suitable properties that are available. You do not want to be limited just because your broker is.

4) Your agent is your personal representative and as such should be aware of not only what you want in a home, i.e. style, number of bedrooms, and so on, but also your financial situation. S/he should ask about these considerations before starting the search for your new home. If the agent does not you might consider a different agent.

5) You may not be aware of what you can or can not afford. Your broker should assist you in this determination.

6) Does your broker return calls promptly? If not, s/he might be tied up in too many other things to do the best job possible.

For information about buyer's brokerage or how Lewis & Silverman can represent you please call or write.

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AFSA ♦ NEWS

AFSA welcomes State withdrawal of psychological screening proposal

AFSA announced on March 10 that the Department of State has withdrawn its proposal on psychological screening of American diplomats bound for Eastern European posts. The decision was based largely on the recognition of "the exceptionally good record of Foreign Service employees," according to AFSA executives.

Senior department executives supported that conclusion. Dr. Paul Goff, assistant secretary for medical services at the Department of State, said, "We know our people. If they serve successfully at other posts, we think we know who is going to succeed in Eastern Europe."

"Psychological testing of the Foreign Service has always been a bad idea," said Perry Shankle, AFSA President. In protracted discussions stretching over 10 months with State Department management, AFSA has strenuously opposed subjecting Foreign Service professionals to additional tests of their fitness to serve in high risk posts. AFSA noted, however, that the department now has taken responsible steps to deal with security problems through improved counter-intelligence and security briefings of employees prior to departing for Eastern European posts.

The proposal to psychologically screen employees was the result of a recommendation of the Laird Commission, convened in the wake of the Moscow Embassy incident. Upon closer study of the events in Moscow, it has become clear to members of Congress and the executive branch that the Foreign Service was not involved with any breaches of our national security.

AFSA has actively opposed the psychological screening program both in negotiations with the State Department and on Capitol Hill, holding that such a program was unnecessary, overly intrusive, and ineffective in predicting behavior that would lead to security risks.

AFSA is pleased on behalf of its 9,300 members that the Department of State has reaffirmed its confidence in the integrity of its Foreign Service employees.

Retiring retirement chief honored

Approximately 150 of Gertrude Wieckoski's supervisors, colleagues, and friends gathered for a luncheon at the Ft. McNair Officers Club on February 23 to commemorate her retirement from the department after 30 years' service, the last 12 as chief of the Retirement Division.

"Trudy" was accorded warm tributes by a group of speakers headed by George S. Vest, director general of the Foreign Service. She was praised for her competence and compassion in administering what is regarded as one of the most efficient and responsive retirement programs in the federal service.

Ambassador Vest presented Weickoski with a special award from former Secretary Shultz, and both AFSA and DACOR presented her with inscribed certificates of appreciation for her many years of devoted service to the Foreign Service retiree community.

New benefit to AFSA members: hotel discounts

AFSA is delighted to announce a new agreement between the State Plaza Hotel and the association, offering significantly reduced rates to AFSA members. Those planning a trip to Washington, or needing a temporary home during summer transfers won't want to miss this exceptional offer.

Located just across the street from the department (and next to the Foreign Service Club), the State Plaza Hotel is newly renovated and features full kitchens in all rooms and laundry facilities within the building. AFSA rates are $59 (room with a queen-size bed) and $79 (suite with a queen-sized bed and queen-sized sofabed), available between June 15 and September 10. Children's cots are offered at no extra charge. Favorable rates will be available during the rest of the year also; contact State Plaza for details.

Those familiar with the Washington D.C. area will realize what an outstanding offer this is. The hotel is convenient to Metro, the Kennedy Center, the White House, Georgetown, monuments, and much more. Take advantage of the Foreign Service Club for lunch or special functions—it is located just two doors away.

Reservations can be made with the State Plaza Hotel directly: 2117 E Street N.W., Washington D.C. 20037 800/424-2859 (toll-free) or 202/861-8200. Telex: 140181 (Wayside).

Foreign aid: a new approach and a new act?

By Richard S. Thompson
Professional Issues Coordinator

Although experts believe reforms in U.S. foreign assistance are needed, it will be difficult to bring them about, according to a discussion at an AFSA luncheon on February 23 at the Foreign Service Club.

The three panel members, Dr. Richard E. Bissell, AID assistant administrator for program and policy coordination, Dr. George Ingram, senior staff consultant, House Foreign Affairs Committee, and Dr. Lewis Gulick, representative of The Phoenix Group, stressed in their opening remarks that the Foreign Assistance Act as now written includes too many objectives and should be rewritten, and that the aid program has become too involved with process, as distinguished from results.

Bissell noted that AID Administrator Alan Woods has campaigned for a new FAA, a need which has been recognized in a series of recent reports by various groups. Bissel identified two key issues: the legal framework, including priorities set by Congress; and the need to accurately reflect the constituencies concerned with assistance. The first agenda is between the executive branch and Congress, while the second is between the government and the American people. In his article in the February FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, Bissell had laid out a number of concerns that must be dealt with, such as problems with functional accounts and the need for improved coordination within the U.S. government. Bissell concluded that discussions in Washington and with constituencies throughout the United States are needed to arrive at a new consensus, which should be reflected in new legislation.

Ingram said that those who established the Task Force on Foreign Assistance of the House Foreign Affairs Committee a year ago were at that time unaware that similar frustrations were sparking similar efforts by other bodies. The task force report represents a consensus of the views heard from many sources over the course of a year. Its major findings are that AID has too many objectives, that a way must be found to reduce paperwork and emphasize the impact of assistance rather than detailed accountability, and AID or a new agency must be given flexibility to respond to the needs of receiving states. Greater coordination of U.S. assistance is needed in Washington with other economic policies, with other bilateral and multilateral donors, and, in the field, with other U.S. programs.

Ingram warned that new legislation this year would require drafting a bill in the next two months, but the administration is not yet prepared and private organizations would need longer than that to arrive at a consensus. However, those interested on the Hill will make a strong effort, he added.

Gulick described The Phoenix Group as an ad-hoc organization formed about a year ago by individuals with development experience. The group's recent report concluded that there must be more emphasis on results rather than process, greater concentration on a few areas in which the United States performs best, a reduction in full-fledged AID missions overseas in favor of bi-national task forces, improved U.S. government coordination by a Cabinet-level council, a new assistance agency, a new foreign assistance act, and "no year" appropriations for assistance.

Much of the discussion period focused on restoring a consensus among the executive branch, Congress, and constituencies. Bissell asserted that the American people support the idea of helping people in need, but are skeptical of the ability of the government to deliver. Congress has had similar skepticism, resulting in detailed requirements for accountability. In his view, the executive branch needs to build trust with Congress, which in turn will help build support among the American people.

Ingram added the hope that, if Congress will simplify procedures, the administration will pay more attention to congressional views. He does not believe the constituency for development assistance is weakening, especially in view of the expansion of the environmental movement.



A full house listens to the AID discussion at an AFSA luncheon.

Gulick suggested that assistance programs, if carefully explained, can be justified to taxpayers in terms of the national interest. A new law and a narrower focus would strengthen the support of constituencies.

In reply to the oft-heard question of why the U.S. does not simply pay rent for bases instead of using the cumbersome foreign assistance procedures, Ingram responded that this idea had been considered at length by the task force, but was rejected because Congress would demand accountability even for base rent. Gulick noted that The Phoenix Group felt military assistance should be administered by the Department of Defense, economic aid provided for political reasons should be administered by the State Department, and development assistance should be administered by a new agency.

Another suggestion was that the U.S. simply funnel its assistance through the multilateral financial institutions. Bissell replied that the World Bank is effective with large infrastructure loans, but is not capable of carrying out field-based programs in which the U.S. has a leadership role. Furthermore, our national interests can be reflected in our bilateral programs. The meeting was chaired by Wendell Morse, a member of the AID Standing Committee of AFSA. □

State Standing Committee

Put our money on the professionals

In its edition of March 4, 1989, *The Economist* printed an article entitled "Ambassadors—What price Monaco?" It began like this:

"'To the victor go the spoils' is an enduring political adage, and among the richest spoils of American politics are ambassadorships. New presidents treat glamorous postings like baubles to be handed out to friends and campaign contributors. Qualifications (or lack of them) are seldom considered.

"For all his stern talk about government ethics, President Bush is handing out the prizes as merrily as any predecessor. Two Florida property-developers and campaign contributors, Mr. Joseph Zappala and Mr.Mel Sembler, are to be ambassadors to Spain and Australia, respectively. Other beaming campaign workers include Mr.Fred Bush (no relation) who will get Luxembourg, Mr. Peter Secchia (Italy), Mrs. Della Newman (New Zealand) and Mr. Joseph Gildenhorn (Switzerland)."

Why should the United States, as *The Economist* observes, be the only rich country to exchange ambassadorships for campaign money? If any readers know the answer to that question, please send it along. In the meantime, it seems important for AFSA to keep calling for high level appointments to be only from those best qualified to serve in the particular position in consideration. We are not saying that any career Foreign Service officer can *always* beat any outside candidate on qualifications: we acknowledge the contributions to the United States and to the Foreign Service of numbers of political appointees who have brought especially beneficial skills to the conduct of diplomacy. Nonetheless, if we had as level a playing field in ambassadorial appointments as we are calling for in our international trade relations, we would put our money on the experienced foreign affairs professional almost every time.

In the last administration, the proportion of outsiders to career people in plum assignments approached 40 percent. Why is it that the United States, alone of rich and powerful countries, can be so cavalier about the qualities of its ambassadors? Is it that we think our friends and allies will do what we want them to do anyway and that our adversaries will not, regardless of the quality of our representation?

If so, the dawning diplomatic era may give us another think coming. We don't have all the political and economic marbles now: other countries have come to be rich and powerful and have good ideas and decent moral codes too. Especially with the blooming of Gorbachevian diplomacy from our principal adversary, it no longer is as self-evident to our friends and allies as it perhaps once was that the only way to get along is to go along with the United States. In the new era, the United States may have to (gasp!) persuade other countries to agree with our point of view. Who is going to do the persuading?

Now, more than ever before, the United States needs a strong diplomatic establishment. We need an excellent Foreign Service and State Department led by the best qualified individuals we can find to serve at home and abroad. How about it, Mr. President?

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1989 candidates for AFSA election announced

The following candidacies have been received by the AFSA Elections Committee during the nomination season specified in the 1989 election call. The order in which candidates' names appear was determined by lot drawing.

President:
Theodore S. Wilkinson (Continuity and Renewal Slate)
Hartford T. Jennings

State Vice President:
Charles Schmitz (Continuity and Renewal Slate)

AID Vice President:
Charles Uphaus (Continuity and Renewal Slate)

USIA Vice President:
Vance Pace (Continuity and Renewal Slate)

Secretary:
Perry Shankle (Continuity and Renewal Slate)

Treasurer:
Michael Davila (Continuity and Renewal Slate)
Samuel T. Mok

AID Constituency (two representatives):
Samuel Scott (Continuity and Renewal Slate)
Wendell Morse (Continuity and Renewal Slate)

Retired Constituency (three representatives):
John J. Harter
L. Bruce Laingen (Continuity and Renewal Slate)
David Schneider (Continuity and Renewal Slate)

State Constituency (five representatives):
Ross Quan (Continuity and Renewal Slate)
Purnell Delly (Continuity and Renewal Slate)
Michael Cotter (Continuity and Renewal Slate)
Eileen Heaphy (Continuity and Renewal Slate)

For Agriculture, Commerce, and USIA constituency representatives (one each), no nominations were received.

Scholarships

Merit Awards to honor Dawn Cuthell

Cristin K. Springet
Scholarship Administrator



This year the AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards are in honor of Dawn Cuthell, who made the Foreign Service her life and career for more than 25 years. Dawn would be the first to praise the invaluable contribution that the spouse of a Foreign Service employee makes both at home and abroad. She herself, by using her talents and expertise in a variety of settings worldwide, has typified the initiative and enthusiasm of the Foreign Service.

Overseas, Dawn worked both professionally and as a volunteer in programs including the Queen's Orphanage program in Athens, the Crippled Children's Hospital in Manila, the Eversley Childs Leprosarium in Cebu, the American Women's Social Work Center in Istanbul, and the Turkish-American Bookmobile program for village schools around Ankara. Dawn also worked on Red Cross training boards overseas and was a school board member at every post.

In the U.S., Dawn developed and administered programs at the Hannah Harrison School of the YMCA, and the Beauvoir School summer program. She also worked as legislative liaison with Common Cause.

Dawn feels that it was an honor to administer the Scholarship Programs because "it is the only program dedicated to helping our peripatetic Foreign Service students. They deserve our support and admiration." Dawn left the role of scholarship administrator to attend Mount Holyoke College where she is pursuing a degree in environmental science.



Dawn Cuthell, reporting to the Education Committee when she was scholarship administrator.

AID Standing Committee

Career counseling for AID employees

The Foreign Service Act of 1980 required AID to establish a career development program to assure that members of the Foreign Service obtain the skills and knowledge required at appropriate stages in their careers. By January 1985, the Career Development Branch (CD) was set up and fully staffed to handle all (non-EPAP) employees. In spite of this available service, however, AFSA has been advised that not all employees are effectively utilizing this office.

Employees may hesitate to approach career counselors because they are located within the Office of Personnel Management (M/PM). Employees also may not be fully aware of the service provided by the counselors. In an effort to explore the mission of the Career Development Branch, members of AFSA's AID Standing Committee met with AID's career counselors.

Steve Ryner, Chief of CD, defines career development as the process of selecting the proper mix of assignments and training to ensure professional growth. He views career counseling as the holistic development of a person's career and any aspect of his life that affects his career. This may include the spouse, the spouse's career, children's education, as well as the employee's career goals.

Employees should establish a working relationship with their career development officer (CDO). In strictly *confidential* sessions with them, employees can discuss personal matters that may support or detract from their career, e.g., job burn-out, a family crisis, tandem couple issues, aging parents, etc.

The career counselor's role as advocate on behalf of employees serves to enhance communication between employees and M/PM. "It's another line of communication," advises Tom Ward, a four-year veteran counselor and a member of AID's training review committee. "We feel we have to work together and be straightforward with an employee. If the employee has any areas that appear to need strengthening, we will be honest and candid so that the employee can make an effort to improve in these areas and/or develop realistic aspirations."

Ward adds, however, that "the biggest challenge of the program is walking the fine line between being the advocate of the employee and meeting the needs of the agency. Nevertheless, we have been very successful during the last two years in matching employee desires against available positions."

"Working for employees is not just telling them what they want to hear," Steve Ryner points out, "it's advising them on areas of performance that could be improved." He adds that an employee often hears about an area needing improvement for the first time from a counselor because many supervisors find it difficult to be candid with subordinates. This lack of candor is a great disservice to the employee and to AID. "We make a great effort to be honest," he says, "even if it hurts!" There is always room for improvement, and CDOs will work with employees to help turn negative perceptions around and help them work through problems and develop strategies to create change.

Career counseling can help with a wide range of problems anywhere. "We can't change an employee's work environment," notes CDO Cecilia Pitas, "but we can have a positive effect if the employee realizes that he has an input into the overall system." Many times people just need someone to talk to who knows the options available.

Employees needing special assistance are referred to Carole Jones, a clinical social worker, who serves as CD's professional counselor. Jones also serves as a referral source to community services within the greater Washington area and as a liaison with Employee Consultation Service counselors and with the State Department's alcohol and drug abuse program coordinator. These two offices are located in the State building and may also be contacted directly by any AID employee. While both programs address special medical issues, ECS also offers a wide range of *confidential* counseling services, including assessments of children with special learning needs and their placement in boarding schools. "They are there to help, but relatively few employees know what they can do," Jones adds.

Counselors also know of many support groups in the Washington metropolitan area that may be helpful to employees regardless of their special needs. For example, women employees may be interested in the activities of the Women's Action Organization (WAO) and the Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW). Black employees may be interested in attending meetings of the Thursday Luncheon Group, a forum through which a variety of minority issues are addressed.

Apart from their role as advisers, counselors participate in the assignment process by working closely with M/PM placement officers, Bureau executive management staff and other offices to ensure that employee career development needs are addressed at assignment time. The counselors have one vote on the Assignment Board. Ken Martin, CDO, urges, therefore, "that employees contact us before they submit their COARS." An employee must "be in touch with reality in terms of what is and is not possible in the bidding process and the CDO is fully prepared to discuss options with each employee." Overseas employees are reminded that calls to their CDOs and ECS counselors are considered official business.

Career counselors are located in Room 1140, Columbia Plaza. Appointments are recommended.

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Helena, Montana

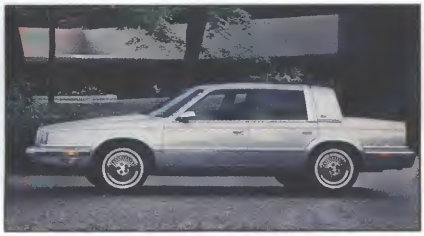
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