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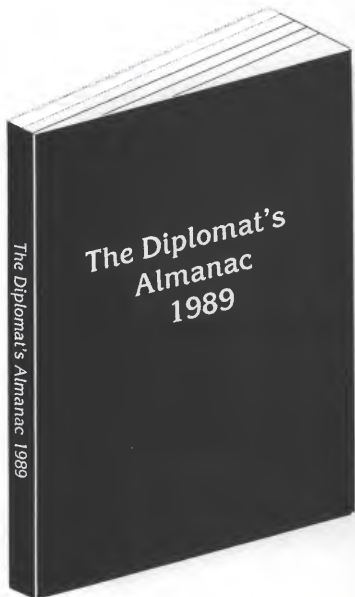
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Ferch responds to Abrams

After Elliott Abrams had removed me as ambassador to Honduras, I decided to limit myself to one public statement. But his most recent explanation for why I was removed contained in his response to the excerpt of Frank McNeil's book, "War and Peace in Central America" (JOURNAL, March 1989), has now caused me to reverse that decision. McNeil's account of my relations with Abrams is broadly correct but omits some of the details that convey the full sense of how Abrams treated so many Foreign Service officers and then attempted to deny such treatment.

Abrams, in the JOURNAL, writes that "Ferch has said that he was totally loyal to and supportive of U.S. policy in Central America, and I not only believe his assurance but saw with my own eyes that it is accurate." Contrast this

statement with his actions and accusations in late 1985, alluded to by McNeil. In December 1985, I was ordered to Washington for consultations with no explanation as to why. When I met with Abrams the evening of December 9, I initiated the conversation by asking why he had ordered me to Washington. Abrams replied, without preamble, "There is a perception around town that you don't support the administration." Taken aback, I asked for examples of my lack of support. Abrams merely replied that there was a "perception." I asked again and got the same answer. Finally, I asked whether he shared this unsupported "perception." Abrams replied, "If you say you support the administration I will believe you." By this time my emotions were passing from shock to anger. I told him that as a career officer "I support this administration as have

I supported all others." The conversation ended with Abrams inviting me to attend a meeting the next day of the Restricted Regional Interdepartmental Group (RRIG) for Central America. I returned, fuming, to the home of Foreign Service friends and told them that I had just been the subject of a "McCarthyite attack!"

On December 10, I attended the RRIG meeting in Abrams's office. Oliver North and Alan Fiers were there and Abrams chaired. The conversation focused rather vaguely on the need for tighter on-site control of the contras in Honduras. I sensed that I was being put on the spot, that they were seeking to determine whether I would volunteer to assume responsibility for such tighter on-site control. However, I was not prepared to answer without more considered thought. I returned to Tegucigalpa and reviewed the situation

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confronting me, reading what I could find about the Boland Amendment. Obviously, I couldn't turn to Abrams for guidance since it was he who had put me on the spot. I therefore concluded that I should formalize the problem. I sent Abrams a back channel cable referring to the RRIG meeting and agreeing to take responsibility for relations with the contras in Honduras. However, I concluded by explaining that "I would be more comfortable about my new assignment if you would put my instructions in writing." My reasoning was self-evident; if instructions could be formally conveyed, I could assume that they were consistent with relevant legislation. Abrams never replied to this message, and I never received any instructions relative to the contras.

About three weeks after I sent the message, a reporter from *The Christian Science Monitor* told me that his sources

in Washington had just criticized me for "not holding your country in line." My slide to removal had begun, and it ended two days after Congress voted lethal assistance for the contras in June 1986. (The above quotes come from my personal records made at the time. Although unaware then of the secret side of the contra project, I understood that the treatment I had received was prompted by something more than a conflict of personalities, and that I would be wise to keep notes.)

In retrospect, the episode could be seen as inevitable. The Iran-contra scandal subsequently revealed that Richard Secord's secret support operation had begun in November 1985. Presumably, those in Washington responsible for the operation felt that it could not be hidden indefinitely from the ambassador in Honduras and that he, accordingly, had to be brought on board. However, they apparently already had doubts

about me. The station chief, in late October 1985, told me that some in Washington were criticizing me for failing to reverse a government of Honduras decision to prevent approved humanitarian assistance from transiting Honduras. That decision had been made by then-President Roberto Suazo Cordova after I helped thwart his efforts to cancel the November presidential elections and thus remain in office. My actions were taken pursuant to the embassy's formally approved priority objective: the strengthening of civilian constitutional government through the transfer of power from the Suazo administration to another civilian, elected administration. (The details of my clash with Suazo make a fascinating story but one beyond this account. Suffice it to say that two major U.S. objections were in conflict and the frustration level in Washington was pushing the boiling point.) I presume now that

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given such doubts and frustrations, Abrams, North, Fiers and others responsible for the contras concluded that I had to be tested.

For the record, I did support our publicly stated policy regarding Nicaragua. I felt that the Sandinistas would not agree to a regional peace settlement, such as the Contadora Treaty, unless we pushed them to it with economic, diplomatic, and military pressure. I also felt, and told Abrams just before beginning my assignment as ambassador, that government of Honduras support for our regional policy could be best obtained through a less "pro-consular approach" by the embassy. In line with that conclusion, I said that I intended to pursue a public diplomacy stressing economic development and the coming elections. (Yes, in my naiveté, I really did tell Abrams that! He must even then have begun questioning whether I was the man to hold

Honduras in line on the policy that already obsessed him.)

Abrams obviously could not discuss this complex background openly when explaining my removal. At first his effort was contradictory and fumbling, as revealed by the press reporting of the time. Those press reports quoted anonymous department sources asserting that I didn't get along with the Honduran military, or that I didn't get along with the Hondurans (period), or that I didn't get along with the CIA, or that morale was bad at post, or etc. After these initial contradictory charges, Abrams focused on alleged mismanagement of the post. In September 1986, two months after my removal, he articulated this rationale in a memo to Michael Armacoșt, who had been tasked by the secretary with explaining to me why I was removed. Not surprisingly, Abrams's rationale as it has evolved up to this day includes asser-

tions that he had frequently counseled me about management problems and had even called me to Washington in early December 1985 to discuss problems of coordination and morale in the mission resulting from my "single-minded focus on ensuring a democratic transition"(!). While I can only guess what Abrams had earlier told the secretary in persuading him to approve my removal, his current reconstruction of his views about my "loyalty" and the subject matter of the December 1985 meeting suggests that his argument must have been a creative one. He has demonstrated a remarkable capacity to rewrite history. For myself, I have no intention of engaging in a point by point rebuttal of his rationale. My record of 30 years and the support of my colleagues who served with me in Tegucigalpa are sufficient testimony.

One final note about revisionism. In

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his response to McNeil, Abrams says that, "as to the notion that we in Washington tried to force Tegucigalpa into requesting help it neither wanted nor needed, that version is Ferch's." The "version" of events that so disturbs Abrams came from the GAO, verified for me by both Honduran President Azcona and the embassy officer who acted during my illness.

Abrams, on a hurried visit to Tegucigalpa, March 21, 1986 (two days before the Palm Sunday incursion by the Sandinista army attacking a contra camp), had offered Azcona both military and accelerated economic assistance. According to Azcona, Abrams explained the offer as a means of demonstrating U.S. government commitment in the wake of Congress' rejection of lethal assistance for the contras March 19. When the Sandinista army on Palm Sunday crossed the border, the government of Honduras did ask

us to transport their troops by helicopter to the area. In responding positively to that request, Abrams also insisted that President Azcona request formally and in writing the military assistance that he, Abrams, had offered two days before. The Hondurans were reluctant to do so because they feared such a written request would lead to an unraveling of their policy of denying the existence of the contra camps (which it ultimately did) and because they were puzzled and perhaps irritated that Abrams seemed to have upped the price of his Friday offer. A bit of humor was hidden in this episode in that Abrams apparently had forgotten that our ESF economic assistance to Honduras had already been accelerated and thus was not available in March 1986 for demonstrating our "commitment."

My encounter with Abrams thus extended throughout most of my assignment and continued after my removal.

In all aspects it demonstrates Abrams' low regard for the standards of conduct maintained by the career service. First my loyalty was challenged without supporting evidence. Then arguments were fabricated to secure and subsequently explain my removal. And finally, efforts were made to keep me from positions where my expertise might have an impact, no matter how indirectly, on the underlying policy objective of our Central American policy. Abrams even intervened personally, though unsuccessfully, to prevent my assignment as a foreign policy adviser to Senator Bill Bradley.

No one anticipates ending his or her career in this fashion, but I must say there has been a positive side, found in the many expressions of support from colleagues and associates. Perhaps the one I most appreciate came from President Azcona. Speaking to the press after my removal and in response to a



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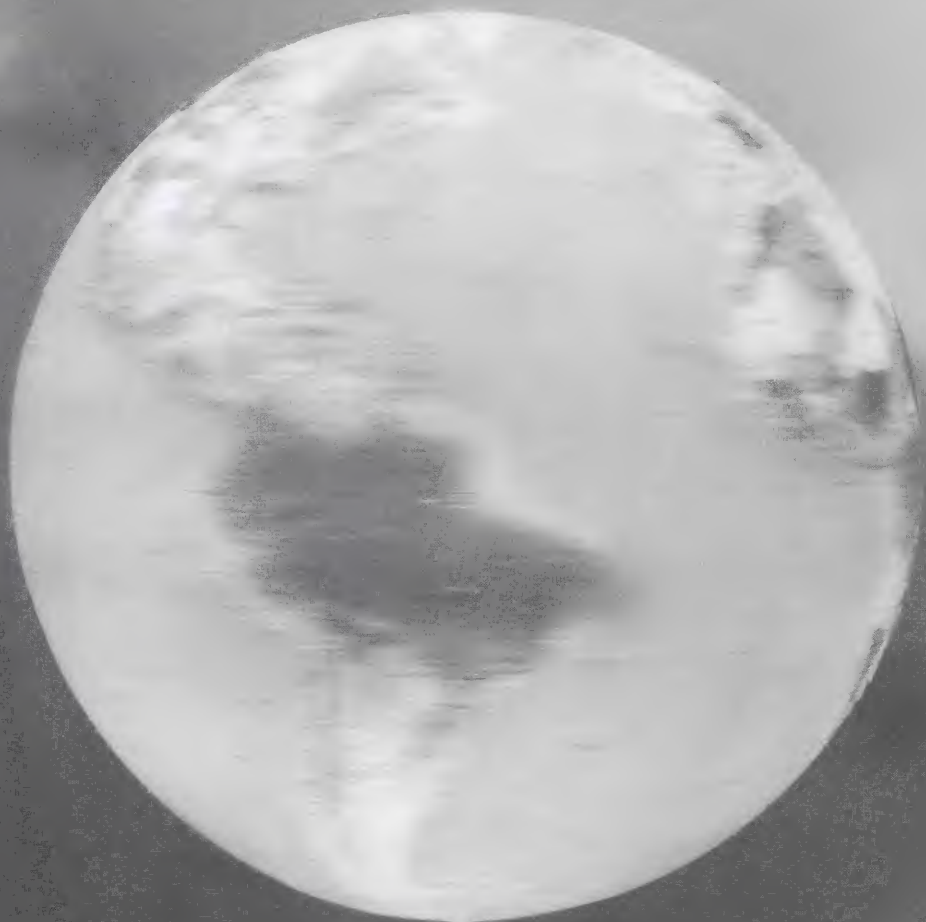
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question concerning the implications for bilateral relations, he said, "Honduras is sovereign and independent, and I think that any ambassador who comes from the United States will have to establish a relationship respecting the dignity of Honduras, as did Mr. Ferch." That is a compliment that any professional diplomat would be proud to receive.

*John A. Ferch
Washington, D.C.*

The Ghost of McCarthy

It was good to learn from Elliott Abrams that some FSOs liked him [JOURNAL, March 1989]. It was disappointing not to hear from him anything regarding the substance of what Frank McNeil said about the conduct of our Central American policy during Abrams's tenure. It wouldn't seem to

require an "exhaustive review of the evidence" for him to respond to some of McNeil's specifics, instead of attributing them to bitterness.

I guess we'll have to draw our own conclusions. It shouldn't be too hard.

*William D. Broderick
Arlington, Virginia*

If a man from Mars had alighted in Foggy Bottom in time to read the JOURNAL's intriguing but frustrating debate on allegations of McCarthyism in the State Department, he would have said, "Take me to your leaders. Where were they while this was going on?"

Long before the Iran-contra conspiracy blew up in our face, it was evident that Oliver North and Elliott Abrams were the point men in their respective agencies, both pushing ideological agendas that resulted in one catastrophe after another for America's interests south

of the border. Today it still is not clear whether these *simpatico* activists were pushing identical or parallel agendas, nor is it clear whether North and Abrams were principal actors or designated fall guys.

Long-suppressed indignation is [now] surfacing. But candor is still being rationed. As a political appointee, one the right-wingers could feel comfortable with, Abrams was an assistant secretary for all eight years of the Reagan era. During much of that time Latin America was the scene of some of the administration's worst debacles. Yet so far, no one of any great stature has asked why Secretary Shultz or President Reagan did not bid Abrams goodbye, why they permitted this unsuccessful ideologue, described as a junior-grade McCarthy, to continue to wield power.

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not shed too much light on this aspect of the controversy. . . . Neo-McCarthyism was rampant in ARA, as he saw it, yet McNeil did not think it was a matter the secretary should be worrying about? As Abrams, in an otherwise perfunctory rebuttal, pointed out, "No assistant secretary can decide to remove an ambassador . . . the secretary did."

Was Abrams Shultz's man? Or was he Reagan's man, or the CIA's man, or the far right's man, or his own man? Now we have a new administration. Can we relax? Is this ideology fixation safely behind us? Thinking that we had heard the last of Abrams . . . I was startled to read that one of the briefers for Vice President Quayle before he

embarked for Venezuela was none other than Elliott Abrams. What was he doing still throwing the weight of his political constituency around?

*Richard Patrick Wilson
Mobile, Alabama*

Top Marks for Elliott

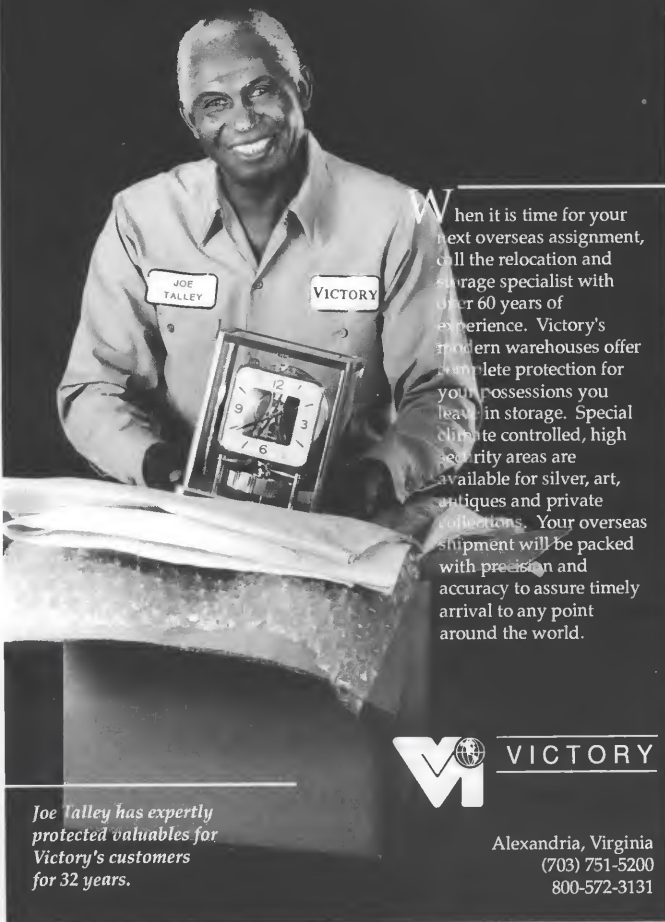
I began my present job in ARA after the contretemps discussed in the exchange between McNeil and Abrams. In addition, my responsibilities do not bring me directly into the controversy over the policies relevant to Central America. So, I cannot and do not claim insights into these issues, personal or professional.

What I can speak to is the manner in which Elliott Abrams managed his bureau, and about his personal attributes. From my perspective, Elliott deserves top marks. One of my first impressions was of his compassion. At the time, a junior officer in the bureau became ill. Elliott had taken several hours out of his busy schedule to visit that officer in the hospital. In my experience, few of his Foreign Service counterparts would have done so. His loyalty to his carefully chosen staff was legendary. In his response to McNeil, he notes a bit of the record of those lieutenants who moved on to other positions of high responsibility.

In times past, personnel evaluations frequently commented that "the rated officer does not suffer fools gladly." That applied in spades to Elliott Abrams. His incisiveness, efficiency, and determination did not permit of wasted time and effort. Many, obviously to include Ambassador McNeil, disagreed with Elliott's ideology and policies. There were and should always be honest differences of opinion about such important policy matters as Central America. But to transfer this into a debate over the manner in which Elliott dealt with the career service is unjustly to malign his character.

*David Zweifel
Washington, D.C.*

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Books

A Fate Worse Than Debt By Susan George. Grove Press, 1988.

Susan George has written a fervent and lucid book, which could expand interest in the arcane and usually dry subject of international debt. Nevertheless, the book is flawed by errors in the use of key economic concepts and George's self-righteous presumptions that exported growth is a harmful paradigm and that pursuing the goal of income equality will eliminate poverty.

George correctly recognizes that a panoply of actors played a role in the combination of ignorance, stupidity, avarice, and plain bad luck that caused a massive accumulation of developing country debt. Developing country elites, international bankers, rising interest rates, and declines in commodity prices all cross the stage. While many threads of this story have been fre-

quently told before, George combines them into an interesting tapestry of greed and foolishness.

George reserves her most virulent rage, however, for the International Monetary Fund, which she portrays as the chief villain in a worldwide "consortium" that protects existing power structures while ensuring that the world's poorest bear the brunt of adjustment and repayment. The contention that IMF's conditions are unnecessarily harsh and lead to food riots and social upheaval has been raised elsewhere, though not normally in such harsh terms. While *insisting* that she is not subscribing to a conspiracy theory and avoiding that discredited term "establishment," many of George's arguments recall a bygone intellectual era.

As may be inevitable in a world of seemingly insoluble problems, George's recommendations are the most disap-

pointing part of the book. They consist largely of a series of massive resource transfers, among them so-called investments in ecology and culture, payment of a "fair price" for commodities (their 1979-80 peak), and a curious proposal for countries to repay debt by increasing imports from lender countries in proportion to their debt holdings. Even among those who favor increasing development assistance, few would advocate using the money in the ways George proposes. Such transfers, like the military cutbacks she advocates, must stand on their own merits.

Nevertheless, despite its shortcomings the book is worth reading. It sheds further light on a geopolitical issue likely to remain with us for the remainder of the century, an issue too important to be left only to technocrats. It also reminds us that human lives lie behind those cold statistics, which are

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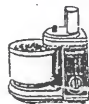
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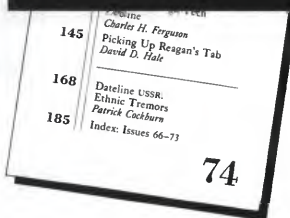
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Books

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Fred McEldowny

The 1992 Challenge from Europe: Development of the European Community's Internal Market

By *Michael Calingaert, National Planning Association, 1988.*

This is an excellent guidebook by a Foreign Service colleague, useful for the professional who needs to understand what the European Community 1992 program is and where the broadly defined U.S. interests lie in it. It is also the best survey yet on the specific issues raised for American business, whether as investors or traders, and

should be required reading for all U.S. government officials whose duties in the next few years will involve them in European relations, and those with detailed responsibilities for economic and commercial affairs (especially the definition of the problems and opportunities for American business). It is also a highly readable overview of the project, with perceptive insights on the broader economic and political implications for those who may only require a good introduction.

Calingaert's conclusions are guardedly optimistic that the European Community will not implode into a "fortress Europe," but are tempered with a realistic admonition that we should not take this for granted. He correctly warns that the "new dynamism and increased competition will result in dislocations that will create protectionist pressures" that can only be "compounded by the strong tradition of regu-

lation and protection in the E.C." There are countervailing forces within the community, but they will need the reinforcement of firm, coherent, and creative responses from the United States and other outsiders to prevail.

Robert Morris

William Fulbright and the Vietnam War: The Dissent of a Political Realist

By *William C. Berman. The Kent State University Press, 1988.*

J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from 1959-1975, was probably the most prominent congressional critic of the American war in Vietnam. However, until 1965, Fulbright strongly supported American efforts to create and defend an independent anti-communist state in South Vietnam, and even served

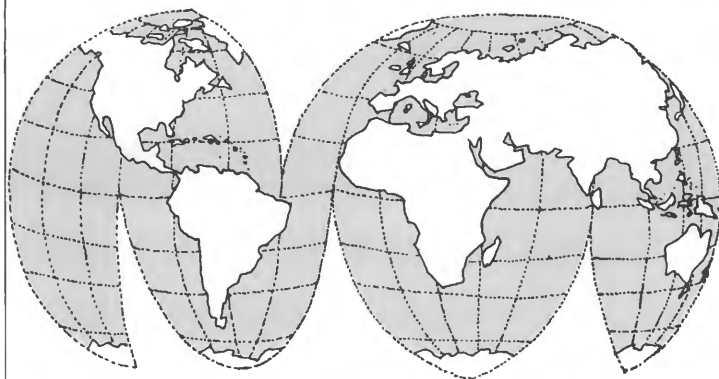
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as the floor manager for the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin resolution, which functioned as a de facto declaration of war. But in early 1966, Fulbright publicly broke with the prevailing consensus and thereafter became a leading critic not merely of U.S. policy in Indochina, but of the underlying assumptions that had shaped American diplomacy for two decades.

American foreign policy, Fulbright came to believe, had become excessively militarized, its commitments unwisely universal. Fulbright's dissent, Berman writes, constituted "an attack on globalism from within the realist tradition," which ultimately meant that the Arkansas Democrat quarreled with the Johnson administration not so much because he opposed LBJ's objectives in Vietnam, but because he believed that the president's tactics were unlikely to achieve those objectives.

This book is neither a full-fledged biography of Fulbright, nor a study of

the war in Vietnam, but rather a study of how the war in Indochina shaped Fulbright's foreign policy views and political behavior. At times one wishes for a somewhat broader focus. For instance, Berman devotes but a single paragraph to the 1968 senatorial primary in Arkansas, even though Fulbright's 53 percent vote total was remarkably low for a sitting senator and suggests that many Arkansas Democrats harbored reservations about their junior senator. Were these doubts related to Fulbright's highly publicized anti-war stance? If so, how far was Fulbright prepared to follow a politically dangerous course for the sake of principle?

At the same time, Berman's account raises interesting and important questions about Congress's role in the making of U.S. foreign policy, and about the perpetual conflict between the insider and the outsider in the battle to shape American policy. Fulbright re-

sisted breaking with Johnson because he rightly feared losing his standing as an insider, and thus influencing U.S. policy. For all his dissent, Fulbright was a man of the system, seeking to work within that system. Therein lay his strength, but also his weakness, for year after year neither the Senate nor the system it embodied was able to stop an unpopular war.

Robert M. Hathaway

Confronting the Third World: United States Foreign Policy, 1945-1980

By Gabriel Kolko, Pantheon Books, 1988.

Although I've often been critical of our policies toward Third World nations, I find that—compared to Professor Kolko—I'm a shameless apologist. If one is to take him seriously, the American record in the Third World for the past 40-odd years has been one of vir-

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Books

tually unbroken malevolence.

Kolko's book follows the separate paths pursued by our policymakers in Latin America, South and Southeast Asia, Africa and the Middle East. The narrative takes the reader through the immediate postwar wave of European decolonization and on to the Iran fiasco and our intervention in Central America. The absence of two major areas—China and Vietnam—actually helps the book, permitting more attention to less over-analyzed areas such as Southern Africa, Peru, Indonesia, and our own adventures in decolonization in the Philippines. This approach could well have produced a useful overview of America and the Third World. Unfortunately, it doesn't come out that way because Kolko is so intent on showing the United States as an obsessed bully that the story is skewed and facts distorted.

He starts from the premise that our approach to the Third World has been motivated from the outset by two basic elements: an obsessive anti-communism and a determination to dominate the Third World economically, gaining control of "whatever wealth [the United States] desires—hegemony rather than cooperation." The process of making this point leads Kolko into some distinctly odd assertions. After describing how we sponsored the murder of Allende, Kolko then tells us that Washington decided "a brutally repressive regime was essential to America's interests" in Chile. In the Middle East, meanwhile, the United States has been busily "replacing British hegemony over the region with its own." Back home, he asserts, "we live constantly with the tensions and costs of the United States' aggressive foreign policy." Although Kolko actually does make a number of good points when dissecting some of our less praiseworthy Third World initiatives, the endless repetition of this sort of thing buries them under the flood of invective.

Kolko offers a fairly common academic-based viewpoint, one that holds the United States to be the primary

obstacle to legitimate Third World aspirations. While one is tempted to dismiss these demon-America advocates as no less simple-minded than those who portray us as the unflinching champion of the world's downtrodden, they do have a following and will no doubt endure. For those who have to deal with this particular form of criticism, Kolko's book provides a handy digest of its arguments and its anatomy. Just don't lose your temper.

Edward Ingraham

Iran: At War with History

By John Limbert. Westview Press, 1987.

John Limbert, who served in Iran and eventually became a hostage, has written an extremely sensitive and complete description of Iranian political and cultural evolution. He accurately outlines the suppression of the more genuinely Iranian spirit of tolerance by the "prevail-

ing fury and obscurantism."

He sees Khomeini and his followers as essentially anti-modernist, driven into revolt by the shah's efforts to modernize the country. Though his description of the revolution is short, that and his analysis of the Islamic republic trace the triumph first of the revolutionary coalition, then of the radicals.

Limbert notes that Iran's foreign policy since the revolution has appeared particularly erratic, but the Islamic republic has consistently held to three principles: no association with either great power bloc; militantly ideological Islam as the basis of foreign policy; and championship of the world's oppressed against the "world's arrogance" (all great powers).

Limbert believes Iran's better nature will eventually reassert itself, reminding us that "the essential Iranian identity has already endured fearsome invasions . . . survived the horrors of

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Changiz and Agha Mohammad. Next to those murderers, Khomcini and his followers are small-time miscreants." A good bit of perspective!

John D. Stempel

The Silent Meteor

By John Bovey, Crane, Barnstable, MA, 1987.

There is something for everyone in this engaging collection of short stories by a Foreign Service officer. Set in Europe, North Africa, and America, a mosaic narrative of time and place, age and character is drawn with eloquence and sagacity.

The poignancy of separation and tragedy during World War II is depicted in the title piece, "The Silent Meteor." A refugee group of East European and Asian visa applicants are tutored in English in "At the Feet of Theodore." We get a glimpse of the private country

life of France's most notable general of our time in the charming "Charles XI." In the "Battalions of Winter," a widowed woman ambassador spends a suspenseful Vermont night entreating a suspected terrorist intruder. A young FSO finds "The Gilded Telephone" is a valuable prop. Every story is enjoyable reading.

Our attention is held throughout as we are treated to Bovey's flowing and sensuous style. His use of metaphor is clever; however, his penchant for esoteric language and references to Greek mythology seem excessive and distracting, or teasing, at least when all the stories are assembled in this small book. The author demonstrates entertainingly and with talent how each character's dealings with his or her particular encounter bears directly on background and experience in the Foreign Service.

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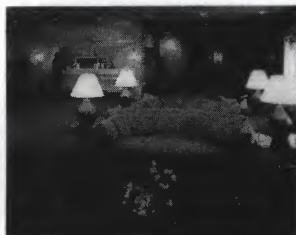


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FSJ, May 1979:

On March 7, 1979, President Carter sent a letter to Congress in which he stated his intention to create an International Development Cooperation Administration (IDCA) as an independent agency. The impetus for creating an IDCA and overhauling the administration of foreign assistance came from Congress. . . . [they] wanted a more effective assistance program, one more insulated from short-term foreign policy considerations, and a high-level spokesman for development.

IDCA: Better Results or More Layering

FSJ, May 1964:

William S. Speer, editor and supporter of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 . . . appealed to the new president for a diplomatic appointment. When Zanzibar was mentioned as a possibility, he admitted his ignorance of its location.

There were many disappointments to be faced before Speer reached his post. He had first solicited an appointment in January 1861, [but] did not receive official notification until mid-November. Speer expressed surprise and disappointment that the law did not permit the State Department to pay his traveling expenses. He then requested an appointment "nearer home and better pay."

[Later] Speer withdrew this request and on October 10, 1862, entered upon his duties in Zanzibar. Speer served only until November 27, 1862. He had found American trade with Zanzibar nearly extinguished by our Civil War. His time was spent, therefore, in the preparation of a "general report" (119 pages) on economic and political conditions and the development of the American Consulate. Speer was convinced that he had done more for the United States in his 50 days than all his predecessors in 25 years.

Our Man in Zanzibar a Century Ago
by E. Taylor Parks

FSJ, May 1939:

The secretary and Mrs. Hull left Washington on March 9 and visited Deland, Florida, returning to Washington by train on March 24. At his press conference upon his return he issued a statement declaring that he had closely followed international developments at home and abroad during his temporary absence, and that in common with the general public he had been profoundly shocked by recent developments in Europe . . . of a nature seriously to threaten the peace of the world. On March 27, he read a statement on foreign affairs for Movietone News.

On April 1, the secretary announced that he had sent a telegram to the Spanish Loyalist government expressing the disposition of the USG to establish diplomatic relations with Spain. On April 3, he received students from Denison University and on April 5, students from his alma mater, Cumberland University.

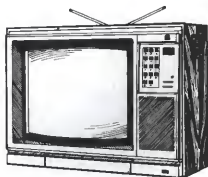
On April 6, the secretary made public an agreement made with the British for the joint control of Canton and Enderbury Islands in the Pacific. On April 7, he received the Albanian Minister, and on the following day read a statement that "the forceable and violent invasion of Albania is unquestionably an additional threat to the peace of the world."

On April 10, the secretary welcomed President Roosevelt at Union Station upon the latter's return from Warm Springs. He attended budget hearings at the capitol on April 12. The president and the secretary were principal speakers at Pan American Day ceremonies. A press conference was held on April 15 for the announcement by President Roosevelt that he had dispatched messages to both Chancellor Hitler and Premier Mussolini on the subject of world peace. On the same date the secretary attended the annual dinner of the Gridiron Club.

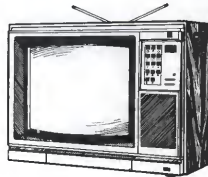
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Clippings

Semper Fidelis

Newsweek, February 13

In his efforts to gain control over the department's far-flung bureaucracy, Baker has bruised the egos of a number of elite Foreign Service officers. Some seniors FSOs fear that even if they land top policy jobs, those jobs will have less power because Baker will be relying on his inner circle instead of old department hands. Alienating the close-knit society of 3,827 FSOs is risky. "He's making us pay a helluva price now, but we'll pay him back later," says one seasoned officer, warning of possible bureaucratic warfare through leaks and end runs to other agencies.

Letters to Newsweek, March 13

In "Bush's Mr. Smooth Runs into Rough Water" (February 13), you quote a Foreign Service officer who

said the Service "will pay back" Secretary of State James A. Baker III through leaks and end runs to other agencies for his efforts to reshape the chain of command and keep a tight rein over appointments. That officer's comment, let me assure you, does not represent the sentiment of most Foreign Service officers. Anxiety levels are always high during a change of administration, but the Foreign Service understands the political process and will serve this secretary of state just as loyally as it has past secretaries—as I have personally assured Mr. Baker.

from Perry Shankle, AFSA

National Review, April 7

"The Foreign Service," writes Perry Shankle, president of the American Foreign Service Association, in a letter to the editor in *Newsweek*, "will serve this secretary of state as loyally as it has past secretaries." We feared as much.

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Clippings

Appointee Opinions

The Washington Times, March 21
Mr. Bush appears to be appointing persons who have shown loyalty over the years, not persons of extraordinary diplomatic credentials, J. Robert Schaezel [president of the National Commission on Public Service's board] said.

"Where are the Dean Achesons of today?" he asked. "You don't see any people of that stature."

He suggested that the team being assembled by the Bush administration under Secretary of State James Baker III is "innocent," lacking needed experience. Over the years, this nation's habit of appointing "totally incompetent" people to top diplomatic posts has been viewed by the rest of the world with amusement or contempt, he said, "but the world's gotten used to it."

The ratio of political appointees to

careerists in top posts at the State Department increased 40 percent during the Reagan administration and the trend appears to be continuing under Mr. Bush, he said.

"When I went to the State Department in 1945 there were four or five political appointees," he said. "Now there are 101."

by Dan Vukelich

Forbes, April 3

When the president makes big-giving friends ambassadors it's customary for a cadre of pundits and State Department "voices" to sound off about the unsoundness of the practice.

As we've said before and say again, baloney.

The country that gets an ambassador who has the ear and the gratitude of a president is usually—and wisely—grateful for the selection.

After decades of meeting many, I think there are more bureaucracy-blunted, career-ambassadorial nonentities than bull-in-a-china shop, president-buddy ambassadors.

by Malcolm S. Forbes

Uncomfortable Seats

The Washington Times, March 24
Don Newman, an under secretary at the Department of Health and Human Services, joked in a speech earlier this week that some people wonder what an "under secretary" is. "Well, it's somebody who didn't contribute enough to the RNC," he explained.

The only response was a hushed rustle as audience members shifted uncomfortably in their seats.

by John Elvin

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Although located in the State Department, the plaques are not State Department memorials. The original plaque and its successor were presented by the American Foreign Service Association (AFSA) through contributions by AFSA members. The concept of a memorial grew out of a "Roll of Honor" published in the January 1929 JOURNAL naming those who had died by violence, either natural or criminal. The list was expanded in May 1929 to include those who died at post "from diseases not encountered in the ordinary course of American life." The informal proposal at that point

memorial plaque question with the secretary of state and former secretaries.

The subcommittee reported periodically to the executive committee. For example, on March 28 the committee agreed that Boal and Ingram would add an acceptable retired officer (ultimately former Consul General Horace Lee Washington). On June 9, Boal reported "making progress" and received executive committee injunction to continue. The AFSA 1930 annual report formally stated that "The committee has given consideration to the question of obtaining a memorial tablet and has appointed a committee to institute action toward that end."

Still this was hardly a rush project. In February, Boal and Ingram proposed to seek contributions for a "Foreign Service Honor Roll". Left unresolved was the question of whether the plaque would list the names of all Foreign Service members who died in the line of duty or whether it would be restricted to those dying under "tragic or heroic circumstances."

A fundraising letter was sent only to those within the Foreign Service. Limiting contributions to only Foreign Service personnel was sufficiently a point of honor that when the consul general of Chile in New York proposed to contribute \$1 to the memorial fund, the executive committee reviewed the issue. The JOURNAL editor was directed to write a letter accepting the contribution in the "spirit" in which it was offered, while repeating that the JOURNAL was not soliciting the foreign diplomatic community for contributions.

By November 1931, sufficient contributions were on hand for the committee to authorize Boal to obtain an estimate for a plaque. The June 1932 AFSA annual report provided an update on the memorial to "those members of the Foreign Service meeting death under heroic and/or tragic circumstances," noting that contributions had reached \$1,152.48.

Contributions continued to trickle in until by November 1932, approximately \$1,350 had been collected. Ingram had secured the consent of the Commission of Fine Arts to erect the tablet and consulted with an architect, Waddy B. Wood. Wood designed the tablet—Virginia greenstone, hand-carved 'V' cut letters with gold leaf gilding, trim and base of gray marble—at a projected cost of \$1,116, not including bronze bases and flags. Wood's \$50 fee was nominal (apparently he was ultimately paid \$75), but the architectural draw-

Foreign Service Honor Roll

DAVID T. JONES

In the State Department's Diplomatic Entrance off C Street are paired marble plaques listing those Foreign Service personnel who, while on active duty, died through heroic, tragic, or other inspirational circumstances. They remind all who pass through of the potential costs of diplomatic service in the 20th century. In recent years, they have been featured prominently at Foreign Service Day, yet their history and origin remain relatively obscure. David Jones has searched through 60 years of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL to uncover the history of these plaques.

was to inscribe the names on a bronze tablet.

Transforming the concept of a memorial tablet into a reality, however, went slowly. In March 1930, the AFSA executive committee seized upon a standard bureaucratic imperative and appointed a subcommittee to investigate "a memorial plaque for the Foreign Service Honor Roll". Members included Augustus E. Ingram, Editor of the JOURNAL; and Pierre de L. Boal (clearly the stimulus for action). They had a cautious mandate: to take up the

David Jones, a member of the Senior Foreign Service, is currently an Una Chapman Cox Fellow.

The most vexing concern was who should be included on the memorial list

ings for the stone mason would take a draftsman three to four weeks at \$50 per week, which with other incidentals, would drive costs above contributions.

Nevertheless, due to the exigencies of the Depression, this was a good price. Ingram suggested discreetly approaching the secretary and assistant secretaries to make up any shortfall by affording them an "opportunity to share in the work." AFSA, however, elected to assume responsibility for any additional costs but directed the subcommittee to continue fundraising. Ultimately, Secretary Henry Stimson contributed the bronze bases and flags.

At the same November meeting, the executive committee definitively addressed the issue of qualifications for those to be listed. Ingram had recommended an inscription: "Erected by members of the American Foreign Service Association in memory of diplomatic and consular officers of the United States who lost their lives while on active duty in foreign lands." Such an inscription would by definition have included all personnel dying overseas. The executive committee stuck to its position of limiting the list and determined instead that the plaque should read: "Erected by members of the American Foreign Service Association in *honor* of diplomatic and consular officers of the United States who while

on active duty lost their lives *under heroic or tragic circumstances.*" (Differences italicized)

Work apparently progressed relatively uneventfully and the resulting tablet was officially unveiled by Secretary Stimson on March 3, 1933, at the entrance to what is now the Old Executive Office Building (then housing the State, War, and Navy Departments). A substantial portion of official Washington, executive and legislative, was invited. The secretary spoke movingly of Foreign Service "sacrifice" and the ceremony ended with "Taps" played by a Navy bugler.



he most vexing concern, over succeeding years, was the question of who should be included on the memorial list. Possible candidates were considered in 1939 and 1940, and following "lengthy discussion on all phases of the matter," the executive committee officially recorded several points, such as Secretary Stimson's 1933 memorial address, which stressed that the loss of life must have occurred "under circumstances of peculiar tragedy or peculiar heroism;" a report by the Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, noting that the AFSA memorial would honor those who had died "under peculiarly tragic or heroic circumstances;" and an AFSA executive committee judgment that to broaden the conditions and requisites "might tend to diminish the profound significance" of the memorial.

These guidelines were clearly in mind as the executive committee rejected candidates in the early 1940s who had died in automobile



Barbara Borkovitz



accidents, of blood poisoning, and of tetanus and typhoid fever. The records emphasize the delicate nature of this review, the executive committee's determination that "the fullest possible consideration be given to every case," and its commitment to avoid deciding in a perfunctory manner.

The committee was equally resolved to restrict the memorial plaque to "diplomatic and consular officers." One case considered in 1943 concerned a department civil servant lost at sea en route to Iceland on a fact-finding assignment. The committee rejected his inclusion noting *inter alia* it would "not be justified in breaking with a long tradition" which would also require review of all previous cases.

Not satisfied with the existing rules, in May 1946, a special committee reviewed the circumstances surrounding selection of names for the plaque. Willing to step on a few toes, this committee concluded that the basis for selection should be "death under peculiarly *heroic* circumstances in the performance of acts abroad, beyond and above the accepted high standard of duty." Moreover, "all American personnel of the Service," not only diplomatic and consular officers, should be eligible.

In the early days of air travel, a number of diplomatic couriers died in air crashes, but as they were not "diplomatic or consular officers," they did not qualify for retroactive inclusion on the list. They are now honored on a separate plaque at the Diplomatic Entrance. It was not until 1965 when Barbara

Robbins, a Foreign Service staff employee killed in the bombing of the Saigon embassy, was added to the list that an individual other than a "diplomatic or consular officer" was included on the memorial.

The heavy loss of Foreign Service personnel in Southeast Asia during the Vietnam War led to the need for a second memorial plaque and a further reassessment of the qualifications for listing. Erected in 1972, the "new" plaque is dedicated to "those Americans who have lost their lives under heroic or other inspirational circumstances while serving the government abroad in foreign affairs." A limitation on the time of eligibility for inclusion on the plaque was dropped, and the phrase "other inspirational circumstances" was broadly interpreted to comprehend the distinctive dangers, including terrorist acts, of life and work in the Foreign Service. In an additional break with tradition, consideration is now given to U.S. foreign affairs employees killed within the United States in the performance of their duties. These criteria are much less restrictive than previously. They reflect the honor and sacrifices of the many individuals who are members of the U.S. Foreign Service. □

The heavy loss of Foreign Service personnel in Southeast Asia during the Vietnam War led to the need for a second memorial plaque



The UNACCEPTED CHALLENGE

There's a method to human rights reporting, but the department ought to guarantee its quality.

THOMAS A. SHANNON

There is a little known but growing fraternity within the Foreign Service. Its members, mostly junior officers, wield considerable influence.

Their cables are read by assistant secretaries, their reporting can determine the fate of economic and security assistance programs, and their work is scrutinized by Congress and private interest groups. Nevertheless, members of this fraternity are usually chosen at random and receive no training for their jobs—arguably among the most politically explosive in the Foreign Service. When their tours are finished, these officers scatter to other jobs usually without being debriefed in the department. If they are lucky, they meet their successors and pass on a few hard-earned tips. If not, they board airplanes, carrying their experiences and dark secrets with them, to become only the stuff of anecdotes and nightmares.

Who are the members of this fraternity? Human rights officers—junior officers whose macabre rite of passage into the Foreign Service is to spend a tour watching and evaluating the violence that people do to each other in pursuit of political power and economic gain.

I am a member of this fraternity, having served as human rights officer in Guatemala from October 1985 until December 1986. Nothing in my training or experience prepared me for the work I was called upon to do in a country once described as the worst offender of human rights in the world. I left Guatemala, however, excited by the challenging and unusual nature of human rights work and convinced of its importance and efficacy. Unfortunately, I also left convinced that until human rights work is recognized for what it is—

Thomas Shannon is in language training in preparation for his assignment as special assistant to the ambassador in Brasilia.

a new kind of diplomatic activity that requires special training and support—human rights reporting will lack the consistency and quality necessary to win the State Department credibility as an observer of human rights practices.

What is a human rights officer? The term is not an official designation, nor is it recognized as a “cone” or “function” of the Foreign Service. Instead, it is the sobriquet given to officers whose chore it is to prepare the congressionally mandated *Country Report on Human Rights Practices*. In some parts of the world, this is seasonal work and requires nothing more than touching up the previous year’s report. In Guatemala, however, it was a full-time job. It was my responsibility to monitor the level of political violence, determine the degree of official involvement or acquiescence, and tell Washington if things were getting better or worse.

Although I sat in the embassy’s political section, my work was different from that of my colleagues and took me far afield from the normal routine of most diplomats. For instance, instead of spending my time at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I could be found at the morgue examining bodies or at the police station looking for the *desaparacidos*. While my colleagues were lunching with politicians, I was talking to the relatives of the victims of Guatemala’s undeclared civil war or lurching along the backroads toward the site of a reported killing. And while others rewarded their contacts by inviting them to cocktail parties, I was trying to come up with a surgical saw to give to my contact at the morgue. He had complained that using handsaws to open craniums during autopsies tired out the pathologists and reduced the number of post-mortems they could perform each day.

This kind of work poses operational problems which most political officers do not face and which the department's training programs do not address. To begin with, human rights reporting is investigative reporting. It requires determining the who, what, when, where, and why of political violence. This cannot be done by reading the newspaper or chatting in a café. Instead, the officer has to get out on the street and knock on doors. He has to delve into the victim's personal history, try to establish the degree of the victim's political activity, search for a motive, and collect eyewitness accounts of the crime—all of this as a foreigner with no police powers or authority. Such meddling raises hackles in the local security services, bruises the sensibilities of the host government, and occasionally exposes the officer to considerable danger.

A human rights officer needs a way to sift through the general violence of society and identify killings and kidnappings that might be politically motivated and worthy of a closer look. This was especially true in Guatemala, a historically violent society with an average of 100 murders a month during my tenure. To cope, I had to develop a methodology for classifying acts of violence as politically or criminally motivated and, if the former, tentatively identifying a culprit. This was not easy. Except for a few cases in which guerrilla groups wanted to publicize the execution of an informer or deserter, the guilty parties denied involvement and attempted to cover their tracks. However, each group had its own modus operandi; by examining the types of weapons and vehicles used, the number of people involved, and where a body was dumped, I could make a good guess at who was responsible. This methodology, however, was based on my experience and that of my predecessors and has never been codified. Therefore, it must be passed on by word of mouth and when assignments do not overlap, much experience and knowledge is lost.

Finally, political violence has to be put into context. In Guatemala, this required gathering a data base on all types of violence. There is no central source of statistics in the Guatemalan government, so we had to build a data base from morgue statistics, hospital records, crime reports, rebel and army communiqués, and newspapers. Armed with this data, we could determine if political violence was on the rise or decline, and detect historical trends. Such analysis, practically unknown in Guatemala, meant that the embassy knew more than anyone about the extent and type of violence and criminal activity in the country. It also

meant that the human rights officer, immersed in the ebb and flow of violence, became the embassy's chief necrologist.

Aside from the operational problems, human rights reporting differs from most embassy reporting in four significant ways. First, it is subject to public scrutiny. Human rights monitoring is a growth industry; more and more organizations are examining and commenting on embassy human rights reporting. America's Watch, for instance, regularly critiques the department's annual *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*. Political and economic officers, who usually report to Washington in classified channels, are not accustomed to their work being published and examined minutely by a suspicious and often critical public.

The second difference is credibility. Many private human rights groups and some members of Congress do not believe the department is an accurate or impartial observer of human rights abuses. On the contrary, they are convinced that State's reporting is shaped by the administration's political and diplomatic agenda. According to these critics, the agenda in Central America is to clear the way for increased military assistance and any unhelpful or incriminating human rights abuses are white-washed or swept under the rug.

Although more the product of domestic political hostilities than of informed analysis, this credibility gap is a fact of life for the officer in the field. There is only one solution: Get the facts straight and report human rights abuses for what they are. That we are held to more rigorous reporting standards than are our critics can work to our advantage. People expect us to hem and haw. By dealing forthrightly and factually, we get beyond the issue to the real question: What impact should human rights abuses have on bilateral relations?

The third difference is the politicization of human rights. Although there are human rights monitoring groups that are dedicated to maintaining strict political neutrality, many, especially those working in Central America, have a not-so-hidden political agenda. Their goal is to deny U.S. military assistance to these countries. They have sought to make human rights the basis of our bilateral relations with some countries. The degree of success they have had is evident by the crisis atmosphere that often surrounds human rights reporting. The knowledge that human rights abuse could undermine our bilateral assistance to a country puts tremendous pressure on a reporting

Human rights has assumed an increasingly important role in our relations with many countries, but the department has few means of guaranteeing the quality of its reporting

Human rights reporting exposes an officer directly to the dark side of the human soul

officer. The officer alone cannot bear such pressure. The entire country team must commit itself to the integrity of its human rights reporting. I had this kind of support in Guatemala; it was essential in ensuring that human rights abuses were understood and put in their proper historical and diplomatic perspective.

Finally, human rights reporting exposes an officer directly to the dark side of the human soul in a manner rarely experienced by other embassy officers. Brutality, and the anguish it provokes, is standard fare. A good officer, like a good doctor, must remain detached from his work or he will quickly become ineffective and easy prey for groups that would politicize human rights. Nevertheless, simple human sensitivity means that occasionally the defenses are breached and the officer personally feels the tragedy of human destruction, which it is his duty to watch.

Human rights reporting is relatively new, which means that the State Department has not had much time or experience to distinguish it from other diplomatic work. This blind spot has unfortunate consequences. Human rights has assumed an increasingly important role in our relations with many countries, but the department has few institutional means of guaranteeing the quality of its reporting. Instead, it relies almost entirely on the ingenuity and integrity of individual officers. This is a weak hook upon which to hang State's credibility as a human rights observer.

What can be done to improve human rights reporting? First, human rights officers need training. The State Department offers courses in political tradecraft, economic reporting, and labor affairs, but it offers nothing to prepare human rights officers for their jobs. Such training need not be elaborate, but it should familiarize officers with the problems they will face in the field (case studies would be the best way to do this); bring officers up-to-date on human rights legislation; and put officers in contact with the various human rights organizations and other interested parties—especially congressional staff. This would make the officers aware of the public and political nature of their work, and help to build bridges between the department and these groups.

Second, State needs a way of spreading around its human rights experience. We have learned valuable lessons regarding human rights, but they have been concentrated in a few geographic regions. Unfortunately, there are still FSOs who view human rights not as

an important part of our bilateral relations with a country, but as an irritant. This is a recipe for disaster, for it undermines our human rights policy and leaves the department open to charges that it is not serious about human rights. Chiefs of mission conferences offer one opportunity to preach the importance of human rights. Also, regional human rights conferences—much like regional consular or refugee conferences—would promote cross-fertilization of ideas, techniques, and concerns between human rights officers and State officials.

Third, human rights officers need a better department constituency. The Bureau of Humanitarian Affairs (HA) attempts to fill this role, but is unable to do so consistently. The reason is simple: embassies respond to geographic bureaus, and human rights officers get most of their guidance from country desks. HA appears on the scene only rarely, and never long enough to make a lasting impression on the officer in the field. In other words, the quality of human rights reporting depends on the demands made of the officer by his geographic bureau and his ambassador.

However, there are a few things that HA could do to improve the quality of human rights reporting. For instance, it could involve itself in the assignment process, identifying human rights reporting slots overseas—especially those in countries where human rights loom large in our bilateral relations—and playing a role in the selection of officers to fill them. If other functional bureaus can do this, why not HA? Also, excellent human rights reporting should be rewarded, as is political and economic reporting. This would raise the profile of human rights reporting and be a strong show of department interest in such reporting. Finally, HA should evaluate human rights reporting from embassies, which would help establish benchmarks for quality reporting.

These suggestions are designed to provoke recognition of human rights reporting as a new and vital diplomatic activity, which has different requirements from the traditional "functions" of the Foreign Service. Until the department recognizes this, it will have little chance of producing the consistent, top quality reporting necessary to win credibility. Without such credibility, the department will surrender control of the human rights agenda to partisan groups. Even worse, State will risk losing the confidence of the American people, who rightly expect their government to promote and stand by those political freedoms that form the core of human rights. □

HI-TECH DIPLOMACY

TERESA CHIN JONES

A well-established bit of corridor wisdom says that science and technology can be important in the conduct of foreign affairs. Consider the following issues:

- environment (pollution crosses borders);
- global (all of us can lead spaceship earth to disaster);
- oceans (fish, minerals, exploitation rights, and pollution dangers);
- space (a frontier and a place for eyes that spy and missile killers);
- arms control verification (how sure are you that it was only 150 kts and that "verification measure one" will double your confidence?);
- non-proliferation (some technologies work just as well for nuclear power or for nuclear weapons and laws don't keep atoms from fission);
- S&T cooperation (agreements, memoranda of understanding, negotiations, and more negotiations—then the hard part, implementation);
- technology transfer (to sell or not to sell when better phones mean better military command and control); and many more.

Should we have experts (scientist/diplomats) to work on these issues or can we get by with technically literate diplomats? Having "specialists" to call upon is a comforting feeling—when the other agency parades its expert on common channel signalling, how nice to have

your own to talk back to them. But would the expert on common channel signalling be of any use when the discussion moves to fiber optic coating technology?

With five times the current resources, the Department of State could indeed develop reasonable technical competence by hiring all the experts needed in all the areas of concern. With about twice the current resources, we probably could keep specialists on retainer (less cost and easier to shed when not needed). But we don't have the money. Even if we did, whom would we hire?

Consider, for example, COCOM (Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls)—an informal group comprising the NATO countries minus Iceland plus Japan that discusses what industrial, military, and nuclear equipment and technology should be export-controlled. Implementation of any agreed controls is unilateral. State leads the U.S. delegations to COCOM to update strategic export control lists—almost every item requires real knowledge about the technology, its civilian use, its military uses and its foreign availability. Should we hire a specialist for each category? Not all specialists are equal. A doctorate is not a guarantee of competence. Would our specialist be able to cope with industrial experts who may be advising the other countries, or the thousands of top Department of Defense or Department of Energy experts, who are actively at work in their fields?

State is not a lead technical agency—State is supposed to head the delegations and to negotiate with the other COCOM partners,

Can
technically
literate
generalists
work on
science
and technology
issues—or do
we need
scientists?

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to balance a series of conflicting views and needs (security, trade, competitiveness). The negotiator needs to be technically literate and to know what questions to ask. Although an engineering/science background may help achieve technical literacy, it is not necessary.

Even in this somewhat limited example, every argument for a technical expert can be countered by an argument for a generalist. When you need someone who understands overall science issues, you already are looking for a generalist. In fact, one of the key problems is that no single technical expert would be enough. Technical experts can only really contribute to State's policy formulation if they can extend their expertise to provide the necessary foreign policy advice. Conversely, a generalist can also master the technical issues enough to contribute to policy formulation. Who is more successful will depend on the "renaissance" capabilities of the individual.

It is not necessarily easier to teach a computer specialist enough international relations and economics to meet State's needs than to teach an international relations and economics generalist requisite technical literacy. The technical literacy level State needs requires you to have the ability to use a computer, not the ability to design a disk operating system.

State already possesses a large cadre of civil service experts in different S&T areas who make important contributions to policy formulations in the full range of important S&T issues. However, these experts are most valuable just because of their generalist skills—and often it is impossible to distinguish between the effectiveness of a civil servant, who started out as a generalist and became technically literate, or a specialist, who acquired generalist skills. Each case differs. The existence of this fine group of professionals, however, does not relieve the Foreign Service of its S&T responsibilities and needs.

If the United States had to acquire scientific information through its embassies overseas, then there is no question that each embassy would need to be staffed with a cadre of experts in every major technology area, as some foreign embassies are. If the S&T policy structure in the foreign country is such that it can be accessible only for someone with strong S&T credentials, then there is no question that we need not only a scientist but an eminent one. However, so long as our science counselors serve to represent overall S&T policy concerns and to report on host country S&T policy matters, then we need diplomats first and scientists second.

S&T as a Career: Do You Speak Hi-Techese?

I have been a Foreign Service science officer—by choice, not by happenstance—since 1974. I do have a scientific background—Ph.D. in chemistry, post doctorate in chemistry, three years in research and development and publications—and I have worked in non-proliferation, strategic technology, critical technology, technology transfer, and S&T cooperation in the State Department. It's not been easy turning myself into a "generalist"—it's hard to give up the comfort of being able to retreat into scientific doubletalk when cornered. It was work. But it was necessary work. Conversely, I hope that if some FSOs can spend two years learning Korean, maybe a few will make the effort to master Hi-Techese.

It increasingly appears that the term Foreign Service science officer may refer to a real career instead of to a temporary assignment (often by an outside expert or a non-FSO scientist). State does have a real S&T sub-cone

for Foreign Service officers. What you think of it and your willingness to go into this area may determine its future chances for success.

If you want to spend your entire career on wildlife conservation, you might be better off as a civil service expert in the correct office. But if you are interested in a full range of science and technology issues with foreign affairs implications—and would really enjoy work as a science attaché—then the sub-cone could be the place for you.

What will qualify you? Science and technology literacy and interest—enough interest so that you are self-starting in following major S&T issues and events. Enough interest so that you are willing to take an extra course or two, if necessary, to improve your science, technology, and policy understanding. A science and technology background is not a prerequisite, but understanding the overall place of S&T in society is a necessity.

Your career development officer

(CDO) can really help. Look around and find out what all those S&T type of offices do—not just in OES but in other bureaus, including the desks. Talk to people who've served as science attachés or to people who assign them; find out what they do and what the department is looking for to fill attaché positions. A bureau staff position can give you real insight into what kind of S&T issues are important to State Department principals.

Then take stock of what you can offer. If you already have an economics background, take advantage of that. Many science reporting positions overseas are dual economics/science slots. Economists are exposed to a certain amount of quantitative work and have to understand the role of technology in trade. If you already have a science background and are weak in international relations and economics, give serious thought to economics training.

If you believe that you are strong in foreign affairs and science, seek assign-

However, whether State's policy is lateral entry for science attaché specialists or an in-house career track for Foreign Service science officers, both need the same mix of foreign policy and economic skills plus technical literacy. Whether this combined ability comes from a political or economic officer or from a scientist is ultimately unimportant. Whether the technical literacy comes from a science/engineering degree or from a "generalist" Foreign Service officer is equally unimportant. The results, however, do count.

State has been fortunate in having had excellent science attachés—but their success has been based not on a world reputation in, for example, glycoprotein structures, but on their diplomatic skills. Conversely, many "generalist" Foreign Service officers have been very effective science counselors—able to press key U.S. policies in S&T areas and to access the highest levels of S&T policymakers in the host country.

All the arguments for a generalist being as useful for meeting department S&T policy needs as a specialist depend on one thing—technical literacy for those generalists. As the leading high technology country in the world, as a country that depends on its high technol-

ogy industries, and as the world moves toward higher technology levels and more technology related problems, the United States cannot afford diplomats who are ignorant in these areas. In fact, I believe that every Foreign Service officer needs to achieve technical literacy. No one is asking Foreign Service officers to learn calculus, do organic chemistry while mastering quarks, or dissect a frog before they are allowed to look at visas. But we can't afford willful ignorance of the major science and technology issues of the day. You don't need a Ph.D. in chemistry to understand and to think about the toxic waste problem or technology transfer.

However, literacy won't be easy. It will take work. It will take effort to understand enough of how S&T relates to everything else so that we can at least identify what questions to ask. It will take guts to keep asking till we understand—and I've never met a FSO who liked to look dumb. Without officers who know how to ask the right questions, we may end up trying to slap export controls on electrified saran wrap, also known as piezoelectric polyvinyl chloride film (possible military applications). Often, it's even more important to know there are no scientific answers and no one is right. False confidence can be worse than ig-

ments that really require a strong understanding of both. The best assignments will require you to sharpen your technical skills against technical specialists and your foreign affairs skills against equally tough experts. It might even be best to take a challenging policy job to prove you can do it—in addition to the real training you'll get, the dose of humility will do much to make you more effective. Taking the jobs where you are the sole "expert" won't stretch your skills, good as they are for the ego.

The fact that S&T issues are increasingly central to U.S. foreign policy has actually hurt the perception of science positions in the department. There is an enormous variety of issues that are important for each regional bureau and for international organizations. It's hard to map a coherent career track in all this. In fact, it's not been easy to define the role of OES in the department.

As a result, FSOs who had no problem understanding a science attaché's work in one country could become com-

pletely lost when faced with the variety of S&T efforts in Washington. Furthermore, it is pretty hard to see where your job on the ozone layer will lead to as an ongoing assignment overseas. It is not like being a desk officer, where your current job practically places you in your future assignment.

Over the years, the science officer career track acquired an unfortunate corridor reputation: narrow, specialized, peripheral to important policy areas, slow in promotion, with less chance of entry into the senior ranks. No one has analyzed the truth of these perceptions. If the department continues its current ad hoc, mixed civil and Foreign Service approach, the results will not be adequate. Since S&T needs will remain, we can expect that Congress or other agencies will take them over.

It is my view that, in fact, science officers do quite well on promotions and on entry into the Senior Foreign Service. But getting the numbers is hard because as science officers become more senior, they often go into positions that use their special skills but are not iden-

tified as "science" slots. I also think the new S&T sub-cone may be an area that lends itself well to advancement, regardless of sex, race, or ethnic group. It will be too new to be hidebound. It is easier to prove your expertise in many S&T areas and your skills will be welcome. There is also more room for growth.

By choosing the S&T career track, you will be part of the vanguard of Foreign Service officers who will be able to lobby for and create the kind of professional Foreign Service officer we need. So take a chance, live up to your convictions. It's more fun to set the precedent than to follow precedents. You will never be bored. Instead of begging for a chance to be shortlisted to some assignment along with hordes of other potential ambassadors, you can find offices where they want you and where you can make a difference, where you can really contribute.

Teresa Chin Jones



norance. We need the kind of officer who can deal with these issues.

The Foreign Service Institute can continue and increase its efforts to provide seminars, short courses, and site visits to help those already in the Foreign Service achieve greater "literacy." There already exists a program for S&T policy training for Foreign Service officers. In fact, policy training might be much more valuable for science specialists. A similar program which provides a good basic grounding in the major U.S. science and technology areas and some understanding of State Department S&T thinking and S&T development cycles might prove more productive for Foreign Service generalists who want a science-oriented foreign affairs career.

However, only if there is a recognized career track in the S&T functional specialization will there be bright officers who are willing to put the necessary effort into developing their skills as science officers. So long as we bring in "specialists" at the senior levels to be science counselors, we will have less incentive for Foreign Service officers to elect an S&T career track. Seeing the plum science attaché and science counselor positions go routinely to non-FSO personnel can be discouraging to the aspiring professional Foreign Service science officer.

Admittedly, the department can argue that they need a particular scientist/bureaucrat immediately in London or Tokyo—and certainly, there are enough capable contenders for the jobs—but there will never be a realistic science officer career track so long as officers see

competitive before political or economic promotion panels, fewer will be interested in dedicating themselves to an S&T career track. The department has recognized this in allowing competition in interfunctional positions and by recently beginning procedures allowing competition for promotion as S&T officers. It may work, it may not—it will take time before the best officers see S&T as an equally good way to the top in comparison with the other cones.

Rewarding career tracks in the S&T area would provide incentive for a fair amount of "self education." Not all jobs are in the Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs Bureau (OES). The Bureau of Intelligence and Research, the regional bureaus, and the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs all have some positions where technical literacy or a scientific/engineering background would be a real advantage. These positions need to be identified. Having them under a catch-all of "IROG" will not help those FSOs who want a real S&T foreign policy career.

Finally, let's think of the future. The need for technical literacy can be reflected in the entry examinations. Furthermore, the department recruitment efforts can target science and engineering majors in addition to international relations and economics majors.

As the world becomes more complex and technological, we can no longer afford to consider generalists true "generalists for all seasons" unless they are technically literate. Rather than wasting time adding yet another unresolved chapter to the "Great Generalist-Specialist Debate," let's look at what skills we really need and make sure our generalists or specialists possess those skills. □

little chance to reach the top except in hardship posts. Why groom the junior and mid-level science officers for positions they will not be able to fill? Furthermore, will Foreign Service science officers who devote their careers to critical S&T related issues be considered as competitive for senior foreign affairs positions?

So long as S&T officers see their promotions lag as they work through a series of "grab bag" S&T areas that make them less

DEVELOPMENT SPECIALISTS, MANAGERS AND DIPLOMATS

*AID's multi-talented personnel
are a unique American resource.*

WILLIAM HAVEN NORTH

“**T**he United States is the only donor with overseas missions sufficiently staffed to have the capability to stay up-to-date on conditions in the recipient country and to engage in a dialogue with local experts,” reported Representative Lee Hamilton in the February 1989 issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL. It is good to hear such positive remarks about AID, but his statement was framed by a concern that “the present system of accountability saps this unique asset as employees sit at word processors rather than work in the field. The process may keep AID people busy; it may also make them irrelevant.”

Re-examinations tend to bring out faults and problems. Hamilton's task force is working hard to clear out a substantial accumulation of underbrush in foreign aid legislation. But in the process, the task force needs to know what the “extraordinarily competent people” Hamilton describes are doing, the kinds of tasks they are performing (other than sitting at word processors), and the important contributions they are making.

AID personnel numbered 4,400 in fiscal 1989. Of this total, 1,732 are direct-hire Foreign Service employees, with 1,228 of this number working overseas. The balance are on rotation in Washington. In addition, there are 1,448 Foreign Service nationals, who provide important professional and support services. This relatively small group overseas are responsible for managing the planning, obligation, and implementing of \$8 billion in foreign economic assistance each year in 97 countries. At its peak, in 1968, AID personnel num-

Haven North, a former AID Foreign Service officer, is a consultant with international organizations.



Two women carry bags of relief food delivered by AID through CARE in Bangladesh during the 1988 flood.

Human endeavors in development cannot be easily simplified without losing their effectiveness

bered 17,500. With the sharp reduction since then, there has also been a reorientation of the predominant roles of Foreign Service employees. In the 1950s and 1960s, a large number were technical specialists, directly involved in implementing projects and providing technical services. It is hard to believe that AID once had 29 official posts in Ghana, or that at the peak of the AID program, about 150 agriculturists were working in Nigeria. (Today, AID's agricultural foreign staff numbers only 183 worldwide.) With the reduction in staff, the preponderance of staff responsibilities has shifted to program management. Technical services and implementation are contracted out to universities, private firms, and voluntary agencies. Some lament this change as causing a great loss in the continuity of technical expertise and in knowledge acquired from direct involvement in fieldwork.

Managing programs, overseeing performance, and providing support services are the less glamorous responsibilities that are essential to getting things done. AID Foreign Service officers are indeed a unique resource building on experience of more than 40 years in foreign assistance and development. The key to successful AID program managers is their talent for orchestrating participation and ensuring recipient government "ownership" of the development programs. These are the requirements of a successful diplomat blended with expertise in development and skills in management.

A review of the characteristics of successful program managers, by AID's Center for Development Information and Evaluation (CDIE), concluded that AID personnel demonstrate versatility in handling a variety of programs and functions, adaptability in adjusting to local circumstances and changing policies, and dedication to their jobs. They are strong in field operations, technical, and analytical skills. They know their substantive fields and how to get things done within, or at times in spite of, the system.

However, over-absorption in detail, workaholic attitudes, and shortness of humor are also evident, according to the review. But it is clear from the record that their chief attribute is the ability to move, under great pressure, a complex policy and program concept into a program of action in the high-risk settings that most developing countries present today. They are versatile in working in a variety of program areas and interrelating multiple technical and operational issues.

As managers, the CDIE review noted, their role is that of an intermediary—operating between AID Washington, Congress, the developing country governments and organizations, and other donors. They are called on to balance political pressures for short-term results, yet preserve the long-term nature of much development activity. Since they rarely control implementation, they are skilled in management processes and coordination to help move toward a common objective. They balance substance and process, ensuring the two are mutually reinforcing—not an easy task where their work is heavily loaded with instant operational and administrative demands and an array of regulations. The AID program manager is behind the scenes helping to make programs function.

Development Achievements

Policy reform. One of the major development issues of the past decade has been the need for developing countries to reorient economic policies that have impeded their growth. These policy changes are politically tough ones to make and strong vested interests resist their introduction. Yet, the AID leadership and staff have been successful in their dialogue with many governments to encourage change. In the largest programs, this challenge has involved addressing broad macro-economic and large sector issues. In the smaller programs, the focus is on the policies and institutions associated with specific projects.

Substantive competence ranks high, but just as important are an appreciation of how local politics and bureaucracies work and an ability to establish close working relationships. One must support key development groups; involve and motivate the political leadership; mobilize other donor support or play an effective secondary role when the major international aid organizations are involved. One must obtain the fullest impact out of what are always limited resources, balancing patience and action and coping with what are, at times, overriding political interests and other agendas.

These requirements were evident, for example, in the administration of the \$1.6 billion five-year economic assistance commitment to Pakistan, which began in 1982. Major programs were undertaken in balance of payments assistance, in power generation, in agriculture (irrigation management, forestry, food security, and research), in social and human resources development, and in area development and narcotics control. The program was highly



technician-intensive in the effort to bring about policy and institutional change. The political situation, however, called for a minimum of staff, approximately 40, to plan and manage this massive program. Trade-offs between development goals and political interests placed a premium on staff skills. The AID field staff and their Pakistan counterparts, working under extraordinary pressures to design and mount a complex program in short time periods, reported important policy and program accomplishments in energy and agriculture; in other areas, the pace of institutional reform required a slower and more deliberate approach. At the same time, the larger U.S. interests in Pakistan were effectively served by the foreign assistance program.

Institution building. One of AID's more significant contributions has been the creation and strengthening of basic institutions in developing countries. AID has been associated with the establishment of hundreds of educational, financial, research, and service institutions.

This certainly has been the case with the creation of agricultural universities throughout the developing world—23 universities in 10 countries. In a recent AID report, it was cited that "in virtually every case the agricultural university in question has been institutionalized and was now an accepted part of the national scene." Every institution could point to some successes, many of great magnitude, in the field of higher education. Graduates of the various agricultural universities were to be

found across a wide range of different vocations in the public sector.

In each of these university projects—some lasting 25-30 years—and in the other areas of institution building as well, AID Foreign Service personnel brought together developing country and U.S. university leaders to plan and implement programs of technical cooperation and institution building. While the participating institutions may have changed over time, the AID missions provided a continuity of support.

New technologies and disease control. In the early 1960s, an AID public health officer deduced that river blindness in West Africa could be controlled through interrupting the transmission of onchocerciasis by the black fly, which breeds along the region's waterways. French researchers had found a safe way to use larvicides in the fast flowing rivers that would help break the cycle of infection—a cost-effective technology. As a result of his initiative, AID helped to organize a meeting in Tunis in 1968 with the World Health Organization (WHO) and the West African Organization for Coordination and Cooperation in the Campaign Against Endemic Diseases. Out of this meeting evolved a program to reduce sharply the incidence of river blindness.

The results have been remarkable in decreasing blindness and debility in West Africa. At the start of the program, in 1974, one million of the 10 million people in the area were infected by onchocerciasis, and

100,000 had serious eye lesions or blindness. By 1984, 86 percent of evaluated sites had low annual transmission. Approximately three million children born since the beginning of the program are free from the effects of the disease. Some 15 million hectares of tillable land in the infected area have been opened up for increased agricultural activity.

WHO and the World Bank have taken the primary leadership; seven African countries are participants, and fourteen donors are now providing funds. Many scientists have been involved. But the behind-the-scenes technical knowledge, diplomacy, and management by AID personnel, with the positive support of Congress, have been a key to the success.

Emergency relief. Disaster assistance is the one area of AID's work that most often appears in the press—although not always identified as the work of the agency. AID's Foreign Service personnel invariably are at the center of the action in implementing the gen-

erous responses of the American people to a disaster. In close cooperation with disaster specialists, the AID missions estimate needs, negotiate arrangements, plan logistics, track the movement of relief supplies, coordinate the involvement of relief organizations, and smooth the way with sensitive local governments.

Whether the crisis is floods, famine, earthquakes, locust plagues, or civil war, the talents of planning, management, technical knowledge, and diplomacy are as evident in these occasions as in long-term development activity—only compressed under the stresses of urgent need.

These four examples only touch on the nature and diversity of development activities in which AID personnel are engaged. This diversity, while at times criticized for lacking priority, is one of the features of the AID Foreign Service that gives it its richness and challenge. Human endeavors in development cannot be easily simplified without losing their effectiveness.

Over the years, AID's Foreign Service has played a direct and vital role in introducing new understanding of critical development problems such as population and family planning, AIDS, gender analysis and women's contributions to growth, economic policy reform, institution building, adoption of new technologies, or the initiation of a new programming concept. With the growth in expertise in the developing countries, new modes of collaboration will be necessary. More time will be devoted to understanding the dynamic conditions in the developing countries and to exchanges on development issues between American experts and their developing country counterparts.

The Development Committee of the Joint Ministerial Committee of the Board of Governors of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (including 18 representatives from developed and developing countries) concluded its report on foreign assistance with the following statement:

"For all its flaws, the aid revolution has been one of the great innovations of the second half of the 20th century. In an increasingly interdependent global economy that is deeply fragmented politically, the practice of development assistance has raised the norms of international conduct."

The members of the AID Foreign Service, along with their civil service associates in the agency, can be proud to be central players in this continuing innovation. □

Research at Sakha, the AID-supported Egyptian Rice Research Institute.



WORKING *with* DULLES

*An insider's account of the
Taiwan Straits Crisis.*

MARSHALL GREEN

Diplomatic biographer Sir Harold Nicolson once wrote that the worst kind of diplomatists are zealots, lawyers, and missionaries; the best kind are humane skeptics. In his first years as secretary of state, John Foster Dulles seemed to fall clearly in the first category. He was a dyed-in-the-wool lawyer with Cold War missionary zeal. For him, Soviet aggressive moves toward the West invited "massive retaliation"; neutrals were "immoral"; and his policies and acts gave rise to a new term in diplomacy: "brinkmanship." He was also associated in the minds of many Foreign Service officers with Senator McCarthy and his ilk, who pilloried the Foreign Service and hounded out of office several of our best China specialists whose only "crime" was the accuracy of their reports out of China during World War II, predicting the decline of the Chinese Nationalists under Generalissimo Chiang and the rise of Mao's Communists.

I came to see a rather different Dulles when I was his working-level action officer during the Taiwan Straits crisis of 1958. My involvement in China policy dates back to 1956, when

I was assigned as regional planning adviser in the Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs, which was then headed by Walter Robertson. Robertson was the quintessential Virginia gen-

tleman, a banker by profession, who had powerful connections in the administration and Congress. His overriding interest in world affairs was to uphold the position of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as president of all of China, even though the "Gimo" and his forces had fled the mainland in 1949 to take refuge on Taiwan, China's island province.

For several months in 1958, I had chaired a small working-level interagency task force (State, Defense, and CIA) established by the White House to examine U.S. capabilities to cope with two or more simultaneous military crises in various parts of the world. One of the task force scenarios related to a Chinese Communist (Chicom) aerial or artillery interdiction of the Quemoy island group, held by one-third of the Nationalist forces, though located just a few miles off the shore of mainland China.

When, in fact, an artillery interdiction was launched against the Quemoy and Matsu islands on August 23, 1958, I was able that same day to have on Deputy Assistant Secretary Jeff Parson's desk our agreed task force recommendations on U.S. countermeasures. These recommendations called for a cautious escalation of U.S. naval and air support operations, as necessary, to protect Taiwan from a Communist takeover. Parson and Robertson approved the recommendations, which were forwarded to Dulles. However, Robertson commented to me, the United States would, of course, never make first use of nuclear weapons. I found this remark rather astonishing.

Marshall Green served as ambassador to Indonesia and Australia and as assistant secretary for East Asia and the Pacific. This account, based on diary and other personal material, commemorates the 30th anniversary of Secretary Dulles's death in May 1959.

Our limited rules of engagement reflected awareness of the lack of support for getting involved in a war over distant islands

coming from one of our leading hawks.

Dulles, flying down from his vacation retreat on Duck Island in the St. Lawrence River, immediately called a meeting in his office. He had read our recommendations, but his first concern was legal. What were U.S. defense obligations toward Quemoy and Matsu? What restrictions applied to the involvement of U.S. forces in their defense?

These small offshore islands were not included in the U.S.-Republic of China Mutual Defense Treaty's definition of the treaty area, but a subsequent joint resolution of Congress in January 1955, at the time of the first Taiwan Straits crisis, had authorized the president to employ U.S. armed forces in the protection of not just Taiwan and the Pescadores but also "related positions and territories in that area."

Dulles had no difficulty in making a legal case that the joint resolution covered the offshore islands in this crisis, since Peking, in attacking them, announced that its objective was Taiwan. The president and congressional leaders agreed. Establishing rules for the engagement of U.S. forces was more difficult. The Quemoy group was so close to mainland shore batteries that they could be blanketed with enemy shells, although there was no evidence of any impending Chicom landing operation against the islands. In fact, the shelling occurred immediately before the typhoon season, when amphibious operations would have been most precarious. It was fairly clear that Peking did not want to take the islands unless, in doing so, it brought down the government in Taiwan.

Peking's evident intent was interdiction of the offshore islands: to prevent provisions, including food and ammunition, from reaching the defenders, thereby wearing them down to the point of surrender which in turn would precipitate a collapse of morale on Taiwan and a takeover from within by the Communists. The problem therefore came down to one of resupplying the embattled Quemoy group, a task that was beyond the capability of the Nationalist navy, which was not only poorly led at that time but had to contend with incessant bombardment, rough seas, and alleged 27-foot waves in landing supplies on the islands. Thus it was arranged that the U.S. Navy would escort Chinese resupply convoys to a point three miles offshore from Quemoy but would not enter Quemoy's territorial waters. Nationalist vessels had to cover the last three miles on their own, loaded with supplies including shells for Quemoy's howitzers.

Dulles, acting under President Eisenhower's instructions, decided against U.S. air operations in the Taiwan Straits and reached agreement with Taipei that U.S. and Nationalist planes would not overfly mainland China, thereby ruling out air attacks on Chicom shore batteries. One important reason for this decision was that there was no way of silencing these batteries short of nuclear weapons or extensive air-drops of napalm bombs, actions President Eisenhower strongly opposed, as did Dulles. It was also increasingly apparent that Chicom air capability was being used with great restraint, there being no bombing of any Nationalist-held territories.

Our limited rules of engagement also reflected awareness of the lack of support in the United States for getting involved in a war over distant islands that "weren't worth the life of a single American boy." Nor did we have international support beyond that of the Republic of China on Taiwan, South Korea, and South Vietnam. Governments of key nations allied to the United States, such as Great Britain and Japan, were correctly restrained in their criticisms, but public opinion in these countries was highly averse to U.S. involvement.

Secretary Dulles accordingly was bent on finding some diplomatic course of action to bring the fighting to a halt. He set little store by what the periodic U.S.-People's Republic of China ambassadorial-level talks in Warsaw could achieve on this issue, though he appreciated that public awareness of these talks forestalled criticisms that the United States was out of diplomatic contact with the Peking government on this and other issues.

Very early on the morning of September 7, I received a phone call from Dulles, who had evidently had a restless night. He suggested that it might be best for the United States to take the issue to the United Nations, since the General Assembly would be reconvening the following week. Dulles mentioned the possibility of having the British and French introduce a resolution in the UN Security Council calling for a UN-supervised cease-fire and neutralization of the offshore islands. I was strongly opposed to this suggestion, which both Peking and Taipei would reject out of hand. It would impose great strains on our relations with Taipei, which in turn might strengthen the case for Peking occupying China's seat in the UN.

However, I said nothing about all this to Dulles over the phone but replied that he

would have our bureau's reactions as soon as possible. I immediately prepared a memorandum, approved by Jeff Parsons and signed by Robertson, pointing out the negative factors entailed in the secretary's suggestion and alternatively recommending that we ask the British and French to introduce a UN resolution welcoming Washington's and Peking's discussions of this issue at Warsaw and urging that Peking and Taipei resolve this issue without further resort to force. Also included in Robertson's memorandum was a suggestion that our side might at some point in the near future take unilateral and unannounced moves, such as shifting our regular Taiwan Straits patrols farther away from Chicom territorial waters, with the Nationalists suspending artillery fire from Quemoy, to see whether this invited any reciprocal moves from the Communist side.

However, before any of these strategies could be pursued, our attention focused on the immediate, urgent issue of Quemoy running out of supplies. The daily consumption of supplies by the 80,000 troops and 45,000 civilians on Quemoy was estimated at 700 tons and yet, since August 23, only 125 tons had been delivered. This appalling record was ascribed to all the usual reasons—bad weather, tidal conditions, heavy shelling—but it also occurred to some in Washington that Taipei was deliberately holding back, or providing us with false figures, in an effort to get the United States more involved in the islands' defense.

Our Joint Chiefs of Staff could see no reason why, with the exercise of guts and ingenuity, the Nationalists, under existing rules of engagement, could not off-load up to 1,000 tons of supplies a day under favorable weather conditions. Admiral Burke recommended new ways of delivering supplies, including floating them ashore. Over the next two weeks there was some improvement in deliveries but not enough to prevent an alarming diminution of food and ammunition on the Quemoy. By September 28, Taipei reported that only a few days of supplies remained. Cables from the U.S. embassy in Taipei were full of dire warnings.

At this point Secretary Dulles decided to go to New York to take the issue to the UN along the lines he had suggested over the phone on September 7. However, the very day he left for New York, I received word from the CIA that a reliable report had just been received from Quemoy stating that



its supply situation was nowhere near as desperate as we had been led to believe. There were several weeks of supplies on hand in the extensive network of tunnels on Quemoy.

Robertson asked me to deliver this information in person to Acting Secretary Christian Herter, who immediately called a meeting in his office. There it was decided that I should go to New York to bring these developments to the attention of Dulles, with a recommendation from Herter that the secretary might wish to postpone any UN initiative.

I was met in New York by UN Ambassador Philip Crowe, who took me early the following day to the secretary's suite in the Waldorf. When Dulles heard our reports, he canceled scheduled meetings with the British and French ambassadors to the UN, returned to Washington, and called a meeting that evening at his house. There, Admiral Burke was very upbeat on prospects for resupplying the Quemoy, mentioning for the first time in my hearing the fact that two of the Navy's huge landing ship docks (LSDs) were about to arrive in the Taiwan Straits. These could contain dozens of amphibious landing craft, manned by trained Nationalist crews, which would run up on the shores of Quemoy with supplies.

Meanwhile, spirits on Taiwan had been lifted by the deadly effectiveness of several

John Foster Dulles speaks at a Chamber of Commerce luncheon in 1958, warning that "Red China aims to strengthen communism and destroy the free world."

I was impressed by the way Dulles took charge of the problem, making it his personal responsibility to work out a peaceful solution

Nationalist fighter aircraft on patrol, whose U.S.-provided Sidewinders downed five MIG-17s. It was against this background that Peking radio announced on October 6 that it was temporarily suspending its bombardment of the offshores, emphasizing that its action was taken to spare the lives of Chinese compatriots inhabiting those islands. Our side immediately reciprocated by suspending U.S. convoy activities and modifying our naval patrol routes in the Taiwan Straits.

The outlook remained unclear. When Dulles departed on October 20 for Taipei, via Italy and England, Peking announced the end of its cease-fire on the alleged grounds that one of our LSDs had intruded into the territorial waters of Quemoy. On October 25, following the issuance of a joint U.S.-ROC communiqué at the conclusion of Dulles's visit to Taipei, Peking announced its intention to observe a cease-fire on the offshore islands on odd-numbered days. Taipei retaliated by firing on Chicom vessels from batteries on Quemoy.

This curious arrangement left each of the Chinese governments with the satisfaction that it was master of the situation, but we had no idea of how long this arrangement would continue. Thus, when Dulles returned from Taipei, his first concern was to preserve the relative calm, while doing everything he could to get the bulk of Chiang's forces off the offshore islands. But we felt we had to be careful in handling this effort, lest sharp open differences between Washington and Taipei tempt Peking to renew bombardment.

I well recall Secretary Dulles's comments on his return to Washington: "If nothing is done now, and then a year or so hence the Chicomos again attack the offshores, it will be extremely difficult for us to give the ROC any military support. Already we have had to strain our relations with Congress and foreign governments to the breaking point. Our experience with the offshores was agonizing enough in 1955. It is worse today. We can't go through this a third time."

Our efforts to effect a drastic reduction in the garrisons on the offshore islands never succeeded. Eventually, there was a reduction, but meanwhile we came to appreciate that the Chinese in their own particular way had found a solution by turning their hot war into an endless propaganda battle—of propaganda shells, blaring loud speakers, and balloon-delivered leaflets. Peking also issued a long series of "serious warnings" to

the United States every time one of our naval patrols in the Taiwan Straits came within Chinese mainland territorial waters, as defined by Peking but not by Washington. The serious warnings had reached the thousand mark by the time President Nixon's trip to China was announced. Thereafter the warnings ceased.

In retrospect, I have often wondered whether Moscow had any hand in Peking's decision to halt the heavy bombardment of Quemoy. We know that almost all of the 580,000 shells fired on the islands were produced in the Soviet Union, and that the first signs of serious Moscow-Peking differences appeared soon after the Soviets launched Sputnik in 1957, about a year before the 1958 Taiwan Straits crisis. However, we assumed during that crisis that Peking had Moscow's unqualified support. Moscow said nothing to suggest otherwise. In fact, Khrushchev warned on several occasions that any use of nuclear weapons would not go unanswered by the USSR. (Peking exploded its first nuclear weapon in 1964.)

Finally, a few comments about Secretary Dulles's handling of the crisis. I was deeply impressed by his excellent working relations with President Eisenhower as well as with his associates in State, Defense, and CIA (headed by his brother, Allen). On several occasions, near the conclusion of meetings in his office, Dulles would pick up the secure phone and tell the president of our conclusions and solicit his comments or, where relevant, his approval. Dulles thus made it clear to all present that he was acting under Eisenhower's orders. That, in turn, strengthened Dulles's position with all his associates.

I was also impressed by the way Dulles took charge of the problem, making it his personal responsibility to work out a peaceful solution, losing many hours of sleep in the process. Yet he sought advice from his associates. I recall how Gerard Smith, at that time director of the Policy Planning Staff, used to argue almost instinctively against the emerging consensus of several of our meetings. Dulles seemed to welcome the ensuing debate, which helped to fine-hone the final decisions. John Foster Dulles may be remembered by history as one of our most zealous, hard-line secretaries of state, especially in his dealings with Moscow and Peking, but, from my vantage point during the last year of his life, he appeared as a man of moderation and reason, an able practitioner of diplomacy as well as of law. □

Memorial Day in Kabul

In the high and lonely land of Afghanistan, the wide expansive views under the great vault of sky tend to draw one into reverie. But as I balanced on the top of the twelve foot mud wall that surrounds the little Christian cemetery, the only thing in my mind was, "What in the world am I doing here? I hope I won't break my neck."

Soon after we joined the American embassy in Kabul, I had sought out this place because a friend of mine had told me about Jane Oliver Nalle, an embassy wife, newly pregnant with her first child, who had died of spinal meningitis and had been buried here. It was such a sad and unforgettable story that I had gone to find her grave. I took some photographs to send to her family so they could see what a well kept look it had, with its neatly swept paths and big rosebushes.

The next year when my American calendar reminded me of Memorial Day, I thought of the little graveyard and the fact that most people did not know it existed. I knew any memorials were up to me, so the day before Memorial Day I bought baskets of flowers on Fruit Bazaar Street and put

Mary Thomas Sargent is a member of the American Association of Foreign Service Women Writers Group.

MARY THOMAS SARGENT

*An American wife
scales the heights
to remember loved ones
in a far-off land.*

them in buckets of water, ready for my project on Friday, the Muslim day of prayer.

Because of this holiday, my husband, Ben, and our nephew, Tommy, were off to climb the mountain and wall around Bala Hissar, the old fort east of town. I planned to do my decorating in mid-afternoon. I covered jars and cans with aluminum foil and set off in my car with the flowers bobbing and the water sloshing from the pails. The cemetery is not on the maps, but I knew the way and before long I drew up to the big iron-barred gates. A heavy chain on the closed gates was locked with a padlock as big as my fist. I clanked the big chain but no one answered. I banged the padlock on the metal bars, which produced a great racket but no guard with a key. I could see that no flowers had been placed on any of the graves and I looked at the grillwork of the gates

trying to judge where to put my feet in order to climb over, until I considered my overflowing containers of flowers and water. There must be a better way, I thought. I drove home wondering where to call to find someone who knew how to get into the cemetery on a holiday.

When several phone calls produced no helpful ideas, I decided that with the help of our houseman, Mohammed, and a ladder our gardener had made, I would make another try. I called the duty officer at the embassy to ask if breaking into a Christian cemetery on a Muslim holy day was a punishable offense. He said he didn't think so, but since the flowers were a nice idea, if I ended up in jail, he promised to bail me out.

When I looked at the ladder, an arrangement of odd bits of wood and tree branches held together with wire and nails, I decided to leave a note for Ben. In case the ladder proved to be as unreliable as it looked, he could prevent Mohammed and me from being confined to the graveyard overnight. The ladder was longer than my Volkswagen convertible. The top was down so the ladder leaned on the windshield and stuck out front and back, like a fire engine. It took up one side of the car so I drove with Mohammed sitting behind me, his feet among the

flower pails, clinging to the ladder. I had explained my mission to him as best I could, and he had agreed to help me with my flowers for the *feringi*, the foreigners, as he called them.

Reaching the cemetery, we set the ladder up against the high mud wall. I felt like a crusader scaling the heights. A crowd began to gather as I climbed up to survey the possibilities; as the wind came up, so did my skirts, billowing about me. In those days women did not wear trousers in a Muslim country, so what with my wobbly ladder and wayward skirt, getting the cans, pails, and baskets to the top of the wall as Mohammed held the ladder was quite a feat. When everything was lined up atop the wall, Mohammed came up, and we pulled up the ladder, rather like burning one's bridges, and then we lowered it down on the inside of the wall and handed down all the pails and baskets until everything was on the ground in the cemetery.

I thought since Memorial Day was an American custom, I'd do the American graves first and then all the others. I fixed the flowers for Jane's grave first and then went around trying to decide which other graves were American. Some markers gave a place of birth like Salt Lake City or Seattle or sounded American. I found one for a father and son "killed in an accident near Jalalabad." I made a tiny pink and white bouquet for the grave of the one-day-old daughter of the Filipino doctor who worked in our dispensary. I had not known they had lost a baby. We had enough flowers for all the graves. As I placed them, I said in my heart, "The people who loved you, miss you where ever they are and remember you often."

Then we began to reverse our process to get out. We carried up the empty baskets and pails, and standing high on the wall, we swung the ladder in a great arc over and down into the real world outside the walls. The crowd had gone. As Mohammed climbed gingerly down, I looked out across the mud-walled checkerboard of Kabul's gardens, broken into interesting patterns by big fat leafy trees and punctuated with tall green pines for exclamation



tion points. I could see the light of the late afternoon sun catching the toasty brown sides of the eastern mountains that rim Kabul, glinting on the old fortification of Bala Hissar, and I could see the famous wall, like the edge of a crimped pie shell, pinched on to the hillside, as it stretched down toward town. The honey gold sunshine made it all look mellow and soft instead of severe, stern, and secure, as forts were meant to look against invaders.

And I was an invader myself and full of thoughts, tumbling in disconnected fashion one after another. In Afghanistan the Muslims look west toward Mecca and the golden setting sun. In other parts of the world the Christians like to have their altar windows face east so that the stained glass comes alive with the morning sun . . . yet prayers ascend from us all.

Why am I here? Why do I do this? The people whose loved ones lie here are too far away to know if the graves are neat and trimmed with flowers on this Memorial Day. Most Americans do not know of this tiny Christian graveyard, so they will not know or care if there are fresh flowers today. And surely the souls of these who lie

here do not linger here, hovering about to see if someone cares.

What strong thoughts nudged me to come? The thought of a young USIS wife who died here in Kabul years ago? Surely a sky so high and wide, so full of soft warm air shimmering with particles of dust in the golden slanting sun, must have answers.

But Mohammed is calling to me and I must negotiate the wobbly ladder, hoping for a fair wind that will not sail my skirt. Before I swing my foot out and back to feel for the ladder rung, I look east for one more gulp of beauty and then start down. Mohammed, his head and eyes politely averted, steadies the ladder, as always in support of his American lady and her strange ways. As I step down slowly and carefully, from somewhere long ago come the lines:

*I stand among these graves of long ago and strain my heart
To hear those things these souls must know.
How wise the age old winds that sigh and sing,
There is so much to learn from listening.* □

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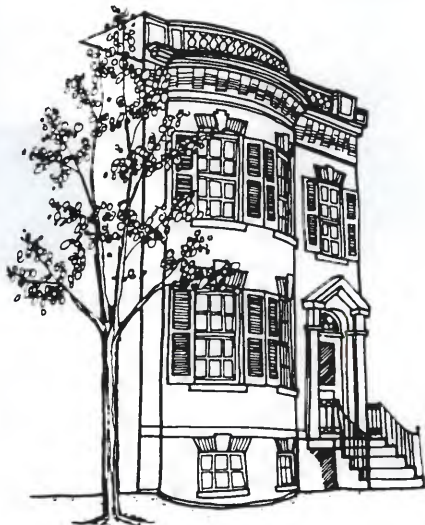
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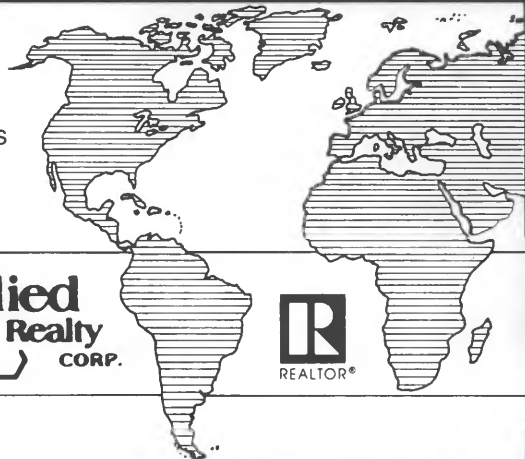
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List of candidates

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.

Dues increase referendum

The AFSA Governing Board proposal for a dues increase will be referred to the membership in a referendum ballot, which will be incorporated in the secret balloting for 1989 AFSA elections and the referendum on bylaws changes, as reported in the March edition of the JOURNAL.

AFSA Governing Board Resolution Relating to Dues Increase

Be it resolved that the membership dues of the American Foreign Service Association be increased to the following (rates within parentheses are current rates):

	Annual Dues	Bi-weekly Allotment
Senior officers	\$165 (\$143)	\$6.50 (\$5.50)
FS1, FS2, FS3	\$145 (\$117)	\$5.50 (\$4.50)
FS4, FS5, FS6	\$115 (\$91)	\$4.50 (\$3.50)
FS7, FS8, FS9	\$80 (\$65)	\$3.00 (\$2.50)
Retired Foreign Service personnel		
with an annuity over \$25,000 (\$20,000)	\$55 per year (\$45)	
with an annuity under \$25,000 (\$20,000)	\$40 per year (\$30)	
Associates	\$45 per year (\$35)	

Note: increases calculated at 20 percent and rounded up to the nearest five dollars for "annual dues" and up to the nearest fifty cents for "bi-weekly allotment."

AFSA Dues Vote

Over the last five years, AFSA has expanded its services and programs to meet our members' expectations and to defend the integrity and welfare of the Foreign Service. AFSA is vigilant in protecting against program, personnel and benefit cuts, and we have made our case to Congress and the public.

Member's dues determine AFSA's ability to serve you, both as your professional association and as your employee representative. The last dues increase took place more than four years ago. It is time for another. **We must increase our resources to continue at current levels and to meet the challenges of tomorrow. AFSA needs your vote for a dues increase.**

AFSA is Efficient

We have held expenses down in spite of growth and increased industry costs. For example: Costs in the **Foreign Service Club** are down. It is today a better-managed and more attractive facility. Careful maintenance and repair of the 64-year-old **AFSA Building** have kept operating expenses down—much below competitive arrangements. We have been able to hold net costs of the **JOURNAL** at '85 budget levels. The new dues structure, if approved, reflects approximately the same percentage of members' salaries as in 1985. AFSA offers **more services** than comparable federal-employee organizations, but even with the proposed increase AFSA members **pay less**. For example: For junior grades, AFGE dues are over 100 percent higher, and NFFE is 35 percent more than AFSA.

AFSA Communicates

Our members receive more services and assistance than ever before. **Computerization** has made it possible to reach you faster when you transfer and to respond quickly to your inquiries. The quarterly **Post Dispatch** keeps AFSA reps up-to-date on our activities. Our annual **Tax Guide** incorporates the latest tax code changes. Circulation and quality of the **FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL** are better than ever. The **JOURNAL** is now circulated to all members of Congress.

AFSA Delivers

AFSA negotiates for you—from strength. We lead joint agency **negotiations** on agreements with the five foreign affairs agencies, and we **monitor** the department's and AID's **compliance** with law and agreements. We are taking the department to Court on D.C. Taxes, the AFSPA Overseas Option, and all the way to the Supreme Court on the issue of Nondisclosure Forms.

Ombudsman

AFSA cuts through **red-tape** when the system fails and has markedly increased handling of member inquiries. We provide tax advice and legal services, and we act on **post concerns**, such as security and R&R. We push for recognition for **specialists**. AFSA also provides in-depth **grievance representation**, which is up 78 percent since 1985.

Retired Interests

Retired members constitute the second largest voting bloc in AFSA, and we closely monitor legislative initiatives threatening their retirement benefits. Since 1984, we have instituted a **bi-monthly newsletter** with updates on COLA's, FEHBP, and Medicare; a pocket-size **Congressional Directory**; Capitol Hill liaison; a speaker's background kit; a **Retiree Directory**; a **travel program**.

Professional Issues

To advance the cause of professional diplomacy, AFSA encourages **debate** of issues affecting the Service. AFSA programs and publications include **Speaker Luncheons** in the Foreign Service Club on topics such as "American Diplomacy to the End of the Century", "Experts or Generalists," "Foreign Aid," "The Changing Role of Secretaries," and for USIA, "Why Only Two USIA Ambassadors?"; "**Duty and Danger**," an AFSA publication on the hazards of diplomatic life; and increased AFSA involvement and publicity for **Foreign Service Day** and the **AFSA Awards Program** to emphasize the best in the Foreign Service.

The Challenge

AFSA **defends and promotes** the American Foreign Service, and the need to do so is greater than ever before. New administrations need help in understanding that the Foreign Service is the backbone of any **coherent foreign policy**. AFSA needs to be **vigorous** in fighting challenges by the administration and by Congress, including infringement on **legitimate employee rights**, and budget cuts affecting both active and retired members.

We must **reach out** to the American public to make the Foreign Service heard and understood—to help build a foreign policy constituency in the United States. For the good of the Foreign Service and the United States, AFSA must remain vital and strong. **When you receive your election ballot in June, vote YES on the dues referendum.**

The Governing Board

President, Theodore S. Wilkinson Continuity and Renewal Slate

AFSA has been in good hands for the last two years. Give me your votes to keep it moving forward!

The team that joins me for this year's AFSA elections stands for both continuity and renewal.

All of our names appear on the ballot except senior communicator Dave Smith and recently retired FS-1 political officer Lowell Fleischer.

Please keep your Governing Board a strong and cohesive team by voting for all the members of the Continuity and Renewal Slate, and by writing in the name of David Smith (if you are a State member) or Lowell Fleischer (if you are a retired member).

Why should you vote for us? Because we are a cross-section of the Foreign Service who can be counted on to represent your interests fully and fairly. Our slate includes active Foreign Service personnel from a wide range of grade levels, specialties and backgrounds plus a distinguished retired contingent—all committed to a strong, cohesive career service.

What do we stand for? AFSA has been a fraternal association since 1924; since 1972 it has also been the exclusive bargaining agent for the Foreign Service. AFSA's legal union rights are a source of strength, but we propose to lead the organization in a manner consistent with both roles. We will defend our membership's interests with vigor and tenacity, but also with the dignity that befits a professional organization.

We stand on our accomplishments during the past two years:

—**Assistance to grievants:** AFSA's help rose dramatically to people with problems caused by agencies' personnel policies. Our grievance case load went up 78 percent from 1985.

—**Defense of rights:** AFSA successfully resisted ill-considered management proposals for use of lie detectors; for drug test-

ing; and for psychological testing of personnel bound for Eastern Europe.

—**For the State Constituency:** AFSA's elected leadership headed off the draconian Whitehead plan to gut the Foreign Service and contributed in large measure to 11th-hour FY 1988 funding by Congress to stave off drastic personnel cuts.

—**For All:** A revitalized *Foreign Service Journal*; increasingly popular, lower cost Foreign Service Club dining facilities; expanded group insurance programs.

An Agenda for the Future: Though we are proud of our record, we need to redouble our efforts on major issues:

Respect for Career Service: We will seek to maintain and advertise the excellence of our own professional standards, so that careerists at all levels are treated with due respect and dignity. We will resist pressures for further politicization of the foreign affairs agencies and promote placement of qualified career Foreign Service personnel in senior positions.

Expanded Outreach: Yes, the Foreign Service does have a constituency—the network throughout the U.S. of private organizations and corporations that take an interest in foreign affairs. We will work to develop better links with our grass roots, so we can draw on them for support. We will also improve liaison with other major countries' employee organizations.

Improved Feedback: We want to hear more from our membership, and more often. We will follow up promptly on issues of general concern, as with your inquiries about air travel security and the Fly America Act.

Adequate Budgets: We will support appropriations sufficient to maintain predictable career pat-

terns and to accomplish our mission. We will fight to keep essential training immune from budget restrictions, using enhanced contacts with OMB and with key members of Congress.

Our Own Pocketbooks: We will join with other employee organizations in a continuing effort to re-establish pay parity with the private sector. We will pursue our case against the Helms Amendment making Foreign Service residents of the District subject to D.C. tax. We will oppose proposals to curtail Foreign Service allowances.

AFSA Financial Management: Together with your election ballots, you will be asked to approve a dues increase commensurate with cost-of-living increases and AFSA's expanded activities in your behalf. We pledge to manage our increased revenues well, and to seek other revenues so as to hold down any further dues increases.

State Department issues: We will continue to support the effort of the FS-1s who are now on prescriptive relief from mandatory retirement to reach an equitable agreement with the Department. We will press for steps to prevent recurrence of the high rates of involuntary separations of the mid- to late 1980s, both at the 01 and senior levels, and we will encourage better long-term workforce planning to add predictability to State Department careers. We will work towards greater flexibility in the cone system; clearer ground rules for interfunctional assignments; and redressing promotion precepts so that professionally challenging posts do not go unfilled because they do not clearly lead to swift promotions. For Foreign Service secretaries, we will monitor and promote the implementation of recent task force recommendations for improvements in the professional environment for secretaries.

AID Issues: We will seek to upgrade the quality and openness of the annual rating system. We

will also seek to improve AID's performance on affirmative action, and adherence to Obey Amendment standards for lateral recruitment. In order to promote AID members' interests most effectively, we will press for management funding of a full-time AID vice presidency.

USIA Issues: Although AFSA is not the official bargaining agent for USIA, I will work closely with our USIA constituency vice presidential nominee Vance Pace to ensure that State/AID proposals are consistent with the interests of the career Foreign Service of USIA.

Retired Issues: Building on recent initiatives, we will promote contact and interchange among the scattered members of the retired community and pay close attention to bread and butter issues, including:

—AFSA's *Retiree Directory*

—bi-monthly *Retiree Letter*, including regional meetings

—retiree activities at the time of Foreign Service Day

—retiree counselling on annuity and other issues

—speechmakers kits and advice on key issues for contacts with legislators

—leadership in 23-member coalition of federal and retiree employee organizations, which lobbies on bread-and-butter issues

—new retired travel program.

We will also solicit and welcome additional ideas for serving the interests of our second largest AFSA constituency. If you approve separately a change in the bylaws, we will appoint a new AFSA vice president for retirees.

**Vote for
Continuity and Renewal!**

**Don't Neglect the Write-ins:
Smith for State,
Fleischer for Retirees**

We're Your Best Choice!

President, Hartford T. Jennings

The Foreign Service is challenged today as it rarely has been in the past. The problems are not new. We have all been concerned about them for the past five years. So far, we have demonstrated that the Service's problems are not easily solved. Now we must show that we have the fortitude and persistence required to deal with them nevertheless. A desire to meet the challenges and an understanding of the problems are not enough. The vision to conceive workable solutions and the ability to get them implemented are crucial.

We hope that the new administration will be prepared to address the issues confronting the federal foreign policy community constructively and flexibly. But, whether it does so or not, AFSA must take the lead in responding to these challenges. For the task it needs leadership with experience, a sensitivity to the environment within which AFSA and the Foreign Service operate, the vision to advance creative solutions to our problems, and the ability to get those solutions adopted. Hartford T. Jennings offers that leadership.

Professional Issues are Important

As AFSA president, Jennings will address the organization and operation of the foreign affairs agencies and the Foreign Service. How should the U.S. diplomatic establishment be structured? What is the proper role of the Foreign Service within it? What kind of development assistance program should we have? What public diplomacy should our government undertake? How long should Foreign Service careers be? What are our security needs?

These issues are not the subject of bargaining between agency managements and employee representatives. But they are questions which directly affect the well-being of AFSA's

members and on which those members have informed opinions. The association must articulate a coherent vision of the U.S. foreign policy apparatus and of the Foreign Service, the tasks the Service should perform, and the tools it should have to accomplish its mission. And AFSA will have to convince others—agency managers and perhaps even Congress—of the validity of its views.

Jennings wants the Foreign Service to include all federal government employees permanently assigned overseas. The Foreign Service Reserve Corps should be re-established to accommodate those from the civil service or the private sector who would serve only one or two tours abroad.

The Foreign Service should offer full and satisfying careers to those members who can demonstrate their continuing competitiveness. Foreign Service members who are at the top of their career ladders and are approaching the expiration of their time-in-class limits should be given the opportunity to compete with those seeking promotion into the class. If successful, they should be granted five-year extensions of TIC.

Security requirements must be balanced against the Foreign Service's charge to accomplish the nation's business. AFSA's members, who are on the front lines both in the security system and in operational activities abroad, are uniquely situated to advise where this balance should be struck.

Bread and Butter Issues Require Attention

Jennings will give high priority to AFSA's negotiation of "bread and butter" issues with the managements of State and AID. These efforts seek to ensure that the work environments of AFSA's members help them to make full use of their abilities.

Jennings will participate actively in the work of all the association's standing committees and areas. The State and AID standing committees must comprise members who are employees of the agencies, know the problems, and are closely in touch with the desires of their colleagues. The AFSA vice presidents for those constituencies will chair the committees for their agencies. But, as an ex-officio member of the committees President Jennings will attend their meetings, keep abreast of the issues with which they are dealing, and make the prestige of the presidency fully available to them as needed.

AFSA should provide representation to its members in all adversarial proceedings—grievances, attempts to revoke security clearances, inspector-general investigations. Insofar as possible, AFSA should also provide such assistance to non-members whom it represents.

Promotion precepts should be available at the beginning of the rating periods so they can be used in preparing work requirements.

Some of the elements of the informal assignments system should be formally adopted in order to place Foreign Service people serving overseas on par with those in the department in seeking onward assignments.

As AFSA president, Jennings will make himself fully available to the retired, USIA, Agriculture, and Commerce AFSA constituencies. He will actively participate in efforts to increase AFSA membership in these constituencies.

It is important for AFSA to build good relationships with the managers of the foreign affairs agencies. We Foreign Service professionals pride ourselves on maintaining amicable relationships with others even when we must disagree with them. AFSA should apply this mode of operation to its relations with State and AID management, in order

to accomplish its purpose of protecting its members' interests. We must not mistake contentiousness for effectiveness.

AFSA Should Be Service's Chief Advocate

Finally, AFSA should be the chief proponent of the Foreign Service. As the Service's professional association, AFSA can be an advocate for it when the agencies or the service itself cannot speak. The association should work closely with the Foreign Service and the foreign affairs agencies to increase public awareness of the importance of the service and its work.

A Strong AFSA is Crucial

Jennings will address the state of AFSA itself. In order to play the role required of it, the association must be administratively and financially sound and enjoy the active support of its membership. Over the past two years, AFSA has moved from a budget surplus to a deficit. This year, there are election contests for only two positions. Jennings will work to stem the red ink and to draw more extensively on the skills of the associations' talented membership. He will also maintain the high quality of AFSA's staff.

**For Leadership
For Vision
For Success
Vote Jennings**



Ted Wilkinson

Ted Wilkinson is a career FSO who served as AFSA representative at the USNATO (1970-74) and in Mexico City (1981-84). In 1975-78, he was chairman of AFSA's Members Interests Committee. He is currently Secretary of the AFSA board.

Wilkinson has also had assignments in Caracas, Stockholm, Geneva, the USUN, and Tegucigalpa. During Washington tours he has served in four bureaus (INR, PM, NEA, and OES) and two other agencies (ACDA and Defense). If elected, he will draw on this broad experience to promote the interests of all career Foreign Service personnel.



Hartford T. Jennings

Jennings is a State Department FSO-2 in the political cone. He has served at embassies in Abidjan, Addis Ababa, and Gaborone, and with the Multinational Force and Observers in Egypt. In the Department, he has served in the old Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs and Bureau of International Organization Affairs. He is currently on a Pearson assignment at the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington, D.C. In 1984-85, he served on AFSA's State Standing Committee. From 1985-1987, he was secretary of the Governing Board. He is married and the father of four.



Vice President Charles Schmitz Continuity and Renewal

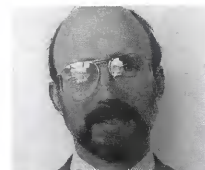
I have been associated with AFSA for 24 years and began taking a serious interest in its doings in 1968, when a number of us observed that department managers could not always be counted on to do everything right. We worked on "bread and butter" issues and had a few successes, one of which is the modern transfer allowance. In 1987, I became a member of AFSA's

Board of Governors and spent a good deal of time in the ultimately successful effort of getting \$63 million put back into State's appropriation for FY 88. In February 1989, I started my fill-in assignment as AFSA Vice President, a term that will expire in July, unless, of course, I am re-elected.

I do not want or intend to waste my time during the five months of my tenure and am working as hard as I can on 1) our manifold negotiations with management (drug testing, psychological screening, specialist-generalist conversions, sick leave and LWOP, discipline, etc.), on 2) resolving AFSA's current financial crunch with both cost cuts and new revenue sources, and on 3) improving AFSA's out-

reach to our natural collaborators in international business, think tanks, universities, and world affairs councils. The Continuity and Renewal Slate, with which I am happy to be associated, is fully committed to continuing these advances for AFSA.

If elected, I do not intend to serve out the two-year term of office since I am one of those MC's expected to go off the rolls by October 1, and I am searching for a post-Foreign Service assignment. I will, however, stay with the task as long as I can; and I am confident that the new Governing Board of the Continuity and Renewal Slate will identify a competent and productive replacement vice president when the time comes.



AID Vice President Charles M. Uphaus Continuity and Renewal

Charles Uphaus brings to the Continuity and Renewal Slate a total of 13 years of AID experience, and two years of experience on the AID Standing Committee. He has served overseas as an agricultural economist and agricultural development officer in the Yemen Arab Republic, Sierra Leone, and, most recently, Sri Lanka, and is currently Near East branch chief, Division for Agriculture and Rural Development, Asia/Near East Bureau Office of Technical Resources. Other international experience includes two years as a Peace Corps volunteer in Nepal.

He has an M.S. in agricultural economics, University of Hawaii (East-West Center), and a B.A. in political science.

Statement: I would like to see AFSA take on a much more active role in dealing with the agency on such issues as affirmative action, upgrading the quality of the rating and promotion process, maintaining the professional integrity of the Foreign Service against attempts at manipulation, and promoting the professional growth of Foreign Service officers.

We will press the agency to effectively stretch the concept of affirmative action beyond that of targeted recruitment and preferential promotion to include retention, placement and professional development, and to implement already approved elements of the agency's affirmative action plan—particularly, the revitalization of the EEO Oversight Board. We will also press for expansion of the agency's current course offerings on "Managing Sexuality in the Workplace."

We will continue our efforts to safeguard and upgrade the evaluation and promotion process. Among the changes we hope to achieve are greater recognition of and support for the

unity review panels, stepped up training in preparing EERs, and measures to increase the accountability of raters and reviewers in the overall process.

"Professional growth" is a topic to which the agency pays lip service but then ignores, blaming restricted OE budgets. The interests of both officers and the agency will be served by professional growth through a combination of training and appropriate assignments, and this is a topic to which I hope to devote increased attention.

Communications between the Standing Committee and the broader constituency have become an increasing problem. This problem is (paradoxically) worst in AID/W, and one of my first steps will be the reconstitution of an AFSA communications network here to upgrade the two-way flow of information and ideas.

Finally, as all agency personnel are aware, a number of proposals are under consideration for a restructuring of AID. I want to insure that AFSA is involved at all relevant decision points in this process.



**USIA Vice President
Vance C. Pace
Continuity and Renewal**

Vance C. Pace is a candidate for AFSA vice president representing USIA. Mr. Pace is a native of Utah and graduated from Utah State University. He has been in the Foreign Service since 1963. He began his career in Colombia, where he served as assistant cultural affairs officer. In 1970, Pace was transferred to Honduras as cultural affairs officer. He served a three-year stint as a desk officer in USIA's American Republics Office from 1974 to 1977. Mr. Pace then transferred to Lima as USIS executive officer. From 1981 to 1985, he was public affairs officer in USIA's Office of East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

Pace has been interested in labor-management issues for many years. He has been USIA's representative on the AFSA governing board since 1988. Prior to that he served as a member of the Foreign Service impasse disputes panel of the Federal Labor Relations Authority. During his earlier tour in Washington, he was a negotiator on USIA personnel matters, particularly the open assignments policy.



**Secretary, Perry Shankle
Continuity and Renewal**

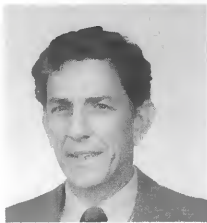
I am proud of AFSA's accomplishments these past two years under the Renewal Team. We restored AFSA to its rightful place as a respected voice of Foreign Service professionalism. AFSA is now taken seriously by the administration, Congress, the media, and the general public as a professional organization and union that speaks for its members.

We defeated the disastrous Whitehead proposal to gut the Foreign Service, established an office of professional issues, revitalized the JOURNAL, and reopened the club as a facility to be proud of while stopping the hemorrhaging of AFSA dues that before were pouring into (and through) the club.

Ted Wilkinson, Chuck Schmitz, Bruce Laingen, David Schneider and other members of the Continuity & Renewal Slate are part of this success story. I urge you to vote for the Continuity & Renewal Slate in its entirety—write in Lowell Fleischer for the third retiree representative. We need Lowell.

Your vote for Mike Davila as Treasurer is key. He knows what needs to be done and how to do it. His opponent, a holdover from an old board, is not in the Foreign Service, works in another agency, has never served abroad in the Foreign Service, is not attuned to the professional needs of AFSA members, and has not given adequate attention to the demanding duties of his job as treasurer.

If you like what the present Board has done, vote for the Continuity and Renewal Slate in its entirety.



**Treasurer
Michael Davila
Continuity and Renewal**

Mike Davila joined the Foreign Service in 1964 after active duty service in the U.S. Navy. He served in consular, political and economic positions in overseas tours. In the Department, he served in a variety of economic positions, as well as an inspector on the inspector general's staff. He retired in June, 1986, after 27 years of government and military service and is now working as a consultant with Professional Management Associates. He received a B.A. and M.A. from the University of Texas; an MPA from Harvard; and attended ICAF.

Statement: AFSA faces hard and complex issues and the CR slate has pledged to continue and expand on the commendable efforts undertaken by the previous board to preserve and promote the Foreign Service. To do this, however, AFSA must manage its financial resources more efficiently than it has in the past. More attention and effort must be given by the treasurer to the budget process so that the board has options other than continuing resolution funding as occurred in the first three months of 1989. Better investment/risk judgment has to be exercised so as to avoid an erosion in the value of AFSA funds as happened to the AFSA scholarship fund during 1988. The utilization of AFSA's material and personnel resources must be based on sound management principles, thereby ensuring the greatest benefit for the membership.



**Treasurer
Samuel T. Mok**

Education: B.S. accounting, Fordham University. M.A. accounting, Catholic University. Certified Internal Auditor.

Work Experience: Senior auditor, major international accounting firm. Director of Accounting, Time-Life Books. Comptroller and Treasurer, U.S. News and World Report. Captain, U.S. Army, with assignments as intelligence officer in Japan and as administrative and financial adviser, ARRI, at U.S. Military Academy, West Point. Foreign Service Officer, U.S. Department of State. Presently Comptroller, U.S. Department of the Treasury (since November 1986). Served as the AFSA Treasurer and Chairman of the AFSA Finance Committee for the last three years. **Statement:** With 20 years of professional financial management experience, I bring experience, know-how, dedication and professional management to AFSA. During the past three years, I have modernized the AFSA accounting system, corrected all the financial management weaknesses, instilled financial control and discipline on the AFSA management decision process. Timely and accurate financial information is now provided to the board and AFSA management on a monthly basis. An independent treasurer will ensure the proper check and balance and the objective review of expenditures. I serve AFSA not to improve my career nor to find things to occupy my time. I believe in what I am doing and I am doing a good job. Return Samuel T. Mok to another term on the board. Reelect Samuel T. Mok.



**AID Representative
Samuel Scott**
Continuity and Renewal

Samuel Scott comes to the Continuity and Renewal Slate with a wealth of Foreign Service experience. Scott began his AID career in 1970 as an (engineering adviser) International Development Intern in Dar es Salaam and followed with tours of duty in Nairobi (REDSO), Saigon, Panama City, San Jose, Accra and Yaounde. In addition to serving as an engineering adviser, Scott has held urban development and project development officer positions overseas. He has an MPA from Syracuse University (Maxwell School) and is currently assigned in AID/Washington as a regional food aid coordinator in the FVA Bureau's Latin America/Caribbean Division. At each of his overseas posts Scott has been very active with AFSA chapter initiatives and helped to represent the views and concerns of Foreign Service personnel serving abroad.



**AID Representative
Wendell E. Morse, Jr.**
Continuity and Renewal

Education: M.S., Agricultural Economics, Cornell University, 1971. B.A., Economics, University of New Hampshire, 1964. **Current AID position:** Agricultural Economist (BS-IO), Board for International Food and Agricultural Development (BIFAD).

Prior AID service: Agricultural development officer in Sudan; agricultural economist in the Bureau for Science and Technology and the Bureau for Food for Peace and Voluntary Assistance. **Peace Corps Service/Brazil:** Volunteer (1964-66) and staff service (1973-78) to acting country director.

Joint State/AID committee work: Advocacy over the past three years to extend to the disabled children of Foreign Service families when they are posted overseas the same special education benefits to which they are entitled while residing in the United States.



**Retired Representative
John J. Harter**

Education: B.A. in History, master's in Library Science, U.S.C.; master's in Economics, Harvard. **Pre-Foreign Service:** Lecturer (History), U.S.C.; Division chief, D.C. Public Library.

Foreign Service: Consular officer in South Africa; GSO in Chile; UN economic affairs specialist (IO); financial analyst in Thailand; Bulgarian language trainee, FSI; trade negotiator (GATT) and UNCTAD liaison officer in Geneva; regional trade specialist (ARA); writer/editor (economics), USIA.

Other: Member, AFSA Board, 1960-61; Vestry secretary, American church, Geneva, 1969-70; currently oral historian for USG.

Statement: Too many of our best professional diplomats have been forced to "retire" in their prime, victimized by irrational personnel policies.

Despite their exemplary education, unblemished records, and dedicated service, their chosen careers were deflected in mid-passage. Now dispersed in communities across the country, they constitute a strategic potential network that can be galvanized in support of a new approach to foreign affairs.

The Foreign Service has been mortally wounded by the Foreign Service Act of 1980 and its confused implementation. But it can and must be restored to health.

If elected, I shall press AFSA to enlist the great energy, experience, and talent of the retired constituency in a comprehensive drive to redefine the role of the Foreign Service in a rapidly changing world.

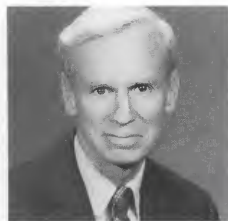


**Retired Representative
Bruce Laingen**
Continuity and Renewal

Bruce Laingen retired in 1987, after 38 years of active duty in the Foreign Service and three and a half years in the United States Navy in World War II. He served as deputy assistant secretary in the Bureau of European Affairs, 1975-77; as ambassador to Malta, 1977-79; as chargé d'affaires in Tehran, 1979-81; and as vice president of the National Defense University, 1981-86.

He currently serves as executive director of the National Commission on the Public Service, a private, non-profit group headed by Paul Volcker and dedicated to strengthening the effectiveness of the career services of government.

Statement: I endorse the Continuity and Renewal Slate's proposed retired write-in candidacy of Lowell Fleischer, who I expect to be particularly well prepared to address the needs and concerns of recent retirees.



**Retired Representative
Dave Schneider
Continuity and Renewal**

Prior to retiring in 1984, Dave Schneider spent two years as senior deputy in NEA. Much of his career, which began in 1951 with an assignment to Karachi, had been spent in South Asia. He was DCM in New Delhi from 1973 to 1977 and ambassador to Bangladesh for three years thereafter. A pilot in World War II, he had out-of-area Foreign Service assignments in Ethiopia and OES. He has been active in AFSA affairs both before and after retirement, serving as chairman of the Editorial Board of the Foreign Service Journal in 1968-69 and on the Governing Board of AFSA from 1987 to present. Since retiring, Dave has acted as a consultant and stayed in touch with the Foreign Service while fulfilling several contracts with the department.



**State Representative
Ross Quan
Continuity and Renewal**

Ross Quan has served in a variety of developed and developing countries. A graduate of the University of California, he initially worked as an IVS volunteer in Algeria and a Peace Corps volunteer in Gabon. Upon en-

tering the Foreign Service, he received assignment to Bern, Switzerland as a junior officer. Since that time, Mr. Quan, an economic officer, has served in Paris (exhibits management) and Kingston (commercial attaché). In Beijing, his most recent overseas posting, Mr. Quan reported on the impact of China's economic reform. Currently, he is an international maritime policy officer covering U.S. maritime relations with the Asian-Pacific region. He speaks Mandarin Chinese, French and German.



**State Representative
D. Purnell Delly
Continuity and Renewal**

DOB: July 29, 1952, Norfolk, Virginia. **Education:** Dartmouth College, B.A., 1974 (English Literature/Russian Language and Literature). University of Chicago, M.A., 1975 (Literature). College of William and Mary, 1982 (Law—emphasis in international and corporate law, including study of labor law). **Foreign Service Career:** 1983-85: Embassy San Salvador (consular/econ rotation). 1986-87: U.S. Consulate Edinburgh, Scotland. 9/87-3/88: FSI 26-week economic course. 1988-present: Office of Regional Economic Policy, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs (ARA/ECP). **Other Experience:** 1975-79: student of French language at University of Reims, instructor in English as a second language in Tehran, Iran, and work for U.S. defense contractor at Khatemi Air Force Base, Isfahan, Iran. 1982-83: practice of law, and graduate study in law of taxation.



**State Representative
Michael W. Cotter
Continuity and Renewal**

I joined the Foreign Service in 1968 and have been an active AFSA member since 1971. A political officer, I've been posted in Vietnam (CORDS and Embassy), La Paz, Quito, Ankara, and Kinshasa, serving as AFSA post representative in both Quito and Kinshasa. During department tours I've been a desk officer in both ARA and EUR, and am currently assigned to the M/MP planning staff. I'm a native of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and have degrees from Georgetown, Stanford, and Michigan, the latter a law degree. I'm married to a Foreign Service officer in USIA, giving me an interest in tandem issues.



**State Representative
Eileen M. Heaphy
Continuity and Renewal**

Eileen Heaphy, a native of Connecticut, entered the Foreign Service in 1973 and joined AFSA immediately thereafter. In her first tour (San Jose), she covered labor affairs in the embassy's political section. She also worked in political for her second tour, Mexico City. Department assignments followed—staff assistant in the Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Colom-

bia Desk officer, and chairman of the Open Forum (1981-82). Ms. Heaphy served as principal officer in Bilbao, Spain, for three years and then transferred to Copenhagen, once again returning to labor affairs by serving as labor attaché concurrent with deputy chief of the embassy's political section. She returned to the department in January to become deputy director of the Office of Northern European Affairs.

In Copenhagen, Ms. Heaphy served as the post's AFSA representative, on the embassy's Awards Committee, and on the Housing Board. She was also active in AFSA groups in both San Jose and Mexico City.

Group COLA grievance successful

The Foreign Service Grievance Board recently decided in favor of a group of employees posted overseas who had suffered financial hardship due to the department's failure to adjust cost of living rates during the 1987 holiday season.

With AFSA's assistance, these employees filed a grievance requesting that the department reimburse them for the financial loss. The department denied their grievance, claiming that adjusting the rates every two weeks was simply its usual operating practice, not an official policy. Based on this rationale, the department argued that its actions were not grievable in that they did not constitute a violation of law, policy or regulation.

The department normally monitors these rates on a bi-weekly basis

and adjusts allowances accordingly. These adjustments are made to protect employees living overseas from undue hardships arising from fluctuations in exchange rates. Unfortunately, several times since 1980—particularly during holiday periods—the office responsible for calculating the adjustment did not carry out this responsibility on a bi-weekly basis because of lower staffing levels.

The board determined that making these adjustments was not a discretionary act, nor was it dependent upon the availability of staff. The board ordered the department to pay the grievants the amount they had lost during the time the department had failed to make the adjustments, which may compel the department to make the bi-weekly adjustments a written mandatory policy.

State limits drug testing plan

The bad news is that within the next week, Department of State employees will be receiving a department notice concerning the department's "drug-free workplace plan." The good news is that the plan does not implement mandatory testing; it is little more than an outline of the provisions of President Reagan's executive order. There will be no mandatory testing unless and until the department concludes negotiations with AFSA.

Despite the current hiatus in the department's plan, AFSA will continue its strenuous opposition to any random drug testing program, because it is unnecessary, costly, and demeaning. While the department has designated over 12,400 positions to be subject to random drug testing, it has never even attempted to make the case that the Foreign Serv-

ice has a drug abuse problem. In fact, on questioning from AFSA, the department has acknowledged that at most there are a handful of employees who may abuse drugs, and almost none are in the Foreign Service. If there is any substance abuse problem at all in the Foreign Service, it is in the realm of alcohol abuse, and a drug-testing program misses the target.

There are two aspects of the drug program that AFSA supports—treatment of drug users and education. AFSA encourages the department to move forward with these positive, non-punitive elements of the program. Doing so is the preferable way to achieve the mutual goal of a drug-free workplace.

AFSA's intention was to negoti-

continued on the following page

Foreign Service Day Activities

Friday, May 5, 1989

AFSA welcomes retired members returning for Foreign Service Day activities on May 5, and the AFSA brunch for retirees at the Foreign Service Club, May 6.

Members are encouraged to attend the 11 a.m. Awards Ceremony in Dean Acheson Auditorium, and the 5:30 p.m. Plaque Dedication Ceremony in the C Street lobby of State.

AFSA appears in Supreme Court

The Supreme Court heard oral argument March 20 on AFSA's lawsuit challenging SF-4193, a nondisclosure form that has been signed by over 49,000 federal employees. The issue concerns the requirement that employees not disclose information that is "classifiable."

Section 630 of the Treasury, Postal Service, and General Appropriations Act for fiscal year 1988 provides that no funds be expended in the implementation of a form concerning the nondisclosure of classified information if the form contains the word "classifiable." With this language, Congress attempted to limit the use of vague standards, but the district court held that section 630 was unconstitutional and the case was appealed to the Supreme Court.

AFSA's contention is that Congress has significant national security powers in which it may legislate and not impair the power of the executive. AFSA has asked the court to reverse the district court and remand with directions requiring the government to give federal employees notice of section 630 restraints.

AFSA argues for 'sufficient' funding before subcommittee

In congressional testimony last month, AFSA urged the Subcommittee on International Operations to "continue its longstanding commitment to the conduct of diplomacy," stressing that sufficient funding is crucial for the State Department to properly perform diplomatic relations. The current austerity diet has left vital positions vacant and vital programs underfunded.

AID mission review panels discussed

After receiving complaints from members regarding the AID mission review panel process, AFSA met with AID management to discuss the problems and possible solutions. These discussions have led AFSA to begin work on its own guidelines for employees on writing EERs.

Several employees had expressed concern to AFSA over the present mission review panel system. As a result, AFSA sent a cable to AID posts worldwide asking for employees' impressions of the system. Respondents were unanimous in their concern that a) there are so few incentives for serving on a panel; and b) such service can seriously harm one's career. AFSA approached AID management with these concerns, and held a meeting to discuss this issue with representatives of AID's Office of Personnel Management.

The agency agreed at this meeting that it would emphasize the positive aspects of serving on mission review panels (i.e., letters of commendation) in its EER guidance materials and that AFSA could review these materials before they were distributed to the field. Unfortunately, the agency sent these materials without first submitting them to AFSA. After finally reviewing this material, the AID Standing Committee decided to issue an additional AFSA EER guidance cable which would more thoroughly cover this area.

After making a case for a strong and vigorous Foreign Service with the money to do its job correctly, AFSA explained a number of non-budgetary issues that concern AFSA. Among these are the importance of appointing "individuals . . . possess[ing] clearly demonstrated competence" as chiefs of mission, the legislation eliminating the D.C. income tax exclusion, the proposed

executive order denying individuals the right to appeal a security clearance denial, and the department's proposed random drug testing plan.

The members of the subcommittee were sympathetic to the needs of the Foreign Service and commended AFSA for its work. However, they emphasized the need for fiscal responsibility in these times of growing deficits.

Communicating with AFSA by cable

The association has recently noted an increasing amount of confusion regarding overseas cable communication with AFSA/Washington. The department provides AFSA with two cable channels to communicate with its members. The first, known simply as the AFSA channel, is for routine inquiries (e.g., payroll/administrative problems, labor-management issues, legal questions). The second channel affords employees greater confidentiality, but is reserved for those who are involved

in grievances; it is known as the ERG (Exclusive Representative Grievance) channel.

There are two non-AFSA channels for grievances. Employees who wish to communicate directly with State or AID during the grievance process should use the AGS (Agency Grievance Staff) channel. Those sending a cable to the Foreign Service Grievance Board should utilize the "Grievance" channel. For clarification, contact AFSA in Washington or your AFSA post representative.

Drug testing, from the previous page

ate hard to protect employees from unnecessary intrusion and suspicion and, if necessary, to institute a legal challenge to the random testing element of the program when and if testing appeared to be imminent. We still intend to carry out our plan. At this stage, however, it does not appear that drug testing is anywhere near the horizon this year.

To the degree that AFSA has been responsible for calling to the department's attention the unacceptable additional burden on employees inherent in the random drug testing plan, we take pride in the outcome so far.

AFSA is following the implementation of a recent Supreme Court decision, *National Treasury Employees Union v. Von Raab, Commissioner,*

United States Customs Service. The union for customs service employees charged that random drug testing violates an employee's Fourth Amendment rights as unreasonable search and seizure and violates an individual's right to privacy.

The court held that the drug testing program did not violate an individual's rights when that individual is directly involved with drug enforcement or required to carry a firearm. However, the court did not rule on the constitutionality of random drug testing for employees with access to classified information but remanded the issue to federal court for a final ruling. AFSA will continue to advise its members of any new development.

Proposed executive order denies right of appeal

Last month, the House Civil Service Subcommittee heard testimony regarding a proposed executive order that would eliminate the appeals mechanism for individuals denied an initial security clearance or a clearance upgrade. Under the current system, an agency sends the employee a letter stating that he or she has been denied a clearance. The letter explains the reason for the denial and allows the employee the opportunity to refute any agency allegations that may have led to the denial.

According to Mary Lawton, counsel for intelligence policy at

the Justice Department, the reason for the proposed Executive Order No. 11030 is to create uniformity in the clearance system while decreasing the number of unnecessary clearances. When repeatedly asked by members of the subcommittee how denying employees access to a long standing appeals process would accomplish these goals, Ms. Lawton did not reply.

AFSA presented a statement challenging the rationality of the order's elimination of procedural due process rights. The statement stressed the association's commit-

ment to national security concerns and the imposition of all reasonable measures aimed at safeguarding classified information. However, many of the provisions of the proposed executive order are not reasonable, AFSA said.

In response to the overwhelming opposition to the proposed order at the hearing, the subcommittee sent a letter to President Bush seeking his assurance that the proposed order will not be issued in its present form. The letter was signed by Subcommittee Chairman Sikorsky (D-MN) and had strong bipartisan support.

State Standing Committee

AFSA wins battles with State management

AFSA has won a few battles in its discussions with management this spring, and feels that it has them on the run in a few others. A short list:

- The department dropped its bad idea of psychological screening for employees heading for East European posts. AFSA helped them come to this correct conclusion.
- The department has issued a notice containing the framework of a program that would include drug testing, but the content of the program does not yet exist, and AFSA has served its own notice that, while we favor reasonable efforts to bring about a drug-free work place, we will oppose unreasonable measures, such as random drug testing.
- The department has proposed improving the PAR card by including more and better information on it. AFSA agrees with the purpose and would like to see included the names

of countries of foreign assignments. The department so far says that would be too much work and trouble, but we continue to press for this relatively simple and meaningful refinement.

- The department has proposed some Draconian new regulations relating to discipline for misconduct. One of the most egregious would allow the department and posts to suspend indefinitely, without notice, explanation, or pay, any employee simply alleged to have engaged in "felonious or other criminal" activity. We have brought this Kafkaesque possibility to management's attention and asked how they could even propose such a thing. Management went into caucus and has not returned at this writing to the bargaining table.
- AFSA has agreed with the department to allow a small number of administrative specialist conversions to administrative generalists. We have negotiated protections for generalist

promotions and for fair application of high standards without management meddling in the process to play favorites. Conversion would give the most talented and promising specialists an opportunity to compete on a longer promotion ladder than otherwise would be the case.

- For sick leave and leave without pay regulations, AFSA and the department have reached agreement on how to tidy up existing regulatory language. In the process of discussions, AFSA successfully opposed department initiatives that would have eroded existing employee rights.
- AFSA sought successfully to be included in appropriate sessions of the Bremer Group that has been charged by Under Secretary for Management-designate Ivan Selin to take a new look at the personnel system for FSOs. Ambassador Bremer has welcomed AFSA's participation, and AFSA believes that he and his team are proceeding well.

Sale of personal property abroad explained

Chris Perine
Legal Assistant



The Department of State's interim regulations governing the sale of personal property by individuals at posts abroad have evoked numerous comments and questions from AFSA members. The final regulations are scheduled for publication in the Federal Register in the near future. They will be incorporated in 3 FAM shortly after that time.

In order to accommodate the specific political and economic conditions that prevail at each post, chiefs of mission have been directed to develop their own policies based upon the regulations. Therefore specific questions regarding post policy should be addressed to the administrative officer or other designated officials at post.

At this time, AFSA is providing guidance on a number of general issues that have been raised by employees overseas.

Q: Are purchases made in the open market (without the benefit of official status) subject to these regulations?

A: All sales of personal property abroad are subject to these regulations and must be approved prior to sale. However, the restriction on retaining profits from the sale of personal property only applies to items that, by virtue of the official status of the employee, were purchased at a price below market value. Employees may retain profit on the sale of all other items.

Q: To whom may I sell an item of personal property?

A: In general any individual or organization (charitable or commercial) is eligible to buy an item of personal property from an employee at post. However, all sales must be approved by the chief of mission or designated representative. Many posts have created committees to regulate

the sale of certain items such as automobiles.

Q: What is included in the purchase price of an item?

A: The purchase price or basis of an item is defined in the interim regulations as the initial price paid for the item plus transportation costs not reimbursed by the U.S. government, shipping insurance, taxes, customs fees, duties or other charges, and capital improvements. The interim regulations specifically exclude from the basis of an item insurance while the item is in use or storage, maintenance, repair, or related costs, and finance charges.

Q: After I have sold an item, what amount of the sale price is available for conversion from local currency to U.S. dollars?

A: The embassy should convert all proceeds from the sale of personal property up to the amount, if any, of a post-imposed limitation on the conversion of proceeds from the sale of personal property by reverse accommodation exchange. Any proceeds obtained from the sale that exceed the post-imposed limitation on conversion by reverse accommodation exchange may be converted using non-embassy facilities (i.e. commercial bank).

Q: Must I seek the fair market value when selling an item of personal property?

A: According to a recent manage-

ment telegram (State 065717), an individual is permitted to sell an item to either an organization or individual at purchase price. He/she would therefore not profit and would avoid paying income tax for an unrealized capital gain.

Q: If I receive a profit on the sale of an item of personal property, how do I identify a charitable organization eligible for donation of profits?

A: In order to assure that a contribution is tax deductible, it must be donated to a non-profit organization as defined by the IRS in section 170(c) of the Internal Revenue Code. These include all U.S. and many international charities. The regulations permit donation to bona fide foreign charities, as determined by the chief of mission. Donations to foreign charities are not tax deductible because these organizations are not recognized by the IRS. (Note: The AFSA Scholarship Fund is an IRS-recognized non-profit organization eligible for these donations—tax #23-7045244.)

Q: How do I identify the non-profit organization to which I have donated my profit when completing my tax return?

A: You must list the amount of your charitable contribution on line 14 of Schedule A for IRS Form 1040. If the amount to any one organization is \$3,000 or more, you must identify the organization.

Moving?

Please let AFSA know

If you are being transferred, please include AFSA in your change-of-address notices. Your agency will NOT notify us when you move from one post to another or back to Washington.

Send address changes to:
AFSA Membership
2101 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

AFSA program addresses changing role of FS secretary

Richard S. Thompson
Professional Issues Coordinator

Deputy Assistant Secretary William L. Swing, speaking at an AFSA luncheon seminar, said that real solutions to the problems secretaries face in the Department of State must include greater respect for the work they do, more formal recognition of their essential role, and a longer career ladder. He added that past and current State Department symbolism has not given proper respect to secretaries, and he urged them to speak out on issues of concern.

The other speakers at the March seminar, Donald C. Leidel, dean of the School of Professional Studies at FSI, Alex De La Garza, director of PER/RMA, and James L. Tull, deputy director of PER/FCA, also made encouraging comments. The active role that the four speakers, all high-ranking State Department officials, are taking in secretarial issues indicates that the top levels of management are seriously interested in making a secretarial career with State more fulfilling than it has been in the past.

Swing outlined some of the problems which fed the high attrition rate. This cycle must be broken by hiring to need, so that secretaries can study languages and get properly rested between assignments, according to Swing.

Earlier efforts to improve the lot of secretaries focused on upward mobility, which was a diversion because it didn't address the role of the secretary as a professional, Swing said. Also, in contrast to other specialists, secretaries do not have a home bureau. This, however, should be remedied soon with the establishment in the director general's office of a coordinator for both Foreign Service and Civil Service secretaries.

Leidel, chairman of the Committee on the Role of the Secretary, said the committee has concluded that automation provides secretaries with the opportunity to take on additional responsibilities. The problem is the

reluctance of many supervisors to give secretaries these responsibilities. The underutilization of secretarial skills and talents causes major morale problems.

Pursuant to the committee's recommendations, a series of training modules has been introduced at FSI, which sensitize supervisors to the full utilization of secretaries.

The main thrust of PER's efforts will be to redefine the roles, titles, and responsibilities of secretaries. Leidel called upon AFSA to join in the effort to sensitize supervisors and managers to their responsibilities toward secretaries.

De La Garza noted that his office, which is directly responsible for job classification, grade structure, and promotion numbers, has also conducted a study. Interviewers questioned secretaries and their supervisors to determine how best to capitalize on the skills, experience, and talent of secretaries with enhanced duties such as administration, management, and research. A cable with a list of such activities will go to the field soon to elicit further comments, and then the new duties can be included in formal position requirements. Both officers and secretaries said they felt such a set of guidelines would free them of unwritten taboos regarding work assignments.

Another key issue is promotions. The bottleneck is at the FP-4 level: there are 316 positions at FP-7, 310

at 6, 221 at 5, but only 86 at the 4 level. Current work aims to change position classifications and to increase the number of FP-4 positions.

Tull reported a new goal: to have all secretaries at class FP-7 or higher achieve the 3 level in a world language. Posts will have to accept staffing gaps if necessary to permit language training, and new secretaries will get language training before going to post. Furthermore, an effort is being made to structure assignments to permit language training regardless of the onward assignment. The inspector general is being asked to look at real language needs in view of posts' reluctance to request language designation for fear of creating staffing gaps.

In the discussion period a number of questions revealed concern at the difficulty of enhancing the prospects for Civil Service secretaries. De La Garza responded that an effort was needed to define a broader area of activities for them. With regard to the timing of any increase in promotions for Foreign Service secretaries, he said something might be done this year, but there would definitely be changes next year. He noted that the ratio of officers to secretaries has not changed since automation does not reduce the number of people needed, but only changes their roles. A secretary with very broad experience should be able to move up almost automatically to administrative work.



Secretaries and supervisors listen to a discussion by Deputy Assistant Secretary William L. Swing and other Department of State officials who spoke at an AFSA luncheon seminar.

Chef Rosemary Brodeur emphasizes nutrition, value, and finesse

April 19 was the first anniversary of the Foreign Service Club's management by the Westbard Group, Inc. For manager and chef Rosemary Brodeur, who turned down offers from Washington's Willard and Le Pavilion restaurants to take over the club, it has been an educational year.

"After a year, we can tell where the mistakes have been made," Brodeur said. "The quality of the food has always been there—it's the service that has come a long way."

Service is often problematic in the restaurant business because personalities are so involved, Brodeur said. Preparing and serving food "is a very personal thing. Even though the customer is paying, it is still a gift of yourself."

It is easy to trace the "personality" in the food served at the club to Brodeur's training, which started long before she was graduated from the Culinary Institute of America.

Her grandfathers influenced her a lot. One owned a dairy farm, and the other "was a health nut before there was such a thing," insisting on eating whole wheat bread, a salad each day, and fish three times a week. He maintained an extensive garden, three types of berry bushes, and five varieties of fruit trees, which Brodeur says she loved to help with.

"To me, it was like magic seeing the plants grow. The color—I really loved the color—the red of the red peppers, and how purple the eggplants would get . . . and then we would make things out of them. It was fascinating to me."

At 13, Brodeur started working in the herb gardens of a French country inn. The job taught her how to handle food properly, literally from the ground up. She said her pet peeve, still, is mishandling and over-handling of food. "I like food to be bold, colorful—it's perfect the way it is," Brodeur said.

Her next job, in a four-star Connecticut restaurant, taught her the classic French style of cooking.

The Culinary Institute of America broadened her experience by exposing her to about 15 styles of cooking—

including Thai, Germanic, Russian, Northern Italian, Middle Eastern, and regional American cuisines.

From there, she went on to work with several different chefs, trying to decide upon a style of cooking. The most influential were Sean Peterson and Jonathan Towers of Stars restaurant in Napa Valley, California. They emphasized freshness so far as to grow their own organic vegetables. This is where Brodeur gained her "finesse," she said. Her "very tossed" California style emphasizes freshness and nutrition.

"The food that we prepare here is nutritionally sound. . . . The mayonnaise we make here. The dressings we make here. It's all low in fat, sodium, and cholesterol. We use only the freshest vegetables. We use mostly fresh herbs. To the best of my ability, I make everything fresh."

Affordability for the customer is a priority. And, after pricing comparable meals in the area, she is convinced the Foreign Service Club is the best value. "You can't get a roasted turkey sandwich on the kind of bread we serve, with coffee, tea, or iced tea and fruit salad, for under \$7 anywhere," she said.

Nutrition and affordability are what club customers want, she has learned. And it is what she plans to continue delivering, because "that's being a chef—knowing your clientele and meeting their needs."

Patty Meier

The following is a springtime dinner from Rosemary Brodeur of the American Foreign Service Club. It is low in salt and fat.

Menu: Fish & Shellfish Soup, Bibb Lettuce & Watercress Salad, Sole Wrapped in Macadamia Nuts & Pecans, Asparagus & Angelhair Pasta.

Fish and Shellfish Soup

2 yellow onions
4 T butter (unsalted)
1 red bell pepper, finely chopped
2 green bell peppers, finely chopped
4 cloves garlic, minced
2 jalapenos, minced
1 T ground coriander
1/4 tsp saffron threads, steeped in 1 T white wine for 5 minutes
1/2 cup sweetened coconut cream
5 cups fish stock



Chef Rosemary Brodeur

8 plum tomatoes, peeled, seeded, cut in cubes
2-3 T lime juice
salt and pepper (fresh ground) to taste
18 clams, unshelled
1 pound firm white fish (red snapper or rock fish), cut into 2" pieces
18 shrimp, peeled and deveined
18 mussels, unshelled
Lobster, crab, and scallops can also be added.

In a sauce pan, saute onion in butter over medium heat until soft, about five minutes. Add bell peppers, garlic, jalapenos and coriander. Saute for five minutes. Add saffron, coconut cream, fish stock, and tomatoes. Simmer for two minutes. Add lime juice, season with salt and pepper. Add clams and mussels (well washed) and cook, covered, for two minutes. Add fish, shrimp and optional shellfish. Cook covered until clams and mussels open and fish is done (five to six minutes). To serve, sprinkle with chopped cilantro and toasted coconut flakes. Makes four servings.

Sole with Macadamia Nuts and Pecans; Asparagus and Angelhair Pasta

4 sole fillets (4-5 oz.)
1 cup macadamia nuts, finely chopped
1 cup pecans, finely chopped
1 cup flour, seasoned with salt and pepper
2 eggs
1/4 stick of butter
1/4 cup olive oil (or safflower oil)

Sole fillets should be patted dry. Dredge in flour, shake off excess. Whisk eggs. Coat fillets in egg wash. Place fillets in chopped nuts and press to coat. Prepare saute pan with butter and oil. When hot, place fish in pan over medium heat, saute until golden, about three minutes. Turn fish and saute another three minutes. Place fish on papertowel-covered cookie pan and keep warm.

4-5 oz. asparagus for each serving
1 pound angelhair pasta
1/2 red bell pepper, finely chopped
8 fresh basil leaves, finely chopped
1/4 stick butter

Cook asparagus in slightly salted boiling water until soft, strain. Keep warm. Cook the pasta in boiling water until it floats to the top (about one minute). Strain and toss with the red pepper and chopped basil (or parsley), and butter.

Arrange sole on warm plates with pasta and asparagus. Garnish with orange sections and mint leaves. Serve with fresh hot crispy bread.

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