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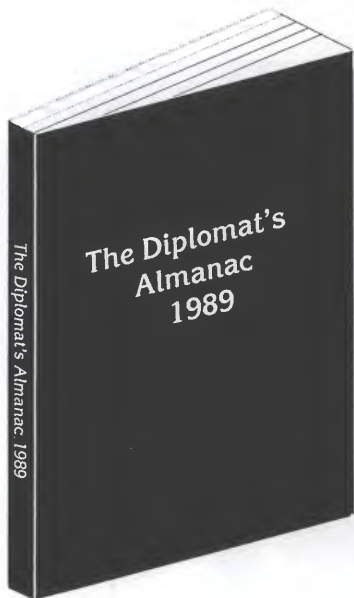
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Qualified Ambassadors

Are we in the Foreign Service the only ones concerned about the qualifications of ambassadorial appointees? It appears so. And when we sound the alarm, we are seen as interested only in job security for ourselves. But political ambassadors are not the problem. Ambassadors without qualifications are, be they political or career. The media treats the absence of qualifications lightly, with titters in the gossip columns. Congress, even those members who know better, shrugs and says nothing.

Maybe they are right. Maybe it is okay to sell our diplomatic posts abroad to the highest bidders, for the taxpayers to bear the burden of paying off political activists, and that American interests in Country X, Y, or Z be damned. But we don't think so. Diplomacy is too important. We should practice it carefully and with skill and send out our very best to represent us. We recommend a quality control process for ambassadorial appointments, for both career and political.

The United States no longer can work its will through the sheer force of economic, political, or moral might. Our place in the scheme of things is affected by events and decisions in other countries. We are foolish if we do not seek every legitimate means to influence those decisions. World events touch everyone's job. Ask the steel workers, the UAW, and the farmers. Corporate board rooms understand the importance of the world to their welfare, and they are beginning to look to Washington for effective diplomacy.

How important is skilled diplomacy to reducing the threats of war, to having some impact on the international flood of illegal drugs, to the health of our world's environment? The list of international issues that are important to Americans now and which will be more so in the future is long.

How do we convince the people of a foreign country that we are serious in the pursuit of our country's objectives if the chief representative of the United States in that country can't speak the language, knows next to nothing about that country, and has no visible qualifications to represent the United States there? We can't.

AFSA urges the administration and Congress to consider whether the time has come to rethink the question of ambassadorial qualifications. Experience should have taught us the painful lesson that not just anyone is good enough to represent all of us. We, also, should care enough to send the very best.

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JOURNAL subscriptions: AFSA Members—included in annual dues; Others, \$20. Overseas subscriptions (except Canada), add \$3 per year. Airmail not available.

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional post office. Postmaster: Send address changes to AFSA, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

Microfilm copies: University Microfilm Library Services, Ann Arbor Michigan 48106 (October 1967 to present). Indexed by Public Affairs Information Service (PAIS).

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Association, 1989
ISSN 0015-7279
June 1989, Vol. 66, no. 6

Cover art
and article drawings
by Ashley Ney.

Cartoons on pages 31, 41,
51, by Joe Johnson,
PAO, Dublin.

Note: Sergei Petrov, the photo-
grapher of our April cover,
finally obtained permission
to leave the Soviet Union on
April 17.

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The other part

I recently read the article on secretaries in the February *AFSA News*. It is about time that AFSA looks into matters concerning the "other part" of the Foreign Service, but the investigation should be extended to include all non-FSOs. Frequently, communicators, secretaries, and other specialists fall behind FSOs when it comes to promotions, training, and benefits overseas.

I hope that you will continue to look into this matter and give greater representation to "staff."

*Kenneth R. Yeager
Falls Church, Virginia*

Child care concerns

Robert Beers's informative update in the February *AFSA News* on domestic issues confronting the 101st Congress mentions child care for working mothers. Since becoming a father three years ago, I have added this topic to the long list of issues where Foreign Service personnel are disadvantaged in comparison to their fellow citizens.

As most officers serving abroad with small children discover, "non-working" spouses need help with child care to meet unpaid but expected representational demands. I feel this acutely as a principal officer, but my wife and I also found it true in our last post where I was but one of several persons with representational responsibilities.

A few years ago, State attempted to get monetary compensation for spouses carrying out representational duties. Why not resurrect the formula to at least seek a tax deduction for child care expenses necessitated by those responsibilities?

AFSA should also seek tax recognition for "working couples" who cannot meet existing criteria because their child care helpers are not U.S. citizens. With child care on the agenda, the timing could not be more appropriate.

*George Dragnich
Oran, Algeria*

Round three

I am delighted with Elliott Abrams's image of me as Lear of the Andes in the March *JOURNAL*. But my book is not about Peru nor was my resignation. Whatever Abrams may say, from 1985 to 1987 he and his spokesmen falsely charged me with disloyalty and "leaking" on Central America, and many people know it.

In the face of a well documented record, to say the affair has nothing to do with Central America seems a useless lie. His own words betray: he wanted me "out of town," at the very moment he wrote the department principals to excoriate a sentence in an INR piece on Nicaragua.

As I wrote former Secretary Shultz, I quit to defend my integrity, not because of a job. Top officials sought to change my mind, offering "vindication" from Abrams's "crazy" charges through the prospect of a good ambassadorship. The secretary, accepting my resignation with regret, cited my integrity, loyalty and professionalism and accorded me the Distinguished Honor Award. After retirement, I received a second presidential award, recommended by a panel aware of the circumstances of my leave taking. The reader can weigh the public record against the warnings of Abrams's "true experts."

Abrams lists, disjunctively, 11 officers with whom he enjoyed good relations. Readers tell me they thought he meant that these officers supported his charges. Some knew nothing of the affair. Of those who did, one told Abrams his charges were "crazy," another had the courage to tell me that he had been an uncomfortable witness to one of Abrams's attacks, a third wanted to mediate, and I had a frank working relationship with the others.

The agreed statement among defense, government, and prosecution in the Oliver North trial supports a key part of John Ferch's devastating account in the May *JOURNAL*, as well as portions of my sworn testimony to the

Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which Abrams sought to discredit.

*Frank McNeil
Kensington, Maryland*

My congratulations. The *JOURNAL* has never been of higher quality than it is now. I particularly admire your publication of the McNeil-Abrams debate. The perception is widespread that Frank McNeil, an officer whose 30-year career was a model of personal integrity and distinguished service, was denied the opportunity for advancement because he did not share Elliott Abrams's views and was courageous enough to speak out. Nothing you published indicates otherwise with the possible exception of Abrams's statements that senior FSOs in ARA advised him to reject McNeil.

Since these FSOs are Abrams's sole defense against the accusation of a new form of McCarthyism, I believe they have a duty to put their views on the record.

*Arthur L. Lowrie
Lutz, Florida*

Congratulations on your March issue. The contributions by McNeil and Abrams make more interesting reading than anything I have seen in the *JOURNAL* in many years.

*William A. Hayne
St. Helena, California*

Lost in memory

A major weakness in foreign affairs is continuously to reinvent the wheel. Nowhere is this more clear than when viewing shah-cra Iran. One reason is the loss of institutional memory through periodic transfers of people.

After reading "Iran: Historical Perspective" in the April *JOURNAL*, I recall my April 1980 *JOURNAL* article "America and Iran in Perspective: 1953-1980." Foreign Service officers following 1953 had widespread knowledge on Iran, its unique traits, the events leading to Mosaddeq's overthrow, and

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(Nov. '88)

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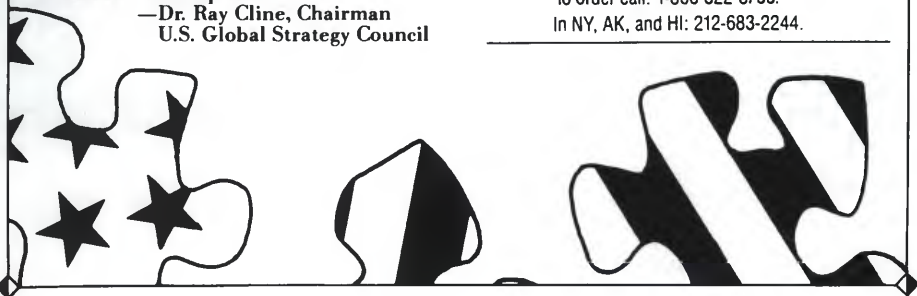


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Letters

without illusion, the reinstatement of the shah for a quarter-century rule. All of them agreed on his weak, ever-insecure nature, impressive when on review, but characteristically mistrustful and indecisive as a legacy from a tyrannical father. Over the years, that basic knowledge, vital for our national interests, apparently was lost.

*Roy M. Melbourne
Chapel Hill, North Carolina*

Most interesting issue

I congratulate you on the issue of April 1989. It was to me the most interesting issue I have read in the last decade. I enjoyed the articles by Rebecca Matlock, Nancy Tucker, Nicole and Alan Logan and found perfectly fascinating the historical perspective on Iran by

Henry Precht and Charles Naas. Keep up the good work!

*Findley Burns, Jr.
Southern Pines, North Carolina*

More political appointees

Once again criticisms are being heard about Bush's large number of political appointee ambassadors. Democrats are hoping to find a particularly inept nominee or two so that they can embarrass the president. They will object only strongly enough to discomfit the president and his party, but not forcefully enough to stop the political appointee game. The Democrats have every intention of making their own political appointee nominations when they get the White House. Confronted with this political reality, all that the Foreign Serv-

ice can do by campaigning against political appointees is to disturb its relations with the White House.

A more realistic approach would be to argue that political operatives of both parties are unnecessarily limiting themselves by not appointing deserving politicians and friends as flag officers in the military, station chiefs in the CIA, and as heads of FBI offices. Of course, the response will be that the American public and our political system require career professionals in such positions.

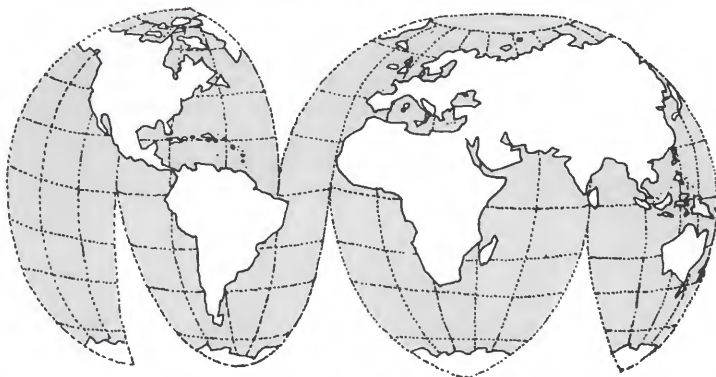
As America's declining dominance in the world puts an increased premium on diplomatic skills, hopefully the American public and our political system will come to realize that effective diplomacy also requires career skills.

*Gerald P. Lamberty
Guatemala City, Guatemala*

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Waging Peace and War: Dean Rusk in the Truman, Kennedy and Johnson Years

By Thomas J. Schoenbaum, *Simon and Schuster, 1988.*

This definitive account of Rusk's life, from his humble origins on the wrong side of the tracks in Atlanta to the pinnacle of world diplomatic power and then back to Georgia in his present position as professor of international law, is skillfully presented by Thomas Schoenbaum, who draws on a wealth of written materials and interviews. *Waging Peace and War* is a book that many in the Foreign Service will find absorbing and instructive.

Most enjoyable are the candid, incisive sketches of the personalities and clashing ambitions of world figures with whom Rusk dealt—Stilwell, Chiang, Marshall, MacArthur, Truman, Ache-

son, Khrushchev, Adenauer, Dulles, DeGaulle, the Kennedys, McNamara, Gromyko, Harriman, and LBJ. Rusk himself was something of an enigma: reserved, cautious, self-contained, idealistic and highly principled, having an innate populist faith in human progress. He set great store by the United Nations and by collective security, and he has had a life-long interest in helping to better conditions of life for people in the developing nations.

Though doggedly opposed to Communist aggression, he advocated a policy of firmness in resisting aggression while pressing for a negotiated solution. Rusk was self-effacing in upholding the position of the president, and when the president decided against a course of action Rusk recommended, as Kennedy did in the ill-starred Bay of Pigs adventure, Rusk never let on to the press that he had expressed reservations.

Rusk's loyalty was, after a painful

testing period, reciprocated by President Kennedy, though Rusk continued to suffer the brash condescension of Bobby Kennedy and others of the Kennedy retinue. Johnson clung to Rusk from the outset of his presidency, welcoming him as a fellow hard-scrabble southerner whom he once described as being "loyal as a beagle."

A major problem in writing a book of such scope relates to the organization of material. For clarity's sake, each of the many crises confronting Rusk is presented seriatim, thereby obscuring the extent to which these crises overlapped in time. Some, like that involving Soviet missiles in Cuba, are told in sufficient detail as to provide new insights for the reader, but most are necessarily brief and therefore shed little or no new light. Some major turning points occurring on Rusk's watch, such as the 1961 military coup in Korea and the 1965 upheaval in Indone-

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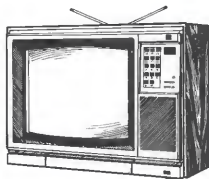
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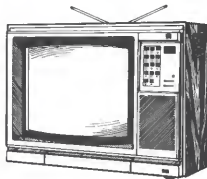
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Books

sia, receive little or no mention.

Paradoxically, Rusk's failed policy in Vietnam was rooted in his successes in dealing with earlier crises like the Korean war, Iran, Greece, and Berlin, where, by standing on high principle and raising the ante, he prevailed on the other side to negotiate. But in Vietnam he was dealing with a higher level of enemy intransigence than ever before encountered. While McNamara, McGeorge Bundy, Clark Clifford, and other architects of U.S. policy in Vietnam openly regretted their hawkishness, Rusk remained unbowed and unrepentant, the victim of his own high principles. He left office exhausted, despondent, and jobless, eventually returning to academia.

Marshall Green

Trading Places: How We Allowed Japan to Take the Lead

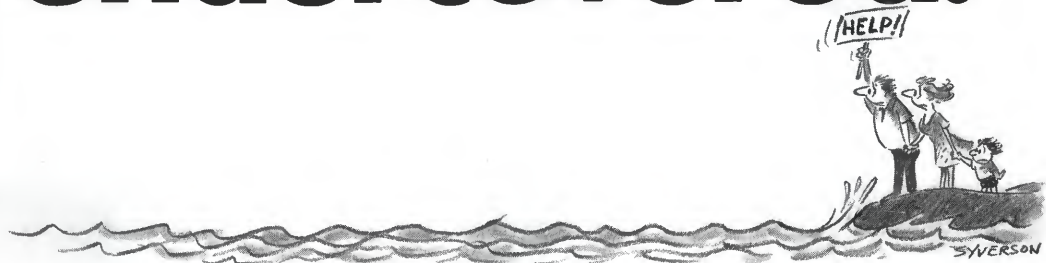
By *Clyde V. Prestowitz, Jr.*,
Basic Books, 1988.

Historically, it has been fashionable for a country in times of internal troubles to find (or create) an external adversary to blame for its problems. The United States is passing through some troubled economic times with ballooning trade and budget deficits accompanied by a relative decline in America's global economic power. Coincidentally, in Japan these trends are all in the opposite direction.

Trading Places is one of several recent attempts to explain why we lag behind Japan in many areas of economic activity and to diagnose the extent to which our trade relationships have led to our relative economic reversal. It also ventures some suggestions as to what we should do if we are to retain, let alone improve upon, our current diminished global economic leadership.

Prestowitz's 25 years of exposure to Japan as a student, a business executive, and finally as a U.S. government official gives a unique first hand per-

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spective to his historical analysis. As counselor for Japan affairs to the secretary of commerce, Prestowitz participated directly in crafting U.S.-Japanese economic relations in talks aimed at opening Japanese markets to America's high technology exports.

Prestowitz is up front about the thesis he has formed from these experiences. The book's opening chapter details his contention that Japan has dislodged the United States from its position of global economic leader. He finds America's lone-cowboy-style economic individualism no longer a match for Japan's political cohesiveness.

He illustrates his thesis in a comprehensive chronology of how the United States lost its industrial pre-eminence to Japan in semi-conductor manufacture and trade, and with it, a share of our economic power and national security. Particularly alarming to Prestowitz

is how little the U.S. government tried to prevent this loss of power and how shallow was American understanding of what was happening.

In the second and strongest part of the book, Prestowitz explores "What Makes Japan Run." Driven by the desire to insulate themselves from outside dependency and influence, Japan's modern economic mandarins developed a powerful partnership of government and industry, which permeates every sector of the country's economy.

In focusing on the United States and why it fails to meet the Japanese economic challenge, Prestowitz cites the confrontational environment that often exists between U.S. business and government. The concluding section builds a compelling case for seeking a more cooperative relationship between U.S. government and business and for identifying strategic sectors that need in-

centives to establish themselves domestically and launch themselves globally.

Prestowitz unfortunately examines only lightly the limits to the Japanese "miracle." The costs of maintaining a homogeneous group-oriented society, he concedes, are high in terms of their impact on individual creativity. The future of Japan's export-led growth is also uncertain. In fact, before the end of this century is truly over, Japan is likely to find that its long-run economic power and national security will depend increasingly on opening its own markets and seeking more balanced trading arrangements. How ironic—and unfortunate—it would be if, as a more interdependent global outlook emerges in Japan, the United States were to regress toward adopting the protectionist policies against which we have fought so strongly. Then we indeed would have traded places.

Phillip Church

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The Middle East: Ten Years after Camp David

William B. Quandt, editor, *The Brookings Institution*, 1988.

Ten years is but a brief moment in Middle East historic terms, and the time since has been turbulent and eventful. But, as the authors of this volume generally conclude, it has been a period marked by more motion than movement. On the plus side, the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty has endured—despite severe strains and shocks. Less happily, it quickly devolved into a “cold peace” rather than a harbinger of friendly, productive relations between these two historic protagonists. And sadly, fruition of a wider peace is still elusive.

Quandt has tapped a well-qualified range of authors as contributors, each of whom directly participated in the Camp David negotiations or has had a key role in the political and intellectual life in the area. Some perceptions and conclusions gain validity and force by being voiced by several of the authors without regard to their particular politics. There is broad agreement that the 1982 invasion of Lebanon not only seriously tested the Egyptian will to abide by the peace treaty, but actually put the entire process in suspense. Shimon Shamir succinctly sums up objectives of Israeli war planners: “They also expected the war to cement Israeli-American strategic cooperation in the region and to neutralize the threat of the radical regime in Syria. . . . The pax Israeliana designed for Lebanon would prove that the peace process could continue without territorial compromises or substantial concessions to the Palestinians.”

More importantly in terms of future prospects, the authors generally conclude that this approach has run its course. They are in essential agreement that the Palestinian uprising in the West Bank and Gaza (the “intifada”) has fundamentally changed the equation. “Both Americans and Israelis will one day have



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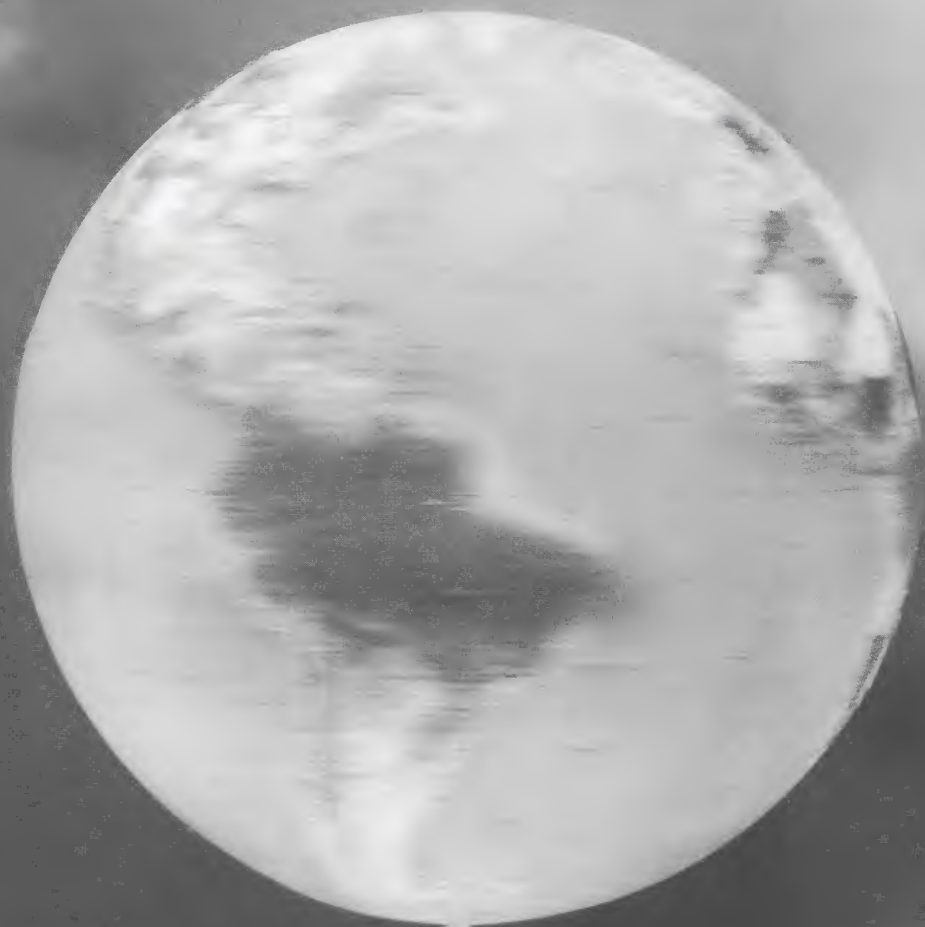
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to overcome their reluctance to deal directly with the mainstream of Palestinian nationalism," notes Quandt.

As might be expected in a compendium of this sort, there is some unevenness in the contributions. Sam Lewis's analysis of U.S.-Israeli relations and his equally insightful comments on the approaches taken by Presidents Carter and Reagan is brilliantly incisive. Ever thoughtful, Hal Saunders reminds us that "experience shows that as the peace process comes closer to dealing with the issues in an overall settlement, the divisions within each body politic become deeper and more open." By contrast, I found Rashid Khalidi's contribution to be disappointingly banal, little more than a superficial rehash of some of the most emotional positions

that have tended to freeze the issue.

The title of this volume is a bit misleading. It is not a comprehensive look at the Middle East 10 years after Camp David. Cataclysmic events (e.g., the Gulf war) do not enter into the discussion. Even a major player in the Arab-Israeli equation (Syria) gets short shrift. Nonetheless, those in the Bush administration who now will grapple with how to move toward the goal of peace in this vital area should take time to peruse this volume—even if it means foregoing study of current, relevant position papers. By understanding this chapter of the history of the issue they will be better prepared to deal with its intriguing and challenging complexities.

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FSJ, June 1979:

Do career ambassadors have the most influence on the governments to which they are accredited? And do political appointees in the State Department have more clout with Congress and the White House than FSOs serving in the same position? Ambassador [Marshall] Green had no trouble answering yes to the first question. He was less positive about the second.

Of the non-career officers who have run the Asian bureau, all had ready access to the top levels of their administrations; most of them also enjoyed good relations with Congress. . . However, it would be hard to say how much [these officers] influenced their respective secretaries.

Peter A. Poole

"Pacific Overtures with Marshall Green"

FSJ, June 1964:

A colleague of mine recently mused: "There's nothing wrong with the country-team concept, except that it's not up-to-date; every embassy should have two country teams, one for the offense and one for defense."

I can see the offensive country team headed by a plain-talking (English only), no-nonsense, down-to-earth ambassador, while calling signals for the defensive unit would be a witty, urbane, bilingual, cosmopolitan type of ambassador, known as an intimate of the prime minister and frequently photographed participating in the folk dancing, or singing along at the Anti-Imperialism Rally.

The assistant secretary's moment of truth would be when he would have to decide whether to leave the offen-

sive country team in at the height of a crisis, or to send in the defense.

S.I. Nadler

FSJ, June 1939:

When the president on April 24, 1939, signed Public Law #40 . . . he completed the enactment of a law which marks an important milestone of progress in legislation for the welfare and improvement of the Foreign Service. The inclusion of the provisions for widows and the authority to make additional voluntary contributions for other benefits, may be said to be a unique accomplishment. So as far as can be learned, it is the first legislation ever to be passed by this government to provide annuities or pensions for the widows of members of one of its services.

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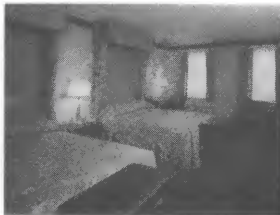
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State April Fool's

New York Times, April 12

At Foggy Bottom, the tensions between Foreign Service officers and the inner circle surrounding Secretary of State James A. Baker III have been vented in a wicked parody of the State Department employee newsletter. . . .

One item says, "The Baker team has let it be known that it is very difficult to be a small island of skilled bureaucrats in the middle of a sea of inept Foreign Service officers."

In "a major step toward showing trust to the department's career employees," Mr. Baker is said to have "introduced himself to his personal secretary" the other day.

The parody goes on to say that a Foreign Service officer who works on Cambodia, "James P. Hefflewhite," received a telephone call from an anonymous Baker aide informing him that

he was now trusted by the secretary.

Another item reports that "Millicent Barnes," the State Department desk officer for Yemen, had received a similar call. This is reported under the headline, "Baker Expresses Trust in Second FSO."

. . . . [T]he president of [AFSA], said the parody "reflects what a lot of people feel in this building."

"They feel that Baker and his team are keeping themselves aloof and distant," he said. "That distresses people in the Foreign Service and the Civil Service. Why this mistrust? What is there about the Foreign Service bureaucracy that makes it suspect to its new leaders? People don't understand."

The newsletter spoofs Mr. Baker's concern that he and his aides might lose their independent perspective and be "captured" by the Foreign Service.

Robert Pear

Job Challenge

Harvard Magazine, May-June 1989

Elected executives hope to gain greater control over their administration by placing local supporters in all key policymaking positions. Whether the strategy works is open to dispute, since these appointees are often inexperienced. . . and frequently use their positions to serve political agendas of their own. What is clear, however, is that the growing use of political appointees takes more and more challenging jobs out of the reach of civil servants and thus makes a government career seem less attractive.

Derek Bok

Commission Solutions

Government Executive, April

April may be the cruelest month, as T. S. Eliot wrote, but January, Febru-

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ary, and March were not much gentler for federal executives. Hopes for improvement in their lot have been raised and then dashed. And for now, they are left with little more to be happy about than a few kind but empty words from President Bush. . . .

Federal workers' hopes for a better deal were dimmed further with the release on March 1 of the National Economic Commission's report. The commission's analysis of the federal budget deficits made it clear that very little money is available for pay raises or for any new programs the government might want to undertake. Though Republicans and Democrats on the commission were unable to agree on a plan for eliminating the deficits, they did agree that the government ought to begin running budget surpluses, not deficits, very soon. . . .

March ends with release of the report of Paul A. Volcker's National Com-

mission on the Public Service, endorsing many steps, including higher pay, to make life better for people in government. . . . For the government executives who have already mourned the cowardice of Congress on the pay issue, this recommendation of the Volcker commission's will seem too little, too late, just another of the pats on the back and rhetorical flourishes that have made the first three months of 1989 all form and no substance.

Timothy B. Clark

The National Interest, Spring 1989

Even if a commission were able to accomplish the task of elucidating a set of principles acceptable across the political spectrum, it has no way of facilitating their adoption. Since the executive branch can no longer act with a unity of purpose and decisiveness . . . implementation of any policy is at the mercy of the various cross currents in

today's Congress.

In the past, commissions were used by the government to avoid making decisions; today, they are used (in cases like base closings, pay raises) to avoid responsibility for making decisions. They are also used in attempts to circumvent the paralysis and incoherence of modern American government. But, as the history of the Scowcroft and Kissinger Commissions suggest, they are poor substitutes for presidential leadership and no hedge against the structural problems that mark the current congressional policymaking process. In fact, their use may only delay addressing these more fundamental issues.

"Why Commissions Don't Work"

by Gary J. Schmitt

Insights from Kennan

Washington Post, April 4

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[writing] in the Foreign Service," [George Kennan] says, by way of complaint more than irony. "In all the years I was in the Service," he goes on, "no one in the State Department ever observed to me that I could write or encouraged me to think that I could."

Of today's Foreign Service, Kennan has little cheerful to say. "I don't like the labor union psychology I see re-

flected in the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL," he says. "I don't have much sympathy for the idea that they should be trained to be managers . . . It's a departure from the essence of their work. Diplomacy is a cognitive profession, and should be seen that way."

"In Washington," Kennan says, presumably meaning the White House, "they can't conceive of a civilian serv-

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ice which is a disciplined, career service immune from their appointive powers. It annoys them, actually . . . Acheson had no idea what it was, nor did John Foster Dulles, for goodness' sake . . . He fired me because I had worked with Mr. Acheson, and for the Truman administration, because I headed the planning staff—well, what the hell? This was an assignment. I didn't choose

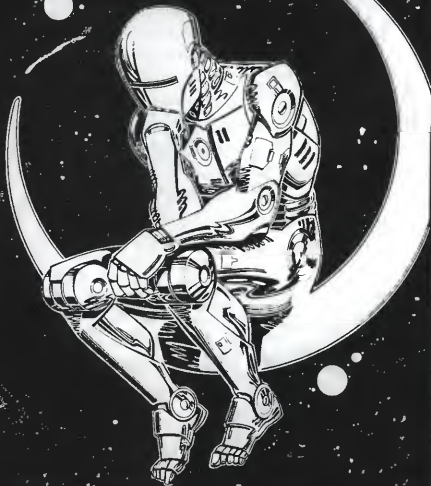
it. I did the best I could."

He says Congress doesn't understand the Foreign Service either.

"Innumerable congressional delegations have traveled abroad and felt their own inadequacy when they got into a foreign scene, and resented the people who were stationed there and knew how to behave."

Charles Trueheart

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Court orders end to sex discrimination

A complex package of adjustments is imposed on the Department of State.

ELIZABETH LEE FITZGERALD

After 13 years in litigation, a sex discrimination suit brought against the Department of State has tentatively been settled in a manner that could change the fate of up to 600 female Foreign Service officers and will certainly alter the entrance examination for many women—and men—seeking to join.

The class action suit, which charged that the State Department discriminates against women in hiring, conal designation, stretch assignments, DCM assignments, issuing of superior honor awards, performance evaluation reports, and promotions, was filed in January 1976 by former Foreign Service officer Alison Palmer.

Palmer filed the *Palmer v. Baker* suit on behalf of all female FSOs after winning an individual settlement the previous year on charges that her career had been adversely affected because of discrimination.

The case first came to trial in May 1985, and a D.C. District judge ruled against the plaintiffs. They appealed, and won, in 1987. The case was then sent back to D.C. District Court, where Chief Judge Aubrey E. Robinson, Jr. found a "definite pattern of discrimination" in all the above areas except promotions, and issued a remedial order to the department in January 1989 to rectify the situation.

The department has responded to the order with a two-part package of adjustments, one dealing with the hiring procedure—specifically, the four-

hour, multiple-choice, written exam—and the other with the progress through the ranks of the almost 600 female FSOs who did not opt out of the suit.

To address the grievances of this latter group, the department was ordered to send out a worldwide cable explaining the results of the suit and offering these women the opportunity to file a claim asserting discrimination in any of the above stages.

The court order states that a woman is eligible for relief if she can show she sought or "would have sought, absent discrimination," a particular assignment. It is up to the department to prove it did not discriminate in cases where a woman was denied an assignment, using up to eight defenses defined by the court. These include proving that the person ultimately selected was a woman, that the person selected was more qualified, or that the woman denied the assignment was not qualified.

State may either accept or dispute a claim. In the case of accepted claims, the department must allow women discriminatorily assigned to the consular cone a transfer within 60 days, offer women as many stretch or DCM assignments as they were denied, and raise performance "potential" ratings. If the department denies a claim, it may be adjudicated by a third party.

It is unknown how these remedies may affect men in the current assignment cycle; they may result in increased competition for a limited number of sought-after posts. Nine of the 135 DCM positions are now held by women. Currently 320 women have enough rank to compete for such positions, although these numbers were much lower in the 1976-85 period covered by the suit.

Torrey Whitman, a personnel management specialist of the director general of the Foreign Service policy coordination staff, says there is no estimate

yet of how many claims might be presented. Also, he cautions that the settlement negotiations are still underway, but until and unless an outside settlement is reached, this remedial order is in effect. Whitman also points out that regarding the specific claim of discrimination in "potential" ratings, Robinson found women were undervalued only in 1977. And on the issue of promotions, the judge upheld the initial ruling that the department did not discriminate, but that particular finding may be appealed.

Effects of Court Order

As for candidates seeking to enter the Foreign Service, the remedy for discrimination is much more complex, and revolves around the written examination, particularly the functional field tests. It was found that the pass rates for men who took the exam between 1985 and 1987 were about 20 percent, compared to 17 to 18 percent for women. "Those sound like very small differences," says Whitman, "but given the thousands of people who took the test each year . . . it is not a random occurrence. That was the principal finding that we have to contend with."

Given that finding, he says, the department either had to explain why that disparity should be allowed to exist, or remedy it. Throughout the life of the suit, the department denied any trace of discrimination, but is now bound by the court's finding. The outcome of all this litigation, Whitman summarizes, "is that we are now providing the remedy; we're bringing some extra women in."

Specifically, the department is inviting 300 to 400 women who failed the written exam in 1985, '86 or '87 to undergo the oral assessment process. "Theoretically," says Whitman, "that would bring us to the point where the

Elizabeth Lee Fitzgerald is a free-lance writer.

pass rate for women for each of those years would be essentially identical to the pass rate for men." Those being given a second chance were selected in the spring and will receive letters explaining why they're being asked to "rejoin the process." Whitman says they'll be assessed this year, which would put them in the running with people who passed the written exam given in December 1988.

A second group that "may have a change in their fortunes," as Whitman puts it, includes 400 men and women who passed the written exam in that same three-year period and made it onto the appointment registers. These candidates will be rescored and reranked on the register because the court found women fared poorer than men in terms of placement on the register.

Under the old ranking system, the final review panel scored a candidate according to a certain weight given to

each of three factors: one quarter to the written exam score, one half to the oral assessment, and one quarter to a candidate's resume, statement, autobiography, work record, and any evidence gathered during the security clearance procedure. This score determines one's rank on the registers. In examining this process, Whitman explains, the court found that the written exam "disfavors women. It not only fails them at disproportionate rates, but even among those who pass, a woman is more likely to have a low or marginal score, a man is more likely to have a higher score. So when you use those scores in putting people onto the register, you have a tendency to have men at the top of the register and women at the bottom.

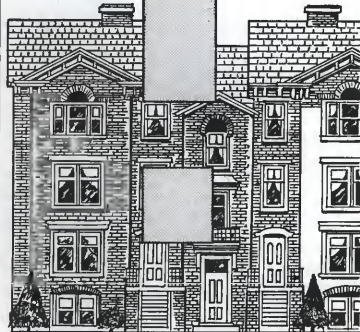
"We argued that in court, saying 'if that is true, you would expect there would be an overall disproportion in more men getting appointed, and that's not the case.' We managed to show

that relative to how many women are getting on the register, a fair share of them are getting appointed, that this whole proportionality idea was being maintained," Whitman recounts.

However, the class claimed that discrimination still existed because if women are unfairly ranked too low, appointment offers are made later. On this basis, the judge found "hypothetical" discrimination in the delay.

Robinson also found discrimination in the appointments women received. The plaintiffs had "contended it's better to be a political officer than to be a consular officer," says Whitman, and claimed the department was appointing too many women into the consular cone and not enough into the political cone." This happens because conal designations are based on scores on the functional field portion of the written exam. "Men do better on the political functional field test than women,"

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Whitman says. Of all candidates who made it onto the register, about 90 percent passed the administrative and consular cone tests: 90 percent of the men, but only 60 or 70 percent of the women, also passed the political test. Whitman continues, "That disparity was precisely (why) a higher proportion of the political jobs and appointments were going to men than women."

To remedy discrimination in the type and timing of assignments, Robinson dictated a two-step strategy for both current and future candidates: 1) rescoring everyone currently on the register, ignoring their scores on the written exam, and rerank them on the register, and 2) reconsider conal assignments based not on functional field test scores but rather on information in a candidate's personnel file.

Whitman says it will be up to the final review panel to decide "whether it appears likely that someone has the qualifications to work as a political or economic officer." The panel may stand by its original decision, "but everybody gets a fresh shot, and that could be both women and men. The presumption," Whitman adds, "is that anybody who failed one of these functional field tests could be an individual victim of discrimination."

This rescoring process began in mid-April, and once candidates are rescored they will be given "a new lease on life on the register," Whitman says. Normally a candidate's name stays on the register for 18 months, but those being rescored will begin a new 18-month period.

There is a third group that also will be affected by Robinson's order: women who took the written exam in the same three-year period and were asked back for the oral assessment, and all candidates from that same period who have not yet been scored by the final review panel. These candidates will be treated the same as the second group—those being rescored—with the final review panel considering them for all cones, regardless of how they per-

formed on the functional field test.

New Exam Methods

The court order settles the issue of candidates who took the written exam from 1985-87, but Whitman says that "1988 is a whole different picture." Robinson didn't hear oral arguments in the case until ten days before that exam was given, leaving no time for a change in the test. However, Whitman explains, "Robinson directed us to define a method for scoring the 1988 exam that would not have an adverse affect on women. He said, 'I want you to propose a method to me in effect that will allow you to use the written exam like you want to do without any of this foolishness that I'm going to have to impose on you for the 1985-87 term.'"

Robinson accepted a method worked out by the State Department in conjunction with the Educational Testing Service, and after a delay of several months the tests were scored and the results mailed out. The old test had three parts: general background, functional field, and English expression. A candidate had to pass each section, including at least one functional field test. "The score patterns for women were slightly higher on the English expression test, and the score patterns for men were higher on the general background test. The disparities in the score were such that unless you set the passing score rather low on the general background test, you ended up with a very disproportionately high number of male passers," Whitman explains.

The new scoring method lumps together the general background and English expression tests, and women's total scores are compared against other women's, men's against men's. What this means, Whitman explains, is that "if we need to pass 20 percent of all people who took the test to get an appropriate number of people for further examination, we would pass the top 20 percent of the female and the top 20 percent of the male" list.

"We don't like that as an approach over the long run," he admits. "It smacks of a kind of separate but equal treatment, and nobody's very happy with it." He describes the solution as a "stop-gap measure" to be used only for the 1988 exam. "On that basis we proposed it to the court and the court authorized it. The plaintiffs proposed no objection."

The difference in scoring patterns brings up a thorny issue that the department will have to come to grips with because of the suit. "We don't know why scoring patterns are the way they are," Whitman muses, and in the short run "we can defend a scoring system that ignores that difference" by comparing men to men and women to women. But in the long run, "we don't feel that we can satisfy ourselves or a court of law that these score patterns really mean that men are going to be better Foreign Service officers than women. What that means is we need to redesign the exam."

In facing this issue, Whitman said either "we've been asking the wrong questions" that do not accurately measure the probability of women becoming successful FSOs, or "we've been asking the right questions and for some reason that we have not been able to figure out the population of women that's presenting itself for the test is somehow less able collectively than the population of men."

The court answered that "in the absence of tremendously convincing evidence from you guys, we don't believe that the women are less able. We believe it's more likely that you're asking the wrong questions."

So the questions need rewriting, and the department needs time to do that. Thus, the next exam will be delayed from December 1989 to the spring of 1990 to allow the department time to conduct a full-scale job analysis to determine what skills, knowledge, and abilities an FSO really must possess to function in the first one or two tours. The exam should be relevant to the kind of work officers do immediately after

they're hired, not to what they'll be doing as a senior officer 20 years down the line.

The next question is how will the new exam be scored? Whitman answers that the "relative score that's assigned to you on the written exam will be determined by your rank order. In other words, if you are the woman who got the most questions right, your score will be 99. If you are the man who got the most questions right, your score will be 99." This method will also be applied to the functional field section of the exam.

And that section will no longer be pass-fail. It will simply become one item the final review panel will take into consideration. Whitman sees this change as a "big improvement on the process."

Another question—how will the department use the resulting scores? "We're not wildly in love with the way we had to score the 1988 exam in or-

der to use it," Whitman says. "We'd rather not have to go through that kind of an artificial scoring mechanism again." The written exam will again be considered by the final review panel, along with the oral assessment and other information, and it will still be weighted. But as with the candidates from the 1985-87 written exams which are being rescored, the final review panel will automatically consider each candidate for all cones and make an independent decision. "This should be particularly helpful for female candidates," Whitman believes, "because frankly the women were the ones who were most likely to fail the political or economic test."

As for the functional field test, there has been "no formal decision" on how it will be used, Whitman says, but the system of input rather than pass/fail is "likely to be retained."

And what if the difference in scoring patterns between men and women

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Focus

persists? "Well there's an ugly question," Whitman quickly responds, which can lead to an "infinite series of questions" about whether a written exam can ever be an accurate predictor of a candidate's performance as an FSO. For example, "You tell me how knowing the name of the treaty that ended the war of 1812 is going to help somebody be a consular officer in Ciudad Juárez." He mentions that about one third of current FSOs never took the written exam, having "lateraled in" through one of the various conversion programs, and they are by no means concentrated in the bottom of the Service.

"We all tend to look at this process as though it were immutable and it's really not," he cautions. "We've changed the exam many times for many reasons over the last 30 or 40 years." But with some 15,000 people taking the written exam every year, "we need somehow to get a manageable number

of people, by a reasonable process, who we can then look at in the oral assessment stage. The written exam is a good way to get from 15,000 people to 2,500, but we need to remember that that's all it really is; that people who get 98 are not necessarily better than people who get 97. They're just in that category of promising people."

Ideally, the use of separate registers will not be necessary beyond the 1988 exam, Whitman says. "Hopefully we will be able to give an exam and stand by the results. That is the goal."

It's also the goal for the plaintiffs in *Palmer v. Baker*, who had expressed some fear that a separate roster system would expose incoming women officers to the stigma of having gotten in under the wire.

Palmer is "very happy and relieved" about the outcome of the suit, though she comments that "it's been frustrating as all get-out . . . it's shameful that

it's taken so long. Good as the remedies are, there's no way to flip the pages back on the calendar." She adds, "Now we're going to have to watch very carefully to make sure these remedies are carried out."

She says, without hesitation, that it's been worthwhile. "If we can get the personnel system altered so that sex discrimination is not a factor, that will improve the personnel system, and what we want is a personnel system that works on the basis of merit. Any kind of discrimination that interferes with that is wrong. In the long run, men as well as women" will benefit. "I feel I've done something," she adds, and though it was not the foreign policy kind of work she figured on when joining the Foreign Service, "I think it's a permanent contribution."

Her "contribution" is not seen in such a positive light by everyone. One source, who wished not to be identi-

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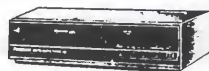
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fied, said that though there had been sex discrimination in the past, it has been eliminated, and this kind of suit only serves to irritate relations between the sexes.

In defense of this viewpoint, statistics show there approximately one third of recently hired FSOs have been women. As of December 31, 1988, 23 percent of FSOs were women, as opposed to 4 percent in 1970. In the last three years the number of women in the Senior Foreign Service has jumped from 25 to 40. Defendants of the department cite the fact that women recently hired into the Foreign Service are more evenly distributed among the cones than ever before, and that this effect will percolate up over the years, resulting in more women at the senior level. At the end of 1988, 37 percent of all grade-4 officers were women.

Whatever effects Robinson's remedial order has on the Foreign Service, they will be closely monitored. As part of the resolution, the court will assign two industrial psychologists to update the service's personnel policies and to ensure that the sex discrimination documented in the past does not recur in the future. □

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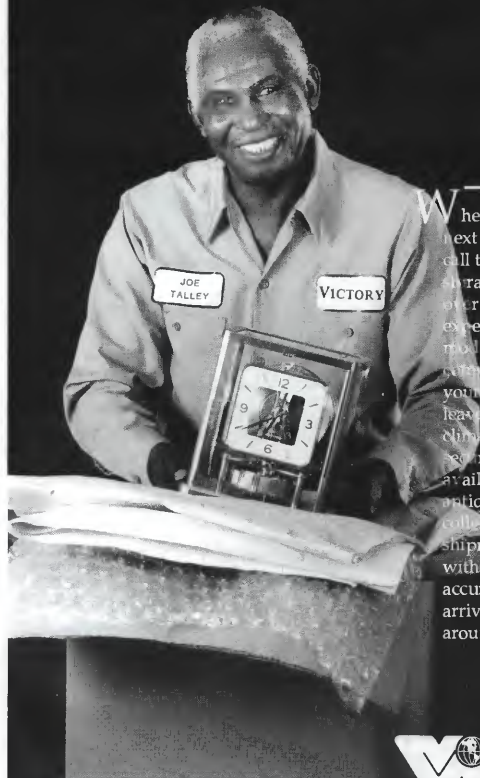
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Reprint

Florida as a Hardship Post

MICHAEL FINE

One of the methods the [Canadian Department of External Affairs] has used to improve program delivery (in this case delivery of the trade program), in the most cost-effective manner has been the creation of detached trade offices or mini-posts. Typically they involve a sole officer responsible to a program manager in a city some distance away. In practical terms, the officer is very much on his own and dependent upon his own wit and initiative.

It all started a little over three years ago. I was sitting in my office at the embassy in Washington, thinking that I would like the chance to run my own trade section at a small post before returning to Ottawa. Since that wasn't likely to happen in Washington, where as a first secretary I was about four levels and two miles from the ambassador, I decided to make that fateful call to the personnel section at headquarters. . . . After saying "no thanks" to a few suggested postings that were guaranteed to move my career right along (i.e., they're bombing the damn place!), I was told that they had a post for me that could only be described as a Canadian's dream. The only problem, they said, was that there was nothing there now, so I would have to set up my own little office right from scratch.

A few months later, my wife, Sandy, and I set out . . . to Orlando, Florida. Visions of palm trees, beaches, sailboats, and, of course, Mickey Mouse, ran through our minds. . . . When I had arrived at my first posting, my new boss was there at the airport to greet me. . . . Orlando was a little different, since the mother office, Atlanta, was 450 miles north, and the only thing that greeted us was moisture-saturated air and giant cockroaches. We were alone. And, as we were about to find

out, the kind Orlandians neither knew nor cared what a consul and trade commissioner was. . . .

Atlanta had previously arranged for an office located in an executive center in a new building in downtown Orlando. In an executive center, you get your own office, but all other services are shared. For example, I do not have my own secretary, but rather share the services of a receptionist, telephone answerers, word processors, and secretarial support. In many ways, this is an efficient approach, but it means that you have to do more of the routine tasks yourself. Filing is particularly tedious. . . . In my own office, I have a fax machine, a computer, and that key piece of equipment, a shredder. But when you get right down to it, you are on your own.

I know that many of you reading this who are stationed out in Boogla Boogla or some similar Garden of Eden won't have much sympathy for someone in Orlando, Florida. But there is nothing quite as lonely as two people arriving in a new city where no one knows who you are. Luckily, we had a couple of contacts suggested by Atlanta, and set about making ourselves known to them.

I was very lucky to have as my boss in Atlanta, a senior trade commissioner with specific ideas of what he wanted this new special satellite office to accomplish. We were able to agree on broad but specific goals for the territory. I would be responsible for the high tech sectors in Florida, which included defense industries, urban transit, and telecoms. I was also involved in investment development and technology transfer. I was to cover the entire state for these sectors, but all other industries would still be handled by Atlanta. I was given specific instructions to concentrate only on my sectors, and not try to do everything. For example, all consular and immigration work would be handled out of Atlanta. This made clear the goals of the office, and concentrated my efforts on the sectors with the greatest potential pay off.

Economically, Florida represents a business opportunity equal to about half of Canada, 50 percent greater than Ontario. In order to take advantage of this opportunity, I needed to spend a lot of time traveling, knocking on doors, and getting to know the key companies.

The first six months in Orlando were the toughest I have ever spent. Gradually, Sandy and I began to make friends, and I began to make business contacts. . . . With the support of Atlanta, we cooked up all sorts of projects, including defense buying missions, urban transit missions, and even our own trade show for defense components. The highlight of my stay in Orlando was when, working with my boss, the consul general, we persuaded the governor of Florida to lead an urban transit mission to Canada.

My wife, meanwhile, was not able to carry on with her career. Although Orlando is booming, landing a meaningful job is difficult. . . . Since we were the first Canadian government people in Florida, we lacked the contacts that exist in established posts to help with this sort of thing.

After three years, we were both ready to leave. But, my boss claimed that I had the best job in the Department [of External Affairs]. "Look," he said, "We pretty much leave you alone, you don't have to worry about office politics or administrative matters, and you have a great territory. Where else can you go on business trips to Palm Beach and Clearwater?" In many ways he was right. It's going to be tough adapting to the bureaucracy back in Ottawa, after this. On the other hand, I yearned for a good Committee on Post Management meeting, and the sound of other voices in the office. . . . Three years alone in the Florida wilderness was enough.

*Excerpted from *bout de papier*, the publication of Canada's Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers. Michael Fine is a Canadian FSO currently assigned to Ottawa.*

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The key to Foreign Service happiness
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EPHRAIM ("EPH") S. OH

When I entered the Foreign Service, I immediately began searching for a "good job."

That wasn't why I entered, of course. When I learned that I would be joining the State Department, I looked forward to leading an adventurous life, learning about new cultures and languages, playing a part in formulating and supporting American foreign policy, and—I must admit—enjoying the prestige bestowed upon a diplomat representing the United States abroad.

All that went by the boards in the first week of the A-100 orientation course, when I found out that the key to life in the Foreign Service had nothing to do with those earlier misconceptions. Instead, the key was to have a good job. And it was important to have not just one or two good assignments, but a continual series of them; after all, if you went from a

good job to a bad one, the inevitable conclusion was that you screwed up in the good one and got punished for it.

So I began my search. First came work in the consular "cone." I was told that people would forgive me if I wasted a tour as a consular officer, primarily because it was mandatory. After that, the object was to get a good job.

The consular tour was very difficult for me. Not because of the work; on the contrary, it was one of the most interesting things I had ever done. I got fulfillment from assisting Americans in trouble and I met some fascinating people (and got some keen insights on life in the country) while on the visa line. The reason it was such a difficult tour was that I couldn't admit to anyone how much fun I had. Anyone who actually enjoyed dealing with crazy, criminal, or impoverished Americans and long lines of "foreign" visa applicants certainly couldn't be a "substantive" (i.e., worthy) person.

For the next tour I faced a lot of choices.

The author was assisted by John E. Lange, a member of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL editorial board, in preparing this article.

I was quickly warned that I should never work in a consulate, because embassies were in capital cities with an ambassador and all of the action. I also learned that the position had to be a stretch assignment at a higher grade or it wouldn't advance my career.

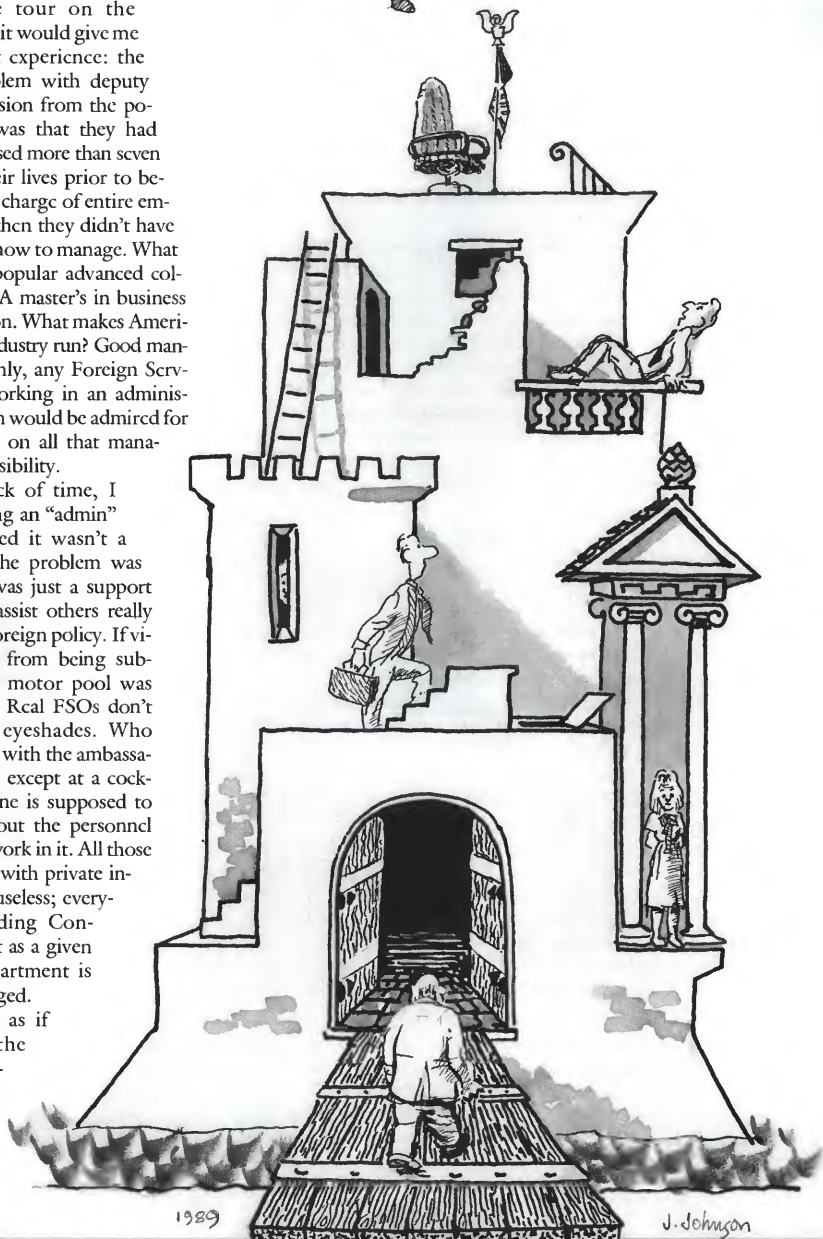
Someone suggested an administrative tour on the grounds that it would give me management experience: the biggest problem with deputy chiefs of mission from the political cone was that they had never supervised more than seven people in their lives prior to being placed in charge of entire embassies, and then they didn't have a clue about how to manage. What is the most popular advanced college degree? A master's in business administration. What makes American private industry run? Good managers. Certainly, any Foreign Service officer working in an administrative section would be admired for having taken on all that managerial responsibility.

In the nick of time, I avoided taking an "admin" slot. I learned it wasn't a good job. The problem was that admin was just a support function to assist others really working in foreign policy. If visas were far from being substantive, the motor pool was even farther. Real FSOs don't wear green eyeshades. Who wants to deal with the ambassador's spouse, except at a cocktail party? One is supposed to complain about the personnel system, not work in it. All those comparisons with private industry were useless; everybody, including Congress, takes it as a given that the department is poorly managed.

It seemed as if officers in the two "non-substantive" cones, even



Career Ladder





those highly successful ones who may also be Ph.D.s or lawyers, somehow were considered to be inferior and incapable of performing particular high-level functions. This struck me as surprising, since I had thought few FSOs would display bias against a class of people. My colleagues in the Civil Service and among Foreign Service secretaries, communicators and nationals—none of them a stranger to discrimination—pointed out that U.S. laws forbid discrimination on the basis of race, color, creed, national origin, sex, or handicap, but not on the basis of cone or whether you passed the Foreign Service exam.

So I began to look elsewhere and for a while I considered a position as an economic/commercial officer. Any observer of international affairs could see the importance of trade issues and the increasing role that economics played in political discussions. The job seemed like good, substantive work. Luckily, a friend explained to me the long-term trends. Commercial work in the top 65 countries around the world was handled by the Commerce Department. Meanwhile, the Treasury Department was involved in the really big economics discussions with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Who wants to be limited to collecting unemployment statistics or pushing American machine tools in some backwater country?

I knew then that I had to look to the political cone for that good job. Political affairs are at the heart of our foreign policy, where the truly elite work.

I was offered a political officer position in Africa and was thrilled by the opportunity. The continent struck me as a fascinating place, full of countries struggling to develop economically and socially. That idea was soon discarded, however: posts in African Affairs define the term “hardship.” It’s hard to implement foreign policy while preoccupied with a power outage.

I considered Asia, a fascinating area of increasing world power, but was warned that FSOs in East Asian and Pacific Affairs become too specialized. China may be exotic for a two-week visit, but not for a three-year tour. And who wants to spend literally years learning Japanese, only to find that the people in the region—including the Japanese—prefer to practice their English when they meet Americans? No, it was clear that I needed to look elsewhere to get broader experience.

Number one on my bid list was a good political job in the Middle East. I figured that

the work would be exciting in a region of such critical importance to the United States: posts in Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs had oil, Soviet troops on the border, and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Friends added that the area also had more blown-up American chanceries and kidnapped American citizens than the rest of the world combined. My spouse was checking into the regulations for a separate maintenance allowance when I withdrew the bid.

Latin America was an area that got front-page coverage on a daily basis. Countries in Inter-American Affairs had developing economies, yet were surprisingly powerful: a few of them could bring down the entire U.S. banking system if they refused to pay their debts. Some countries were undergoing a fascinating transition from dictatorship to democracy and the struggles in Central America were receiving top-level attention in Washington. Everyone warned me to stay away, however. The real power was in East-West relations, facing up to the Soviets. Central America may be momentarily interesting, but it can’t beat a superpower summit. The action is in European and Canadian Affairs. Besides, in Europe at least you can drink the water.

I thought of Eastern Europe, envisioning myself as a firsthand observer of the struggles of the Polish labor unions, until I was warned of the miserable working conditions at an embassy in a Communist country. Foreign policy of Soviet satellites was hardly worth bothering about, since all attention focused on the USSR. In Moscow, meanwhile, political officers had been replaced by auto mechanics as a result of the departure of all locally hired Foreign Service Nationals. *Glasnost* meant that *Pravda* was now the best source for political analysis. Besides, I didn’t relish the prospect of hibernating for eight months of the year.

It became obvious where I had to go: a political cone position in a country in Western, industrialized, democratic, cushy Europe. What more could one want in life? Finally, a good job. That is, until I got to post. I began to wonder what happened to quaint old Europe on the way in from the airport, when I noticed the McDonald’s fast-food restaurant. The beautiful chancery building looked like an armed camp to protect us from terrorists. The embassy bureaucracy was so huge that I still had several layers of people above me, all of whom managed to receive credit for my work. Spouses were unhappy and morale was low, due to the lack of community spirit in a place so large and impersonal. And, as in any “good post” in Western, industrialized, demo-

cratic, cushy Europe, there was a politically appointed ambassador. This one spent an awful lot of time concentrating on having the proper limousine, new carpets at the official residence, and similar affairs of state. The poor deputy chief of mission was acquiescent, of course; how can you buck your boss when the boss has the ear of the president? There wasn't a good job for a member of the Foreign Service in the whole embassy.

In desperation, I went to Washington, the center of foreign affairs for the United States and therefore the universe. I had learned that spending time abroad was simply a way to meet the requirements of the Foreign Service Act while arranging for a tour in the department. Finally, after all this effort, I lined up a political job. In Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs.

My friends were appalled that anyone could consider a job in a functional bureau as a good job. They said that it was obvious that the real power is with the regional bureaus—that's the best place for promotions. Functional bureaus are full of positions deemed "hard-to-fill," and for good reason: they were out of the mainstream. Forget about Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Public Affairs, Intelligence and Research, International Narcotics Matters, Politico-Military Affairs, and the others.

By now I had eliminated exactly 4,013 positions out of the 4,302 positions for State Department FSOs worldwide. They just weren't good jobs.

I was able eventually to get a good job as a political officer in a regional bureau, figuring that was the true center of power. While there, I spent some time observing officers in the upper echelons of the bureaucracy, on the sixth and seventh floors of the State Department. It seemed that the higher people got, the more their commitment to particular political views became an issue. They were buffeted by changing political winds from administration to administration. Deputy assistant secretaries in one administration became deputy chiefs of mission at three-officer posts in the next. Could anyone consider such a risky position to be a good job?

My diplomatic career appeared to be over after only a few tours. I had discovered the reality that no one had been willing to explain to me: there really are no good jobs in the Foreign Service. That may be difficult for some to be-

lieve, particularly those 15,000 naive outsiders who take the Foreign Service exam each year and those other members of the foreign policy elite working in private industry, think tanks, and the United Nations. But it's true, and if you don't believe it, just check around. Ask enough people, and you will learn how conventional wisdom can explain why any single position in the Foreign Service is not a good job.

There may yet be some hope for my career, however. I still have some doubts about this conventional wisdom. Maybe, just maybe, positions in the Foreign Service actually are good jobs. Maybe one of the most important things in life is to enjoy the job you are doing, no matter what others may think. Maybe one can play an important role and find fulfillment by representing the United States as a consular officer assisting Americans in distress and managing a substantial program. Maybe people should respect the responsibility taken on by the can-do admin officer who supervises hundreds of employees, controls millions of dollars, and services dozens of government agencies. Maybe serious trade and debt problems mean that economic and commercial affairs need more emphasis in the State Department, not less. Maybe functional bureaus, with their specialized areas of expertise, are just as critical to our foreign policy as are the regional bureaus. Maybe certain parts of the Third World are developing so quickly that they will soon eclipse the traditional Western European capitals in global importance. Maybe FSOs underestimate the worth of a non-career ambassador who has high-level Washington contacts and can get a quick governmental response when necessary.

Maybe we should be thankful for our lot in life, given the fact that the vagaries of the examination process mean none of us was ever certain to enter the Foreign Service and other competent folk never were able to get in. Maybe State's Foreign Service—despite problems ranging from six-year windows to employment for spouses to inner circles—is full of interesting, challenging, and fulfilling jobs, and that fact should be recognized by all of us, including the promotion panels. Maybe we FSOs do ourselves a disservice when we concentrate on our next job instead of the one we are in. Maybe we should quit feeling sorry for ourselves and stop dwelling on the state of morale in the Foreign Service.

I would like to go on, but I've got to run. I have a lead on a good job—a *really* good job. □

By now I had eliminated exactly 4,013 of 4,302 positions for FSOs worldwide. They just weren't good jobs.

Foreign Service Crystal Ball

ROGER DANKERT

What kind of embassy will a new entrant in today's Foreign Service find in the first or second decade of the twenty-first century? How much longer will the "industrial model" embassy with its hierarchical structure, high degree of job specialization, and reliance on defined procedures be affordable or effective? Can the Foreign Service system restructure itself as it learns from the service economy, from modern information technology, and from the increasing cost of basing Americans overseas?

The Foreign Service of the future likely will (1) shrink as changing conditions and increasing costs make overseas basing akin to placing a man on the moon, (2) be organized around projects and teams more than hierarchies, and (3) respond to customer needs as well as to internal imperatives. Some changes along these lines are starting to happen now, without ceremony. Carried out, they could make the new Foreign Service a more productive, happier place with less make-work and more service to real customers.

Will Rogers once said, "Just be glad you're not getting all the government you're paying for." Today, the fact is we are paying more to operate abroad and our return on investment is decreasing even faster than the loss in buying power of the dollar. Overseas basing is suffering as a result of growing security, counterintelligence, and internal control require-

ments coupled with pressures to match overseas life to U.S. domestic standards.

Although there is no single budget number that includes all the relevant costs, basing cost estimates of \$150,000 per overseas position are widely used in the Department of State; some posts such as Abidjan or Tokyo can be shown to cost the department in excess of a quarter million dollars per employee.

Such costs tend to price overseas employees out of the market. New embassy space built to U.S. government standards and construction requirements can exceed \$1,000 per square foot. Total space required per American employee can exceed 1,000 square feet. Result: a million-dollar office cost per overseas American employee.

With overseas costs like that, keeping more personnel at home and spending a few thousand dollars extra for travel and temporary duty (TDY) to send out Washington-based negotiators, analysts, investigators, or support staff when needed makes economic sense.

In the high-cost overseas environment, personnel with multiple skills will be increasingly cost-effective. Today, four persons (drafter, supervisor, secretary, and communicator) are typically required to send a single telegram. At home and at the largest missions, the department could use more specialization, but at most of our 256 posts, versatility would be more valuable.

In recent years, negative growth in front-line staff has been accompanied by expansion of security, administrative, and information-handling specialists. Inasmuch as both front-

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Rising overseas costs, information technology, and a new service-sector orientation make rethinking about the Foreign Service inevitable.

line and support staff have roughly equal support requirements, additions to the support staff expand support requirements almost as much as additions to front-line staff. Management today does not have the tools to measure cost-effective growth since there is no budget system to allocate support costs against the front line.

Downsizing of the presence may be necessary, particularly with a weak dollar and a low growth budget. Each of the four major horsemen of the impending resource apocalypse (Diplomatic Security, Foreign Buildings Operations, Communications, and Information Systems) have increasing claims on the resource flow; some of their requirements are written into law in a way that makes discretionary decisions impossible. At the same time, the pressures to provide an environment equivalent to American standards continue to grow. Moving toward a local or expatriate standard (using allowances in lieu of American-directed services) will be one way to slow the growth in resource requirements, but reducing staff by bringing transportable functions home is the obvious one.

Since it is now possible to do some jobs virtually anywhere in the world with modern communications, the choice of where a particular job is done can become an economic one. If the costs of processing vouchers in Paris, providing audit services in Abidjan, or intelligence analysis in Tokyo is twice as high as doing the job in Washington or Omaha, the choices are obvious.

In the future, some posts might operate more like offices of foreign correspondents,

some like overseas branches of modern service sector companies, and others like convention support centers. The trend will be to make embassies smaller until U.S. interests are engaged, and when they are engaged, more of the staff will work from Washington or arrive for TDY. For jobs that can be done only in a certain place, such as liaison, a baseline presence coupled with TDY reinforcement makes sense and is in fact already common practice for difficult diplomatic projects, negotiations, and high-level visits.

The concepts for the one/two person consulate and the special embassy model (SEM) of about 15 persons are a beginning; there is no reason in principle why a five-person minimum-sized embassy could not be a goal. A few versatile individuals today can carry out large confidential diplomatic projects with little infrastructure support, as has been demonstrated in fields as diverse as arms negotiations and inspections, Afghanistan/Pakistan, and (less aptly) Iran-contra affairs. These models will not replace many traditional U.S. missions, nor will they govern the program areas, but they do foreshadow the possibility of accomplishing many elements of the diplomatic mission in a more economical way.

Technology has made possible direct and secure communications between persons located anywhere in the world. This creates the possibility of management of projects, programs, or work clusters without traditional hierarchies. According to a recent article on "Information Technology and Tomorrow's Manager" in *Harvard Business Review*, more than one million middle managers and staff professionals have been cut from U.S. businesses since 1979 as a result of the new information technology. Large organizations are able to group personnel together on specific projects to take advantage of complementary skills even though group members may be geographically dispersed. They can have the benefit of small-scale flexibility and large-scale resource allocation at the same time.

Most large organizations today use the hierarchy as the formal organization design. However, hierarchical structuring is no longer necessary on projects where management has the capability of monitoring and controlling events directly. Ad hoc organization to achieve specific project goals is possible. The distinction between centralized and decentralized control is blurring and increasingly the focus will be on projects and process rather than on position in the hierarchy and fulfillment of standard procedures. The ad hoc negotiating teams and project-specific organization now seen in



arms control and trade negotiations will be copied in other areas.

The department has traditionally used hierarchical organization to control the flow of information and provide lines of responsibility and accountability. "In the Department of State, you never write a letter you sign and never sign a letter you write," as one practitioner wrote it. In practice, this reliance on hierarchy can stifle innovation and block a wider sense of professional responsibility. What remains is too often strict allegiance to the interests of the hierarchy, and a kind of bureaucratic mafia tempted to subordinate policy to the preservation of position.

In the future, more reporting will be direct and precise—electronic mail, not broadcast journalism to the whole intelligence community as today. Reporters will get feedback and analysis directly. Increasingly, reports will be done on demand, for specific projects, rather than regularly scheduled. Control mechanisms will be from the top directly, not through a long chain of approvals.

Another factor common to organizing around new technology is that skills and contributions can be measured no matter where in the hierarchy the person is located. This allows for pay based on performance and skills, not just on place in the hierarchy. Compensation based on additional services and skills would fit nicely with the jack-of-all-trade staffing forced by rising overseas basing costs.

Service—New Meaning?

"If there's anything a public servant hates to do, it's something for the public," alleged C. Northcote Parkinson, the discoverer of the time-tested principle "work expands to fill the time available." One antidote: government will have to go to school to learn the lessons of the U.S. economy's service sector. It will not be a quick course; government has just made a full investment in the lessons of the industrial sector and now has the full panoply of specialized functions and hierarchy which Frederick Taylor prescribed for organizations like General Motors. The concept that government might be better organized as a service provider and not an industrial producer could be hard to learn.

As a service and not a product, the Foreign Service would have to rate itself in terms of customer satisfaction. It could not rely on its monopoly position, which in actuality no longer exists. Although created to provide a single overseas arm, the Department of State's

Foreign Service now constitutes only 7,000 of the 22,000 Americans at U.S. missions abroad. The growth of the non-department Foreign Service should be seen as a result in part of a lack of service orientation. By defining the mission in terms of constituencies, the Foreign Service's capability to satisfy a wider variety of customers would be enhanced. How to reconcile a service orientation with government's unique role and responsibility to lead is a great challenge, but the problem cannot be avoided by falling back on "we've always done it this way."

The Foreign Service is still focused on industrial sector models—defining the job as sets of procedures (11 three-inch volumes for the Foreign Service), specifying job descriptions, monitoring performance of assigned tasks, meeting job standards, and managing by objective.

In the service sector, management must be concerned not so much with procedures and objectives as with ensuring that the front line, the service providers, have the tools and capability to satisfy its customers.

As service institutions become more adept, the traditional monopolies of government, such as information, negotiating, and consulting services, are available through the private sector. In the trade and commerce field, it is arguable whether the U.S. government provides any service to the modern multinational, except for the most fundamental government-to-government negotiations, which it cannot arrange for itself, either directly or through use of a service provider.

Is this relevant to the State Department and its Foreign Service? Yes—the department has been widely criticized as being unhelpful, procedure-oriented, and aloof. Some of this criticism is unavoidable; diplomats carry bad news as well as good and governmental functions require choices and priorities. But the Foreign Service complains it has no constituency. With millions of Americans traveling overseas; with billions of dollars spent on foreign and national security affairs depending upon foreign policy justification; with thousands of congressional inquiries, it is missing the opportunity to build constituencies.

Accordingly, the Foreign Service should make a serious effort to define its customers. There are many, including the president, other U.S. agencies, Congress, the American people and, as authorized, foreign governments and peoples. Our front-line people are the secretary and his principal officers in representations with the executive branch and Congress, our ambassadors with foreign governments, and our personnel interacting with busi-

ness executives and the traveling public. Each person has important and valuable transactions at different levels. The department's management job is to "empower" all these front-line service providers to satisfy their customers, within the bounds of law and policy. The front line should be trusted to know what is required, including what information is necessary to do the job. The department provides a control structure, but as a service institution it should focus on the resource structure which gets to the front lines what they need. To those who have been in the Service a long time, this sounds like a pipe dream, but a little bit of trust down the hierarchy and a customer-oriented philosophy would revolutionize the way things are done.

Predictions

Each of the three changes—overseas costs, direct information pipelines, and service-sector orientation—make rethinking inevitable. Taken together they are a mandate for a slimmer, more project-oriented, customer-responsive Foreign Service. What would it look like? Nobody knows for sure, but the following would be starting points:

Diplomatic personnel will operate in project and cluster teams directed and supervised from Washington as well as in embassy hierarchies; mid-level supervisors will be reduced. A medium-sized diplomatic effort might be run by an ambassador with four diplomatic officers and four support staff, who would combine all office, communications, and administrative functions. This would put more diplomatic rubber on the road than most embassies provide today with double this number of personnel.

Overseas personnel will be multiple-skill generalists, extensively trained in many areas.

Front-line staff will be increased; the tooth-to-tail ratio will improve; support will be moved to the rear, much of it to the United States rather than to a regional location.

Support staff that remains in the field will have multiple skills and functions. Staff assistant, executive assistant, secretarial, and communication functions will be combined. Grade-limiting skills will be at the paraprofessional, not machine-operation level. Staff will be administrative, diplomatic, and executive "assistants," not single-role specialities such as secretary or communicator.

Most reporting will be done by International Relations Officer Generalists (IROGs), just as most desk officers are IROGs. Subskills

in pol-mil, labor, economics, or resources will remain but bifurcating the world into economic and political spheres will no longer be mandatory.

Administrative support will be pared down. The Foreign Service will live to a local or expatriate standard more than to a U.S. standard. Allowances will be the rule. Administrative support will focus on the chancery, not on incubating the American community.

The Foreign Service will make increasing use of short-term contractors and in-country consultants. Functions that are evolving and those which do not have a full career ladder will not be staffed on a career basis.

The Service will be allowed to recognize that most security must be guaranteed by the host government. Marine, regional security officer (RSO), and RSO secretary slots will be evaluated on the basis of services actually rendered compared to additional resources and imposed vulnerabilities.

Overseas basing by other agencies will drop as State moves to a full "pay your own way" basis, including charging agencies for building, communication, security and capital costs.

The minimum size configuration will move down from about 15 at present to perhaps five. Separate Embassy Program posts will cover not just 30 but perhaps 80 posts.

Regional basing will be cut sharply; functions will be consolidated in the United States or in safe low-cost overseas enclaves such as U.S. military bases. If employees are on TDY from anywhere, it will be from Washington.

Large embassies in advanced countries will be facilitators, not primary conductors of dialogue. The flow from the United States of negotiators, investigators, and reporters will be larger. More diplomatic business will be done in Washington, which is not only cheaper but which may be more influential.

The Foreign Service will become cost conscious; a budget system that allocates costs properly for management purposes will be designed; all costs will be allocated against front-line staff.

With changes in the structure of the U.S. economy, the Foreign Service will inexorably change as well, regardless of State policy. However, the process will be much less painful, and even enjoyable to many, if the Service moves on the right side of these historical trends. Arguments about preserving the autonomy of the Service will not drive us forward. Serving our customers well, staffing cost-effectively, and taking advantage of the Service's high sense of responsibility to reduce levels of hierarchy will. □

With changes in the structure of the U.S. economy, the Foreign Service will inexorably change as well.

LANGUAGE TRAINING:

FSI's language training must be

R.A.C. GOODISON

The belief that foreign languages are of the utmost importance to the work of the Foreign Service has been reiterated often over the years. A 1958 congressional staff study concluded that a Foreign Service officer can adequately represent the United States in a foreign country only if he has a useful knowledge of the language of the country. In other words, language knowledge was seen as a key element in the officer's work.

Recently, consideration has been given to how best to modify and even expand the language programs offered by the State Department, particularly those at the Foreign Service Institute (FSI). However, the need for language competence may not be as obvious or uniform as assumed when FSI's large-scale, intensive, and inclusive language program was established in 1947.

During the years I worked at FSI's School of Language Studies, we were able to certify that almost all the students in my department had achieved their training objective, which in most cases was to attain language competence—on a speaking and reading (S/R) scale of 1-5—at the S/R 3 level. This was a tribute both to the devotion of the teaching staff and to the diligence, motivation, and hard work of students.

However, when students were retested after completing their tours of duty, we found something we didn't expect. Not infrequently the individual's competence not only showed no improvement, it showed definite signs of deterioration. Anticipating this, some students informed us before the retest that their jobs didn't require them to use the language, that in their contacts with speakers of the language they "had no opportunity to practice."

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Others didn't mention this, but it usually wasn't really necessary to do so. Lack of language use is obvious from an individual's performance. There is a characteristic level of hesitation and difficulty in finding appropriate words, and often there are signs of discomfort from being in an awkward situation. Over the years, low use—or no use—continued to be evident.

With some returnees, of course, there was clear evidence of language use. Regular use may or may not correct grammatical inaccuracies, but it does at least result in an easy flow that is unmistakable, as well as the addition of words and expressions to the vocabulary stock.

Given the resources expended in developing an officer's speaking competence, one would expect that making local contacts and speaking the language would be integral job elements at post. But where this is not the case, the officer's language competence will of course diminish. Without use, and pretty regular use, it will inevitably deteriorate like any other under-used skill.

Several factors can contribute to low use of a newly acquired language. Employees overseas may associate mostly with each other and have little regular contact with local people. Contact is sometimes limited for reasons of security. Differences in culture and attitude toward foreigners, especially Americans, may make local contacts difficult.

Another factor is the widespread use of English in the world, a situation familiar to any traveler overseas. Returning students often said, "Everybody I dealt with spoke English." Indeed, for English speakers there is no intractable language barrier, nor are they faced with a need to learn a foreign language comparable to the need that impels others to learn English. The great convenience of being able to use English practically anywhere in the world inevitably waters down any perception that English speakers may have of the advantages

TOO MUCH OR NOT ENOUGH?

translated into actual use.

to be gained by dealing with people in foreign countries in the local language.

It may be that, where language capability is not a major work tool at post, the need has not been correctly identified. Perhaps positions should not have been designated as "language essential" but only as "language desirable." Designations originate at posts and sometimes do reflect different perceptions of need on the part of those who recommend them.

When the subject of language need and use is raised with employees, their comments vary widely. Even officers in the same cone differ in their perception of the need for language in their work. Officers in the same job at different posts report varying needs. Employees remark that the types and occasions of local contact which call for language competence, both during and outside working hours, are often few in number and in a quite narrow range. Some indicate extensive local contact with a need for competence in speaking, while others say they need only reading knowledge.

However, I don't remember hearing any student say that language training was not necessary at all. This is not surprising. Interest in language training and considerable enthusiasm in tackling it are characteristic of members of the Foreign Service. The department's emphasis on language training is accepted as a major component of employee training, one in which nearly all employees participate at one time or another.

The conclusion that the need for language competence may not be as uniform as widely assumed is supported by certain features of the Post Language Program (PLP). For a number of years, officers who have already met the language qualification level prescribed for their jobs, usually the S/R 3 level, have nevertheless enrolled in the PLP upon arriving in the field. The common justification offered for this has been that it enables them to "maintain" their language capability (often adding

the further point that they are "protecting the government's investment" in their training). The fact that they feel it's necessary to "maintain" their capability is somewhat surprising since they are serving where the language is spoken.

The PLP was created not to provide extended continuation training, but training for those not yet meeting the prescribed language qualification level and for beginners. What usually happens is that the already-qualified student who enrolls determines the content of his or her sessions, which then proceed on an ad hoc basis rather than according to a regular syllabus. The instructor is in effect not providing organized training, but a kind of language reference service. Officers sometimes say, "In my job I don't have an opportunity to *practice* the language" instead of "*use* the language." It is sometimes hard to avoid the impression that their PLP sessions are intermittent subsidized contacts with a speaker of the language providing speaking practice as a surrogate for regular work-related use.

Many students find it very uncomfortable to participate in the rough-and-tumble language-use aspect of learning. They show a marked distaste for making "mistakes" (the term they use for grammatical slips). As individuals who have successfully coped with the challenges of higher education, officers are unaccustomed to making mistakes, and in fact associate them with failure (to which they are equally unaccustomed) and so find it very difficult to accept the central principle of language learning: learn by doing and profit from experience. Instead, they make a point of earnestly apologizing for each slip they make in speaking, apparently feeling it indicates a step-backward in their progress toward their goal—mastering content.

To students with this "content course" ap-



proach to language learning, the task of mastering grammar and vocabulary by study and drills comes first. ("No more chit-chat, let's get back to work.") They feel that when all this is in place, then, and only then, can they embark on "real" language use. But, in actuality, their competence is directly proportional to the degree to which they participate in situation-oriented interchange using the language.

Viewing language learning as first and foremost a matter of mastering content can have several unfortunate consequences. Since language learning is actually a process of skill development, more like learning to play tennis or mastering a craft than assimilating data, there are crossed wires in class from the beginning. Frustrated by the process ("I'm still making mistakes"), students redouble their efforts at study and drill.

This kind of perfectionism is carried over to the job after training. In spite of having achieved a usable level of language competence, some officers see only a task not yet completed. Since regular language use is seen as "premature," enrolling in the PLP seems the obvious thing to do.

However, owing to the ad hoc nature of their classes, and pressures of work which makes regular attendance almost impossible, it is difficult for officers to make much real progress in the PLP. Perceiving a huge "competence gap" that is not being closed, some turn to another solution—reject the S/R 3 level of competence and proceed with more advanced training in hopes of reaching the S/R 4 level or higher. This, they believe, would be the competence level that would make actual use possible.

There is no doubt that if language competence is valuable, its value increases with its level. Setting a new advanced training goal probably would require extensive additional staffing and resource requirements for FSI. Even so, it is by no means certain that the S/R 4 level could be achieved by an extended training program alone, considering the breadth and depth of competence associated with this level. Besides, if competence at the S/R 3 level is underutilized now because it is "inadequate," might not language use at a higher level be similarly inhibited? What constitutes "adequate"?

If advanced training were instituted, it would not be feasible to provide it for all officers. To do so would overwhelm the assignment process. If only selected individuals were to receive advanced training, would training for the majority still be to the "inadequate" S/R 3 level, or would their training be re-

duced to the more modest scope of "survival" level training such as is offered in FSI's Familiarization and Short Term (FAST) courses?

Before making a final judgment on the adequacy of the S/R 3 level, it is necessary to hark back to a basic assumption that underlies all training programs—the assumption that an individual's expertise comes to full usefulness only *after* training, not *during* training.

Training must of course provide a solid base on which to build competency. It could be said that competence at the S/R 3 level is in a sense indeed inadequate since by definition it can meet some needs but not the whole range of needs that may arise on the job. But that the S/R 3 level can serve adequately as a base has been demonstrated over the years by officers who have built on it to achieve advanced levels of competence through using the language on the job.

Having acknowledged the value of foreign languages and the need for them, the department has been providing language training in order to capitalize on that value. In giving its officers extensive language training, it has a right to expect positive results in this direction. Even more to the point, it also has the right to require them.

Yet the department has clearly indicated that as far as language is concerned, reward is more for training than for use. An example of this is the department's language incentive program, which offers rewards to officers according to the level of language competence they achieve in *training*. Participation in training and tested level of language qualification receive attention in matters of assignment and promotion. Only in exceptional cases is attention or reward accorded to language *use*.

For that matter, does the department's way of organizing work at posts always include a role for language competence? And where such a role is minor or lacking (which to me, at least, often appears to be the case), doesn't the department miss not getting the benefits everyone agrees accrue from language use?

There has been one notable example in recent years of what happens when language use does receive particular attention from the department. Several years ago the Model Foreign Language Competence Post Program was instituted at two posts on a two-year trial basis. All American positions at the two posts were language designated. Language training was provided to those without language competence who were assigned to either post. The

report to Congress at the conclusion of the program stated: "If one group were to be singled out as having benefited the most from the [program] it would be the support staff—the secretaries and communicators who normally are given little or no language training prior to new assignments and whose families traditionally are the most isolated from the local communities." The evaluation cited the ways in which this contributed to mission effectiveness: "Clerical employees could more effectively use the telephone, receive visitors, and conduct routine business without the assistance of the language officer. Administrative section personnel, filling positions which are not always language designated at other posts, found that foreign language skills were of considerable benefit in day-to-day business in the local community."

One of the conclusions drawn from the experiment was: "The Model Language Post Program two-year experiment proved the validity of the premise that the more foreign language capability a person assigned overseas has, the more successfully he/she will work and live in the host community."

I suggest there is a more valid conclusion. The success of the experiment may not have been just that more training had been provided, although that was important. One of stated goals was "to help to ascertain the relationship between foreign language competence and the effectiveness of representation of the United States abroad." What the department was seeking (and found), was evidence that a payout can be expected from language training, that tangible benefits can accrue from language use, when that is what the department focuses attention on.

Considering those elements in the department's operations that take precedence over language training (the assignment process, to name only one), it may be that the language program is now pushing hard against the limit of what is practical in terms of time and resources. Is there not the danger of expanding training programs for officers to an impractical extent? How far should the program be allowed to develop if, as it seems, it rests largely on the basis of the truism that foreign language training is valuable, "a Good Thing," and that the more training we pile on, the greater the value received? By taking training as the starting point instead of a realistic consideration of need and use, are not things a little backward?

Even now the designation of large num-



bers of positions as language essential has meant that most officers assigned to posts are also assigned to long-term intensive language training, involving serious scheduling difficulties, a considerable slice of officer career time, and resources that have been increasingly difficult to come by. At the same time, the designation of language-essential positions that do not always reflect legitimate need means continuing expensive training programs when the prospects of payout in work-related use may be dim.

As if this were not enough, lurking always in the background is the one factor that probably has (and will continue to have) the greatest overall limiting effect on the payout of the whole language training program—the department's longstanding and apparently immutable policy of limiting officer assignments to posts abroad to two or three years. Hundreds of hours of demanding training in a language are now being directed toward the small window of one career assignment among many.

All things considered, perhaps the present program taking officer training to the S/R 3 level represents a practical maximum. The overall language program may now be performing about as well as can reasonably be expected given the limitations imposed by existing conditions. On the other hand, it is always possible that the program is disproportionately large and expensive for the value that can be derived from it because of these limitations.

Whatever decisions are made concerning the future shape of the language training program, whether it is expanded or contracted, it should not be allowed to have a life of its own, to be continued for its own sake alone. If it is to be fully effective, one thing is sure—it must be based on accurate perception and realistic specification of needs, as well as the requirement that they be met. □

"He said, 'Can I take your picture?'"

Clientitis *in* Economic Reporting

Mexico's maquiladora industry illustrates the hidden costs of unquestioned promotionalism.

GEORGE BAKER

The awkward term "clientitis" was coined to refer to an outlook observed among some Foreign Service officers (and others, those in the military, for example) that was characterized by a kind of paternalism toward the countries in which they were stationed. This paternalism, which some observers viewed as a sub-species of culture shock, expressed itself in behavior and attitudes that said, in effect, "Mere policymakers, who are not here on the spot, cannot understand things as they really are."

The best example (or, said the other way, the worst case) of clientitis in American diplomatic history is that of Nicholas P. Trist, who, on December 4, 1847, wrote a 60-plus page letter to President James K. Polk in which he argued that Washington's ignorance about the political situation in Mexico was the principal reason for the president's two orders of recall, which he, Trist, intended to disobey.

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(Trist's anti-Washington diplomacy produced a document on February 2, 1848, that would subsequently be codified as the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; but, in the process, he also lost his job in the State Department.)

A strain of clientitis often exists among economic officers charged with economic and industrial analysis and reporting. The strain appears as a dogmatism in reporting on economic development policies and goals of the client countries. The nature of the dogmatism is political, not ideological, and is expressed in either of two ways. In one, the reporting officer dogmatically defends the policies of his client as the only ones feasible "given current conditions." In the second, the reporting officer dogmatically confirms what he perceives to be Washington's preconceptions about a given economic policy. The reporting officer evidently feels that his grip on his assignment (and, by extension, his career) is tighter where he is able to tell Washington what he thinks it wants to hear. His reporting, therefore, may show itself as a kind of promotionalism.

The promotional reporting on Mexico's maquiladora industry serves as an illustration of both kinds of dogmatism. The maquiladora industry is described as Mexico's "only choice" in creating jobs along the border. The industry is also described as the "only bright spot in Mexico's economy."

The term maquiladora, which is seldom translated, originally described the system in which tenant farmers brought grain to the landowner's mill and took home their share of flour. Today it refers to foreign companies (historically American, but increasingly Japanese) that use Mexican workers who are paid a government-mandated, minimum-standard wage to assemble imported components into finished products. The companies have special legal and tax treatment and pay no taxes on profits from operations, which is to say that they are not required to contribute to the cost of social or economic infrastructure.

The special treatment is not limited to northern Mexico, but over 90 percent of the more than 1,000 maquiladora plants are located on the border; for practical purposes it may be considered a border program concentrated in Juárez and Tijuana. This industrial activity accounts for 300,000 jobs in Mexico.

Economic analysts, believing that American prejudices favor keeping Mexicans of the lower classes in Mexico, easily fall prey to promotionalism. These analysts are in Washington (in the International Trade Commission and Department of Commerce) as well in the embassy and consulates in Mexico. Their promo-

tionism is echoed by many academic analysts, chambers of commerce, and industry consultants (mainly lawyers, bankers, and real estate developers) in the United States and Mexico. The din of promotionalism is so loud as to raise eyebrows: How could one thing be so good in a sea of things that are so questionable? The larger question has to encompass the overall infrastructure investment that each job requires. For economic areas become competitive not on account of labor rates, but on account of balanced infrastructure in place.

Mexico's Case

The maquiladora program is Mexico's version of a promotional program that is found around the world, from Tennessee to Taiwan, from Ireland to India, from Haiti to Juárez:

"Come to sunny [fill in the blank], set up your industrial factory here, pay no taxes for X years, and the government of [the sunny city, state, or country] will provide you with cheap (but educated) labor, paved roads, housing, sewage, telephone lines, and related items of industrial infrastructure. The government will also attend to preventative programs of environmental protection to assure high standards of air and water quality."

However, a day's visit to the twin cities of El Paso-Juárez, which can be seen as a single metropolitan area of 1.7 million people, will lead the open-minded visitor to three conclusions. First, a great deal of what had been promised by the program in the way of infrastructure on the Mexican side of the street has not been delivered (e.g., housing, paved roads, water and air quality, public health facilities, and telephone lines).

Second, a considerable portion of the cost of attending to what has not been delivered on the Mexican side of town has crossed the tracks to the U.S. side (e.g., the deterioration of air quality, and the additional demands on public health services and schools).

Third, whatever the industrial advantages might be for out-of-state firms using cheap labor in Juárez, the disadvantage of a sharp difference in the standard of living of the two halves of El Paso-Juárez continues unabated.

Assuming that the generic industrial come-on program is working elsewhere in the world, why isn't it working in Mexico? One probable reason is that the governments of other sunny cities, states, and countries put a limit on the time during which the new arrivals

would have a tax holiday. Mexico put no limit: the maquiladora companies in Mexico pay no taxes for regional infrastructure. They pay, it is true, some fainthearted taxes for housing and other worker benefits, but these taxes are assessed on the wage bill, not on profits. It is true that they ostensibly pay a nominal amount in the form of taxes on "profits," but these are not real profits, merely accounting fictions.

In tardy recognition of the fiscal bankruptcy of the infrastructure account of the maquiladora program, Mexican authorities are scrambling for ideas. In the spring of 1988, the Mexican government proposed an almost meaningless 5 percent tax on the maquiladora wage bill, the revenues to be dedicated to infrastructure. The opposition of the maquiladora companies was so strong and unanimous that the Mexican government had to turn tail and drop the proposal.

In a workshop held at San Diego State University in mid-August 1988, a maquiladora industry representative commented that the companies were not so much opposed to the tax on wages, but they were very concerned about the ultimate use of the monies collected. The industry representative noted that in the particular case of his own company, cumulative taxes on payroll would have paid for 73 units of worker housing—so far, however, only one had been built. The industry representative said that if the industry has a say in how the new taxes would be spent, and if the money were put into a special trust fund, their cooperation would be certain. Such an idea strikes Mexican authorities as wrong on nationalistic grounds, as it might be construed by government opponents as tantamount to "foreign intervention" in domestic public policy.

Mexican authorities have not, however, acknowledged the credibility crisis facing their tax-revenue programs. This exists in both the insinuation of corruption and misappropriation of funds and in the lack of any overall budget for addressing the regional fallout of maquiladora industry growth. How much would it cost, for example, to clean up the air quality in El Paso-Juárez? Air and water quality and public health are just as much parts of the infrastructure of the maquiladora industry as paved roads.

What is needed is an economic model that would give an estimated ratio of the infrastructure budget to the payroll budget. A program that met the minimal test of infrastructural sobriety would be able to project how, for every \$1 in wages of every new maquiladora job, there would become available, hy-

Folklore has it that a company saves \$10,000-20,000 a year, per worker, by operating in Mexico. Where do the savings come from?

pothetically, \$10 for appropriate infrastructure. No such test exists on either side of the border. Such a program would also have a credible way to match revenues with costs. At present, the cleanup bill for water and air pollution along the U.S.-Mexican border is estimated at \$5 billion, but has anyone considered who is going to pay for it? Border states, which incur an environmental cleanup bill (and other infrastructure costs) on account of a non-border state company's maquiladora operations, may be forced to lobby Washington for a user fee on out-of-state and foreign companies that transport components across boundaries for assembly in Mexico.

The blackboard will have to be erased and calculations started over before the maquila-

cago were charged the fully burdened price of labor in Juárez (including costs on both the U.S. and Mexican sides), it might decide that labor rates in Illinois were a lot more reasonable than its previous cost-benefit analysis had shown?

It is evident that Mexican regional and industrial policymakers don't know how to budget for the long-range costs of infrastructure for border assembly plants. U.S. federal, state, and municipal authorities are in the same powerless boat; if this analysis is correct, for every dollar of assembly-line wages in Juárez there will be a parallel infrastructure cost in El Paso. U.S. authorities have not yet faced the question of how Mexico is going to tax the maquiladora firms, much less how U.S.



Twin Plant News

dora industry's demand for infrastructure can be rationalized. Calculations also have to take into account intangible elements of social costs such as crime and family disintegration. Benefits have to be quantified; such benefits, which, generally, are things of the future, include the prospect of technology transfer, horizontal integration of national suppliers, and regional development.

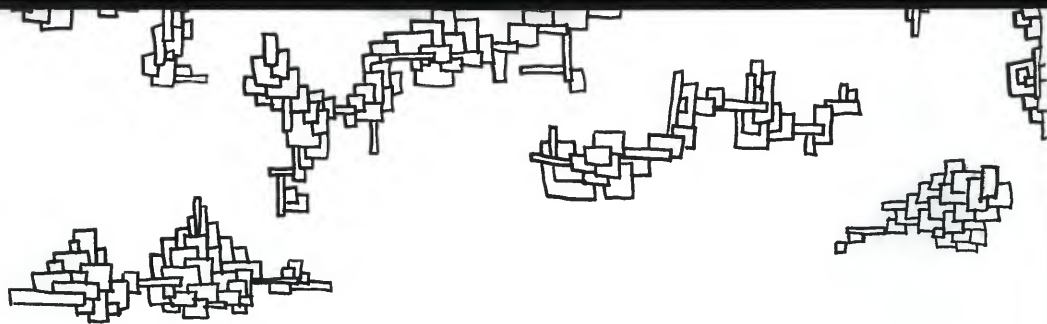
No one seems to have tried to calculate the fully burdened cost of maquiladora labor in Mexico. Folklore has it that a company saves \$10,000-20,000 a year, per worker, by operating in Mexico. Where do the savings come from?

U.S. managers and Mexican industrial park developers say that the cost of buildings, grounds, and utilities are cheaper in Mexico than in the United States. Again, the fully burdened cost to society of a given industrial building doesn't end with the square footage of the building; to it must be added the square footage of the nearby houses, parks, classrooms, roads, etc. Could it be that, if a firm in Chi-

states and cities are going to do it.

It is therefore risky for the foreign analyst to continue to serve as the promoter of something that will have to be changed, not cosmetically around the eyes, but at the root. It is also risky, at best, for U.S. corporate management to continue to believe that there is a free (labor) lunch in Mexico. But, spokespersons for organized labor aside, most U.S. observers of Mexico in government, academia, and industry continue to believe that if something puts food in the mouths of Mexican workers, they are obliged to be in favor of it.

I have no idea how to prevent clientitis: the State Department's solution—keep Foreign Service officers on the move, from country to country, so that emotional roots don't start sprouting—doesn't work for an area specialist. I am sure that I have been infected by clientitis myself in ways that I may perhaps never recognize—at least without help from others. The quality of intelligence needed in dealing with international and intercultural issues is impartiality, which, by definition, knows no cultural forms. □



The United States needs a new foreign assistance strategy, one that focuses on trade promotion for middle-income recipients and technical assistance for lower-income countries. Objections to subsidized export credits on theoretical grounds hinders our commercial, political, and even developmental interests. In the long run, a new strategy, executed by a modified foreign assistance bureaucracy, would result in a more effective, better supported, and more efficient aid policy.

The United States clearly cannot long support a trade deficit of \$140-170 billion per year. For many of the countries to which we provide assistance, access to American goods and services on a concessional basis (i.e., through U.S. government export credits and guarantees and trade protocols) can be important to national economic development, and a boost to our trade balance. For middle-income developing countries, lack of physical infrastructure along with inappropriate government economic policies is often an obstacle to self-sustaining economic growth. We have long focused our attention on policies, but we are increasingly less capable of influencing their formulation than are the international financial institutions and the multilateral development banks, which alone have sufficient financial resources to make debtor governments sit up and listen. Instead, we ought to focus more attention on the infrastructure, especially in developing countries with which we have significant trade relations or the potential to develop them.

Using non-military, non-food assistance re-

TRADE CAN BE AID

A new trade promotion strategy supported by a modified AID bureaucracy could revitalize our foreign assistance.

KARL HOFMANN

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sources, we should establish regular trade credit protocols in consultation with the host government and with U.S. suppliers and financial institutions; these credits would be just as useful as direct balance-of-payments support for the sophisticated middle-income developing countries. Where we are still squeamish about getting out of individual assistance projects, we could tie our trade credits to worthy sectors, such as agricultural equipment, education, or health care, or ensure that they are available only to small or medium enterprises (SMEs).

A Development Banker Corps

A corps of "development bankers," based in Washington, could be established to initiate credits for bankable projects. More than another Export-Import Bank (EXIM), it would be guided by criteria of development assistance as much as by internal profitability. It would be active, rather than reactive; catalyzing supplier-buyer relations, rather than responding to exporters' own initiatives. The development bankers could identify and, within the terms of a bilateral protocol, offer financing for exports that would not normally interest EXIM, since infrastructure development projects (roads, basic industries, dams, communications, etc.) often have low internal rates of return or long amortization.

Beyond project lending, the development bankers could open simple export credit lines, an extremely interesting proposition for developing countries with balance-of-payments problems and little or no access to commercial credit because of high indebtedness. We often assist these countries through official debt reschedulings, in conjunction with other Western donors. Such reschedulings amount to short-term balance-of-payments support, but only postpone debts coming due, debts that were often contracted at relatively high interest rates in the late 1970s or early 1980s. Better for both creditor and debtor if reschedulings were limited in favor of new concessional trade credits, which could serve both as short-term balance-of-payments aid and long-term economic assistance.

Virtually every major Western donor, except the United States, does business with middle-income aid recipients this way. We stand apart in urging an end to subsidized government export credits. Meanwhile, the Europeans and Japanese have seized on the OECD system of annual supplier credit agreements

as an effective and efficient way to accomplish commercial and developmental goals and to cement political relations. We should follow their lead. Until free and open competition among suppliers for markets is the rule, we should not allow our philosophical and somewhat naive distaste for strong U.S. government-private sector coordination to prevent us from capturing the emerging Third World markets. All the more so if our access to these markets is through bankable, economically desirable projects, and if this is the approach favored by host governments themselves.

What we will lose in this equation is the impact of our "institution building" assistance, as we redirect this money to trade development. But that impact is already reduced in the middle-income and emerging middle-income countries, where the institutions we target, though imperfect, are usually older and more resilient than our efforts to modify them. Spending this money on trade opportunities that will bring U.S. and local businessmen and public institutions together may, in fact, be an equally effective means of building local institutions.

The Moroccan Example

Morocco, for example, is an emerging middle-income country where the major thrust of our assistance should increasingly be trade. Our development resources could be the key to close to a billion dollars or more in additional sales of U.S. goods and services over the next several years, without any increase in our assistance budget.

How would a new trade promotion strategy work in Morocco? There is general agreement that the economic future of Morocco hinges on the availability of more resources for productive investment—both through direct financing of project capital costs and by reducing the government's reliance on private domestic resources to finance the budget deficit. The infrastructure needs of the country are substantial. Why not provide trade credits here for some of these infrastructure projects, many of which would clearly benefit from U.S. private sector expertise and experience if the financing were competitive?

Many of these infrastructure needs (electricity generation and transmission, roads, airports, telecommunications, to name a few) are direct determinants of Morocco's ability to create a healthy business environment and take advantage of its location at Europe's door.

These are goals we strongly support; why not do so with a program which will accomplish our development goals and aid our trade balance as well? In Morocco alone, there are productive capital investment projects pending over the next several years totaling roughly \$4 billion. These include new power generating capacity, overhaul and upgrade of the national telephone system, a civilian air traffic control system, waste water treatment plants, and other areas where our experience and technology make us world leaders. U.S. companies stand virtually no chance of landing any of these contracts without direct and active help from the U.S. government, because our European and Japanese competitors are ready and waiting with major trade credits which they aggressively market. The development bankers corps, backed by a "war chest" fed by our annual \$40 million or so in non-food, non-military assistance, is a way to compete in this market with no increase in our assistance budget.

On the other side of the coin, U.S. exports to Morocco are typically 75 percent wheat, other agricultural bulk products, and sulphur. In total, we have sold an average of \$350 million per year in recent years, leaving aside the occasional Boeing airplane. Yet this is an economy that consumes \$3.5 billion in non-oil imports each year, including many consumer and industrial goods with higher value added. Why not allocate a portion of our assistance program to trade credit lines? We support the goal of balance of payments equilibrium, and we facilitate it through reschedulings of official debt. How much more sensible if we could ease pressure on the balance of payments while at the same time pushing U.S. exports through concessional trade credits.

New Administrative Structure

This new trade promotion strategy calls for an overhaul of our foreign assistance administrative structure and institutions. Obviously, a development banker corps would not be appropriate for Third World countries where our interests are wholly humanitarian or wholly political. For these countries, different approaches are required.

Among the poorest of the poor, chiefly sub-Saharan Africa, our comparative assistance advantage is in American "know-how," for example, in agricultural technology or research. For this group of countries, our assistance

should primarily consist of providing such technical skills, perhaps by sponsoring cooperative agreements with U.S. universities or research institutions. Such programs should be administered from Washington, where contractors could be recruited and sent overseas. The basic administrative support these people require is already provided by the embassy; they could be supervised by the same Washington office charged with developing and monitoring new or continuing projects. This is substantially the case already, when contractor teams are located in the field, far away from the AID mission in the capital.

For those few countries where our assistance is motivated on purely political grounds, we should continue administering this assistance through a disbursing officer and a checkbook. Our new approach thus results in a three-pronged foreign assistance administrative structure: the development banker corps for the middle-income developing countries, a Washington-based technical assistance/consultant recruiting agency for programs in the poorer countries, and the small staff needed to disburse money to our most favored recipients. In moving from aid to trade, and in focusing our efforts on programs where we have the greatest impact, we will spare ourselves the increasingly evident and embarrassing position of relying on the past stature of our assistance program for influence, rather than its present resources.

For the foreseeable future, the United States is not going to have the money to carry out the kind of worldwide development assistance program that we have maintained for many years—the sooner we accept this inability and look for more creative approaches to get the job done, the better. Our distance from the developed world's target of 0.7 percent of gross domestic product in official development assistance is greater than ever, and we are reduced to defending this low level through reference to our voting weight in the regional banks and our policy influence at the IMF. An overhaul of our foreign assistance strategy and implementing agencies would presumably develop a larger domestic policy constituency than our traditional foreign assistance approach has been able to over the years, and eventually free up a more respectable portion of our budget to do this job. Our food aid programs already reflect this reality—an alliance of humanitarian and commercial interests. That is what we should strive for in our entire assistance program. □

We are relying on the past stature of our assistance program for influence, rather than its present resources

Foreign Service Heresy

DAVID T. JONES

The following is heresy. It is the Foreign Service equivalent of Holy Writ that political appointees are the bane of the professional, career Foreign Service. The corollary is that Foreign Service officers, particularly at senior levels, are (or would be) more capable than political appointees.

Unfortunately, comfortable as these assumptions are to Foreign Service officers, they fall into the category of unproven—and perhaps unprovable—assertions.

We are all aware of the case of Ambassador “X” whose primary qualification for his post in England was asserted to be his ability to speak English. Or Ambassador “Y” who was systematically drunk, disorderly, and/or disgraceful. Or, from personal experience, similar apocalyptic examples. On the other hand, we are equally aware of (although not so publicly vocal about) the shortcomings of various Foreign Service professionals at senior levels.

Indeed, when we cite examples of Foreign Service professionalism, we might suggest examples such as:

- Ambassador A, who headed two bureaus, was ambassador to a major European country, and currently serves as chief negotiator on strategic arms;
- Ambassador B, who after completing one negotiator and two ambassadorial assignments, returned to State as an under secretary;
- Ambassador C, who was ambassador to five countries in the past 20 years;
- Ambassador D, U.S. representative to a key ally for 11 years;
- Ambassador E, who speaks five languages

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fluently and represented the United States at an international organization before becoming ambassador to a major European country.

Unfortunately for arguing our case on the need for Foreign Service professionals, these individuals all began their careers as political appointees and entered the Foreign Service without benefit of the classic Foreign Service exam. (Respectively Ambassadors Burt, Bartholomew, Strausz-Hupé, Mansfield, and Walters). As long as defenders of the present system of political appointments to high diplomatic posts have such examples of excellence, the Foreign Service cannot make a compelling case that career officers are better than political appointees.

It is hard to argue that an existing system must be changed unless it can be demonstrated that there are real costs in keeping it and real benefits in changing it. As the system of political appointments to the senior levels of the Foreign Service now stands, it provides substantial benefits to political leadership, i.e., rewards for the financial contributions or political loyalties of “deserving” party associates. To change the system, we must demonstrate that there are greater benefits (political or substantive) from specific changes than the economic and political benefits now conveyed. Otherwise, the Foreign Service appears to be just another special interest group pleading for a change that would benefit only itself.

A century ago a comparable system held sway in the U.S. military. Along with “regular” officers with professional training at West Point, in time of emergency individual local political figures could “raise” a regiment, be voted into command by groups of volunteers, or be appointed directly to command by presidential authority. Many Civil War generals and a portion of the units of the Spanish Ameri-

can War were irregular in origins, such as Teddy Roosevelt's "Rough Riders." Nevertheless, despite individual illustrations of excellence, there were, over time, sufficient examples of incompetence by such nonprofessionals as to persuade the political leadership that their fate (and incidentally that of the United States) was safer with military professionals.

Similarly, the federal bench is technically open to those without formal legal training. There have been a number of relatively untrained figures on the Supreme Court (most recently former Chief Justice Earl Warren), but public acceptance of a Supreme Court justice or federal judge who was not a well qualified lawyer and jurist would make such an appointment today unlikely.

Yet it is clear that the Foreign Service does not enjoy such public expectations. Indeed, a diplomat and a politician appear to have much the same professional status, that is, no requirement for demonstrated skill before beginning to practice.

There are two basic methods through which members of a profession restrict activity by nonprofessionals: applied substantive standards or jurisdictional restrictions.

In the past, someone could open a bank with little more than an advertisement in a local paper. If you could fly a plane without killing yourself, you were considered a pilot and allowed to handle any aircraft. And, if you owned a truck, you had de facto the right to drive it: a license was not necessary. Such actions are no longer possible because of public recognition that the complex skills associated with these professions are such that only individuals able to pass rigorous examinations should be permitted to practice in these fields. There is, in short, a public consensus that professionals must control these professions.

What are the costs of a nonprofessional "diplomat"? Unfortunately, it would be difficult to determine what are the specific hallmarks of the diplomatic profession that would require only exam-passing certificate holders to practice the profession. What are the diplomatic equivalents of being able to dissect a human body, perform a stress analysis on a steel girder, or draw up a multigeneration trust?

Indeed, some of the major failures of recent U.S. foreign policy (Iran, Lebanon) were presided over primarily by professionals. This is not meant to imply that professionals were at fault in Iran or Lebanon or lack clear successes (INF treaty, Philippine base agreement, Persian Gulf crisis management, Afghanistan), or that amateurs are immune from failure (Iran-

contra would instantly disprove such a contention), but simply to note that despite corridor mumbling, public documentation for diplomatic catastrophes that can be attributed to amateurism is not compelling.

In fact, diplomacy in some ways has become easier rather than more complex and thus more open to the amateur. Do diplomats need to exercise initiative in *dé marches* to foreign governments? Instead of ambassadors having wide-ranging diplomatic discretion, complex telegraphic instructions govern many minor issues. Even the fastest breaking crises are carefully monitored and often directed from Washington; the diplomat on the spot is only one of the actors in determining the U.S. response.

Do U.S. diplomats need to speak multiple foreign languages with a high degree of fluency? Obviously knowing foreign languages is a useful tool, and Bismark's sneer that it was more valuable for a headwaiter than a diplomat can be dismissed. Nevertheless, it is one of diplomacy's quiet little secrets that the worldwide level of English competence is very high—and growing steadily—particularly among those a diplomat must address. In fact, it has been the extended world authority exercised first by Great Britain and then by the United States that has contributed to the phenomenon of English as the virtually universal "second language."

Does a diplomat or consul need detailed legal knowledge of U.S. immigration and naturalization law or the rights of seamen? To the contrary, the laws concerning citizenship and visas are probably simpler than they have been for decades. Complex cases are immediately referred to the Department of State for decision. And a consular officer could spend a professional career without ever seeing an American seaman. The skills needed for consular work are probably more akin to those of a metropolitan social worker than a lawyer. Indeed, most consular officers would admit that a good consular officer needs to be personally calm, have basic common sense, and a high school education.

Challenging as the Foreign Service exam is, it is a measure not of diplomatic proficiency but of Foreign Service potential. The written exam measures general knowledge and reading speed; the oral exam tests organization, self-possession, and verbal adroitness. These are all qualities useful in any field. But in essence, the U.S. diplomatic recruitment process seeks to assure that the Foreign Service is widely





representative of U.S. society in terms of race and gender, rather than merely seeking the most intellectually talented. Nor does the "A-100" FSI orientation course teach the entering Foreign Service officer to be a "diplomat." The course remains essentially a familiarization exercise designed to acquaint the new FSO with some of the aspects of bureaucracy in the U.S. government and the Department of State. Bluntly, the U.S. approach to educating its diplomats is largely on-the-job training, leavened by sporadic area and language training. Again, this is not to say that the results are not by and large successful; through Junior Officer Training, young FSOs do become competent professionals. It is hard, however, to argue from this catch-as-catch-can process that outsiders cannot start at the top and learn by doing.

In contrast, one can imagine a Foreign Service academy for which the Foreign Service exam is an entrance qualification. The curriculum at such an academy could be designed to absorb two to three years of full-time study combining language training with academic and practical internships within the department and overseas, and incorporating the consular course. For our degree-conscious society, the academy could award graduates a "Doctorate in International Practice."

Such an academy is hardly a new idea. Its merits were debated in the *FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL* decades ago. Indeed, it is an idea whose time has passed. Why, when other professions were moving toward increased structure, substance, and rigor, did American diplomacy avoid such a course? Clearly one reason was expense. American universities were already

providing U.S. diplomats—free of charge—and the State Department was sufficiently satisfied with them (and they with themselves) to see no need for changing the basic recruitment/procurement system. Also, the very idea of such a formalized academy was intrinsically counter to Foreign Service attitudes of 40 to 50 years ago. It smacked of tradecraft when diplomacy was viewed as more art than science. Diplomacy was primarily an upper-class profession. Its practitioners were performing a conscious act of public service and responding to growing U.S. nationalism rather than seeking financial reward.

Whatever the reasoning, the time for such an academy has passed. Expense would still be appalling, especially to a Congress unaccustomed to footing such a bill. The argument can still be made that linguists, international economists, lawyers, and geographic specialists pour out of the universities essentially free for the taking. It may cost \$1 million to train a jet pilot, but that is for defense, not diplomacy.

Additionally, the Foreign Service has backed away from another element characterizing many professions: self-policing. Feeble as the restrictions of the American Medical Association and American Bar Association are considered to be, there are disbarred lawyers and doctors relieved of their right to practice based on incompetence or violations of professional standards. Foreign Service officers have traditionally conceded the right to punish and promote to the employer, the Department of State and ultimately the president, under the rationale that all FSOs are presidential appointees. This observation is not made to propose that the American Foreign Service Association develop professional standards and seek to discipline the erring FSO, but only to note that a profession that does not discipline itself is left open to discipline by others.

We are all generally aware of the restrictions that labor unions place upon participation in their specific professions. These restrictions are not those of substantive skill (the ability to pick grapes, hammer a nail, pack meat, or assemble auto parts has nothing to do with obtaining such a job under union control). Although most unions make a bow to substantive skill, the essence of unionism is that membership and membership alone qualifies an individual for a job. Union power comes from members agreeing that none of them will work (the strike), rather than permit those without their approval to join the profession.

We have become accustomed to thinking that unionism is on the wane as union members steadily become a smaller percentage of the U.S. work force. It is useful, however, to recall the development of the Teachers Union and the power that it exercises over American education. Many of us may think that we could teach a high school history or civics class. Wrong. Under existing rules for most public schools, Henry Kissinger could not teach high school civics, or Jonas Salk, chemistry. Today, many teachers unions resist professional competency tests with the same intensity others might resist a communicable disease. Despite a widely perceived teaching crisis, educators continue to apply their own standards to the profession.

The Foreign Service's longstanding ambivalence to unionism is well known. AFSA's role as the official representative of the Foreign Service is less than two decades old and continues to be quietly contested by the American Federation of Government Employees. AFSA has maintained a low-key, essentially nonconfrontational approach, in accord with its origins as a professional association and presumably reflecting the desires of the Foreign Service in general. It has accepted many of the parameters of the existing system, and it attempts to work within them. Legally prohibited from striking, AFSA has never called or even seriously debated a strike even over issues as galvanizing as non-career appointments to Foreign Service ranks or forced retirements for "time in class," let alone taken job action over an issue such as the cuts in overseas allowances that stimulated French diplomats to strike recently.

To be sure, there is no expectation that Foreign Service personnel would strike illegally even if urged to do so, as the lack of a we/they separation between workers and managers would make any strike problematic. Most FSOs are satisfied with how the system has worked for them (despite whatever flaws or shortcomings they recognize). Others recall the example given to the air controllers union, arguably as highly trained and necessary as most diplomats, where strikers were simply fired. The air-control system continued to function normally under the guidance of those who defied the strike call with outsiders quickly hired and trained for less pressured assignments. The unspoken judgment is that any Foreign Service strike threat would stimulate a "call your bluff" reaction by department management with public and media reaction even less sympathetic to "striped pants cookie pushers" than to air traffic controllers.

Frankly, the circumstances do not look good for general improvement of the status of the career Foreign Service. It is almost impossible to demonstrate a difference between the highly talented amateur and the top flight Foreign Service professional in terms the public will understand: countries "lost" or "won"; better rather than worse agreements negotiated; or foreign support/nonsupport for U.S. causes. The typical non-career ambassador is buttressed by normally competent professional FSOs and his "mistakes" are corrected before seeing the light of day or are a matter of tone and/or argument. The percentage of non-career diplomats in the U.S. Foreign Service is an "inside the beltway" issue with no resonance in Peoria. For all the multiplicity of issues belabored in the recent election campaign, Department of State professionalism was not even a tenth level concern. And if there is not a political "fairness" issue or a foreign policy catastrophe, there is no incentive to change the system by those who control it.

We are unlikely to get anywhere with efforts to tinker with the percentages of political appointees in prominent positions—at least not in effecting substantial reductions. Such appointments remain an ultimate presidential privilege. Quiet approaches within the executive branch may generate some sympathy (and a slight reduction in numbers of nonprofessionals if the president feels some need to rally Foreign Service support at the beginning of an administration) but a basic change would depend upon a powerful and sympathetic secretary enforcing a limit on non-career appointments—an unlikely development since the secretary invariably will be supported by the best available assistants both career and non-career and may well have non-career personnel in mind for key assignments.

Nor is the Foreign Service going to strike over professional issues. Such an event is as unlikely as your pedigreed collie turning into a werewolf. Professional circumstances are disturbing, even disheartening to many, but diplomats are realists and practitioners of the art of the possible and not anxious to commit themselves to causes lost in advance.

So the answer is really a non-answer. And that should be no surprise. Like so many of the intractable problems we face every day—a divided Korea, Germany, and Cyprus, Middle East animosities, South African apartheid, missing POWs in SE Asia, terrorism, Third World poverty, the Foreign Service professional/amateur issue becomes one of managing rather than resolving the problem. □

The Foreign Service has accepted many of the parameters of the existing system and attempts to work within them

The Toughest Consul

FRED GODSEY

*Sometimes it's tough
to follow the rules.*

The old couple sat in the hall on the wooden bench just outside the American vice consul's office. They wore the Sunday-best garb of Hungarian peasants. His black trousers, clean but shiny from wear and patched at the knees, were tucked into a pair of black leather boots, highly polished but showing signs of age. The white shirt, which he wore buttoned at the throat without a tie, was covered by the countryman's typical black jacket, with a neat patch on the sleeve. She wore several petticoats under a broad black skirt topped by a black jacket. Her gray hair was covered by a babushka scarf tied under her chin.

It was early in the day. The journey from their village in the country to Budapest had been arduous, and the strain was visible on their tanned, wrinkled faces. They had arisen before sunrise to be certain of getting a train, since railroad schedules were still not reliable following the recent end of World War II. Unwrapping a small cloth bundle, he took out a piece of salami from which he cut several slices with his pocket knife. This was obvi-

ously their breakfast.

They had just finished the salami when Mrs. Keller, the vice consul's secretary, came out of her office to tell them, in Hungarian, that the visa section was down the hall on the left.

He wiped his gray mustache with his coat sleeve, "But we American citizens," he said in English. "I am Andy Szabo, and this here's Millie. Me and Millie don't need no visas. We come for American passport to go back to America. Here, I have American passport." Mrs. Keller took the old, soiled, dog-eared document and said that since they were the first applicants of the day, the vice consul would see them as soon as he came in. The old man patted Millie's hand gently. "You see, mama," he said softly, "nothing to worry about. We go back to America." She smiled and nodded.

An American consulate is an arcade through which passes almost every type

of human being—the knights and the knaves, the saints and the sinners, and in Vice Consul Brannon's mind they were all sinners until proven otherwise.

Dirk Brannon, age 37, unmarried, began life in the old Hell's Kitchen section of New York City. He had been a stevedore on the city's docks and a professional boxer. He had come into the Foreign Service from the U.S. Marine Corps, where he had earned a chest full of medals, which he never wore. He was six feet, four inches tall, weighed 240 pounds, and had a cauliflower ear, a set of false teeth, and a crew cut.

In a word, Vice Consul Brannon was tough—physically and mentally tough. While previously serving as shipping officer at various U.S. consulates in Latin American ports, he had gained the reputation among ship captains as the "toughest consul in the world." Any captain or sailor who ventured into his office in a drunken state risked being literally thrown out of the consulate and otherwise physically impaired. Vice Consul Brannon never aspired to the career diplomatic service, since he was aware of a notation in his personnel records that he was "anti-social and prone to physical violence at the slightest provocation."

When he was made citizenship and passport officer at the consulate in

This is adapted from A Gathering at the River: Stories from a Life in the Foreign Service published by Markgraf Publications, California.

Budapest after World War II, he was of the decided opinion that any American citizen who had remained in Hungary for the duration of the war had done so for one reason only—a belief that America would lose the war. Consequently, such persons could expect no sympathy from Vice Consul Brannon. Indeed, he took a special delight in personally informing such passport applicants that they had lost their claims to American citizenship if they had run afoul of the U.S. nationality laws—which was usually the case.

Mrs. Keller helped Andy and Millie fill in the required passport application forms and ushered them into Vice Consul Brannon's office. The vice consul, sitting behind a large table in lieu of a normal desk, didn't say a word. He never wasted time by greeting employees or applicants. Mrs. Keller placed the documents, including the old passport, on the table while Andy and Millie stood more or less at attention, ignoring the two chairs before the table. "I am Andy Szabo. This here's Millie. We come for the American passport to go back to America."

Vice Consul Brannon studied the papers for a minute. "Sit!" he finally said. Mrs. Keller stood by ready to translate if necessary, as several of the documents which Andy had presented were in Hungarian. "Andrew Szabo," Brannon said, finally looking directly at Andy and Millie sitting uneasily on the chairs, "both you and your wife were born in Hungary. Both of you were naturalized as American citizens in the United States. You lived there for many years. You both came back to Hungary in 1931 and have lived here since that time. We have no records here that you registered at the consulate as Americans or applied for the renewal of your American passport. Why did you come back to Hungary, Andy? There was no war then."

Andy stood, holding his black hat before his waist. "Mr. Consul, sir, me and Millie come back here because we couldn't get no more work in America. You know, it was the hard times in 1931. No, we didn't think about a war then. Me and Millie, we had a good job with Mr. Sinclair out on

Long Island. I was gardener, and Millie was his cook. He had big house there and big family. Then, in 1931, in the big depression time, Mr. Sinclair, he lose everything. I looked for other work, but there was nothing. Everybody out of work. My brother was farming the little piece of land here in Hungary that we had from our parents. We have small house there. Me and Millie had to come back here to make a living. Me and Millie and my brother worked here very hard, sir, and we made pretty good living until the war come. About coming to the consulate for the register, sir, nobody ever told us that we have to do that."

"Why do you want to go back to America now? Do you have any family there?" Brannon asked.

"No, sir, we got no children. We got nobody no more in America or here. It's just me and Millie. My brother died in Russia in the war, and now the Communists in our village say they are going to take away the little farm and our house. We won't have no way to make a living here."

"But you and Millie are over 70-years old," Brannon said. "Do you have friends in America? Are you in touch with the Sinclair family?"

Andy smiled, reached down and held Millie's hand. "No, sir," he said, "we don't know nobody there, and don't know what happened to Mr. Sinclair. Oh! What a fine man he was—and smart too! I'm sure he's back in business again, and me and Millie will go back and find him. He'll give us our jobs back again! He was always good to us." Millie smiled and nodded.

Vice Consul Brannon indicated the papers on the table. "What are these Hungarian documents, Mrs. Keller?" Before Mrs. Keller could reply, Andy said, "Consul, sir, these are some papers me and Millie had to sign when we come back to our village. The mayor brought them over one day and said we would have to sign them if we wanted to stay in Hungary and work our farm. Later, some ministry here in Budapest sent us more papers that we had to swear to and sign. They

all had something to do with our staying in the village. We never knew exactly what they are for, but you'll see there it says we are Americans, and that there's our American passport. The whole village knows we are Americans—I think that's why the Communists want to take our farm first."

Mrs. Keller picked up one of the documents and began to translate, but, after a few words, found that she could not go on. She placed the document on the table and in a choked voice, barely audible, said, "I'm sorry, Mr. Brannon. This is a declaration of allegiance to Hungary. They regained Hungarian citizenship. It is recorded at the ministry here in Budapest. They also voted in the Hungarian elections."

Mrs. Keller stood nervously waiting for Vice Consul Brannon to tell Andy and Millie in his usual brusque manner that they had lost their American citizenship. The vice consul was silent for a long time. He looked down at his shoes, stared at the chandelier. He even picked a few pieces of invisible lint from his jacket sleeve and loosened his shirt collar. Then he did a thing that was strange for him. He stood up, handed all of the papers to Mrs. Keller and said, "Mrs. Keller, take Andy and Millie to your office and explain the situation to them."

Vice Consul Brannon was standing alone in his office, hands clasped behind his back, gazing through his window when he saw Andy and Millie leaving the consulate. They were going slowly, still holding hands, across Victory Square in the direction of the railway station. They walked slightly stooped, as if their feet were too heavy for the long journey ahead.

"Mrs. Keller!" Brannon shouted, "tell the other applicants that they will have to wait a while. I have some business to take care of in the visa section."

Vice Consul Brannon lied. He had no business to take care of in the visa section. Instead, he went to the men's room on the second floor and closed himself into one of the stalls. After all, it would never do to have the staff see tears on the cheeks of the toughest consul in the world. □

Moving in step

KATHARINE G. BAKER

Remarried families are one of the most common family forms in America today. Demographers estimate that about 35 percent of all children born in the 1980s will live in a stepfamily before their eighteenth birthday. In 1970, 30 percent of all American marriages involved the remarriage of one or both spouses. The proportion rose to 44 percent in 1977, and is even higher today.

Foreign Service families reflect the characteristics of the wider society in the stepfamily trend. Overseas and in the United States, large numbers of Foreign Service families include remarried spouses with children from previous marriages.

The Department of State has responded to the increased incidence of remarried families by extending family and educational benefits to all stepchildren (children of both the Foreign Service partner and the non-Foreign Service spouse) who reside abroad under sole or joint custody arrangements. However, if the stepchild is under a joint custody agreement with a parent who lives in the United States, the child is not eligible for any U.S. boarding school allowance. In addition, travel benefits that provide for one round-trip per year for each child under age 21 to visit separated parents either in the United States or overseas are extended to all stepchildren. Any visitation arrangements must be included in a custody agreement and the parent must have permission to have the child visit him or her out of the country.

Foreign Service stepfamilies posted

Katharine G. Baker, D.S.W., is a family therapist in private practice in Washington, D.C., and is chair of the Clinical Committee of the Stepfamily Association of America. She is married to a former Foreign Service officer and has lived in a stepfamily for 24 years.

in Washington are probably aware of the extensive self-help literature for step-parents and stepchildren. They may even be members of the Stepfamily Association of America (602 E. Joppa Road, Baltimore, MD 21204), a national advocacy and self-help organization with a quarterly bulletin and regional support groups which provide education, understanding, and friendship to stepfamilies.

But Foreign Service stepfamilies living overseas, particularly in countries where remarriage is not as widely accepted as in the United States, may find they have fewer resources and less support. They may not realize that some of the difficulties they experience are common to all stepfamilies.

Many difficult aspects of stepfamily adjustment also occur in first-time married families. Sibling rivalry, parent-child conflict, friction between spouses, and disobedient child behavior are familiar to all families. In stepfamilies, however, these issues may be more intense because of some special stepfamily characteristics:

- Most children in stepfamilies are members of two households, even though these households may be thousands of miles apart. Foreign Service children who spend time in the separate homes of both biological parents experience double culture shock. They regularly move between U.S. and overseas environments, and they also move between parental households with differing norms, rules, and values. Conflicts of loyalty and loss of closeness with distant parents are significant issues for these children. Sadness as well as anger about the absence of the missing parent is a continuing theme.

- Children and adults in stepfamilies have had family experiences that predate the remarriage. Fierce battles can occur over communication and discipline styles, table manners, and holi-

day traditions, as each biologically related group insists that its way is "right." In the Foreign Service these differences probably include a variety of overseas living experiences. Stepfamilies can split along argumentative biological lines, rather than working together in their adjustment to a new neighborhood or overseas post.

- Children in stepfamilies have at least one extra set of grandparents. A remarriage may ask grandparents to incorporate a new set of step-grandchildren into their lives and to accept them as they have accepted their biological grandchildren. Many grandparents find this acceptance difficult. This dimension of extended family influence may not be as intense for Foreign Service stepfamilies living overseas at considerable distance from grandparents, but it still can cause divisiveness.

- Finances can be complicated and conflictual in stepfamilies, as money is often the arena in which ex-spouses continue to fight, long after their marriage has ended. There never seems to be enough money to keep everyone happy, as material possessions cannot heal the emotional wounds left by the divorce or death of a parent. These factors are no less true in the Foreign Service than in other American families, especially if parents wish to see their children more than the once-a-year trip authorized by the department.

In addition to these unique characteristics, stepfamilies have a life cycle which is somewhat different from that of a traditional, single-marriage family where the couple first lives together without children, cementing their adult relationship before adding new family members. Following divorce, single parents often turn to their children for support, entertainment, and sharing of thoughts. When a single parent remarries, a child who has been a close companion to that parent often experiences the new adult partner as an intruder. The strong single parent-child family unit is disrupted. The new stepparent feels like an outsider. And the biologi-

AFSA AWARD WINNERS

On Foreign Service Day, May 5, AFSA conferred on Robert V. Keeley, Thomas A. Lynch, and John W. Shearburn its annual awards for "extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage, and creative dissent" in their Foreign Service careers.

In addition, the Avis Bohlen Award, given to a member of a Foreign Service family who has done the most to advance American interests at a Foreign Service post was awarded to Lucille Chaveas, spouse of the consul general in Johannesburg.



Lucille Chaveas

Lucille Chaveas, wife of the consul general in Johannesburg, mother of two and a part-time consulate employee, has extensively enhanced U.S. interests in South Africa. Her monthly luncheons bridged the chasm between races by bringing together leaders from all segments of society in informal settings where they could find common ground. She has taken a leadership role in community organizations and is well known in both the American and local communities for many thoughtful acts helpful to individuals. Her community involvement is wide and meaningful, but just as important are her small, less visible acts toward individuals and groups.



Ambassador
Robert V. Keeley

Robert V. Keeley, ambassador to Greece, received the Christian A. Herter Award. His citation pointed to his consistent intellectual courage and creative dissent in his policy recommendations while serving in Greece, Uganda, and Cambodia. His current assignment has been characterized by forthright honesty in dealing with a challenging relationship. In 1967, when a military coup overthrew Greece's democratic government, he vigorously contended that the United States should make clear its opposition to the junta. In Uganda, he urged that the United States take strong action to demonstrate its disapproval of a deplorable regime. In Cambodia, he distinguished himself in his constructive criticism of some aspects of U.S. policy during the traumatic period of 1974-75.



Ambassador and Mrs. Keeley welcome Greek Foreign Minister Evangelos Averoff-Tositsas at a national day reception at the ambassador's residence.



Thomas A. Lynch

Tom Lynch with political-section secretary Vienna Baganz.

Thomas A. Lynch, political officer in Budapest, was awarded the William R. Rivkin Award. He is a example of the type of imaginative, outspoken, versatile, and hard-working mid-level officer the Foreign Service must have to develop creative approaches to difficult problems. He has demonstrated a constant readiness to stand up for his ideas and challenge conventional wisdom during difficult assignments. In repeated instances, his thoughts have directed U.S. policy. As desk officer for Rumania, he had to maintain U.S. policy while developing creative approaches to challenges stemming from increased instances of human rights abuses, a collapse in Rumanian living standards, and intense congressional and public inquiry. His current tour in Hungary has been characterized by efforts to portray evenly both the shortcomings in that country's human rights record and the major steps being taken to improve that record.

GAO John Shearburn inspects the motorized arm of the embassy's satellite dish.



John Shearburn

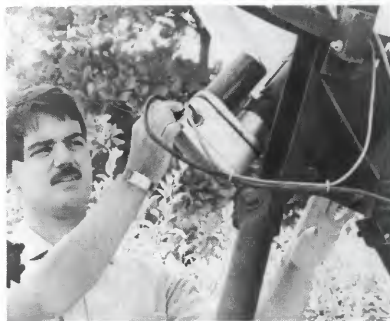
Language Awards

The winners of the Matilda W. Sinclair Awards, which recognize Foreign Service officers who have distinguished themselves in the study of hard languages are:

Paul V. Aceto	Korean
John J. Boris	Polish
Jeffrey L. Goldstein	Korean
J. Aubrey Hooks	Hebrew
Darrell A. Jenks	Chinese
John B. Kiesling	Greek
MArk J. Lijek	Polish
PAul J. Mailhot	Tamil
Donald M. Miller	Greek
Richard H. Riley	Russian

Awards were presented at a ceremony in the Dean Acheson auditorium. Following the ceremony Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger spoke at a luncheon in honor of all the AFSA Award recipients, at the Foreign Service Club.

John W. Shearburn was conferred the W. Averell Harriman Award for junior officers. General services officer in Managua, he is totally service-oriented. His skill and energy in keeping the embassy operating and providing responsive services have increased morale and contributed to the effectiveness of the mission. He demonstrates great initiative, energy, and leadership in a country where the government is hostile and local goods and services are not available. In addition to the daily crises of every embassy, in Managua, Shearburn coped with an earthquake, a hurricane, medical evacuations, and procurement problems. His superlative Spanish skills are in daily use in directing his staff and have been used to advantage to carry out successful negotiations in both political and administrative areas.



In Memory

MICHAEL FRANCIS KING. The crash of a U.S. Marine Corps helicopter in Okinawa, Japan on October 30, 1988 claimed the life of 31-year-old Captain Michael Francis King, son of retired FSO Robert E. Ferris and his wife Robbie of Bend, Oregon.

He is survived by his wife, Connie Pruett King, of Kailua, Hawaii; a son, William; and a daughter, Kathryn; his parents, and a sister.

LOYD L. DEWITT, 62, who retired in 1983 after an assignment to Tijuana as consular officer, died November 6.

Joining the Service in 1956, Mr. De Witt served in Bonn and Munich as a refugee and migration officer, in Kabul and Tehran as consular officer and second secretary, and in Santiago and London as a consular officer.

From 1975-80 he was assigned to the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs.

Mr. DeWitt was born in Selma, California. He earned a B.A. and an M.A. from Harvard. Survivors include his wife, Elizabeth, and two daughters.

FRANCIS H. RUSSELL, former ambassador, died March 31, 1989, of a heart attack at his home in St. Petersburg, Florida. He was ambassador to New Zealand from 1957 to 1960; to Ghana in 1961 and 1962; and to Tunisia from 1962 to 1969. He was chargé d'affaires in Israel, 1953-1954 and special assistant to the secretary of state on Israel-Arab relations, 1955-56.

From 1945 to 1952 Mr. Russell was director of the Office of Public Affairs.

He assisted in the drafting of the president's message to Congress of March 1947 on aid to Greece and Turkey and wrote the portion known as the Truman Doctrine, which enunciating U.S. support of free peoples resisting attempted subjugation. After the 1948 election, Mr. Russell submitted a draft for President Truman's inaugural address, which included "point

four," initiating a program of American aid to developing countries.

Mr. Russell was born in 1904 in Cambridge, Massachusetts. He was a graduate of Tufts College and Harvard Law School. From 1929 to 1941 Mr. Russell practiced law in Boston. He received an LL.D. from Tufts in 1959. After retiring in 1969, Mr. Russell became ambassador-in-residence and lecturer in diplomacy at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and vice president of the Boston World Affairs Council.

He is survived by his wife, Ruth Alene Libbey; a son, Dr. Paul L. Russell of Brookline, Massachusetts; a daughter, Dr. Alene Russell Hochschild of Berkeley, California; and three grandchildren.

COLONEL GERALD E. CLARK died in a traffic accident on February 26 in Panama City. He was 46.

In his eulogy, General Paul Gorman paid tribute to him as "a soldier-diplomat to whom the Republic owes a lasting debt of gratitude for his service as adviser to ambassadors, commanders-in-chief, assistant secretaries of state and defense, and other high officials of the United States government.

"Valued member of the U.S. country team in a strategically central country from 1981-86, he there served in several capacities: observer, reporter, analyst, operator and planner, staff officer, and commander. Over the past decade, whether assigned within the Department of Defense, or detached to the Department of State or the Central Intelligence Agency, Jerry brought to his duties quiet competence, perceptiveness, linguistic proficiency, and empathy for his foreign hosts, which earned him respect from all with whom he worked and made him a friend and confidant of American and foreign leaders alike."

Beloved to his Foreign Service colleagues in Honduras and Washington, Jerry leaves behind many deeply saddened friends. He is survived by his wife, Barbara, of Fairfax, Virginia; by two daughters, Natalie and Lizzie; and a son, Trey.

ELISE FLEAGER KENDRICK, 70, married respectively to FSO Richard C. Simpkins (deceased 1952), and Joseph T. Kendrick (divorced 1977), died of cancer January 23 in Reston, Virginia.

Mrs. Kendrick was born in Chicago and graduated from De Pauw University. She worked for the old Office of War Information. After the war she and Mr. Simpkins were posted to Berlin and Munich. Tours abroad with Mr. Kendrick included Oberammergau, Germany, Kabul, Paris, and Oslo. She served as assistant editor of Appalachia Regional Commission, Washington, D.C. from 1969-73 and as editor from 1973-1986.

She is survived by two daughters, Dr. Juliette Kendrick of Atlanta, and Katherine Kendrick of Baltimore; a brother and sister; and a grandson.

IRENE MITCHELL WRIGHT, 81, died March 7 in Naples, Florida. She was born in Rhode Island and graduated from Brown University.

Mrs. Wright accompanied her husband on assignments in Washington, D.C., Mexico, the Philippines, Belgium, Malaysia, Jordan, and Mali.

She is survived by her husband, Ambassador Thomas K. Wright of Naples, Florida; a son, Thomas of Alexandria, Virginia; and two grandchildren.

WALTER F. LOOMER died February 14 in Montreal, Canada, after a long illness. He was 67.

Mr. Loomer was born in New York and served in the U.S. Army from 1942-45. He joined the Foreign Service in 1954 and served in Reykjavik, Tunis, Dhahran, Ankara, Addis Ababa, Nairobi, Warsaw, La Paz, San Jose, Lagos, Moscow, and Athens, where he was budget management officer. He retired in 1981. After retirement, he accompanied his wife on assignments to London and Montreal.

He is survived by his wife, Marguerita, a Foreign Service secretary currently serving in Montreal; two sons, Nicholas and Patrick; a daughter, Mrs. Katherine Mundy; a grandson, and a sister and brother.

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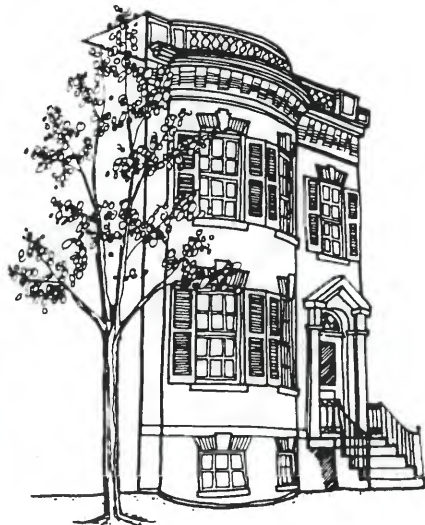
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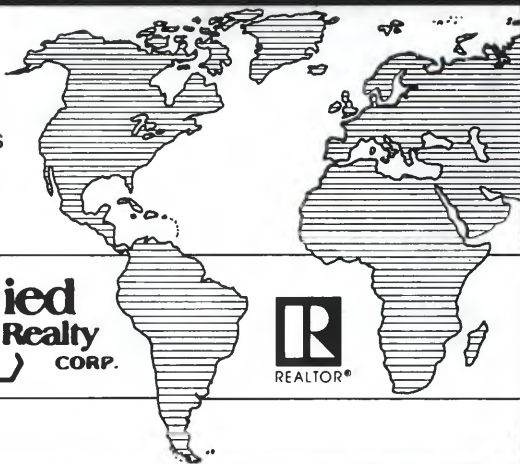
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Impasse panel supports AFSA proposal

The Foreign Service Impasse Disputes Panel has recommended that AID adopt an AFSA proposal as a part of implementing the agency's proposed affirmative action plan.

As reported in the December 1988 edition of *AFSA News*, AFSA and AID management reached agreement on most of the proposed plan. However, at that time they were unable to agree on one element of the program—procedures for promoting members of minority groups underrepresented at given grade levels.

In its recommendation letter, the panel advised the parties that it supported the AFSA proposal designed to reduce the most serious manifestations of equal employment opportunity imbalance, "conspicuous absence." This term is defined by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) as a near or total lack of representation of a minority group in a particular occupation in the work force.

The AFSA proposal would allow management to reach up to five slots below the established cut-off line to promote any ranked individual from a minority group that has been designated conspicuously absent from a grade level.

AID management's proposal would have required that AID promote individuals from designated minority groups when there exists a "manifest imbalance" in the work

AFSA wins Supreme Court case

The Supreme Court has ruled unanimously in AFSA's favor in its lawsuit concerning nondisclosure agreements. AFSA, along with seven members of Congress, brought the case before the court to challenge certain nondisclosure forms. The forms prohibited employees from disclosing "classifiable" information. Congress banned the use of these forms in 1987, but the State Department continued to require employees to sign them. AFSA challenged the use of the forms in Federal District Court, but the court ruled that the president's national security authority overrode Congress's power to legislate in this area.

The Supreme Court reversed the district court's ruling. It instructed the district court not to consider the national security authority issue unless it is impera-

tive to do so. This means that the district court will have to decide whether the forms currently being implemented are consistent with Congress's action.

Gratified by this victory in its first case before the Supreme Court, AFSA is now urging the administration to work with Congress to balance the need for protection of classified information against employees' rights to be free from enforcement of unreasonably vague regulations.

Since further court proceedings are likely, this major victory does not represent the end of AFSA's efforts to protect employee rights in this area. AFSA will continue to be vigilant in ensuring that employees are not subject to undue restrictions and that restrictions which are in place are not enforced arbitrarily.

force. Manifest imbalance is defined by the EEOC as representation of an EEO group in a specific occupational grouping or grade level in an agency's work force that is substantially below its representation in the appropriate civilian labor force. The panel recommended that the manifest imbalance proposals be withdrawn until the impact of all other initiatives can be evaluated.

The panel recommended that AID apply the conspicuous absence initia-

tive to classes FS-03 and above for a period of two years, following which AFSA and AID management would review this procedure along with all other initiatives contained in the affirmative action plan in order to determine the program's overall effectiveness.

AFSA has advised AID management that it finds the panel's recommendation acceptable. Management, however, has not yet determined whether it will accept it.

State Standing Committee

The Bremer Committee

At this writing, the State Standing Committee is being informed periodically of the work in progress of the management committee, headed by Ambassador L. Paul Bremer, to examine the Foreign Service officer generalist function and to make recommendations to the new management team at State.

Much to its credit, the new team wants to avoid the fiasco of its predecessor of seeing bright new ideas, developed in secrecy, fall flat when exposed to the light of day. In this case, AFSA made it clear to management that it would be willing to offer counsel as work proceeded and that it might be able to help avoid a totally wasted effort.

During April, AFSA met three times with Ambassador Bremer and his team. While it questioned some of the ideas presented, AFSA has been impressed with the open-mindedness and candor of the dialogue so far. The most important ideas emerging from the work of the committee are:

- **Basic stability:** Don't change the Foreign Service Act of 1980.
- **Recruitment:** Seek out minorities and women. Help them compete by providing one-year foreign affairs scholarships for post-graduate training. Speed up the process by offering the exam in October, require all paper work to be complete at time of the orals, and otherwise apply the whip, so that offers of employment can be issued before colleges and universities close. Maybe then we could get the cream of the crop before they take other jobs and lose interest in the Foreign Service.
- **Junior officers:** Require five years of service before tenuring so that all will experience the two "disciplines" (see below) and a year's training before the cut. At tenuring, accept only 85 percent so that the tenuring threshold is real and formidable (i.e., not the 96 percent success that it now is).
- **Cones:** Since the four-cone struc-

ture seems too rigid for both officers and managers, move toward a "two-discipline" structure (basically, Admin-Consular and Pol-Econ), and make sure that all officers gain experience in both disciplines.

- **Standards:** Restore selection-out for poor performance.
- **Time-in-Class:** 20 years mid-grade, 15 years for seniors, with a sub-TIC of seven years for OCs.
- **Promotions:** concise precepts so that promotion criteria are clear. Minimum times in class of three, four, and five years for FS-3, -2, and -1, respectively, with the window for promotion into Senior Foreign Service being opened automatically upon promotion to -1 and remaining open through the remainder of the 20-year TIC.
- **Assignments:** Maintain basic bidding procedure, but give management more authority by avoiding strung-out negotiations after first-bid ("preference") list is exhausted. Give assignment panel chairmen power to decide assignments when the panel is split. Train career development officers in sufficient numbers to provide intensive counseling, especially at tenuring.

AFSA's concerns: Many of the goals evident in these ideas are laudable. AFSA wants the strong and capable Foreign Service that its members deserve to be a part of. Our concerns fall into the "many a slip" category: how do we get to these laudable goals? Can these changes be made without trashing careers already on established tracks? Can the department figure out how to keep correct personnel records so that low-ranking identification is fair and that procedures of the Performance Standards Board would be just? How can the department train and retain good career development counselors who would merit the trust of the employee?

Ambassador Bremer concedes that his committee is not going to pro-

vide all the answers that we will need: some of the details fall outside the ambit of the committee, others require extensive planning.

AFSA's proper role in all this, assuming that the study and recommendations are taken seriously enough by management to be proposed for implementation, is to be sure that the changes will benefit the Foreign Service (not just be changes because we have new leadership) and that currently serving officers are not disadvantaged by the changes envisioned. When and if the day arrives, AFSA will negotiate with infinite care. In the meantime, AFSA congratulates management for its and for its openness with the Foreign Service in this process.

AFSA wants policy broadened

AFSA has approached State Department management in an attempt to broaden a recently implemented policy regarding tour-of-duty lengths for untenured first-tour secretaries and communicators. The new policy, which is effective beginning in the 1989 assignment cycle, reduces the length of assignment for all untenured first-tour employees to two years. Such a policy, which allows untenured employees to gain more wide-ranging experience, has been in place for junior officers, but did not apply to secretaries and communicators.

While AFSA agrees with the department's plan to extend the two-year system to secretaries and communicators, it also feels that the plan should be made retroactive to apply to those employees who were assigned to three-year tours in 1987 and 1988. AFSA feels that this is important because employees who were assigned to three-year tours might be prejudiced in tenuring and promotion when compared to those assigned later to two-year tours.

How to deal with an IG investigation



By Susan Z. Holik
AFSA General
Counsel

Despite the budgetary stringencies in recent years, there has been one true growth area in the Department of State and the Agency for International Development: the office of the inspector general.

Most Foreign Service employees are unaccustomed to dealing with individuals who are investigating their behavior. They assume that the system will take care of them and tend not to act in their own best interest.

Employees harbor many misperceptions about the grounds for investigation and the investigation process. For example, an employee in possession of an embassy vehicle which he has used for business purposes may think nothing of making one trip in it for a personal errand. To the IG, however, this constitutes theft of government property, and will be vigorously investigated. In such cases, the IG feels that it has no discretion but to refer this matter to the Department of Justice, which will make a decision of whether or not to prosecute. To the employee, this use may represent such a minimal infraction that it is unworthy even of investigation within the agency. The employee may well be faced with an assistant U.S. attorney who feels, especially in light of the current ethical climate, that he should seek an indictment charging the employee with a felony.

My first contact with employees under investigation generally occurs after they have made one of two serious missteps. Both involve talking too much.

Many employees mistakenly believe that they can talk themselves out of the situation. They sign the statement of rights presented to them by the investigator, in which they declare that they have read and understood their rights in connection with the investigation, but in fact they neglect to read it.

If the employee is under investigation for conduct that may be criminally prosecuted, the employee is informed of his right, under the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, not to answer questions or make a statement which can be used against him in a criminal proceeding. Yet the employee feels he will benefit by being cooperative and volunteers to waive his constitutional rights. The statement he gives will be used against him.

Other employees become nervous and give the investigator misinformation. This is even a worse course of action, as making a false statement to a federal investigator constitutes an independent criminal act for which the employee can be prosecuted.

Although the IG statements also inform the employee that he has the right to counsel, many employees choose not to avail themselves of counsel, as they fear it will make them look guilty. The benefits to representation in an investigation go beyond advising the employee of his rights. A representative will ask questions the employee may be too flustered to ask, such as the scope of the investigation. A representative can also take notes during questioning. In the event of a later dispute about what was said, the employee will have his own records to counter those of the IG.

Employees should not assume that they are not a target of an investigation simply because they have not been contacted. The IG is not required to inform the employee that he is under investigation, and may in fact feel that allowing the target to become aware of the investigation would jeopardize it. The IG may talk to others about an employee in the course of the investigation, and may inform them that he is the subject of an investigation. This, by itself, does not violate his rights.

The IG may use what they term "standard investigative techniques". They may "wire" an employee's colleagues, send them in to talk to him, and use his statements against him.

They may lie to him, telling him that they have all the information they need to lead the Justice Department to a criminal conviction. If he confesses to a violation of law as a result of the IG's false statement, his confession can still be used against him.

In the initial stage of an investigation, the IG may not have a target; they may know that there was a violation of law or regulation but may not have an idea of who is culpable. The employees interviewed at this stage are "witnesses". Under the law, a witness within AFSA's bargaining unit may request AFSA representation if he reasonably believes that the examination may result in disciplinary action against him. The IG disputes that witnesses have this right. We urge employees to exercise it, and will support their right to do so.

Employees most frequently find themselves under investigation not because they are criminals, but because they have exercised bad judgment. The best advice I can give is not to exacerbate their predicament by the continued exercise of bad judgment.

Communications center visit

On April 21, AFSA executives paid a half-day visit to the training facility of State's Office of Communications. The visiting AFSA officers said that they wanted to learn more about the new environment for communicators because AFSA hoped that more of them, along with other specialists in the foreign affairs agencies, would join AFSA's ranks.

The AFSA visitors were impressed by the variety of equipment and the complexity of the skills that new State communicators must master before being assigned to post. Chief of Training John Kennedy said that communications has an increased emphasis on recruiting highly educated and skilled personnel, given that communicators must be prepared for continuous training in evolving technologies throughout their careers.

Don't forget transit coverage

During summer transfer season, don't forget to look into additional personal property insurance coverage for transit. AFSA's personal insurance plan, administered by the Hirshorn Company, offers a transit rider in conjunction with the basic policy. Don't be fooled, not all policies will cover transit claims. For more information on AFSA's plan, call the Hirshorn Company directly at (215) 242-8200 or, in the D.C. area, at (202) 457-0250. You must be an AFSA member in good standing to take part in this program.

Get your own AFSA mug!

Fresh from the mold—our new ceramic AFSA mugs! An attractive blue mug with the AFSA logo and "Voice of the Foreign Service" on the reverse, these mugs are reasonably priced at only \$5 each plus \$1.50 for shipping. To order, send your check made payable to AFSA. Or drop by our State Department office, room 3644, or our 21st Street office and save the shipping costs. These mugs are practical, as well as an eye-catching desk topper. They are also both microwave and dishwasher safe.



AFSA honors fallen diplomats

On Foreign Service Day, May 5, AFSA rededicated its plaque in the State Department diplomatic entrance which honors Americans who have lost their lives under heroic or other inspirational circumstances while serving their country abroad. This year six names were added to the plaque. They are:

*William E. Nordeen Arnold L. Raphael Herbert M. Wassom
Matthew K. Gannon Ronald A. Lariviere Daniel E. O'Connor*

Fourteenth annual AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award winners announced

Chairman Jack W. Lydman and the members of AFSA's Committee on Education are pleased to announce the winners of the 1989 AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards.

Twenty-four volunteers from STATE, AAFSW, AID, USIA and the retired Foreign Service community served on four panels to review and rate all applicants on their four years of high school activities.

These awards are in recognition of the outstanding academic records and leadership qualities at home and abroad. This year the Merit Awards are in honor of Dawn Cuthell who made the Foreign Service her career for over 25 years and who administered the Scholarship Programs for eight years. Funds for the \$750 awards to the winners and the \$100 awards to the honorable mention students are provided jointly from the AAFSW Bookfair and the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

The graduating high school finalists who receive cash awards and Academic Achievement Certificates are listed below. Congratulations!

*Michael A. Baltierra
Marinn F. Carlson
Natascha M. de Marcken
Andrea K. Freeman
Faith P. Freeman
Cara N. Graninger
Alexa A. Holmes
Jay A. Hopkins
Amy K. Howard
Alice T. Hughes
Christine R. Johnson
Jennifer A. Johnson
Sara McLean
Jessica D. Mount
Dianne K. Newman
Jessica H. Patterson
Jesse T. Pearson*

*Sarah E. Reis
J. Stuart Salmon
Matthew M. Taylor*

Honorable Mention

*Amy L. Anderson
Elinor S. Barry
Peggy G. Bell
Eve F. Billig
Kristin E. Cairns
Rachel D. Canning
Daniel H. Clare IV
Dina F. Hamdy
Steven G. Hearne
Malaika K. Riley
John M. Snyder
Elizabeth A. Weston*

The volunteer panel members who reviewed the 117 applications were: AAFSW—Janet Biggs, Chair, Anita Schelt, Janet Scott, Kate Aubert, Judy Yalowit STATE—David Smith, Chair, Ben Tua, Bismark Myrick, Peter Schoettle, Jo Sting AID—Charles Johnson, Chair, Carol Payne, Betsy Brown, Edward Costello, Alfred Bisset USIA—William Weinhold, Chair, Karl Fritz, Linda Cheatham, Miriam Caravella, Herman Henning Retired Foreign Service—Hon. Jack Lydman, Chairman Committee on Education Juliet Sablosky, Hon. John Burke, Hon. William Taft III, Hon. Thomas Corcoran.

“It is said that an army travels on its stomach. If that’s also true for the State Department, our foreign policy has little hope. Its Foggy Bottom neighborhood has always been so deficient in restaurants that some Foreign Service officers consider home base a hardship post.”

—Phyllis C. Richman
The Washington Post Magazine
April 30, 1989

It’s too bad Phyllis is not a part of the Foreign Service, or she would know where to eat in Foggy Bottom . . .

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