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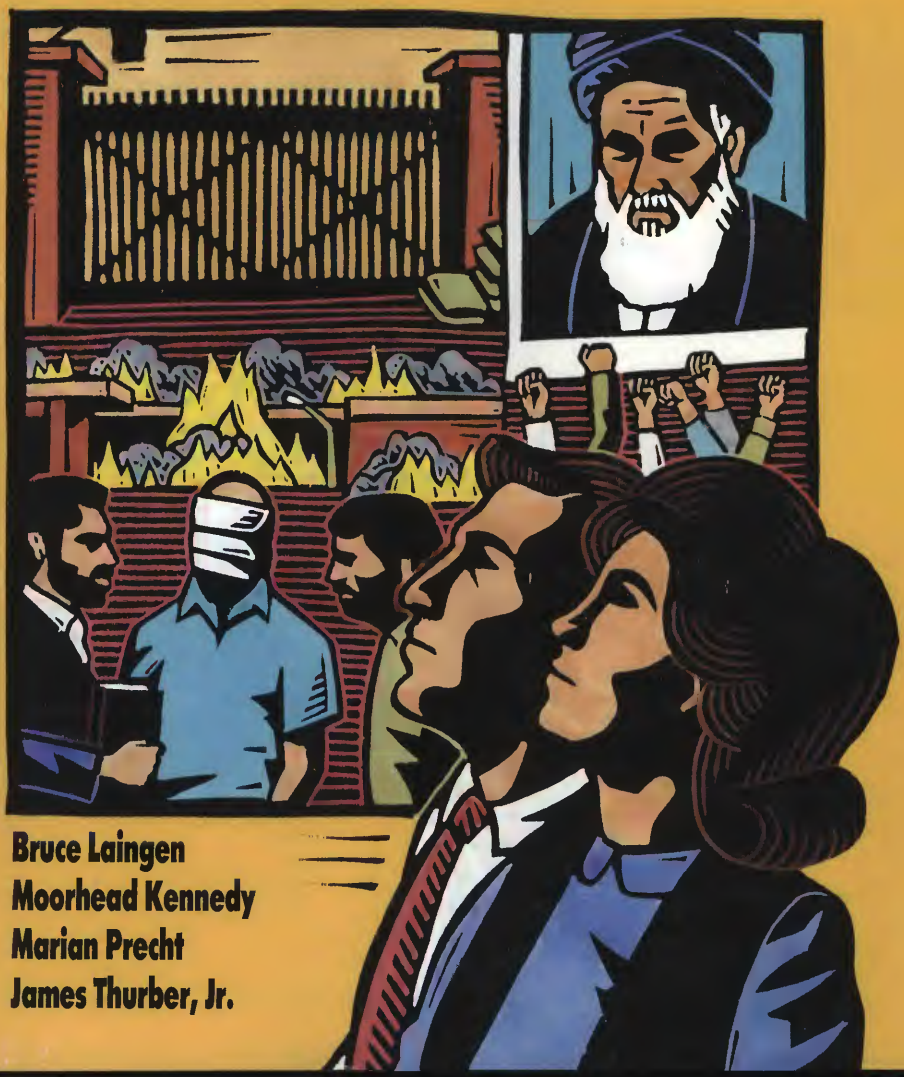

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Competence and Common Sense

By law ambassadorial nominations submitted to the Senate must be accompanied by "certificates of demonstrated competence" giving the candidates' qualifications. Since January, the department has withheld the content of the certificates on the grounds that the information is classified, and AFSA has reacted to this untenable claim by suing to have the information released.

AFSA thus finds itself once more in the ring in hand-to-hand combat with the spoils system for embassies, somewhat against our inclinations. Why against our inclinations? Because common sense tells us not to expect all embassies to be placed off-limits in the plum list; because we bear no illwill toward public-spirited citizens who want to serve their country abroad; because even some of the unqualified ones will be confirmed in spite of AFSA, Trudeau, Herblock, and about 95 percent of the informed media of our country; and because we want to serve the president in a nonpartisan way.

Enough reasons to keep our heads down? Probably. And we would if someone else would mount a campaign in defense of the national interest in effective representation abroad. Trouble is, no one else is doing it.

And how can we stay silent when the White House "trashes" the Foreign Service (to quote the *Post* headline on Ron Spiers' article) with ambassadors whose principal qualifications are their campaign contributions, and only a few courageous senators, led by Paul Sarbanes, are prepared to marshal "no" votes to defeat the nominations? And this at the end of a three-year period when 300-400 capable, experienced, and mature FSOs have been involuntarily retired because there are no senior jobs for them?

We had hoped to strike a responsive chord in AFSA's open letter to the transition team last December, supporting in principle a judicious mix of career and non-career ambassadorships, but suggesting that the new administration for its own good avoid the embarrassment of Senate challenges by screening its nominations carefully beforehand. The team declined to meet with us and our ideas were never addressed, but we were nevertheless encouraged by the mid-winter nominations of career officers to certain key posts and the decision to leave career incumbents in place until the end of three-year tours. Then came the spring and a surge of mystifying nominations that left even loyal friends of the president stunned. The statistics are depressing. Of 34 non-career nominations for bilateral posts, only 20 have claimed any past service in government. Some 26 appear to have been selected because of their Republican party activities, of these eight contributed over $100,000. Only 11 have any declared experience abroad, and six do not have college degrees.

What happened between winter and spring? Charitably, we would like to think that internal party pressures obliged a reluctant secretary of state and White House personnel director to propose using some embassies to pay off political debts, and that they could accept Senate rejections of their nominations with equanimity. Knowing this, the Senate could do its duty without fear of reprisals. Unfortunately, some Democratic senators are reportedly getting hints from wealthy patrons not to oppose the president's nominees; they see their own turn coming.

AFSA's officers and staff have been active on Capitol Hill encouraging senators to vote in conscience. This would be a good time to let your senators know how you feel. Drop us a copy of what you write.

Ted Wilkinson

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Letters

The Truth about Lies

No modern journalist, including Barry Rubin (JOURNAL, September 1989), seems able to resist quoting Sir Henry Wotton's view that "an ambassador is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country." However, one never gets the story around that remark.

In 1939, British diplomat Harold Nicholson wrote that this phrase was often taken out of context and quoted against the profession. He continued, "What is not stated is that Sir Henry scribbled this remark as a joke in an album at Augsburg. The remark was discovered by one of his enemies, who reported it to James I. That monarch was profoundly shocked by the cynicism of his envoy; in vain did Wotton plead that he had scribbled this apothegm merely as a merriment. King James refused to employ him again."

Nicolson wrote that earlier ambassadors did provide plenty of evidence for suspicions from which their modern counterparts have unjustly suffered, including subversion of the host country.

Dorothy M. Weaver
Portland, Oregon

USIA: In or Out?

I know we are "The Foreign Service of the United States," but the assignment of so many USIA officers to senior vacancies in ARA seems to be going a bit beyond what we've ever seen. Chris Arcos (USIA) is about to become ambassador to Honduras; Sally Grooms (USIA), deputy assistant secretary in ARA; Steve Dachi (USIA), deputy permanent representative to the OAS; Jeff Dieterich (USIA), DCM in San Salvador.

Some of these people are my good friends and are good officers; this is not personal criticism. I just wonder how many public affairs officer jobs USIA is offering to senior State Department officers. I also wonder what is going to happen to us senior State Department officers who are unassigned partially because so many senior State slots are being given (at least four in one Bureau!) to USIA people.

Irwin Rubenstein
Guadalajara, Mexico

I suppose that after having experienced the condescension of State FSOs over many years, I should not have been surprised to learn that my USIA identity card would not accord me access to New State—or any other State building, I presume. This is simply another logical step toward excluding a foreign affairs agency

(under the titular authority of Secretary Baker) from the inner sanctum, the heady men's world of foreign affairs decision-making, which is the State Department's sole prerogative.

As I walked the corridors with my visitor pass stuck on my lapel, looking and feeling rather out of place, I met a security chap whom I had known in Bonn and who expressed more surprise than I had about USIA's unacceptable ID card. Was this decision discussed in the Bureau of Diplomatic Security and with USIA? Certainly this decision would never have been approved were Charley Wick still USIA's director.

I reckon USIA will be denied access to classified cable traffic next. There is no apparent end to the lessons in humility our State "colleagues" find pleasure in providing us.

John Allen Quintus
Washington, D.C.

The IG Replies

I read with disappointment Ms. Holik's article, "How to Deal with an IG Investigation" (*AFSA News,* June 1989). In my view, the article was unnecessarily adversarial and, unfortunately, just plain wrong on several salient issues.

While the Office of the Inspector General (OIG) will vigorously investigate misuse of government vehicles, that in no way suggests that we consider each misuse a theft or that we are obliged to refer a single minor incident of misuse to the Justice Department for criminal prosecution. Despite Ms. Holik's assertion that OIG would request, and a federal prosecutor would seek, a felony indictment of an employee for a single "personal errand" in a government vehicle, the fact is that it is extremely unlikely that a federal prosecutor would have the time or the inclination to pursue felony prosecution for a single minor misuse. I do not intend to suggest that the OIG takes vehicle misuse lightly; however, the fact is that the vast majority of vehicle misuse matters are handled administratively and usually involve repayment to the government and, if there has been a pattern of such misuse, appropriate disciplinary action.

Ms. Holik implies that while OIG is not required to inform an employee that he or she is under investigation, it is commonplace for OIG to speak to others about that employee and inform them that the employee is the subject of an investigation. This is just not so. For obvious investigative reasons, OIG does not always notify an employee that he or she is under investigation. However, we are very sensitive about unfairly impugning an individual's reputation, and, to the extent possible, our investigators are very circumspect about providing information to others about a particular investigation. Obviously, there will be occasions when the subject matter of the questions asked or the contents of the documents requested will alert another employee that a particular individual may be under investigation, but such notification is not done purposely or with the malice implied in Ms. Holik's article.

The Holik article informs employees that the OIG uses standard investigative techniques in its investigations, including lying to individuals, in order to obtain a confession. While it is true that in limited circumstances the courts have sanctioned knowing misstatements by investigators to subjects or targets of criminal investigations, that in no way suggests that OIG investigators intend to utilize deception as a standard investigative technique. Sherman Funk, the department's inspector general, is on record stating that it is as important that our investigators find the facts fairly and impartially as it is that they find them at all.

Ms. Holik suggests that the OIG does not recognize an employee's right to be represented during an interview by an individual of his or her choice if that employee reasonably believes that the consequence of such an examination may be disciplinary action against the employee. The OIG does not dispute this right and agrees wholeheartedly with the concept of union representation when the typical examination of an employee in an administrative setting is involved. When an interview of a subject or target of a criminal investigation is at issue, however, the OIG has severe doubts about AFSA's intervention in a process which should be handled by attorneys experienced in criminal defense work. Experienced members of the defense bar will be able to carry through representation of an individual under criminal investigation with competence and without a potential professional conflict of interest. If an employee wishes to have a union representative present at a criminal interview, the OIG will, of course, comply with that request. However, we feel it only fair to point out that in those cases where an employee has the right to a union representative at an interview, the OIG has no duty to bargain with the union representative during the interview and, in fact, could insist upon hearing only the employee's account of the matter under investigation. A defense attorney would be under no such constraints.

Ms. Holik admits that OIG investigators typically inform employees of their Constitutional rights. What she does not say is that we often do so even in situations in which such rights are not strictly required to be given. In fact, we receive far more expressions of concern from employees when we inform them of these rights than when we do not, because the routine rendition of the "Miranda rights" actually frightens employees. What Ms. Holik also does not say is

that, much like AFSA, the OIG spends a significant amount of its time protecting employees against attempted supervisory reprisals and against other real or imagined management faults. She also fails to point out that the inspector general has very recently intervened with management, at AFSA's specific request, and suggested a change in a proposed FAM section which would have the effect of preventing employees who are simply "under investigation" from being placed summarily on unpaid leave status.

What is perhaps most troublesome about Ms. Holik's article from my viewpoint is that it suggests OIG conflict and antagonism with all employees, whereas very few members of the department are actually under investigation at any given time and fewer still are found to have violated federal criminal law. Just as employees of the department would not want a relatively small number of criminal violators to taint the reputation of the entire Foreign and Civil Service, so too, the inspector general would not wish to have everything this office does perceived in terms of the fear generated by those few times when we perceive it to be our duty to weed out and prosecute serious criminal violators.

In fact, the criminal investigative side of OIG represents only about 15 percent of our organization, which also includes our Offices of Inspections, Audits, and Security Oversight. For the OIG to make progress in its attempts to root out waste, fraud, abuse, and mismanagement in the department, which would be beneficial to all employees, our offices must continue to interact with employees in a positive, professional, and trusting way. Certainly, there will always be tension when an employee is under criminal investigation, and, certainly, the investigative powers of the OIG are broad and far-ranging under the Inspector General Act. Nevertheless, that power is far more likely to be used to protect departmental employees from abuse than to investigate them. Furthermore, it is my observation that the OIG has utilized a great deal of restraint in the exercise of its authorities. Indeed, while the inspector general is one of only four individuals in the department who has authority under the new polygraph regulations to approve polygraph examinations, he has not in his nearly two-year tenure here found it necessary even once to utilize this approval authority.

Finally, I believe that this "shot across the bow" in the form of the Holik article, which purports to give advice on how to deal with the

"ogre" OIG, does not contribute to the cooperative relationship which we should both be seeking. Instead of attempting to highlight the numerous occasions in which we have come to the aid of employees with just grievances or cleared them of alleged wrongdoing, Ms. Holik appears to find it necessary to instill in employees a sense of fear about our activities, especially with regard to criminal investigations. This fear is not warranted by the facts. I have been present when the inspector general met with the last two presidents and vice presidents of AFSA. These meetings were friendly and cordial. The vast majority of our respective positions were in accord, with only minor differences.

As we have in the past, we will continue to conduct our investigations, inspections, and audits in a timely, professional, and discrete fashion. We welcome constructive suggestions as to how we might work together to make the department run more efficiently and effectively.

John D. Duncan, Jr.
Counsel to the Inspector General
Department of State

AFSA's Response

I am surprised by the IG's reaction to my column. The column was intended not to engage the IG in an adversarial exercise but to provide guidance to employees about the IG's investigative practices and the types of offenses for which employees may find themselves under investigation.

A careful reading of Mr. Duncan's letter shows that while disputing the accuracy of my column, he admits virtually every statement: that a prosecutor may pursue charges of misuse of government vehicle; that the IG does not always notify an employee that he is under investigation; that an individual's colleagues may be alerted that he is being investigated; and that the IG may deliberately make misleading statements to subjects or targets of the investigation.

Many of AFSA's dealings with the IG have indeed been constructive and AFSA wishes to maintain the cooperative relationship which we have strived to establish. At the same time, AFSA owes an obligation to the employees we represent to advise them of what they may expect, and how to comport themselves, should they become the subject of an IG investigation. The thrust of my column was that employees should exercise good judgment in all aspects of their employment, advice which would appear to be wholly consistent with the interests of the IG. The intent of my column was not a declaration of war, but an attempt to meet AFSA's primary responsibility—to counsel our members.

Susan Z. Holik
General Counsel, AFSA

Clippings

The Washington Times
August 28, 1989

In case you missed the latest issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL [July/August], it contains an aimless article without interest. Except that its author is Felix S. Bloch.

You might recognize the name as that of the most notorious spy suspect in decades. Or, more likely, as the fellow who leads a veritable parade of FBI agents and panting journalists around when trekking with his poodle. Here he is identified as "director of the Office of European Regional Political-Economic Affairs in the Department of State."

President George Bush called the Bloch case "a very serious matter," although nothing happens with it except these farcical forays that make the evening news.

What is "a very serious matter," besides the spy charges, is that someone so seemingly witless made it to the third-highest diplomatic rank. After 30 years in the Foreign Service, Mr. Bloch landed the prestigious post of deputy ambassador of the embassy in Austria. He then moved on to an increasingly important directorship in the State Department.

I plodded through the article, wondering whether the U.S. Foreign Service had become a haven for the bland leading the bland. Lest you deem this unduly harsh, why else would the State Department's FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL have published such drivel? The title gives the tip-off: "The European Community, Managing the U.S.-E.C. Relationship," with the boldface print following: "A measured approach by U.S. policymakers will pave the way to smooth dealings with Europe's new governmental institutions."

What Mr. Bloch explains is either trite or untrue. The trite triumphs on top: "The United States and Western Europe are the closest of allies." We need a high-level professional to tell us this? Or that "relations between the United States and the European Community (EC) consequently are intricate and enigmatic"?

Mr. Bloch is flat-out wrong when asserting that despite all the talk "of an interdependent world, the United States has little experience, or interest, in the concept of shared sovereignty among nation states." Has the veteran envoy never heard of U.S. involvement in NATO, CENTO, the OAS, ANZUS, and sundry more "shared sovereignty" arrangements, hallmarks of the postwar era?

Plodding on, a reader is inflicted with boring bureaucratese about "the nature of the European community's institutions," the EC Commission,

the EC Council, whatever. Mr. Bloch then comes to his big point; "The founders of the community did a remarkable job in creating an institutional framework solid enough to function efficiently but flexible enough to adapt to change."

U.S. officials grappling with the volatile trade disputes, presumably led if not inspired by Mr. Bloch, receive guidance: "We should always seek the best deal we can get in trade negotiations without losing sight of the importance and depth of the overall partnership."

If you're still with me, we come to Mr. Bloch's final crescendo, the section boldly entitled "the 1990s," which begins with a question, "What do we expect from U.S.-EC relations in the future?" From there we proceed to more questions. Gobs more. Nine are posed in the next paragraph alone. The following paragraph contains the

declarative sentence: "Again, there are many questions but no clearcut answers," which precedes a flurry of five more questions. Two more follow in the next paragraph.

Enough already! one feels when finishing the deadening piece, which ends with that favorite State Department word "interdependence." Why would the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL publish such babble? How could someone so seemingly barren of ideas or information rise so high in the U.S. diplomatic corps? The combination of Mr. Bloch's high rank and seemingly low intellect could have lured Soviet agents. Or maybe this piece is a hoax, a KGB attempt to numb our brains. For surely most of our topnotch diplomats are better than this.

By Ken Adelman
Former director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

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This Week with David Brinkley
August 27, 1989

Mr. Brinkley: Finally, an ancient hallowed Washington tradition is this: the party holding the White House appoints ambassadors to other countries while the party not holding the White House complains that the president's appointments are political, that he is choosing ambassadors not because they're equipped for the jobs, but because they're rich people who gave campaign money, a complaint we're hearing now this week. The charge is true about a third of the time. But when the out party wins an election and takes over the White House, it comes in and does exactly the same thing. . . .

But now, a new complaint. The Foreign Service Association, a sort of union for full-time professional career diplomats, charges that rich political appointees almost always are sent to countries with good climate, food, wine, cheap servants, and no problems. And that when it comes to a place like, say, Outer Mongolia, the career diplomats go because the rich contributors won't. That's all true. The general rule of thumb seems to be this: for a country where it's safe to drink the water, send a rich contributor. If it is not, send a career diplomat. *ABC News*

Doonesbury

BY GARRY TRUDEAU

Books

The Twilight of Amateur Diplomacy: The American Foreign Service and Its Senior Officers In the 1890s.

By Henry E. Mattox, Kent State University Press, 1989.

Just five of President Bush's first 17 ambassadorial appointments are career officers. The remaining 12 include a brace each of advertising men and real estate developers, a pastor, a TV producer, several miscellaneous businessmen, a professional fundraiser, and a dog track owner. But cheer up! Back in the 1890s, all 17 would have been political appointees, as was the entire Foreign Service, right down to the lowest vice consul.

Henry Mattox's slim volume is an analysis of the few hundred people who manned our Foreign Service—or rather, its separate diplomatic and consular components—in the decade of the 1890s. He chose this particular decade for two reasons: It was the period when the United States, after 70 years of near total preoccupation with domestic affairs, first began to emerge on the international scene, and it was the final decade of a completely patronage-staffed Foreign Service. Mattox observes that both contemporaries and subsequent historians have tended to dismiss the 1890s Foreign Service as a repository for political hacks. To test that assertion, he has delved into personnel records, inspectors' comments, and miscellaneous contemporary evaluations of virtually every senior officer of the period, a total of 226.

His conclusions are surprising. Far from a gaggle of incompetent boors, he finds most 1890s appointees to have been reasonably able, dedicated officers, fully capable of representing the nation abroad. He even rates them individually, finding 54 "demonstrably competent," 134 generally acceptable, 18 too briefly at their posts to have left footprints, and only 20 clearly ill-suited. To buttress his point, he sketches in more detail the activities—occasionally antics—of those with the fullest dossiers, ranging from egregious blunders in Guatemala to skillful (although unsuccessful) efforts in Madrid to head off war.

This relatively felicitous situation, he concludes, came about because the officer corps was drawn largely from a tiny, wealthy, educated elite in a country where the overwhelming majority had neither interest in foreign affairs nor the slightest desire to live abroad. Among spoils-seekers, only those from that elite would prefer the Bangkok legation to the post office in Cincinnati. And only they, by education and inclination, were likely to be

adequate to the job.

Mattox's book includes a fine sprinkling of detail on life abroad in the 1890s, pay scales, housing, and similar fascinating minutiae. I have two minor reservations: He has a propensity for words like "prosopographical." More seriously, his final chapter—an effort to draw lessons for today from his findings—tends to dwindle into the platitude that the best person should be selected for the job regardless of career status.

Reviewed by Edward C. Ingraham

Wars of the Third Kind, Conflict in Underdeveloped Countries. *Edward E. Rice, University of California Press, 1988.*

While the world has been spared the horrors of a nuclear war, it has been pestered by conflicts of a different kind, conflicts in developing nations, which the author cleverly describes as wars of the "third kind." The characteristics of these conflicts—in Cuba, China, Vietnam, Nicaragua—are becoming uncomfortably familiar: rural-based and sustained by festering political and social injustices. Fueled by a ragtag and illusive guerrilla army where the strength of convictions substitutes for conventional military organization and equipment, wars of the third kind inevitably bring unresponsive regimes to their knees. Finally, distant conflicts more often than not threaten the internal equilibrium of those world powers that support them, such as that in Algeria, which threatened the stability of the French government.

In his insightful, scholarly, and very readable analysis of these conflicts, the author skillfully draws upon his accumulated experience in the Foreign Service and applies a generous portion of political savvy and common sense. The major unresolved question is why the world's leaders, both the powerful and the not-so-powerful, continue to neglect the clear lessons of history, which the author so clearly chronicles. Finally, reflecting much personal experience, *Wars of the Third Kind* stands as a tribute to the author's full and rich career in the Foreign Service.

Reviewed by Edward Costello

At the Creation of a New Germany. *By George McGhee, Yale University Press, 1989.*

Ambassador McGhee's memoirs of his five years in Bonn provide a timely and insightful review of a much neglected period of West German history—and of a pivotal half decade in U.S.-German relations. The

Books

book spans the final months of the Adenauer era, Erhard's turbulent term as chancellor, and the first years of the Grand Coalition. Beginning with President Kennedy's triumphal 1963 visit to the Federal Republic and Berlin, McGhee's account deftly traces, *inter alia*, the denouement of the Multilateral Force (MLF) and Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) debates, U.S.-German negotiations over offset payments, adjustments in the American military presence in Europe and the onset of detente, Bonn's *Ostpolitik*, and Washington's increasing preoccupation with Vietnam.

Rather than change, which the title of the work suggests, a constant theme running through McGhee's chronology of developments is continuity. In this regard, he observes, "The Germans have a long view of history and are willing to bide their time." In recalling debates on such key issues as reunification and nuclear weapons, McGhee illuminates basic concerns which continue to affect thinking in Bonn and Washington. To be sure, the contours of these debates shift with time and context, yet core considerations are evident now as then. McGhee recalls Bonn's fear that the two great powers would decide Germany's destiny between them, German sensitivity over any hint of American misgivings on Bonn's Eastern policy, as well as German concerns about being perceived as being in lockstep with U.S. policy.

McGhee is at his best in providing striking vignettes of German and American leaders addressing issues large and small. While the book generally tracks with standard accounts of the period, one is able to glean new insights and novel perspective. McGhee argues, for example, that the style which Willy Brandt developed tended to weaken his voice in the formulation of foreign policy.

The book is throughout a subtle argument for a rational long-term perspective on German-American relations. McGhee wisely concludes by cautioning U.S. policymakers against overemphasizing our confrontations with the Soviet Union as the determinant in U.S. policy toward Germany. While he opens himself up to charges of "clientitis," McGhee has the courage to warn against U.S. insensitivity to valid German anxieties arising out of their unique situation. At the same time, he underscores that Americans cannot "be more German than the Germans."

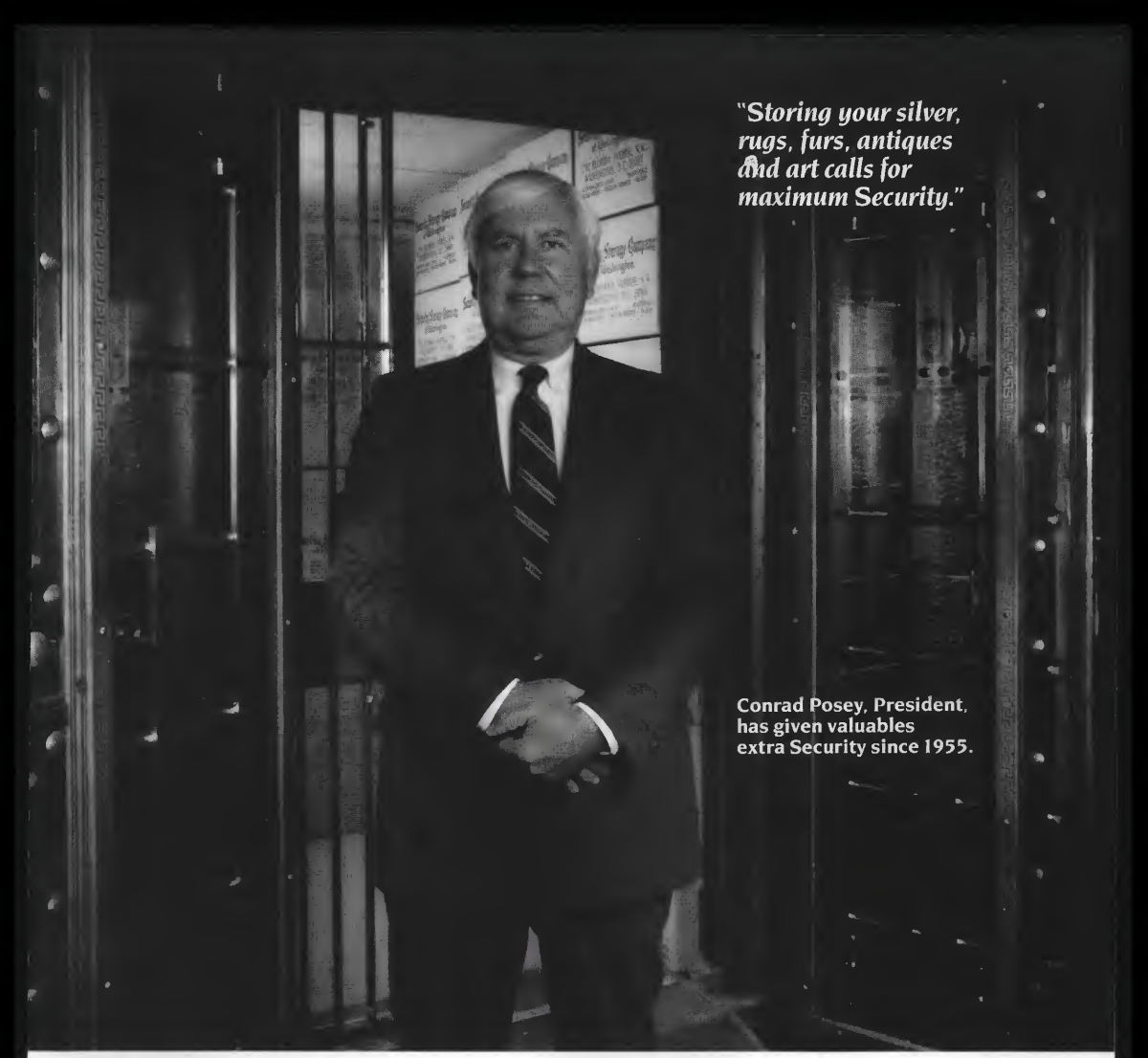
Reviewed by Timothy M. Savage

Strengthening the Poor: What Have We Learned? *By John P. Lewis and contributors, Overseas Development Council, 1988.*

This book is a collection of essays based on a wide variety of experiences in the uses of development assistance to attack poverty. Particularly illuminating are the discussions of specific aspects of poverty such as urban poverty and the role of women and development. Despite the diversity of topics addressed, the result is surprisingly coherent and offers a number of well-supported general conclusions. For example, it refutes the notion that poverty among economically isolated and politically powerless groups can be solved by trickle-down approaches. It demonstrates the importance of designing programs with the active participation of recipients, both the poor themselves and planners from developing countries. It shows how the flexibility of non-governmental organizations is particularly useful in anti-poverty interventions.

Not an introduction to development issues, the work is intended primarily for professionals in the field. It presumes considerable knowledge of development issues and some direct experience with assistance operations. However, except for the occasional lapse into jargon, any well-informed reader with a genuine interest in the subject will profit from this book.

Reviewed by Fred MacEldowney



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Books

Operation Autonomous. *By Ivor Porter, Chatto Publishers, London, 1989*

Those who read and enjoyed the description of prewar Bucharest in Olivia Manning's *Balkan Trilogy* will enjoy British career diplomat Ivor Porter's excellent short volume, *Operation Autonomous*. For those who are interested in the twists and turns of Romania's history after World War I, her disastrous slide under King Carol and Marshal Antonescu into war against the Allies, the gripping coup d'etat of 1944, and the background to the Communist takeover, Porter has produced a tightly written, superbly researched, first-rate modern history. For students of the division of post-war Europe, Porter's account of Anglo-Soviet discussions and decisions about Romania is must reading.

Few are better placed to write the tale than Ivor Porter. Romanian-speaking, a member of the British Council in Bucharest at the beginning of World War II, a member of Britain's wartime intelligence operation, SOE, and the ill-fated de Chastelain mission to the Romanian opposition, and a member of the British diplomatic service after the war, Porter brings to his story the passion of an officer reliving his first post and of a young man playing for the highest international political stakes.

Organized around SOE's last attempt to insert a liaison mission with Romania's opposition chief, Juliu Maniu, the book brings together 40 years of history with breathtaking speed. Porter's recounting of King Michael's iron-nerved confrontation and arrest of Romania's wartime dictator, Antonescu, is the finest and most balanced account of that epic moment. His tense biographical sketches of the period's Romanian actors makes his account lively and unique. His account of the life and times of Rica Georgescu, the head of ESSO's Romanian holdings, is the first account written of the contribution of that brave and very special man—and his equally remarkable wife—to Romania and to the United States.

Taken as a whole Porter's tale is eloquent testimony to the tragedy of modern Romania—a tragedy which is still being played out. Romania's entry into and departure from the war, and the Communist takeover, has been written repeatedly and with great bias. Ivor Porter is to be thanked for finally telling the story as it really occurred and for giving us to boot a very well-written piece of modern history.

Reviewed by Frank Wisner

How Can Africa Survive? *By Jennifer Seymour Whitaker, Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1988.*

A former teacher in Nigeria and associate editor of *Foreign Affairs*, Jennifer Whitaker has written extensively on Africa, probing the causes of and possible solutions for the catastrophes facing the continent.

The problem of synthesizing African life style and culture with Western institutions goes to the heart of her present effort. She is talking about the very survival of a dozen states and their peoples. The stark facts and statistics presented are a shocking reminder of the scope of the problem: the continent is four times larger than the United States with twice as many people but only 6 percent of the U.S. GNP; in 1960, Africa was a net exporter of food but by 1985 it was importing 40 percent of its food needs; African debt, in turn, rose from $14 billion in 1973 to $125 billion in 1987; African population growth further compounded all these problems with a rise from 2.4 percent to 3.2 percent, the highest growth rate in history.

In spite of the statistics cited, a number of hopeful signs are offered indicating that the present abysmal situation may be the nadir of the post-independence experience. Whitaker cites an imposing array of reforms in many states of Africa, beginning with the frank admission of President Masire of Botswana who, in 1986, stated, "We have graduated from the stage of blaming our condition on colonialists to taking positive initiatives on our own behalf." She also suggests that "in the drive for reform Africa cannot live with the West and cannot live without it." A long, protracted process is in sight.

While sweeping in scope and general in view, there is enough useful information to qualify Whitaker's work as a "must" in any African collection of reference works.

Reviewed by James D. McHale

Books

War & Peace in the Nuclear Age. *By John Newhouse, Alfred A. Knopf, 1989.*

A reader's companion to the public television series about the nuclear age, this book traces the tortuous history of the great powers from the dawn of the atomic age.

Newhouse, a staff writer for *The New Yorker* and author of the definitive work on SALT I, *Cold Dawn,* is at his best in the closing chapters describing in unnerving detail the twists and turns of American strategic thinking.

He has open contempt for the amateurism of the Carter administration. His real scorn however comes for the Reagan administration, headed by a president he describes as the "fantasist," a man who fell for the ultimate scam—the exorbitantly expensive "Star Wars"—from a small group of snake oil salesmen. Newhouse details how Reagan was manipulated by a tiny coterie of Star War believers and a larger cabal of anti-arms control fanatics in the Pentagon and Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, who used Reaqan's naiveté to spike any real progress in cutting back on nuclear weapons for six of his eight years in the White House.

An unlikely hero emerges in the final chapters—Mikhail Gorbachev—who took Reagan's simplistic dream of a world without nuclear weapons and used it to drag the Reagan administration—kicking and screaming and struggling internally—into a new generation of arms control agreements.

Despite all the blundering, the posturing, the charlatans on both sides, and the enormous complexities, the arms control idea continues to survive. As Newhouse describes it, the concept of doing away with nuclear weapons keeps popping up through the cracks of political obtuseness like some hardy, benevolent weed.

The book is worth the price and the time it takes to read it, if only for the analysis of the motives of those who run our national security apparatus, including an incisive view of Henry Kissinger's operations. Be warned: the final chapters are scary, abolishing forever the comforting notion the Somebody Is In Charge.

Newhouse warns it will get worse. As weapons get better, future presidents will have about four minutes to decide whether to launch a nuclear counter-attack—about the same amount of time that the captain of the *USS Vincennes* had in deciding to fire a missile at an approaching aircraft that turned out to be a civilian airliner.

Reviewed by Jim Anderson

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AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION

Books

By Our Readers

Public Diplomacy in the Computer Age.

By Allen C. Hansen, Praeger Publishers, 1989.

This second edition of retired USIA officer Allen Hansen's 1984 book looks at internal operations and highlights USIA activities, events, programs, and new technologies of the last five years.

George Bush, An Intimate Portrait.

By Fitzhugh Green, Hippocrene Books, 1989.

Bush is seen through the eyes of a journalist and career diplomat whose life has intersected periodically with that of the president, both personally and professionally.

The Washington Ethnic Food Store Guide.

By Jim C. Lawson, Ardmore Publications, PO Box 21051, Washington, D.C. 20009.

A guide to 197 food sources in the Washington area, ranging from Afghan to West Indian.

Travel

Bed and Breakfast in the Mid-Atlantic States.

By Bernice Chesler, Globe Pequot Press, 1989.

Bernice Chesler tells you exactly what to expect in 300 B & Bs in this comprehensive introduction to a popular vacation option.

Central Africa, a travel survival kit.

By Alex Newton, Lonely Planet, 1989.

This guide by an AID author is packed with hard-to-get information on one of the last undiscovered travel destinations. *Central Africa* has all the facts, maps, prices, and timetables essential for independent travel.

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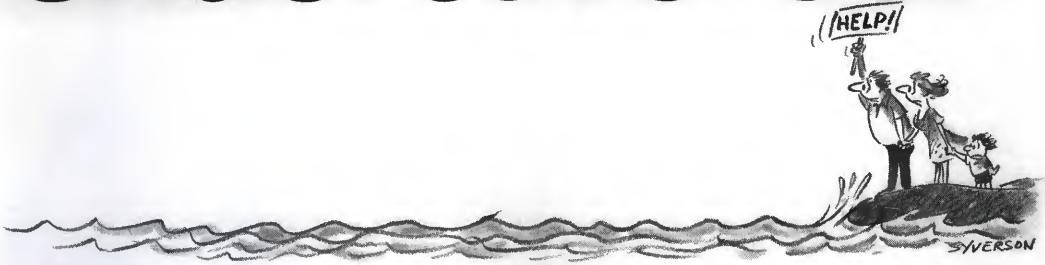

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FSJ, November 1979:

AFSA President Kenneth W. Bleakley delivered the following address in the Diplomatic Lobby on November 9, while a demonstration by Iranian students was underway in the street outside. Secretary Vance reminded us yesterday that once again the Foreign Service is being tested in difficult and dangerous ways. For our heroic colleagues in Iran, the test is as difficult as any we have experienced. Many of us have close personal ties to the captives in our embassy. Many of us have endured our own test in locations around the world.

As members of the diplomatic profession and as Americans, we cannot help but cry for action to support our colleagues. But as concerned professionals, we also know that the only effective action possible at this time is quiet and effective diplomacy. Elsewhere in this building and in the White House, every effort is being made to bring that effort to the only successful conclusion we can accept—the safe return of our countrymen to the United States.

The protection of the lives and safety of the individual Americans involved must remain the paramount concern of the United States. We appreciate the steps already taken in this regard. We commend the prudence with which the administration is refraining from actions and public statements which could imperil the precarious position in which employees in the Foreign Service find themselves. Until the safety of these Americans is assured, we ask all Americans to be equally prudent in their actions and their public remarks.

At the conclusion of the address, the assembly broke into prolonged applause as a sign of support and appreciation for our colleagues in Tehran.

FSJ, November 1964:

AFSA Vice President Marshall Green's speech to the association started off on a light note: A successful ambassador is one who goes around with a worried look on his deputy's face. [Green continued,] it is true that our principal task as an association must continue to be the promotion of fellowship among members and rendering to our membership various kinds of services. . . . But we recognize that the American Foreign Service Association has broader responsibilities as well—after all our name is Foreign Service, not self-service. Here I refer to our task of doing our part to ensure wider understanding and support for our foreign policies as well as understanding and support for us who, if not architects, are at least executors of those policies. We should do all we can to see the Service gets better backing from our Congress, our press, our people, and for ensuring that the career principle is protected, advanced, and honored.

It is with these thoughts in mind that over the past year the board has decided on certain steps to establish a closer relationship between the Foreign Service and people throughout the country, and for this reason has proposed two new categories of membership . . . and plans to hold a symposium next spring. . . . The main thrust of symposium discussions will be to give some of our leading citizens who are actively interested in foreign affairs a better knowledge of the problems facing the Foreign Service and the people responsible for carrying out our foreign policies.

FSJ, November 1939:

Diplomacy at War: *(Top) Vice Consul E. Tomlin Bailey and William C. McDonald cover the Warsaw embassy roof with an American flag to protect the embassy against air raids. (Bottom) The embassy at Warsaw photographed during the siege by Julian Bryan. The photographer, together with the staff of the consulate general, lived in the cellar for two weeks, September 7-22.*

TEN YEARS LATER

BRUCE LAINGEN

November 4, 1979—a day in history that saw an event unprecedented in the annals of diplomacy: an embassy seized, its entire staff taken and held hostage by militant students, their government in turn endorsing their action and using the hostages as pawns in a larger political effort to further the ardor of a revolution. Assuredly not an event whose anniversary the 53 (originally 66) American hostages are inclined to celebrate; another date on their calendar, January 20, the anniversary of their return to freedom, is understandably a better time to remember. And to celebrate; freedom regained is a beautiful thing.

November 4, 1989, ten years later. A decade has passed since that fateful day, and what comes first and painfully to mind is the cruel, hard fact that terrorism did not end with that return to freedom, despite the strong words of warning to future would-be terrorists that Americans heard from their new president as he welcomed the hostages home. Indeed the Tehran affair, even with the enormity of the act and the breadth of political and emotional fallout at home, today seems somehow elementary as an example of terrorism, in contrast to what we have seen since. Not least in its duration—two of those held now in Beirut have been hostages for almost half of this decade.

Ten years later and what have we learned from our experience in Iran? Or how are we different, in both our perception and response to the challenge of change that confronted us so dramatically and forcefully in Tehran a decade ago?

On terrorism, we have in a sense matured. We seem to accept it as a part of our times, coming reluctantly to the conclusion that there are no easy answers, that every incident is different and part of a continuing learning experience. A considerable academic culture and discipline has nonetheless developed, with shelves of books and publications and frequent symposia that examine the causes and put forth conclusions as to what must be done to curb the threat of political violence short of war; new terms have become part of the vocabulary, "low intensity conflict" preeminent among them.

At home and in travel abroad we accept without complaint the delays and inconveniences of metal detectors and other "security enhancements" at almost every public event and place where crowds are involved. Our diplomatic premises abroad are more secure and as a consequence different. Winning friends and influencing people no longer has an atmosphere of welcoming openness.

But Tehran reminded us as well that however much we harden the security of our missions abroad, there are limits if we do not have credible assurances of protection from the host government. What we termed Fort Apache in Tehran was a case in point. We later applied that lesson in Tripoli. Embassy Beirut is a more recent example. Our Marines, partners in diplomacy in today's Foreign Service, are not there to fight Custer's last stand.

The Foreign Service, hopefully, has learned to think lean about its files and document holdings (if there is any one thing FSOs should have learned from shortcomings in our Tehran experience it is that). There have been no repeats of seizures of embassies, thanks both to enhanced security and, not least, to the unlikelihood that any other government, however hostile, would want to experience the costs of doing so—costs for Iran that must have been apparent even to the likes of Khomeini in his more thoughtful moments.

There is surely a new appreciation that the bottom line in anticipating and responding to terrorism is intelligence—of the most perceptive human kind. But at the same time we know how difficult and time-consuming it is to put such capability in place, Lebanon today being a tragic example. Another essen-

Bruce Laingen, chargé d'affaires in Tehran at the time of the Iranian hostage crisis, is executive director of the National Commission on the Public Service.

tial element, coordination of intelligence information with friends and allies, appears leaps beyond what it once was, apparently extending even in a guarded way to the Soviets. But governments in the final analysis will still act on the basis of their own political and strategic perceptions; witness the French and the Germans in Tehran.

And witness the United States. In the Reagan administration's regrettable arms-for-hostages affair, we deceived our allies, seriously undermined our credibility with needed friends in the Middle East, and perhaps even prolonged the Iran-Iraq war. If we learned anything from that experience it is that deals conceding larger American interests are counterproductive in the struggle against terrorism. We learned as well something of larger moment: policies of any kind conducted in secret by the executive branch cannot hope to be sustained if their premises do not merit public support as expressed in the legislative branch. In our system of governance there is no gainsaying that basic fact.

A policy of no deals, one that is now constantly emphasized in the aftermath of the arms-for-hostages imbroglio, must not, however, become one that totally excludes negotiations. We need to avoid hang-ups about that term. Any and all negotiations, on any issue, begin with dialogue. And dialogue, direct or indirect, is crucial in any terrorist situation, crucial to knowing the facts, the demands, the nuances, the possibilities for resolution of the crisis. We have yet to learn that no negotiations is a policy, not a law forever immutable. A policy, a process, that must retain flexibility, subject only to avoiding concessions that would jeopardize larger American interests.

The Tehran hostage crisis ended with the Algiers Accord of 1981 and the freedom of the 52 hostages; the product of negotiations, with skillful Algerian help, a settlement that former Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher once called a signal example of diplomacy. Few would deny that the Accord fully satisfied and in several ways furthered larger American interests, evident, for example, in the establishment of the Hague Tribunal, still resolving commercial/economic claims, both public and private, between Iran and the United States. The vast majority have been decided in favor of the American claimants.

What of the use of force in dealing with terrorism: that human and emotional instinct that makes us all want to strike back at the likes of those who so wrongly deny freedom to others, especially those guilty of such bestiality as evident in the hanging of Colonel Higgins? But raw emotions rarely produce rational policy. There is also the accumulation of evidence over the past decade that the use of force in responding to terrorism is a highly uncertain policy and rarely an effective tactical instrument. Recent polls in the aftermath of the Higgins murder suggest a growing awareness of that point among the American public as well. Other than Entebbe, even the Israeli record is not that demonstrably effective in either curbing violence against them or rescuing Israelis held hostage—the Israeli POWs held now for several years are a case in point.

Worldwide

Bruce Laingen and President Ronald Reagan in January 1981.

Carter, Reagan, and now Bush, all came to the agonizing appreciation that the nation's military assets, large though they are, are not easily applied against terrorists in places like the urban jungle of Beirut. Except of course when circumstances are right, as they rarely are, but as they were for Reagan in the bombing of Tripoli and the seizure of the *Achille Lauro* hijackers. Surely few decisions must be so difficult for occupants of the Oval Office as how and when to use force in dealing with terrorism. The current occupant of that office, like those before him, has found it difficult to ignore the fact that we are a people who in most things place a high priority on the human element.

Ten years later, and what else have we learned? Tehran of course was to us a unique example of terrorism, but many Iranians saw it as a justifiable effort to redeem their past. The

Intelligence is of no consequence if it is not used

trauma of that embassy was part product and part purpose of the revolution that toppled the shah and put in place an Islamic republic. The first takeover of the embassy in February 1979 (on the same day that Ambassador Dubs was murdered in Kabul), a six-hour affair that amounted to a kind of trial run for that of nine months later, had roots deep in the history of postwar Iran, and well before that, especially in the overthrow of the Mossadegh regime in 1953. A central theme in the rationale by the militants who held us in 1979-81 was that the United States had in effect taken Iranian nationalism hostage, by its use of the CIA at that critical juncture to help restore the shah to his throne.

Whatever the merits of that rationale, history accurately records thereafter the evolution of what was assuredly a special American relationship with Mohammed Reza Pahlavi. For Iranian nationalists it was exactly that, a relationship with a man and not with Iran, one that was identifying Iran so closely with the United States and with American culture ("Westoxification" was Khomeini's term) that it was undermining Iran's own cultural heritage and its Islamic traditions. As Zbigniew Brezinski puts it in his memoirs, the shah's regime violated a basic rule "that old religious beliefs should not be uprooted without gradual public acceptance of more modern values, including some genuine connection with the national past." Or as the British ambassador in Tehran at the time, Sir Anthony Parsons, observed: ". . . the urban masses preferred to turn to the leadership which represented their Islamic past . . . rather than to support the man who was trying so hard to turn them into something they were not."

A revolution born of an idea—that the shah was taking Iran in a direction it should not go and that his regime had no standing in Iran. A revolutionary idea that needed leadership, and found it in the Ayatollah Khomeini, a cleric who became a figure of arguably historic significance on the world stage.

From all of that there is much to learn. Not least, an appreciation in politics at any level of the power of an idea when it is rooted in history and exploited by charismatic leadership. Where ideas of such potential as that in Iran are around, born in the events of the 1950s and nurtured by the impact of the shah's forced modernization process of the 1960s and 1970s, conventional wisdom inevitably becomes questionable. And surely a paramount lesson, looking back on that period in Iran today, is that the United States (and for that matter most observers) did not adequately challenge the prevailing wisdom that the shah's regime had the potential of becoming broad-based, until it was too late.

Without that constant challenge to conventional wisdom, both diplomatic reporting and covert intelligence risk being wrongly focused and without firm foundation. And that is a large lesson for the Foreign Service from Iran. But so too is a lesson in a broader dimension and that is in the *use* of intelligence, from whatever source and whatever its quality.

Looking back on what Embassy Tehran was saying to Washington during that period, both before and after the revolution, not all was short of the mark. (Much of it is on the public record, thanks to publication by the militants of documents taken from the embassy.) Intelligence, however perceptive and however accurately focused, is of no consequence if it is not *used*, and used by those very senior levels of government who deal with a crisis when the crunch comes. Preoccupied at home by Camp David, the opening to China, the Panama Canal Treaty, when the crunch came in Iran in late 1978 and early 1979, the record suggests that available intelligence was too often overlooked and at times seemingly ignored.

Again in the period after the revolutionary takeover, hindsight if nothing else suggests that the embassy did not adequately challenge the conventional wisdom then that the Revolutionary Council behind the scenes seemed prepared to live with the resumed, if limited American relationship that the provisional government was pursuing. And when the embassy did warn, accurately, of the consequences of a decision to admit the shah into the United States, that critical piece of intelligence was set aside, with the fateful consequences that followed.

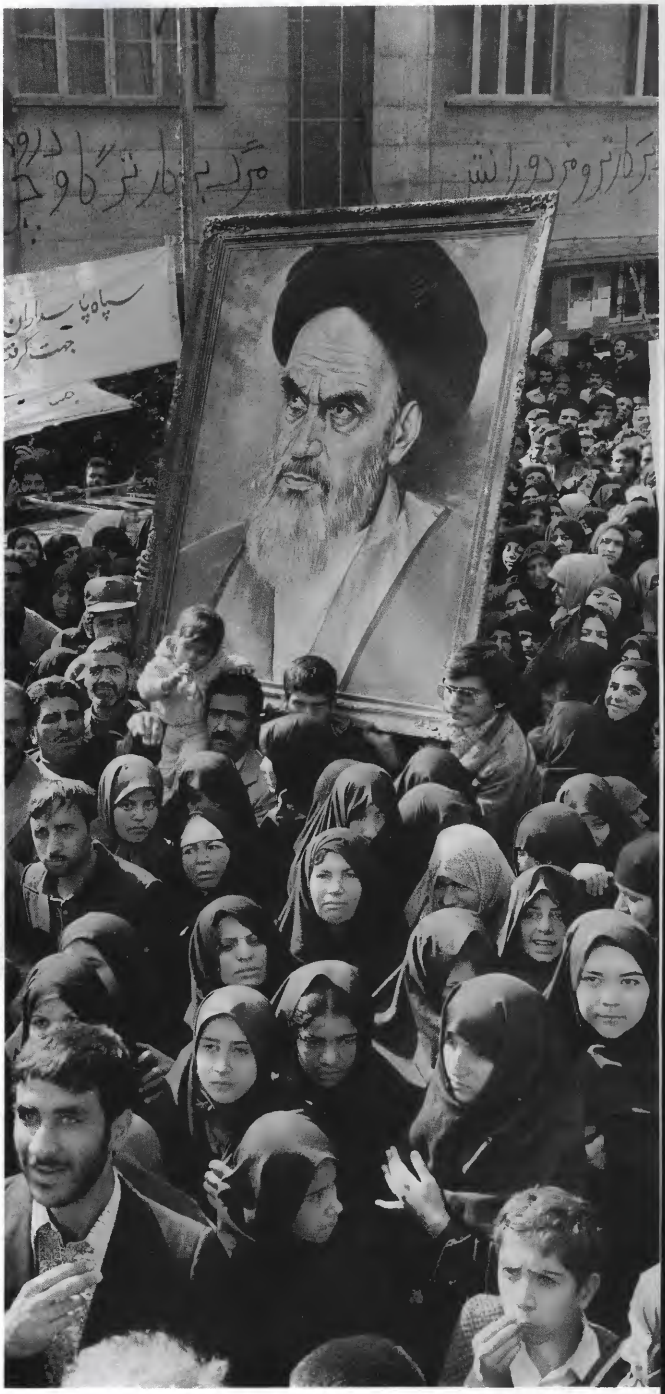
The power of an idea, the strength of Islam, as a political force in this case, the risk of over-identification with a ruler rather than with a people, the importance of challenging conventional wisdom, all important lessons from Tehran. Have we applied those lessons since? In Iran or elsewhere? It may be too soon to judge. In the Philippines, perhaps, they were applied, if late in the game with Marcos, and the returns there are far from in. In Chile, possibly, but again it is early to tell. Lessons learned in one issue are not always trans-

ferred elsewhere. We have surely learned something from Iran-contra. We have used our military power, wisely and on the whole prudently, in the Persian Gulf. But in the larger areas of the Middle East, perhaps all concerned have yet to learn from the counsel of Abba Eban: "Men and nations behave responsibly when they have exhausted all other alternatives."

Ten years later and in Iran one thing is clear. The Ayatollah Khomeini is gone. His departure from the scene could prove as consequential as his entry a decade ago. The revolution must now measure up to its promises in a way it did not have to when Khomeini commanded the scene. Lessons for Iranians are apparent now too. Surely the inescapable one is that much of the potential of what began as a genuinely populist revolution has been wasted by almost a decade of fruitless war, not to mention the loss of much of a generation of young men. Iran's new leadership appears to sense that the ardor of all revolutions must in time subside, that a revolution must rest on something more than religious zeal and bombast against external satans. Also apparent is the fact that the Islamic fundamentalism of that revolution has not been easily exported; except to Lebanon and there only because of the political and material chaos of that tormented land.

A decade later, a dialogue with Tehran is long overdue. President Bush has put it well in saying that ". . . we don't have to be hostile with Iran for the rest of our lives . . . they would be welcome back into the family of law-abiding, non-terrorist-sponsoring nations." That, however, will not come soon, not least because no relationship of substance with Iran is possible without resolution of the hostage problem in Lebanon. That problem in turn is linked with the largest of issues in the Middle East, that of finding a way for the Israelis and the Palestinians and their Arab state supporters to live peaceably, side by side.

If there is one overriding lesson from the past ten and indeed 40 years, not only in Iran but in the Middle East as a whole, it is that all of these issues are interrelated, that terrorism of the kind we know in the Middle East has its roots in these issues, and that there can be no real resolution of that or of the other difficulties we face in the region as a whole unless and until a peace process between Israel and its neighbors begins in earnest and evidences that earnestness in solid results. □



Worldwide

Worldwide

THE IRANIAN HOSTAGE CRISIS:

MOORHEAD KENNEDY

On November 4, 1979, immediately after the steel door to the second floor of the chancery in Embassy Tehran was opened to militant students, our hands were tied, we were blindfolded, and led downstairs. As I followed my student captor's instructions, "turn left, step down," I had one nagging worry—a lunch scheduled that day with an Iranian banker and important contact. Would I be released in time? If not, how could I get word to him?

My mind was not yet ready to process my new status. In fact, 36 hours were to go by before I removed my jacket and tie, a form of sartorial denial that this was anything more than a temporary inconvenience. Certainly, that is how the Foreign Service has chosen to regard it.

In December 1980, as hope of our return was growing, my wife, Louisa, asked a very senior officer whether there would be an investigation, perhaps a blue-ribbon panel, to look into its causes and make recommendations for the future. The reply was an instant negative: "The important thing *now* is to protect careers." And so back to normal. Not long after my return, an FSO colleague chided me, "But you don't understand. The embassy had every *right* to protection. The Iranians had every *duty* to protect it!" I looked at him, and was quite speechless.

In captivity, as day after interminable day went by, I realized how irrelevant much of the wisdom of the Department of State that I first began to imbibe in the A-100 course was to my situation. Indeed, my very status as an FSO abroad, with all its privileges and immunities, was the reason I might be led to the execution wall. With time to think, I began to raise questions that I had never thought of before and have pondered considerably since.

For example, among the foreign affairs community, the Iranian hostage crisis has been treated as an irrational aberration, a kind of 100-year flood which the normal culverts of international law and diplomatic practice were not designed to channel. The

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"irrational aberration" theory presupposes a norm of responsible sovereign states that behave rationally according to agreed rules. In fact, the violence that overwhelmed us in Iran, and very nearly other FSOs in Beirut, and which flouts these rules, may only reflect the more basic norm of human nature, which very fragile institutions try to keep in check.

Let's take a look at the word "rational." It is only too easy to accept as "rational" that which makes sense to us, in American or Western terms, and to dismiss as "irrational" that which does not. Sometimes the word "rational" can backfire on us. In Tehran, in early 1980, after the news broke that the Canadian embassy had documented and smuggled out six Americans of the U.S. embassy, one of our captors reacted, "Why, that's *illegal*!"

NORM OR EXCEPTION?

FSOs who hear this story sometimes point out how this demonstrates the utterly irrational mentality of the Iranians. After all, *they* had taken over an *embassy*, in plain violation of international law. In reply, the Iranians would argue that the Canadians had violated their border controls, their domestic law.

With regard to the status of embassies, I have wondered how rational *we* are. Not long ago, a group of hostages, myself included, brought suit against the U.S. government. We argued that our right to sue the government of Iran for what had happened to us had been traded away after our release, in furtherance of important foreign policy interests of the United States. Not that we questioned the propriety of that action. In such cases, however, it is established law that if a government confiscates a right to sue, which is a form of property called a "chose in action," it must pay compensation.

The case hinged on whether the injuries we had suffered had occurred on territory under the jurisdiction of the United States. If so, then we had a right to sue Iran in U.S. federal court. Without that right, our claim would be without value. The U.S. government argued that the civil wrongs committed against U.S. embassy personnel in Tehran had *not* been committed on territory under the jurisdiction of the United States. The District Court found for us. The Court of Appeals, Judge Bork presiding, overrruled the District Court, two to one. The Supreme Court declined to hear the case.

If, as our Iranian captors might have argued, Embassy Tehran was *not* under U.S. jurisdiction, then it had to be under Iranian. It follows that they were entitled to enter the embassy, by force if necessary, to investigate activities that they suspected might be prejudicial to the interests of Iran. In fact, when they broke in they did find materials of a questionable nature, not only the documents they later published, but also forged West German passports containing photos of embassy officers and forged Iranian entry and exit stamps. It was somewhat embarrassing.

Let not the reader think from my exposition of my captors' views that I favor the takeover of embassies. On January 19, 1981, the afternoon before our release, we hostages were taken in for individual talks with Ahmad, our senior warden. "*Some* of you," he said, "are being sent home tomorrow. You are all about to be interviewed for television, where you will give your impressions." His plain implication was that those who collaborated and said the correct things would be on the first list.

My interviewer, "Mary," asked me what conclusions I had drawn "from your time with us." Never, I replied, no matter how serious your grievance against a foreign government, should you take over an embassy, for an embassy is a means by which nations communicate and preserve the peace. Mary's face froze and I was led out of the TV room, certain that I would be on list B.

And to think that all this happened because of religion!

Having struck my modest blow for international law and diplomatic immunities, I had reason to expect that my government would not be far behind. What happened? Let us imagine a Senegalese FSO, on his first post, in Washington, reporting to Dakar on Judge Bork's decision, and more generally, the position of the United States on the immunities of embassies and their personnel. He might well conclude his telegram, "After Iran, the United States has every interest in asserting, to the extent practicable, plenary jurisdiction over its diplomatic posts abroad. Instead, it declares that its jurisdiction is only partial. One wonders at the rationality."

It is a mistake to consider jurisdiction over embassies, or rules that govern international conduct generally, as universals. They are the product of the West, its cultural assumptions, and state system. But the West and its institutions are no longer the model that they once were, certainly not for many traditional parts of the world. Among its many implications, the Iran hostage crisis was a denial by many Iranians of the moral authority that we once enjoyed.

Three of us hostages were reminded of this one evening in February 1980 when Hossein Sheikholeslam, the spokesman for our captors and more recently deputy foreign minister of Iran, paid us a visit in our basement cell. "Don't you realize," I demanded of him, "that you are holding us *contrary to international law*"? He looked at me almost pityingly, "And what is international law? *Your* rules, by which you the rich industrialized countries justify what they do to poor developing countries like Iran! Besides, you don't observe them yourselves." He was referring, rather snidely, to the documents and equipment mentioned above. But his words have a larger significance.

Foreign affairs are not necessarily run as FSOs would like them to be, as a game reserved to professionals. One of the features of the hostage crisis was the number of "other players," media, clergy, academics, peace people, congressmen, or just ordinary citizens, who rushed into the game as soon as the Foreign Service was forced off the field. A number harbored a visceral dislike of the whole foreign affairs establishment, most notably the Department of State. To some of them, the ignominious collapse of the embassy, and America's position in Iran, was a kind of vindication of views long held, and an opportunity.

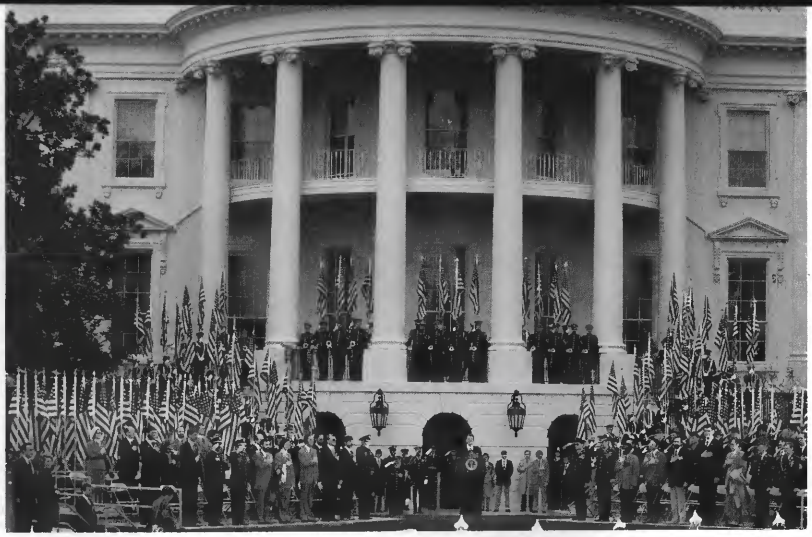
At Christmastide in 1979, almost two months into our captivity, two clergymen came out to minister to us. One of these was the former anti-Vietnam activist, William Sloane Coffin. Whether we knew it or not, he told us, we had been betrayed. "We," he said, hope to get you out in a few weeks. "We" were not those by law entrusted with the conduct of foreign affairs. Still in the thrall of the shah, he was suggesting, the U.S. government was not going to do much for us, unless its hands were forced by liberal activists like William Sloane Coffin and a movement which, as he had with Vietnam, he might again spark.

Upon my retirement from the Foreign Service, I found myself involved with many of these activists, especially from the peace movement. These last, I thought, had to be off-the-wall, having few facts, ignoring those elements that did not fit their preconceived formulas, and reducing complex issues, most notably those of nuclear disarmament, into easily remembered generalizations. Ultimately, however, I understood, even when my views were utterly at variance with theirs, that I was hearing and coming to terms with insights that had never crossed my mind or desk in the Foreign Service.

I realized just how far I had come one day, after I heard a recently retired FSO write-off schoolteachers, saying they were a class of "people who don't have their heads screwed on right." As I pondered his characterization of educators (and many others who might not have "read the telegrams") as somewhat divorced from reality, I began to wonder, whose reality are we talking about? In a fast-changing world, can we afford *not* to pay attention to novel ideas, particularly those not a part of our intellectual formation? If we arbitrarily rule out those forms of thinking that are foreign to us at home, how effective will we be abroad?

In dealing with "abroad," the Foreign Service is as reductionist in its way as the peace activists. Each foreign country is considered to be a pie. Out of that pie, the Foreign Service slices a wedge and calls it "political," and another it calls "economic." Other wedges—agricultural, military, commercial, intelligence, etc.—are, of course, the responsibility of other agencies. Elements in the life of a society, which may be highly significant to the local population, had better find a wedge. Otherwise, for purposes of the Foreign Service, they may not exist.

Now, in a world with so much informa-



Worldwide

The welcome for the freed Americans at the White House.

tion to be dealt with, reducing knowledge to manageable categories, whether academic subjects, medical specialties, or Foreign Service wedges, is inevitable. So long as no one pretends that these categories are anything more than a convenience, and if nothing of any importance happens outside the segment of the pie that is the sum of all bureaucratic wedges, then Foreign Service reductionism may not do any harm.

But suppose something happens that does not fit? For those who enter, compete, and spend their formative professional years in one or another wedge, or cone, what the French call *deformation professionelle* may blind them, and the system, to elements that have not found room in a wedge. Movements that do not fit snugly into the matrix of the national state, like a transnational religious movement, may catch us by surprise.

In the Foreign Service, religion has no wedge. Much has been written on why the U.S. government was so ill-prepared for the religious revolution in Iran. Part of the reason is encapsulated in a remark by a senior FSO shortly after we hostages returned from Iran. "And to think that all this happened because of *religion*!"

That religion could be anything more than a guide to decent living, that it could tap the deepest passions of humankind to become a political force capable of challenging the United States, earlier would have struck him (and many others) as irrational. Otherwise stated, just because FSOs observe, report on, and deal with those portions of human experience that are susceptible of rational analysis, as Americans perceive it, does not mean that international politics are inherently rational. Elements that FSOs do not normally report on may some day be highly determinative of the future of a country or an area and affect our interests adversely.

Today, what religious, ideological, economic, or other forces lie "out there," not reported by the Foreign Service because they do not fit its preconceptions? Or, if observed, not reported because no one in the department would understand them? That is what happened in Embassy Tehran, in years leading up to the fall of the shah and the embassy.

More generally, when structures that are expected to meet basic human needs and aspirations act instead to frustrate them, violence tends to be institutionalized in their place. A leading member of the PLO once observed that Palestinian terrorism was only the precursor of a far more widespread terrorism in the future. Its goals, however, would not be political, but economic, the reaction of hopeless poverty. Should this occur, then Tehran and Beirut will not be seen as aberrational, nor its practitioners irrational.

In conclusion, hardly anywhere in the United States can one find as able and talented a group as our corps of FSOs. I miss my years in their midst. So long, however, as the Foreign Service remains locked into forms of thinking so that it cannot anticipate, much less respond, to new forces, its usefulness will depreciate. Where to begin? Perhaps we should ask ourselves what to teach future A-100 courses. I would make a lesson of Iran. □

Coming Together in Crisis

MARIAN PRECHT

When the American embassy in Tehran was seized on November 4, 1979, the crisis encompassed not only the fate of the embassy staff and the shock to our national honor, but the anguish of the family members of the 72 Americans caught up in the violence. The scale of the problem was so great and so unprecedented that no machinery existed in the State Department to respond adequately to the families' needs for information and support. From the first, it was clear to Foreign Service women in the Washington area that if those needs were to be met, it would be up to us. We telephoned several Foreign Service wives and contacted the American Association of Foreign Service Women. The volunteers who responded became the core of the Family Support Group.

The tradition of coming together in a crisis has been integral to Foreign Service life abroad. In overseas posts, the embassy is, if not a family, certainly a community with interdependent members. Unusual in recent years are the crises affecting families abroad, such as the evacuations from dangerous posts, which call for extraordinary responses and draw on the extended Foreign Service community in Washington, as well as the resources of the State Department Family Liaison Office. The creation of FLO in March 1978 also recognized that as embassies grew in size and complexity they needed help to continue functioning as a community.

When families were evacuated from Iran in 1978, Betty Atherton had organized volunteers in Washington to address concerns of the evacuees that were not being met by the State Department—locating temporary housing, pushing for authorization of housing allowances, urging wives to get power of attorney so that they could collect paychecks and have access to household goods, and above all, pressing for evacuees to be brought back to the United States rather than to a "safe haven," as it was unlikely that they would return to post. That precedent set the example for the Family Support Group the next year.

In that chaotic first week in November, we met in the Operations Center's large conference room. Outfitted with a bank of telephones, it was adjacent to the Iran Working Group. This was to remain our permanent home. The volunteers included the wives of some of the hostages—Penne Laingen, Louisa Kennedy, and Rita Ode—who came to help locate the next of kin of the hostages, to share with families scattered across the United States what information they had and to offer support. Eventually, the Family Support Group, as we called ourselves, included on a more or less permanent basis Betsy Barnes, wife of Director

Marian Precht based this article on a report written by Precht, Betsy Barnes, Sylvia Joseif, and Sharon Sens in April 1981.

General Harry Barnes; Sylvia Josif, wife of retired FSO Harold Josif; Pearl Richardson, whose husband Cy had just left Tehran; Katherine Keough, wife of Bill Keough, an American school superintendent in Pakistan caught in the embassy seizure; Sharon Sens, whose husband, Andy, became a member of the Iran Working Group; and myself, whose husband, Henry, was the director of the Iranian desk in the department. Many other volunteers joined us from time to time, and when family members came to State, they often took their places at the telephones.

Our aim was to maintain close contact with the families of the hostages, so that we could relay accurate information provided by members of the Iran Working Group, counter rumors, provide emotional support, and find answers to their questions. Conversations lasted a half hour or more, emotions were high, and lives became increasingly disrupted. At least two or three volunteers came every working day, and sometimes on weekends. In particularly stressful times we were as many as ten.

In the beginning, we tried to make daily contact with the closest relative of the hostage, and over time the volunteers and the families came to know each other well. It became clear that for many families the frequent contacts filled a real need for a sympathetic ear and a personal advocate in what they perceived to be an uncaring bureaucracy. Others preferred to handle the situation in their own way and contacted us only when they felt a need. As one volunteer remembered:

> "The calls started flooding in. If we were uncertain of the needs or limits of our role, the families were not. They had fears and they had anger and many were not at all hesitant in letting it all flow into the receiver. We followed their lead for a period of time, checking with the Iran Working Group next door for information we didn't have, following up on requests, but above all, listening and listening and sympathizing. We began to become acquainted with them, to know the different members of the family, to learn the children's names, to recognize the ones who were having the hardest time. We began to initiate the calls, often with news, sometimes with the answer to a question we'd checked through with the proper authority, sometimes only to remind them we were there and concerned. And so, gradually our task began to take shape and we began to find our role as a group and as individuals in it. The situation was, in fact, defining itself and we were moving ourselves and our lives to meet it."

For some weeks telephone lines to the occupied embassy were open. The Working Group officers were able to talk to the captors, who agreed to record messages from the families to the hostages. Much love and careful thought went into those short messages. We learned later none was ever delivered.

As it became clear that the crisis would not soon be over, we took on additional duties. One of these was to help the department handle the mail that came for the hostages. Every day someone from the mailroom would dump bags of mail on the table for us to sort. The families had been given a special post office box number to which to address letters to the hostages. Their letters were forwarded to Iran through the Swiss embassy and other channels, but as we now know, few were received. Volumes of letters, cards, and gifts arrived from the public and from school children. These were sorted and held for the return of the hostages until eventually every unoccupied conference chair had become a post office box for a hostage.

Within a few weeks of the seizure of the embassy, families in the Washington area were invited to the State Department for a briefing by Secretary Cyrus Vance. Later, on several occasions, all the hostages' families came to Washington to meet again with the secretary, and with President Carter, Warren Christopher, deputy secretary of state, Harold Saunders, assistant secretary for Near Eastern affairs, as well as with State Department employees who could answer questions on salaries, allowances, income tax, and other practical matters. We helped plan the agendas for the meetings, coordinated transportation and accommodations, and met at last the friends we had come to know so well on the telephone.

During the 14 months that the attention of the whole nation was riveted on the hostage situation, the Support Group received and filtered ideas from the public for bizarre and magical solutions to the crisis. We also responded to often imperious requests from congressional staffers, and relayed messages to the families from the

For many families the frequent contacts filled a real need for a sympathetic ear and personal advocate

The captors added a final cynical twist by delaying the airplane to freedom

media, from persons with schemes to raise money for the hostages by manufacturing T-shirts or bracelets, and from those who wanted to organize events in support of the families.

After the beginning of 1980, when hopes of an carly relcase had faded, the families began to encounter problems that affected them as a group and which could not be handled appropriately by the State Department. Legal questions arose owing, for example, to efforts by some groups to raise money on behalf of the hostages and their families. Many families felt harassed and exploited by members of the media. They realized also that if they were to have any political voice in negotiations for the hostages' release or in Congress upon their return, they needed to organize. Thus the Family Liaison Action Group (FLAG) was formed, an organization of and for the families of the hostages. The Support Group began to refer all questions having to do with the families from the media and other outsiders to the FLAG spokesperson.

Throughout the whole of the crisis, however, we continued to provide the best information we could get to the families and to offer friendly emotional support. We read the unclassified portions of the daily IRAN SITREP and had briefings as needed from the Working Group officers, whose proximity insured that the information was as current as possible. The mental health personnel of the State Department's medical division gave us advice and took over when we felt problems were critical. Eventually they made their own contacts with the family members.

Relationships between the volunteers and the hostages' families were not always smooth. Some family members felt that because their problems were being addressed by non-officials, they were not being taken seriously. In those cases, we referred the caller to a member of the Working Group. The real anger, however, was caused by the inability of the government to accomplish the release of the hostages, and everyone concerned, from the president on down, got a taste of that anger.

We saw times of increased stress in all the families. Holidays in particular were hard, especially when television showed some hostages participating in contrived celebrations, while others remained hidden by their guards. Hope turned to despair as the United Nations negotiators returned without the hostages in March 1980. Other promising initiatives resulted again and again in disappointment.

On April 25, when news came in that eight men had lost their lives in the Iranian desert during a rescue attempt, the Working Group called the families in the early hours of the morning to notify them of the disaster before the president addressed the nation. This time was for many the moment of greatest despair. After Khomeini announced in May that the fate of the hostages depended on the yet-to-be-elected parliament, the long summer of waiting seemed endless. In September, Iraqi bombs striking Tehran added another worry. At last, as one year of captivity ended on the date of the American elections, hope revived. The captors added a final cynical twist by delaying the departure of the airplane to freedom until after the inauguration of President Reagan.

Despite the excitement and elation of the reunions, the toll on the hostages and families caused by the long captivity and months of anxious waiting was severe. Lives changed permanently and scars remain.

Throughout the 14 months of the crisis, the status of the Family Support Group continued to be unofficial in the eyes of the State Department. Because we were doing a job that the department was unprepared to do, we were regarded paternally by the officers who were involved in managing the crisis. We could often bypass official channels to get things done directly through personal contacts. Without the interest of some officers, however, we were powerless, When we were blocked, an officer explained the necessary procedures, but that did not lessen our sense of frustration in dealing as outsiders with the bureaucracy.

If the group had had official status in the eyes of the department, as one of the elements in the total effort on behalf of the hostages, that recognition might have contributed to a more credible operation and a more trusting relationship with the families. It is my impression that volunteers are still somewhat in limbo in the modern Foreign Service.

Aside from these minor problems, we in the Support Group felt personal satisfaction in being able to contribute to the overall effort. When the hostages finally came home, we shared in the joy and relief as if we were ourselves one of the families. □

The Lessons of Islamabad

JAMES THURBER, JR.

"It's probably presumptuous of me to think that anybody would be interested weeks, months, or years later in what went on in Islamabad on the 21st of November, 1979, but in case anybody in the family is thinking of joining the Foreign Service, perhaps they should know what life could be like, or actually was like on one day in November."

It was just ten years ago that I sat in an empty house in Islamabad, Pakistan, and used those words to start a letter to my just-evacuated family—recounting to them how a mob of 10,000 angry Muslims, sparked by a rumor that the U.S. military had taken over the sacred mosque in Mecca, destroyed the entire embassy compound, killed four embassy employees, and almost killed another 139 of us. We spent six terrifying hours in the embassy vault while the building burned around us.

What happened is history: the student invasion of the embassy, our retreat into the vault, the six hours jampacked in the communications area, the "clearing of the roof" by our heroic group of Marines, and finally our escape through a ceiling hatch onto the roof of an intensely burning building and down jerry-built ladders to the ground. Six hours of hell as Fran Fields, the brave and tireless embassy nurse, took care of our wounded Marine, Steve Crowley, in a little alcove of the room, trying desperately to keep him alive without any equipment, and finally, at 3:30, with tears streaming down her cheeks, whispering to me that she had failed. Six hours as our Marine guard detachment, minus one, used everything at their disposal except bullets to keep the raging mob from breaking down the door or walls. Six hours with no water and no facilities, but lots of smoke and tear gas eating up the small amount of oxygen in the room. Six

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The mob outside the U.S. embassy in Islamabad, November 21, 1979.

hours of hearing shots from the roof above us as rioters tried shooting through air conditioning vents to force us out. Six hours of watching the floor get hotter and hotter from the burning rooms below until finally the rug caught fire and we were forced to use fire extinguishers, thus consuming more valuable oxygen.

Not to be forgotten, Navy Chief Warrant Officer Bryan Ellis, who was caught in his apartment building and died, apparently from the fire. And the two loyal Pakistani telephone operators who suffocated to death in the smoke-filled embassy corridors. And, the stalwart group, mostly embassy wives, who were caught by the rioters at the American Club in the compound and held hostage in an open area—spat on, vilified, and terrorized until Pakistani police managed to outwit the rioters and deliver the hostages to the Army barracks for safekeeping.

It was an afternoon that changed the way the United States conducted its business overseas and set new guidelines on how its thousands of Foreign Service officers were to live and work. We learned that day, as our colleagues had learned 17 days earlier in Tehran, that iron fences, built for looks rather than security, do not keep out determined mobs. We learned a bit about how far foreign governments would go to protect our embassy when their political future might be at risk and how important it is to prevent overreaction from those emotionally charged by the raid and unaware of the pressures on the host government from internal and external forces. We learned that the work of the embassy benefited if those involved were rotated out as quickly as possible and new officers, untainted by the horror of such an event, replaced them. It's hard not to let such an incident affect your view of the host government and its citizens.

And we learned that terrorists, or just fanatic rioters, care little whether their vic-

tims are male or female, adult or child, Christian or Muslim. Diplomatic immunity is a thing of the past when it comes to terrorism. The year 1979 marked the beginning of major attacks against U.S. facilities with no thought by terrorists of who might be killed. Terrorism became more lethal and living under the cloud of terrorism became a real part of the Foreign Service officer's life—for the officer and his or her family. While we do everything in our power to protect our Foreign Service personnel, there is no question in anybody's mind today that serving overseas for the U.S. government can be dangerous to your health.

In one area we were very lucky in Islamabad. Almost clairvoyant, the administrative counselor, two days before the raid, asked the regional security officer and the general services officer what would happen to the telephones if we lost electric power. Neither seemed to know, so as a test, they cut the power and quickly found out that the batteries for the generator were dead. Needless to say, the dead batteries were replaced immediately and we had generator power and lights, air conditioning, and phones on November 21 when all other power was cut. But the message is very clear. It is essential to be prepared for any eventuality and to constantly check and recheck plans and equipment, no matter how distant a threat may seem.

One of the most contentious parts of the Islamabad raid involved President Carter's cable to President Zia immediately after the incident, expressing "the appreciation of the American Government for the action on the part of the Pakistani military to rescue the American embassy staff besieged during a mob attack on the embassy in Islamabad." This was utter nonsense. The thanks were not only premature—they probably should never have been sent. The army stood idly by while the mob tried to kill us and did nothing to help us down from the embassy roof when we managed to escape from the vault. Once on the ground, they did usher us into ambulances and drive us through what was left of the mob to the British embassy—a good 100 yards—but that was the extent of their aid to us.

Some have claimed that it was terribly important to keep the Pakistan government from inciting the mobs further and the note of thanks probably helped to do that. It certainly helped Ambassador Arthur Hummel in his quest to maintain good relations for the future (important when the Soviet Union invaded neighboring Afghanistan five weeks later). But it did nothing to calm the anger felt by most who were held in the embassy. It is true that with an estimated 10,000 rioters circling the embassy, a concerted attempt by the army to chase them away could have resulted in a disaster to the government—it even could have resulted in an overthrow of Zia. But did President Carter have to be quite so forgiving? In contrast to Tehran, at least in Pakistan the host government was not guilty of inciting the mob—its sin was failing to act rather than actively pushing the mission of death and destruction. In other circumstances,

The aftermath at Embassy Islamabad.

J. Thurber

there might have been a need to punish the government and reduce drastically the scope of the relationship, but not in this case. The government of Pakistan did eventually pay for the rebuilding of the embassy compound, but the perpetuators of the crime went free.

One of the most important lessons learned from this incident was the handling of evacuations—the importance of sending non-essential personnel and dependents directly to the continental United States rather than to a series of stops in other countries as was done in past evacuations. And we learned how to handle evacuees in the States: to keep them together, provide counseling, establish a network among the evacuees, and help them find housing.

When the evacuation Pan Am 747 flight arrived at Dulles Airport, the group was met by senior representatives of Foreign Service agencies, including Under Secretary of State David Newsom, and representatives of State bureaus ready to help with housing, medical problems, finances, and the like. Also at the airport were many, many friends who had been notified by State's Operations Center, anxious to have as many sympathetic people as possible to greet a planeload of obviously stressed individuals. This kind of responsible understanding continued in the months to follow as the State Department FLO office sprang into action to provide the families with the backup services desperately needed as they set up a temporary life in the United States. Evacuees in Washington, led by the ambassador's wife, Betty Lou Hummel, staffed a special desk in the FLO office, published a newsletter to maintain a sense of community among the evacuees and update them on plans for the return to Islamabad, and assumed the leadership for the disparate group who wanted nothing more than to be reunited with their spouses, wherever it might be. It was quite a lesson in cooperation and helpfulness. As one who was left in Islamabad to sort out the mess there, it was of great relief to know my family was being watched over and helped in getting settled in temporary quarters.

The American embassy in Islamabad once more glitters in the hot tropical sun—reconstruction has been completed and our diplomats there know little personally about the events of ten years ago. But the underlying causes have not gone away—mobs stormed the USIS Center in Islamabad earlier this year in response to criticisms about Islam in a British novel. This time the Pakistani police reacted early and quickly and the building and American lives were saved, but 50 Pakistanis died.

The lessons we learned from the Islamabad raid are now a part of the daily life of all of us overseas. The acceptance by the Foreign Service of the necessity for security has been remarkable but not totally unexpected. It is us, our friends and colleagues who have been the victims of this violence, who have learned to work within the new perimeters. One more evidence of the skill and dedication of the professional Foreign Service.

The scars left on many of those in the vault have yet to heal. "Even after ten years, I have a hard time controlling my emotions when talking or thinking about the events of that day," stated one vault veteran. And for the friends and relatives of our Marine guard, the warrant officer, and the Pakistani telephone operators, the scars will never heal. □

J. Thurber

The embassy vault (top) and motor pool.

More Nuisance Than News:

State's Daily Press Briefing

NICHOLAS F. BENTON

For journalists and State Department professionals alike, the daily State Department press briefing is often more nuisance than news. Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs Margaret Tutwiler, the department's chief press spokesperson, has stated that she carries an average of 20 to 40 written "guidance" statements in her briefing book each day. For journalists, the briefing provides an infamous dearth of fresh, newsworthy information. For Foreign Service officers, an enormous investment of manpower is required to produce the 20 to 40 pieces of "guidance" available to the press. The necessarily bureaucratic process produces lowest common denominator statements. There is also the concern that the process of preparing "guidance" in anticipation of questions at the daily briefing too often winds up actually coloring the shape of official U.S. policy.

A portion of State Department "guidance" results from traffic received internally through department channels. But most "guidance" discussed at the briefing is written defensively in response to the morning newspapers.

The process begins at 7:30 a.m. with the relevant desk officer drafting a three or four sentence statement that clarifies U.S. policy on the news that has broken, either self-initiated or in response to a request from the Public Affairs Office. Depending on the issue, the statement then travels an elaborate vertical and horizontal route toward the seventh floor, where it receives final clearance for the daily briefing.

If the issue concerns, for example, a leak about an alleged new administration policy toward drug traffickers in South America, there will be many agencies of the government that will have a hand in formulating the response that will emerge as the daily "guidance." In the State Department alone, not only the national desks and the Andean Regional Office but also the International Narcotics Bureau will want a say. Then, of course, the White House and National Security Council and also the Justice Department, "drug czar" William Bennett's office, and maybe even the Defense Department will want input, each wishing to emphasize a slightly different angle, aimed at both what they want to highlight and what they want to play down.

Therefore, a round of negotiation occurs that can preoccupy more than two dozen people in various branches of the government and, in the estimation of one official familiar with the process, often a dozen total man-hours for a single, brief "guidance"

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Many argue that the removal of live "sound and camera" would improve the briefings

statement on a U.S. foreign policy position.

The process of completing an accepted one-paragraph "guidance" often requires delaying the daily briefing at least an hour beyond its scheduled noon start (although always scheduled for noon, briefings almost never start before 12:30 p.m. and delays until 1 p.m. or later are common).

What comes out of this frequently intensive and deadline-driven negotiating effort is, not surprisingly, the lowest common denominator of what each interested party will accept. It then emerges in the daily briefing as something less than a sharp response. However, no matter how bland the statement is, once it is made public, there is a strong tendency for it to be "chiseled in stone" as official administration policy.

When a new development comes down the pike at a later date that the administration decides not to comment on at all, the "guidance" will be to refer journalists back to a statement made at an earlier briefing, which, as a result, becomes definitive administration policy on the subject.

In this way, pressure to respond to the media can actually result in statements that, at least marginally, drive administration policy. This has some officials in the State Department genuinely concerned, because they know such statements are the result of hasty efforts at compromise among agencies to produce a one-paragraph statement to appease pressure from the media, and may not be consistent at all with where U.S. policy wants to go, in the long run, in a particular area.

Nonetheless, efforts to alter such statements at a later date can also produce problems, because journalists and foreign governments look carefully to examine the significance of even the slightest alterations, which often lead to misunderstandings.

To their credit, Assistant Secretary Tutwiler or members of her staff daily step into the bright television lights in the second floor press briefing room and bravely take on whatever questions reporters are prepared to fire. It is not an easy job.

Unlike the daily briefings at the White House, those at the State Department are "for sound and camera." Every word and nuance uttered by the spokesperson will be evaluated for both explicit and perceived hidden meaning by those present at the briefing and by anyone else watching the live broadcast beamed into USIA's Foreign Press Center. There are nightly reruns of the briefing telecast on local UHF channels and nationally on C-SPAN. In addition, transcripts of the briefing are widely distributed and carefully combed for meaning.

The State Department briefings are held daily, in contrast to the twice-weekly briefings at the Pentagon or the less-frequent ones at the Treasury or Justice Departments. The State Department goes further than the White House—whenever President Bush travels, even for part of a day, there is never a briefing at the White House, but there is always a briefing at the State Department when Secretary Baker is on the road.

Is there a better way to provide the media with what they need to do their job? Does the growing emphasis by the news media on leaks from unnamed sources and the fixation with 20-second sound bites for the nightly network news increase or decrease the need for these briefings?

As critical as some journalists are of the State Department briefings, they would not take to the suggestion that they be curtailed in any way. Yet many in the State Department's press corps argue that the removal of live "sound and camera" would improve them. In fact, when current White House Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater first came on his job in February 1987 and was asked by journalists to reconsider the "not for sound and camera" White House policy, he responded only half jokingly, "What, do you want these briefings to become like the State Department?"—implying they would become stilted and diminished in news value. The White House briefings remain free from "sound and camera," except for five minutes

of silent camera shots at the opening.

With no "sound and camera," the White House spokesman can permit more interplay between himself and the press corps, including a lot of quips and jokes that might be misunderstood by or offensive to a foreign audience. For example, on one occasion Fitzwater didn't know the answer to a reporter's question about U.S. policy toward export subsidies, and tried to cover himself with humor, joking, "I don't know. I thought Danish is something you have for breakfast." In this case, even without "sound and camera," the remark was reported in Danish newspapers and created a mild flap.

The atmosphere generated by greater interplay in the White House briefing permits reporters to probe more deeply into administration positions, but what they get, in the final result, is whatever Fitzwater has been instructed to say beforehand. That, in turn, is seldom any different from what the Public Affairs Office at the State Department will have to say.

The only real difference is that journalists at the White House can better apply the tools of their trade, pushing hard questions with more aggressiveness, hoping they will elicit from Fitzwater a different turn of a phrase that will make for an interesting quote in their coverage. Such exchanges can reveal valuable insights on the process of administration decision-making, even if not more specific answers.

The White House press secretary is at the president's elbow throughout much of the day. The policy of including the White House press secretary in many of the president's meetings began, according to Larry Speakes, Fitzwater's predecessor, after Speakes himself was deliberately misled by National Security Council adviser John Poindexter about U.S. preparations to invade Grenada in 1983. After Speakes had to apologize to the press for misguiding them, he insisted on and received the right to much closer direct access to the president, and the policy continued with Fitzwater and through the transition from the Reagan to the Bush administration. Therefore, Fitzwater seems to be a better source of news than the State Department spokesperson.

While there may be truth in this, it is offset by the fact that the most recent two chief State Department spokespersons, Charles Redman (now U.S. ambassador to Sweden) and Tutwiler, have had unique qualifications of their own. Tutwiler's long association with Secretary of State James A. Baker now provides her with the benefit of frequent direct access to Baker for clarification of issues, while Redman had such an expert personal grasp of issues, due to his vast experience in the Foreign Service, that he was adept at speaking off the cuff with great precision about many delicate and detailed foreign policy and arms control matters.

The daily State Department briefings do need more punch. Even given the need for precise wording of delicate matters of diplomacy, the content of written "guidance," which the spokesperson will never deviate from in substance, is routinely contentless. No wonder journalists seem forced to resort to nameless "sources" for information. If the administration is upset with leaks, many journalists argue, one thing it could do to help would be to offer more real substance in the daily briefing.

But to many State Department professionals assigned the duty of preparing the daily "guidance" that winds up in the spokesperson's briefing book, the problem is not that they withhold substantive information on foreign policy issues. They claim many of the 20 to 40 "guidance" statements they spend so much time on are never asked for by the media. Instead, the briefing is driven by media requests for comment on or reaction to what has appeared in the morning newspaper or the previous evening's newscast.

Written "guidance" is routinely contentless

In Washington, a distinct pattern has developed that frequently drives the pursuit of news by most of the city's 4,000 journalists. The pattern repeats itself almost daily. It begins with stories attributed to unnamed sources in the leading morning newspapers. By the time of the evening news programs on the major TV networks, the stories are augmented by reactions from appropriate public officials or government agencies, elicited in scheduled briefings or private interviews during the course of the day. The augmentations are reported—together with new information from unnamed sources—in the newspapers the following morning, and the cycle is begun for the next news day.

Stories attributed to unnamed sources can result either from a "leak" or from a deliberate policy decision either by the administration or some other entity to plant information from an "anonymous" source with a particular reporter.

The Felix Bloch affair is a particularly egregious example. In this case, anonymous

From the public's point of view, news comes from anonymous sources

information was first reported on the ABC nightly news. The story, although it never advanced beyond its first report in substance, drove the media at large to hound Bloch relentlessly for more than a month. In this classic case, not only did the anonymous information propel the media, but the government also claimed it was forced to prematurely concede something it was not yet prepared to disclose.

Each day commonly finds fresh stories driven by similar anonymous sources. A cursory look at the front page of any *Washington Post* edition can make the point. For example, two of the major stories in its September 10, 1989 edition were attributed, in one case, to unnamed "administration and congressional sources" and, in the other, to "a senior administration official." One was about a secret National Security Decision Directive allegedly signed by President Bush concerning use of U.S. Special Forces against drug traffickers in the Andes, and the other alleged an administration "miscalculation"of Soviet leader Gorbachev's intentions toward Afghanistan following the Soviet troop withdrawal.

Both of these stories, published in this instance on a Sunday, became a major focus of media and government responses alike at the beginning of the subsequent week.

The media justifies this anonymous source-generated news cycle with polls that show the general public is just as likely to believe a report from an unnamed source as from a named public official. A poll was cited during a panel debate entitled "Using Anonymous Sources," at a recent conference of the Association of Journalism Schools. While some journalists on the panel defended their use of anonymous sources, others warned of a "steady erosion of press autonomy" that reliance on such sources accelerates. Nonetheless, it can be argued that a dependence on such sources turns the media into a mere pawn in someone else's proxy war.

The administration policy refusing to allow names to be revealed of those who provide so-called "background" briefings only contributes to the climate in which unnamed sources dominate the news. Commonly, briefings both at the State Department and White House, when given by top officials, are designated "on background," which means that any quotes from them must be attributed only to an unnamed "senior administration official." As a result, from the public's point of view, news comes from anonymous sources, regardless of whether delivered openly by known high-level officials at announced press briefings, or by a disguised voice over the phone to a lone reporter from some latter day "Deep Throat."

Such a deliberately fostered climate of anonymity gives the administration a degree of leverage over the media. By institutionalizing "background" information, the administration may feel it can be more selective in offering tidbits "on background" to those reporters whose favor it hopes to curry. When an administration official, alone for a moment with a reporter, says, "of course, this is on background," the official may hope the reporter will believe he is getting something special, and therefore will feel obligated to produce a story favorable to the administration in return.

Many journalists, who serve clients interested in special foreign or domestic issues, are not part of the anonymous source-driven daily news loop. It is these journalists who tend to be the most frustrated at daily briefings, not only by the seemingly endless repetition of predictable questions, but also by government "guidance" which has been so focused on responding to the day's dominant loop issues that many other important, if seemingly less urgent, developments have been ignored. Countless stories never receive deserving coverage in the major media because they were not generated from the dominant news loop.

Both sides of the problem are concerned about being manipulated by the other. Through media reliance on unnamed sources, factions of our government, and possibly even foreign and hostile governments, manipulate the media, playing on the media's fixation with breaking an exclusive story, no matter how true or false a source's report may be.

In this climate, whatever decisions may be taken by the State Department or any other part of the government concerning media relations have to be directed at countering the influence of anonymous sources with forthright and useful information, offered on the record, not "on background," and as in depth as national security considerations permit. In addition, by regularly making such information available, provided by authoritative sources on the record, the public will be less and less inclined to be satisfied with what it gets from a 20-second sound-bite. □

Delivering Grain to Angola

ROBERT GORDON

Delays, restrictions, explosions, anarchy: A first-hand account of life along the Luanda docks.

Early in the morning of Friday, July 10, 1988, the freighter *Thompson Lykes* dropped anchor in the harbor of Luanda, Angola. The ship was carrying 31 officers and crew, eight passengers—all of them U.S. citizens, including me—and 12,000 tons of cargo. Among that cargo were 1,265 tons of soy-fortified sorghum, encased in 50-pound bags, each of which was marked with the legend that it was the gift of the United States of America. The grain was intended, apparently, for the children of Angola, through the intercession of UNICEF.

The ship's owners in New Orleans had scheduled a two-day stopover for unloading. In fact, the ship—according to the harbormaster the first U.S. vessel to call at Luanda, in at least three years—had to remain 20 days to complete her task. Although that visit took place more than a year ago, what happened in those 20 days may still be instructive as evidence of the breakdown of the system in Angola, victim of a war that has gone on for more than 15 years.

The deep, oval harbor of Luanda is about five kilometers long and about two kilometers wide, sheltered from the Atlantic by a barrier beach. The *Thompson Lykes* anchored in mid-bay, more than a kilometer away from the long commercial wharf where she was ultimately to moor.

In the days following, we could see three to seven other ships, both full and empty, waiting like the *Thompson Lykes* in mid-harbor; the piers were fully occupied by ships that were primarily of three nations, Cuba, Russia, and Angola, with occasional visitors from northern Europe and Italy. Nearby lay 20 to 25 weatherworn Russian deep-sea trawlers, with a large mother ship and a floating drydock to repair them.

Crew and passengers had long hours to watch the capital's heavy air traffic, from 747s to a patrolling helicopter, sweeping over the water; small local fishing boats, with their braziers of fire burning as night lures; pelicans and blue herons; orange lifeboats from the Russian fishing fleet, chugging back and forth throughout the bay; racing speedboats, apparently the toys of Russian officers; and, on weekends, regattas of tiny one-man sailboats off the naval base, home of two sleek rocket-carrying frigates and a minesweeper.

But the *Thompson Lykes* didn't move. Indeed, the dozen or more ships at the docks rarely went anywhere; rather, as if in a game of nautical musical chairs, they usually only shifted places—the first indication of sluggish unloading techniques ashore.

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For days, each morning the captain was told he could not moor until some later date, until at last a berth was promised for Saturday. On Friday evening, though, he learned that a now-free space at the seaward end of the quay had been requisitioned by "a Cuban passenger ship." The next morning before dawn, a ship steamed in. But she was neither Cuban nor carrying passengers. Daylight revealed a white-painted 23,000-ton former Cunarder from the trans-Atlantic luxury run, built in the 1950s and sold to Russia in the 1970s as a cruise ship. At the wharf, we learned later, she discharged a battalion of Cuban soldiers—even as peace negotiations were under way.

That night she cast off her lines, after more than a dozen explosions were set off in the water within 10 minutes as insurance against explosive-carrying frogmen. I watched her sail past, an enormous shape close by in the channel, with only her port and starboard running lights and a few dim portholes lit. It was an eerie sight, like some apparition from World War II.

The next morning an East German harbor pilot took the *Thompson Lykes* into the now-vacated berth. An officer on the bridge asked him what Luanda was like.

"There's nothing there," he replied. "Everything is closed."

This was a statement we heard often in the next 10 days, from other foreigners; but it was one we were unable to test. Why? Because it was the decision of the port's authorities that none of the passengers could go ashore. The reason given for that restriction was that one of the passengers was booked to disembark in Durban, South Africa.

So much, then, for any visits to cafes and restaurants, the cathedral, the ancient Dutch fortress, the boulevard along the waterfront of what has been called one of Africa's most beautiful cities—albeit a beauty reserved, in decades now gone by, for the Portuguese colonials who governed Angola for their own reward.

Even walking on the quay was prohibited. The captain, intending one morning to check his ship's draft, was chased back on board by armed guards. We were, in effect, prisoners—aboard a vessel bringing relief grain for the children.

The crew members, however, were authorized to go ashore between noon and 8 p.m., on condition they surrender their passports at the gate and receive visiting certificates in return. Interestingly, no member of the crew—the large majority of whom were black—went into Luanda. Perhaps their caution stemmed from the fate of a black seaman from Ghana. In town, he was overheard speaking English. The police assumed he was from the *Thompson Lykes* and picked him up for interrogation—a dismaying experience which he relayed to the crew the next day.

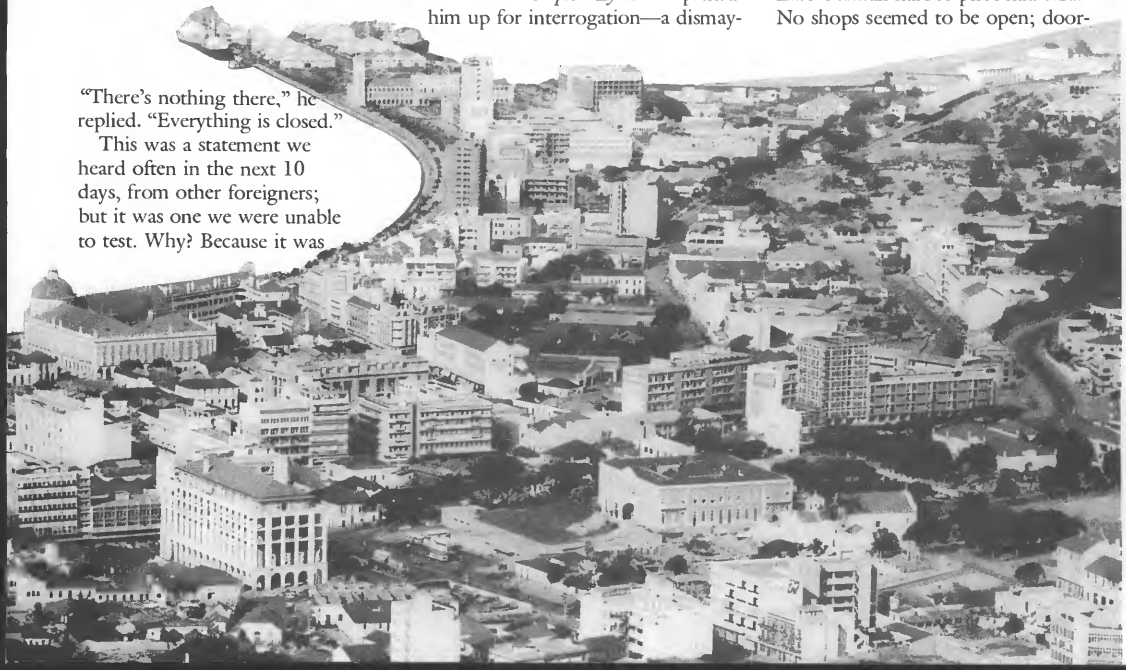
"No way," said one of the sailors, "that I'm gonna spend the night in jail in that place."

Angolan paranoia had first manifested itself days before, while the ship was still at anchor, with an order that all cameras be sequestered by the captain in a sealed locker. "What's there to photograph?" one woman passenger asked—and she was right.

On Monday morning a doctor on board used his binoculars to look into the city, half a kilometer down the long wharf. A young Angolan soldier ran up the gangway, then to the uppermost deck and seized the glasses, demanding the man's passport. It took the captain an hour to talk the soldier into returning what he'd confiscated. He did it by simple bribery: a carton of cigarettes, two beers, and a cold can of soda.

The only officer who went ashore was an engineer who had injured his hand and needed medical treatment. In the absence of any American embassy or consulate, this required a trip in the shipping agent's car to a clinic attached to the French embassy. But they couldn't go alone; an armed soldier accompanied them.

The engineer confirmed what the East German harbor pilot had said. No shops seemed to be open; door-



ways were boarded up; windows were broken; garbage lay in the streets; tall construction cranes stood idly beside the frameworks of office buildings whose steel beams were rusty. The city did not appear to be functioning as a city should—yet day and night we could see streams of cars, trucks, and buses rolling along the roads. Gasoline, at least, didn't seem to be in short supply—nor, for that matter, were vehicles.

Conditions on the dock area were similarly dismaying. In the absence of locomotives, stevedores pushed the railroad flatcars along the tracks that ran along the key, from ship-hold to ship-hold. Angolan troops, by ones, twos, and threes, ambled past the ships—some armed, some not. Others, dressed in green berets, with dark glasses and wristwatches prominently displayed (but no rifles), roared around on motorcycles. It was impossible to tell whether they were on specific patrol beats, supervising the longshoremen or simply passing time.

The saddest and most bewildering sight, perhaps, was the daily evidence of men crippled by the war. Some, with one foot or one leg only, hobbled past leaning on crutches improvised from tree-limbs; one, legless, was pushed around in a wheelchair by a friend. But what were these invalids doing, moving freely around working piers? Who at the gate had ever admitted them to what should have been a restricted area?

The quay itself was a monument to entropy. The majority of its more than 20 giant cranes were unworkable. In the absence of locomotives, stevedores pushed the railroad flatcars along the tracks that ran along the quay, from ship-hold to ship-hold. The cobblestone paving was potholed or, in some places, crumbling into the sea. Abandoned vehicles littered the right-of-way, and by the stern of the *Thompson Lykes* a broken hoist was unable to lift away a discarded tractor-motor which blocked access to the ship's after hold.

Moored at our bow was a Filipino freighter unloading rice from Thailand; at our stern lay a Panamanian ship whose cargo was 4,500 tons of wheat from France. The Filipino had been in Luanda a month, the Panamanian six weeks—with three more weeks to go, according to her captain.

One 10-hour day, said the captain of the *Thompson Lykes*, would ordinarily be enough to land our grain. Instead, with Saturday afternoon and Sundays off, it required eight and one-half workdays. The longshoremen arrived irregularly between 8-9:15 a.m., left anywhere between 1-2:30 p.m., returned about 2:45 and quit anywhere between 5-6 p.m. No foreman was evident on deck or dock to coordinate the unloading; one open hold would have a dozen workers, another only two or three; the men managing the booms changed with each shift or day. Emptying the cargo was like a grand improvisation played out by 40 to 60 stevedores—with no one in charge.

Further, there was a transportation blockage. Removing the sorghum from the quay, once it was dumped there, depended upon the availability of trucks, from two to a dozen, which UNICEF had mustered. The three biggest bore the slogans, "Gift of France," but the storage depot was supposedly an hour's drive away. Sometimes five or six trucks were parked beside the ship; at other hours there were none.

The longshoremen held jobs in a land where unemployment is rife. Nevertheless they complained to the crew about their hunger and begged for handouts of food or liquids. Almost all of them scooped up packets filled with spilled sorghum every day, sometimes using broken container bags. These they hid in sheds, under planks, behind stacked piping or wooden pallets. In the evening they would carry them away.

The soldiers shared in the spoils. They stole rice from the trucks emptying the Filipino freighter or they shook down the longshoremen. Once they caught three men pilfering the Panamanian ship's spilled wheat, struck them repeatedly, and marched them off. But first they grabbed the men's grain bags, presumably for their own use.

One day shots were fired just before 7:30 in the morning, by soldiers chasing a man who fled into an empty container beside the ship. They hustled him out, made him hoist a rice packet—supposedly 120 pounds in weight—onto his head, and then crab-walked him down the quay. Every few yards they struck him with karate-chops; when he fell to the cobblestones, they made him get up, remount the bag of rice, and trot a few steps more. Then they would hit him again, until finally they pulled him out of sight, into one of the sheds.

Angolans are used to cruelty from their masters. Twenty-five years ago, the ship's chief officer recalled, the Portuguese foremen beat the stevedores with sticks. Now it was their own soldiers whom they had to beware.

The violence was not unlike the sporadic nightly rifleshots—at rats? at thieves? for idle amusement?—and the explosions of grenades, thrown into the bay (as in the case of the Russian liner) to deafen or maim imaginary frogmen. Supposedly in 1984 three ships were damaged by mines, so ever since, the repeated concussions are meant to prevent another such misfortune.

Two days before our departure, a Russian RO-RO ship—one which can open up, either at bow or stern, to allow tanks, trucks, or other vehicles to Roll On, Roll Off—steamed directly into the quayside, taking precedence over six anchored vessels. She resembled a gigantic tank-landing ship from World War II; massed on her deck were camouflaged troop-carrying trucks. She docked bow-on to the quay, opened her ramps and disgorged them onto the paving. At last, had we had our cameras, there was something to photograph.

On June 29 the *Thompson Lykes* finished at last. The evening sky was smudged with smoke from the vast open garbage dump that burns day and night and lies above Luanda's piers (and next to lightless Portuguese-built apartment houses). But the sea was calm, and, once we were out of the harbor, schools of dolphin frolicked around the hull while a dazzling full moon rose.

Good omens for the onward voyage; but the omens for Angola, then as now, seem unpromising at best. □

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ATTORNEYS specializing in tax planning and return preparation for the Foreign Service Community available for consultation on the tax implications of investment decisions, business related deductions, separate maintenance allowances, real estate purchases and rentals, home leave deductions, audits, etc. Contact Susan Sanders or Paul Clifford—Clifford, Farha, Stamey, & Sanders, 1606 New Hampshire Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20009 (202)667-5111, FAX (202)265-1474.

TAX PREPARATION BY AN ATTORNEY who is a retired Foreign Service officer and is familiar with Foreign Service problems. M. Bruce Hirshorn, Esquire, Suite E, 307 Maple Ave. West, Vienna, VA 22180. (703)281-2161.

TAX PREPARATION AND ADVICE by T.R. McCartney E.A., (ex-FS) and staff. Enrolled to practice before the IRS. Business Data Corp., P.O. Box 1040, Lanham, MD 20706-1040. (301)731-4114.

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REX R. KRAKAUER, ESQUIRE Providing representation for the special legal problems of Foreign Service Personnel and Staff living abroad. Divorce, Pensions, Real Estate, Wills and other matters. 51 Monroe Street, Suite #1400, Rockville, Maryland 20850. Telephone: (301)294-6100, Fax: (301)738-8802.

WORLDWIDE LEGAL REPRESENTATION for Foreign Service employment matters, including before Foreign Service Grievance Board and Federal Courts. Passman and Broida, 1735 I Street N.W., Suite 608, Wasington, D.C. 20006 (202) 659-2537.

HAVE YOUR WILL REVIEWED and updated by an attorney who is a retired FSO. M. Bruce Hirshorn, Esquire, Suite E, 307 Maple Ave. West, Vienna, VA 22180. (703)281-2161.

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1990-91 AFSA/AAFSW Scholarships

Applications for the AFSA Scholarship Programs are now available for dependent students of career American Foreign Service personnel who have been or are currently stationed abroad.**The AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards** are for graduating high school students and are based on academic excellence. Twenty awards of $750 each and twelve honorable mention awards of $100 each are uaually given every May. The **Financial Aid Scholarships** are for full-time undergraduate study in the United States and are based solely on need as established by information provided on the College Scholarship Service Financial Aid Form (FAF). Grants range from $500 to $2000 for individuals with a $3000 limit for families. Write for applications and information now to the AFSA Scholarship Programs Administrator, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Deadline for completion and return of applications is February 15, 1990.

Other Scholarships Available to Foreign Service Students

The following scholarships are also available to dependent students of Foreign Service personnel. Applicants should write for complete information **directly to the schools, colleges, and universities indicated.**

Secondary Schools.

The American School in Switzerland, (TASIS), and TASIS England: $1000 tuition reductions are offered at the TASIS schools in Switzerland and Great Britain to all sons and daughters in grades 7-12 of State Department personnel stationed overseas. Additional financial aid may be offered on the basis of need. 250 boarders in Switzerland and 150 in England represent 40 different nationalities. For more information, contact: Karen Ballard, TASIS U.S. Admissions Office, 326 East 69th Street, New York, New York 10021. Telephone: (212) 570-1066. Telex: 971912, Fax:(212)249-3097.

Castilleja School, Palo Alto, California: Scholarships based on demonstrated financial need are available to daughters of personnel in the Foreign Service agencies or of U.S. military personnel serving overseas who are registered at Castilleja School for admission to grades 7 to 12 inclusive. For complete information write to Nancy L. Hoffman, Director of Admission, Castilleja School, 1310 Bryant St., Palo Alto, California 94301, (415)328-3160.

Dana Hall School: The Congdon Prize Scholarship is awarded on a competitive basis to two entering sophomore boarding students. In addition to the $2500 prize, each winner is eligible for financial aid up to full tuition when warranted by need. Financial aid for all grades is also available based on need. Applications must be completed by February 1. Inquiries should be addressed to: Olive B. Long, Director of Admission, Dana Hall School, Wellesley, Massachusetts 02181,(617)235-3010.

Grier School: A $1500 reduction in tuition is available to daughters of Foreign Service personnel. Additionally, girls may compete for scholarship support on the basis of demonstrated financial need and all-round abilities. For information please contact: Admissions Director, The Grier School, Tyrone, Pennsylvania 16686.

Miss Hall's School: A $2500 reduction is available for the daughters of Foreign Service personnel. Miss Hall's enrolls 200 students in grades 9 through 12. For further information, contact Patrick C. McInerney, Director for Admissions, Miss Hall's School, Pittsfield, Massachusetts 01201.

Middlesex School: Scholarship offered on the basis of proven financial need for grades 9 through 12 to the son or daughter of a Foreign Service family. For information write to Debbie Dewing, Director of Admissions, Middlesex School, 1400 Lowell Road, Concord, Massachusetts 01742.

Northfield/Mount Hermon School: A $1000 reduction in tuition is offered all sons and daughters of State Department personnel stationed overseas, grades 9 though 12. Additional financial aid is available on the basis of need. At present, students from 45 states and 64 countries are enrolled. For further information contact Virginia deVeer, Director of Admissions, Northfield/Mount Hermon School, Northfield, Massachusetts 01360.

The Phelps School: The Phelps School provides a $1200 scholarship to any son of career Foreign Service personnel. The scholarship is available for grades 7-12. For information, contact Mr. Norman Phelps, Jr., Headmaster, The Phelps School, Malvern, PA 19355.(215)644-1754.

Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts: The Charles and Jane Stelle Memorial Scholarship is awarded to the son or daughter of Foreign Service personnel. The award is based on financial need. For more information, write to Jeannie F. Dissette, Dean of Admissions/ Clement Morell, Director of Financial Aid, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts 01810.

St. Albans School, Washington, D.C.: The Phillip Hayes Funkhouser Memorial Scholarship provides partial scholarship aid to an academically qualified student in grades 4-12. The award is based on proven financial need and is offered to the son of a Foreign Service family. For information write to A. Wayne Gordon, Scholarship Committee, St. Albans School, Mount St. Alban, Washington, D.C. 20016.

St. Andrew's School, Middletown, Delaware: The Norris S. Haselton Scholarships are awarded to sons and daughters of career Foreign Service families where scholarship assistance is indicated. The school enrolls 245 students in grades 9 through 12. For further information write the Director of Admissions, St. Andrews School, Middletown, Delaware 19709,(302)378-951.

Vermont Academy: An Edward R. Cheney Memorial Scholarship is being awarded to the son or daughter of Foreign Service personnel. The academy enrolls 250 students in grades 9 through 12, PG. For information write to the Director of Admissions, Vermont Academy, Saxtons River, Vermont 05154,(802)869-2121).

Colleges

Dartmouth College: S. Pinkney Tuck Scholarship. For students at Dartmouth College who are the children or grandchildren of Foreign Service personnel and who are in need of financial assistance. Address inquiries to the Director of Financial Aid, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire 03755.(603)646-1110.

Vassar College: The Polly Richardson Lukens Memorial Scholarship is awarded to children of Foreign Service personnel. Another scholarship, awarded by an anonymous donor, is granted to the child of an American Foreign Service officer. If no such applicant qualifies, the scholarship may be awarded to the child of an employee of the federal government or of a state government. Both awards are based on financial need. Apply to Director of Financial Aid, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York 12601.

Yale University: Children of American Foreign Service officers will be considered for a need-based scholarship made possible by the gift of Gilbert H. Kinney and Mrs. Kinney. If no child of an American Foreign Service officer qualifies, children of members of the U.S. military services or of employees of the federal government will be considered. Recipients must demonstrate financial need. Contact: Director of Financial Aid, Box 2170 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut 06520.

November 30 Bicentennial Foreign Affairs Conference

In October, AFSA invited representatives of several hundred of the largest U.S. corporations to join in a dialogue with the Foreign Service. We wrote, "There are many common interests between the American business community and the American diplomatic community—so how can we work together more productively both at home and abroad?

"For our part, the American Foreign Service has begun an outreach program (**International Associates**) designed to unlock the potential of joining forces. We want to reach out and learn from the business community so that we can do our jobs better. At the same time, we will offer you new information, cooperation, and access to resources important for all who are active abroad.

"To help you get a sense of our **International Associates** program, the American Foreign Service Association invites you to take part in a **Bicentennial Foreign Affairs Conference** on November 30, "American Business and Government in a Turbulent World," will be held in the conference rooms and historic Diplomatic Reception rooms of the State Department.

"The agenda is important, and discussions will be stimulating: Business opportunities in the developed, socialist, and developing worlds, and how U.S. policies and tactics may or may not be helping American business. Action-takers from business, industry, and government will develop new understandings of each others' enterprises and how to start new alliances in motion.

"Participants will include the Vice President of the United States, Secretaries of the major international affairs departments and heads of agencies, and business leaders like you from major corporations."

Why such a conference? Why now? Why AFSA? We get these questions from business people and from our own membership. Our answer is—Foreign Service people know that they have a good story. The trouble is that the story is not being told widely enough outside our own foreign affairs community. A common attitude in business circles is that the U.S. government is not helpful overseas. We even hear some business people say that they would never go near an embassy.

Clearly, we have a lot of missionary work to do in the business community, and that community, which depends on a favorable international climate for the conduct of trade, is one of the natural allies of the Foreign Service. We need to do more to cultivate such allies.

Here is how we are introducing the conference to our business colleagues: "Just when American business must increasingly focus its efforts abroad, the international environment has become even more unstable and unpredictable. The year 1989 in particular has been one of surprises, opportunities, setbacks, and new kinds of challenges for American government and business alike.

"Political Scenes from 1989: The Red Army leaves Afghanistan. China takes two steps backward. Gorbachev is welcomed as a hero in Western Europe. Solidarity obtains power in honest elections in Poland. Hungarians tear down their border fence with Austria and rebury Nagy with honors. The Vietnamese army pulls out of Cambodia.

"Economic scenes from 1989: The continued threat of a trade war between the U.S. and the EC; the U.S. puts Japan, Brazil, and India on our Super 301 unfair traders list; Americans worry about foreigners buying U.S. productive capacity, about Europe in 1992, about the Four Asian Tigers, about the U.S. being the number one debtor nation of the world, about our stubbornly unbalanced trade relationships; and about protection of the environment which became the principal subject at the 1989 Economic Summit.

"Concomitant to these developments, major shifts in America's traditional international relationships and foreign policy goals may be evolving:

"Less Predictability: Our long-term adversaries are now less predictably threatening and therefore provide less of a reliable rallying point for our allies predictable.

"Changing Emphases: The emphasis of our major foreign policy priorities may be shifting: from ensuring a world politically secure for democracy, to ensuring a world economically equitable for U.S. enterprise.

"More Competition: America's relative position in the world has changed dramatically during the past decade. America's previously unquestioned preeminence in the West is no longer self-evident; and the U.S. now competes for influence and trade with other countries of the world.

"It makes sense to meet these challenges by better business-government dialogue and collaboration. The question is how to get this done.

"The American Foreign Service Association, as a part of the observance of the Bicentennial of the establishment of the Department of State and in honor of its International Associates, sponsors this Foreign Affairs Conference to explore with American business what we all ought to be doing better to adapt to the epoch-making changes in the international environment." A part of the process of making friends is to listen carefully. Therefore, a major part of the November conference is given over to presentations by business representatives. We hope that by listening we'll learn how to refine and improve Foreign Service capabilities abroad. We think that's what AFSA ought to be doing.

AFSA contests classification of certificates

AFSA filed suit in federal court on September 8th to compel the department to provide the Association the certificates of demonstrated competence of current ambassadorial nominees. These reports are specifically compiled for distribution to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee prior to Senate confirmation hearings, but provide useful information regarding a nominee's qualifications to serve as an ambassador. Such information is of interest to AFSA as the professional organization for all members of the foreign service. In the suit, AFSA seeks copies of the documents which the department has marked "confidential."

The department placed a notice on the face of the certificates stating that they are to be treated as confidential and may not be released to unauthorized parties.

The only legitimate basis for marking a document "confidential" derives from the executive order governing the classification of information. This E.O. specifically requires that the designation 'confidential' be applied to information the disclosure of which can reasonably be expected to cause damage to national security. The E.O. further provides that in no case shall information be classified in order to prevent or delay its release when such information does not require protection in the interest of national security. Because the department has not established that the disclosure of the reports in any way jeopardizes national security, their classification is improper.

The Foreign Service Act of 1980 provides that "an individual appointed or assigned to be the chief of mission should possess clearly demonstrated competence to perform the duties of a chief of mission," including knowledge of the language, history, and culture of the country in which the individual is to serve. The Act also provides that an individual's contribution to political campaigns should not be a factor in their appointment as chief of mission. These reports are intended to illustrate the extent to which each nominee fulfills the requirements of the act.

AFSA filed a similar suit in 1983, but subsequently withdrew our complaint after the department agreed to furnish the Association with the certificates of competence.

Employees harassed by "American Public Accountability Cards"

AFSA has been contacted by many employees who received postcards labeled "American Public Accountability Card" that request accounting for travel advances based on data found in the State Department's *Travel Advance Status Report*.

The information was obtained through the Freedom of Information Act and is in many cases erroneous. AFSA is investigating whether this data was properly released through the Freedom of Information Act.

The cards were sent by private citizens the State Department believes to be acting on behalf of the "State Department Watch," a California-based organization. They are *not* authorized to accept payment on any travel advance accounts and employees are not to send any money or vouchers to the person whose address appears on the postcard.

Unfortunately, the postcard - senders had erroneously been led to believe that there is a widespread problem of voucher delinquency among State Department employees. AFSA shares employees' concerns on whether the release of this information may entail a Privacy Act violation as well. We are investigating this angle on our own and are pushing the department to do the same. We are also concerned about the department's role in maintaining inaccurate data in the first place. There have been recurrent problems with M/COMP's record-keeping in recent years, and we will continue to press the department to devote more resources to this problem.

State has apologized to those people who have cleared their accounts since the time the *Travel Advance Status Report* was issued in February, but that does not remove M/COMP's responsibility to correct the problem, particularly given the fact that this data can potentially become public information.

AFSA will continue to follow this issue and will keep employees apprised of developments.

Negotiations continue on disciplinary regulations

Negotiations continue between AFSA, with the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) ,and the management of the foreign affairs agencies on proposed sweeping revisions to agency regulations governing disciplinary action. Management initially provided AFSA with the draft revisions in January of this year. Negotiations have proceeded slowly due to the extent of the proposed changes to the existing regulations, along with management's apparent desire to radically alter the grounds under which employees may be subjected to disciplinary action and to limit employees' procedural rights throughout the disciplinary process.

Management position has focused on broadening the grounds for indefinite suspension and increasing management's latitude in determining probable cause for suspension and disciplinary action. AFSA is intent upon guaranteeing that the rights of employees are not eroded. We will report any developments as negotiations continue.

AID Standing Committee

Charles Uphaus
Vice President

Non-career Appointments: The September issue reported that AFSAS had protested the filling of an important position with a non-career appointee, in violation of Agency regulations. We have since been advised that the appointment in question has been cancelled, thus rendering moot our institutional grievance. This case, however, is illustrative of a broader issue, namely, the lateral transfer of AD (administratively determined) appointees into the Foreign Service without going through normal selection or screening processes. The relevant regulation (Handbook 25, Chapter 35, Section G.2.b) specifies that non-career appointments are authorized only to meet specific personnel skill needs not otherwise available:

Non-career appointments are appropriate when the knowledge or skills required for a particular program or project cannot reasonably be provided by career employees; when temporary program expansions or shifts in program emphasis create short-term personnel requirements, or when development specialists pursuing other careers, such as under academic appointments, may be available for service abroad only for limited periods."

The appointment in question clearly did not meet these criteria, since the skills required were already available among the current foreign service cadre. Personnel should be aware that this sort of maneuver is contrary to regulations; we would appreciate any similar instances being brought to our attention.

Senior Foreign Service: AFSA has received a number of inquiries over the past year regarding the Senior Foreign Service (SFS) and related issues such as promotion prospects, TICs, and the overall issue of the equity and reasonableness of the Agency's present procedures. In delving into this issue, it has become manifestly clear that the Agency has been less than candid in communicating with interested parties about the Senior Foreign Service as it affects career planning.

Earlier this year, when the SFS pay increase was under consideration and a number of FO-1s were concerned over the implications of this for retirement and SFS positions, we queried management about promotions into the SFS and projections (if any) regarding the possible impact of the salary increase on retirement and promotion rates. While we did not receive information regarding projections, we did obtain some interesting data regarding past promotions. The specific questions and responses were as follows:

•For the last three years, how many people completed and were promoted into SFS jobs?

1988	1987	1986
192/20	254/30	312/30

•For Foreign Service officers in the seventh year of competition, how many elected to compete and how many of those were selected out over the last three years?

Applications

1988	1987	1986
10	4	NA

Selected out

1988	1987	1986
10	4	NA

(Note: 1987 was the first year for seventh year review.)

•What were the numbers of promotions into the SFS by backstop code as of the time of promotion?

1988	1987	1986
BS-01 - 8	BS-01 -5	BS-01
BS-02 - 3	BS-02 - 5	BS-01 - 3
BS-04 - 3	BS-03 - 1	BS-02 - 6
BS-11 - 1	BS-04 - 4	BS-03 - 2
BS-12 - 1	BS-10 - 3	BS-04 - 2
BS-20 - 1	BS-11 - 1	BS-10 - 3
BS-50 - 1	BS-15 - 1	BS-11 - 1
BS-85 - 1	BS-50 - 2	BS-12 - 4
BS-94 - 1	BS-85 - 4	BS-20 - 1
20	BS-92 - 3	BS-21 - 3
	30	BS-30 - 1
		BS-50 - 1
		BS-85 - 1
		BS-94 - 2
		30

It is clear to us that the Agency needs to be more forthcoming regarding the Senior Foreign Service in order to enable reasoned career planning. We need more data and less informal advice and corridor gossip. Information like the above should be disseminated by the Personnel Office as a matter of course. We will be taking up this matter with Management with the objective of promoting increased information flow, including projections of retirements from and promotions into the SFS.

In addition, several members have recently raised questions regarding the practical effect of the current seven-year window for the SFS threshhold, primarily in terms of the continuing motivation of those who "bail out" after six years and thereby forefit any further hope of promotion. A recent cable and notice solicited members' interest in the possibility of exercising our option to renegotiate Handbook 25, Chapter 38, regarding the SFS. We would appreciate continuing to hear from members on issues relating to the SFS.

Membership: The percentage of AID direct Foreign Service personnel belonging to AFSA at this time is not bad—approximately 65 percent of those eligible are members. However, there is a category of membership that would provide an additional source of revenue as well as assist in developing a constituency for the Foreign Service that we have been ignoring: associate memberships. All AID contract personnel are eligible for associate membership. Associate members receive a variety of benefits including a subscription to the Foreign Service Journal, membership in the Club and, most importantly, eligibility for all insurance plans offered through the Association.

The AID Standing Committee encourages all members to bring to the attention of contractors and contract employees the opportunity of associate membership in AFSA. You may contact your AFSA Post Rep or Membership Coordinator Janet Schoumacher for further information.

USIA Standing Committee

Vance Pace
Vice President

The AFSA standing committee for USIA was constituted on September 13. The members of the committee are myself, Don Crider, Bob Knopes, Joanne Cotter, Lynn Sever, Buck Shinkman, Helmut Fischer, Frances Sullinger, Omie G. Kerr, and Amy Lee. An AFSA representative to the governing board will be selected from among the standing committee and will be announced in the next issue of *AFSA News*.

The committee discussed various programs for the coming year. We hope to get a panel discussion from among the promotion boards to meet with interested Foreign Service officers again this year. It was highly successful last year. The committee also suggested a meeting with representatives of the Thomas and Bremer commissions to explain the implications of their respective reports to USIA's Foreign Service. We solicit any ideas the membership has for other projects. Please send them to Vance Pace in care of AFSA, 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

The biggest issue facing USIA's AFSA members is whether to challenge AFGE for exclusive bargaining rights. Both State and AID are represented by AFSA. AFGE narrowly won bargaining rights in an election in the mid-seventies and has not been challenged since that time. While this decision has not yet been made, the USIA standing committee seeks the views of the membership on this question. A challenge must be accompanied by a petition from at least 30 percent of the bargaining unit. This represents a major outlay of time and money by AFSA and its membership, particularly AFSA representatives in overseas posts.

AFSA co-sponsors lecture at Georgetown University

Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger gave the Ninth Annual Samuel D. Berger Lecture on the subject "Uncharted Waters: U.S. Foreign Policy in a Time of Transition" September 13 at Georgetown University. AFSA co-sponsored this event with the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy.

Eagleburger stressed the transition from a bipolar to a multipolar world, where solutions to international issues such as the environment, drugs, and terrorism, or even traditional European questions, could no longer be achieved through agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union alone. Noting that this new situation is fraught with potential for instability, he suggested that it could be managed successfully only if the Western world is able to hammer out a common position on critical issues. He thus focused the challenge for American foreign policy as one of achieving a consensus among its allies and other nations.

In the question and answer period, Eagleburger asserted that at present the issue of easily-manufactured chemical weapons is more serious than nuclear proliferation, and can be resolved only by concerted effort. Similarly, he noted that a solution in Cambodia depends much more on the parties directly concerned than on any unilateral influence the United States can bring to play.

Samuel D. Berger, for whom this annual lecture series is named, was a distinguished career Foreign Service Officer who served in a variety of positions, including deputy ambassador in Saigon, then ambassador to the Republic of Korea, before retiring in 1974. He died in 1980. The lecture was made possible by a grant from the Harriman Foundation.

Brochure on Foreign Service

Using the insights of AFSA Award nominations, AFSA is producing a descriptive brochure on the Foreign Service. Printing and mailing costs for the brochure will be funded by contributions from major corporations and foundations.

The brochure will be available to retired Foreign Service members who need supporting literature when speaking to student and civic groups. Other recipients will include AFSA members, attendees at AFSA conferences, and political and business leaders.

The AFSA Award nominations are a rich source of good writing on what outstanding Foreign Service personnel do on behalf of their country, both at post and in Washington. AFSA Award nominations are unclassified and descriptions will be used anonymously.

Governing Board news

George Jones has taken over as AFSA's State vice president, replacing Charles A. Schmitz, who retired in November. Mr. Jones last served as DCM in Santiago.

Mr. Schmitz will become AFSA's first retiree vice president, a position added to the Governing Board by vote of the AFSA membership this summer.

Michael Cotter is the new secretary of the Governing Board, replacing Perry Shankle, who regretfully resigned because his new position as a senior inspector general precludes AFSA Board membership. Mr. Cotter has been a State representative on the Board.

David T. Jones is the newest State representative, moving into Mr. Cotter's former position.

To those planning to retire in 1989

Robert Beers,
Congressional Liaison

FEGLI is the acronym for Federal Employees Group Life Insurance. For those employees who have elected this coverage during their working years the face amount of their coverage for the "Basic Life" program is calculated as follows: their current rate of pay rounded up to the next $1,000—plus $2,000. For example, the face amount of the coverage for an employee whose annual base pay was $25,199 would be $28,000. The monthly premium for Basic Life coverage for all active employees, irrespective of age, is 40.1¢ per $1,000 of insurance.

Heretofore when an employee retired, the government took over payment of the employee's share of the premium. After January 1, 1990, however, the government will no longer cover Basic Life premium payments for employees who retire after December 31, 1989. If an employee wishes to retain the Basic Life coverage after retirement, that individual must continue to pay the premium of 40.1¢ per $1,000 of insurance until age 65.

Unless the employee elects an alternative, at age 65 the face amount of the Basic Life begins to reduce at the rate of 2% per month until it reaches a minimum of 25% of the original amount.If an employee decides to accept the 75% reduction beginning at age 65, he or she no longer has to pay the monthly premium of 40.1¢ after attaining this age.

There are other choices. The retiring employee can retain 100% of Basic Life coverage past age 65 by a monthly payment, beginning at age 65, of $1.69 per $1,000 of insurance. Alternatively, if the person chooses to retain 50% of the coverage past age 65, the monthly premium would be 52¢ per $1,000 of insurance.

It is essential you keep in mind that your decisions on any of these arrangements for Basic Life insurance choices must be elected at the time of retirement.

A word of caution on another aspect of retirement. For a married employee there is the matter of deciding whether to elect a spouse survivor annuity. (Under the law, this must be a decision agreed to jointly by the couple.) If the decision is made to elect the maximum survivor annuity (which would approximate 55% of the retiree's annuity), the retiree's annuity is reduced about 10%.

Some financial planners or insurance agents are urging prospective retirees to forego the election of a survivor annuity and invest part of the resulting increase in the retiree's annuity into an insurance policy on the life of the retiree. The rationale behind this proposal is that if the retiree dies first, the spouse receives the proceeds of the insurance policy, which presumably could be invested to realize an annual income approximating the amount which would have been provided by the survivor annuity. Alternatively, if the spouse dies before the retiree, they will have enjoyed a larger annuity income during their retired life.

We would advise caution in entering into such an arrangement. Ask a financial management expert, one especially knowledgeable in the field of retirement income and taxes, to evaluate of the possible advantages and risks. Preferably, this should be an individual who would receive a fee for advisory services, rather than someone who would make a commission from selling a particular investment or insurance program.

Obviously, individual cases present infinite variations in the circumstances to be taken into account in deciding what to do about the survivor annuity option. In particular, consider the possible fringe benefits that a spouse without a survivor annuity would have to relinquish, such as cost-of-living-adjustments and the right to health insurance coverage.

Indeed, the election or rejection of the survivor annuity option deserves the most careful analysis, since it can prove to be a one-time, irrevocable decision.

Open season continues for disability income insurance

Hugh W. Wolff, Chairman
Board of Trustees
for Insurance Programs

As was announced in these pages last month, a new membership benefit is now available to AFSA members: Group Disability Income insurance paying monthly benefits of $1,000. The charter enrollment period extends through December 31, 1989. The cost is much less than the prevailing rates for policies bought individually on the open market. Best of all, AFSA members and working spouses are guaranteed acceptance into the program if they are under age 60, have been actively working for the past 90 days, and have not been hospitalized in the past six months.

Enrollment forms and brochures have been sent only to members on active duty. However, retired members who meet the requirements listed above are also guaranteed acceptance. Interested retirees are urged to write or phone for a brochure and enrollment form. Note that the administrator for this program is Albert H. Wohlers & Co., 1440 N. Northwest Highway, Park Ridge, IL 60068-1400. In the U.S. call toll-free 1-800-323-2106. In Illinois call (312) 803-3100 (after November 11, the area code changes to 708).

Legislative Issues

Rick Weiss
Congressional Liaison

In September congressional committees were to meet to reconcile differences between the House and Senate-passed authorization bill in conference; the Senate was to move to conference on the appropriations bill for State, Justice, and Commerce Departments; and the Senate would debate the foreign aid authorization legislation.

As of September 25, none of these legislative activities has been initiated. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee and House Foreign Affairs Committee have not met in conference because they disagree on AID economic assistance amendments to the authorization bill.

The Hollings Appropriations Subcommittee on State, Justice, and Commerce marked up the 1990 bill, but Senate floor debate was not scheduled because Senator Robert Byrd (D. WVa), appropriations committee chairman, was trying to increase funding for the "war on drugs." However, the Senate has passed the foreign operations appropriations bill, which will now move to conference. The last week of September will be dedicated to framing a continuing resolution to keep the government funded into October and the Budget Reconciliation measure.

In the Appropriations Subcommittee markup for the State Department, the committee recommended $33,419,000 of the $77,332,000 net increase requested for adjustments to base and built-in cost increase. However, the committee eliminated funding for the Foreign Service Institute facility at Arlington Hall Station in Virginia.

Debating foreign aid in the Senate on September 20, Senator Patrick Leahy (D. Vt) stated that the committee cut the operating expenses account of AID by $10 million from the president's request and by 5 million from fiscal 1989. Leahy continued that the funding will be sufficient for AID to implement bilateral foreign aid programs without a reduction in force if AID's management tightens its belt on administrative and personnel costs.

On September 22, Chairman Sikorski of the Civil Service Subcommittee held a hearing on September 22 to examine the underrepresentation of women and minorities in the State Department. Rep. Sikorski was critical of department management for not taking corrective action.

In October, the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Operations plans to hold a series of four hearings on foreign policy, management of the department, the personnel system of the department and information gathering and processing in the 1990s.

Former AFSA presidents are pictured during a recent meeting with current AFSA officers to discuss major ongoing AFSA issues. Left to right, incoming AFSA State Vice President George Jones, former presidents Lars Hydle, Kenneth Bleakley, Perry Shankle, outgoing State Vice President Charles Schmitz, President Ted Wilkinson, former presidents Thomas Boyatt, Lannon Walker, William Harrop, and Robert Keeley.

AFSA award nominations sought

Nomination forms for the 1990 AFSA awards are now in the mail. Three awards go to junior, mid-level, and senior officers who display intellectual courage and creative dissent. One is for a family member who does the most to advance American interests through volunteer activities. The Sinclaire awards recognize those who distinguish themselves in the study of hard languages.
By nominating worthy colleagues you can help provide public recognition for those who best exemplify Foreign Service traditions of service and intellectual courage. Nominations due by January 31.

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A personal message from Arthur E. Morrissette,
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