

FOREIGN SERVICE

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May 1990

MAY 4TH
FOREIGN SERVICE DAY



Bringing Embassies Within Reach of the Press
by Richard Gilbert

.....
Improving Public Diplomacy
by Hans N. Tuch

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A Cuban Dissident's Story
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The Blues of Zona Rosa
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James William Fulbright
The Arrogance of Power, 1967

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May 4, 1990



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AFSA Views

Coming Together

Foreign Service Day, when our retired colleagues will join us for the presentation of awards, a solemn plaque inscription ceremony, and a review of world events, is more than a reunion. It is a reminder to us still in active service of the wealth of dedication and intellect that today's Foreign Service corps inherits from those who went before us. Our May 4 activities are also an uplifting time, a welcome respite from the daily frustrations of prescribed procedures and forms.

Those who return will find elements of continuity. There is still plenty of dedication within the Foreign Service, as the awards citations will attest; the same respect persists for integrity, versatility, excellence, and of course *service*. That's what we're all about. And yes, our colleagues *emeriti* will recognize the ongoing struggle with the Office of Management and Budget and with the Congress for adequate foreign affairs appropriations, which continues just as when they left the Service. Nor is there anything new in the administration's dreary annual assault on cost-of-living increases in our retired colleagues' annuities.

But there is plenty of ferment, too, internally as well as (obviously) on the world scene. Stung by reprimands from the courts and by critiques from the General Accounting Office—and with statistics showing that the percentage of women in the Foreign Service of the State Department remained static at 24 percent throughout the decade, and that women constitute only 5 percent of the Senior Foreign Service now—our new leadership has bent over backward to place women in key positions with promotion potential, encouraging each bureau to have at least one woman as a deputy assistant secretary. Minority representation did increase significantly in the eighties, including at the senior level, but remains below levels in the general U.S. workforce. AFSA supports the efforts of management to attract high-caliber minority representatives, in particular black officers (currently only 6 percent of the Service).

The ferment extends also to the structure of the State career system, which is being modernized somewhat now in negotiations between AFSA and management that will result in a more flexible "cone" system, more stimuli for service training, and a number of changes in time-in-class rules, including for senior officers.

How else do we need to adapt for the nineties? Now that communism is cannibalizing itself, is it still relevant to claim to be the country's first line of defense in peacetime? Our answer is yes, but we need to retrain to deal with a changing set of challenges. The enemies are as much transnational as national—narcotics trafficking, overpopulation, depletion of natural resources, despoliation of the biosphere, uncontrolled refugee flows, etc.—and multilateral work is bound more and more to displace traditional bilateral diplomacy. Simplistic, confrontational explanations of our international concerns will be even less saleable than they are today. The tough task that the practitioners of public diplomacy face is discussed in two articles in this issue.

A second major challenge for the next decade will be helping to restore America's competitiveness. To the extent that military strength becomes superfluous, our influence will rest even more on economic strength, and our export performance needs to improve a lot more. To draw closer to our private sector partners in this endeavor, AFSA is appealing to corporate America to join us as "international associates," and we can now point with some pride to a growing list of successfully completed colloquia. Our coming together must not be limited to the narrow community of Foreign Service professionals. If we are to work together to reinvigorate America's international leadership, we need to build a foreign affairs constituency that includes our exporters and potential exporters, and AFSA is working hard to stimulate that.

—Ted Wilkinson



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Cover: U.S. embassies abroad sometimes find the needs of diplomacy conflict with the public's right to know. On page 19, former Moscow information officer Richard Gilbert explores how to bring embassies within reach of the press. Washington-area artist David Chen made the cover drawing for the JOURNAL.

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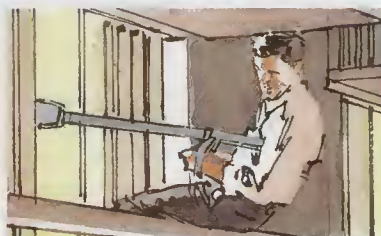


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FSJ, May 1980

Officers at the U.S. embassy in Tehran who questioned restrictions on contacts with opposition leaders or the Islamic establishment were told that critical information might be leaked and distorted by the shah's enemies. Those signs of trouble that U.S. officials in Washington did detect, such as the reports of torture by the Iranian secret police publicized in congressional hearings and the press, they chose, for the most part, to ignore. Two tendencies grew and reinforced each other in the process: the inclination to view Iran through the shah's imperial periscope and the propensity to equate U.S. interests with those of the Pahlevi dynasty.

"Why Bother About Human Rights?" by Sandy Vogelgesang

FSJ, May 1965

Alexander DeTrop, 54, EFSO-3, is, as his rating indicates, a career Expellable Foreign Service officer. . . . A succession of State Department selection panels have given him top rating for a distinguished career of being thrown out of the USSR (twice), Poland, Ghana, Ceylon, Indonesia, and Bulgaria. . . . With the rank of Expellable Minister a clear possibility within the next two or three years, DeTrop is, accordingly, an outstanding exemplar of a too seldom honored profession in the federal service. He is one of the best of that selfless breed whose business it is to be declared *persona non grata* in a succession of hardship posts in the far corners of the globe. . . .

DeTrop explained the whole system:

"When the United States discovers some foreign diplomat engaged in espionage, smuggling, dope peddling, exotic erotics, or the like," he said, "and it becomes necessary to eject him, experience shows that some officer in our diplomatic mission in his country of exactly similar rank and duties will be expelled in retribution."

"Obviously, it would be folly to leave to chance, or the decision of the foreign country, who that officer will be . . . prudence dictates that we place an Expellable officer in our embassy, whose retributive hurling-out will cause us no harm. Hence my profession."

"Expellable DeTrop Tells His Secrets," by Alfred Friendly

FSJ, May 1940

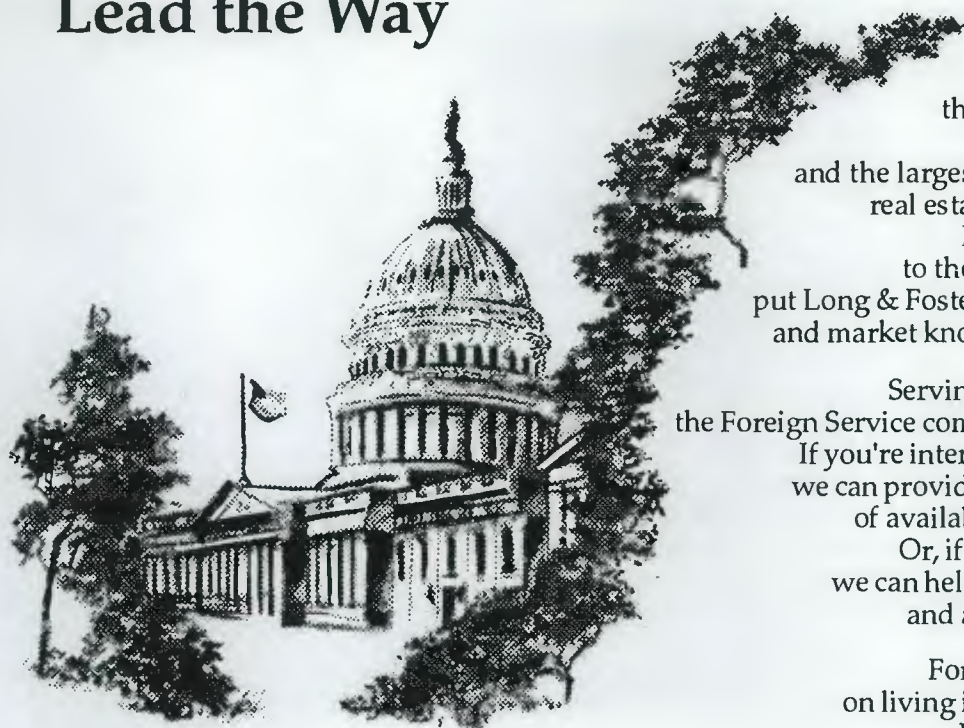
In [the early 19th century] the seamen were not pampered and treated as they are today, as is evidenced by a hearing before the consul involving mutiny by five members of the whaling barque *Emma* of New Bedford. The men refused to obey orders, complaining of the food, and refused to appear at the consulate until the consul ordered them brought before him in irons. The consul, after personally inspecting the food supplies and finding them fresh and sufficient, ordered the men back. As they refused, the consul ruled, "I pronounce the act of refusing duty and setting the master's authority at defiance mutinous conduct and in consideration of their refusal to go on board after a hearing before me, I hereby order and decree that for the purpose of bringing them to return on board and to duty, that they each receive two dozen lashes with a piece of 12 thread ratline rope after which, if they still refuse, to confine them in the fort and receive the flogging every day as often as they can bear it until they submit."

A note follows that after one flogging, "every man requested to be allowed to go to duty."

"Early Records of the Consulate at Zanzibar," by E. Talbot Smith

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Clippings

Education hardship

The Washington Post, March 21, 1990

Letter from Anne L. Clunan, Washington, D.C.

I am the daughter of a Foreign Service officer who has served his country for 26 years. I was also a beneficiary of the education stipend berated by Jack Anderson and Dale Van Atta in their column "Costly Schooling for Diplomats' Children" (March 1).

My father was stationed in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, when I first needed the education allowance, which was then \$10,000. I had completed the final (eighth) grade in the only English school in Belgrade and had the choice of going to a boarding school or to a local school to be instructed in Serbian, a language I did not know. My parents opted for the former.

As Messrs. Anderson and Van Atta noted, the State Department policy is to send diplomats' children to the "least expensive adequate [meaning English-language] schools nearest the post." The nearest adequate school to Belgrade was in Italy, with an annual tuition of \$14,000. I was sent instead to an American boarding school, where tuition, room, and board were \$9,100. That left \$900 in savings for the U.S. government and U.S. taxpayers (among whom, I might add, Foreign Service officers are included). The end result was that I was educated in the American school system, received a better education, lived in and learned about my own country and saved the government money.

To suggest that the "perks" that the Foreign Service enjoys are unwarranted is unjust. When serving their country in places that may not have a steady supply of things like electricity, water, gas, and food, Foreign Service officers are entitled to allowances to make their service less of a hardship on their families.

Letter from Efraim A. Cohen, Washington, D.C.

"Costly Schooling for Diplomats' Children" alleges that a recent internal audit questioned "whether the 25 percent [hardship] bonus was warranted for 127 of the 145 posts that qualify for hardship pay." The concept of paying employees increased compensation in consideration of extreme hardships experienced overseas is common to many private American employers. Similarly, allowances are authorized by Congress to enable the government to maintain a competent work force abroad and to avoid placing the employee at a financial disadvantage.

Of the 238 State Department posts, 145 receive hardship differentials ranging from 10 to 25 percent. Only 43 posts (including locations such as Khartoum, Kabul, and Georgetown, Guyana) receive 25 percent. The audit cited in the article, part of a routine, ongoing process of reviewing all State Department operations to ensure maximum efficiency, recommended reevaluation of differentials at 25 of the 145 posts. The auditors also made recommendations that may result in increased rates at some other posts.

Messrs. Anderson and Van Atta also characterize the \$14,900 education allowance for Foreign Service children abroad as a "sky-high stipend" when compared with Defense Department schools that cost approximately \$5,000 per year per pupil. The education allowance is not a stipend. Rather, it is the maximum reimbursement for officers assigned to posts that do not have adequate local educational facilities.

Due process

Federal Times, March 26, 1990

Letter from Ted Wilkinson, AFSA

A recent editorial ["Double Standards," Jan. 29, 1990, see March

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL "Clippings"] appeals to Congress to create equality in the federal workplace by taking from Foreign Service employees many of the basic due process rights granted to them under the Foreign Service Act of 1980. The writer claims that when accused of violating the law, Foreign Service employees "should be treated just like everyone else" rather than receiving more rights than Civil Service employees.

Foreign Service personnel spend a majority of their careers serving at U.S. posts worldwide. In order to allow them adequate opportunity to defend themselves against allegations of wrongdoing, Congress designed the act to take into account the unique conditions that are the norm in Foreign Service employment and that simply do not prevail in a predominantly domestic Civil Service.

The act grants employees longer periods to respond to allegations at each stage of the appeals process. This is only to allow for the distances involved and uneven, often unreliable mail delivery systems. And should the employees request a hearing, they cannot be taken off the State Department rolls until the conclusion of the hearing.

This was intended to cover the cases of employees stationed thousands of miles from Washington. Employees suspended abroad would be stranded there with their families and unable to defend themselves against charges against them in the U.S. unless and until they could relocate at their own expense.

The *Federal Times* editorial stemmed from the case of an Agency for International Development employee, David Devin, who was indicted for his alleged involvement in the smuggling of gold. The fact that Devin was allowed to remain on the rolls even after he was indicted for and pled guilty to a felony, indicated that an exploitable weakness existed in the appeal procedure. That weakness has now been eliminated by a

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Clippings

new federal statute that gives the secretary of state the authority to suspend, without pay, an employee who has been convicted and sentenced for a job-related crime.

AFSA supported this responsible solution. However, the association opposes and will continue to oppose the wholesale dismantling of an effective and fair system.

State and Bloch

The Washington Post, March 9, 1990

Felix Bloch, suspected of spying for the Soviet Union, has asked to appear before a diplomatic review board to appeal his dismissal as a security risk. . . . Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler said the appearance was requested by Bloch's attorney but no hearing date has been set.

The department announced Feb. 8 that under provisions of a law permitting suspension or dismissal of a federal employee "in the interest of national security," Bloch, 54, had been suspended, his annual salary of \$80,700 was being withheld, and steps were being taken to fire him.

Bloch had 30 days to file an appeal, which must be considered by a review board. . . . The three-person review board has the option of reinstating him. But Tutwiler said, "If he is not reinstated his employment will be terminated."

Bloch has been under investigation since he was placed on paid leave on June 22. He has not been charged with any crime. . . . Tutwiler said the review board will be closed because there will be "discussions of national security and intelligence matters." She said she did not know if Bloch can take his case to the courts if his appeal is rejected.

Micropolitics

Christian Science Monitor, March 8, 1990, by Richard J. Cattani

Foreign policy is politics too. This

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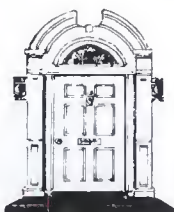
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axiom explains how James Baker III runs the State Department for President Bush. . . . Baker sees the clusters of decisions to be made in terms of decision-makers. He works at relationships. Policy evolves from relationships, and not the reverse. . . .

The department also benefits from the Baker management style. This style was honed on running presidential campaigns from Gerald Ford to George Bush, and during his years as Reagan chief of staff and Treasury secretary. Baker works hard: 14 hours a day, and usually weekends. He spends most of his time with a small group of close aides. He keeps his operation from getting caught in the client-service web of his own agency. This annoys State Department professionals, but they concede Baker is making his system work.

Critics talk about his "expediency," but politics to Baker is understanding the character of those he must deal with, and establishing relationships for the resolution of disputes. In a world providing change enough of its own, managing the politics of change may be no small feat.

*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak,
April 4, 1990*

George Bush is personally micromanaging the worst U.S.-Soviet crisis since Mikhail Gorbachev took over, imposing his own judgment about Lithuania on working-level State Department diplomats and nearly eliminating the Pentagon's strategic input.

Described by one sympathetic, pro-Bush insider as "his own Baltic desk officer," the president is said by officials to be using Brent Scowcroft more as personal aide than national security adviser. Gen. Scowcroft, a product of military discipline, often relays Bush's decisions to State without submitting them to tightly honed strategic analysis—or, indeed, any analysis at all. . . .

That Bush is a self-confident, hands-on president who wants to guide

policy himself is beyond criticism. His judgment that the professionals can be and often are very wrong comes from more than 20 years in key government posts. But carried to excess, that mind-set is disruptive. It is not easy to revise or even fine-tune policy when the president views himself as the desk officer. . . .

Working-level diplomats at the State Department are troubled by this concentration of policymaking inside the Oval Office, but that does not apply to Secretary of State James A. Baker III. Baker gets to know Bush's mind as soon as Scowcroft does and, after that, closes off kibitzing from his Foreign Service officers, no matter how much they disagree. . . .

The good ambassador

*National Review, April 16, 1990
by Selden Rodman*

From the moment Alvin Adams arrived in Port-au-Prince last December and, in the airport, quoted in Creole a Haitian proverb—*Bourik chagé pas kampé* (an overburdened donkey can't stand still)—Haitians knew that an American official at long last was on their side. For several days the enraged [Haitian President] Avril refused to see the new ambassador, but since American financial support had been withdrawn after Namphy shot up the elections, Avril had to swallow his pride. It seems that Adams was astute enough never to refuse categorically to restore aid, but every time the two talked Adams must have made it clear that without a firm election schedule and guarantees of international supervision, no aid would be forthcoming.

When Avril was finally forced out [March 13], Adams was careful, like the polished diplomat that he is, to take none of the credit, leaving it to the good Haitians to stand in the spotlight and act nobly—which they did. . . .

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Improving Public Diplomacy

Setting more modest goals for USIA

HANS N. TUCH

Public diplomacy cannot convert unacceptable policies into acceptable ones. Here we define public diplomacy as the government's process of communicating with foreign publics to create understanding of U.S. ideas and ideals, institutions and culture, and current goals and policies. Directors of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) have, however, at times exaggerated the effectiveness of public diplomacy programs, as part of an effort to convince Congress to make necessary appropriations. Realizing that USIA is not a permanent department of the U.S. government with its own domestic constituency, they sought to demonstrate USIA's alleged successes to justify the agency's budget and, especially, increases for new programs and technological improvements.

Some career Foreign Service officers, in both traditional and public diplomacy, believe that if USIA's aims were limited to promoting understanding of America and its policies, its efforts could be justified. Support or even acceptance of our policies by foreign publics, however, may be an overly optimistic and therefore unrealistic goal. If public diplomacy cannot live up to what has been promised, a disappointed Congress

may find in USIA a convenient scapegoat for others' policy failures and handicap the agency's efforts further by curtailing its resources. During the Reagan administration, for example, the impressive technological innovation of Worldnet, the agency's worldwide television network, as a new and potentially highly effective medium of communication, was jeopardized by USIA's inflated statistics on viewing audience, allegedly documenting its early successes. Meaningless USIA publicity that the new service was reaching "31,935 hotel rooms in 255 hotels throughout Europe" and "over 5 million households in 15 countries" is pure puffery and lacks credibility for anyone seriously wishing to evaluate this medium.

The ballyhoo over USIA's 1981 television spectacular "Let Poland Be Poland" is another example of oversell. The star-studded program was meant to elicit sympathy for the Polish people's loss of freedom and to gain worldwide support for their resistance against Soviet-manipulated oppression. However, USIA's director could not be convinced by his professional staff that his approach would not have the desired effect among foreign viewers but would instead be counterproductive. As one friendly European television producer put it, "You can't convince Europeans of America's seriousness and its concern for the Polish people by bringing on Hollywood celebrities and having Frank Sinatra sing a couple of songs." Yet even eight years later, USIA's domestic publicity listed "Let Poland Be Poland" as one of its most successful achievements, claiming ". . . 185 million people in 50 countries saw at least 30 minutes or more of the [90-minute] telecast."

Hans N. Tuch's 35 years as a Foreign Service officer included public diplomacy posts in Frankfurt, Moscow, Berlin, Brasilia, and Bonn, as well as in Washington, as acting director of VOA. This article was adapted from his forthcoming book, Communicating with the World: U.S. Public Diplomacy Overseas, an Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University book to be published by St. Martin's Press.



Worldnet studios in Washington, D.C.

Congressional and other critics naturally view such hyperbole with skepticism, which is then transferred to other, possibly more deserving USIA programs.

Tunnel vision

Another perennial problem that confronts the career practitioner of public diplomacy is the one-dimensional ideological approach that some USIA directors have adopted both in directing the agency's programs and in selling the agency to the Congress. These directors have represented anti-Communism as practically the only justification for USIA's existence. This way of thinking held two dangers for the agency: First, if it turned out that USIA's anti-Communist activities did not diminish the menace the Soviet Union posed to the democracies, the agency would be discredited. Second, if somehow the Communist menace were to disappear or be modified as a principal issue facing the United States, the rationale for the agency's existence would be endangered.

Public diplomacy's potential for contributing to the conduct of U.S. foreign policy,

and, at the same time, for solidifying its support in the foreign affairs community, in Congress, and among the American public could be enhanced if its announced goals were scaled down. The goals enunciated in the 1978 reorganization memorandum from President Jimmy Carter to USIA Director John Reinhardt offer a useful model, namely: "to reduce the degree to which misperceptions and misunderstandings complicate relations between the United States and other nations, [achieve] the clearest possible understanding of differing points of view . . . to encourage the sharing of ideas and cultural activities among the people of the United States and the peoples of other nations . . . [to have] other nations and other peoples know where this country stands and why . . . [and to have them] understand our values, our institutions, the vitality of our culture."

These positive goals, expressed in measured terms, appear more in keeping with a generally realistic approach to foreign affairs. Rather than striving for ideological or political "victory" (implying defeat for the other side), these goals point toward managing and representing our interests, protecting our national security, and maintaining peace.



Liberian technicians on
on a visit to the
Voice of
America newsroom.

Leaving a mark

The communications process that underlies the conduct of public diplomacy is best maintained as a dialogue—a two-way relationship. Such a relationship suggests informing, understanding, and persuading rather than gaining superiority, making points, or achieving victory.

Dynamic USIA directors, as presidential appointees, understandably want to leave their mark. They would do well, however, to learn from the experience of their predecessors. As a first step, they ought to become familiar with the public diplomacy process, recognize its limits, and grasp its opportunities. Second, they should not confuse their personal ideological or political agenda with the objectives to be achieved through public diplomacy. Third, they ought not, in their ambition to succeed, to oversell the potential of public diplomacy, lest they contribute to diminishing it.

Finding understanding and support in Congress for a USIA with more reasonable goals and limited expectations of effectiveness should not be as difficult now as it may have been in the past. Congressional ap-

proval of educational and cultural exchange programs has increased, along with legislative familiarity with their objectives, operations, and successes. Support for exchanges has not been at the expense of such other public diplomacy programs as the Voice of America, libraries, and publications, nor of recent efforts to enter into the age of television. To keep the Congress and the American public informed about these activities without promising unattainable successes should be a priority for any director of the agency who wants to leave a personal imprint on the U.S. government's public diplomacy.

Competing with pop culture

An even more basic question facing public diplomacy in a democratic society is whether any government program can compete with, much less prevail over, the daily onslaught of information and images to which foreign audiences are exposed through commercial or private channels such as film, television, advertising, press services, and tourism.

Social scientists have differed in their

conclusions on the depth, duration, and breadth of impact that all these images and signals carve into the consciousness of various audiences with different cultures and traditions, living on different continents. It is virtually impossible to measure accurately the impact of a government's public diplomacy program on foreign audiences in the face of all the other images and signals to which they are exposed. Public diplomacy professionals have taken comfort and encouragement, however, from the realization that their efforts significantly balance, moderate, and supplement the information available to foreign publics from other sources. The absence of the body of thought and information supplied through public diplomacy programs, one can thus argue, would deprive foreign publics of the opportunity to obtain as comprehensive and accurate an understanding of America as possible.

Some programs useful for creating knowledge and understanding of our country cannot realistically be carried out by any but a federal government agency. The Wireless File, USIA's worldwide press service, for instance, so valuable to selected foreign audiences, would not be available were it not for USIA. Similarly, the Hubert Humphrey Scholarship Program serves a clear purpose not addressed by private institutions, but vital for our public diplomacy objectives. U.S. Information Service (USIS) libraries overseas would not be maintained privately or commercially, yet they contribute significantly to achieving USIA's goals. Youth exchanges, while customarily carried out privately by nonprofit exchange organizations, need the current U.S. government injection of funds to achieve their intended purposes.

It is incumbent on USIA's leadership, acting, one would hope, cooperatively with their professional colleagues in the field, to deploy the agency's limited resources intelligently. They should not duplicate private or commercial efforts but concentrate on activities and themes that would most effectively promote the achievement of U.S. public diplomacy objectives. For example, a new USIA director determining the agency's priorities may want to question the need for introducing a worldwide television news operation within Worldnet (similar to Voice of America's) in light of the Cable News Network's plans to provide an American global television news service.

Flexible priorities

Further, public diplomacy must be flexible in adjusting to major social or political changes in a country's or region's internal or international conditions. The largely peaceful democratic revolutions that erupted in Eastern Europe toward the end of 1989, to cite one clear example, appeared to signal a successful conclusion to the work of the U.S. government-financed Radio Free Europe (RFE). Indeed, the success of these revolutions in the former Soviet bloc nations, many of their own citizens agreed, was enhanced greatly by RFE's broadcasts, which served effectively for 40 years as a surrogate source of free news and information to deprived audiences in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Bulgaria. With Eastern Europe basking in its own free radio networks, newly liberated newspapers, television, and other media, some RFE professionals who remained citizens of their former countries could even expect to be welcomed back to assist in their home nations' newly free media communities. A shift in U.S. government public diplomacy priorities in the region thus seems clearly in order for the 1990s.

Eastern Europe's students, young professionals, and creative, politically minded intellectuals urgently need opportunities to help convert their countries into open, democratic societies and market-oriented economies. To address this need, the United States should follow the precedent of its successful educational and cultural exchange programs following World War II. Those programs brought thousands of Germans and Austrians, along with other West Europeans, to the United States to study, exchange ideas, and become acquainted with the ways of living in a democracy. This large commitment of people and resources was a major factor, together with the Marshall Plan, in the successful reestablishment of all of war-devastated Western Europe into viable, politically free, economically strong, democratic societies.

Remembering postwar lessons

U.S. public diplomacy can help again by applying the often forgotten lessons of the postwar period. USIA should take the lead, in collaboration with the U.S. private sector and academic institutions, in developing

Can any government compete with the daily onslaught of information and images to which foreign audiences are exposed through commercial or private channels?

*The officer's
knowledge of a
country's history
and culture
is indispensable
to effective
and
empathic
communication
with the
designated
audience*

exchange programs and other opportunities designed to help emerging East European democratic leaders catch up and learn what they had missed during their dark years under totalitarian rule.

Because both technological and budgetary limitations restrict the Voice of America's (VOA's) worldwide reach, its managers need to marshal VOA's resources for broadcasting to those areas of the world where they best serve U.S. public diplomacy. The argument in favor of introducing the Munich-based VOA Europe in 1985 was that young Europeans were not being reached adequately with information about the United States by their own media or by other U.S. public diplomacy programs, and that an attractive and imaginative radio program aimed at this audience would fill the information void. Even if VOA Europe were able to build significant audiences, however, one may seriously question the cost-effectiveness of a program that typically contains about 10 minutes of hard information per hour and 50 minutes or more of audience-building music.

Could the considerable resources (\$3 million per year) devoted to VOA Europe not be used more cost-effectively for communicating with Europe's young people through cultural and educational exchanges, for example? Rather than scattering its resources on programs and in areas where it is not the best medium for achieving U.S. diplomacy objectives, VOA could employ its technical resources and the talents of its dedicated and superb professional staff in broadcasting important information to those areas of the world where it is the only, or at least the most effective, medium of communication.

Especially important for USIS is our obligation to treat foreign national employees with the trust and respect accorded to U.S. personnel. Much of the field work of USIS depends on the dedication, experience, expertise, and contribution of these foreign national colleagues. They provide the insight, continuity, and knowledge that are indispensable for the conduct of public diplomacy.

Providing the right training

The penultimate critique concerns the training of Foreign Service officers specializing in public diplomacy. Specialists in political or economic work usually have ample academic training before entering the For-

eign Service. Those who embark on a career in public diplomacy may have training and experience in journalism, social work, or the law, or they may have an academic background as teachers. But they usually know nothing about public diplomacy, what it is, or how it works. Before these new career officers go abroad into the real world of public diplomacy, they need some grounding in the discipline: theoretical, historical, conceptual, and practical. How to do that is best left to expert USIA trainers. Beyond the discipline itself, however, new Foreign Service officers specializing in public diplomacy need thorough language and area studies training to prepare them for their country of assignment. Unless they speak the language fluently—not adequately but fluently—Foreign Service officers are handicapped in their career aspirations, and the USIS post cannot adequately discharge its mission. Further, the officer's knowledge of the country, its history, and its culture is indispensable to effective and empathic communication with the designated audience. Without such knowledge, furthermore, officers cannot fulfill the mandated advisory function, advising Washington and ambassadors abroad on intercultural implications of U.S. foreign policies and actions, and their effect on foreign public opinion.

It would be advantageous to the conduct of foreign affairs if Foreign Service officers specializing in other types of work also received some training in public diplomacy, learning how public diplomacy functions as an element in the overall foreign relations process, how it can support them in their work, and how they can facilitate its mission. It would make them better Foreign Service officers and prepare them for occasions when they themselves may have to work on public diplomacy or supervise, as deputy chiefs of mission or ambassadors, those directly involved in it.

Finally, most professionals in the field know and practice what political appointees who direct the U.S. government's public diplomacy also need to learn and remember: we must present America in its diversity and in its totality. The credibility of the communications process embodied in the practice of U.S. public diplomacy overseas depends equally on truthfulness and on comprehensiveness. If we meddle with the truth or present only one aspect of American life while hiding another, we will inevitably be found out and suffer a loss of credibility, and thus effectiveness, as public diplomats. □

How Much Should the Public Know?

Almost Everything

RICHARD GILBERT

Pan Am 103 exploded above Scotland on December 21, 1988. The next day, ABC's Moscow bureau broadcast a story suggesting that U.S. diplomats had "advance warning" of the terrorist attack over Lockerbie: the American embassy in the Soviet Union had posted an "administrative notice" throughout the chancery and mission public areas a week earlier, warning the American community about threats to Pan American flights from Frankfurt. Just minutes after that news report, as press spokesman at the American embassy in Moscow, my telephones erupted with calls from journalists in the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan, and throughout Europe.

The first call marked the beginning of an intensive period of several hours, during which all of us in the press office fielded questions about the embassy's actions with little formal guidance, relying instead on our sense of the public's right to know.

Our response, to the discomfiture of the Department of State and the embarrassment of some other U.S. embassies, was to confirm for the news media that ABC Moscow's report was essentially correct. The embassy had issued and distributed an administrative notice on December 14 containing the gist of a routine, unclassified Federal Aviation Administration alert about an apparent threat to our principal transit route from the Soviet Union to the United States. Coming in the midst of the Christmas travel season, the embassy considered this a matter of over-

whelming community concern. Neither the Moscow press corps nor the embassy press office saw the notice as anything more than a routine security warning to the community. It would have remained one more anonymous piece of paper on a bulletin board, except for the tragedy in the skies over Lockerbie. Only later did it become known that the threat on which the alert and administrative notice were based—an anonymous call to the U.S. embassy in Helsinki—was unrelated to the airliner's tragic fate; it was apparently a grotesque coincidence.

The clamor on our phone lines grew by the minute and abated only late in the afternoon, as Washington offices opened and the locus of the story shifted from Moscow.

The decision to respond openly and promptly to American and international press queries following the crash was never debated. The eight-hour time difference between Moscow and Washington, and the need to act quickly, precluded meaningful consultations with department officials, which would certainly have resulted in delay and perhaps vacillation. Instead, we attempted to be responsive while staying carefully within the facts as we knew them. It seemed clear that there was an overriding public interest best served by candor and forthrightness.

Richard Gilbert served with USIA in Bangkok, Bucharest, Helsinki, and Monrovia, as well as Washington and Moscow. He is now a Washington, D.C.-based freelance writer.

*All possible
candor is
the best public
relations*

Strained credibility

Two months later, a flawed attempt to manage conflict between press and government during an especially sensitive episode in U.S.-Soviet relations demonstrated how, even with the best of intentions, the exigencies of diplomacy at embassies abroad can open the door to misinformation and prejudice, confusing and misleading the public.

In early 1989, the State Department Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs led a large team of American psychiatrists and human rights specialists to the Soviet Union under an extraordinary, and extraordinarily sensitive, agreement negotiated with the Soviets. Under its terms, the U.S. team would have access to Soviet psychiatric institutions, patients, and patient records in an unprecedented effort to determine whether Soviet psychiatrists had improperly confined political dissidents to psychiatric institutions and, if so, whether steps had been taken to halt and prevent such abuses.

Moscow's 24 U.S. press bureaus expressed enormous interest in this story of Americans prowling the bowels of Soviet mental hospitals with *carte blanche* to spotlight human rights violations. Interest in the story was sharpened even before the delegation left the United States, when a few members used press leaks to hype the mission and grind their own axes.

In Moscow, the embassy press office was called upon to handle the delegation's press relations, taking into account the public interest and the U.S. government's "right" to conduct a sensitive and important diplomatic initiative out of the public eye. The State Department believed that Soviet sensibilities and the need to protect the privacy of patients, among other things, precluded open coverage of the American team's daily activities. Thus, we were asked to control the flow of information—a daunting task, given demands placed on the Moscow press corps by New York editors.

We in the press office believed that providing the press with as much information as possible through scheduled photo opportunities, interviews, and regular briefings would help avoid the "circus atmosphere" delegation leaders dreaded and ensure the group's ability to conduct its inquiries in private. A compromise seemed to evolve at the delegation's initial press conference, under which the press would

refrain from stalking the American psychiatrists in return for regular updates along with a departure press conference and a U.S. media-only background briefing.

The unspoken agreement unraveled immediately. Conflicting interests of the press, diplomats, delegation members, and Soviets, and their varying views on the value of publicity, resulted in chaos. For some American visitors, press leaks were weapons to punish the Soviets for past psychiatric abuses. Soviet dissidents feared a cover-up unless the Western press maintained a close watch on the visit.

The press office, caught in the middle, found its credibility strained, to say the least. The news media—particularly a television network that had brought a special correspondent from New York to cover the story—refused, not surprisingly, to rely on uncertain and unpredictable handouts for their coverage. The delegation, on the other hand, became more and more unwilling to provide what information could be made available, on the grounds that the press was "uncooperative." The embassy's ability to deliver promised information evaporated, while the Soviets unknowingly exacerbated the problem by releasing their own information about the delegation's activities.

During a final, highly charged press conference, U.S. delegation leaders refused to reveal "prematurely" the results and other details of their visit. In the consequent news vacuum, a few dissident delegation members offered their own, highly colored version of the visit to frustrated American reporters faced with deadlines and stonewalled by official reluctance. As the delegation flew home from Moscow, the embassy press office was left to pick up the pieces.

The episode reaffirmed my belief in all possible candor as the best public relations, public information, and public service. When faced with media queries about Pan Am 103, our responses shaped a public record that has, in months since, forced more disclosure of threats to travelers. Our reticence during the psychiatrists' visit may have opened the door to inaccurate and skewed information accounts of the visit.

Supporting the press

U.S. embassies must deal with the American press in situations ranging from war and revolution, summit meetings, and disasters to routine news events that focus public

A D M I N I S T R A T I V E N O T I C E

American Embassy, MOSCOW

December 13, 1988

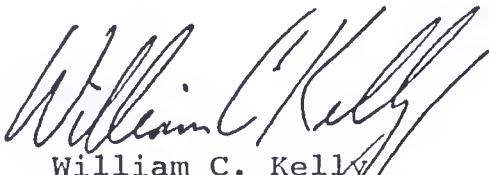
TO : All Embassy Employees

SUBJECT: Threat to Civil Aviation

Post has been notified by the Federal Aviation Administration that on December 5, 1988, an unidentified individual telephoned a U.S. diplomatic facility in Europe and stated that sometime within the next two weeks there would be a bombing attempt against a Pan American aircraft flying from Frankfurt to the United States.

The FAA reports that the reliability of the information cannot be assessed at this point, but the appropriate police authorities have been notified and are pursuing the matter. Pan Am has also been notified.

In view of the lack of confirmation of this information, post leaves to the discretion of individual travelers any decisions on altering personal travel plans or changing to another American carrier. This does not absolve the traveler from flying an American carrier.



William C. Kelly
Administrative Counselor

attention on a particular place. During my tenure in Moscow, these moments ranged from political events that transformed the U.S.-Soviet relationship to describing a major fire at the embassy, explaining U.S. refugee policy during a crush of visa seekers, and offering a short training seminar for reporters about what to watch for during celebrations of the revolution in Red Square on November 7.

But how prepared are Foreign Service

professionals to support the press in fulfilling its legitimate function? How well do they understand the reporter's task? How committed are they to requirements imposed by the American system to freely provide information to the American press abroad? In my view, the answer to each question is, not very well.

Too often, we confuse advocacy with reporting and "public diplomacy" with public information. We often treat the reporter

The Embassy Moscow
public notice of
December 1988.

*Television
alone commands
that embassies
establish
consistent and
reasonable
procedures
for access*

as an interloper apt to unsettle delicate diplomatic arrangements. Officers frequently fail to distinguish between classified information and information that simply has not yet been reported. Diplomats often see information as a precious commodity to be parceled out when there is a need to know and only rarely to be shared with the public. Yet foreign affairs are replete with examples of damage done and history misread because of "secret" diplomacy and policies hidden from press and people.

While some American ambassadors abroad understand the value to their missions and themselves of good press at home, skillful interlocutors are probably the exception.

Meanwhile, at the department's bidding, U.S. embassies lavish much attention on "handling" the permanent press corps assigned to the White House and Department of State during foreign travel, but they pay scant attention to how they treat the legitimate queries of relatively less exalted American correspondents day to day at embassies around the world. Pity the poor journalist who, reporting from different cities around the world, confronts a myriad of embassy press rules, policies, and practices reflecting the differing personalities of embassies and their leadership. One embassy willingly gives reporters background briefings, another doesn't; one embassy always permits on-the-record attribution, another never. Some embassies are open and responsive, while others mask inexperience and apprehension with a brusque "no comment."

A right to know?

In a world of classified information and private contacts between governments, ambiguity naturally exists about how to define the public's "right to know." Certainly, confidences must be protected. Revealing negotiating tactics can destroy their effectiveness. But in a republic like ours, the public has a right to know almost everything, almost always.

For a nation where public servants are accountable and public opinion often shapes foreign policy, a continuing flow of information to citizens is essential. Policies ought to be tested and justified in public debate. If our system does not always yield intelligent foreign affairs decisions, a deficiency of good information may be the most significant culprit. In addition, taxpayers deserve information about our activities abroad as well as

the rationale for them—they pay the bills.

There are other, less ethereal reasons for advocating more frequent exchanges between American journalists and embassy officers. Reporters are drawn to stories of conflict and controversy and need the context and sense of complexity Foreign Service officers can provide. Foreign Service officers also benefit from regular, substantive exchanges with knowledgeable journalists. One especially able Moscow officer explained his willingness to give regular background briefings to reporters, saying diplomatic and press reporting should not be wholly disparate. Recognizing that Washington policymakers are apt to receive their information and shape their opinions more from CNN and the front pages of *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* than from embassy political reporting, he found it beneficial to his own reporting to be aware of how the press analyzes events. Thus, when the officer's own reports take a different point of view, he or she will be ready to explain the disparity to media-conscious department officials. Such contacts benefit both journalists and embassy officers, and the public too.

Despite all these advantages, I know of few attempts to achieve reasonable consistency in the access accorded to the American press at embassies abroad. Similarly, presentations about the responsibilities of FSOs to the U.S. press and useful strategies for dealing with reporters are not part of the normal Foreign Service training curriculum. Even USIA generalist officers, who hold nearly all information jobs abroad and an increasing number of senior press positions in the department and elsewhere in Washington, have little formal training in managing relations with the U.S. press. We have come to rely on our good fortune in having so many excellent officers with good horse sense and a knowledge of what's right.

But we need more than good luck in these days, when the technologies and techniques of news gathering are changing so quickly. In this age of satellite broadcasting, portability, miniaturization, and instant access to live worldwide pictures and sound, television alone commands that embassies establish consistent and reasonable procedures for access and that officers be trained to deal with the special requirements of the electronic media. While a single print journalist with pad, pen, and tape recorder can be as formidable as a TV crew, today's television demands immediacy and rarely allows the luxury of delay while instructions are crafted

in Washington.

Finding solutions

Toward this goal, the Bureau of Public Affairs might do well to establish principles to guide U.S. embassies abroad in their dealings with the American press. These principles would help create a consistent modus operandi for American journalists and diplomats abroad. Such public affairs principles would also provide a benchmark of an administration's commitment to openness in foreign policy.

Meanwhile, the Foreign Service Institute should consider including a public affairs component in all training courses designed to prepare staff and families for service abroad. Foreign Service personnel at all levels should receive specific training in press relations including the Constitutional basis on which public servants and the press interact and the techniques for doing so responsibly. Ambassadors, especially, would profit from hands-on guidance from professionals to teach them the art of the interview (not to mention the "sound-bite") and how to communicate policy crisply and pointedly on camera or off. At the embassy level, the press officer—usually the public affairs officer or information officer—should be expected to be a knowledgeable and authoritative observer of the domestic situation, able to give a briefing as well as schedule one and, most importantly, create and maintain productive relationships between every embassy and the American press.

I read recently about Admiral Ernest J. King's reply when, in 1942, the then chief of naval operations was asked to state the U.S. Navy's press policy. King reportedly replied: "Don't tell them anything. When it's over, tell 'em who won." I recognize our relations with the press have undergone a sea change in the past half century. The atmosphere is more open, and officials better recognize the benefits good public information brings to policy. But even now, reluctance prevails at many embassies abroad, and reporters find their queries directed to Washington no matter how simple it may be to address them.

One small incident illustrates how the public can benefit from one kind of increased forthrightness at embassies. The press in Moscow carefully notes the comings and goings of the U.S. ambassador to the foreign ministry and to meetings with senior



Soviet officials, especially since TASS, the Soviet press agency, began to run short items reporting the calls and the Soviet version of their substance. At that point, Ambassador Jack Matlock developed a new tactic. Instead of relying on tired clichés when AP and UPI checked with us after one of these sessions ("We don't comment on diplomatic business"), we began to offer our own brief, on-the-record descriptions of the meetings. Thus, the American press no longer had to rely solely on TASS reports or the views of our Soviet interlocutors. Together with the ambassador's weekly background briefings for the American press (a Moscow institution) and his frequent interviews and willingness to meet with visiting journalists, such public information tactics contribute to better reporting and, perhaps, better public understanding in the United States about what is happening in Moscow.

It's not a question of whether we deal with the U.S. media from posts abroad but only whether we deal with them openly, intelligently, and in the spirit of the American Constitution. An attempt to impose a Washington monopoly on access to information is fruitless and shortsighted. Instead, by ensuring that the Foreign Service understands the press and its legitimate function and by eliminating inconsistencies in the degree of access provided to the press by different embassies, we can better gain the public understanding and support that good policies require. Such an effort would serve us all, as diplomats and journalists, and as citizens. □

Testing Cuba's Limits

One dissident's quest for free expression

GEORGE GEDDA

All criticism is opposition. All opposition is counter-revolutionary. —Fidel Castro

That demanding standard would appear to leave Cubans who are disenchanted with their system little choice but to remain silent or to head for the more congenial confines of Miami. But Roberto Bahamonde is a different breed of dissident. He won't leave Cuba and he won't keep quiet about what he regards as the serious shortcomings of the Cuban revolution. His persistent questioning of Castro's doctrine has kept him in trouble with the law for much of his adult life. He has spent more than two years in detention, including extended periods in a psychiatric hospital where he claimed he was subjected to electric shock treatments administered not by a doctor but by a torture expert. Now 54, he is a political prisoner once again.

He is one of many victims of what the State Department and private human rights groups regard as a significant increase in political repression in Cuba over the past year and a half. The crackdown reflects the uneasiness of a regime that suddenly finds

itself ideologically isolated and uncertain about future assistance from the Soviet Union. Still, Castro retains a strong core of support and, with dissidents such as Bahamonde either in jail or intimidated, his hold on power seems secure, at least for the short term.

In March 1989, Bahamonde entered the race for a municipal assembly seat from his neighborhood district in the outskirts of Havana, running as an advocate of free enterprise, free speech, establishment of a multi-party system, free emigration, and a free press. That he lost this quixotic quest was no surprise. What did raise eyebrows was that a dissident would try to use the electoral process as a vehicle for change in Cuba's Marxist-Leninist state. There are no known precedents in 31 years of Castro's rule for what Bahamonde did in March 1989. It was a classic match-up: Bahamonde, the pro-capitalist insurgent, against a veteran of the Angola war known for his unswerving support of the revolution.

Although Bahamonde lost, he reinforced in a unique way the widespread notion that some Cubans would welcome the kind of change he advocates. His efforts also provide a rare insight into the way Cuban authorities deal with renegades like Bahamonde. While multi-candidate elections were instituted years ago, a variety of mechanisms have been

George Gedda is an Associated Press correspondent at the Department of State.



introduced to ensure that only the party faithful prevail and that less than resolute supporters of the regime remain on the periphery.

Enforcing conformity

For much of the time since the municipal election, life for Bahamonde has been a horror story, beginning with a pre-dawn knock at the door by the political police two weeks after his election night adventure. The crackdown against him was probably less the product of his bid for office as a regime critic than other manifestations of his nonconformity. He is, after all, a member of the Cuban Commission on Human Rights and National Reconciliation, one of several independent, unauthorized groups that tried to make a political statement in April 1989 during the visit to Havana of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. Bahamonde and 20 of his friends were arrested about 36 hours after Gorbachev's arrival, presumably because they were planning to take part in a pro-Gorbachev demonstration at the Soviet embassy the night before the Kremlin leader's departure. The dissidents want for Cuba the kinds of reforms Gorbachev has instituted in the Soviet Union. After the arrests, the

demonstration was canceled, but police maintained a strong presence outside the embassy to guard against unexpected developments.

Three days later, with no defense attorney present, Bahamonde was convicted in a closed trial on charges of attending illegal meetings. So far as is known, only two of his colleagues who were arrested at the time of Gorbachev's visit also remain in detention, but other human rights activists have been convicted and sentenced since then on what appear to be politically motivated grounds. After his arrest, Bahamonde said he was told that his problems arose partly from a lengthy interview he granted to me on March 31 at his home. Sentenced to three months in prison, he was taken to *Combinado del Este* prison in Matanzas, about 70 miles east of Havana.

A few weeks after he began serving his sentence, Cuban authorities dealt him an even more damaging blow: he was tried and convicted on a charge of working as a free-lance photographer without a license. His three-month prison term was extended by one year. The timing of the government action left the clear impression that he was being penalized for his political activities. Cuba is filled with moonlighters who, although ostensibly required to have a license, operate without one. If they are non-

Roberto Bahamonde and George Gedda at Bahamonde's home in 1989.



Roberto and Rafaela
Bahamonde.

political, the government normally looks the other way.

This has been an especially trying time for family members because of Bahamonde's prison conditions. His wife, Rafaela, said after a New Year's eve visit that the cell Bahamonde shares with seven other inmates had been fouled by human waste that dripped down through the ceiling for the previous month. He had suffered a dangerous weight loss and complained that the rations were becoming increasingly smaller and less appetizing. Early this year, both prison conditions and his health improved.

Bahamonde's experience illustrates once again the strict—at least by Western standards—constraints on both personal and political freedom in Cuba. There are official guidelines for personal behavior, both written and unwritten, which most Cubans choose not to challenge. Yet the rules governing limitations on speech are probably somewhat more flexible than is widely believed abroad. In contrast to the situation a generation ago, Cubans can be remarkably candid in private conversations, depending on the circumstances. One Cuban went so far as to admit to me in the presence of a government official that he had seen an American-made anti-Castro documentary that had been smuggled onto the island. Thousands of Cubans listen to the U.S. government's Radio Martí with no apparent penalty, although the station's more irrepressible listeners may possibly find themselves at the bottom of the list for benefits such as a new apartment or a college education. Countless Cubans attend church services. There is far more

religious tolerance in Cuba than, say, in many Muslim countries. And while churchgoers are never invited to become party members, they probably don't have to worry about losing their jobs.

In some Latin American countries, dissidents like Bahamonde routinely are gunned down by death squads. Bahamonde, although a police target for years, had been able to earn a living before his most recent arrest and to raise a family. He and Rafaela have four children ranging in age from 17 to 24. His oldest child, Roberto, had difficulty initially in gaining admission to the university because of his father's irreverent attitude toward the revolution, but the authorities eventually relented; Roberto graduated in 1989 with a degree in engineering and now has a job.

History of dissent

Bahamonde is a pleasant man with a baritone voice and the sort of diction associated with a well-ordered mind. One night last year a few days before his arrest, Bahamonde spoke to this reporter about the indignities he had suffered as one who refuses to accept things as they are under Castro.

He first ran afoul of the law in 1971 when he wrote a letter to Castro encouraging abandoning moral incentives for workers in favor of material incentives. He believed only higher pay could stimulate an increase in Cuba's lagging production. The letter earned Bahamonde a 19-day detention, the last four days of which were spent at a psychiatric hospital outside Havana. He was sent home with a certificate stating that he was suffering from paranoia.

His most traumatic experience with the authorities began on May 27, 1975, when, while working at a state cattle farm, he was accused of attempting to instill fellow workers with anti-regime sentiments. After 20 days' imprisonment, Bahamonde was sent back to the psychiatric hospital. There he came under the sadistic control of one Hcriberto Madeiros, who was in charge of administering electric shock treatments.

Bahamonde matter-of-factly described Madeiros's methodology. "He did them (the treatments) on his own without doctors' ordering them," he said, adding that he suffered afterward from both hypersensitivity and loss of memory.

"It took me years to recover. I recognized

my family, but there were friends whose names I did not remember. But little by little I got my memory back. I think now I'm all right. I feel good."

His imprisonment lasted 10 months, until March 1976, but in January 1983, he was arrested once again and sent back to the psychiatric hospital. Bahamonde is able to discuss his various imprisonments, but Rafaela cannot; she makes no effort to hide her bitterness about the cruelty to which her husband has been subjected. She spoke of his experience in the hospital's "punishment wing"—beatings, madmen wandering around naked, deaths resulting from shock treatments, and confinement cells laced with excrement. "I felt like throwing up," she

said. "I had to see him there amid all the stench." He was detained for 56 days and released without explanation.

After his 1983 release, Bahamonde was not permitted by the government to work in his profession as an agricultural engineer. He earned what he could working as a free-lance photographer, even though the authorities refused to give him the license required of all who are self-employed in Cuba.

In March 1989, when the municipal assembly elections were held, Bahamonde saw an opportunity to make political points. The local election in his neighborhood, a somewhat rundown area in east Havana known as San Miguel de Padron, was set for

Putting Sources at Risk

Should a reporter chance putting a dissident at risk by seeking contact with him or her in a totalitarian country? The answer usually is yes, but the issue is by no means clear cut.

I first met Robert Bahamonde on March 30, 1989, at the home of his fellow dissident Elizardo Sanchez. We talked briefly, and I wanted to hear more. He invited me to his house the following evening.

There, he spent almost two hours going over his experiences as a target of Cuba's political police. I wondered whether he would pay a price for inviting a Western reporter to his home, but he seemed unconcerned.

That, it seems to me, should be the basis on which to decide the desirability of contact. Why should a reporter overrule a dissident's judgment that contact is harmless? The dissident is more aware than the reporter of the authorities' tolerance threshold.

As I recall, Bahamonde told me that night that one of his goals is to remove Cubans' fear of speaking out. He invited some of his neighbors to drop by and listen to the conversation, but none did. Since Bahamonde's return to prison, many neighbors have shunned his wife and children.

Four days after our talks at his home, the police took Bahamonde into custody, and he won't be free until July. How much my conversation with him contributed to his

problems with the police probably will never be fully known. If it played a role, it probably was not a very big one.

In March 1990, on a recent visit to Cuba, I showed up at a pro-government rally in front of the home of a dissident named Gustavo Arcos, a one-time confidant of Fidel Castro. The mob, obviously convened with the encouragement of the government, was protesting a meeting Arcos had had with several allies earlier in the day.

It was an ugly scene, with raised fists, taunts, and some rock throwing. Several windows were broken.

I wanted to talk to Arcos that day to get his reaction, but I decided not to knock at his door, reasoning that the crowd might use that against him as well. I stayed away from his house in the succeeding days out of concern for his well-being. But after a dissident friend of his, Maria Aguirre, told me a week later he was welcoming visitors, we went to his home.

Though he was indeed pleased to receive me, his wife was worried such visits could provoke another protest demonstration. A short time after I arrived, three dissidents knocked at the door, and Mrs. Arcos refused to let them in. Her husband interceded, they came in for a few minutes, and then left.

Arcos has spent 12 of the past 24 years in Cuban prisons. The safest thing for him is to keep quiet, but he's not that kind of man.

March 9. Political campaigning in Cuba is forbidden; voters make their choices based on biographical data about the candidates. (Castro looks with disdain on U.S.-style elections, arguing that candidates make extravagant promises during the campaign, then break them after their election.) But Bahamonde made his intentions known to some of his neighbors, explaining what he stood for.

Not many voters ventured out on that chill, rainy evening, but there was a large police presence, part of a not-so-subtle effort to discourage potential votes for Bahamonde. As additional insurance, the party militant in charge of the proceeding recommended the election of Gerardo Aldama, the establishment candidate, and he refused Bahamonde permission to speak. The election was held, Bahamonde's opponent won the show-of-hands vote (there was no vote count), and that seemed to be the end of it. But Bahamonde maintained that the refusal to allow him to speak was a procedural error. He appealed to the municipal electoral council for a new election. Surprisingly, the appeal was upheld, and the citizens of San Miguel de Padron reconvened on the night of March 20, again with the police looking on. Once again, however, Bahamonde was denied permission to read his platform. The session turned into a sometimes acrimonious debate over Bahamonde's past troubles with the law.

Bahamonde's critics seized on the rumors that he had once plotted an attempt on Castro's life and that he had tried to leave the country during the Mariel boat lift of 1980, an allegation that he vigorously denies. (Neighborhood militants wanted to expel him aboard the boat lift, but for unexplained reasons, government officials insisted that he remain in Cuba.) To put to rest that recurring charge, Bahamonde obtained a letter from the Immigration Ministry confirming that he had never attempted to flee the country. The issue was potentially crucial since the government has systematically attempted to portray those who left from Mariel in 1980 as traitors and "scum."

Bahamonde's credentials as a candidate were reviewed for more than an hour of often heated debate before the assembly chairman called for a vote count, which was agreed to. The final tally was 31 for Bahamonde, 60 for his opponent, and 59 abstentions. Bahamonde believed, not illogically, that most who abstained sympathized with his views. He read their abstention as a

protest vote.

After the March 20 balloting, Bahamonde once again asked for a new election, contending that he was improperly denied permission to read his platform to his neighbors. He lodged his appeal with the state electoral council, which on April 1, 1989 ruled against him.

Bahamonde's arrest on April 4 seemed related more to the protest activities he had planned during the Gorbachev visit than to his electoral ambitions. If Cuban authorities were genuinely disturbed by the prospect of a pro-free speech capitalist making headway through the electoral system, then Bahamonde probably would have been picked up at the time of his candidacy rather than during Gorbachev's stay.

What apparently struck fear in the hearts of the authorities was the specter of Gorbachev's visit being used by Bahamonde and other dissidents to rally opposition to Castro. Indeed, many Cubans see Gorbachev as their best hope for an eventual political relaxation in Cuba and an improvement in living standards. Cubans used to await eagerly Spanish-language Soviet publications, until the summer of 1989, when Castro banned them for their sometimes sneering attitude toward socialism.

Bahamonde's experience as a candidate underscored another profound difference between Cuba and the Soviet Union these days: less than a week before Bahamonde made his electoral bid, national elections were held in the Soviet Union after a campaign in which, unlike Cuba, public policy issues were the subject of extended debate. The results indicated strong backing for Gorbachev's reform program. The refusal to allow Bahamonde permission to state publicly his views before a neighborhood gathering is but one illustration of how far the Soviets have drifted ideologically from Cuba under Gorbachev's tutelage.

But Eastern Europe is moving resolutely on the democratic path, and it must have been extraordinarily unsettling for Castro to see one ally after another in that region toppled in the latter half of 1989. But so long as Castro remains wedded to his orthodox approach to socialism, Gorbachev's admirers in Cuba are well advised to keep to themselves. Bahamonde chose not to and is paying a steep price. He'll be behind bars until July. □

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The Blues of Zona Rosa

MARTHA F. BRADY

Incident wasn't the right word. An incident is nothing to die from. At the Zona Rosa 13 people died, four Marine guards among them, shot down in cold blood at a sidewalk café in San Salvador. Massacre was the word. The Zona Rosa massacre. A Salvadoran said on television that there was no word for it, so savage was it. But the world called it a massacre.

That was five years ago, the Zona Rosa massacre. Those of us still in El Salvador think about it every time we drive by. Those long gone still drive by it in their minds.

Debbie Charles, who worked at the embassy, calls it a night she can't forget. Her boyfriend, Corporal Richard Sode, was on duty at post one when it happened. She was talking to him on the phone. "I have to hang up," he said. "Something's happening at the Zona Rosa."

The Zona Rosa. The pink zone,

Martha F. Brady arrived in El Salvador in 1983 and has worked for State and AID. Her husband is a retired FSO. Both their sons are Marines. For reasons of security, the names of those still serving in El Salvador have been changed.

the strip, nightclubs, discos, and sidewalk cafes: Chilis, the Flashback, Las Pizzas, the Mediterranean. Most of us lived near the Zona Rosa. We all drove through it once or twice a day. The cafés were small and adjoining, festive facades of art deco and white stucco, with red enameled tables at Chilis, striped umbrellas at the Mediterranean, shade and diversion along the Boulevard Hipodromo, tacos and beer. Thirteen people were assassinated in that cheerful setting, and at least a dozen others were left for dead.

It was Wednesday, June 19, 1985, 8:45 p.m. Six U.S. Marine guards, off duty and unarmed, had arrived only minutes before and taken a front table at Chilis. After ordering, two of them stepped away to speak with friends eating at the Flashback. At that instant, approximately 10 young men dressed in camouflage T-shirts and bearing M-16s pulled up in two pickup trucks, jumped out, and began shooting.

The gunmen swung their weapons back and forth, raking three cafés and dropping anyone in the line of fire. But their target was the Marines. According to some survivors, they

took time to reload and pumped additional rounds into that target before vanishing into a cover of darkness.

Lying dead amid shell casings and shattered food were four U.S. Marines, two U.S. businessmen, five Salvadorans, a Guatemalan, and a Chilean.

The two Marines at the Flashback were spared. Lance Corporal Anton Koszuth was one of them. "I heard three loud bangs and saw people scattering. I saw bullets ricocheting off the walls and sparks flying. I hit the deck and yelled for everyone to take cover."

As his friends died around him, Koszuth crawled back into the Flashback, located a storage room behind the bar, and began herding people inside. Then he turned out the light and called post one on a hand-held radio.

That El Salvador was a dangerous post we knew. Didn't we? We said it often enough. Be careful, we said. El Salvador was six years into a civil war. Death and violence were daily occurrences not kept secret. Vary your routine, we said. Don't be conspicuous, we said. Those things we said



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and believed, and yet . . .

I was in the bedroom not four blocks away when I heard the burst of automatic weapon fire. I moved into another room and sat down, not knowing what to do, what to think. Then came the telephone call: "Some Marines have been killed in the Zona Rosa . . . Other people are dead too." Then helicopters began to circle and swoop, flooding the neighborhood with search lights, and banshee-like sirens whistled through the streets.

Karl Sutter was chief of the mission's Salvadoran guard force in June 1985. That night he himself was getting dressed to go to the Zona Rosa, when he heard the gunfire. "I knew something had happened," he said. "I just didn't know it had happened to us." Then the radio call came through the security channel: *Marines down! Chilis!*—and he was the first on the scene. "I probably passed the guys who did it on the road."

At the Zona Rosa, he saw chaos. "There was blood and bottles and screaming, and it was dark, and oh, God, it was awful," he said.

Lieutenant Colonel David Blizzard was the senior Marine at the embassy. He, too, rushed to the site. "The react car had already left with several Marines," he wrote. "I stayed behind and went from body to body checking for vital signs."

Corporal Richard Sode remained at post one throughout the night. "As Americans arrived on the scene, they loaded the Marines up and headed for the hospital, and we were getting status reports all the times, who was making it and who wasn't."

In the first dark moments of the event, those of us at home did not know who made it and who didn't. I monitored our radio past midnight, and perhaps I learned there; I don't recall. I only know that by morning I knew. Everyone knew.

The next day, Thursday, we all came to work and went about our jobs with sober purpose. I was director of a mental health program at the embassy and remember reading over a grant proposal for the next fiscal year. Mostly I went through the motions, though. I think we all did.

Armando Reyes, a Salvadoran employee in the fiscal and budget section, described the mood as unnatural calm.

David Passage was chargé d'affaires. "Meet with all the wives," he told me, "and tell them that the embassy is open today and we're going on with business." The United States, he said, "is not going to be intimidated by bullies with rifles." He asked me to organize a memorial service for Friday.

Outside the chargé's office I spoke briefly with Colonel Blizzard. He had slept but three hours the night before and had transported a dead Marine across his lap to the hospital. Downstairs in the security detachment office, six or seven Marines sat wordlessly on folding chairs.

At 2 p.m. I left the chancery by the north door and walked into the motor pool, where a sharp tropical sun glared off white pavement and armored vehicles. The Salvadoran drivers and dispatchers, always so quick to laugh, were that day silent, their faces grave. I drove down the Alameda Roosevelt and onto Mascota, skipping the Zona Rosa, where fire hoses were used that morning to wash away the pools of blood from the night before.

Afternoon melted into evening. At 6 p.m. a wake was held at the Auxiliadora funeral home. We walked upstairs to a large formal room on the right, and there it seemed the entire U.S. mission was present, spilling out in great sorrow and confusion, a mass of swollen figures moving without direction, milling.

Deeper into the room, past Salvadoran military and civilian officials, past Marines in blue tunics, past friends and colleagues, past what must have been 300 people, stood four metallic coffins, a quartet in glistening gray. The American flag was on the left, the Salvadoran flag on the right, and paratroopers from the Salvadoran Air Force, serious-faced young airmen in blue berets, formed the honor guard. A pyramid of wreaths stood nearby.

I remember roses. In El Salvador you can buy a dozen roses for the equivalent of \$1, but once home and

in the vase, the heads fall, and you note the flowers are less than specimens. A woman touched a fallen bud gently and said, "Look, the roses have dropped their little heads."

The chargé entered, approached each coffin, and snapped an impeccable salute. I felt my scalp tingle. Then Luisa de Diaz, who worked with the U.S. Information Service, began the rosary: *Senor, te ofrecemos este Rosario con todo el corazon . . .*

Luisa and I met not long ago at a coffee shop in the Zona Rosa. The Marines, she told me, had always been special to her. "Do you have a minute, ma'am?" they would ask, then get me to help them with their Spanish."

Por el eterno descanso del alma de estos hermanos nuestros . . .

"We called them the *consentidos*," she said, smiling. "The pets, the favorites."

In a room to the left of the Marines lay the body of a Wang laboratory employee also killed in the massacre. Those of us who knew people with Wang drifted into that room. Searching for something to say, I said, "It's the saddest day in San Salvador."

"Why do you say that," a man asked, not unkindly. "Because Americans were killed?"

"Five Salvadorans were killed too," I said.

"But five Salvadorans are killed every day," he said.

The following morning, Friday, the bodies were flown to Panama aboard a C-141 and from there to Andrews Air Force Base, where President Ronald Reagan, Marine Corps Commandant P.X. Kelly, families, and thousands of other Americans awaited them. "What the Marines gave is beyond our power to repay," the president said.

In San Salvador, ribbons of black crepe hung at the entrances of cafes and shops along the Zona Rosa, and proprietors expressed shock that the war had come to the suburbs. *La Prensa Grafica* that morning published a statement by the Salvadoran Human Rights Commission condemning the killings and citing the Zona Rosa as ". . . a place of recreation, an

eminently civil place that in keeping with the Geneva Accords should never be the object of an armed attack."

At four o'clock that afternoon in the vestibule of the embassy, we held a memorial service. Some said they would not attend. They had gone to the wake, they said, and they had work to get out, but when the service began, they came. Everyone came. We couldn't seat them all. They leaned from the third-floor balcony; they sat in the stairway that led from the mezzanine; they rested themselves against the walls.

The chargé spoke on the long relationship between the U.S. Marine Corps and the Foreign Service and the resolve to continue helping El Salvador. Then Bill Stennett, a Southern Baptist missionary, stepped to the podium. "We are gathered here today to honor four young men," he intoned, and something rippled through the building.

A woman sang, "When peace like a river attendeth my way/When sorrows like sea billows roll/Whatever my lot/Thou hast taught me to say/'It is well, it is well with my soul.'"

I looked out at the Marines, 20-some boys in blue, and imagined the powerless rage they were feeling, their brothers cut down not by the forces of nature but by the evil of human hand. Four years later one of them would say, "A memorial ceremony was the furthest thing from anyone's mind. . . . Us Marines just wanted to lick our wounds and get even."

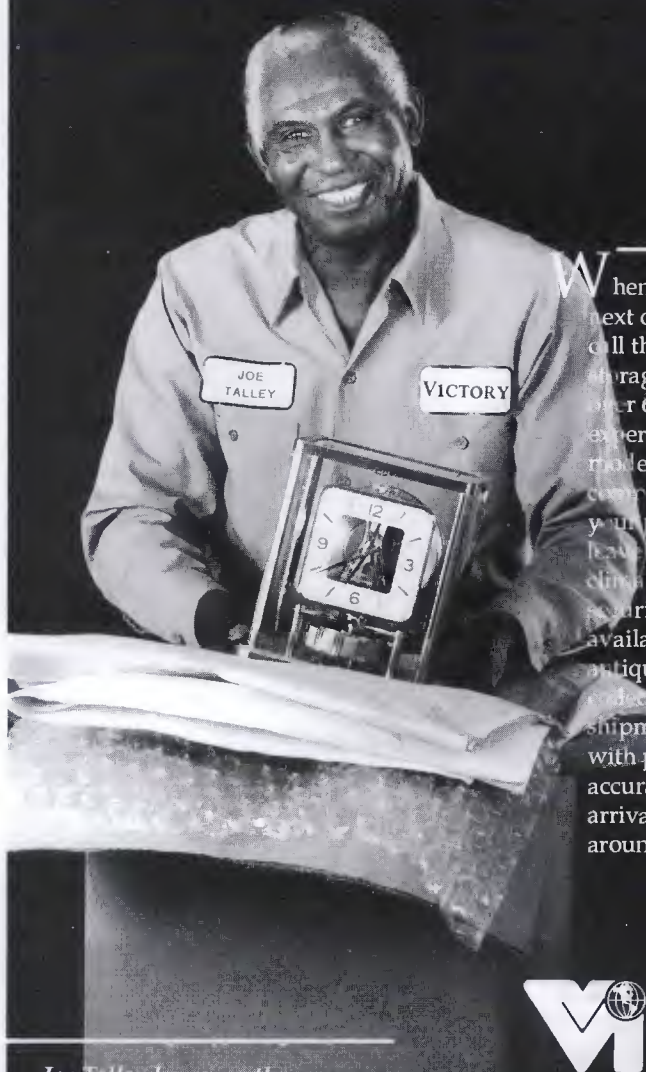
I closed the service with a simple prayer: "We confess to the intense shock and sorrow we are feeling. We ask for the comfort You have promised to provide. We have lost four of Your few good men . . ."

And then their names were read: "Sergeant Bobby Joe Dickson, Corporal Gregory H. Weber, Corporal Patrick R. Kwiatkowski, Sergeant Thomas T. Handwork."

And now, "May their souls be with You today in paradise."

Luisa de Diaz said she felt terrible at the service. "I wished I were in another place, anyplace else in the world," she said. "We were so sorry

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it happened here, sorry that it happened in our country."

Somehow, I wanted to slink away too. It's strange what you feel in situations like those. A sinking of the heart, I felt that, but I also felt the release that Fridays bring and a secret pride that the chargé liked my prayer.

Outside the afternoon was a watery sunlight, balmy and still, the beginnings of a beautiful evening. "El Salvador has perfect weather, doesn't it?" an AID man remarked. We all agreed. "If they could just export it, they'd be oil rich," one of us chimed in. Everyone laughed. It seemed we had let out our breath a little. We had

been holding it in for a long time.

That night a woman I know, a German, asked me why the Marines had gone there. "Didn't they know it was dangerous to sit on the street?"

"It's very sad," I replied.

She shuddered. "We never think it can happen to us."

That was 1985. Karl Sutter had not been to the Zona Rosa since that June night. Together he and I walked over to Chilis one afternoon and he pointed out the table where the Marines had sat. Of the cafés, only Chilis and the Mediterranean remain. Office buildings and shopping centers are devouring the Zona Rosa we

knew, real estate too valuable for sidewalk cafés. "Right there," Karl said. "But then it was a lot closer to the street. Oh, and they've put up this little rail, see?" He studied it. "Still an easy target."

Last month I saw Armando Reyes in the embassy cafeteria. I told him I was writing an article on the Zona Rosa and asked him if he thought about it anymore.

"I don't," he whispered. "It was too terrible."

"But how do you keep from thinking about it?"

"You have to control your mind," he answered and tapped his head with a pencil.

Not long ago Debbie Charles brought me some snapshots she had been saving for five years. I opened the envelope, and color photographs dropped softly into my lap. Marines at the Marine House, Marines at the Marine ball, Marines young and macho in El Salvador. I sorted through the pictures, affectionate, playful faces looking up at me. "That time, that place," she said, her voice trailing off.

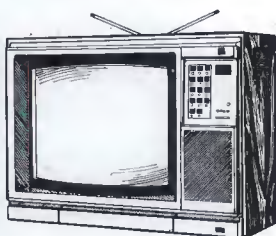
Lance Corporal Anton Koszuth was credited with saving civilian lives that night and awarded the Navy Commendation Medal with the Combat V for Valor and "heroic achievement on 19 June 1985." Out of the Marines now, he attends community college in Reno, Nevada. About the Zona Rosa he says, "We fell into a rut of going there, but it was hard not going out. How long can you live like that?"

Richard Sode, now a sergeant at Camp Lejeune, wrote me a letter about the Zona Rosa. "I think of it often. I think how lucky I was. An hour or two later, I would have been there. I talk about it all the time, and it's fresh in my memory as if it were the other day."

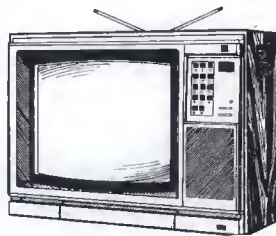
I think about it too, the Zona Rosa, and about the risk and ruts and the law of averages, about easy targets and fearful moments and situations rich in potential, about lapses in judgment and choke points and the bright eyes of violence, about accidents and incidents and mean streets and mind control, and about how long you can live like that. □

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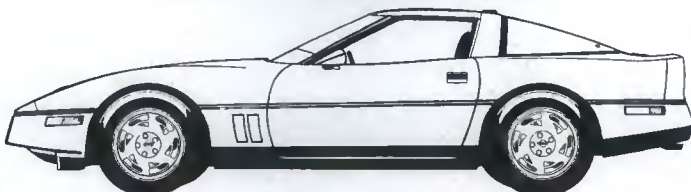
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Dictionary of American Diplomatic History

By John E. Findling, Greenwood Press, 1989, \$59.95 hardcover

Reviewed by Smith Simpson

As Harold Nicholson sadly observed, "Diplomacy" is carelessly taken to denote several quite different things," including foreign policy, negotiation, the processes by which foreign relations are conducted, and dialogue. What these various aspects of "diplomacy" have in common is that they relate to governmental activity.

John E. Findling, a history professor at Indiana University Southeast, appears to be unwilling to accept that such a connective thread exists. In his view, anyone who contributes to a country's transnational relations deserves consideration as a participant in the diplomatic process, including freebooters, missionaries, entrepreneurs, peace activists, and publicists. The lack of a clear conceptualization of diplomacy is all the more disappointing in an otherwise fascinating work, because we have been so long in need of a comprehensive diplomatic dictionary, particularly since the State Department suspended its Biographic Register in 1974. The space allocated by Findling to a military adventurer (William Walker), a theologian-researcher-professor-biographer (Tyler Dennett), a businessman (Commodore Vanderbilt), and other peripheral figures not only fuzzes the concept of diplomacy but reduces the space—and undoubtedly the research time—for diplomats themselves.

The biographical entries of diplomats differ substantially in the quality of analysis—as might be expected from any undertaking of this magnitude. While most entries are well researched and analyzed, many lack insight. The entry on Lincoln MacVeagh, for example, does not mention the Greek civil war, although it generated the chief burden of MacVeagh's ambassadorship. Llewel-

lyn Thompson is described as enjoying "good relations with Soviet leaders, who trusted his integrity and liked the fact that he was fluent in Russian." They also liked and respected his no-nonsense style of standing up to them.

Findling's concentration on chiefs of mission overlooks the significant contribution to U.S. diplomacy by diplomatic and consular officers of lesser rank. For example, Consul Robert Rossow, stationed in Tabriz at the end of World War II, deserves an entry for his resourceful reporting on the stealthy, nocturnal movements of Soviet troops into northern Iran and toward the Turkish and Iraqi borders, while Moscow was making heavy territorial and other demands upon Iran and Turkey. Rossow's timely reports alerted the United States and led to the UN Security Council's intervention in the crisis and the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

Foreign Service officers occupying top administrative positions in the department also merit entries in the dictionary, owing to the importance of the organizational-managerial role thrust upon U.S. diplomacy since World War II. The dictionary fails to mention such Foreign Service officers as William J. Crockett, William B. Macomber, and Ronald Spiers, who held top administrative/management posts in the State Department from 1963 to 1989, all worthy successors to Wilbur J. Carr (who is included). Instead of including journalists like John Gunther and Walter Cronkite—who had no perceptible impact on diplomacy (as distinct from the development of public opinion on foreign policy)—it would have made more sense to include the more outstanding spouses of American diplomats, such as Avis Bohlen, Evangeline Bruce, and Elizabeth Cabot.

These deficiencies notwithstanding, Findling's *Dictionary* provides fascinating reading and contains information that will be new even to those familiar with diplomacy. Entries in-

clude people as contemporary as Walter Stoessel and Thomas Pickering, as well as Cyrus Vance, Warren Christopher, George Shultz, and Alexander Haig, but not contemporary black ambassadors, such as Edward J. Perkins, Terence A. Todman, and Donald McHenry. Diplomatic crises and other events, treaties, conferences, catch phrases ("peaceful co-existence"), international organizations, and scandals (Iran-contra) are also included. To each entry is added a bibliography, enhancing the value of the work.

The price should not deter readers from adding this to their libraries, for it is such enthralling reading it winds up as readily on a bedside table for nighttime reading as on a desk for reference and research. Woodrow Wilson used to tell the story of the dear old lady who, when asked what she thought of the dictionary, replied that she found it very interesting, but slightly disconnected. Here is one that is not only interesting but very much connected.

A Question of Balance: The President, the Congress, and Foreign Policy

Edited by Thomas E. Mann, The Brookings Institution, 1990, \$29.95 hardcover, \$10.95 softcover

Reviewed by Charles Maechling Jr.

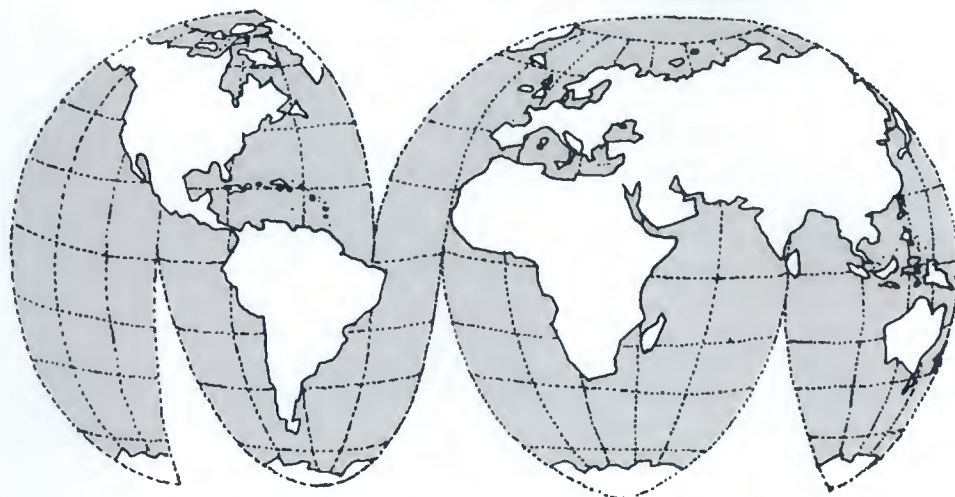
From the time of President George Washington's first administration, with sharp disagreement already dividing Madison and Hamilton, the separation of powers doctrine has provoked recurring conflict between Congress and the executive branch over the conduct of U.S. foreign relations. Today, the concept of shared power has prevailed, but this has not ended the debate.

The latest treatment of this subject, *A Question of Balance*, consists of six essays by political scientists, all academics (Thomas Mann, Robert Katzmann, Gregory Treverton, Barry Blechman, Bruce Jeleson, and Pietro

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Nivola), covering such aspects as policymaking, war powers, arms control, trade policy, and the diplomatic function. In keeping with the title, the approach is balanced, sometimes so much that the contributor's conviction is hard to discern.

The scholarly quality of these essays lives up to Brookings's high standards, but policymakers and scholars will find some topics more relevant than others to the fast-moving international scene. The chapter on war powers, for example, by Robert Katzmann, has the advantages of currency and specificity (Grenada, Libya, Panama), and the treatment provides a useful update. The essays on trade policy and arms control also cover recent developments in a well-defined

field. The essay on diplomacy suffers from a failure to put the subjects in a historical context—i.e., how the balance looks in comparison with 20 or 40 years ago.

If the book has a weakness, it is the omission of certain important aspects of the subject peculiar to the U.S. foreign policy process and virtually unknown in other advanced societies: the role of law, lawyers, and legislation; the impact of domestic political factors; and the influence on foreign policy of a large body of unofficial advisers with private agendas and no responsibility—consultants, think-tank specialists, congressional staff, media commentators. Perhaps the next edition will cover these specifically American elements.

Diplomacy Under a Foreign Flag: When Nations Break Relations

Edited by David D. Newsom, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 1990, \$9.95 softcover

Reviewed by Henry E. Mattox

When nations break relations, someone usually must stay to pick up the pieces. Switzerland, for example, has protected U.S. interests in Castro's Cuba continuously for nearly three decades; in fact, the experienced Swiss have represented U.S. interests in more than a dozen countries since the outbreak of World War II—something of a record. Over the years, the United States also has served as the protecting power for numerous states that severed relations with their host governments, going all the way back to 1867 and the fall of Maximilian in Mexico. As recently as the 1960s, Washington looked after British interests in Yemen during a time of civil war and the absence of formal ties between London and Sanaa. Acting as a diplomatic protector—always with the agreement of the host government, of course—can involve a range of duties, from safeguarding the departed nation's embassy, to looking after citizens left behind, to making formal representations on that nation's behalf. Often it is a demanding, thankless task that leads to strains in the protector nation's relationship with the host government.

Newsom and Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy have provided a valuable service in publishing eight essays on this little-known but sometimes important diplomatic practice. Even standard treatises on diplomacy devote virtually no attention to the role of protective powers: Sir Ernest Satow's authoritative, voluminous *Guide to Diplomatic Practice* (1957) includes precisely one sentence on the subject.

Diplomacy Under a Foreign Flag at

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least begins to correct that gap in the literature. Ambassador James J. Blake surveys the development of the practice, and other contributors, including Newsom, discuss recent examples of protective powers' operations. Ambassadors Donald C. Bergus of the United States and Ashraf Ghorbal of Egypt in separate essays discuss the hiatus in U.S.-Egyptian relations from 1967 to 1974. In an arrangement dating only from the mid-1960s, each headed a special section in Cairo and Washington under the flag of the protecting powers, Spain and India respectively. Other contributors analyze their experiences in handing over American interests to protector nations in Baghdad, Algiers, and Havana.

Slighted somewhat in this brief volume is historical perspective. Scholars could undoubtedly piece together from the archives informative accounts of earlier instances in which the United States acted as protecting power or benefited from this service. What, for instance, were the implications when, following the execution of Maximilian, the United States for nine years represented some 10 countries in Mexico? How did U.S. interests evolve in Germany under the Spanish flag during World War I, or in Turkey under Swedish protection in the same period? These and similar questions will have to await further research in the field.

Immigration and the Politics of Citizenship in Europe and North America

Edited by William Rogers Brubaker, University Press of America Inc., 1989, \$11.98 softcover

Reviewed by Gail T. Roberts

The six essays in this book were prepared for a 1987 conference on citizenship and social membership hosted by the German Marshall Fund

of the United States. The essays in the first, and more original, half of the book discuss how citizenship and membership ought to be organized. The second half of the book compares citizenship and "membership" policies for residents of Canada and the United States (countries of mass immigration), Sweden and West Germany (traditional countries of emigration, with recent recruitment of migrant workers), and the United Kingdom and France (former colonial powers with evolving citizenship and naturalization policies).

Excellent essays, including one on Germany's restrictive naturalization laws by Kay Hailbrunner, and one on dual citizenship by Tomas Hammar, look at the political basis for national-ity policies. Another essay outlines

the political role of non-citizens, showing the impact of their political activity even without voting rights. The blurring of the lines between citizens and non-citizen residents in the United States is also discussed in an essay on how incentives for citizenship may be weakened, when benefits and legal protection are available to all residents.

A country's moral obligations toward its members are covered in an essay that would give pause to visa-issuing officers. Joseph H. Carens argues that countries are morally obligated to grant citizenship to all those it allows to reside and work within its borders, even when this permission is as tacit as permitting long-term studies or employment for illegal aliens. Once temporary workers or students

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become members of society, the author suggests, the state should not judge their character or assimilation before offering them citizenship, since no such restrictions apply to native-born citizens.

This emphasis on self-definition as opposed to legal determination of citizenship by the state is common to several essays and makes them provocative reading for anyone working with nationality and immigration laws.

Terrorism: The Newest Face of Warfare

By Donald J. Hanle, Pergamon-Brassey's, 1989, \$32 hardcover

Reviewed by Mayer Nudell

Policymakers are frequently confronted by the question of whether terrorism should be addressed as a military problem. There are many arguments for employing military force against terrorism, and examples abound of this approach's success. However, the theoretical basis for resolving the question is weak. One of the latest efforts to establish such a theoretical basis, *Terrorism: The Newest Face of Warfare*, is no more successful than previous attempts but provides one of the best and most integrated arguments for addressing terrorism through military means.

Major Donald J. Hanle (USAF) clearly has given considerable thought to terrorism as a form of warfare. He is well versed in the philosophy of war and has read and assimilated the thinking of great writers on the subject from the unconventional—Sun Tsu and Mao Zedong—to the conventional—von Clausewitz and Summers. The first half of Hanle's book provides the reader with a succinct, thorough, and readable exposition on the principles of war and how warfare has evolved.

Unfortunately, the second half of the book mistakenly attempts to demonstrate that at least three of several kinds of terrorism—revolutionary, state-

sponsored, and military terrorism—are forms of war that represent the latest evolution of warfare and require military approaches to counter them. Although Hanle sets forth a coherent system of reasoning to support this view, it rests upon faulty premises.

Hanle's general chapter on terrorism reflects confusion about terrorism's dynamics. His definition, which requires that "abnormal" amounts of force be used (as defined by the victim of an attack), is erroneous and compounded by his mistaken view that terrorism is intended to instill fear and panic in governments. The true purpose of terrorism is to influence government action by intimidating the population at large. In this way, terrorists hope to precipitate misguided and repressive government responses that will alienate the population, advancing the terrorists' political agenda.

Hanle further strays off the reservation when he categorizes terrorism as "indirect," "apolitical," and so forth. Here he demonstrates a confusion between terror and terrorism. Even the examples he uses to support his taxonomy undermine it.

Hanle falls victim to the conundrum that plagues many analysts of terrorism. It is a political phenomenon as elusive as politics itself. At the end of the day, we must always remember that placing terrorism in the context of warfare ensures that we will never successfully combat it. The bitter truth is that war itself is the ultimate form of terrorism, but that recognition does nothing to promote peace. In the same vein, terrorism must be considered as a peacetime phenomenon, thereby establishing parameters within which democratic governments must conduct themselves as they formulate policy. Militarizing the fight against terrorism reflects a failure to understand its basic dynamics and drastically limits the options and countermeasures available to democracies.

Iran's Revolution: The Search for Consensus

Edited by R.K. Ramazani, Indiana University Press, 1990, \$8.95 softcover

Reviewed by Arnold Shifferdecker

This anthology analyzes Iran's revolution at the 10-year mark and seeks to identify trends in its foreign and domestic politics in the post-Khomeini era. Six leading Iran experts, including Richard Cottam, Shireen Hunter, and Gary Sick, contrast the continuing volatility of Iran's cleric-led revolution with the revolution's durability, despite repeated failure to implement internal reform.

Of note for the foreign affairs community is Hunter's description of the halting process of Soviet-Iranian detente, which received a large boost not only from the Iran-Iraq cease-fire but also from the Iran-contra revelations and the Rushdie affair. Hunter claims that the cease-fire and Iran-contra enabled radicals within Tehran's ruling elite to overcome moderates and discredit Iran's tentative opening to the West. This assertion rings true, and the "moderate" Rafsanjani has had to steer a cautious policy in his first year after assuming Khomeini's mantle.

Release of foreign hostages in Lebanon would bolster claims in the West that Rafsanjani is indeed a moderate. But attributing moderation to the mullahs is the kind of thinking, some would argue, that led us into the arms-for-hostages mess and a decade of foreign-policy disasters.

Managing International Assignments

By Gary Fontaine, Prentice Hall Inc., 1989, \$36 hardcover

Reviewed by Kelley Dupuis

This book might have been called *The Non-Accidental Tourist*. Whereas the

central character of Anne Tyler's *The Accidental Tourist*, an author of guide books, aims to help business travelers feel they had never left home, Fontaine here outlines a program for not only coping with travel but making efficient use of cross-cultural differences.

Beginning with the premise that the world is becoming ever more international (something diplomats don't need to be told), the author stresses an approach to international dealings, commercial or diplomatic, that not only embraces cultural relativity but makes use of it. Toward this goal, he develops in clear, straightforward terms a concept he calls "international microcultures," which amount to a way of doing business that

incorporates how our basic perceptions of time and interpersonal relationships differ in other cultures. He identifies the biggest challenge facing anyone doing business overseas—"ecoshock" (what we used to call culture shock)—and discusses how to cope with it.

He uses case histories and charts to clarify his ideas, which are blocked out logically and clearly, even if the language at times gets a bit thick—"cultural assimilator," "intercultural sensitizer," etc. Still, the author treats his subject with zest and even a sense of humor: a book like this one could have been a lot duller. Fontaine manages to make it both informative and entertaining, and little is left out. There's even a section on jet lag. □

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In Memory

Arnie, Bill, and Bonnie

ARTHUR LEZIN

Wc first met Arnie and Bill and their families when we arrived in Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan. Each, in his own way, merited the "unforgettable character" description. Even though Arnie was a relatively junior member of the Embassy political section, his perceptive understanding of the country commanded the attention of his colleagues, from the Ambassador on down. His wry view of life and ability to milk the humor out of even the most depressing development made him a popular figure in the American community. With Arnie as a dinner guest, any concerns about stimulating conversation or a proper mix of nationalities among the other invitees evaporated. But his most impressive contribution to life in that remote part of the world had nothing to do with official duties, in or out of the office. He was a key member of the Rawalpindi Amateur Theatrical Society, otherwise known as RATS. Arnie produced, directed, and sometimes acted in plays of astonishing quality. I have never understood how, but he was able to discover and develop

Arthur Lezin, a retired FSO, writes from Sunriver, Oregon.

talented actors in that extremely limited universe.

Bill was an altogether different personality. As the point man for the U.S. AID mission's projects in the health sector, he was responsible for millions of dollars in expenditures and a large, hardworking staff. Although there was no official reason to do so, Bill took our family under his wing when we first arrived, inviting us over to meet other members of the international community he thought we would enjoy. Our kids were about the same age and they liked each other. Bill's work dominated his life. On evenings and weekends he usually could be found in his office, scribbling notes and instructions to his staff or drafting cables to Washington. He never felt comfortable taking time off. I remember when his wife pushed hard for a brief family vacation in Kabul, Afghanistan, a welcome change of pace for most of us. He stopped by my office on his way out, confessing he wasn't looking forward to the trip because there was so much that remained to be done.

As wife of the U.S. ambassador in Nouakchott, Bonnie believed our happiness and well-being were her personal responsibility. In this respect, we were no different from anyone

else remotely connected to the U.S. embassy in that bleak and difficult post. All of us were objects of her special warmth and selflessness. The furthest thing from her mind was some kind of deference because of her husband's rank. I would not have been surprised if some of the Embassy's Mauritanian employees called her "Bonnie". Everyone else did.

What did Arnie, Bill and Bonnie, whose personalities and world view were so dissimilar, have in common? It was the way they died. Arnie Raphael was U.S. ambassador to Pakistan on the same plane as President Zia when it crashed. Bill McIntyre was acting director of the U.S. AID mission to Lebanon. He was killed, along with many others, in the terrorist attack which destroyed the American embassy in Beirut. Bonnie Pugh was returning to United States to help prepare for her daughter's wedding, a long-awaited joyous occasion, when her plane was blown up.

It is a rare day that I am not reminded of Arnie or Bill or Bonnie. The most vexing problem takes on a completely different hue when measured against their loss and that of their families. Remember them, remember how they enriched our lives.

J. WESLEY ADAMS JR., 76, died of cancer Dec. 29, 1989 at the Hospice of Washington.

Born in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, Mr. Adams served for 32 years in the Foreign Service. His first overseas assignment was in Ecuador. In 1944 he joined the Bureau of UN Affairs, taking part in the Dumbarton Oaks Conference of 1944, the San Francisco Conference of 1945, and the Rio de Janeiro Conference of 1947. He served as adviser to Admiral Chester Nimitz, the U.S. representative to the Kashmir Commission, in 1949.

From 1950, his Foreign Service assignments took him primarily to the Middle East and South Asia, including tours of duty in Cairo, New Delhi, Baghdad, Amman, and Lahore.

Following retirement from State in 1973, Mr. Adams served for two years as Woodrow Wilson Visiting Fellow, detailed to various liberal arts colleges. He has since been associated with the Middle East Institute, both as economic consultant and treasurer, and with the Washington-area United Nations Association. As recently as Dec. 8, he presided at the UNA's

Human Rights Day observance.

Mr. Adams is survived by his wife of 50 years, Frances McStay Adams, of 4118 49th St., NW, Washington, DC, 20016; by their children Thomas McStay Adams, Daniel James Adams, and Katharine Odell Adams; by a brother, Walter Burt Adams, of Belen, NM, and three grandchildren.

NICHOLAS J.A. BACHE, 31, died March 24, 1990.

Mr. Bache was born Oct. 1, 1958, in Summit, NJ. Son of FSO G. Michael Bache and Eleanor (Krout) Bache of Washington, DC, he was an

English teacher, wrestling coach, and doormaster at the Kent School in Kent, CT. He is survived by his parents, of 2805 University Terrace, NW, Washington, DC 20016; his brother, Stephen K. Bache of Pasadena, CA; two sisters, Marion D. Bache of Lakewood, NJ and Vivian L.B. Quam of Bloomington, IN.

EARL THOMAS CRAIN died suddenly on November 5, 1989 in El Paso, Texas.

Mr. Crain was born on Oct. 25, 1907 in Quincy, Illinois. He entered the University of Illinois at age 15, graduating at 19, one of the youngest graduates. Entering the Foreign Service in 1928, Mr. Crain served in Havana, Port Limon, Managua, Tehran, Algiers, Madrid, Juarez, Santiago, and Paris. Mr. Crain spent three years as Senior Inspector and his last post was in Milan, as consul general and dean of the consular corps.

During his tour of duty in Spain (1939-43), Mr. Crain was responsible for the liberation and repatriation of U.S. prisoners of the Spanish civil war.

After retirement, Mr. Crain and his family remained in Italy for another 10 years, allowing Mr. Crain to become an expert in agriculture, managing olive groves and vineyards. Open heart surgery forced him to abstain from strenuous work and in 1977, Mr. Crain and his family moved to El Paso where he leaves many friends.

Mr. Crain is survived by his wife, Agnes E. Crain, of 6140 Los Felinos Cr., El Paso, TX 79912, and his daughter, Virginia E. Crain.

GEORGE RILEY JENNINGS, 76, died Feb. 2, 1990 in Bethesda, MD, of a heart attack.

A native of New Haven, CT, Mr. Jennings was a graduate of the Georgetown School of Foreign Service. He served in the Army Air Corps in the Pacific in World War II. He went to West Germany for five years in 1948, working first for the U.S.

Army, then for HICOG as a budget and fiscal officer. The rest of his government career was spent mainly overseas as administrative officer for the State Department and AID. He served in Haiti, Panama, Dominican Republic, Paraguay, and Vietnam.

Survivors include his wife, Geraldine, of 8514 Rayburn Rd., Bethesda, MD, 20817; three sons, George, of Los Alamos, NM, Peter, of St. Petersburg, FL, Michael, of Philadelphia, PA; three daughters, Molly Richardson, of Waterville, ME, Deanie Kennedy, of Kensington, MD, Amy Taylor, of Rising Sun, MD; and nine grandchildren.

ARTHUR G. LUND, 79, died Feb. 15, 1990 in Arcadia, CA. Mr. Lund was administrative officer in Moscow and Warsaw, fiscal officer in Paris and management and budget officer for the U.S. Mission to NATO. He is survived by his wife Georgia of 637 Fairview Ave., Arcadia, CA 91007.

GRAHAM A. MARTIN, 77, died March 13, 1990, in Winston-Salem, NC.

Born in Mars Hill, NC., he was a graduate of Wake Forest University. After working briefly as a newspaper correspondent, he began a long career in government service in 1933, first with the National Recovery Administration and then the Social Security Board. He joined the Army Air Corps in 1942, rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel.

In 1947 he joined the Foreign Service and served in Washington, Alabama, France, Switzerland, Thailand, Italy, and Vietnam. He held the rank of ambassador as the U.S. representative to international organizations in Geneva, and was posted as ambassador to Thailand, Italy, and Vietnam. He was ambassador to the Republic of Vietnam at the time of the U.S. evacuation from Saigon in 1975.

Ambassador Martin is survived by his wife, Dorothy Wallace Martin of 907 N. Stratford Rd., Winston-Salem, NC 27104; sons Michael and

Charles; daughters Nancy and Janet; and four grandchildren.

CHRISTOPHER E. MCCARTHY, 35, died of melanoma Feb. 24, 1990 at the National Institute of Health. He resided in McLean, VA.

Mr. McCarthy was born in Paris, where his father was working for USIA. He grew up in West Germany and the Middle East as well as Washington, DC. He received a degree in government at Lawrence University in Wisconsin.

During his State Department career, he served in Montreal, Mexico City, Abu Dhabi, and Washington, DC.

Survivors include his wife, Michelle W. Petty of McLean; his parents, John Robert and Helen McCarthy of Peterborough, NH.; three brothers, William James McCarthy of Malibu, CA, John Jr., of Snohomish, WA, and Michael Allen McCarthy of Baltimore, MD; and three sisters, Anne M. Percy of Waukegan, IL, Elizabeth M. McDermott of Cairo, Egypt, and Margaret McCarthy of Albuquerque, NM.

STEPHEN PETERS, 83, died of cancer Jan. 17, 1990.

Born in Traska, Albania, Mr. Peters came to the United States in 1920 and settled in Boston. He was a graduate of Harvard University where he also received his master's in education.

From 1936 to 1939, Mr. Peters taught in Albania. In 1945, he became a research analyst in the State Department. In 1958, he was commissioned in the Foreign Service and served in Rome and Trieste until retirement in 1966. His books include *The Anatomy of Communist Takeovers*, *Area Handbook for the Soviet Union*, and *Area Handbook for Albania*.

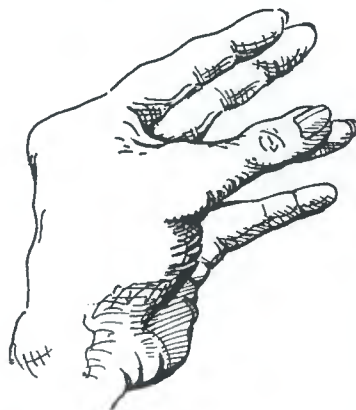
Survivors include his wife, Martha Jean Peters of Alexandria, VA; two children, Lawrence S. Peters of McLean, VA and Stephanie Peters of Walnut Creek, CA.

Planning for Prosperity

ELIZABETH LEE and CONNIE DUPRAS

Financial planners usually reach the media only by scandal: there are stories about the retired couple who lose their nest egg by following the advice of a self-styled financial planner or the aged widow tricked into investing in Floridian swamp-land. The supposed moral of the stories is either 1) Don't use a financial planner, or 2) The only way to get objective advice is to pay a fortune to a high-priced planner. But most middle-income earners need help with their financial planning and cannot afford high fees. Middle-income earners should not be frightened or priced out of the market.

Illustrations by Joe Johnson, public affairs officer in Dublin.



Richard Cobb, a Foreign Service officer with the Agency for International Development, says working with a financial planner has been "a great relief." "I spent the first 45 years of my life not knowing where my money was going," he says. "Now I realize all the opportunities that slipped through my fingers." In 12 years

overseas, Cobb was "flush with disposable income" and didn't worry about finances, until his children reached college age and retirement loomed ahead. He decided to work with a planner after going through an AID retirement seminar. His planner charged an initial planning fee, then offset a portion of the annual retainer fee with commissions.

Cobb's planner has created a trust fund for his three children's college tuition, put aside investment funds, consolidated his life insurance, reviewed his disability insurance, and



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helped him set both short- and long-term goals. She also prepares his taxes and keeps copies of all his records. "She saved me money and lowered my level of anxiety," Cobb says.

Shopping for the right stuff

Cobb hired a certified financial planner (CFP), licensed by the International Board of Standards and Practices for Certified Financial Planners. CFPs complete a curriculum covering the planning process, specifically, tax, investment, insurance, retirement, and estate planning and then must pass national examinations administered by the College for Financial Planning in order to receive certification. The International Board of Standards and Practices requires CFPs to disclose to clients their background, their practice philosophy, and potential conflicts of interest. The board also enforces the CFP code of ethics and determines criteria for continuing education and licensing renewal.

Some clients with specific needs may require additional professional qualifications in a financial planner. Someone with a large estate, for example, may want a CFP-attorney, while someone with complex tax concerns may look for a CFP-CPA.



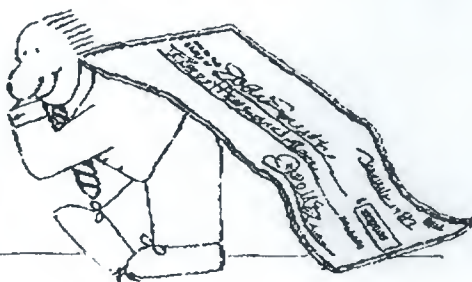
FSO James Lowenthal hired a CFP when he began to consider refinancing a home equity loan. Now his planner handles the decisions he previously divided among an accountant, stock broker, insurance agent, and mortgage broker, and she has already saved him \$4,000 in refinancing his home equity. Results from investments she has recommended, while

not spectacular, have been positive in less than one year of holding investments that were chosen for long-term, not immediate, performance.

Lowenthal recommends careful research before selecting a financial planner. First ask friends and colleagues for recommendations. Recommendations may not yield a planner with expertise appropriate to a given client's needs, but they will provide a starting point. After choosing a list of potential advisers, potential clients may ask them for client references. Names will be released only with client approval, as their code of ethics demands that CFPs keep information about clients confidential. Some overseas Foreign Service personnel choose

Connie Dupras is president of Capital Assets Planning Inc., a registered investment adviser firm near Tysons Corner, VA. She spent eleven years in Africa with the Peace Corps and AID, among other organizations. Elizabeth Lee writes frequently about the Foreign Service.

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to write financial planners directly to ask for references.

One factor in the choice of a financial planner may be compensation. A potential client needs to consider whether it would be most advantageous to work with a planner who earns a flat fee, fee offset by commission, or commission only. There is much debate about the effect of compensation on objectivity. As planners earn their commissions from the companies selling the financial products the client buys, many people believe that payment by commission only can create a conflict of interest and invite unethical activity.

Compensation structure is really a marketing decision, however, which planners make depending on their client bases. A planner working with high-income, high net-worth business owners is able to charge high fees, usually \$2,500 to \$5,000, based on a percentage of assets. A planner with middle-income clients who have modest, if any, net disposable income

after expenses will be accessible to more clients by charging low fees, subsidized over the long run by commissions. Current fees range from \$300 to \$1,000.

Fewer headaches

Foreign Service personnel have unusual financial planning needs. Being posted overseas makes timely communication difficult, while cash flow will vary at different posts because of dramatically different costs of living in various countries. The planning strategy must be flexible, and the client will want to work with a planner who not only knows but cares where Mbabane or Tegucigalpa is. Someone in the Foreign Service who is shopping for a planner should ask how he or she deals with the problems of an overseas client, and the planner should be familiar with U.S. government benefits and options.

Clients turn to professional plan-

ners because they do not have the time, energy, interest, or knowledge to manage their financial affairs. Those considering a financial planner should take the time to determine which services are needed. These might include budget help, investment advice, or an analysis of retirement options. Identify the needs, then find a planner who can satisfy them.

FSO Sharon Epstein set her planning goals in the first meeting with her financial planner. "I didn't know anything about pensions, investments, etcetera, and I didn't know how to pay attention to these things while I was overseas," she says. Now the planner, a CFP and MBA, invests and manages her money, manages her property while she is abroad, acts as her legal representative on questions about her house, and prepares her taxes. Epstein pays her planner a flat fee. "The beauty of the situation is that he was still looking after my interests while I was overseas," she says. □

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- **Securities and Exchange Commission:** The SEC and many state commissions require most financial planners to be registered investment advisors (RIA) or to be affiliated with an RIA firm. Registration does not attest to technical competence. It means the advisor must comply with reporting and disclosure requirements and is subject to audit for investment advisory and implementation activities. RIAs are required to provide consumers with Form ADV (full disclosure) registration and offer annual updates.

- **National Association of Securities Dealers:** The NASD is an industry association that administers national and state exams for securities licensing. It may arbitrate disputes between clients and securities brokers and may suspend or revoke a license.

- **State Insurance Commission:** Each state issues life/health and property/casualty insurance licenses upon completion of required course work and examination. Many states have continuing education requirements for license renewal.

These licenses and registrations offer legal recourse in the event of fraudulent advice or actions. Clients should require written confirmation from a planner that his or her firm is an RIA or that the planner is legally exempt from registration because of regulation by another federal agency.

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Has the 1989 Revolution Made COCOM Obsolete?

In the first 1990 symposium for "international associate" members (U.S. corporations) and others, AFSA hosted a stimulating exchange on March 27. Cosponsored with the Westchester, NY-based Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats, the symposium brought together decision-makers from the government and private business, including Ambassador Allan Wendt and Under Secretary of Commerce Dennis E. Kloske.

Former Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger, now publisher of *Forbes* magazine, opened the conference by warning that none of the promising but preliminary changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe yet warrants a relaxation of controls over the export of advanced and strategic technology to Communist countries. Referring to recent Soviet pressure on the breakaway republic of Lithuania, Weinberger said, "We have an example of why it is vital for us to keep recognizing that this is a threat to our own peace."

Weinberger's address was followed with talks by two panels of government and private-sector experts. Key points included the need to streamline the Coordinating Committee on Multilateral Export Controls (COCOM) list of embargoed exports without endangering vital technologies, to differentiate controls restricting exports to the newly emerging East European republics from those affecting exports to the Soviet Union, and to improve the system to prevent the re-export of crucial technologies to non-COCOM countries. Private sector officials stressed during the question and answer

periods that COCOM's current cumbersome structure is causing U.S. firms to lose out on business opportunities abroad. COCOM, the non-treaty organization including all NATO countries except Iceland, plus Japan and Australia, has met regularly in Paris since 1949 to identify technology that should be denied to some Communist and Eastern-bloc countries because of potential military applications.

Senator John H. Heinz III (R-PA) gave the luncheon presentation at the Foreign Service Club, urging that the United States "open the door to private investment in Eastern Europe even more than we have done before." He called for easing controls on U.S. exports to Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, to help build the economics of these emerging democracies through shared technology. Senator Heinz, along with Senator Jake Garn (R-UT), has recently introduced a bill that would create a new, independent office of strategic technology to speed the controls process and coordinate controls offices at various U.S. government agencies.

Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger announced in November 1989 at the AFSA Bicentennial Conference on American Business and Government that COCOM rules will be liberalized in the spring of 1990. Conference speakers confirmed that reviews are continuing, with a view toward announcing important modifications in the COCOM regime by June. The U.S. business community contends that COCOM procedures need to be streamlined and modernized to help maintain U.S. competitiveness in



Ambassador Allan Wendt addresses the conference.

foreign markets.

Symposium participants who favored only modest (if any) COCOM modifications contended that despite recent dramatic developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, NATO countries must maintain a strong military posture, and COCOM should continue to serve as an important bulwark in the NATO defense system.

Panelists at the conference included the officials in charge of export controls at each of the relevant U.S. government agencies as well as a West German government official and representatives of private business. They were: John C. Whitehead, chairman of AEA Investors and former deputy secretary of state; Wendt, senior representative for international trade controls at the Department of State; Joachim Jahnke of the West German Ministry of Economics; Stephen D. Bryen,

continued page 61

AFSA files amended complaint on nondisclosure agreement

AFSA has filed a second amended complaint in connection with the Department of State's continued use of Standard Form 312, a nondisclosure agreement that many department employees are being pressed to sign. As reported in the February *AFSA News*, the association filed suit in federal district court several months ago charging the administration with violating the law by requiring federal employees to sign nondisclosure agreements that have been barred by Congress.

AFSA asked U.S. District Judge Oliver Gasch to order the administration to stop using these secrecy agreements, which impose lifelong censorship obligations—even for unclassified documents—on federal employees who have access to classified information. The lawsuit was dismissed, and AFSA has filed a new

complaint in federal district court based on new legal grounds. We plan to develop the case using depositions from key witnesses.

AFSA has also been informed that the department is currently attempting to compel employees to sign SF-312 at security awareness briefing sessions, by threatening employees who refuse to sign the form with premature security clearance update investigations. Employees should be aware that although AFSA is maintaining its opposition to the form, there is currently nothing preventing the department from pressing employees to sign this nondisclosure form with the implied threat that DS will proceed to {reevaluate} employees' security clearance eligibility if they refuse to sign the form. However, we are hopeful that the form will be nullified as a result of our pending lawsuit.

Federal tax return

Several posts have contacted AFSA regarding missing W-2 forms, and we understand that a number of others still do not have them. We have questioned FO/OCP/FC, the responsible department within the comptroller's office, which said that new copies of the missing W-2 forms have been sent to all posts that did not receive them. However, those Foreign Service employees who may want to file their federal return later than the normal deadline (April 16 this year, as April 15 is a Sunday) should review the following information on IRS regulations relating to filing extensions.

Two extensions allow individuals living and working abroad to file their federal taxes after April 16. Note that these extensions extend only the filing deadline, not the deadline to pay any taxes owed. Under the "out of country" extension, people living and working abroad when taxes are due may file

Congress probes State due process

For more than a year, the House Post Office and Civil Service and Judiciary committees have held joint hearings to examine the due process rights available to executive branch employees and applicants who are denied security clearances. Congressional interest in this issue was sparked by an executive order (EO) proposed in January 1989 by the Bush administration. This EO would eliminate the appeals mechanism for those denied an initial security clearance or a clearance upgrade. Under the current system, most agencies send the employee a letter stating that he or she has been denied a clearance. The letter explains the reason for the denial and allows the employee the opportunity to refute any evidence allegedly relied upon by the agency in its decision to deny a clearance.

As reported in the April 1989

AFSA News, the association presented a statement at the first hearing in March 1989 challenging the EO's elimination of procedural due process rights. The statement stressed AFSA's commitment to national security concerns and support for all reasonable measures aimed at safeguarding classified information. Since then, pressure from Congress and others has diminished immediate concern regarding the proposed EO by forcing the administration indefinitely to suspend its implementation. However, congressional interest in overall security clearance procedures at executive branch agencies has led to further hearings.

In November 1989, AFSA testified at a joint hearing before the same committees that the security clearance appeals process for State Department employees has many shortcomings. Among the problems

identified in this testimony were chronically slow processing of appeals (often twice as long as the guidelines provided in the Foreign Affairs Manual); meddling by the Bureau of Diplomatic Security in issues that are rightly the responsibility of the Bureau of Personnel; and seemingly arbitrary decisions in specific employee clearance investigations. Since that time, the General Accounting Office (GAO) has been conducting an investigation of individual due process rights and security clearance procedures within the department, for which AFSA has provided information.

Depending upon the outcome of the GAO investigation, the committees are considering legislation to provide more uniform procedures applying to security clearance appeals for all employees throughout the federal government.

filing information

submit, along with their returns, a short statement explaining that they were abroad on the April 16 filing date. The IRS will charge interest on any tax balance unpaid as of April 16.

The other available filing extension is Form 4868, extending the filing deadline four months, normally to August 15. Those using the out-of-country extension may apply for an additional two-month extension by filing Form 4868. You should write in "Taxpayer Abroad" at the top of this form if you are out of the country when filing. It is important to note that the Form 4868 extension, like the out-of-country extension, is for filing only, not for paying any tax owed. Therefore, to avoid paying interest on overdue taxes, those filing for a Form 4868 extension must determine whether they expect to owe taxes and enclose a check for the

estimated amount owed, if any, along with Form 4868. The Form 4868 extension may also be used by those who do not qualify for the out-of-country extension. AFSA has verified with the IRS that both of these extensions are available to Foreign Service employees.

Should you decide to file after the April 16 filing deadline, you will be charged interest on any unpaid tax due balances. If you file later than any extended deadline for which you qualify, you will also be charged penalties (the IRS charges interest for unpaid tax due balances and penalties for filing after the deadline). Interest is generally computed by charging one-half of one percent monthly of any tax owed, up to a maximum of 25 percent of the total tax owed. In addition, the IRS may impose a late filing penalty equal to 5 percent of the total tax owed for each month or part of a month that

your return is late. If you file your tax return late, enclose an explanation. If the IRS decides that you had a good reason, the interest and/or penalties may be reduced.

The IRS claims that, on average, people qualifying for refunds will receive payment within 10 weeks after filing. This period will vary depending on when you file; i.e., it will be shorter if you file well in advance of the deadline.

These guidelines are not binding and the IRS does not pay individuals any interest on refunds, whether or not they take longer than these suggested guidelines.

Further information about filing extensions for individuals abroad and other special considerations for taxpayers abroad can be found in IRS publications 17 and 54 and on side two of IRS Form 4868. Please do not hesitate to contact AFSA should you have any questions.

Career transitions

Many Foreign Service employees have asked AFSA about eligibility for the Department of State's Career Transition Program. The program has two central components: the Retirement Planning Seminar and the Job Search Program.

The five-day, half-time Retirement Planning Seminar provides information on health, financial planning, and employment outside the Foreign Service. All full-time employees of the Department of State eligible to retire within five years of the seminar may attend. However, priority is given to employees facing mandatory retirement.

The Job Search Program is designed primarily to teach skills in preparing resumes, networking, interviewing, and negotiating. Foreign Service employees may participate in the program on either a full-time (90 calendar days) or part-

time basis, depending on eligibility. Those Foreign Service employees who wish to participate on a full-time basis—and remain in pay status—may do so 90 days prior to retirement or involuntary separation (employees terminated for cause are not eligible). Civil Service employees may participate during their last 30 days in pay status.

Part-time participation is extended to employees assigned to the Washington, DC area who, at the time of the program, are within a year of retirement eligibility. Employees who participate on a part-time basis and subsequently retire voluntarily may later sign up full time.

Before taking the 90-day program, those retiring voluntarily must agree to repay the salary they received while in the program if they do not retire at the end of the program. Employees who do not obtain tenure and are being separated from the Foreign Service are offered the opportunity to take the

90-day Job Search Program their last 90 days in pay status. If such employees file a grievance, win the grievance, and are not required to leave the Service, they are not obligated to repay the salary they received while in the program.

In addition to the retirement seminar and job search program, PER/CTR maintains a confidential Job Skills Bank and Job Leads Register for employees and former employees. Former employees may use the department's career transition facilities for up to one year after leaving the Service, if they successfully applied to do so before separation.

The Office of Career Transition welcomes inquiries from all employees, as well as those from other agencies, concerning their programs. They may be reached at (703) 235-4240, FAX (703) 235-4265, by cable slugged for PER/CTR, or by mail at 3330 Washington Blvd., Arlington, VA 22201.

State Standing Committee



George Jones
Vice President

The Department of State gave AFSA on March 22 the remainder of its proposals

for changes in the personnel system for generalists. State promised we would receive the proposed changes for specialists and secretaries by June 1. Until then, as we discovered in a meeting with the director general of the Foreign Service, Ambassador Edward Perkins, on March 9, the department is unwilling to even hint at the direction or scope of what they may or may not do for our 4,400 specialists. If this column and next month's are dedicated primarily to the interests of generalist officers, that's the reason—the department chose to put generalist issues on the negotiating table first.

All of you should have seen the department's cable, State 85780, management's most recent summary of its generalist proposals. I will use the same subheads, in the same order, as in the cable.

The Assignment and Promotion Cycles. AFSA has agreed to all of the proposed changes in the rating year, the due date for EERs, the due date for bids on new assignments, and the timing of ambassadorial selection and deputy chief of mission and other key assignments. We believe that the earlier assignments are made, the better, and we are willing to give the Bureau of Personnel the benefit of the doubt in its assertion that it needs seven months instead of five to complete the assignment process. Our one dissent is on the timing of selection boards. The department has proposed to AFSA that the 1990 boards begin meeting September 5 and that the promotion lists be published in January. We are flatly opposed to publication of the lists any later than October. As State 85780 correctly states, "Total synchronization of annual promotion and assignment cycles is impossible."

But prior to the last reasonable opportunity for revision of an employee's bid list (November), employees should know whether they are being promoted.

Training. The department's negotiators told us March 22 they had decided to accept AFSA's proposal that all onward assignments following training be bid on competitively by both trainees and non-trainees. Because such assignments are to be given priority at the beginning of the assignment process, all trainees should know their onward assignment within a couple of months after beginning training. AFSA and management are now in agreement.

The Cone System. The new multifunctional (MF) cone will be the conal designation for some 840 positions already identified by management. For employees, however, MF will not really be a cone; it will be an "alternate" skill code entitling them to two chances at promotion. There are two ways to acquire the code: if your last promotion was designated multifunctional, or if you have served at your present grade in a job outside your current cone. If you are ranked FS-3 through counselor (OC), meet either of these conditions, and are otherwise eligible for promotion, you will be considered for promotion first multifunctionally (competing for the number of MF vacancies the department has determined to exist at the next higher grade) and, if unsuccessful, considered again within your functional cone (competing for the number of vacancies in that cone existing at the next grade). AFSA agrees with the department's objectives of increasing cross-conal movement and experience in MF jobs, and believes the new system is worth trying.

Junior Officers. New officers are now being brought in unconed, and AFSA is reviewing the draft regulations for the new Conal Designation Board, a separate entity from the Tenure Boards. We agreed to management's proposal to

lengthen the maximum time for untenured officers to five years, to give them more time to demonstrate qualifications for tenure and skills in their preferred cone. AFSA proposes tenure reviews at 42 months (instead of management's 45) and 54 months.

Promotion. AFSA is seeking further details of management's proposals on promotion and time-in-class (TIC) requirements. We have asked for their computer model on flow-through, and we are particularly concerned about the potential impact on OCs. Strangely, management proposed retaining limited career extension (LCE) authority for a small number of minister counselors (MCs) with specialized skills and abolishing LCEs for OCs, where the need to retain specialists is certainly no less and may be greater than at the MC level. AFSA is arguing to retain the authority for both classes. We strongly support the new requirement that officers ranked at O-1 must speak at least one foreign language to be promoted into the Senior Foreign Service; we are discussing with management the timing of its implementation.

Other Issues. The draft precepts for the 1990 boards contain no new language on the importance of the contribution State officers can make to the promotion of U.S. exports and the enhancement of America's competitiveness. AFSA therefore tabled a proposal to instruct the boards to "give particular attention to evidence of efforts (by officers at all grades) to promote U.S. commercial interests . . . all officers in the economic cone and all officers with program direction responsibilities are expected to have demonstrated such interest and competence."

AFSA held a membership meeting in mid-April to discuss AFSA's and management's proposals. As always, we welcome outside ideas.

Secretaries team up

AFSA Committee on Secretarial Issues

AFSA's Committee on Secretarial Issues, with a rapidly growing membership, meets officially once a week, while many work between meetings on their own time. The committee believes Foreign Service secretaries should work as a team, speaking with one voice. We are indebted to the Bonn and Brussels groups for publicizing secretarial concerns; their efforts resulted in the secretarial conference in Brussels and initiated a dialogue with management that now has received worldwide attention. We believe this has led to increased awareness and participation in addressing the longstanding problems unique to Foreign Service secretaries. Although studies of these problems have been undertaken in past years, to date there have been few concrete results.

On March 9, a meeting was held on secretarial issues with Director General Perkins, Deputy Assistant Secretary Peters, and Basil Scarlis, coordinator for secretarial issues. Attending for AFSA were Ted Wilkinson, George Jones, and three members of our committee. The director general informed us that the department intends to have a package of proposals ready by June 1.

Given the urgent need to find solutions to the problems of Foreign Service secretaries, we have sent a worldwide telegram asking secretaries to list five issues, in prior-



The Committee on Secretarial Issues holds a working meeting.

ity order, that they would like to bring before the director general through AFSA. We suggested such issues as: promotions; additional positions at each grade; step increases for shorthand and back-up communication skills; secondary skill codes; removing the cap from FS-3 positions; doing away with the title "secretary;" and improving on the availability of training in language, administrative, and consular courses.

The committee would like to

stress the need for secretaries to be active AFSA members in chapters overseas, and to volunteer to serve as AFSA representatives at posts where there is a vacancy. We would also like to extend an open invitation to any Foreign Service secretary who would like to attend our regular meetings when in the area. Retired secretaries, please write to us in care of AFSA, if you would like us to take up an issue on your behalf.

Outreach (continued from page 57)

president of DeltaTech Corp.; J.D. Crouch, principal deputy assistant secretary for international security policy, the Department of Defense; William Schneider Jr. of the President's General Advisory Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament; Kloske, under secretary of commerce for export controls; Willard

A. Workman, director of policy and programs, international division, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce; international trade consultant Paul Freedenberg, and General Howard Fish of LTV Aerospace and Defense Co. About 100 AFSA members, officials, and industry representatives attended the conference.

Future AFSA outreach program events include an April 18 symposium on "East European Business Prospects"; a conference on the environment and international business on June 14; and a symposium on opportunities for business in Korea on September 18.

President's Page

More on money

Theodore S. Wilkinson,
AFSA President



Senator Dole may have captured the budgetary headlines at the beginning of the year with his proposal to cut back Con-

gress's practice of earmarking for foreign aid. But the publicity prize in March went to Democratic Congressman Dan Rostenkowski, who proposed a tough combination of new taxes and austerity measures. Other Democrats are alarmed; conversely, Republicans are interested in Rostenkowski's unpalatable package, because they know something is needed, and because they can pin a Democratic label on the proposal.

We mention this because we continue to dream of the day when our foreign affairs budget will be adequately financed. So far it's been another dreary year. We are still a day late and a dollar short for fiscal 1990. To restore the full State and USIA appropriation (some of which was lost because of a veto and the series of parliamentary complications that followed), OMB Director Darman asked for "offsets" (savings elsewhere so as to stay under the budgetary ceiling); reportedly he went so far as to suggest that the savings come from Appropriations Subcommittee Chairman Hollings' cherished emergency reconstruction funds for South Carolina. Not so, said Darman later, but Republicans have still stepped in twice to block moves in the House to restore the full 1990 appropriation. Despite the clamor from Panama, Congress is moving equally slowly on the administration's request for 1990 supplementals, primarily for Panama and Nicaragua.

Ironically, as Riek Weiss points out in more detail on the next page, the Congress is showing longer vi-

sion than the administration in plans for exploiting new opportunities in Eastern Europe. Recognizing the inadequacy of the administration's "salaries and expenses" budget to cover both existing activities and an expansion in Eastern Europe, the authorizing committees with AFSA's stimulus and support are now working on bills that would add some \$50 to \$70 million to the administration's proposals for operating accounts next year—an increase of 2 to 3 percent. Congressional sources told us at first that Under Secretary Selin was firmly opposed even to such small increases, presumably under strict orders from OMB. Since then, Selin's staff has assured us that "the situation has changed enough" so that the additional funds can be justified and can now perhaps be accepted graciously. If there are no additional funds, expansion in Eastern Europe will require considerable retrenchment in our Western European operations, and we are told that 11 consulates are on the hit list, with Salzburg and Genoa at the top. The others are reportedly Bordeaux, Halifax, Bilbao, Oporto, Quebec, Edinburgh, Antwerp, Lyon, and Florence.

Stretched thin. Foreign affairs agency funding would be stretched even thinner if there were a parity pay raise for all to supplement the executive pay raise scheduled to go into effect in January. Rather than an across-the-board raise for federal employees, however, what seems most likely to emerge from this session of Congress is a "locality pay" bill that would supplement pay for employees in the highest cost cities. Congressman Aekerman and Senator Glenn are sponsoring legislation to this intent, and an administration version that would be implemented in phases is about to be introduced. The administration bill would retain provisions for merit pay for professionals but would eliminate most longevity "step increases."

We are told that the administration will try to cut costs by limiting the application of the proposed bill to the three highest-cost cities—

New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles—thereby excluding Washington (which is fifth, after Boston). To neutralize this effort, suburban Maryland Republican Connie Morella has introduced her own bill to legislate a salary supplement for the Washington area, if necessary. We don't yet know the specifics of how the Ackerman and Morella bills would be applied to Foreign Service pay. What we do know is that the increases are not likely to be dramatic; although the administration bill would ultimately allow locality pay differentials of as much as 25 percent, we understand that current proposals would extend only an 8 percent increase to employees in New York City, at the top of the scale.

Call to Action. If there is a "peace dividend," we think it ought to be reinvested. To say that another way, the money we save from reduced reliance on heavy weapons ought to be converted into resources for diplomacy.

No one to our knowledge is arguing that "peace through strength" has lost its meaning. We may be able to keep our defenses at a lower cost, but we can't do it at no cost. Substituting strong diplomacy for military muscle is desirable for economic as well as political reasons, but diplomacy carries certain costs too. The resource starvation of our civilian foreign affairs agencies has got to be reversed. Specifically, we need new appropriations to expand our operations in those countries where democracy is taking fragile root—in Eastern Europe, Panama, Nicaragua, potentially in parts of Africa—without sacrificing our foreign networks elsewhere.

Everyone with an active interest in the foreign relations of the United States ought to be using his own words to bring these points home to press, public, and Congress. That goes double for AFSA members.

Success Stories. In the last few months we have learned informally that the AFSA model is being used by diplomatic groups in four coun-

tries to develop their own professional associations. We mentioned Hungary and (while it lasts) the German Democratic Republic in our last issue. More recently, Pakistani and Soviet representatives have asked us for more information about AFSA's activities and responsibilities. In both cases political liberalization has apparently reached the point where diplomatic personnel believe that they can form an independent

professional association to represent them without fear of reprisals.

New Members. Full membership in AFSA is open to all salaried, active duty Foreign Service personnel, including politically appointed ambassadors, and I have written to all of them to make this clear. I'm especially pleased to report that among the positive responses is one from Shirley Temple Black, now one of our newest full members.

Foreign Service Day. As noted in "AFSA Views" and elsewhere, May 4 is Foreign Service Day. AFSA sponsors several events during the day, including a dedication by Secretary of State Baker of the names added for 1989 to the Memorial Plaque in the Diplomatic Lobby of the State Department. I hope active as well as retired AFSA members can be present for this important occasion.

Legislative Issues

Rick Weiss, Congressional Liaison

As Congress prepares for spring recess, the Department of State has completed most of its 1991 budget testimony before the legislative branch. Secretary Baker and other senior officials have appeared before the Budget Committee, the House Foreign Affairs and the Senate Foreign Relations Committees, and the House Appropriations Subcommittee. In late April, Baker is scheduled to appear before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee, chaired by Senator Ernest Hollings (D-SC).

An annual challenge for any Cabinet department is obtaining resources—money, personnel, material, program funding—adequate to meet its responsibilities. In the president's budget for 1991, the money for State Department operations was minimal. In the opening round of hearings, Secretary Baker's clear primary concern was to reduce the extent to which AID appropriations are earmarked for specific countries, so as to increase the administration's diplomatic leverage in dealing with AID recipients.

Even though the budget is as tight as ever, domestic funding requirements have preference over foreign requirements, and 1990 is a primary and general election year, Congress ironically has been more responsive to the needs of the department, at least in its initial actions this year, than our own seventh floor principals.

Congressman Neil Smith (D-IA),

chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee, has taken the lead in trying to get continuing restrictions on 1990 budgets for USIA and State removed. On March 22 and March 27, Smith presented the case for suspension of the rules and approval of the full 1990 budgets, as appropriated. In both cases, Republicans in the House of Representatives defeated these efforts. When the 1990 State and USIA budgets are eventually passed by the House, the Hollings Appropriations Subcommittee has agreed to give them expeditious treatment in the Senate. But as long as the restrictions remain in effect, the foreign affairs agencies are constrained to hold down hiring and other expenses, just as they would if Gramm-Rudman provisions were still binding, as they were for several months for all departments.

For the FY 1991 budget, the House Foreign Affairs Committee (HFAC) is proposing to add about \$54 million in authorizations above what the administration has requested for State salaries and expenses. Of that sum, \$9 million would be for 35 new positions for American posts in Eastern Europe. The HFAC believes that Western European posts should not be closed and/or stripped of personnel, with EC 92, trade/commercial/financial issues, German unification, and the future of NATO yet to be resolved. An additional \$45 million in proposed HFAC

authorizations is broken down into: \$15 million for pay increases, \$15 million for inflation, and \$15 million for shortfalls in overseas currency rates of exchange. Final HFAC action is expected the first week in April. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is expected to begin work on a parallel authorization for FY 1991 at the end of April or early May, after House floor action.

In the five-year-old issue of the bugged Moscow new office building (NOB), HFAC, by a party-line vote on March 29, rejected the administration's proposal to commit now to tear down the NOB and reconstruct it. The majority voted instead to leave open all options, including an entirely new chancery, costing up to \$300 million, until Ambassador Salgo's negotiations with the Soviets are further along.

On the issue of supplemental FY 1990 appropriations for "emerging democracies," the Congress has many proposals and legislative initiatives to support Nicaragua, Panama, Eastern Europe, and a revised NATO. These proposals will be thrashed out in April and May committee hearings and floor action. The committees to watch will be the Murtha and Inouye defense appropriations subcommittees and the Leahy and Obey foreign operations subcommittees. The money, if any, will come from Department of Defense cuts.

Insurance Programs

Unexcelled group plans

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

AFSA's group insurance programs—three of which were designed for the Foreign Service—have features not available elsewhere and generally cost less than competing plans.

AFSA's four programs are: the Hospital Income Plan, Accident Insurance Plan, Personal Insurance Plan, and Disability Income Plan. For members not already enrolled in one or more, here is a brief explanation of each:

Hospital Income Plan. This plan is intended to supplement the benefits provided under the Federal Employees Health Plan by paying \$30, \$50, or \$100 daily for up to 365 days of hospitalization.

The daily benefit is doubled for days spent in an intensive care unit, up to 30 days. Hospitalization due to pregnancy and childbirth is covered. No medical examination is required to qualify for this plan, and the restrictions relating to pre-existing illnesses are more favorable than in most plans of this type. Such illnesses are covered after the insurance has been in force for *three months* without treatment for the condition, and after two years the restriction is removed completely. All members and spouses under age 70 are eligible for this insurance, but for those over 65, benefits do not begin until the eighth day of hospitalization and are reduced by 50 percent until the 90th day.

Accident Insurance Plan. This plan provides worldwide coverage against accidental death or specified bodily injuries in amounts up to \$300,000 for the named insured and spouse and up to \$50,000 for each dependent child under age 26. Accidents due to acts of war or terrorism are covered for 50 percent of the scheduled benefits at no extra charge. Such coverage is also provided for dependents. To our knowledge, *no other plan* does this. Furthermore, most plans require that insurance on the spouse be limited

to half the amount purchased for the named insured and that benefits for dependent children be limited to 10 percent. Most important, this plan offers cheaper family coverage than most competing plans and is open to AFSA members under age 70, with no limitations as to health, occupation, or overseas assignment.

Personal Insurance Plan. For members serving abroad, this plan provides broad coverage on personal property and worldwide protection at agreed values for scheduled jewelry, fur, fine arts, silverware, etc. Optional coverage is available for loss or damage to household property, including automobiles, in transit and for comprehensive personal liability anywhere in the world.

Unlike most other plans, which insure only against *specified* perils such as fire, windstorm, burglary, and theft, this plan covers against "all risks" of physical loss or damage to your property, subject only to the policy limits, exclusions, and limitations. In addition, the AFSA plan pays claims on the basis of current replacement cost rather than original cash value of the property lost or damaged—an important advantage for those who buy furniture, appliances, and other personal property for bargain prices in one country, only to suffer a loss in a country with far greater replacement costs. While many insurers charge an extra 25 percent for replacement value coverage, under AFSA's plan it costs the same as regular coverage, \$0.75 per \$100 of value. However, to ensure full payment in the event of a loss, you must carry insurance on the replacement value.

Disability Income Plan. Initiated in 1989, when AFSA gained access to a large "group insurance trust" with broad coverage at low rates, this plan pays monthly benefits, beginning on the 31st day, if a covered disabling illness or accident prevents the insured from working. Available to members and working

spouses, the plan allows you to choose the amount of your monthly benefit and how long that benefit continues. Plan I provides benefits for up to five years for disability due to accident, and one year if due to illness. Plan II pays up to age 65 for disability due to accident and two years if due to illness. Plan III pays up to age 65 for disability due to either accident or illness. Benefits range from \$600 to \$3,000 per month but, for Plans II and III, may not exceed 70 percent of salary, when added to other disability benefits.

For more information about any of these insurance programs, brochures are available from many AFSA representatives as well as from AFSA in Washington, or by writing directly to program administrators. For information about the Hospital Income Plan, the Accident Insurance Plan or the Personal Insurance Plan, write to The Hirshorn Company, 14 East Highland Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19118. For information on the Disability Income Plan, write to Albert H. Wohlers & Co., 1440 N. Northwest Highway, Park Ridge, IL 60068-1400. Be sure to indicate that you are a member of the American Foreign Service Association.

Get an AFSA mug!

Raise a cup to AFSA. AFSA is offering an attractive blue mug with the AFSA logo and "Voice of the Foreign Service" on the reverse, reasonably priced at only \$5 each plus \$1.50 for shipping. Send a check payable to AFSA, or drop by our 21st Street or our State Department office, room 3644. These mugs are eye-catching desk toppers, microwave and dishwasher safe. Get yours today.

AID Standing Committee

Wendell Morse, AID Vice President

On May 4, we join our colleagues from the other foreign affairs agencies in pausing to reflect on our service to our country. Our Foreign Service Day reflection this year should include time set aside to consider the role we play in promoting a better world through the array of foreign assistance programs that AID administers globally. Our Foreign Service jobs and service often place before us very special challenges and sacrifices. The addition to the Foreign Service Memorial Plaque in the State Department Diplomatic Lobby of the names of Thomas J. Worrick and Gladys D. Gilbert, Foreign Service colleagues who died in service in 1989, reminds us of the honor and potential sacrifice in our service.

The AID Standing Committee in April submitted to Administrator Roskens our request for the full-time assignment to AFSA of the AID vice president. We have requested that the position be joined by a full-time AID-funded staff assistant and that office space be made available to them. These full-time positions are crucial if we are adequately to meet our legislated man-

date. Administrator Roskens has identified management issues as a priority concern for him. We hope his endorsement of our proposal will come soon.

- **Restructuring.** We are continuing to follow the proposed restructuring and reclassification of positions throughout AID. We are investigating the proposed merger of Civil Service and Foreign Service personnel to assure that Foreign Service employees are not jeopardized, if such a merger is effected.

- **EERs.** We recently issued supplemental guidance noting that employee evaluation reports (EERs) for the current cycle (April 1, 1989–March 31, 1990) should explicitly assess the performance of employees who are a: serving in positions designated for a higher rank officer, in acting capacities or in regular stretch assignments for extended periods; and/or b: have supervisory and management responsibility for contractors. We believe it is important that this responsibility be recognized in the EER.

- **AID training.** In a related matter, we have requested that AID training be made available to employees based on the rank of the position to which they are assigned, rather than on personal rank, which

is the current practice. We believe the current practice unfairly disadvantages people serving in stretch assignments by denying them training they require to perform adequately in the positions they occupy. For example, FS-5, 4, or 3 employees serving in FS-2 positions with management responsibilities may be ineligible for management training, which is open only to employees of FS-2 personal rank or above. We have also requested that eligibility parity be established for employees in positions of comparable rank.

Paula Bryan, Sam Scott, and I have a full plate of concerns that we are currently pursuing with AID management. We solicit and encourage your input as we tackle each one. We have greatly appreciated the interest and support that we have received to date from both AID/Washington and overseas employees. Continue to let us know your concerns. You can reach the AID Standing Committee as follows: Wendell Morse, BIFAD, Room 600, SA-2, Tel: 202-663-2582; Paula Bryan, ANE/TR/PHN, Room 4720 NS, Tel: 202-647-6418; Sam Scott, FVA/LAC, Room 401, SA-8, Tel: 703-875-4704. We have much to accomplish in the coming year.

A second look at bylaws

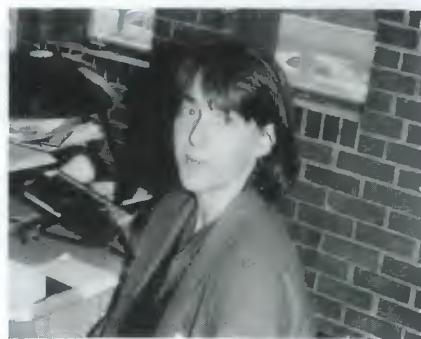
AFSA has formed a committee to review the association's bylaws, and we'd like to ask for your assistance. Over the years, sections of the bylaws have been amended, but no comprehensive review has been done.

Some provisions are archaic and difficult to interpret. Some fairly recent but major AFSA activities, such as the outreach program, are not specifically addressed. In addition, rather than going to the membership every four to five years with a significant dues increase request, the committee wants to examine the possibility of indexing dues increases by tying them to the federal COLA.

Since AFSA is a union and a non-profit organization incorporated

in the District of Columbia, all provisions and changes in the bylaws are reviewed by the Labor Department, IRS, local authorities, and underwriters, and the committee will consult with these authorities and similar organizations for ideas and to ensure compliance with federal and local laws.

The membership department included a copy of the bylaws in the new chapter manual, sent to all posts at the end of March. If you are not overseas, you may request a copy of the bylaws from AFSA Washington. Please review them and forward your suggestions to Mike Cotter, chairman of the AFSA bylaws committee.



Anne Stevenson-Yang has joined the JOURNAL staff as associate editor. A graduate of Wesleyan and Columbia universities, Anne has been working as an editor and writer for seven years. She comes to the JOURNAL from the *China Business Review*.

We Salute the AFSA Award Winners for 1990!

Christian A. Herter Award

Robert H. Pelletreau, U.S. ambassador in Tunis, for his skillful management of the U.S.-PLO dialogue, including an active and courageous role in policy formation.

William R. Rivkin Award

Patrick McDuffie, a development officer with AID, who challenged conventional wisdom by opposing resumption of financial aid to the recent military regime in Haiti.

W. Averell Harriman Award

Patricia Hanigan, an economic officer in Seoul, who vigorously and effectively pursued U.S. economic interests in Korea, while developing and defending new analyses of key economic issues.

Avis Bohlen Award

Ruth Wagner, spouse of the American consul in Maracaibo, who systematically and persistently organized efforts to provide assistance and solace to victims of a locally endemic incurable disease, as well as participating in other community endeavors.

Matilda Sinclair Awards for achievement in the study of hard languages: Rekha V. Arness (Thai), Milton L. Charlton (Greek), Jeffrey Feltman (Hungarian), Holcombe H. Thomas (Korean), Charles N. Patterson (Hebrew), Dale Prince (Polish), Eric W. Running (Thai).

Merit award panels established for AFSA/AAFSW 1990

On April 3, 24 Foreign Service volunteers from the Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW), AID, State, USIA, and the retired Foreign Service community met to review the 1990 AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award applications.

The members of the review panels are as follows:

AAFSW Janet Biggs, chair; Barbara Butcher, Anne Kauzlarich, Nadine Soriano, Jo Ann Vaughan

STATE David Jones, chair; John Mack, William Mooney, Robert Pace, Sharon Weiss

AID Edward Costello, chair; David Bathrick, Vernita Forte, Roy Grohs, Bob Maushammer

USIA Karl Fritz, chair; Jack Barton,

Jo Anne Cotter, Robert Knopes, Frances Sullinger

Retired Foreign Service Jack Lydman, chairman, AFSA Committee on Education; Willis Coburn Armstrong, Marietta Barbier Falzgraf, William Dean Howells, Mary Vance Trent

The AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards were established in 1976 to recognize the outstanding academic and community activities of Foreign Service students, who often have their schooling interrupted by moves and unusual circumstances at posts abroad. Past panelists have found the experiences of the applicants

fascinating reading, as they review their personal essays, extra-curricular activities, references, high school transcripts, and SAT scores. After each applicant is ranked, a final panel coordinates the scoring and the winners are then announced.

This year the AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards are named in memory of Bonnie Barnes Pugh, who died in an air crash over Niger in September 1989. Bonnie Pugh showed total commitment and dedication to the Foreign Service and to the welfare of the people at each post in which she served. For over 28 years she helped carry out U.S. foreign policy objectives on a person-to-person basis.

Professional Issues

Can State deal with international scientific issues?

Richard S. Thompson
Coordinator for Professional Issues

Dr. Frederick M. Bernthal, deputy director of the National Science Foundation, talked to a Foreign Service Club audience March 22 about the growing importance of international scientific issues and the Department of State's capacity to deal with them. Bernthal was formerly assistant secretary of state for oceans and international environmental and scientific affairs (OES).

Bernthal described how the environment and competitiveness in business have become transnational issues. Various modern proposals for great enterprises are too expensive for one nation, and not just in the scientific realm.

The United States has a historic tendency to isolationism, but issues such as ozone depletion and climate change now prevent us from retreating into a new isolationism. Overlying all is the question of the effect of population growth on the environment.

OES is a paradigm of these changes. Fifteen years ago it dealt with only one burning international issue, nuclear nonproliferation, which has now receded. OES responsibilities can now be seen throughout the foreign policy arena: energy, ozone, biological diversity, fisheries, competitiveness, science and technology, construction of a space station,

and building a supercollider—issues that will almost certainly require contributions from other nations.

Bernthal discussed whether the Department of State is prepared to handle these issues. OES is well prepared, he contended, and is becoming an increasingly popular place to work. But few people understand where science ends and policy picks up. Certain problems cannot be dismissed as "science" and therefore not of general concern. In the past, economic questions were sometimes belittled, but not today. The attitude toward science must similarly evolve.

Bernthal responded to a question about the capacity of Congress to deal with scientific issues by noting that its Office of Technology Assessment is very respected for its analyses, but Congress itself is ill-equipped to translate them into action.

On the more specific issue of training for science attachés, Bernthal asserted the first problem is to maintain sufficient science-designated positions in embassies, and to fill these positions. Instead of a subcone of the economic cone, science affairs should be established as a separate cone. Beyond that, the Foreign Service Institute has a solid curriculum for economics but not yet for science and technology is-

sues.

Bernthal expressed great respect for the career Foreign Service, but said he believes that, like others throughout the government, they are not yet convinced that science-related issues won't go away, and in fact will grow in importance. Science education is in crisis in the United States, and we have a generic problem in educating people to understand the issues. In other industrialized countries students get a much better background in math and science, and many countries have people with technical backgrounds in high positions. The department must find people in OES who can be moved to higher positions, to bridge the cultural gap between those who handle technical issues and those who handle political issues.

Questioned about the U.S. government's overall organization for handling scientific issues, he agreed it is "a little messy," but the final responsibility is in the Office of the Science Advisor to the President, Dr. Allan Bromley. In this day when all agencies dabble in international relations, the State Department must maintain a credible leading role as negotiator with other governments.

In Memoriam

The following additional names on the Memorial Plaque will be unveiled on Foreign Service Day:

Col. James N. Rowe, a military assistance adviser, killed by terrorists April 21, 1989, in the Philippines.

John A. Butler, a Department of

State Foreign Service officer shot dead June 28, 1989, in the police headquarters in Grenada by a demented gunman.

Gladys D. Gilbert, an AID Foreign Service officer killed last August in the plane crash in Ethiopia that also took the life of Congressman Mickey

Leland.

Robert W. Woods, a Department of State Foreign Service officer also traveling with Congressman Leland.

Thomas J. Worrick, an AID Foreign Service officer likewise killed with Congressman Leland.

New board members for the Journal

The editorial board brings to the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL broad expertise in both diplomacy and journalism, with members representing State, AID, USIA, as well as the journalistic community. Ambassador Howard B. Schaffer has chaired the board since December 1989.

- **Howard B. Schaffer** has spent most of his 35 Foreign Service years dealing with South Asia. He was twice Near Eastern and Asian Affairs (NEA) deputy assistant secretary, and from 1984 to 1987 he served as ambassador to Bangladesh. Earlier, he had been political counselor at Islamabad and New Delhi successively. Schaffer is now at the Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs, where he is preparing a study of Chester Bowles and U.S. foreign policy. He is married to Teresita Schaffer, who succeeded him last year as South Asian DAS.

- **William Beecher**, Washington bureau chief of the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* and a published novelist (*Mayday Man*), has worked in Washington for the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times*, and *Boston Globe*. Beecher, a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist, interrupted his career in 1973-75 to work under Defense Secretaries Elliott Richardson and James Schlesinger as acting assistant secretary for public affairs.

- **Ted Wilkinson**, AFSA president, has served as AFSA representative at USNATO and in Mexico City. His foreign posts also include Caracas, Stockholm, Geneva, and Tegucigalpa. During stateside tours he has served at USUN and in INR, PM, NEA, and OES, as well as ACDA and Defense.

- **Richard W. Aherne**, currently chief of Foreign Service Career Development, has held a variety of high-level posts, including director of the department Office of Human Rights, chief of the U.S. Observer Mission at UNESCO, and executive assistant to Secretary Henry Kissinger. He directed pacification programs in two Vietnamese provinces



Front: Howard Schaffer (seated). First row: Ben Lowc, Helen Strother Fouché, and Bill Beecher. Back row: Dick Aherne, Peter Benedict, and Ted Wilkinson.

from 1970 to 1972.

- **Peter Benedict**, author or co-author of several books on Turkey's economic development, directs AID's Office of Middle East and North African Affairs, under the Bureau for Asia and Near East. Benedict has held posts in Niger, Mauritania, Cairo, Beirut, and Ankara.

- **Helen Strother Fouché** is president of Washington Editorial Services Inc., a print media and advertising consulting firm that writes edits newsletter articles. With extensive editorial and public relations experience, Fouché also serves as a

director of the Foreign Service Youth Foundation and has worked as community liaison officer in La Paz.

- **Lynn G. Sever**, cultural coordinator for USIA's Office of American Republics Affairs, has been USIA desk officer for Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. Sever has held posts in Brasilia, Sao Paulo, and Jakarta.

- **Benjamin M. Lowe**, a political analyst for the Middle America-Caribbean Division, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, has held Foreign Service posts in Ciudad Juarez, Cape Town, and Kuala Lumpur.

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