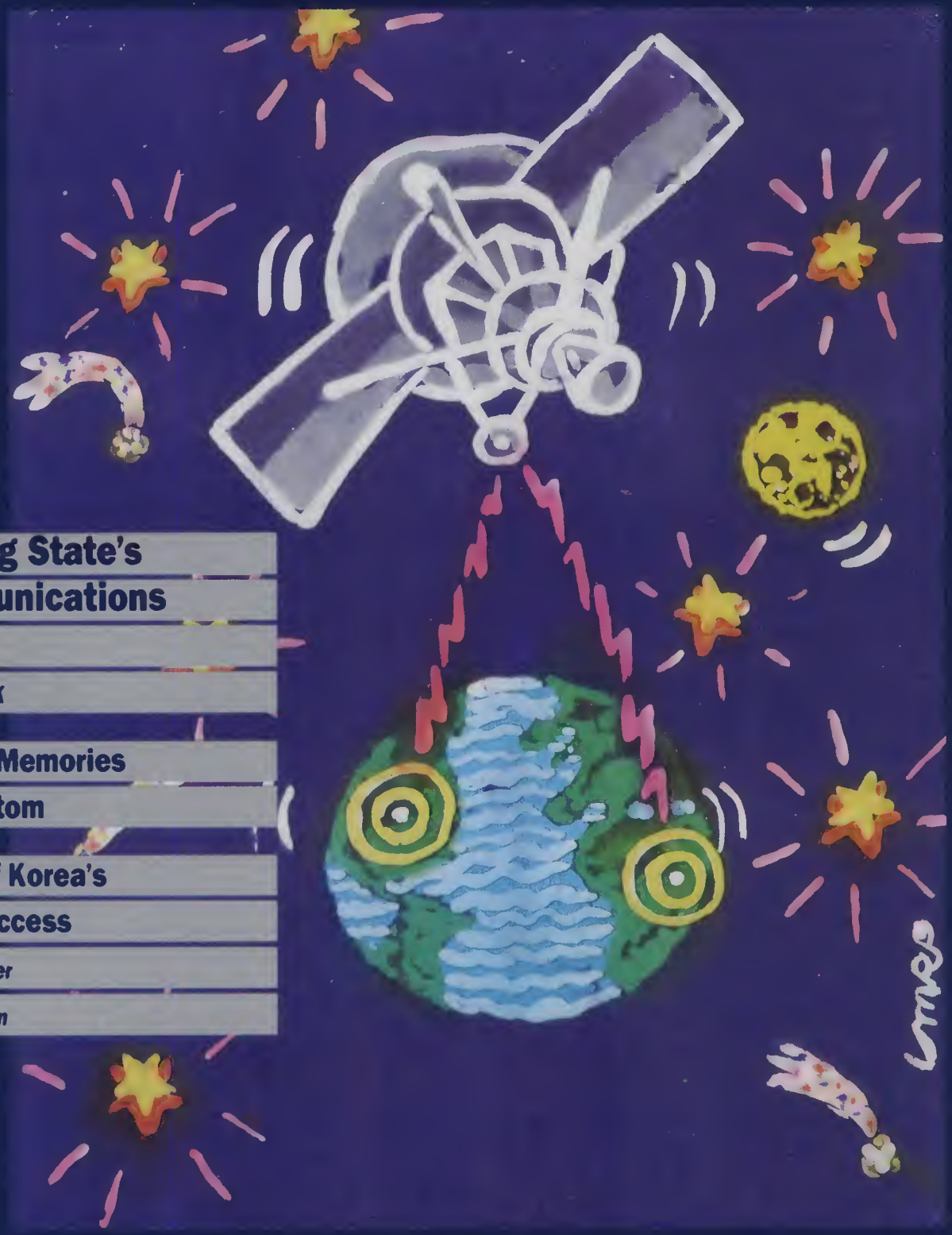
FOREIGN SERVICE

JOURNAL

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June 1990



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AFSA Views

AFSA Approaches "Package Agreement" with Management

After eight weeks and numerous meetings, State and AFSA negotiators are now agreed on most aspects of a package of proposed changes in current career management practices for FSO generalists. Similar measures are being implemented in USIA and Commerce (but not, so far, in AID). Proposals for State specialists and secretaries are pending. What has been agreed upon to date for generalists in State follows the outline put forth by Under Secretary Selin last November and endorsed in principle in this column in February. In our view these measures incorporate the best elements from the earlier Thomas and Bremer recommendations. They are expected to regularize advancement in a number of ways that add predictability to Foreign Service careers in State and establish a probable minimum career of 27 years for new entrants, assuming continuing creditable service. The pace of advancement will unquestionably be slower for some. Among other effects, the new measures will: (1) defer the first junior officer tenure review board until the fourth year of service, and tenure most career candidates at that time; (2) preclude back-to-back promotions for those few exceptional officers who might otherwise have been promoted after less than two years in grade; and (3) make the OC to MC threshold slightly more challenging than it is now. On the positive side, the changes will serve to retain a sizable number of experienced and talented MC-class officers who arrived early at this high rank and would otherwise have to retire early. Of equal importance, a substantial number of class one officers will be retained who would otherwise be retired involuntarily without crossing the senior threshold. *Assuming proper implementation*, we expect that the agreement will greatly reduce the deplorable involuntary retirement catharsis of O-1s and MCs in their prime that surged in the late '80s.

A second major feature would add at this late date the kind of flexibility to the cone system that should have been built into it when the system was first designed 20 years ago. Rather than suffering promotion penalties for broadening experience, and even for long-term *training*—as so many recounted from their own experiences to the Thomas and Bremer committees—FSOs with multifunctional experience will now have additional and more clearly defined promotion opportunities. Although for the past five years a percentage of middle grade promotions has been awarded on a multifunctional basis (running from about 9 percent of promotions to O-2 to nearly 20 percent of promotions across the senior threshold to OC), the system has never been clearly defined, and promotion boards had to wing it when deciding whether many officers qualified for multifunctional consideration. Now the qualifications for multifunctional promotion consideration will be broadened and clarified. In addition, officers will no longer be straitjacketed from entry with conal designations, sometimes unwanted ones. Beginning with the March 1990 entry class, they will instead be exposed to real Foreign Service work before having to decide how they want to specialize (very much as was the practice for career candidates before 1978). Conal assignments will now first be assigned to new entrants by a conal designation board after three and a half years. Several months later a separate board will decide whether to offer them tenure in the designated cones. Hopefully the offers will coincide with their own choices of cone, but this will not always be the case.

The most controversial aspect has been the assignment/promotion cycle. Management proposed to move back the beginning of the assignment process to a full year in advance of actual transfers, and to phase and articulate the process in specified ways so that it works more satisfactorily for all concerned. AFSA endorsed this scheme with enthusiasm. What we did not endorse was a linked proposal to defer the convening of promotion boards from summer to fall, and slippage in the projected issuance of the promotion lists from mid-October until January. The change is intended to remove interference and delay in the assignments process that would arguably result from publishing the promotion list in the middle of the process. Management maintains that nearly all 1991 assignments will be made before the 1990 list is published. In reply to

continued on page 60

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JOURNAL subscriptions: AFSA Members—included in annual dues; Others, $25. Overseas subscriptions (except Canada), $35 per year. Airmail not available.

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

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

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ISSN 0015-7279
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Cover: *The Department of State Telecommunications Network will become familiar to Foreign Service personnel as "DOSTN" by 1994—bringing the U.S. foreign affairs agencies into the Information Age. Philadelphia artist L. M. Robinson Pritchard did the batik cover art for the JOURNAL.*

Letters

Front-line resources

To the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

In his column "Legislative Issues" in the March JOURNAL, Rick Weiss reports two interesting views which AFSA representatives encounter in their discussions with congressional committee members and their staffs. One is that a "changing world" means "belt tightening."

Why does not a "changing world" require an amplification of resources, such as:

— The staffing of missions and consular posts with officers adequately prepared linguistically and otherwise to perform effectively?

— The provision of adequate travel allowances, so that officers abroad can keep in touch with that changing world, report more perceptively and accurately, explain this country and its policies to a cross-section of the local citizenry and relay back to Washington the views they encounter?

— The reopening of those consular listening and public relations posts which OMB and Congress have been persistently hacking down in recent years?

— The provision of up-to-date, state-of-the-art printers, software, and classified fax systems? All over the world officers are dipping into their own pockets to acquire needed equipment or wrestling with antiquated equipment or equipment too sparsely provided for effective performance.

From time immemorial, the Office of Management and Budget, its predecessor Bureau of the Budget, and Congress have treated the department as just another importuning department instead of the one that mans our front line of peace-time defense and therefore is just as much a national security department as Defense. The result has been that the department and Foreign Service have lagged decades behind the military establishment and the Central Intelligence Agency not only in enough bodies to do their jobs but in up-to-date equipment. Far from "belt tightening" being required by "changing times," the critical need is to bring our diplomatic organization abreast of those times.

The other view Mr. Weiss reported is that the department and Service "appear to present no innovative responses to the changing substantive world." Innovative thinking requires time to think, to study, to back off for new perspectives and solutions. Understaffed, overworked offices are not going to come up with innovative thinking. They are going to operate of necessity with a fire-brigade urgency, concentrating on what is immediate, not on what is important. One might as well expect an understaffed, overworked fire department to come up with innovative ideas of how to prevent fires.

Abroad, pinned down to desks and routine reporting schedules, briefing, escorting and otherwise servicing VIP visitors, unable to travel extensively for lack of time and funds, and, when they do break away, paying for their fleeting expeditions out of their own pockets, officers will be unable to tap information sources and convey our own views on a wide scale. All of this can be a prescription for routine thinking and even disasters, as the OMB and Congress should have learned from the shortcomings of our performance over the years in Iran, just to mention one glaring example. Under these circumstances, when officers abroad come up with creative suggestions these evoke no encouraging response from overworked departmental ranks. So why make them?

Congress and the OMB are more responsible than they seem to be aware of the dulling effects of their doling out funds to the department as though dispensing left-over scraps from the federal appropriations table. Criticism from them is trying to put the shoe on the wrong foot.

Smith Simpson
Annandale, Virginia

Jeno's Story

To the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

In "Jeno's Story", published in the JOURNAL'S January 1990 edition, the author's Gene (Jeno) Kvassay and Fred Godsey discussing the Hungarian Uprising in 1956 wrote ". . . we had great hopes that the Western powers, especially the United States, would send us military aid. Broadcasts from the Voice of America, to which we all listened regularly, led us to believe that help was on the way."

At that time I was chief of the Voice's European Division and together with other top executives, supervised very closely the broadcasts beamed to Hungary. The fact is, and this was confirmed by a thorough investigation of the Voice's broadcasts beamed to Hungary after the revolt had been crushed by the Soviets, that at no time did our broadcasts incite the Hungarian people to revolt nor did we in any way, shape or form indicate or imply that "help was underway." These allegations have appeared from time to time in the past. Now that they have been given circulation by the JOURNAL obligates me to refute them once more.

The great events of 1989 in Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Romania, and Bulgaria have again provided dramatic proof that civilized men and women will rise against totalitarian tyranny against heavy odds without encouragement or promised help by foreign broadcasts.

Robert A. Bauer
Washington D.C.

Phnom Penh memories

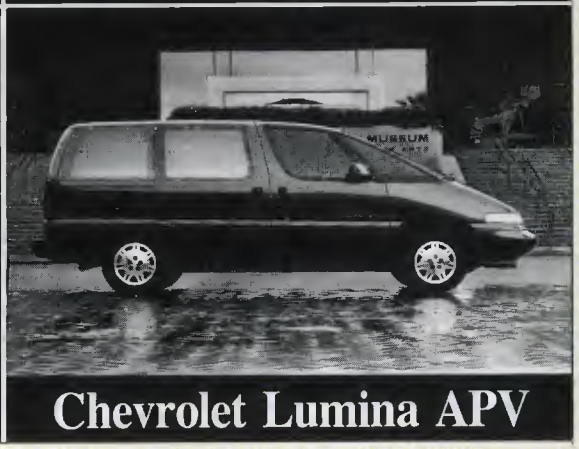
To the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

"E Day in Phnom Penh" (JOURNAL, April) is a memorable account of a moment in history most Americans would rather forget. Thanks to Jim McHale, this moment has been recaptured in a way that the tragedy of Cambodia will be remembered by at









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least your readers and, I hope, many others.

Marshall Green
Washington D.C.

Queries

To the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

Anyone having letters, recollections, or leads pertaining to Francis White, assistant secretary of state for Latin American affairs 1922-26, ambassador to Mexico 1953-57, and to Sweden 1957-59, please write me at 3930 Frisby St., Baltimore, MD 21218, or telephone collect, (301) 243-7033.

I am preparing a volume on Ambassador White's career, and am eager to supplement the correspondence, writings, and addresses (on which the work is principally based) with such direct testimony as might be elicited. I am completing the Ph.D. in History at The Johns Hopkins University; this project is being carried forth with the cooperation of Mrs. Betty Glascock, daughter of the late ambassador.

Pablo J. Davis
Baltimore, Maryland

To the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

I am researching a biography in which Post Wheeler [1869-1956, career FSO, and ambassador to Paraguay, 1929-1933, and to Albania, 1933-1934] and his wife Hallie Erminie Rives play significant roles. I am interested in hearing from anyone with reminiscences of these individuals; write me at 624 A Street, SE, Carriage House (rear), Washington, D.C. 20003.

James Blair Lovell

For readers wondering about the April cover, the painting by Nicholas Roerich is entitled "St. Sophia, the Wisdom of the Almighty," and was intended to signify the transformation of the world. The banner pictured says "Glory, glory, glory," in Greek.

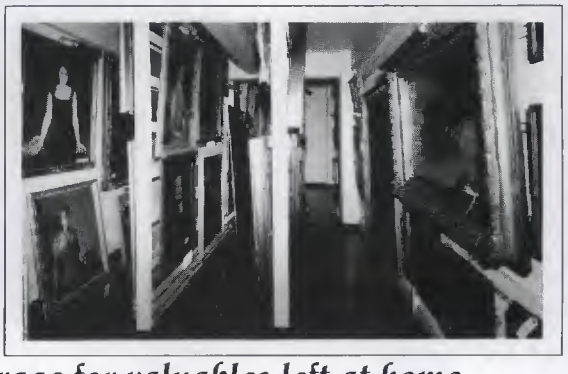
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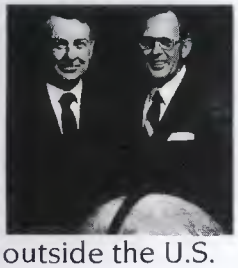


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FSJ, June 1980

For a long period of time, it seems, the Service worried mostly about its employees and let the employees worry about their families. . . . Until quite recently, expressions such as "culture shock" or "re-entry syndrome" were unknown to families in the Foreign Service. On the other hand there was great talk of "coping," "adjusting," or "not adjusting" as the case may be. Coping was the ideal thing, the expected thing to do.

"Re-entry," by Micheline C. Brown

FSJ, June 1965

The members of the American Foreign Service are charged with reporting to our government what foreign lands are like and what their governments are up to. . . . What we are not asked to do, and shouldn't be, is to lecture our public on our own domestic scene. Yet few can see America with a sharper eye than intelligent Americans come home from years abroad. Few can see the changes in America as clearly as those who come back and find a bridge suddenly arched across a river—or a highway paved down yesterday's park—or a thousand houses sprouted like mushrooms on a farm. Can we say, too, that few love America more than the people of the Foreign Service? Certainly few expect more of her than the man who sails into New York from years in one of earth's more ravaged or ugly countries. Perhaps this writer, then, who is one of the recent-returned, may be pardoned if he ignores the foreign scene for a bit and lists a few things he see wrong with our own beloved country.

If we leave aside here all our problems of social justice, the main trouble with us seems clearly to be our failure to respect the land itself. . . . Our industry gives us so many wonderful products, and advertises itself to us so steadily, that we can even forget the need of muscles, and nature, and quiet loneliness. . . . And, yet, of course, nature is not wholly forgotten; the memory of it is used, or rather, misused, by the people who feed us fake folk-songs about pioneers to make us feel we are still pioneers in some inexhaustible, boundless virgin land. And there are other fantasies, too: science fiction writers try to quiet our natural disquiet over the rape of the land by suggesting that somewhere in space there are new green earths for us to conquer. It is the worst kind of escapism. We must forget such fiction and face the fact that our pretty land is being ruined, paved, walled, disfigured, and, simply, *occupied* by our own sprawl.

"This Is My Own, My Native Land," by Peter S. Bridges

FSJ, June 1940

The Fifth Foreign Service Conference was held in Rio de Janeiro from April 20 to 26 inclusive. . . . Considerable attention was devoted to interpreting the present policy of the United States toward the American Republics and to the question of improving liaison between the Department of State and its field offices. Numerous suggestions were made as to how the latter might be accomplished and all agreed that it would be advantageous if officers in the field were better informed in regard to the department's activities. . . . A great amount of useful information was exchanged and personal contacts were established. However, as has proven to be the case previously, the most useful function which the Conference served is believed to be an intangible one—the opportunity afforded the attendants of exchanging views and of discussing each other's problems.

Report by Cecil B. Lyon, third secretary, Santiago de Chile

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Clippings

History and secrecy

The Washington Post, April 16, 1990 by Al Kamen

The Organization of American Historians and an umbrella group that includes the American Historical Association says the integrity of the venerable [U.S. government official history] series, "Foreign Relations of the United States" has been undermined by "an appalling increase in the amount of incomplete and deleted documents."

The series, which began in 1861, claims in the preface to each volume to include, "subject to necessary security considerations, all documents needed to give a comprehensive record of the major foreign policy decisions of the United States."

But recent volumes, according to the resolution, have "significant increases in deletions and omissions [that] create an incompleteness that is itself a distortion." . . .

The broader problem in part reflects a natural tension between covert operators and diplomats favoring secrecy and historians who want a complete record. Traditionally it has been relegated to the rarefied scholarly world of professional historians and archivists.

But the issue is an important one, historians say, involving who controls the writing of U.S. history and the question of how and when documents should be declassified.

"We as the American public need access to an objective and accurate account of our past," argued Page Miller, director of the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History. "When many documents are totally withheld, then the classification issues become such that what is being withheld distorts the history," she said, "and then we are really concerned that we are deceiving ourselves about our past."

. . . [O]thers argue that part of the reason for the growing percentage of documents withheld is that control of the process has slipped from the State Department historian's office to other offices in the department and in the intelligence agencies.

For most of its history, historians could assume a full account of foreign relations could be gleaned from State Department or presidential documents. But after World War II, with the rise of the CIA and other agencies involved in foreign policy, the State Department has, in effect, become a broker for agencies.

In addition, historians say, executive orders under Presidents Richard M. Nixon and Jimmy Carter assured that most documents more than 30 years old would be subject to a declassification process. President Ronald Reagan's 1982 executive order has no timetable for declassification, they say, and overly restrictive rules governing declassification should be changed, either by the administration or by Congress.

Leak control

Common Cause magazine, March/ April 1990, by Anthony L. Kimery

Because high-ranking government officials so often use leaks for their own purposes, there is something richly ironic about efforts by both the Bush and Reagan administrations to clamp down on the practice. Essentially those in power want it both ways: They want to be able to leak when it serves their purposes and to punish when it does not.

Historically leaks have been tolerated because of the implicit understanding, strained though it often has been, that they serve an important function in a democratic society. As the private Center for National Security Studies noted in its May 1988 newsletter *First Principles*, "This nation has never thought it necessary or appropriate to enact an 'official secrets act' of the sort that exists in Great Britain. Indeed, in our democratic system in which 'the people are sovereign,' there are limits upon the government's power to enforce a system of official secrecy, and limits as well upon the government's power to punish press leaks through criminal sanctions."

The only restrictive laws are aimed at protecting national security, and they make it illegal to publish or broadcast the names of CIA agents or details about how the government gathers intelligence. A series of presidential executive orders dating back to 1940 established the process of classifying documents according to their sensitivity, culminating in a 1982 order issued by President Ronald Reagan that was criticized for putting too much information under wraps.

Despite government claims to the contrary, leaks rarely damage national security. Material often is classified to prevent premature disclosures, hide bargaining positions or protect diplomatic relationships, according to a 1985 study prepared for the House subcommittees on civil and constitutional rights and civil service. "Only a fraction of the information classified is of a military nature and of value to the Soviets," the study says. "All too often, documents are classified to protect politically embarrassing information or to hide government misconduct. Classification is even used to avoid disclosure under the Freedom of Information Act." . . .

In 1986 the Justice Department announced it was creating an elite leak-busting unit, saying it would not rule out wire-tapping reporters' telephones in cases involving national security. . . .

Last September, Attorney General Richard Thornburgh announced that federal prosecutors have the right to examine journalists' telephone records in efforts to identify government sources—not just in cases involving classified information, but *any* information the government deems secret. According to [Justice Department spokesperson David R.] Runkel no

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subpoenas have been issued for reporters' phone records under Thornburgh. . . .

A recent profile in *The American Lawyer* says Thornburgh has "an antipathy to the notion that Congress and the public are entitled to know anything about the internal workings of the Justice department except what he chooses to tell them." His boss, George Bush, also has never hidden his passion for secrecy and obsession with unauthorized leaks. As director of the CIA he attempted to stem agency disclosures under the Freedom of Information Act. When Jimmy Carter was elected president with a pledge to reduce government secrecy, Bush advised him that what he needed was more secrecy.

Leak control is a central concern in the White House. Last November, in the wake of an unauthorized leak about the Malta summit that infuriated Bush, White House Chief of Staff John H. Sununu threatened to punish senior aides who do not comply with his order that they report all contacts with reporters to the White House press office.

Noted *Washington Post* reporter Bob Woodward—who was threatened with prosecution by CIA Director William Casey in 1986 for receiving leaks—says the Justice Department's new policy "won't prevent sources from talking who feel they really have something important to say." He added, "The government has placed an inordinate amount of blame on the media for all its ills because of leaks." . . .

A Justice Department official who asked not to be identified says, "The doors are going to be opened to make way for prosecuting reporters who base stories on stolen information—classified documents, that is. This administration has a clearly defined plan about what it wants to do."

Shrinking secrets

The New York Times, April 18, 1990

The U.S. government is no slouch at manufacturing secrets. But discovering the exact number of them has been a statistician's nightmare, despite the best efforts of the Information Security Oversight Office, established in 1978 to oversee classified information.

Different agencies counted differently. Until 1985, the Defense Department recorded only "traffic messages"—electronic data that could be tallied centrally. That undercounted the number of classification decisions. The Oversight Office devised new procedures, but the Navy inflated the results by counting all the classified documents that fell into its hands, not just those it originated.

Armed with even tighter guidelines, the Oversight Office thinks 1989's figures are the most reliable ever, and a benchmark for future tallies. The number of new secrets in 1989? A grand total of 6,796,501—13 per minute.

Even with the cold war ending, there's obviously not a secrets shortage. But as tensions ease, there may be a secrets shrinkage. The Oversight Office is also eager to see how 1990's numbers are distributed. More State Department secrets could mean stepped-up diplomatic activity. Fewer Defense Department secrets could mean less anxiety at the Pentagon.

The Washington Post, April 18, 1990, by George Lardner Jr.

Government decisions to classify information as "Top Secret," "Secret," or "Confidential" dropped by 35 percent last year, according to the Information Security Oversight Office.

In its annual report to the White House, ISOO said there were 6,796,501 classification actions in fiscal 1989, a decrease of more than 3.6

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million from the year before. But it added that the unprecedented drop was "primarily the result of more accurate counting, rather than an actual tremendous decrease in classification activity." . . .

In addition to the striking drop at the Defense Department, primarily because of the Navy's actions, the report said that CIA reported 22 percent fewer original classification decisions and the State Department a 13 percent reduction. The Justice Department, by contrast, grew more secretive, especially the FBI, the report indicated. Original classification decisions at Justice jumped by 43 percent.

Open information policy

The Washington Post, April 23, 1990, by George Lardner Jr.

A tiny federal agency composed of Reagan and Bush administration appointees is trying to swim against the tide of what many consider the past decade's restrictive federal information policies and promote a new spirit of "open and uninhibited access" to public information.

The agency, the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science, is proposing a set of "Principles of Information Policy" to recommend to President Bush and "all branches of the federal government" later this year.

The draft proposal, which one commission adviser said may be strengthened, define public information as "information created, compiled, and maintained by the federal government" and adds:

"In its truest sense, 'public information' is information owned by the people and held in trust by their government. . . . Open and uninhibited access to and exchange of public information should be guaranteed, except where information is protected by law, such as national security information and personnel records. . . . Public information, regardless of

the format in which it is presented, should be usable as well as accessible."

The proposal also takes note of the increasing numbers of computer-readable files and says there is "a critical need" to preserve copies of such data for public access. . . .

Whether federal agencies will take any heed is questionable. A recent study by the Society of Professional Journalists' National Freedom of Information Committee found "a graphic mosaic of agencies routinely violating the Freedom of Information Act, robbing the public of needed information and jeopardizing good government."

Felix Bloch

Associated Press, April 25, 1990, by Pete Yost

The FBI conducted extensive electronic surveillance in its probe of suspected spy Felix Bloch and he is challenging the government's plan to use it against him, according to papers filed in federal court.

Bloch, who is fighting State Department efforts to fire him, was notified March 12 that the government would offer in his termination proceeding at the department "certain information derived from electronic surveillance," according to a Justice Department filing.

Bloch, suspected of spying for the Soviet Union, made a motion to suppress the data "on the ground that this electronic surveillance was unlawful," said the court papers by Justice Department attorney Richard Stearns. The papers did not elaborate on why Bloch is claiming the surveillance was illegal.

The court papers, dated April 17, were filed as a civil case late Tuesday in U.S. District Court.

Bloch's lawyer was given copies of the audio tapes and transcripts of the electronic surveillance which the government plans to use, said the Justice Department papers.

Bloch is now demanding from the government "all audio, video, or other recordings made of Mr. Bloch," and all materials relating to the court authorization of surveillance of Bloch "or any member of his family," according to a State Department document filed in the case. . . .

The administrative hearing in Bloch's case is scheduled to begin May 7. The three-person Foreign Service review board has the option of reinstating him. Bloch is a 30-year Foreign Service officer who the State Department put on paid leave June 22, 1989.

Soon after, the State Department announced the FBI was investigating him for "illegal activities" involving "agents of a foreign intelligence service." No charges have been filed against Bloch. The government is now seeking a ruling from U.S. District Court Judge Stanley Harris that the court-authorized electronic surveillance was legal. The government also opposes Bloch's demands for additional recordings and papers on court authorization.

The surveillance in the Bloch matter was approved by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court, a panel of federal judges.

In supporting its requests, Attorney General Dick Thornburgh submitted an affidavit saying that it would harm "harm the national security of the United States" to disclose additional information to Bloch.

A secret FBI exhibit filed with the court in the Bloch matter "contains sensitive information concerning United States intelligence sources and methods and other information relating to United States efforts to conduct counterintelligence investigations," said Thornburgh's affidavit.

"I certify that to publicly disclose, or have an adversary hearing with respect to the particular facts contained" in the FBI exhibit and concerning the surveillance "would harm the national security of the United States," said the attorney general.

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Focus

Education in Korea: Doing Well and Feeling Bad

Thomas R. Ellinger
Deborah L. Carlson

Education in South Korea is rooted in the stronghold of Confucianism, with disciplined study and competitive examinations forming the cornerstones of a system that has given Korean students one of the highest academic rankings in the world. It would be impossible to transplant the "Korean model" wholesale to the United States; in Korea, culture, tradition, family unity, and a national commitment to school success contribute to academic achievement. Education in South Korea is, in reality, a partnership among home, school, and government. But Americans can learn by taking a look at a system radically different from their own.

South Korean students scored first on a standardized math test given to 13-year-olds in six countries in 1989. American students scored last, coming in behind South Korea, Spain, Britain, Ireland, and Canada. The Bush administration, supported by the nation's governors, has as one of its national goals that American students will be first in the world in math by the year 2000. How do we reach the top in the areas of mathematics and science, without which leaders in business and industry are predicting the economy will falter?

Lock step approach

Korean students spend far more time on their studies than do Americans. After reading a description of a typical student's daily schedule, we decided to conduct a few interviews to verify the surprising information. An average middle school student wakes up at 6 a.m. and goes to school at 8 a.m. At 4:30 he or she goes home to eat dinner and study. From 7 until 9 p.m., students whose parents can afford the tuition attend a second, private school to study math and English, then continue studying at home until about 1 a.m. These studies include watching an educational broadcast (KBC) on television, which provides more mathematics instruction. This schedule continues for six days a week, leaving Sundays free for family and recreation.

Korea takes a lock-step approach to education, requiring students to pass a series of competitive exams at each rung of the educational ladder. Entrance to middle school (the equivalent of our junior high), high school, and college is based on performance on exams. Students attend school 220 days a year. In an effort to reduce the stress placed on adolescents, in 1969 Korea abolished highly competitive entrance exams to middle and high school, replacing them with a general test of scholastic abilities for which students, in their fierce competition for success, study just as hard. The aptitude scores determine which high school a student may attend. Passing scores enable a student to go to a regular day-time high school, while low scores dictate attendance at an evening school and days in independent study. College applicants must still pass very rigorous entrance examinations.

Bearing the financial burden

The Korean government pays for every child to attend grades one through six, but parents must pay for middle and high school education, with middle school costing about $475 per year and high school tuition at a Korean national school roughly $800. Despite the costs and competition, approximately 99.2 percent of elementary graduates go to junior high school, and 90 percent of junior high graduates attend high school. Furthermore, when asked how far they expected to go in school, 86.3 percent of children in grades four through six said they planned to go through four years of college, and 52.3 percent expected to go to graduate school.

In the United States, high school students generally follow a core curriculum and then may choose electives. After school, they usually participate in sports, music and art activities, academic clubs, and so on. To find out what sorts of extracurricular activities Korean students participate in, we consulted with Dr. Ki Ok Kang, chief of research and development in mathematic education at the Korean Educational Development Institute. He laughed and told us that Americans have too many choices and that they tend to avoid taking a rigorous course of study in high school. Korean students, by contrast, have no elective subjects, usually attend a supplemental school that emphasizes mathematics, and study many hours beyond what their homework dictates. On a recent visit to the Moonil High School in Anyang, we learned from the principal that one-third of his students returned in the evening to participate in supervised study halls that schools voluntarily make available to their students. Additionally, prior to college entrance examinations, schools voluntarily ex-

Thomas R. Ellinger is superintendent of the Department of Defense Dependents Schools, Korea. Deborah Carlson is assistant principal of the Pusan American School in Pusan, South Korea.

tend their schedules three hours, to 10 hours a day. And so we had our answer to why math scores are so high—Korean students concentrate all day on studies and do not have the extracurricular distractions built into the American system. While some might argue American students gain from extracurriculars in leadership and other skills, the activities clearly detract from the academic program.

Family involvement

The Confucian ethic places great emphasis on scholarship and education, teaching that only persistence and hard work yield results, in school as well as life. It is the role of the family, usually the mother, to ensure that a youngster studies, and most Korean families take this responsibility very seriously. It is a matter of family honor for the son or daughter to succeed.

Korean students enjoy free time only on Sunday, when families habitually go on outings together. On Sundays, hundreds of young people participate in soccer, baseball, and other sporting events or join their families in picnic lunches on the banks of Seoul's Han River. Many of the students have computers at home and enjoy computer games as a diversion in the middle of the school day. Vigorous individual and competitive athletics form part of the in-school physical education program.

Whenever we compare student achievement in foreign countries with that in the United States, we tend to forget that some of our schools have student populations speaking in excess of 70 original languages, that we do not live in a homogeneous society, and that we do not segregate our students by ability. We emphasize creative problem-solving in mathematics, for instance, while the Korean educational system stresses rote memorization, which pays off when students take the typical standardized test. Also, the urgency to succeed and the almost relentless family and socie-

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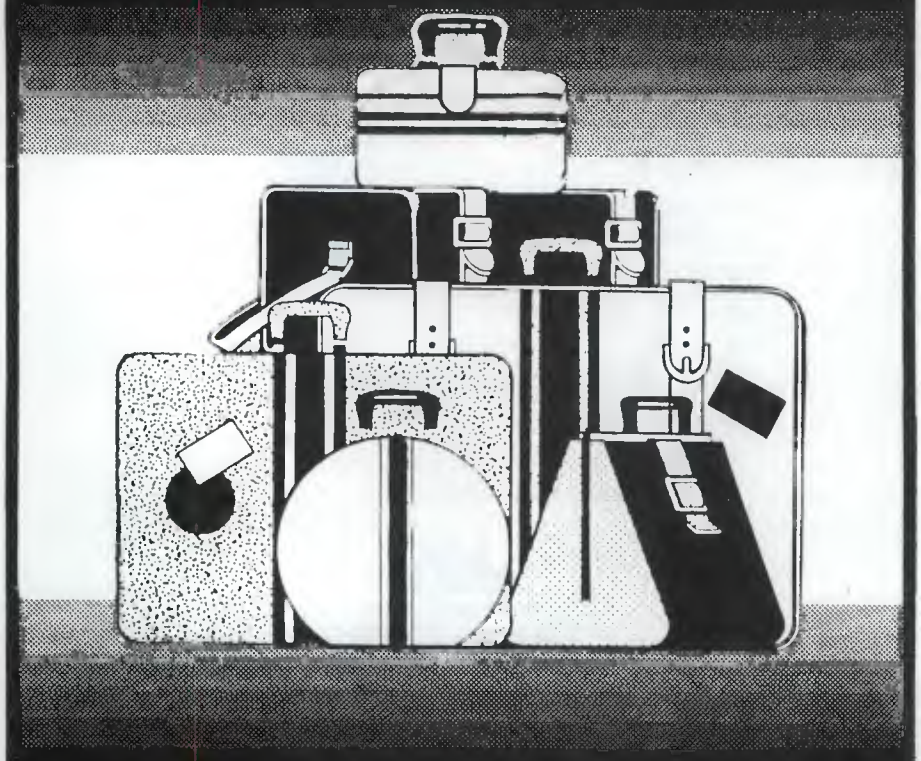
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tal pressures are not without their toll on Korean students, as evidenced by the high suicide rate.

Nevertheless, the United States can find much to emulate in South Korea's model of hard work and national commitment, with parents assuming partial responsibility for their youngsters' educational success. Financial resources alone will not fix the problem. The mathematics and science curriculum at all levels must be strengthened, while ultimately the United States will have to accept longer school days and a longer school year, with a high school curriculum concentrating on basic subjects.

No. 1 in self-esteem

In a February 5, 1990 essay in TIME magazine, Charles Krauthammer wrote about the standardized test placing students in South Korea at the top. He highlights a little-known perspective. On the same test, there is a question, "I am good at mathematics." American students were No. 1 worldwide in answering in the affirmative, with 68 percent. Korean students come in last in this category. Krauthammer goes on to say, "American students may not know their math, but they have evidently absorbed the lessons of the newly fashionable self-esteem curriculum whereby kids are taught to feel good about themselves."

Will American parents stay up with their youngsters until the mathematics homework is complete? Will we offer evening television courses in mathematics to our students? Until our total commitment, starting with the family, is focused on President Bush's goal of being No. 1 in mathematics and science, we will continue, in the words of Charles Krauthammer, "doing bad and feeling good." Our young people must be more like those in South Korea, where students are doing well and feeling bad, meaning working around the clock at being first. □

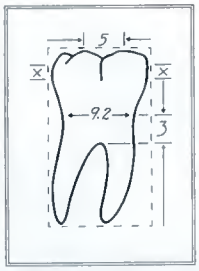
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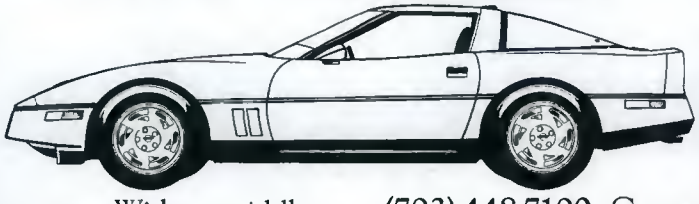
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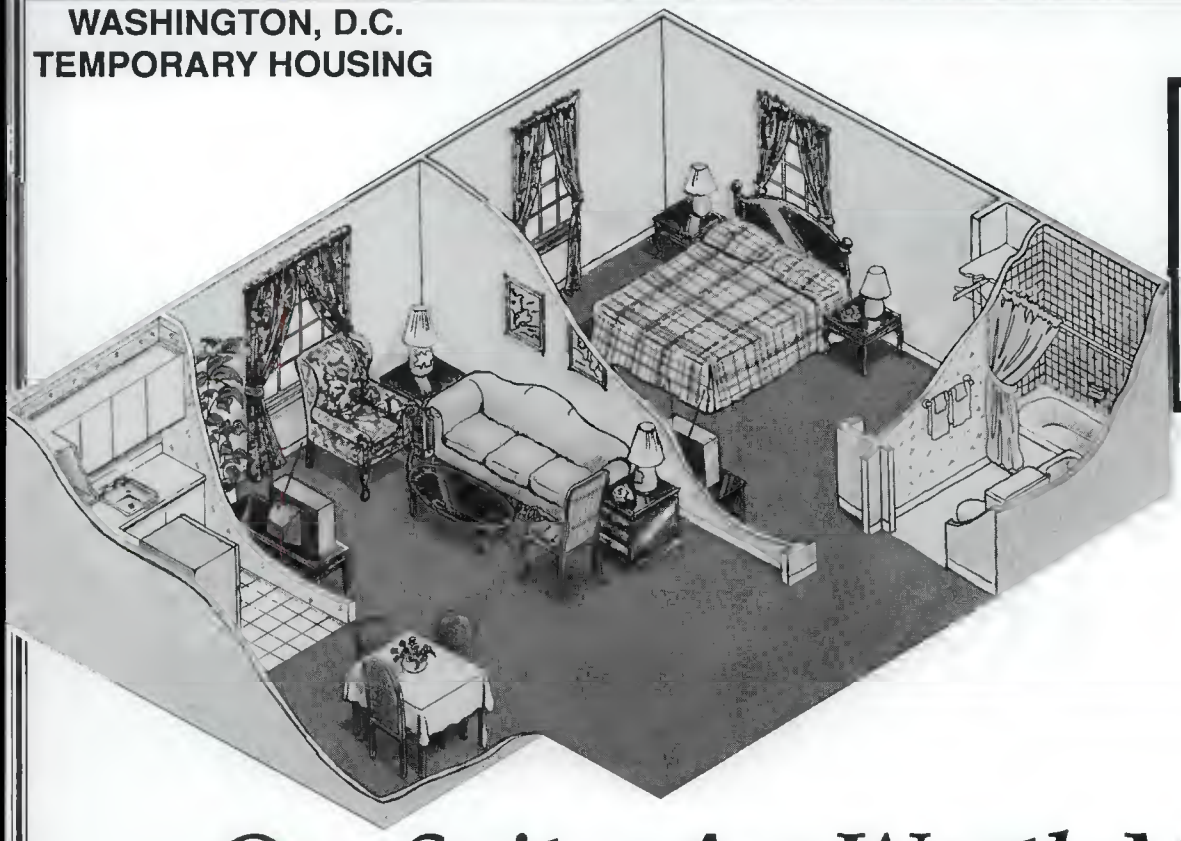
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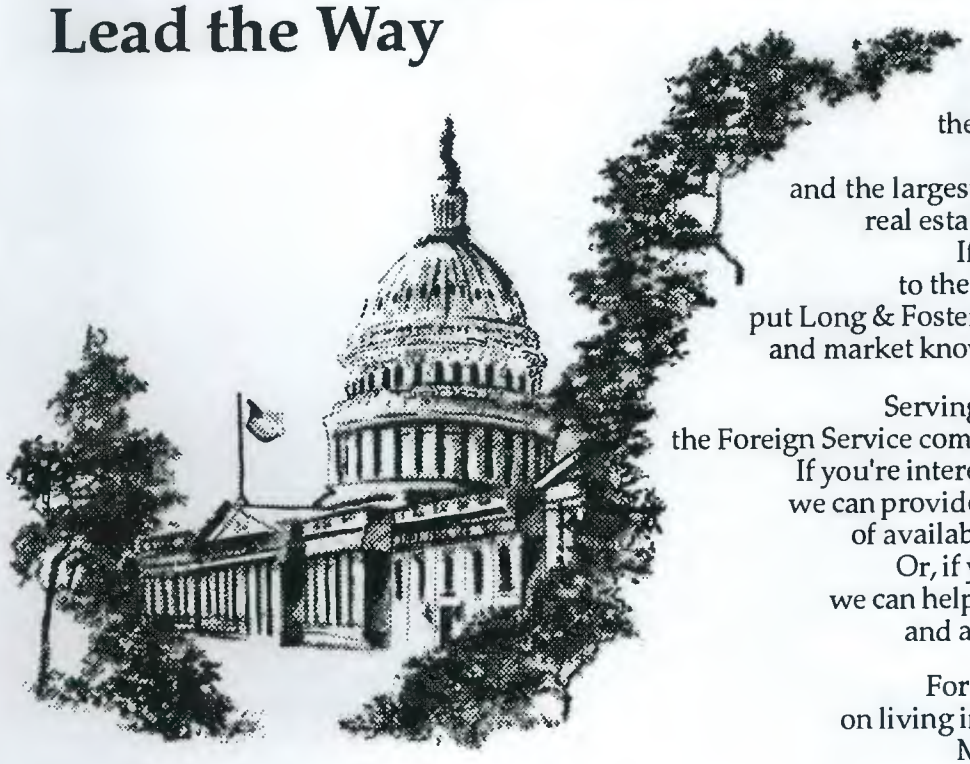
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Introducing the DOSTN

State prepares to rebuild its information

GAIL BOUCK

The Department of State has never been at the cutting edge of information technology; in fact, it has attracted its share of criticism for being slow to incorporate new technologies into its conduct of U.S. foreign relations. But modern diplomacy is dealing with new issues, including trade wars, massive numbers of refugees, and global environmental problems, which demand that greater amounts of information be available at ever escalating speeds. It has become more important than ever that information be rapidly available to Foreign Service officers, whose up-to-the-minute understanding of, say, currency fluctuations or the impact of natural disasters can affect how the United States responds to world events.



Putting together a comprehensive solution to the U.S. foreign affairs agencies' information technology needs is a daunting challenge. In response, the State Department recently initiated changes in its information management functions. July 1989 saw a major consolidation and streamlining of administrative structures within the department's information management sector, followed in November by further refinements and a merger that put Information Management under the umbrella of the Diplomatic Security Bureau. The objective of this was to provide a more secure, centrally managed information function, while at the same time saving money.

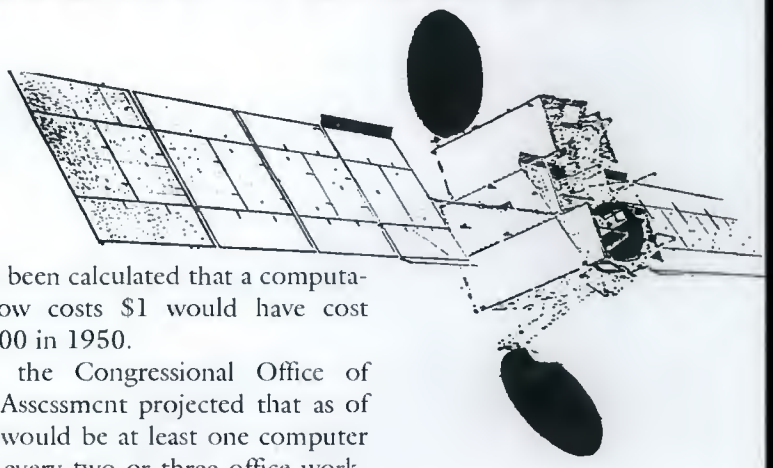
But beyond restructuring the bureaucratic flow chart, the department has a major initiative under way to construct a new communications architecture, the Department of State Telecommunications Network (DOSTN), for telecommunications to some

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Gail Bouck is a Washington-based writer who has worked in the telecommunications field for the past 12 years. Prior to this, she worked as a legislative staff member on Capitol Hill. She has written extensively on telecommunications, particularly relating to satellite-based technology.

Communications Network

capacity from the ground up



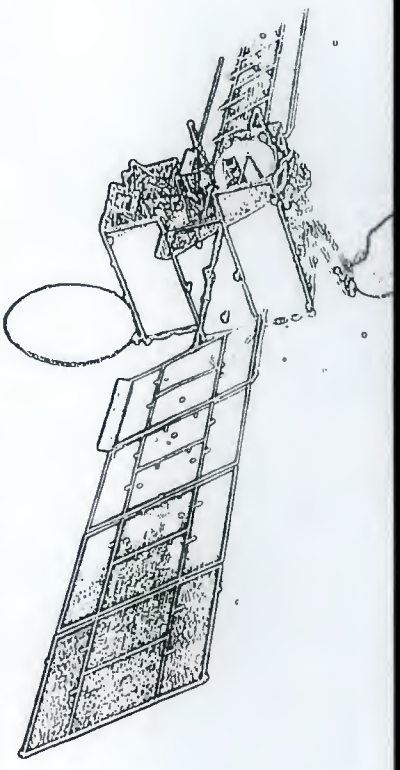
273 locations within the United States and worldwide. DOSTN will eventually be utilized by every U.S. mission abroad for multiple purposes. This high-speed, secure network will provide voice (i.e. telephone), data, and even secure video conferencing both domestically and overseas. It will accommodate and bring under one roof all the department's communications and information-management requirements. DOSTN will also provide service for other foreign affairs agencies, including USIA, AID, the U.S. Trade Representative, Customs and Immigration and Naturalization, the Commerce Department, and the Foreign Agricultural Service.

As of this writing, in July 1990 the department is expected to announce the award of a contract for designing and installing a DOSTN system. While precise figures are unavailable, trade press reports rumored that the contract's value was as much as $500 million, the State Department's largest systems acquisition contract ever. It was reported that more than 400 companies had originally requested the Request for Proposal (RFP). For most of these, plans to bid on the contract began as early as 1986-87. In the end, according to department sources, only four major corporations, working with a number of subcontractors, had the resources to meet the complex requirements State will have for its network. The four bids have been under consideration for nearly a year.

Better access, faster response

"Information technology" is almost synonomous with "computer technology," but it incorporates telecommunications, software engineering, and microelectronics as well. The invention of the silicon-integrated circuit, or "chip," has allowed tremendous advances in information processing. For example, it has been calculated that a computation that now costs $1 would have cost about $30,000 in 1950.

In 1985, the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment projected that as of 1990, there would be at least one computer terminal for every two or three office workers in the United States. Unfortunately, as a whole the Department of State has lagged behind its private and federal counterparts in implementing information technology—optimistic estimates are that one out of every 10 department employees uses a computer at work. The figure is even lower overseas. This is partly because in the world of Gramm/Rudman/Hollings and increasingly limited resources, the Department of State and the "Function 150" account for foreign affairs operations are still considered one of the smaller units of the president's total budget (see box).



The dearth of financial resources has, however, been only part of the problem. Practical issues have also needed to be addressed. The State Department maintains posts in many different locations and requires that equipment sent to remote areas of the world be mature, robust, and proven technology. The logistics to maintain the system must be available. Personnel must be trained to fix the problems when they occur and must be on site. Furthermore, perhaps one of the stumbling blocks has been in the department's own vision of its mission—not until recently has the effectiveness of diplomacy been recognized to be intimately linked to the availability of computerized information.

One of the department's goals is to make individual terminals available to an extremely high percentage, perhaps 90 to 95 percent, of office employees. The Foreign Service officer of the future will use the computer to type as well as store documents, create author aids such as dictionaries, thesauruses,

charts, and graphs, update country data or administrative records, and access public databases, such as news wires or stock price indexes. But because of the constraints that security restrictions place on how information is generated and stored at U.S. missions and in Washington, incorporating both classified and unclassified work in one terminal is not an option for the immediate future. Finding the money to invest in off-the-shelf computers alone has probably been a component of the budgetary stumbling block to widespread availability of computers, especially overseas. Most personnel who work with classified material will unfortunately continue to have to work with two terminals until equipment customized to meet security standards is affordable.

State's telecommunications network designers are incorporating the security requirements from the earliest stages, rather than imposing them after the planning and design phase, which would entail great logistical and monetary cost (as was done before the integration of Information Management and Diplomatic Security). In addition, they have been working to solve a number of other problems identified in the department's information management.

One of the earliest studies to focus on the need for changes was issued in 1985, following discoveries of security/technology compromises at the U.S. embassy in Moscow. The report came out of the panel chaired by Admiral Bobby R. Inman and highlighted security problems at posts worldwide. Some of its specific recommendations included such issues as departmental organization, the design and location of buildings, and personnel training. The Inman report recommended that additional resources be dedicated to making improvements in the department's protection of intelligence data and its threat analysis and alerting procedures.

Following Inman, and focused on the organizational side, a 1987 report issued by Ambassador Donald C. Leidel called for the reorganization of the department's information technology services and the consolidation of a number of functions. The Leidel report further identified needs such as improving cable backlogs, providing efficient routing and making sure that cables do not get lost in the system, improving the system's ability to trace traffic, providing a means of tracking Freedom of Information Requests, providing passport offices with access to information on frauds and terrorists, and ensuring that telecommunications down time is minimal. The DOSTN Request for Proposal (RFP) probably demanded answers to many of these needs.



Test pilot

Installation of DOSTN is scheduled to begin later this year, linking all posts as rapidly as possible, according to user requirements and other critical needs, which are still being defined. Within 10 months of the contract award, the selected bidder is required to provide a pilot system ready for government testing to prove the viability of the network hardware, software, and support programs. If the department deems the pilot system unsatisfactory, it will have the option of canceling the contract. If proven satisfactory, however, the pilot system will initiate the first operational phase of the program.

The size of the DOSTN project is staggering—and the RFP calls for a single contractor to perform *all* aspects of the contract. The prime contractor will be required to plan all systems and circuit acquisition; prepare facilities; acquire equipment; do engineering and installation; manage the network; perform maintenance, and train users. The system will also require delicate negotiations with foreign governments for system and circuit assignments, as well as for use of any local facilities. It will have to obtain permission from foreign governments for installation of on-site satellite communications earth stations, for example. Because most governments derive substantial revenue from their local telecommunications facilities, of which the Department of State is probably a current customer, they may be often unwilling to allow earth stations at user premises. Other issues, such as circuit assignments and international frequency requirements, may be even harder to negotiate and add to the complexity of the task. For these and other reasons, the department has reserved the right to negotiate directly with foreign entities on such issues on a case-by-case basis.

The satellite system

"Cable" entered the diplomatic vocabulary as far back as the mid-19th century, when the first telegraph wire cables were laid across the Atlantic. Now encrusted with barnacles and covered with sand, telegraph

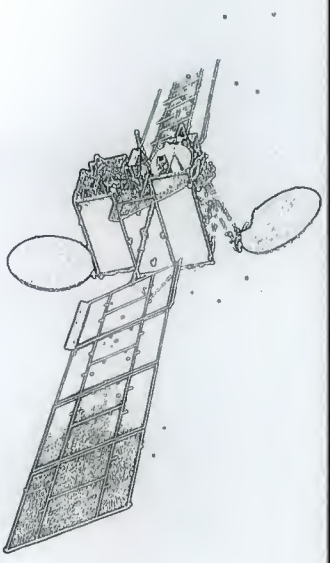
and telephone cables are stretched across all the ocean floors. A "cable" to Foreign Service personnel still means the thousands of written communications sent among U.S. missions abroad, and to and from Washington, D.C.

The continuing use of "cable" in Foreign Service parlance illustrates how far behind the U.S. foreign affairs agencies are compared to state-of-the-art telecommunications technology. Traditional wire cables, which transmit either voice (telephones) or data (such as telegraphs) in sound waves, are being almost totally replaced by other forms of communications linkages. These technologies include fiber optics (high-precision transparent fibers through which data and voice are transmitted as pulses of light), microwaves, and satellites. While very much still in operation, deep sea cable links could be all but obviated by satellites for DOSTN. Who knows but that in the future "dostn" may be the word used to describe a diplomatic communication.

Although DOSTN will use some existing cable networks for transmitting information, it will emphasize a satellite-based system for several reasons. Once in orbit, satellites are extremely reliable, communicating over difficult terrain, such as jungles, deep ocean trenches, deserts, and mountains, where cables cannot be laid and in climates that are extremely hostile for terrestrial facilities. Satellites provide "point-to-point" coverage, allowing a message to be transmitted straight from one point to another rather than being relayed through intermediate points. Such direct linkage reduces failed connections and simplifies operations. Satellites can also provide the sort of coverage required by State's worldwide network at lower cost.

For the purposes of standard international satellite communications, the world is divided into three ocean regions: the Atlantic, the Indian, and the Pacific. Satellites located over each of these regions provide links between the various continents, and what is known as a double-hop connection provides service when the distance to be served is greater than the coverage area or footprint of one satellite. For example, a message via satellite from Washington to London would be sent on a satellite located somewhere over the Atlantic Ocean, but for a message from Washington to Karachi, the service would have to be provided via two satellites: it would be sent (uplinked) to an Atlantic Ocean region satellite which would take it as far as London (most likely), and from London be re-uplinked to another satellite located over the Indian Ocean from which it could then be downlinked to Karachi. DOSTN's flexible global coverage will provide single-hop service to more than two-thirds of the world. Cable systems will provide backup and additional coverage where necessary.

The backbone of the DOSTN is its design as a packet-switched network. This means that instead of always sending data via pre-established and assigned circuit routings, the network chooses among any number of



Getting the money to make DOSTN work

DOSTN is currently being sold to a cost-conscious Congress, and Congress's allocations will ultimately determine how fast the system can be implemented.

First budgeted in 1990, with a request for $19.7 million, DOSTN is being identified as a major priority by the State Department. It is being sold to Congress as more cost efficient than the current network. For example, in the current network each new requirement means adding a new dedicated (assigned) circuit, with a concomitant rise in cost.

DOSTN has been budgeted as a multi-year project. In testimony before Congress on March 13, 1990, Under Secretary of State for Management Ivan Selin stated that over a period of six years, the department expects to invest a total of $353.4 million in DOSTN, of which $114 million is new appropriations, with the remaining $239.4 million coming from both regular planned communications expenditures and cost savings and offset.

Although not all the budgetary hurdles have yet been crossed, Senate and House Appropriations Committees sources confirm that DOSTN has strong congressional support. Congress recognizes that the department's technological needs are here to stay, and high tech is expensive. Appropriations may not be forthcoming on the State Department's preferred schedule, however. It may take more time to bring DOSTN to all posts than the timeframe currently set.

Nevertheless, Selin told Congress: "We plan to finish the entire project by 1994."

different routes, as available when transmitting packages of information. ("Data" for the purposes of this article means any computer interchange, cable/telex message, fax, and certain kinds of compressed digital video services. The term does not entail telephone and normal analog television.) This method of alternate routing avoids congestion at key points and provides a faster and more reliable means of transit.

For example, in the current "dedicated" or assigned circuit system, a cable sent from Rabat to Washington might proceed from the user premise to the local posts and telecommunication exchange, then on to Washington via one specific circuit routing—say Paris—every time. That cable will always be sent via the same route, and if part of that circuit routing were down or overly congested, the message would wait (or perhaps even be lost) until that circuit became available.

In a packet-switched network, the same telex might transit to Washington via Paris, or it might not, depending on the system and the current traffic within it. If the message encounters a busy circuit, the traffic will immediately transit instead across other available routes: Algiers, Tunis, Oran, Casablanca, Cairo, New Delhi, Nairobi, or Paris, all of which will have their own connections to Washington. A computer assigns routing based on the numbers of circuits available, the traffic, timing, and a myriad of other factors. Packet switching will therefore provide more flexibility, more efficient allocation of circuits, a greater variety of user services, and more reliability in the event of outages due to the inherent backup capabilities of a widely diffused and interconnected network.

The flexibility in switching will make the system much more reliable. According to Robert Caffrey, deputy assistant secretary of state for systems operations, in the current system's dedicated circuit configuration, should 30 percent of the circuitry be lost for some reason, the probability of getting a message through is reduced by 50 percent. DOSTN's highly distributive packet-switched system would provide up to 99 percent reliability under the same circumstances.

DOSTN will not only provide alternate routing but also be able to switch and re-allocate capacity (or bandwidths) according to shifting requirements at different times of day and in various time zones. For example, if there was a requirement for additional capacity in Moscow, bandwidths could be transferred from, say, Geneva, thus making full use of a limited and costly resource.

Capacity on demand

The system needs to be flexible for several important reasons. It is nearly impossible to project the growth of department needs, including data traffic; assignment of bandwidths for new or temporary communications requirements, such as visits of heads of state; and the change in the number or

Below: The present Diplomatic Telecommunications System (DTS). All posts are connected directly to Washington in a star configuration.





scope of responsiblity of posts. This is due in part to the frequent changes in Department of State posts, as well as to changing communications requirements for the foreign affairs community both overseas and in the United States. For example, the potential use of fax machines to communicate to and from posts and of video conferences to bring area missions and Washington closer together has only just begun to be explored. Extremely important will be the ability of the equipment configurations to expand capacity by up to 100 percent if necessary. Lastly, the system will have to provide interface with other networks, such as the Defense Data Network (DDN), commercial networks, and designated aircraft. The system's designers at State believed the department's needs could be met by off-the-shelf technology, which was confirmed by the results of a Request for Comment (RFC) sent out industry-wide. Thus, the contract will not require customized equipment, reducing costs and making it easier to service and maintain the system.

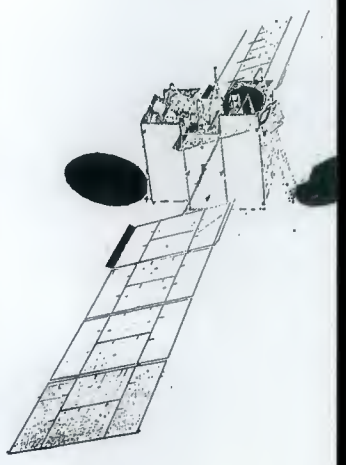
Nuts and bolts

As the DOSTN system is installed, each post will be assessed and defined as part of a five-tier hierarchy. Levels one and two will be the most technically complex; level five the least.

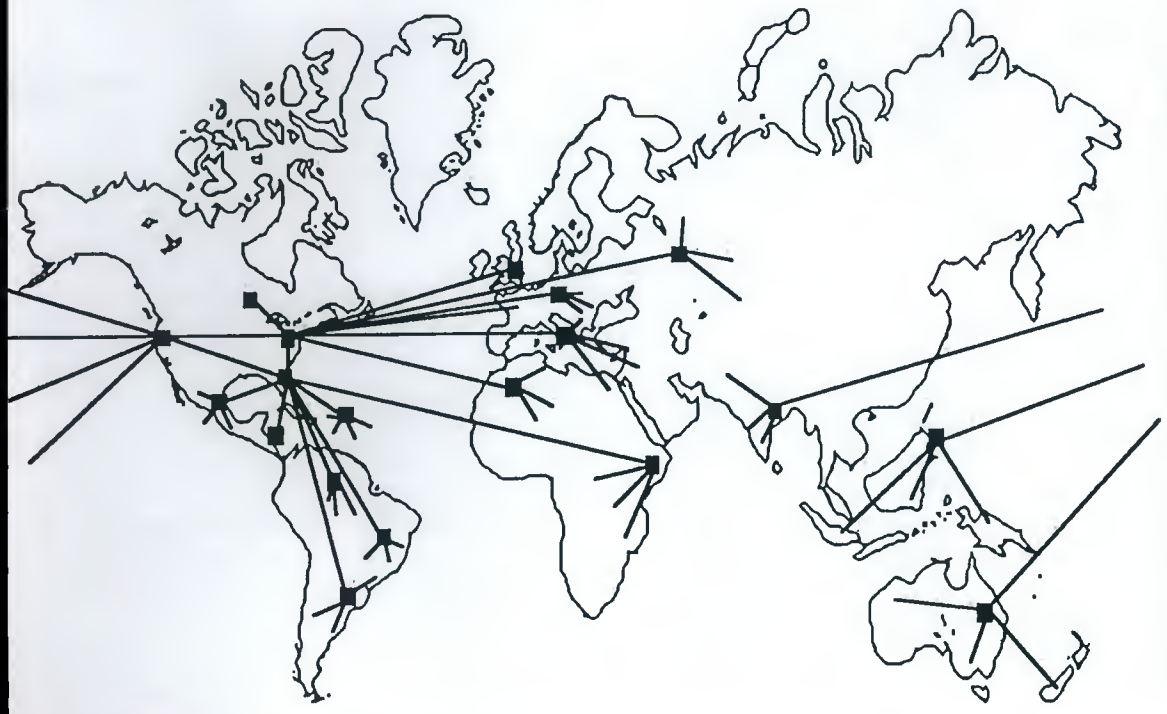
Level one will consist of the Department of State itself in Washington, D.C. It will also comprise the DOSTN management control center and the alternate communications facility, located in Beltsville, Maryland. The DOSTN program management office, to be located in Springfield, Virginia, will also be a level one facility.

Level two posts will be the three U.S. hubs for regional control of the international network, located in Beltsville, on the west coast, and in the southeast, most likely Florida. Each of the level two posts will be responsible for monitoring each link in their international region and must be able to assume the function of any one of the other level two posts or both of them—the whole system. Therefore level two posts will be the most technically complex and critical to system operations. Level three will include 33 "major posts," such as Vienna, Dakar, Bangkok, Canberra, and Santo Domingo. Levels two and three will be connected in what is known as a mesh network, providing direct interconnections to and between each other. Department personnel in these posts will be served at speeds of up to 1.544 megabits per second, an industry standard for very large streams of information to support computer and high speed data links, as well as any kind of video conferencing.

Things are less complex for the medium to small posts at levels four and extremely small posts at level five. These levels will be connected to level three posts in a "star configuration." The level three posts will concentrate traffic for level four and five posts and provide transport to level two posts (*see illustrations below*).



Below: The proposed Department of State Telecommunications Network (DOSTN) connects posts in a mesh configuration.



Supplying computer vaccines

Security is among the most formidable problems in designing a system such as DOSTN. In general, as the need to gather information increases and technology becomes more and more user friendly, the risks increase. For private and government users, "computer worms," "viruses," and "Trojan horses" introduced into a system, usually by disgruntled ex-employees, represent a serious destructive threat. But what about the more important threat of foreign government intelligence gathering efforts? Access to extraordinary amounts of information, with all the information available in one place, makes it easier to collect information not only for designated users, but also for hostile ones.

New computer software "vaccine programs"—equipment designed to immunize software from unwelcome intrusions—can prevent or rid a system of some of the less worrisome problems caused by malicious or destructive users. But it is more difficult to prevent someone working for a foreign government from gaining access to the system and to reduce or control the amount of information available to an infiltrator.

In addition to the threat of unauthorized intrusions into the network, other concerns must be taken into account. Technologies, notably fiber optics, digital switching, and new software controls, are condensing public traffic into fewer but more critical network nodes and routes, putting more information at risk in the event of a system failure. To make matters worse, industry cost-cutting is reducing the motivation for providers to build redundancy or backup capacity into their networks. In 1988 alone there were three major switching center outages and a large fiber optic cable cut, while 1989 and 1990 have already seen a continuation of this trend, along with several widely reported system outages and invasions of information databases by so-called computer hackers. Thus DOSTN was designed as a private network.

For DOSTN, the packet switched configuration and complex network controls will help prevent such catastrophes on the network level. Additional preventative steps have also been taken by encrypting all information, including unclassified information. There will be three basic levels of security: unclassified, top secret, and top secret/sensitive compartmented information. Users at the unclassified level will be able to communicate only with those on the same level, but top secret level users could communicate with classified users. The system will be a multi-level configuration using both end-to-end and link-to-link encryption. Currently the department's traffic is protected by only link-to-link encryption, which provides protection against the loss or compromise of classified information in discrete stages of the transmission. DOSTN's end-to-end encryption will provide overall protection of information from the moment it is generated in, for example, Beijing until the time it is received in Washington, D.C., regardless of the number of switches it goes through or its routing. It will allow up to 128 individual user groups, or domains, to use the system. Each domain will be allowed to communicate with any other user at the same level of the network. These different domains will include not only the various immediate needs of the State Department's functions, but will also take in traffic from such other U.S. government users previously mentioned in the academic, scientific, agricultural, and other communities.

Further security measures that will be a part of the new system will include audit trails, security logs, distribution controls, discretionary access controls, data separation, and labeling.

Heading into the new wave

With DOSTN consuming so much of the department's communications/information services operating budget in the next several years, one has to ask whether the benefits will merit the investment. Many of the anticipated uses for DOSTN have been suggested in this article, but its real benefits are not merely in terms of improved intra-departmental operations and communications. While it may seem that DOSTN could be of interest only to Foreign Service communicators and officers who have engineering or science training, rest assured that the system will do more than send cables quickly. State intends that DOSTN will be in the service of all the work of the U.S. foreign affairs agencies. For example, USIA's Wireless File, which now offers periodic news updates to personnel at overseas posts, would be accessible at any time. Once in place, DOSTN will bring even the most remote overseas post inside the beltway. □

Administering Foggy Bottom

DEAN RUSK
As told to Richard Rusk



President Kennedy had organized himself as a senator and candidate, but not until well after his election did he organize himself to be president. He did not bring a large number of staff into government with him. His cabinet appointments included a number of total strangers, including myself, and, to his credit, few cronies. Because he was not organized to be president at the time of his election, the search for talent in his administration was a never-ending affair.

I faced the same problems as I staffed the Department of State. Not having anticipated becoming secretary, I had not built up a coterie of personal assistants in whom I had complete confidence. In addition, beginning with the sixties, we began to lose that generation of Americans who had taken an active part in foreign affairs over the previous 25 years. Age had taken its toll on the Robert Lovetts and Dean Achesons. Our men were largely new men, relatively young and untested by experience, a point brought home vividly once, while the cabinet was discussing prospective candidates with President Kennedy for a high-level job. Someone objected to one man, saying that he was too young. We all laughed when we realized that the candidate was older than the president himself.

I was particularly surprised at how few of the truly qualified wanted to enter public service. All sorts of reasons rule against public service: Low pay, long hours, loss of privacy. But both administrations I served fared well.

One of those we were fortunate to get was Henry Cabot Lodge. Although he had been the Republican vice presidential standard-bearer in the bitter 1960 campaign, Lodge

This article is excerpted from a chapter of former Secretary of State Dean Rusk's memoir, As I Saw It, *forthcoming from W.W. Norton & Co.*

A shocking number of people will not make the sacrifices necessary for public service

told me early in the Kennedy years that he still had some public service left in him and would be available if I needed him. But he wanted a tough, challenging assignment; he didn't want an easy job. I remembered his offer and eventually sent him to South Vietnam as our ambassador, a tough enough job for anyone. Lodge had heart trouble at the time; both his offer and subsequent service were most gallant. But Henry Cabot Lodge was a rare breed. A shocking number of people will not drop what they are doing, make the sacrifices necessary for public service, and actually pitch in and help.

Fighting political appointments

I did wrestle with the White House staff and occasionally President Kennedy over ambassadorial appointments. At any given time, about 70 percent of our ambassadors are Foreign Service officers, and another 15 percent are professionally qualified although not career FSOs in the usual sense—such men as David Bruce, Edwin Reischauer, and Lincoln Gordon. Then there are always 10 or 15 percent who are old-fashioned political appointments, and among these we would always pick up a few dogs. If I lost my wrestling match with the president over one of these political ambassadorial appointments, I would try to surround that person with highly competent Foreign Service officers to save the neophyte from error. The United States doesn't need ambassadors of no experience, those who know nothing about overseas trade, how to write a diplomatic note, or negotiating with foreigners. But I and every other secretary of state must leave the president some wiggle room because he has his own problems, very often on Capitol Hill, and these political ambassadorial positions are one way he takes care of them.

Although the key positions in the State Department are presidential appointments, for the most part John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson let me name the people I wanted. I had problems, however, with Bobby Kennedy on personnel, because Bobby wanted dedicated "Kennedy people" in those jobs. Most Foreign Service officers had no personal attachment to John F. Kennedy or the Kennedy family. George Ball, George McGhee, and Harlan Cleveland, for example, were longtime Democrats and loyal to the president, but not Kennedy people to suit Bobby's tastes. Fortunately John Kennedy took a broader view. On key appointments I managed to prevail.

Overall, few applications for appointments to the State Department and the ambassadorships came through political channels. Most political appointees weren't very interested in the top posts like Rome, Paris, London, and Tokyo because there they had to work too hard. Neither were they interested in the far-off, smaller posts, where dysentery is the order of the day. Many of these smaller posts tend to be dull, uncomfortable, even dangerous. Political appointees preferred nice little countries like Switzerland, Denmark, and Ireland. Once Ireland's foreign minister said to me rather wistfully, "Mr. Rusk, do you think the United States will ever send us an ambassador with whom we can talk foreign policy?"

John Kennedy took office with much fanfare about being his own secretary of state. Because of Article II of the Constitution, this is inevitable. Yet a president cannot be his own secretary of state in any real sense; the job of the presidency is simply too big.

Two-way street

Even a secretary of state cannot run U.S. foreign policy by himself. He must delegate the overwhelming bulk of decision-making to hundreds of Foreign Service officers, authorized to act on his behalf. The world has become so complex in the postwar years that junior officers in the State Department now make decisions which before World War II would have been made by the secretary.

Fortunately the secretary of state is backed up by a professional diplomatic service second to none in the world. It is fashionable for new boys surrounding a president to regard the Foreign Service with a mixture of suspicion and derision. The Foreign Service does not share their view that the world was created at the last presidential election. But at the same time the Foreign Service must ensure that the wishes and policies of the president and secretary of state are carried out. That process is very complex, but the system works.

During my eight years 2.1 million cables with my name signed to them went out from the Department of State to our embassies and other governments all over the world. Of these 2.1 million cables, I saw fewer than 1 percent. The rest were written

and sent on the basis of authority delegated to hundreds of officers in the Department of State. Out of those 2.1 million cables, I can recall only four or five that had to be called back and rewritten because their authors missed the point of policy the president and I expected them to follow, an extraordinary performance by my colleagues.

Administering a department 25,000 strong is not a simple matter. Washington is full of high-powered executives, typically from big business, who proclaim upon their arrival that they are going to cut through red tape, bash some heads, and bring "their people" under control. This approach doesn't work. I found that the best way to deal with the bureaucracy is to capture it and make it work for you. Loyalty is a two-way street; a secretary of state will get loyalty if he gives loyalty in return. And of course, I had no choice. Since I never expected to become secretary of state, I couldn't bring a team of "Rusk men" into the department with me. My constituency was the Foreign Service.

The 'deliberate' department

A president soon finds that the Department of State is the department of bad news. It deals with that part of the public business over which the president and the U.S. government have little control. The president, Congress, the Supreme Court, our governors, state legislatures, and local authorities largely determine what we do in domestic affairs. But as soon as we step across our national frontiers, we deal with more than 160 other governments.

In general, the Department of State deals with the most frustrating aspects of our public life. Presidents become impatient with the State Department, because events overseas don't always turn out the way they want them to. Thus, it is always difficult for the Foreign Service to earn the confidence of a new president.

Early in his presidency John Kennedy was very suspicious of the Foreign Service and impatient with the deliberate processes of the Department of State. Continuity, tradition, and precedent are built into the bowels of any bureaucracy, and the young John Kennedy, wanting to make a fresh start and "get the country moving again," sometimes became annoyed with these deliberative processes. In foreign affairs the influence of precedent is very important, and sometimes a president does not like to feel bound by what has gone before. Also, new presidents sometimes think the Foreign Service's loyalty is suspect simply because it served a preceding president. This contrasts markedly with the attitudes of British politicians about their civil service. On a trip to London I ate lunch with the head of the British civil service and complimented him on the way his people stayed out of party politics. He said, "Oh, no. You've got it wrong. The British civil service supports one political party at a time."

Some of my colleagues were skeptical of the Foreign Service's ability to meet the challenges thrust upon American diplomacy in the sixties. For example, Chester Bowles instinctively looked outside the Foreign Service when we had slots to fill. I felt that career officers had a leg up on other candidates and battled hard for them. Only when needing special talent was I inclined to reach outside the Foreign Service. When staffing, I looked for men who were willing to make decisions. The major problem facing bureaucracy is not the struggle for power but the evasion of responsibility; bureaucrats are very reluctant to take action. Never once as secretary did I criticize a colleague for exceeding his authority. My problem was to get my colleagues to fill the horizons of their responsibilities—to stick their necks out and live with the results.

For example, on one occasion Iraq threatened to invade Kuwait, and midway through this crisis our naval commander-in-chief at Norfolk sent a telegram stating that he had ordered his task force in the Indian Ocean to steam north toward Kuwait. It ended with "Request instructions." I forwarded this message to the Near Eastern Affairs desk and asked for its recommendation. It came back with a convoluted paper outlining all sorts of options. I returned the paper and said, "Now look. All that admiral needs is a compass heading. He can sail north, east, or south. He can't sail west, because he would run into Africa. All I want from you is a compass heading."

Whenever traveling, I never tried to run the State Department from a distance. I concentrated solely on the purposes of each trip and left everything else to my undersecretary back in Washington. When Secretary of State George Marshall was in Paris in 1948 for a United Nations meeting, he asked me to cable the department for instructions on some matter. "Instructions for you, sir?" I asked.

"Oh yes," he replied. "It is the acting secretary of state who has access to the

The best way to deal with the bureaucracy is to capture it and make it work for you

Economic policy is the orphan of national decision-making

president, congressional leaders, and the talents and resources of the government. Out here on my own, I'm not in a position to make these decisions. I want to know what Washington thinks."

Open relationships

We had in John Kennedy a president of insatiable curiosity. He would read something on page 12 of the Washington Post and call up State's desk officer in charge of that area, seeking more information. Whenever he did that, two things happened. First, he scared the hell out of the desk officer. Second, whatever that subject was, it had to come to my desk because whatever the president got into, I had to get into. Kennedy's habits and informality sometimes got in the way.

But on other occasions President Kennedy made my job much easier. Soon after taking office, Kennedy sent a very helpful memo to our embassies, placing the ambassador in full charge of all activities and agencies of the U.S. government in that country. As the president's alter ego, the ambassador needed access to all communications involving the U.S. government. Kennedy's memo gave every ambassador access to CIA communications. We sought also to eliminate back-channel communications and activities that an ambassador might not be aware of.

Having long regarded economics as the "dismal science," and lacking personal expertise, I tended to delegate all economic questions to George Ball, Tony Solomon, and other colleagues at State who were more able than I in economic affairs. This wasn't all that unusual since in my experience, economic policy is the orphan of national decision making.

Fortunately for me, both secretaries of the treasury when I was secretary of state—Douglas Dillon and Henry "Joe" Fowler—understood foreign policy. During my tenure our Treasury Department sought to take international financial power out of the hands of private bankers in Zurich and elsewhere and bring such matters under the responsibility of governments. That fitted the attitudes of the State Department very well. We sometimes disagreed on how to cope, for instance, with unfavorable trade balances, but there were no knockdown, drag-out fights between State and Treasury on international fiscal problems.

On the whole, American businesses do a good job, but in their efforts to encourage favorable conditions for investment, they sometimes become involved in the internal politics of host countries, causing problems for the State Department. And sometimes businesses conclude contracts that can only be described as unfair. To counter these, I established a practice that some businessmen didn't like. In cases where the host country did not perform on a contract with an American company, or a new government took power and denounced an old contract, company executives often asked the State Department for help. Rather than automatically bail them out, I insisted that we review the contract itself. If that contract was corrupt or unfair to the host country, the State Department did not support efforts to require compliance with it.

Cutting out nonsense

At State I was disturbed by the slow reaction time of the political bureaus and the layering of authority between my office and the others—under secretaries, assistant secretaries, deputy assistant secretaries, and office directors. Many incoming telegrams called for quite obvious answers. I could have easily picked up the phone and said, "Send them a telegram saying yes," or "Send them a telegram saying no." But I let the machinery work its course. As a result, two weeks after a cable came in, an outgoing and very routine answer would wind its way out of the system. Some of the telegrams I saw for approval required 12, 15, even 20 clearances by officers within the department. One cable from the Legal Affairs Office required seven clearances at the bottom—all from the same office! Things were out of hand.

I reduced these many echelons to three and concentrated responsibility in the assistant secretaries. In my scheme, the first echelon would be the secretary of state and his undersecretary, the second echelon the assistant secretaries, and the third the country officers. Running the Department of State for eight years provided a fascinating study of the workings of a bureaucracy. Deputies and assistant directors want to remain part of the decision making, and once they get their feet under the table, it is hard to move them out. This layering created considerable delay and bickering. But my efforts to streamline the bureaucracy did not last, and the causes of slowdowns often wormed their way back.

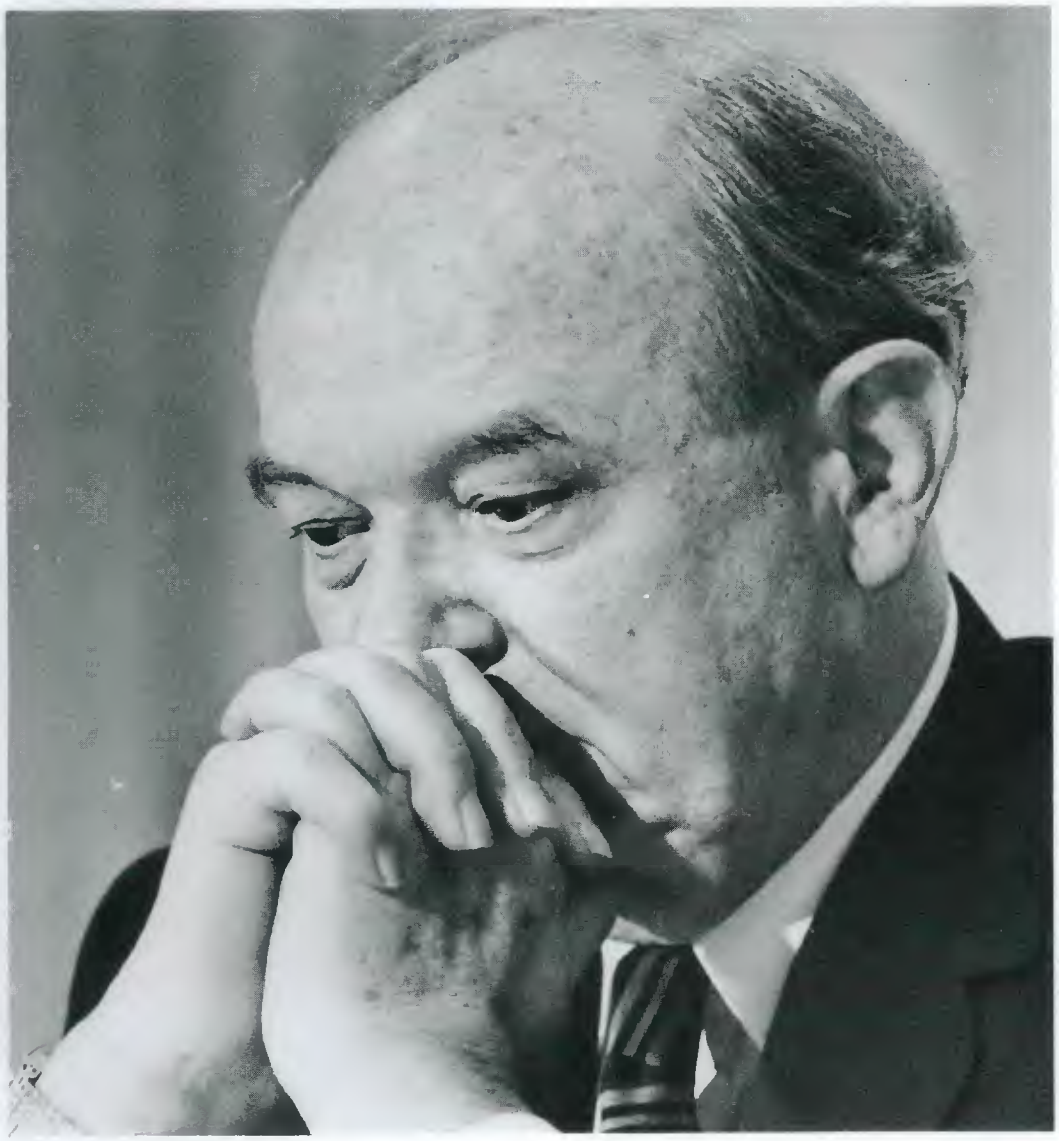
At least I kept the beast from growing. When I left office in 1969, there were 350 fewer people in the Department of State than when I arrived in 1961. One doesn't solve problems by adding people. We held the size of the department constant throughout the sixties, even though we established relations with an additional 20 to 25 newly independent countries.

Bureaucratic sprawl was a problem in our embassies overseas as well as in Washington. Our ambassador to Great Britain, David Bruce, reported upon his arrival that 44 different U.S. agencies operated out of our London embassy. He had more officers attached to his embassy than the British had in their entire Foreign Office! His inventory turned up seven military attaches whose sole responsibility was to give logistical support to a dozen military Rhodes scholars at Oxford. Hell, I had been a Rhodes scholar and nobody gave me any logistical support! A telephone call to Bob McNamara ended that nonsense.

Planning and prophecy

Frequently the State Department is pilloried for not coming up with fresh ideas. The criticism is valid, but considering the complexities of foreign policy issues, innovation is difficult. Policy planning suffers from the inherent disadvantage of having to deal with the future. We sometimes forget that most foreign policy decisions are about the future, trying to nudge events in one direction rather than another. But Providence has not given us the capacity to pierce the fog of the future with accuracy; a good policy officer knows this and knows that his decisions are made in the conditional mood. "We hope," "possibly," and "if things work out right" are part of his language. Yet a policy officer's decisions are evaluated in the brightness of

A policy officer's decisions are evaluated in the brightness of hindsight



Secretary Rusk pictured in September 1967, prior to delivering a speech to the Economic Club of Detroit in which he voiced support for the administration's stand in Vietnam.

The art of policy is knowing when to act, how to act, through whom to act

hindsight.

The policy officer facing an important question has a checklist in his mind, somewhat like the checklist that a pilot goes through before taking off in his airplane. He thinks about dozens of elements in the problem, constantly haunted by the ghost of the missing factor. Here is a major difference between officials who carry responsibility and citizens who do not. Professors and reporters can isolate several elements in a problem and focus on those, but the policy officer must encompass all. In a world of more than 160 nations, an early question on his checklist is "What are the other governments of the world going to think about this?" Already there are more than 160 concerns on his mind.

Ironically, more often than not, the State Department's office directors and assistant directors play the critical role in policy planning and prophecy. It's at this level that judgments are made about whether a problem needs immediate attention, can be left alone, or will disappear on its own. No administration can take up everything at once. The art of policy is knowing when to act, how to act, through whom to act, with what tools to act, and for what purposes to act.

As an assistant secretary in the Truman administration I frequently reflected upon the extent to which the secretary of state and president were prisoners of judgments made by people at my level and below. The idea that policy is sent down from on high is just plain wrong. The endless stream of business, the pace of events, and the complexity of the modern world require even junior officers in the department to make high-level decisions.

Running the State Department is a hectic job, especially with an action president like John Kennedy. Because of Kennedy's insatiable curiosity and habit of involving himself in many issues, I had to read enormous quantities of memoranda, intelligence papers, studies, and books. But life was almost as busy under Lyndon Johnson. I probably could have conserved my time better than I did. Cutting back on embassy dinners would have helped, but a secretary of state's attendance at those dinners is an issue of protocol. I tried to make myself available to foreign ambassadors, too. By tradition, an ambassador has the right to see the foreign minister and even the head of state of the country to which he is accredited. We frequently sent telegrams to our ambassadors: "Please see the foreign minister" or "Please see the prime minister." Thus, we could not expect our own ambassadors to have access to foreign ministers and prime ministers unless their ambassadors had similar access in Washington. My wife and I had dinner at home with our children perhaps once a month for eight years.

Worn out

As secretary of state I could never say at the end of the day, "Now I am caught up," because there was always unfinished business and massive amounts of reading. My appointment books show that I talked with individuals or groups over 30 times a day. On each occasion I emptied my mind of one set of data and stocked it up with another set of data relating to the upcoming meeting. This process of changing subjects so frequently in the course of each day, having to unload and reload, exacted its toll in nervous energy.

In my final year as secretary, 1968, I was just bone-tired. The job required 14- to 16-hour days, usually seven days a week, and rarely did I take time off. My longest break was 10 days, in 1965, to recover from the flu. Vacations were pointless; the telephone kept ringing whether or not I was on duty. Eight years is just too long for that job. We should treat secretaries of state the way we treat platoon college football: Put in one team, wear it out, and put in another team.

The process of decision making is especially strained during times of crisis or ill health. During the Cuban missile crisis John Kennedy and his advisers experienced incredible tension and little sleep for two weeks. I averaged about four hours of sleep per night during the crisis, and John Kennedy could not have slept much either. In his memoirs even Nikita Khrushchev admitted that he slept on his office couch during the crisis. Sleeplessness, suspicion, and ignorance about what the other fellow is going to do all take their toll. In a future crisis how long can human beings hold up? Would there be a point at which exhaustion might affect judgment and some leader might say, "The hell with it," and push the button?

Whatever the strain of these jobs, though, decisions have to be made and actions taken, by a president elected by the people and those he selects to advise him. None can avoid the awesome responsibility of running the government. My hope is that we can attract the best of our citizens to these positions of great responsibility.



The Rusk family in 1960: (left to right) sons Richard and David; daughter Peggy; Dean Rusk; and Virginia Rusk.

A Woman's Woman at State

HELEN STROTHER FOUCHÉ

Foreign Service women remember another Rusk. For members of the Association of American Foreign Service Women, Virginia Rusk was an especially supportive secretary's wife who, along with her husband, helped the women's fledgling organization develop. The face and name of Virginia Rusk became familiar in the pages of the *AAFSW NEWS* during the 1960s. A very good friend, Mrs. Rusk was a great advocate behind the scenes for Foreign Service women.

Mrs. Rusk was with the secretary when he spoke to the AAFSW membership in 1961, the ". . . first time in history that a secretary of state had addressed an organized group of Foreign Service women." Secretary and Mrs. Rusk hosted AAFSW Christmas dances for State Department teens and their foreign diplomatic guests. Mrs. Rusk chaired annual "Widening Horizons" programs, which brought teenagers from all over Washington, D.C. to the State Department for a taste of international culture and diplomatic technology. She was a regular at AAFSW meetings and luncheons; she was in touch with the other side of the Foreign Service coin.

Foreign Service women have not been alone in their appreciation of Virginia Rusk. The National Council of Women honored her with the prestigious "Woman of Conscience Award." And when former Secretary of State Dean Rusk knew this column was being written, he added his own comments on this gracious lady's role:

"My dear wife Virginia was deeply interested in the women of the Foreign Service and the wives of the Foreign Service officers, and she took an active part in all their activities. She thoroughly enjoyed these associations and was grateful for all the help she received from the women themselves."

There's more to State diplomacy than the front office. □

Helen Strother Fouché is editor of the AAFSW News *and a member of the* FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL *editorial board.*

Books

Keeping up with the Gorbachev Revolution

Perestroika Annual: Volume Two
Edited by Abel G. Aganbegyan, Brassey's (U.S.) Inc., 1990, $23.95 hardcover

The Awakening of the Soviet Union
By Geoffrey Hosking, Harvard University Press, 1990, $19.95 hardcover

Soviet History in the Gorbachev Revolution
By R.W. Davies, Indiana University Press, 1989, $35 hardcover, $12.95 softcover

Perestroika in Perspective: The Design and Dilemmas of Soviet Reform
By Padma Desai, Princeton University Press, 1989, $14.95 hardcover

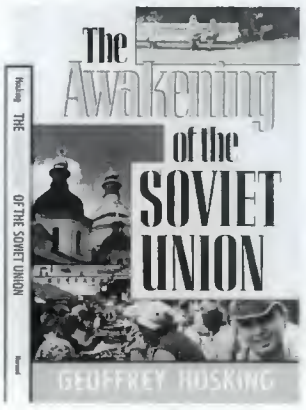
The Other Side of the Table: The Soviet Approach to Arms Control
Edited by Michael Mandelbaum, Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1990, $16.95 softcover

Meeting Gorbachev's Challenge: How to Build Down the NATO-Warsaw Pact Confrontation
By Jonathan Dean, St. Martin's Press, 1990, $45 hardcover, $16.95 softcover

Negotiating with the Soviets
By Raymond F. Smith, Indiana University Press, 1989, $27.50 hardcover, $10.95 softcover

Reviewed by Arnold Schifferdecker

The Gorbachev revolution and its impact on superpower relations has been a growth industry for publishing, stimulating an avalanche of books,



some good, some bad, and some seriously out of date before they see the light of day. One way of keeping up with the dizzying pace of events in the former Soviet empire these days is to subscribe to the international edition of the weekly *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (Literary Gazette), now being published in English for about $30 per year. Founded by Maxim Gorky in 1929, the Gazette gives Western Sovietologists a frank, insider's view of how the Soviet intellectual establishment views the internal reform process, the breakout of Eastern Europe, the Baltic provinces' moves toward independence, and other issues.

For books on Gorbachev and the reform process, we now have the second volume of *Perestroika Annual,* reporting views of Soviet leaders and thinkers on the progress and pitfalls of democratization in Soviet life. The latest volume, just out in March, contains a useful chapter for JOURNAL readers on the "new course" of Soviet foreign policy, by Alexander Bessmertnykh, soon to be Moscow's man in Washington. It is a gold mine of information on the thinking of the USSR's reformist generation.

More detached and long term in conception, Geoffrey Hosking's *The Awakening of the Soviet Union* provides a leading British Sovietologist's view of the social, cultural, and historical developments that have led to the current period of breathtaking change. Hosking's optimistic view—not always popular in the United States—is that *perestroika* is much more than Gorbachev; it is the culmination of a social revolution that began with his generation after World War II and will survive Gorbachev.

R.W. Davies documents the internal conflicts generated by the *perestroika* challenge. The chief dilemma for Gorbachev and his advisers has been how to nurture change—literally to remake society, while preventing the system from coming apart at the seams. Davies chronicles debates between advocates of change and of control from 1986 to 1987. In this period, Gorbachev decided that lasting social and economic change must involve broader Soviet public participation, which could take place only after lifting the immense psychological burden created by known but unacknowledged past crimes. This has led to widespread efforts to examine and expose Stalinism, and even to challenge Lenin, in order, as G.P. Raumovsky put it, "to cleanse the path to the future." Gorbachev's recent decision to admit Soviet responsibility for the Katyn Forest massacre is an example of this process.

Subtitled "The Design and Dilemmas of Soviet Reform," Desai's book provides an overview of *perestroika,* and particularly the crucial question of economic reform, for the general reader. A Columbia economics professor, Desai has a chapter on "new thinking" in Soviet foreign policy and another on the fascinating question: will Gorbachev last? She suggests, based on the early failure of economic reform, that Gorbachev, like Khruschev before him, is likely to falter and be retired. The real question is, what happens afterward?

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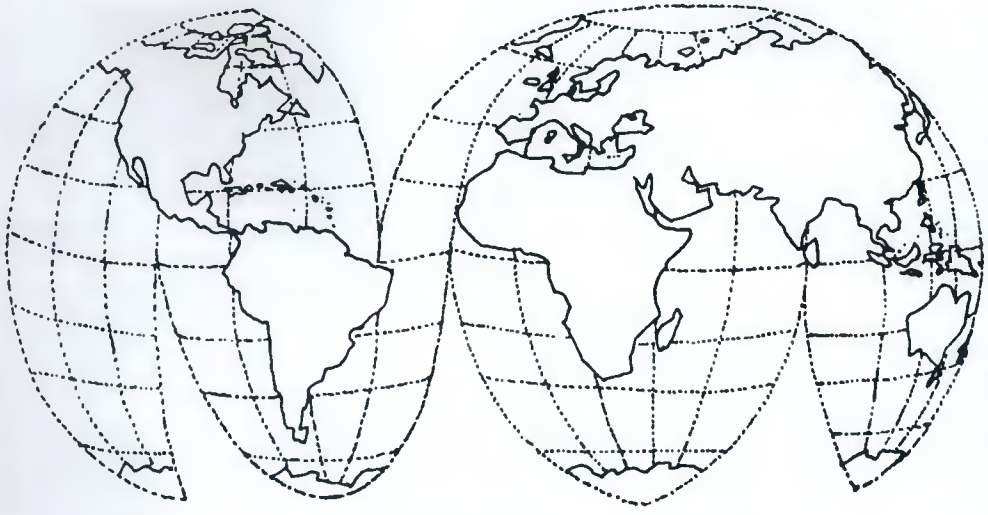
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Books

U.S. policymakers must not only judge whether Soviet internal change will endure but also decide how to respond to changes in the foreign policy environment affecting our strategic planning, defense budget, and a host of subsidiary issues. Michael Mandelbaum's part historical, part case study approach shows that East-West arms control since the early 1960s has been motivated (despite disclaimers) by a desire to preserve (or obtain) marginal advantages. A transformation is taking place, he believes, in the thinking of Gorbachev and his advisers, who finally are coming around to the notion of parity, not superiority. But he does not address whether U.S. policymakers are ready to bite that bullet.

Jonathan Dean's study, published under sponsorship of the dovish Union of Concerned Scientists, states more strongly than Mandelbaum that the political underpinnings of East-West confrontation have ended. Dean, former U.S. representative to the Vienna arms talks under Carter, provides a blueprint on how deep cuts in both conventional and nuclear arsenals can be made to enhance security and ease the current $500 billion-per-year arms race in Europe.

Finally, Foreign Service officer Raymond Smith's guide to negotiating is a practical approach, based on more than six years of dealing with the Soviets in Washington and Moscow. Smith's book contains a wealth of insights into Soviet negotiating style (still valid, he says), a style based on Russia's unique cultural and ideological history.

Bingham of the Hills: Politician and Diplomat Extraordinary

By Erving E. Beauregard, Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1990, $54.50 hardcover

Reviewed by Jack H. Shellenberger

In the likely event that you have never come across the name John Bingham of Cadiz, Ohio, who was at the forefront of the abolitionist movement and was our longest-serving envoy to Japan, and in the rather unlikely event that you'd like to know more, *Bingham of the Hills,* if you can find it, is a treasure trove of sorts. From Bingham's letters and speeches, as well as those of his contemporaries, author Beauregard has plucked quote after quote with little analysis or explanatory context. One-third of the 311-page book consists of reference notes, resulting in what is less a biography than a Binghamologic dictionary.

To be sure, there are nuggets of interesting lore: Bingham meeting Abraham Lincoln at the Willard Hotel after the first inaugural, where he chided the president about failing in his address to denounce a certain pro-slavery amendment; Bingham as a tenacious Whig whose politicking on slavery issues made him among the most controversial lawmakers of his time; Bingham as prosecutor in the trial of Lincoln's assassins, petitioning President Johnson to spare the life of the only female accomplice, Mary Surratt; and in Japan, where Bingham served from 1873 to 1885 (longer, even, than Mike Mansfield), managing the first visit there by an ex-U.S. president—his mentor, Ulysses S. Grant.

But the book so cleaves to its original sources that one has to search hard for clues to the personality of this "extraordinary" man. Bingham's goal as a politician was to free the slaves; as a diplomat, to advance Christianity. But once on the job in Edo, as Tokyo was then called, he found himself mired in the mundane world of extraterritoriality and trade issues.

The job was not made easier by Bingham's running feud with the consul general in Yokohama, one Brigadier General Thomas Van Buren. Beauregard writes, "Bingham abhorred Van Buren's propensity to



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Books

bypass him in dealing with higher officials." And then there was Bingham's son-in-law, Major James Wasson, found guilty of embezzling and sentenced to 18 months at hard labor. Scattered references such as these add a bit of spice to the Bingham saga, but only fleetingly.

Bingham of the Hills is a book because it has a hard, bright green-and-white cover and 309 printed pages. In reality, it's an archival manuscript, unrelieved save for a single fuzzy photo of Bingham's grave in Cadiz. Yet if a book can indemnify, as the author intended, this one does so; it is the definitive record of a man whose deeds were long overlooked and unheralded.

A Unique Relationship: The United States and the Republic of China Under the Taiwan Relations Act

Edited by Ramon H. Myers, Hoover Institution Press, 1989, $25.95 hardcover, $15.95 softcover

Reviewed by Paul Stephenson

Throw away the first 24 pages of this book, and a useful selection of essays remains. The introductory section, by Myers himself, is a mishmash of failed scholarship so colored by political prejudice as to be almost laughable: Myers's adulation for Taiwan's ruling Kuomintang (KMT) and distaste for communism lead him to conclusions that have all the credibility of an Elvis sighting.

Myers asserts that Taiwan has avoided the human costs of development, including "social divisiveness" and "social violence"—failing to note the irony of his next paragraph, which mentions the February 1947 uprising of native Taiwanese against newcomers from the mainland, in which thousands were indiscriminately slaughtered. He goes on to laud the peacefulness of Taiwanese students and intellectuals, who never demonstrated,

and trade unions, which never became powerful, also noting that "new political parties never formed to sow confusion." Meanwhile, he fails to note that protests and trade union and opposition party activities were strictly controlled during 40 years of martial law. Needless to say, recent demonstrations in Taiwan have given the lie to Myers's rose-tinted views.

Fortunately for Myers, the other essays in this book make it worth reading. Together, they examine the nature of the U.S.-Taiwan-People's Republic relationship, its history, and how the three reacted to the 1979 realignment, when the United States shifted recognition from Taipei to Beijing. All the authors cogently describe the unique nature of the Washington-Taipei axis, reordered after the United States legislatively mandated a renewal of the broken relationship through formal, yet unofficial, channels.

Former Foreign Service officers Ralph Clough and Harvey Feldman offer useful insights into the diplomatic side of the equation from World War II through the Reagan years. Respected China hand Richard Bush examines the security and defense aspects of establishment of relations with the People's Republic, while Robert Sutter provides a valuable look at the legislative background of the Taiwan Relations Act, which today governs unofficial Washington-Taipei intercourse. Finally, David Chou offers Taipei's perspective on derecognition and the struggle to create new mechanisms of communication between Taiwan and the United States.

This volume offers a brief but comprehensive look at trilateral relations and a useful overview of the current security arrangement. The description of the Taiwan Relations Act's legislative history is also helpful in understanding the evolution of the new U.S.-Taiwan relationship. In addition to the first essay, the book suffers one final shortcoming, how-

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ever: lack of the full texts of documents critical to the discussion, including the Shanghai Communiqué, the Taiwan Relations Act, and the August 1982 Communiqué limiting U.S. arms sales to Taiwan.

Debt and Crisis in Latin America: The Supply Side of the Story

By Robert Devlin, Princeton University Press, 1989, $35 hardcover

Reviewed by Joseph Pincus

This excellent study by Robert Devlin shows what happens when highly liquid private banks eschew their role as arm's-length, conservative lenders and unheedingly plunge into the uncharted seas of international finance. To avoid the surveillance of national regulatory agencies, these banks created the eurocurrency market during the 1950s. At first, this was fed by dollars generated by continual U.S. balance-of-payment deficits and later augmented by recycled petrodollars following the OPEC oil crisis of 1979/80 and 1984. Thus, for a time, at least, the supply of dollars available for lending appeared to be almost elastic, a horizontal portion of an upward sloping curve.

Small private banks in the OECD countries played a follow-the-leader game. Unable to pay for information-gathering abroad, they were dependent upon the major banks for analyses of credit-worthiness and eagerly joined these "lead banks" in syndicated loan operations. Credit-worthiness of the borrower was a relatively minor consideration, behind concern for market shares and earning additional profit. In fact, credit-worthiness analysis was not a factor until the late 1970s. Meanwhile, the "aggressive posture of U.S. banks spilled over into international markets and helped to set off a frenzied expansion of world banking." The lending priorities of the banks were: the domestic market; OECD countries; and, finally, the less-developed countries (LDCs). Offshore branches were employed for LDCs. New entrants kept crowding the loan scene until 1982, bringing about a rash of competitive bidding for market shares. In fact, Devlin argues, banks frequently regarded their loans to LDCs as loss leaders in the frantic competition to penetrate new markets and become associated with major, syndicate-leader banks. In the 1970s, Latin America became the primary area of penetration or expansion of lending for U.S. banks, which "priced loans passively on the basis of a ranking system rather than on any explicit or active calculation of a risk price relationship." The volume of bank loans was procyclical: large in the upswing of a business cycle, low in the downswing.

Devlin's work indicates clearly that key questions, such as the "absorptive capacity of the borrowing country," and "where did the earlier loan funds go?" were not raised because of the keen oligopolistic competition of private banks to gain greater market share and strengthen client-lender relations. This, obviously, created a borrowers' market, with narrow spreads and long maturities. At times of inflation, in fact, interest rates turned negative in real terms.

Although banks traditionally prefer lending for cash-flow-generating projects and do not favor financing of consumption, infrastructure, or refinancing, the desire for market share led them to offer what Devlin characterizes as "free disposition of loans" to enter demand-constrained markets. That these resources frequently ended in unproductive uses apparently was not a concern of many creditors of the time.

Devlin's proposals for resolving the debt problem are not very strong, as he recognizes when saying "How realistic an option it is will depend to a large degree on the public spirit of new political leadership in the creditor countries."

He concludes, "It can be said that history and common sense suggest that the question is not if, but exactly when and how, the outward net transfer of resources from Latin America will fall. The transfer could be reduced in an orderly and socially efficient way through a more ambitious international public policy initiative that recognized the collective nature of Latin America's debt problem and the efficacy of collective solutions." In spite of the LDCs' great needs for capital, a resurgence of the wildcat lending of the 1970s cannot be recommended. Abstracting from Devlin, however, it can be argued that if the World Banks were to act as a "lead bank" in forming syndicates to make supervised credits to LDCs, with International Monetary Fund recommendations for improved economic management in these countries, new private lending could



be justified.

The Transition to Democracy in Spain and Portugal

By Howard J. Wiarda, assisted by Ieda Siqueira Wiarda, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1989, $31.50 hardcover, $17.50 softcover

Reviewed by Roy A. Harrell Jr.

In the mid-1970s, both Portugal and Spain embarked on the long road toward establishing democratic rule after decades of dictatorship. Beginning with the Portugese "Revolution of Flowers" in 1974 and Spanish dictator Franco's death the same year, both Iberian countries have made remarkable strides toward forming democratic institutions. The events that followed are unique, however, and neither Spain nor Portugal has enjoyed much democratic rule.

In the late 1970s, much attention was focused on the nature of the democratic institutions these countries established. The book clearly shows that both Portugal and Spain contain many undemocratic forces, and the conclusions seem to bear messages for other countries making transitions to democracy. The Wiardas also closely analyze Spain's and Portugal's relations with Latin America.

Yet the book seems to overlook some of the most important events in both countries. Spain and Portugal, weary of dictatorship, were eager to enter the European Community, and though Spain has yet to clearly define its relationship with Latin America—a condition for entering the EC—both countries have ended their isolation from the rest of Europe. No longer is either Spain or Portugal sole sovereign of its own destiny; Iberia had to be brought into closer affiliation with the West than with Latin America. Too much emphasis is given here to relationships with Latin America.

Moreover, only passing references are made to the impact of African wars on Portugese policies. The wars in both Angola and Guinea-Bissau had a far wider impact on Portugese policies than the Wiardas recognize. The end in 1975 of Portugese colonial involvement in Africa—which had begun in 1415—is hardly mentioned, let alone analyzed, and there is no mention that nearly 1 million people fled from the former colonies to Portugal, adding a refugee problem to an already serious political and economic crisis.

Despite these serious shortcomings, the book does provide useful information and should be read to gain an understanding of post-1975 developments. It is unfortunate that an otherwise good piece of scholarship is so narrowly focused and omits a more comprehensive examination of influences beyond the Pyrenees. □

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AFSA ♦ NEWS

Helping Eastern Europe reform

Business executives, policymakers, academics, diplomats, and a legislator told an AFSA-sponsored conference held on April 18 in the State Department that U.S. government and business can help in Eastern Europe—but they did not agree on how. Among the major points of controversy was how much financial assistance to provide to Eastern Europe and in what form.

House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-MO) and former Ambassador to Yugoslavia John Scanlan told conferees that U.S. embassies abroad could more actively help American business get a foothold in the promising new markets of Eastern Europe. Gephardt said he would like to see more Foreign Commercial Service officers abroad, adding that lack of adequate staffing at embassy commercial sections has made the United States "woefully inadequate in the services we offer to businesspeople in our embassies."

"The truth is that for years we assumed economic dominance," Gephardt said. "We saw *business* abroad as somehow shabby, wrong." Gephardt recently introduced a bill to add 120 commercial officers to embassies abroad. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs Ralph Johnson revealed that the State Department is also planning to add staff to Eastern European posts in response to the growing need for economic and commercial information. But he added that the additions may come at the expense of other posts, including those in Western Europe.

Scanlan suggested ways to increase embassy liaison with the business community abroad without adding more staff. He said ambassadors should give U.S. business and trade the highest priority, suggesting that ambassadors form a "business facilitation country team," including a cultural attaché, science officer, and other staff members who can advise businesses abroad.



Rep. Gephardt addresses the luncheon.

Sharp controversy at the "East European Business Opportunities" symposium focused on how much the United States should provide in funds to Eastern Europe, in what form, and for what purposes. William T. Archey, vice president for international affairs at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, was among those supporting tied credit programs to make U.S. exports more competitive. "The decision [to invest] will be made on the basis of competitive financing," Archey said. Jeffrey Sachs of Harvard argued that the United States should consider debt forgiveness. "Stability must take precedence," he said. "There's concern about precedents but . . . there's an openness to solutions."

Henry Owen, chairman of the Bretton Woods Executive Committee and former chairman of the Policy Planning Council at the Department of State, shied away from support for tied credit programs, calling instead for businesses to strongly support funding for the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. "Eastern Europe has got a Marshall Plan," Owen said. "It's called the World Bank and IMF."

Nick Ward, vice president for international development of Marriott Corporation, said that banks must provide loans for struggling Eastern European economies if foreign businesses are to invest. Marriott operates a hotel-office complex in Warsaw.

In discussions on how businesses should proceed with investment projects, some proposed moving ahead before business competition becomes intense, while others counseled caution. Atlantic Council President and former Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs Rozanne Ridgway said that corporations should closely inspect local conditions, including bureaucracy and infrastructure, before making an investment. But Ambassador Robert Barry, special adviser for Eastern European assistance to the deputy secretary of state, advised companies not to waste time with excess caution but to move ahead reasonably quickly. Madeleine Albright, president of the Center for National Policy, stressed that a business presence in Eastern Europe will promote U.S. security interests.

Professor Alice Amsden of MIT and the New School for Social Research and Jeffrey Sachs, speakers on the first of two panels, engaged in keen and sometimes heated debate over the proper role of the state in Eastern European development. Amsden said the lessons of Korean and Taiwanese development teach governments to practice some

interventionism, protecting their markets from foreign competition in the early stages of development. Sachs favored fully free markets, saying that the international community is not prepared to accept major barriers to trade.

Among the greatest concerns for foreign companies considering investment in Eastern Europe is how to exchange profits for hard currency. Istvan Mohacsi, first secretary for economic affairs at the Embassy of Hungary in Washington, predicted no significant currency convertibility problems in Eastern Europe by the middle of the decade. Others agreed that American business should think long-term and not worry about immediate repatriation of profits.

The first panel addressed general issues of U.S. government strategy in Eastern Europe, while a second panel concentrated on specific postures American business should adopt. A special presentation on the legal constraints on trading with Hungary was delivered by George G. Lorinczi, a partner of Stroock & Stroock & Lavan. Susan M. Blackman, director of the Commerce Department's Eastern European Business Information Center, discussed the resources Commerce has made available to corporations planning a venture in Eastern Europe.

The conference, which brought together business executives and Foreign Service officers, formed part of AFSA's effort to provide a forum for communication between government and business on issues affecting U.S. commerce abroad. AFSA's next conference, on the Environment and International Business, will be held on June 14 (*see below*).

Court order violated

The State Department is apparently in violation of a federal court order barring unnecessarily intrusive questions from Standard Form 86, the background information form that most Foreign Service employees must complete in order to receive a security clearance.

After challenging the department's use of questions on drug use, medical history, and political and religious affiliations on SF-86, AFSA reached a settlement with the U.S. Attorney's Office restricting the release of medical information, prohibiting the use of information about drug use in criminal prosecution, and releasing employees from the requirement to furnish information about political or religious affiliations.

Until the form is revised by the Office of Personnel Management to reflect the settlement agreement, the court has ordered the department to affix a special notification to the form informing employees of their rights. Some instances have come to our attention in which the department has not affixed the notification. AFSA has contacted the department for an explanation regarding its apparent violation of the order and will continue to advise its members of any new developments.

International conference on the environment

Earth Day may be over, but environmental problems remain. To consider long-term solutions, on June 14 AFSA is hosting a conference for foreign and American diplomats, environmental experts, and American business executives on "American Business and Global Environmental Issues."

The conference, held in the State Department, will bring together business and government leaders to focus on the transnational aspects of the environment. Participants will discuss how governments, international institutions, and industry can cooperate to reduce the threat to the global environment.

Some of the participants are: the writer and scientist Carl Sagan; Amory Lovens of Rocky Mountain Research; Richard Cellaris, president, Sierra Club; William Nitze, former deputy assistant secretary, OES; Assistant Secretary Curtis Bohlen; former Assistant Secretary Fred Bernthal; Warren Brooks, syndicated columnist; and Chris Ferand of Peabody Holding Co. Senator Tim Wirth of Colorado will address the group at a luncheon.

Case studies on tropical rain forests, stratospheric ozone, and oil spill reduction and management will highlight areas in which business and government have cooperated to improve the environment. Three other panels will address urgent energy efficiency and conservation problems, economics of environmental protection, and how the United States can help rescue Eastern Europe's environment.

AFSA's aim in sponsoring its conference series is to bring together key government and business leaders for active dialogue on international issues of mutual concern. Participants in prior conferences have included Vice President Dan Quayle, former Secretaries of Defense Casper Weinberger and Frank Carlucci, Deputy Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger, House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt, and Senator John Heinz.

This conference will be available to AFSA members at a special membership rate. For more information, contact Brian Hennessey, 338-4045.

President's Page

Casting a Longer Shadow



Theodore S. Wilkinson, AFSA President

Although the task is an essential one, "outreach" is an inelegant expression to describe our efforts to project AFSA's impact. To some it conveys missionary work, to others mere public relations hype. Try as we could a year ago, however, when we began to design the program, members of AFSA's executive committee couldn't come up with a better single term, and we haven't had any brilliant afterthoughts since then. One of our goals has been to improve the Foreign Service image; another has been to translate an improved image into political support for the country's foreign affairs budget and for high-caliber appointees to top positions in the foreign affairs agencies, at home and abroad.

Some accomplishments: our concept was to start by developing closer links with corporate America and affiliates, and we can already claim some small success in this regard. An ambitious bicentennial conference last fall and two thematic symposia this year have enlisted 25 major oil companies, law firms, and multinationals as "international associate" AFSA members. Our goal is to triple this list by the end of this year, and we expect that our next event (a one-day environmental conference in June, described on page 54) will generate interest in what we do among a new group of potential members.

In parallel, we sought to present the Foreign Service mission to a wider audience in an appealing way through the publication of a bicentennial brochure on "American Diplomacy and the Foreign Service," which went to members in our January JOURNAL. We have been gratified by the response, almost all of which has been laudatory. One major embassy has included the publication among the ambassador's standard handouts for high-level contacts. The State Department Board of Examiners is requesting a sizeable second run of the brochure for recruitment purposes. Several commendably conscientious critics thought we had shorted the achievements of Foreign Service leaders in the 20th century. Our defense is that we sought to popularize the Foreign Service, not to eulogize it!

Foreign Service video. AFSA's small effort to tell the Foreign Service story will soon be complemented by an hour-long video on what Foreign Service officers do today, produced by the Una Chapman Cox Foundation. Before the video can be scheduled for national telecast on PBS in the fall, the foundation is obligated to achieve a quota of voluntary contributions (already nearly reached) covering half of the production costs. We have provided address labels at cost to Cox to solicit contributions from our retired members (not only because the video itself is first-rate, but also because completion of the project may free up Cox resources to support future AFSA outreach activities). Active members are also encouraged to send contributions to the foundation at 1726 M Street, N.W., Suite 800, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Remaining challenges. Only time, manpower, and money limit what we *could* do for AFSA outreach. Members have given us dozens of valuable ideas. Next on this board's agenda are the following:

• AFSA speaker's bureau: We intend to supplement the issues-oriented efforts of the foreign affairs agencies' public affairs bureaus by sending more Foreign Service officers into the field. Americans at large need to hear directly from Foreign Service people about the challenges and rewards of serving our country abroad. One of our objectives will be to support recruiting among blacks and other minorities.

• Like minds: In order to rationalize our activities and avoid duplication or conflict with the programs of other effective non-profit foreign affairs organizations, we think we should compare notes with their program directors from time to time, and we are planning an initial meeting in June with representatives of like-minded groups.

• Wining and dining: Although this is scarcely an outreach matter, we would also like to reinstitute the practice of bringing together AFSA members and their spouses in Washington for at least one large formal social event per year, be it a ball, a dinner-dance, or a testimonial dinner for distinguished citizens AFSA chooses to honor. We also plan soon to call together a group to design such an event, and we would be pleased to hear members' views on what kind of event they would like best.



New AFSA Staffer

AFSA is pleased to welcome Barbara A. Thompson as executive assistant office manager and systems manager. A lifelong Maryland resident, Barbara brings seven years of experience as an administrative assistant and secretary to AFSA. She completed the word processing program of the Washington School for Secretaries in 1983.

State Standing Committee



George Jones
Vice President

We have just concluded negotiations with the department on precepts for the 1990 selection boards, the sequencing of the bidding and assignments cycle, and revised time-in-class and promotion eligibility rules. By the time you read this, you will have seen telegrams from both AFSA and the department on the details, so let's take a break this month from the nuts and bolts.

I'd like to respond to a telegram we received from one of our members suggesting that the only reason AFSA had gotten around to establishing a committee on secretarial issues was because the secretaries had organized it.

Exactly.

Actually, our correspondent was not quite correct; AFSA's 1989 to 1991 board took the initiative to form the committee to carry out its election slate promises, and Northern European Affairs Director Eileen Heaphy (then deputy director) agreed to chair it in mid-1989. From the beginning, she believed that the committee would be most appropriately headed by a Foreign Service secretary, however, and she began searching for one who would devote the time and effort needed to make the committee effective. We were lucky enough to find Eileen Janus, who in turn has recruited a group of some 30 secretaries assigned to Washington who meet at least weekly, have met with the director general and will do so again, and overall have made an enormous difference in AFSA's ability to address secretarial issues.

Could I, or any other officer working full or part-time with AFSA, have done as much? Of course not. Does that prove the ineffectiveness or indifference of AFSA's leadership? Nope. It proves that no one can defend any particular group's interests—whether secretaries, communicators, or senior officers—as well as the group concerned. AFSA can provide the umbrella as your exclusive bargaining agent with management. Our ability to compel management to negotiate many (regrettably, not all) issues can be extremely useful to all our constituent groups. But unless members of a group are willing to devote their own time and effort to researching, analyzing, and drafting proposals for improving conditions, AFSA's efforts on their behalf are bound to be limited.

Of course it's particularly useful for Foreign Service people assigned to Washington to participate in formulating AFSA's positions on issues that affect them. But I wish there were also more activism at overseas posts. Don't expect AFSA to go to senior department officials with every issue affecting life at post. Though many problems can only be solved in Washington, many others can be worked out at post, such as a problem one of our chapters was having with an overzealous regional security officer who was conducting searches of American personnel coming into the embassy to work. We suggested that AFSA members talk to post management. Under our agreement with the department, post officials are obligated to meet with the AFSA post rep and his or her colleagues. In this case they did, and the searches were terminated.

On another topic, we have now received over 1,500 responses to the Survey of the Foreign Service published in the February JOURNAL, and they're still coming in at the rate of 350 a week. That's an outstanding response, and AFSA is most grateful to all of you who took the time to complete the survey. We will be doing a full analysis in the next issue of the JOURNAL of all the surveys received through mid-May. If responses received after that time affect the results significantly, we will do a follow-up analysis.

Getting organized: post representatives needed

The membership department is gearing up for a very busy summer transfer season, and we need your help. If you are transferring this summer, let AFSA know. We need to keep post representative files updated so we can respond to members who contact our office before a transfer to find out whether the new post has an active AFSA chapter. Before you leave why not organize a chapter meeting to elect interim AFSA representatives? Finding a replacement is much easier before you leave, and it is very important to maintain a constant link between AFSA Washington and the field. AFSA now has 157 active chapters.

Every summer we spend a great deal of time trying to track down members who have changed locations. Unless you notify the membership department of your move, you will miss several issues of the JOURNAL. The agencies (State, AID, USIA, Commerce, and Agriculture) will not notify us of your transfer, so please let us know, and remind other members to tell AFSA when they are moving. You can contact the headquarters offices via cable (AFSA channel), FAX (202) 338-6820, phone (202) 625-7153, or mail your address change to 2101 E St. NW, Washington, DC 20037.

Pull out the change-of-address card inserted in your May JOURNAL and use it before your next move.

Legislative Issues

Congress gets going on budget

Rick Weiss
Congressional Liaison

The Senate Budget Committee was expected to take floor action in May on the fiscal year 1991 budget, after passage by the House. While both budget committees show major increases in foreign affairs funding, the salaries and expense portion for the department will maintain current levels of service.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee completed its authorization mark-up for the 1991 authorization and 1990 supplemental bills on April 26, with House floor action to follow the second week of May. The House committee increased the S&E account by $78 million for State, which means fiscal year 1991 will be at the FY 1990 level, factoring in inflation, pay adjustments, and currency rates of exchange increases. The committee also authorized $300 million for the embassy in Moscow without choosing any of the options for its construction. The department will have to come back to the committee for approval before spending the Moscow money.

Secretary Baker appeared before the Senate Appropriations (Hollings) Committee on April 25. He requested the Senate to act expeditiously to approve the State Department and USIA 1990 appropriations bill by deleting section 614. The following day, during floor debate on the 1991 supplemental appropriations bill, Senators Hollings, Rudman, and Pell urged the deletion of 614, and their colleagues accepted the amendment. The House is expected to concur when the bill goes to conference. The repeal of section 614 will provide the department with roughly $25 million in additional funds for the S&E account in this fiscal year.

In the floor debate, Senator Jim Sasser, chairman of the Budget Committee, made these comments on the budget:

"Since 1980, the total State Department operating budget has grown by 148 percent. That is right, in one decade, 148 percent—64 percent real growth above inflation for the State Department during the decade of the 1980s."

"Even when you exclude security costs, in the past decade the State Department's budget has grown by 40 percent in real terms, $4.3 billion to the State Department in the past decade in real growth."

"Remember the Moscow embassy? How many buildings do you know that are built 400 percent over budget and 12 years behind schedule?"

"The State Department inspector general recently reported that the department has paid out at least $40 million in excessive overseas allowance and benefits, $40 million that is twice as much as the State Department will receive under this amendment."

"They just had to have $2 million worth of new silverware while they were telling Congress they had to close embassies because they did not give them enough."

"I do not want to stand up here and flog the State Department. I have been a defender of them since the time I came to the Senate. I think by and large I am willing to give our diplomats whatever they need. I think they do a good job under difficult circumstances. But there is no question that there is an inordinate amount of waste in State Department operations."

House and the Senate Committee Chairmen Glenn and Ackerman have both introduced bills on Federal Pay Comparability, but are awaiting the president's draft legislation before holding hearings. One of the major issues for the Foreign Service will bw whether the Washington metropolitan area will receive "locality pay."

Finally, the administration has reported to Congress that in the appointments of ambassadors to foreign countries, the percentages are 70 percent "careerists" and 30 percent "political appointees."

AFSA'S 1990 Retiree Directory

AFSA's 1990 Retiree Directory is now available to active members who wish to stay in contact with their retired colleagues. The directory costs $5.00, which includes postage and handling. Use of the directory for commercial purposes is strictly prohibited. To obtain your copy, please send a check or money order to AFSA, 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, DC 20037.

Questioning perks for the inspector general's office

In a recent telegram from the field, employees complained that personnel in the Office of the Inspector General (OIG) are allowed more liberal use of air travel and telephone calls at government expense than other State Department personnel. AFSA has obtained a copy of OIG travel policy and determined that its regulations relating to airline travel and telephone use are more flexible than the regulations governing other department personnel. Travel for the majority of Foreign Service personnel is governed by regulations in Volume 6 of the Foreign Affairs Manual, which permits each bureau or office to authorize air travel, including the grade of travel, based upon specific budgetary constraints.

In contrast, the Foreign Service Act authorizes the IG to develop its own regulations for activities consistent with its mission. OIG employees are authorized to use business class for airline travel when flight time exceeds eight hours. The OIG may authorize the use of mileage credits to obtain first-class seats when business class travel is otherwise authorized. Furthermore, OIG employees are "encouraged" to upgrade their travel arrangements with pre-approval. These benefits are provided only while traveling at U.S. government expense.

All department employees may be granted upgrades for official travel when they use mileage credits accumulated during official travel. Because of more frequent travel by OIG personnel—tasked with improving the efficiency of the Foreign Service—they have more opportunity to upgrade than most other employees.

OIG employees also receive certain telephone privileges while traveling officially on the grounds that OIG personnel must travel more frequently than most Foreign Service personnel and are away from their families for long periods of time. On this basis, AFSA does not find these regulations unreasonable, but we would like to see them granted to all FS employees doing extended official travel. We will raise this at the first opportunity.

Prescriptive relief victory for AFSA

The Foreign Service Grievance Board in a recent decision officially adopted a position on prescriptive relief long championed by AFSA. The board ruled that it has the authority to grant prescriptive relief for untenured employees, just as it does for those with tenure. In so ruling, the board determined that a 1983 District Court decision does not apply to the Foreign Service.

Prescriptive relief describes suspension of certain types of sanctions, such as termination, disciplinary action, or recovery of an alleged overpayment, pending the outcome of a case. The department has contended since 1989 that the Grievance Board does not have the authority to grant prescriptive relief to untenured employees.

Until recently, the board had not taken an official position on this issue. In late 1989, however, five separate cases involving prescriptive relief for untenured employees were appealed to the board. AFSA provided representation in a hearing on the lead case, after which the board took the unusual step of convening its entire membership to formulate an across-the-board policy on prescriptive relief.

The outcome of this meeting was reflected in the decision that the board handed down in the lead case. The decision referred to the Foreign Service Act of 1980, noting that there is nothing in the statute or its legislative history to suggest that interim relief should be barred where permanent relief is available. The board concluded that there was no basis for the department's assertion that interim relief may be offered only to tenured employees.

The decision does not mean automatic prescriptive relief for any untenured employee. In order to justify a stay of separation, the board ". . . must perceive, in a preliminary assessment of the merits, that the grievant has a reasonable prospect of attaining relief that will result in his or her being retained in the Service." The board has not yet formulated an official policy on prescriptive relief for tenured employees.

Unfortunately, the last chapter remains to be written. The department has responded to the board's decision by indicating that it will defy any order providing an untenured employee with prescriptive relief. Although this has not yet happened, the department's position virtually assures that AFSA will have to litigate in the future.



New Counsel for AFSA

Turna Lewis, a Coloradan who holds a law degree from the University of Denver and a master's degree in public administration from the University of Colorado, has joined AFSA as general counsel.

Turna comes to AFSA from the National Treasury Employees Union (NTEU), where she represented employees in arbitration, negotiation, and proceedings involving other agencies. She is also a volunteer mediator with the District of Columbia Superior Court Dispute Resolution Program.

15th annual AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award recipients

Chairman Jack W. Lydman and the members of the AFSA Committee on Education are pleased to announce the recipients for the 1990 AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards. Funds for the $750 awards and the $100 awards to the honorable mention students are provided jointly by the AAFSW BOOKFAIR and the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

The graduating high school finalists who receive cash awards and academic achievement certificates are listed below. The September JOURNAL will include pictures and brief biographies of the 1990 AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award winners. Congratulations!

Winners

Francisco Almaguer
Erin Barnes
Elliot Berger
Marika Berlind
Emily Blatt
Meredith Brody
Rebecca Clear
Vincent Del Vecchio
Tamara Deuster
Elizabeth Ford
Eugenia Gratto
Stephen Groening
Karen Hester
Charles Ledogar
Megan McLean
Christopher Myers
Jennifer Peashock
David Schmiel
Charles Schollaert
Jennifer Wickland

Honorable Mention

Mikael Cleverley
Lyllis Colbert
Andrea DeShazo
Peri Johnson
Sarah Joslin
Renanit Levy
Sara Lotfi
Neil McCurdy
Ama Schulman
Mai-Lan Tomsen
Gillian Ward
Susanna White
Joshua Wilson

USIA honors officers killed on duty

Employees and alumni of USIA gathered in the Voice of America auditorium April 24 for the unveiling of a plaque honoring 18 USIA employees who lost their lives while working for the agency overseas.

In a brief but moving dedication ceremony, agency Director Bruce Gelb thanked the sponsors and read the names on the plaque, which honors employees killed in 11 different countries between 1960 and 1988. Three of those honored were killed in a terrorist attack on the American embassy in Beirut in 1983. Three were assassinated by terrorists while returning from a trip in support of development projects in Thailand. One was a civil service writer murdered while on temporary duty in Nairobi. Two died while on trips showing films in the interiors of Brazil and Cameroon, and several died in automobile and airline accidents.

A program note at the unveiling ceremony pointed out that the list of names is incomplete and asked that anyone with "personal knowledge of one of our colleagues whose name should be considered, please give the name, cause, and approximate date of death to one of the officers at the USIA Alumni Association so that appropriate action may be taken."

The plaque, made of Vermont marble, consists of brass name plates surrounding a granite great seal. After its unveiling, it was to be hung in the lobby of USIA headquarters at Fourth and C streets Southwest.

Erratum

Editorial Board member Lynn Sever was not named in the caption that appeared on page 68 of *AFSA News* in May. She was standing third from the left in the first row.

Donations needed to endow secretarial award

AFSA is actively seeking funding for an annual award to be presented to an outstanding Foreign Service secretary or group of secretaries. The support of the Foreign Service community is crucial if this award is to be endowed on a permanent basis. If you or anyone you know would like to help finance this award, please contact AFSA Executive Director Sabine Sisk.

Professional Issues

EC-92: Implications for the United States

Corrado Pirzio-Biroli, deputy head of the European Communities (EC) delegation to Washington, told a Foreign Service Club audience March 29 that the EC Common Market envisaged for 1992 will lead toward wider European cooperation and freer worldwide trade.

Pirzio-Biroli said the Common Market is one part of a package that includes monetary union and coordination of research and development, environmental policies, and social policies. The EC will need to "regulate to deregulate," implementing market-wide controls before abolishing national controls. Externally, the 1992 plan should make the EC more competitive internationally.

Pirzio-Biroli contended the 1988 U.S. Trade Act is arbitrary and could spark a trade war. But he added that the administration has shown forebearance in using the authority granted under this act. Reforms in Eastern Europe—which he attributed to the economic dynamism demonstrated by the West rather than the "peace through strength" policy—will not slow the EC process. On the contrary, accelerated establishment of European institutions is an essential element in German reunification and the reconstruction of Eastern Europe. He emphasized that the relaxation of COCOM restrictions is essential to helping the Eastern European countries to modernize. It would be ironic if security restrictions designed to defend democracy should cause it to fail in Eastern Europe. The EC must give aid to develop Eastern Europe to avoid emigration to the West.

Pirzio-Biroli concluded that EC 92 is as good as done. Other aspects of European cooperation need to be speeded up, including a European Monetary Union, agreements with the European Free Trade Area, and institutional reform of the EC.

In a lively discussion period, Pirzio-Biroli criticized British Prime Minister Thatcher's position, which has slowed movement toward monetary union. Asked about the difficulty of reforming the EC's common agricultural policy, Pirzio-Biroli asserted dramatic reforms were being made and described the U.S. position on agricultural issues in the GATT negotiations as unhelpful. He urged that the United States take a more pragmatic approach.

When it was suggested that the EC so far has agreed on the easy issues and the real test will be the establishment of a common currency and a central bank, Pirzio-Biroli acknowledged serious problems remain. He said he had expressed criticism of the U.S. to provoke discussion, but U.S. policy toward Europe has been superb.

Thompson Elected to Roundtable

Richard S. Thompson, AFSA's coordinator for professional issues, was recently elected a director at large of the Public Employees Roundtable. This means he will be a member of the PER Executive Committee. PER is an organization of 30 professional associations with almost 1 million members, which carries out activities designed to enhance appreciation of the importance of public service, develop a stronger *esprit de corps* among public employees, and encourage young people to enter public service careers. Dick has been the AFSA representative on the PER board since joining the AFSA staff more than two years ago.

"AFSA Views" continued

the point made by many of our members that budgetary savings from delayed promotions would be at our expense, we were assured that saving money was never a factor in the proposal to change the cycle. Quite apart from money, we argued that summer is more convenient than fall for most promotion board members, and that postponing for three months the publication of the promotion list will only invite further delays in the assignment process. We also passed on the deeply felt concerns of many members about being assigned to jobs at grade, only to find out a few weeks later that they have been promoted and will now be bound to serve in "downstretch" assignments.

In the face of continuing disagreement on the promotion cycle, AFSA Vice President George Jones and his fellow negotiators would have preferred to implement what was agreed and to set this question aside for more work. Our management counterparts in contrast insisted on the interrelationship of all elements of the "package." Faced with an "all or nothing" offer, AFSA's negotiators were prepared to agree in principle, subject to certain critical expressions of intent in a side letter from management authorities. Most important among these commitments would be: 1) an effort to maintain promotion rates as close as possible to existing rates even with the reduced involuntary attrition that the agreed measures will lead to, and probably also with reduced voluntary attrition in the senior grades for the next three years because of the executive pay raise; and 2) willingness to review the promotion cycle formally with AFSA next year and to renegotiate it after two years, as necessary.

At mid-May the outcome of our negotiations still remains in doubt. Some of our members are yet to be convinced that the balance of measures in the "package" is to their advantage. The AFSA negotiators' view is that the package will advance the interests of our membership as a whole, but the text of the side letter is still not final, and the firmness of management's commitments will be an important element in AFSA's ultimate decision whether to sign on fully, or to take the issue to third party arbitration.

—Ted Wilkinson

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Seymour, Illinois



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Catherine Beale,
Germany

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Connie Smith,
Helena, Montana

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A personal message from Arthur E. Morrissette,
founder and president.

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