

FOREIGN SERVICE

JOURNAL

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JULY 1990

TAKING A FRESH LOOK

AT

INOCHINA

BY FREDERICK Z. BROWN



CAUTIONS ON NICARAGUA

BY PATRICK F. MORRIS

MAKING EQUAL OPPORTUNITY WORK

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On Political Courage



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Several months ago we lamented that neither Republicans nor Democrats were willing to take the political heat for sponsoring the tax hike that this country so desperately needs. We see no other way to meet domestic program demands and still finance our core foreign affairs priorities adequately. Now at least the possibility of a tax increase is "on the table" in the ongoing budget talks between the White House and the congressional leadership. What is still needed is the statesman willing to acknowledge responsibility for new taxes.

We'd also like to see a little more political courage on some of our more direct foreign affairs interests. A couple of issues come instantly to mind:

Senator Helms's veto: It seems that by causing so many delays and difficulties for such a long list of nominees in the past, the senior senator from North Carolina has now acquired a personal veto right over new nominees. As we understand it, the administration planned to nominate Melissa Wells as ambassador to Nicaragua but dropped the plan in mid-spring out of concern that Senator Helms would hold up confirmation. Evidently Ambassador Wells while in Mozambique wasn't sufficiently sympathetic, in Helms's view, to the anti-Marxist insurgency. We endorse the subsequent selection of expert Harry Shlaudeman—who had recently retired—to take on the delicate task of building a relationship with the new Nicaraguan government. Under the circumstances, however, it isn't surprising that it took some persuading to get him to accept.

Wells may not be the only current Helms victim. The White House has been slow to forward several recent nominations for no apparent reason other than dithering about possible adverse reactions from individual members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, primarily Helms and his staff. The issue here is not whether the Senate has a right to consider the record of career FSOs before confirming them as ambassadors; obviously it has both that right and duty. But the duty includes moving swiftly to confirm nominees who can clearly be shown to have served the country faithfully and represented accurately U.S. foreign policy. Senate rules of procedure allow the committee chairman to limit delays and to call promptly for votes. Neither the administration nor the Senate itself should permit the political fringes to sacrifice diligent career FSOs like Melissa Wells on the altar of ideology.

Affirmative action in State: We may need to see a little more political courage in this regard too, if we are to improve progress in upward mobility for minorities. AFSA has been on record as dissatisfied with the glacial rate of improvements to date and impatient to see an overdue State equal employment opportunity plan (which has now just been published). Nevertheless, it seems that some in management would like to pin the slow pace of progress on us. We are told that in a recent high-level, inter-bureau meeting (at which AFSA was not represented), there was general support for placing minority representatives in key assignments with promotion potential. But some pointed out the difficulty of identifying minority bidders on the basis of official records, since personnel files for years have been purged of all ethnic references. The senior management representatives reportedly observed that some form of annotation about minority status would be likely to founder on opposition from AFSA, since, in their view, AFSA's leadership is no more representative of the U.S. population than the Foreign Service as a whole.

Our answer to that is: try us! We could envisage a system, for instance,

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Cover: *Until recently, Americans have felt more comfortable keeping memories of Vietnam under wraps. Now author Frederick Z. Brown thinks it's time to assess the potential for constructive U.S. relations with Indochina. David Chen did the artwork for the JOURNAL.*

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Letters

AID notes

To the *FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL*:

Robert Klein's cynical musings in a recent issue of the *FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL* (March 1990) make one wonder why he bothered to spend an entire career with AID at all. The arguments presented fail on almost every count.

First, he suggests that Third World commercial prospects are too insignificant to merit attention. The United States may write off potential markets with populations numbering at least 1.1 billion in South Asia, 600 million in Africa, and 400 million in Latin America. Our economic competitors in Europe and Japan certainly will not.

Second, he argues that humanitarian concerns will dwindle in the face of growing domestic problems. The public constituency for foreign aid has always been small. But at least two of the five "domestic" concerns cited—drug control and environmental problems—have obvious international dimensions and can hardly be addressed in isolation.

Third, he states that the importance of the Third World will diminish still further as East-West tensions ease. In fact, the easing of tensions may well focus more rather than less attention on the Third World. If not, the problems of the Third World will be increasing visited on Europe and the United States. Just ask the growing numbers of legal and illegal Third World migrants who vote with their feet each year. The idea that the Third World is about to "evaporate" as a major concern or interest to the United States is more an exercise in wishful thinking than anything else.

Fourth, Mr. Klein posits a possible new role for the United States as a policeman in the Third World "in order to maintain stability." One would have thought by now that the French experience in Algeria, the American experience in Vietnam, the Egyptian experience in Yemen, the

Soviet experience in Afghanistan, Cuban experience in Angola, the Libyan experience in Chad, the Vietnam experience in Cambodia, and the Indian experience in Sri Lanka would have left behind a few lessons on the effectiveness of outside powers acting as "policemen." Oh, I forgot: Grenada and Panama. But these actions were followed by a larger rather than a smaller role for AID.

Finally, he indicates that our bilateral aid program should be eliminated, while continuing "to provide aid monies through multilateral institutions on the grounds that we're a rich country and it would be embarrassing not to." We already rank second from the bottom among OECD donors in this regard and don't seem very embarrassed. In an increasingly competitive commercial world, channeling all aid resources through multilaterals will be less rather than more attractive.

The issues raised in the Woods Report and other recent studies are serious and may well point to a restructured AID. It is unfortunate that Mr. Klein's presumed career outside the United States didn't result in a more substantial contribution to the debate.

J.S. Addleton
Sana'a, Yemen

Scientific interest

To the *FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL*:

The article by Teresa and David Jones (*JOURNAL*, March 1990) is an excellent overview of the problems U.S. intellectual property rights (IPR) policies are causing science and technology agreements. S&T agreements are indeed a very weak reed with which to move the IPR mountain and the Department of State should act immediately to pull our negotiating goals and policy together in the national interest. However, one underlying fallacy was underemphasized.

It is wrong to imply that the primary benefit to be gained from

S&T agreements is in the foreign policy arena. S&T agreements are more than "frequently of scientific benefit." The idea that we are simply passing out scientific "largesse" is the misconception which has given policymakers the mistaken idea that S&T agreements can be used to leverage IPR policy. In fact, S&T agreements provide an important *scientific* benefit to U.S. agencies and institutions. Often research conducted would otherwise be impossible, and often U.S. scientists find that research even in developing countries can be ahead of that in the United States. Moreover, the old saw of "bilateral foreign policy interests" leaves us vulnerable to charges of putting U.S. national interests second. We should instead emphasize the actual cost/benefit ratio of IPR policy for our total national interest. As the article points out, the scientific agencies most affected by our IPR policies have little or no role in policy formation or negotiation.

Beyond the IPR/S&T issue, it also would be interesting to know why, in a time when we are more and more learning that the world does not spin around the Washington axis, policy continues to be made based on such anachronistic ideas as "noblesse oblige" and scientific "largesse." Is it not the obligation of the Department of State to address such issues where they affect our national interest?

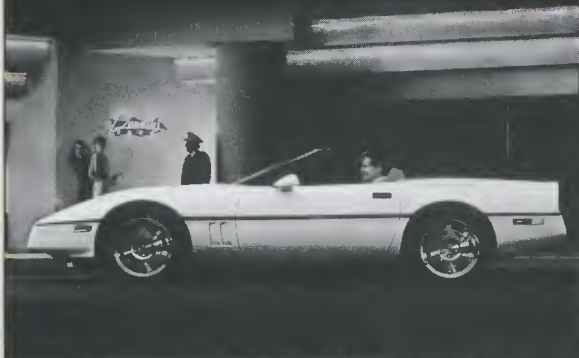
Duane C. Butcher
Arlington, Virginia

Re-employ retirees?

To the *FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL*:

In my opinion, nothing could more disprove State's "Up and Out" employment policies, i.e., the abrupt retiring and/or cashiering of senior officers, than the demands our Foreign Service will face with respect to the expansion in and adequate staffing of posts in renaissance Eastern Europe. For different reasons, of course, this is also true in regions

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such as Latin America (where our presence has been reduced while most of the countries slide more quickly in bankruptcy) and in the EC where the growing economic muscle and prosperity also argue for greater coverage.

Under these circumstances I am increasingly perplexed at the policies in reference, ones that AFSA has both ably reported and fought. The Japanese, Washington's favorite *bête noir*, are moving ahead in these areas while one can only wonder at what drives our powers-that-be.

Obviously, some redirection of the so-called "peace dividend" toward the foreign policy community is called for. Perhaps one-tenth of the sums now being committed to European defense could be redeployed to the diplomatic side once Congress and the White House decide on what to do. I would hope that, as part of the process, State would cease its self-destructive personnel policies and consider further assignments for those trapped in the current "holding pattern." Finally, I believe attention should be given to the re-employment of many of the seasoned and qualified officers who have been obliged to retire in recent years.

Louis V. Riggio
Hollywood, Florida

Unhealthful policy

To the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:
I was disappointed to see, in State [telex] 142181, one more example of the low regard in which the Foreign Service is held by Congress—the repeal of the unhealthful post extra service credit provisions for Foreign Service Retirement System participants. What's next?

Kenneth W. Parent
Dhaka, Bangladesh

Diplomatic Relations in the 1990s

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Foreword by the Rt. Hon. Lord Carrington

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— Daniel O. Newberry, *Foreign Service Journal*

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*Interview with David F. Trask, then-State Department historian,
by John J. Harter*

FSJ, July 1965

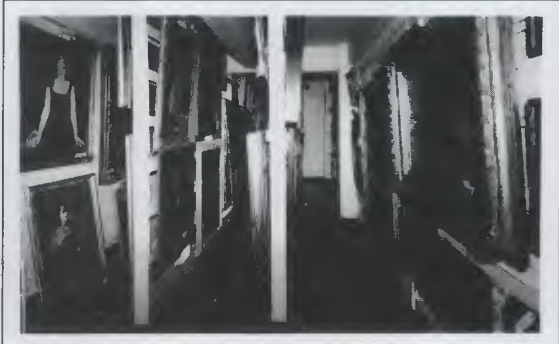
Roughly speaking any administration can be classed as active or inactive; as wanting to do things; wanting to solve problems; or wanting not to do things and therefore wanting to shove problems under the rug. In a period of active government, government is always very much more open. Officials are eager to acquaint the American people with the outlines of problems that are going to require action, because the way you get support for action when it has to be taken is to have people understand the problem. And therefore, doors are open; there is less worry about publication; officials are more free in their conversations with people in my trade because they know that the leader of the government, whoever he may be, is going to want to deal with the problem and therefore will not be enraged when it is dragged out from under the rug.

In a period of inactive government, the reverse situation obtains. Quite obviously this is only natural; for if a government does not want to do what needs doing, it doesn't want to have it pointed out that this does need

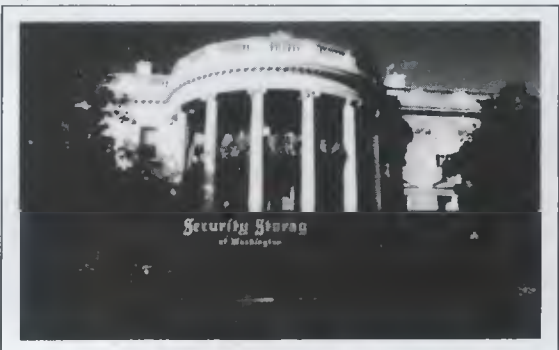
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doing. The most convenient thing, therefore, is to have the problem kept carefully under the rug. And so as I say there is a wide variation from administration to administration in openness and closeness. . . .

[I]t is always unwise and self-defeating to keep problems much too long under the rug and to prevent people from understanding the real form of the problems so that they get only a distorted picture. Furthermore it is downright pernicious and dangerous to keep from the public knowledge of the views of our problems taken by the wisest leaders in the government. Trying to do this, in my judgment, is a very serious deformation of the American system as I have always known it. In this manner, the national forum of debate is starved of the facts that are needed to give the debate substance and reality. Our government, if I may say so, lives and moves and acts by public information. It does not matter what an inner group of policymakers may decide. If the public is not adequately informed, if they do not understand the problem, the decisions that the policymakers make will not be publicly supported; and so the job will not be done. . . . If you're honest about the facts, and if the facts indicate a compelling need for action, the American people in my experience (and I know no exception to the rule) have always ultimately supported the needed action.

"Governmental Press Relations," by Joseph Alsop

FSJ, July 1940

Of the several ways in which good will can be cultivated, one of the more obvious is in the treatment of distinguished foreign visitors. With such visits, especially if state visits, there is usually a certain amount of ceremony, and American ceremony is an interesting institution. We have no royal coaches in which to parade our visitors, no palaces and no diplomatic uniforms or other foreign ceremonial paraphernalia, but we do have a native hospitality which more than makes up for the gold braid and other trappings that we lack, and we are admirably assisted by the Army, Navy, and Marine corps when the occasion demands a fanfare of trumpets or a parade. The dignity of ceremonial occasions must be maintained as the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace. It is an essential part of hospitality to show one's guests that consideration which is, after all, based on one's own self-respect. . . .

On these ceremonial occasions the members of the press and the ever-present cameramen are not often conducive to the dignity of the event, but they are nevertheless an essential part of any work in public relations. The freedom of the press in the United States is a part of the American scene and gives point to these ceremonics, whereas in a country with a controlled press the stereotyped reporting of official functions, however loud and diligently covered by propaganda agents, is empty by comparison. Indeed if it were not for the press, and the newsreels, the visits of distinguished foreigners to the United States would lose a good deal of their interest, since they would reach a so much smaller public. . . .

Protocol's best efforts, like other civilizing influences, can only be made in times of peace. War is the breakdown of diplomacy and although the United States is not at war, the dislocation of normal processes is felt throughout the world today, but the creation of the friendly atmosphere known as protocol will surely rise to shine again in a better world.

"A Glance at Protocol," by Stanley Woodward, Division of Protocol

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“YOUR COUNTRY TEAM AT HOME”



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Hope in Moscow

Associated Press, May 9, 1990
by Brian Friedman

Bob Hope did his stand-up comedy routine in front of the world's biggest microphone—the heavily bugged U.S. embassy in Moscow—for an appreciative audience unaccustomed to live entertainment.

About 300 members of the American community sat on blankets on a grassy field in the middle of the U.S. embassy compound on a chilly Moscow evening for the taping of a Hope road show. Never mind that the late-setting sun played havoc with the cameras and delayed the taping, or that an audio glitch forced Brooke Shields to perform her song twice, or that temperatures had dipped so low into the 30s that by the time Hope sang "Thanks for the Memory," his breath was visible.

The audience of embassy employees, their families, Marines in dress uniforms, and other Americans didn't seem to care: this was live—not a month-old videotaped TV show mailed from the States or last year's hit movie. . . .

Standing on a makeshift USO stage near the soon-to-be-dismantled U.S. embassy office building, Hope drew some of his biggest applause with jokes about extensive Soviet electronic surveillance at the site—a sore subject because of the millions of dollars it will cost to tear down and build a new embassy building.

"What a shame that this new U.S. embassy has to be destroyed because of all the listening devices hidden in it," he said. "This place has so many bugs in it, it should be known as the roach motel."

Or: "I'm not saying this place is bugged, but I looked at myself in the washroom mirror and said, 'Boy, what a handsome guy,' and the mirror said, 'That's funnier than any joke you'll tell today.'"

U.S. Ambassador Jack Matlock,

asked at an embassy reception later if he had gotten tired of all the quips about the bugged embassy building, replied: "It's inevitable."

Even the audience couldn't resist. When Miss Shields stopped during her act and told the director she was hearing a strange sound, some in the crowd shouted: "Microwaves!"

Flow-through borders

Associated Press, May 14, 1990
by Joel Williams

This year's college graduates will taste international relations whether they want to or not, Ambassador John Negroponte told the 1990 graduating class of the University of Texas-Pan American. "We now live in a world in which borders mean less and less," Negroponte said. ". . . a world in which a Chicago buyer is as likely to shop in Taiwan or Ciudad Juarez as across the street."

"Things have changed so much that you, the graduates of Pan American, don't have to make a choice to seek a career in international relations," Negroponte said. "Whether you enter business, politics, social work, or journalism, you will live and work in an international environment."

UT Pan American is located in South Texas about 15 miles from the Mexican border. "The whole world is becoming like this border along which you've studied," he said. "People, ideas, and goods flow back and forth, from east to west, north to south."

Cherished roots

The Lincoln Journal, May 11, 1990
by Paul Hammel

Tom Hutson knows how Willa Cather felt about her childhood home on the Webster County prairie.

The 50-year old Red Cloud, Nebraska, native has spent 20 years in

the Foreign Service, working in China, Yugoslavia, Canada, the Soviet Union, Iran, and West Africa. As the years go by, he has found, the heart grows fonder of one's hometown—something Cather discovered after moving to the East Coast.

"You have to go a long ways away sometimes to find out what you have back home," Hutson said.

That helps explain why, between his coast-to-coast and overseas travels, he renovated a 120-year-old home on Red Cloud's main street into the Richardson House, a bed-and-breakfast retreat. . . .

Hutson said the home will be a stop for hunters, Cather fans, and foreign visitors he has met during his years abroad. "I know a lot of people, and one thing I am is a good correspondent," he said. "I've stayed with them all and they're all looking forward to staying at my place." . . . It will give him something to do during retirement, he said, and will give his family a feeling for the Red Cloud roots he cherishes.

Foxhole diplomacy

The Washington Post, May 29, 1990,
"For the Record"

From a congressional hearing May 8 on prospects for democracy in Burma, Mongolia, and Nepal:

Rep. Stephen Solarz (D-NY): Do we actually have an embassy in Ulan Bator?

Desaix Anderson, assistant secretary of state for East Asia: Yes, sir. We have two American FSOs and three Mongolians, and we have an ambassador who, unfortunately, is posted here in Washington but visits from time to time.

Solarz: Well, is there any reason why he's not a resident?

Anderson: There is no suitable place for him to live, but as soon as such is ready, we're going to move him out there.

Solarz: No suitable place for him



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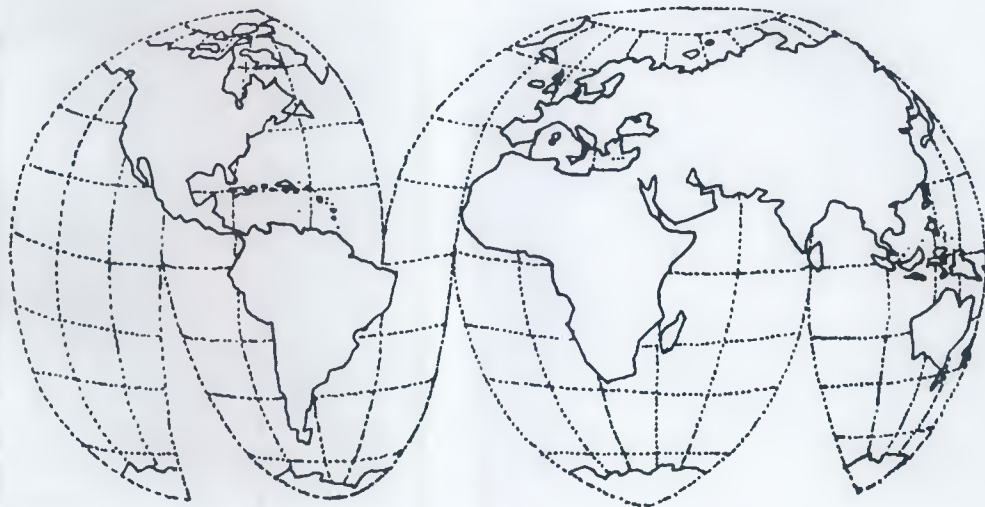
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to live? I mean really, Mr. Anderson. What are we sending—a pacha over there? I mean, no suitable place? I mean we have Asian countries where Americans slept in foxholes in order to defend freedom, and many gave their lives. Are you saying that the only reason we don't have an ambassador is we can't find a suitable mansion?

Anderson: Mr. Chairman, I'm one of those who slept in foxholes, but we felt that we should have enough going on between the two countries and also that we had a place that was suitable so it could . . .

Solarz: Is this absence of a suitable residence the main reason we don't have somebody over there?

Anderson: Yes, sir, but we're planning to . . .

Solarz: Permit me to say this is ludicrous . . . I mean it's one thing not to have an ambassador in Phnom Penh or Hanoi—there are political reasons for this. You can agree or disagree, but I really cannot believe that in the first Asian Communist country to undergo democratic transformation we don't have an ambassador only because suitable quarters can't be found.

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Freshman Fears

Coping with college when the United States doesn't feel like home

NANCY PIET-PELON

For adults in the Foreign Service, no matter how many years they have spent abroad, the United States is always home. But children who have spent their young lives overseas develop deep attachments to countries where they grew up; they immerse themselves in the local culture to a far greater extent than do their parents. Their circles of friends, memories, and experiences are all centered abroad. For these "third culture kids," returning to the United States to attend college is doubly traumatic. They must not only adjust to their new independence and the demands of the academic program, but must do it in a largely unfamiliar country, where relationships with extended family members are weak and friends are scattered. Uprooted, many of these students long to go abroad again and frequently return overseas for their own careers.

Children of Foreign Service families are marked by their experiences abroad, and difference is not always respected in their new peer groups in the United States. "Many students feel very negatively about coming back," says Dr. Kathleen Jordan, a Washington counselor specializing in "third culture" children. Third culture kids abroad are special by virtue of belonging to a small community of foreigners. Back in the United States, they tend to feel lost in the crowd. What made them unique overseas—being a representative of the United States in a foreign country—is

meaningless back home. "They encounter a lack of specialness and at the same time are plunged into a peer group they have no experience with." Compounding the difficulty is the tendency of young people raised abroad to be relatively independent and dislike joining groups. Jordan suggests they take along phone numbers of friends from foreign posts who have also returned to the United States and hold frequent reunions with people who share their experiences abroad. "Their peers aren't interested in their experiences overseas. There's a tremendous amount of ethnocentricity here," and that can make Foreign Service kids feel cut off.

Support systems

The first step to easing adjustment for the college-bound youth is choosing the right university. Foreign Service children will probably want to attend schools with diverse student populations including nationals from a variety of countries and the children of expatriates. The social and academic desirability of a particular university may have to be weighed against its proximity to family and friends, however. Some Foreign Service children choose to attend a college in order to be near grandparents or close family friends who will welcome them for Thanksgiving and other holidays that their friends spend at home.

Parents should also make sure their children have caught up with their peers. The prospective college student will need a driver's license for identification purposes, even if the student does not have or want a car. Besides, driving is an important rite of passage in America, and the non-driving student may feel left behind by peers with licenses.

Young people preparing to leave home should also know how to take care of themselves: shop for appropriate college clothes, schedule medical

appointments, do laundry without ruining everything, keep their rooms reasonably clean, and cook a meal if pressed. More important, they must know how to manage their finances. With parents so far away, Foreign Service children often have more money within easy reach than their peers. They have to know how to budget, since it could be difficult for parents to bail them out quickly. Financial matters can present particular problems to children of Foreign Service families, who generally have not worked at after-school or summer jobs or earned their own money. As one friend put it, "My daughter doesn't have a clue about how to get a job. She feels uncomfortable that she is totally dependent on us for money. All of her friends have had some work experience." Having the pre-freshman return to the United States for the summer prior to college can help the student gain useful Stateside work experience. This is especially germane as it appears that federal budget problems are putting the embassy "summer hire" program for teen dependents on, hopefully, temporary hold.

Orientation

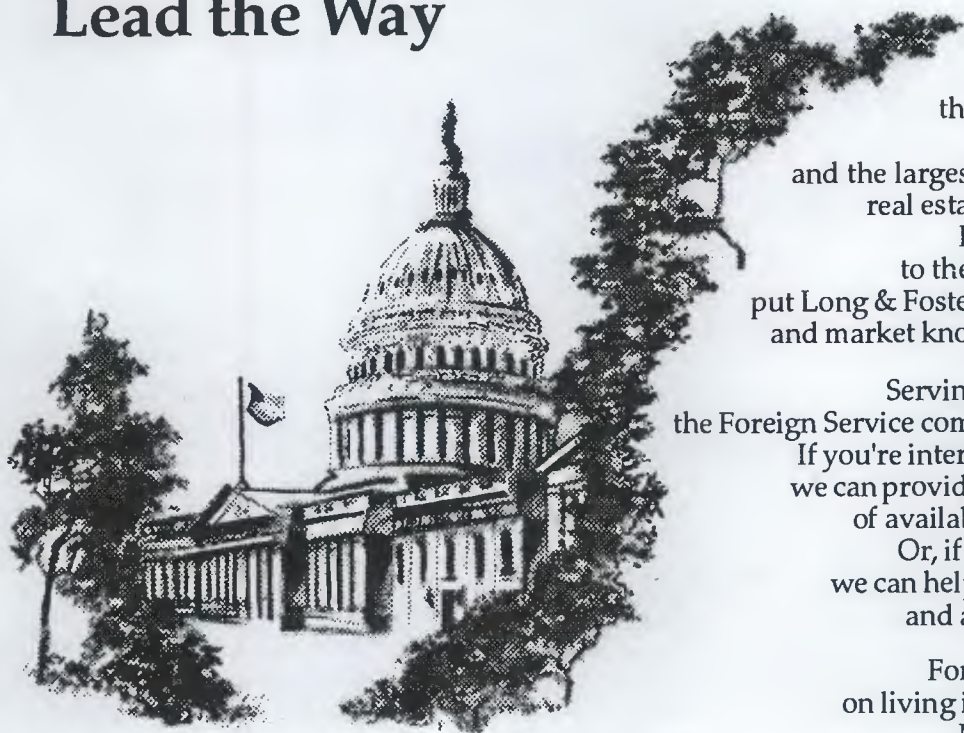
Encouraging the student to attend university orientation programs also helps ease adjustment. Most schools offer a short orientation program before freshman year, providing time to learn about the campus and meet potential friends. Parents might arrange to be in the area at the same time, not interfering, but getting an idea of where their children will be spending the next four years. In addition to university orientation, organizations for Foreign Service families, such as AWAL (Around the World in a Lifetime) and the Foreign Service Youth Foundation, offer orientation workshops, re-entry counseling, alumni networks, and other systems of support (*see box page 19*).

Parents should also make every

Nancy Piet-Pelon writes frequently about Foreign Service issues. She is currently posted in Kathmandu.

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effort to accompany their children on moving day, the first day of school. It can be acutely isolating to enter the dorm burdened with suitcases and struggling alone. Pamela Winder, stationed in Bangkok when her younger daughter started college, was unable to come home for the first day of college, so she arranged for a sister-in-law to take her daughter to the dorm. That helped, Winder said, not only because the daughter had someone to accompany her on the first day but because the sister-in-law could then report back to the family on how their daughter was adjusting.

Finally, before leaving the student behind, parents and the student should discuss and agree upon a regular system for communication and support. Most parents decide on a fixed schedule of telephone calls, as often as once a week or, more commonly, once a month. Even if a good communication system is in place, times of emergency may require the intervention of a third party. Most parents arrange with a close relative or friend who agrees to see or talk with the student regularly. This system saves a lot of stress on both sides and helps the parents relax, knowing that an adult they trust is watching out for their child.

Delayed adolescence

Despite careful preparation, many young people are not ready for college, and some feel they have chosen the wrong one. At the end of one semester they want to transfer or even come home. Many parents get apoplectic at the thought: parents tend to strongly encourage the student to stick it out. They can help by listening to the child's concerns and helping get perspective about the need for a good education and the value of attending college with the same age group. Parents should also let the child know he or she can come home if necessary. After the first home leave, the visit home tends to take on less importance in the student's thoughts, says Dr. Jordan. Leaving home tends to be much more difficult, Jordan says, for students whose families change posts while they are away. These students may return to a place that has no feeling of home.

Although parents do not want to overreact to their children's expressions of dissatisfaction with college, a constant barrage of unhappiness, especially when accompanied by failing grades, indicates that a change or reassessment is in order. These young people are at a vulnerable age. Further-

more, children of Foreign Service families tend to develop very close relationships with their parents and less strong peer relationships. Leaving the family can be especially difficult for them, and many who have lived happily overseas take years to adjust to their own country and settle down.

Many students returned from overseas may find college counseling programs helpful to work out feelings of loneliness and exclusion. In addition, the State Department has a confidential counseling service, the Employee Consultation Service (ECS), which refers clients to local counselors who are familiar with the particular problems encountered by Foreign Service children.

Most of all, parents should be flexible and prepared for their children's cries for help. Experts on teens raised overseas say that is it not unusual for them to go through a delayed adolescence from age 18 to 28. Instead of being free of their children, parents often find these years present a demand for continuing nurturing and care. Many young people take a long time before they assimilate their overseas experience and apply what they have learned to their lives. They will be working on that through their late teen years and as they get older. □

Resources for returning students

- **Family Liaison Office (FLO), Dept. of State.** FLO and its 153 community liaison offices overseas work on employment and training for Foreign Service families, and provide personal and community support to Foreign Service personnel during personal or country crises. A FLO quarterly offers information on family resources at post and in the United States, ranging from schools and counseling services to shopping guides, vacation tips, and summer employment. Contact:

*Education Counselor
Family Liaison Office
M/FLO, Room 1212A
Department of State
Washington DC 20520-7310
Tel: 202/647-3178*

- **Foreign Service Youth Foundation.** The foundation runs training programs to help Foreign Service teenagers adjust to life in the United States after tours abroad and generally coordinates support for the children of Foreign Service families. The foundation was created in 1989 through the collaborative efforts of the State Department's Family Liaison Office, the Association of American Foreign Service Women, and the Overseas Briefing Center of the Foreign Service Institute. Contact:

*Foreign Service Youth Foundation
1019 19th Street, N.W.
Suite 900
Washington, D.C. 20036
Tel: 202/466-7951, Fax: 202/466-4113*

- **Around the World in a Lifetime (AWAL).** AWAL is the Foreign Service teen membership club established in 1982, which now has about 120 members. AWAL holds meetings and retreats and publishes a newsletter for Foreign Service teens. Contact:

*AWAL, c/o Overseas Briefing Center
Foreign Service Institute
Room C-1
1400 Key Boulevard
Arlington, VA 22209
Tel: 703/875-5348*

- **The Employee Consultation Service (ECS).** This State Department service provides confidential counseling and gives referrals to local counselors who are familiar with the particular needs of Foreign Service families. Contact:

*ECS
Room 3243
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520-6817
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SOURCE: State Department Family Liaison Office

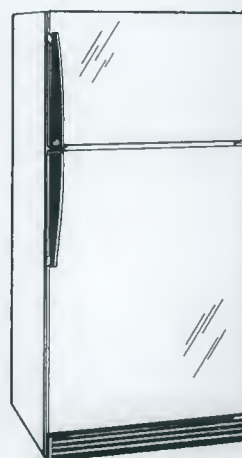
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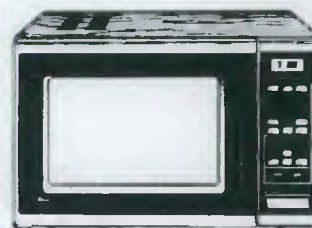
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Speaking Out

Building a Representative Foreign Service

The department must finally offer equal opportunity

GERRY SIKORSKI

If Thomas Jefferson, our nation's first secretary of state, were to return to the State Department in 1990, he would discover an entirely new United States diplomatic corps. In 1790, the State Department consisted of eight employees in New York City and sent ministers to only two countries, France and Great Britain. Today, the State Department employs 4,700 civil servants in Washington, D.C., 5,100 Foreign Service officers, and about 4,200 Foreign Service specialists throughout the world.

When Jefferson served as secretary of state, all positions in the department were obtained through political patronage. Today, Foreign Service officers must meet highly competitive entrance requirements before representing America worldwide.

One aspect of the State Department has remained virtually the same over 200 years, however: the composition of the senior workforce.

White women and black men were first admitted into the Foreign Service officer corps in the 1920s and 1930s. Yet by 1961, black Americans constituted a mere 1.8 percent of the 3,726 Foreign Service officers at the State Department, while women made up 8.8 percent. In 1963, Secretary of State Dean Rusk launched the State Department's first affirmative action efforts by inviting civil rights leaders to Washington to discuss the need to increase the number of minorities serving as Foreign Service officers.

Gerry Sikorski (D-Minnesota) chairs the Subcommittee on the Civil Service of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

Uphill battle

Over the past 20 years, the State Department has only reluctantly increased its efforts to recruit and advance women and minorities in the Foreign Service. Instead of voluntarily following affirmative action plans and recruitment goals, State has reacted to court cases, Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) complaints, congressionally mandated internal reviews, legislation, and investigations.

Though a series of legal actions against the department's alleged discrimination have produced victories

"I am discouraged by inequality in a system that appears to stack the deck in favor of a select few."

in court, the decisions seem to have little impact on a general pattern of discrimination, and the suits keep multiplying. In 1985, the department finally settled a three-year-old suit by a qualified applicant denied entry into the Foreign Service because of his blindness. In 1989, State was forced to suspend its annual written examination when it was found to discriminate against women and minorities. Recently, several black Foreign Service officers filed a class action suit alleging discrimination, and Hispanic officers are poised to file a similar suit. From 1976 to 1986, over 240 EEO cases have been filed—and the number keeps growing.

Such legal action and the large number of EEO complaints raise serious questions about the depart-



Congressman Sikorski

ment's commitment to creating a discrimination-free workforce. The cases and complaints take time, energy, and funds that could be put to better use.

Problems that won't go away

Congress has practiced considerable oversight to ensure fair practices within the Foreign Service since its founding in 1924. In 1972, Congress amended the 1964 Civil Rights Act to require federal agencies, including the State Department, to develop an annual plan "to maintain an affirmative program of equal employment opportunity," prohibiting discrimination based on race, color, sex, religion, and national origin.

The Foreign Service Act of 1980 reorganized the Foreign Service, emphasizing that the Foreign Service should be representative of the American people. Specifically, the legislation aimed at strengthening the Foreign Service by promoting policies and procedures—including affirmative action—that would encourage entry and advancement in the Foreign Service by people from all segments of American society, as well as promoting fair and equitable treatment for all without regard to political affiliation, race, color, religion, national origin, sex, marital status,

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age, or handicap.

Since the passage of the 1980 act, several oversight hearings have been held by both the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee and the Committee on Foreign Affairs. In 1989, the Subcommittee on the Civil Service held three hearings examining State's discriminatory policies toward women, members of racial and ethnic minorities, and the handicapped. Beginning in February 1989, I held a

briefing for all members of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee to examine the State Department's policy on blind applicants to the Foreign Service. Soon after the hearing, the department agreed to revise its discriminatory hiring policies against the blind.

In September 1989, General Accounting Office (GAO) told the Civil Service Subcommittee that the State Department continues to discriminate


in hiring and promoting women and minorities within the ranks of the Foreign Service.

In October, the Civil Service Subcommittee and the International Operations Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee held two joint hearings examining the personnel system of the Foreign Service, with testimony from members of two study groups, the Bremer and Thomas commissions, which reported on the Foreign Service personnel system. The State Department's Bremer report had concluded that too few highly skilled people, particularly from minority populations, were applying for and entering the Service, while the congressionally mandated Thomas commission found that discrimination against women and minorities still exists. The subcommittee also heard testimony from Under Secretary Ivan Selin, Foreign Service personnel Director General Edward Perkins, and the president of AFSA, Theodore Wilkinson. Again, members heard a familiar tune: action must be taken to correct persistent discrimination.

All talk, no action

What has the State Department done to respond to concerns raised by the numerous suits and congressional hearings?

Following the 1972 amendments to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the State Department commissioned several studies and instituted programs to recruit women and minority Foreign Service officers. In 1979, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance formed the Habib Committee, which reported in 1980 that a basic objective of the State Department must be to "ensure that the Foreign Service is truly representative of American diversity." In June 1980, Secretary Edmund Muskie told State Department employees that he was "dedicated to eliminating any vestige of discriminatory practices and attitudes, and mak-



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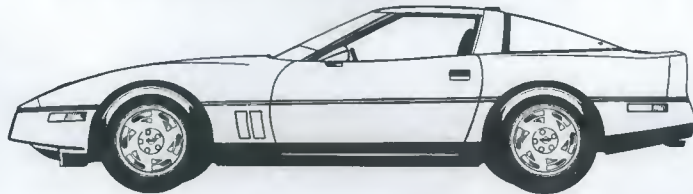
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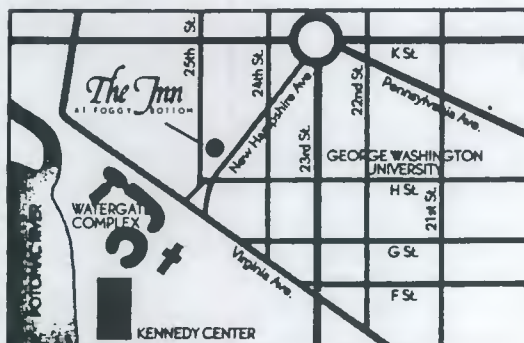


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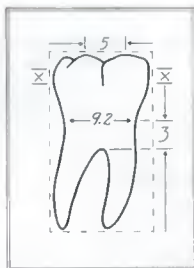
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Speaking Out

ing the department and Foreign Service models of equal opportunity." In 1986, Secretary George Shultz issued a 32-point directive seeking to actively change the State Department's role in recruitment, promotion, and assignments of minorities in the Foreign Service.

The secretaries and commission titles change, but the problem of minority underrepresentation in this highly visible department has not disappeared. Something more than congressional testimonies and public proclamations is required—attitudes and practices still need to change.

The higher ranks

The department has made progress in nearly eliminating discrimination in hiring at the entry level of the Foreign Service. However, imbalances persist in the higher ranks. Minority men have advanced somewhat at the mid levels, but both minorities and women have seen little change at the senior levels.

The most recent personnel information regarding the composition of the Foreign Service's workforce is contained in a July 1989 GAO report entitled *State Department: Minorities and Women are Underrepresented in the Foreign Service*, which found that minority representation in the Foreign Service increased from 7 percent to 11 percent between 1981 and 1987, while white women continued to make up about 24 percent of the service in this period.

In the Senior Foreign Service in 1987, white men held 600 of the 655 senior Foreign Service officer positions and 43 of the 55 senior Foreign Service specialist positions. Black men held 12 positions, Hispanic men held eight positions, Asian-Americans held three positions and white females held 32 senior officer positions.

The Senior Foreign Service may be the last bastion of discrimination in the Foreign Service. I respect and admire those who have worked their

way to the top and survived the rigorous training and hardships. However, I am discouraged by inequality in a system that appears to stack the deck in favor of a select few.

We have seen some changes in policy towards women and minorities in the Foreign Service in the past 20 years, but it has been a slow and painful change. Rhetoric can carry the policies only so far. Action must be taken.

Women and minorities have made advances at the junior levels of the Foreign Service. In the next 10 years, the State Department has the opportunity to correct some of its mistakes and allow equal competition for men and women of all races for senior Foreign Service positions.

State Department officials who make promotion decisions must recognize that there are many diverse qualities which may qualify a person to represent the United States abroad at senior levels. Congress can and will pass legislation and hold oversight hearings, but it is up to the officials at the State Department to carry out policies of equal opportunity and equal representation. Reports and studies can identify the problems, but the solutions can come only from action.

Little can be done to correct discrimination against thousands of qualified candidates over the past 200 years. But hundreds of qualified women and minorities are now waiting impatiently at the junior and mid-levels of the Foreign Service for the opportunity to move up. While we cannot transform the composition of the Senior Foreign Service overnight, the upcoming decade offers the State Department an opportunity to relight the bright beacon of democracy by promoting equality within its ranks. We in the Congress stand vigilantly ready to assist. □

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Taking a Fresh Look at Indochina

Why it's time to overcome the Vietnam syndrome

FREDERICK Z. BROWN

Historians will argue into the next century whether the American intervention in Indochina actually saved the rest of Southeast Asia from conquest by Sino-Vietnamese communism. Would a unified Vietnam under Ho Chi Minh have followed its nationalist instincts, changed its ideological spots, and emerged over time as a buffer against Mao's expansionism?

Whatever the effects of U.S. actions in Indochina, today more than 300 million people in the six countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN: Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Brunei) live in relative security and are racking up the fastest economic growth rate of any region in the world. The dominoes we've heard falling are not Thailand, Malaysia, or Indonesia but the Marxist-Leninist governments of Eastern Europe.

While the "red tide" from the north we feared in the 1950s and 1960s has receded, the United States and ASEAN still share regional security interests and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future. The

Frederick Z. Brown, senior associate at the George Mason University Indochina Institute, was a Foreign Service officer from 1958 to 1984. He is author of Second Chance: The United States and Indochina in the 1990s, (Council on Foreign Relations, 1989).

context has changed, and the precepts we took for granted as late as 1975 are now open to challenge. It is high time to ask two questions: which countries pose a future threat to our national security and that of our ASEAN friends—the Soviet Union? China? Vietnam? Where are the opportunities in the 1990s to enhance our strategic interests in Southeast Asia?

One opportunity, ironically, is presented by Indochina and particularly Vietnam. The trauma of an involvement a generation ago should not obscure today's realities or preclude a new relationship with Vietnam in the broader regional context of Southeast Asia.

Behind the fiction

The American public remains ambivalent about Indochina, caught between curiosity about what went wrong and an impulse to block out the whole mess. Apprehension and anxiety alternate with indifference. Absorbed in the war's drama and corrosive social impact, we prefer to view it through the cinema prisms of "Platoon" and "Full Metal Jacket" or TV soap operas like "Tour of Duty" and "China Beach." In the avalanche of films and war novels about American soldiers in "Nam," Vietnam has become a fictional country where Vietnamese

rarely appear except as targets. This, sadly, says a good deal about our misconceptions of the war and what was at stake in that vast American involvement.

For all the confusion, the American public seems ready to make a more sophisticated examination. The reactive blocking out of Vietnam shows signs of giving way to a more mature attitude and a desire to understand the reasons for our past involvement and the prospects for the future. The profusion of college courses on the war and documentaries on Vietnam and Cambodia indicate as much. The process is slow; no one can predict what revisions of reality and belief will occur along the way.

Except for a flurry of enthusiasm for normalization with Vietnam in the early Carter years, American administrations have assigned Indochina low priority. Only since about 1988 have prospects for a Cambodian settlement and the gruesome possibility of a return to power of the Khmer Rouge excited interest. Among leaders of both political parties there is acute apprehension over reinvolvement, however slight, in the affairs of Indochina. Fifteen years after the war, the wounds are still fresh, the domestic political risk still evident.

Inevitably, foreign affairs crises of the moment preempt long-term policy, and Indochina is not a crisis but a humiliation better forgotten. With Vietnam, the problem is far more complicated. At the policy level these days, there is a mindset of hostility to what many still think of as "North Vietnam," a fear of being seen as weak, and little inclination to look beyond the tactical problems of the moment. Fixated on the "Hanoi regime," Washington overlooks the most fundamental reality of all—the Vietnamese people and their future direction. As a government, we seem to have remembered everything yet learned nothing from that long, painful engagement.

Indochina, specifically Vietnam, should never again assume anything remotely resembling the importance assigned to it after 1954. The region is today a second- or third-rank priority, given our other policy commitments. But with a relatively small investment of political and economic resources and through imaginative diplomacy, U.S. strategic interests in the region can be promoted. It makes no sense to cede to China and the Soviet Union the preponderant influence in shaping events in Indochina, and especially in Vietnam's evolution.

Interests and opportunities

Why should the administration pay any attention to a forlorn corner of Southeast Asia?

Indochina does not exist in isolation but alongside some of our best friends in Southeast Asia, not to mention China. Though relationships with ASEAN members loom far larger than any the United States is likely to develop with Vietnam, Cambodia, or Laos in the next generation, we do not have to choose. Continued close ties with our friends and allies in ASEAN and elsewhere would be complemented by a positive relationship with the countries of Indochina.

The Soviet Union, despite all its troubles and an eroding alliance with Vietnam, remains an influential player. The Soviets are conducting a more imaginative foreign policy toward ASEAN and the Pacific nations, and they still deploy a formidable military presence from Vladivostok to the Indian Ocean. As the Cold War abates—or perhaps just changes venue and style—other geopolitical and economic rivalries intensify. The Southeast Asia game is already being played on a broader field with more players, including the ascending powers of Japan, India, and Indonesia. Sooner or later, Vietnam will join the contest.

Moreover, China remains the central geopolitical fact of life for many Southeast Asian leaders. There are multiple competing claims (including Vietnam's and China's) to the Spratly and Paracel islands and other potentially oil-rich areas of the South China Sea. Historical intra-regional tensions are bubbling back up. Important leadership changes in Indonesia, the Philippines, and elsewhere are not far off. There remains a clear need for a continued active American presence in the region, and with the evolution of the post-1945 U.S. role in the region as a balancer instead of policeman, Vietnam must be taken into account.

Indochina presents economic opportunities as well. Businessmen from Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and especially the ASEAN countries are already streaming into Saigon, Hanoi, and Phnom Penh to line up deals and lay the groundwork for future commercial relations. The United States is nowhere to be seen. While doing business with Vietnam will not correct our trade deficit, why should modest opportunities be left to others? U.S. oil, information,

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communications, and commercial aviation companies could be highly competitive, while the Vietnamese have made no secret of their preference for American technology as well as their desire for a future counterweight to Japan's pervasive presence.

A talented work force gives Vietnam economic potential. After being chronically food-deficient for decades, a partial relaxation of restrictions in the agricultural sector helped Vietnam's Mekong Delta blossom over the past two years into the world's third-largest exporter of rice. With a low wage structure and the entrepreneurial skills of the South, honed during the 1955 to 1975 period of the Republic of Vietnam, Saigon and Danang would have, under a liberalized system, the human resources to become Silicon Valley East for the electronics industry, following in the footsteps of Taiwan and the other Little Tigers of Asia.

Finally, the United States has acute humanitarian interests in Indochina. Resolving the fate of 2,303 American servicemen still missing and unaccounted for (POW/MIAs) is the best-known problem. Emigration under the Orderly Departure Program for former reeducation camp detainees and other Vietnamese with connections to the United States, such as Amerasian children, and family reunification generally are also pieces of unfinished business. Vietnam alone has immense humanitarian needs, and private American voluntary agencies—even the U.S. government itself—should help address them. There is no quick fix for the funda-

mental problems that cause thousands of Vietnamese to flee their country by boat each year. While responsibility for reforms rests with Hanoi, the United States has an interest in the improvement of living standards in Vietnam so that this outflow, with its attendant tragedies, will cease. The United States can do nothing to resolve Vietnam's own MIA problem but might at least recognize its existence—an estimated 300,000 missing from the North and many thousands in the South.

First step: Cambodia

The United States has a moral obligation to help end Cambodia's agony through a compromise political settlement and an end to foreign interference. In the 1970s, Cambodia may have been a sideshow; in 1990, its unresolved situation stands squarely in the way of any new relationship with Vietnam. From either perspective, the most immediate U.S. interest in Indochina is to achieve a successful peace process in Cambodia.

After Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1978 and deposed the Democratic Kampuchea regime of Pol Pot, the United States supported ASEAN's lead role in forcing Vietnam to terminate its military occupation and reverse a situation that Hanoi called "irreversible." The U.S. trade and economic embargo, established in 1964 against North Vietnam and extended to the entire country in 1975, was a major coercive factor in bringing Hanoi to the negotiating table. In September 1989, the Vietnamese army was obliged to withdraw for a variety of reasons, one of which was the embargo. Thus, on one level, U.S. policy proved highly effective. Thailand was secure; ASEAN matured politically; and its individual countries prospered beyond any economist's wildest predictions.

Less successful has been the history of U.S. support for the two Cambodian Non-Communist Resistance factions (NCR), one under Prince Norodom Sihanouk and the other under former Prime Minister Son Sann. The dilemma that the Bush administration faces in 1990 stems both from 10 years of ambivalent American policy on the non-Communist Cambodian groups and from a failure to recognize how strong the Khmer Rouge and the Hun Sen regime would become thanks to the consistent support of their Communist patrons, China

How Marxism perishes

Two schools of thought debate the appropriate strategy toward a repressive regime such as Hanoi's. One, which might be dubbed "Let them stew in their own juice," sees no advantage in establishing a relationship with Vietnam's current hard-line leadership, regardless of Cambodia's situation. According to this logic, U.S. interests are served by prolonging Vietnam's economic mess and awaiting an Eastern European-style upheaval, causing the downfall of communism. The longer the embargo stays in place, the better. A second school sees normalization as the most effective means to promote changes the United States advocates globally as a matter of principle: pluralism, respect for human rights, market economics, and civil freedoms in general. This theory says Vietnam cannot remain immune to the winds of social change sweeping the world and that normalization, by opening up Vietnam to outside influence, will actually help nature take its course.

in the case of the Khmer Rouge and Vietnam and the Soviet Union for Hun Sen. In 1982, ASEAN forced the NCR into marriage with the Khmer Rouge in order to create the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, renamed the National Government of Cambodia (NGC) in 1990. The purpose of the alliance was not to defeat the Vietnamese army on the battlefield but to drive Hanoi to the negotiating table. The U.S.-led embargo was one prod. The insurgency, with the Chinese-supported Khmer Rouge as the barb, was the other.

Perhaps it was hoped that the non-Communists would become strong enough to hold their own, but neither ASEAN nor the United States did what was necessary to make the NCR genuine contenders either militarily or politically. Peace negotiations seemed far in the future, and the NCR was apparently not viewed as a political alternative in a future Phnom Penh government. Two Reagan administrations waffled, fearful of "another Vietnam" and reluctant to risk losing Hanoi's cooperation on POW/MIAs through energetic support for the NCR. Beginning in 1982, money was provided covertly and after 1985 overtly. The tough political questions of organization, leadership, motivation, and most crucial, the NCR's *objectives* were not addressed seriously. The NCR leaders were divided among themselves, deficient in professional competence, and too often corrupt.

In 1990, the Khmer Rouge is the dominant party in the coalition, not only militarily but also politically, through the cover of respectability provided by the alliance with the non-Communists and retention of Cambodia's UN seat. Only in recent years has priority been given to the baffling problem of how to get rid of Pol Pot and company when negotiating time came. The price for keeping the pressure on Vietnam—preserving and strengthening the Khmer Rouge—must now be paid.

Transitional formulas

The August 1989 Paris International Conference on Cambodia sought to resolve this conundrum by attempting to negotiate a quadripartite coalition government. It failed to achieve agreement among the four Cambodian factions (and their backers, China and Vietnam) on a ceasefire, power-sharing, and the modalities of a transitional period



Saigon, 1970; U.S. aid went toward such urban construction projects during the war.

leading to national elections. Since then the emphasis has shifted toward what would be an unprecedented involvement of the United Nations on the ground in Cambodia, an idea broached initially by Representative Stephen Solarz and picked up by Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans. The UN secretary general's "transitional authority in Cambodia" (UNTAC) would run Cambodia using a cadre of international civil servants and the existing administrative infrastructure of the Hun Sen's State of Cambodia (SOC) and the NCR-Khmer Rouge alliance's NGC in areas it controls.

Cambodia is already considered independent and self-governing; its sovereignty would therefore have to reside temporarily in a Supreme National Council made up of representatives of the four factions. Under the UN franchise, neutral conditions would be created for national elections and a free choice by the Cambodians regarding their future government. After flatly opposing a role for the United Nations, both Vietnam and the SOC in recent months have agreed to the UNTAC concept and have been extending cooperation to Australian and UN survey teams.

The Australian plan, with its numerous options, has become the basis for negotiations among the five permanent members of the UN Security Council ("Perm. Five"). Their approval and active support must be obtained if the plan is to work, and the Perm Five have met regularly since the beginning of 1990. There seems to be general agreement that UNTAC is the most

promising route to a settlement. Yet no one is optimistic. The devil, as always, is in the details. Although Sihanouk no longer demands "dismantlement" of the SOC, the Hun Sen regime must surrender some of the advantages won over a decade of fighting and risk the presence of Khmer Rouge cadres in many areas formerly denied them. The Khmer Rouge must be persuaded to abandon violence and coercion and to engage in an electoral process that could relegate them to a small minority. China, of course, could wreck any deal at the last moment.

Seeking practical solutions

The Bush administration is backing the UN plan and expending considerable time and effort to make it work. But if the UNTAC gambit cannot be realized in the near term—or were it to fail outright—the administration would face the unpalatable choice of either continuing material support for the insurgency or dropping out of the Cambodia game entirely. In either case, the dilemma posed by the Khmer Rouge's strength and the NCR's weakness would remain.

It is important to distinguish between a comprehensive *solution* to the Cambodia problem, which could be years away, and an imperfect *settlement* to end the fighting, permit reasonably fair elections, and satisfy the minimum requirements of the external

parties to the conflict. There will be an indefinite period for *implementation* of an agreement, which could break down at any time after the ink is dry. The essential U.S. goals are to keep the Khmer Rouge from regaining power, to give the Cambodian people a fair shot at self-determination, and to promote the chances of the non-Communists in a future government.

At some point in the near future the administration will have to decide how, practically, these goals can be best achieved. It may have to contemplate a third choice: make any further assistance to the non-Communists contingent upon their breaking with the Khmer Rouge once and for all, and then work for a bilateral coalition with the Phnom Penh regime that most of the international community can support. Thailand, the country most directly concerned, is already heading in this direction.

It is apparent that Hun Sen's SOC government is not going to disappear and that its administrative apparatus will probably remain in some form as the skeleton of a future government in Cambodia, be it under a UNTAC arrangement or in a bilateral coalition with the non-Communists. The SOC is weak and no doubt flawed. Its dominant Khmer People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP) remains Leninist in character, and many of its leaders, including Hun Sen, are former Khmer Rouge officers who fled to Vietnam in 1977 or 1978 and returned on Vietnamese tanks in 1979. The regime has engaged in human rights abuses, especially in the early 1980s. There is reportedly corruption and nepotism rivaling the 1970 to 1975 Lon Nol era.

Nonetheless, the SOC has been successful in reviving Cambodia from the virtually total catastrophe of the Pol Pot period and is viewed by the populace as the only bulwark against the Khmer Rouge's return. Economically, the regime is free-market and anxious to increase commercial ties to ASEAN and the West. A number of the senior officials around Hun Sen have been educated in the West and are resolutely anti-Khmer Rouge. Foreign voluntary agencies working with the SOC have found it generally pragmatic.

The question is not whether the United States and the international community approve of the present Cambodian regime but whether they can help bring about the evolution of a pluralist society in Cambodia and a chance for non-Communists—and even reformed Khmer Rouge—to coexist.

U.S. conditions for normalization

The administration says it is prepared to move toward establishment of diplomatic relations with Vietnam and lifting the trade embargo when there is a complete and verified withdrawal of Vietnamese troops in the context of an acceptable, comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict. The administration also says the Vietnamese must understand that "as a practical reality, the pace and scope of normalization will depend on their continued cooperation on the POW/MIA issue and other humanitarian concerns." How the United States defines "acceptable," "comprehensive," and "pace and scope" is crucial. Conceivably, intransigence on the part of China and the Khmer Rouge (or Sihanouk) rather than Vietnam could delay or rule out a comprehensive settlement. Would the United States then choose to put off relations with Vietnam indefinitely? Would this benefit American interests? Would postponement of relations with Vietnam help or hurt the Cambodians?

First choice is to carry the UN process as far as possible and to make both Hun Sen and the Khmer Rouge submit to the judgment of the Cambodian people. Hun Sen may do so because he stands a good chance of winning a majority at the polls. The Khmer Rouge may also agree to elections as part of a double-track strategy to gain participation in the open political process while maintaining a guerilla capability in the jungle. Whatever the electoral outcome, it is fantasy to believe that the Khmer Rouge threat will become benign or wither away.

Give and take

There are several ways the Bush administration could move events in a positive direction. The United States could talk directly with Phnom Penh, as Thailand, France, Great Britain, Australia, and others are already doing. It could discuss bluntly the conditions for participation in a future coalition by those Cambodians who are not members of Hun Sen's KPRP. Negotiators can spell out specific ways the United States could contribute to the rebuilding of Cambodia through both official and voluntary agency assistance as well as private investment. A direct U.S. approach to Phnom Penh could reinforce the Perm Five effort to move the SOC toward genuine power sharing. Reconstruction should begin as soon as there is unambiguous movement toward a settlement that is acceptable to the international community.

In its deliberations, the administration should lend more weight to basic factors at work in Cambodia such as the nationalist component of the current regime in Phnom Penh (despite its dependence on Vietnam) and the Cambodian mistrust of the Vietnamese. It is absurd to portray the NCR as the sole proprietors of Cambodian nationalism. The American preoccupation with Sihanouk, Son Sann, and the NCR has obscured the Cambodians who really count: the 6 million people who never left Cambodia. They include many who are putting their lives on the line as village militiamen and petty functionaries simply because the current Phnom Penh regime represents the best chance for survival.

The strength of non-Communist Cambodians in a future Cambodia does not lie in the NCR's military formations. The greatest potential lies in the overseas Cambodian community's economic clout, technical ex-

pertise, and connections with the international financial world, all of which could give them influence and protection in a coalition with KPRP adherents. The administration could work with the Cambodian-American community, 250,000 strong, to encourage their unity and formal organization in preparation for relations with a new government, and to enhance their appeal to their countrymen now living under the SOC.

Winning a new generation

Geopolitically, the high-stakes game in Indochina is Vietnam, with its 65 million people. By the year 2000, Vietnam will weigh heavily in regional affairs. The Vietnamese people are energetic and endowed with a strong spirit of independence. U.S. policy ought to influence not only currently evolving policies in Hanoi but also a rising generation of Vietnamese who will have visited, even studied in capitals of noncommunist East Asia. Some will have strolled through the Brandenburg Gate, celebrated with Solidarity workers, and heard Ceausescu's final speech on Christmas Eve in 1989. The perspective of this new Vietnamese generation will be broader and more open to change than that of their parents, who knew only Dien Bien Phu, the Ho Chi Minh Trail, and Tet '68.

Vietnam is not Poland, Hungary, or the Soviet Union. But the fate of Communist governments in Eastern Europe has astonished and shaken the Vietnamese Communist Party, which is coming under criticism from the Club of Former Resistance Fighters (that is, ex-Viet Cong) in the South and the National Association of Writers. *Doi moi*, Vietnam's *perestroika*, is a dangerous commodity, especially in the South, which is going its own way economically with an ill-concealed contempt for party controls.

The Hanoi politburo is groping for a peculiarly Vietnamese solution that avoids both the disaster of Tiananmen Square and the current turmoil of the Soviet Union. The more than 180,000 Vietnamese students and guest workers in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe pose an immensely complicating factor in this regard. As Marxists correctly fear, political and economic change cannot be separated forever. The party's senior leaders, through their dogmatism, limited vision, and mismanagement have laid the groundwork for

The Hanoi politburo is groping for a peculiarly Vietnamese solution

Vietnam is eager to get out from under both its current friend, the Soviet Union, and its traditional enemy, China

change no matter what controlled reform measures they take now.

Normalization is not a magical moment achieved by the stroke of a pen. It is a process, not a fixed destination, and the process will demand hard work on both sides. We have never had "normal" relations with any government of Vietnam or the Vietnamese people. The timing of the establishment of formal diplomatic relations and the lifting of the embargo will depend on the unfolding of events in Cambodia. But it is increasingly clear that there is an American interest in having a presence in Hanoi as soon as possible to understand the evolution of Vietnam's society, to resolve humanitarian problems, and to get on with building a positive relationship.

In the meantime, a high level bilateral dialogue with Vietnam should address a broad range of issues extending beyond the current humanitarian menu. On Cambodia, the United States would emphasize a readiness to hammer out an understanding on a settlement as part of a U.S.-Vietnam normalization package. Such a package would need to offer explicit guarantees of a genuinely neutral, nonaligned, independent Cambodia in which Cambodians of various political persuasions can coexist, all subject to international monitoring and guarantees. Vietnam would receive the fruits of normalization, including a lifting of the embargo. It would also be told bluntly that the United States understands clearly the difference between Vietnam's legitimate security concerns, on one hand, and what euphemistically is called "hegemonistic designs" on the other. While much of this can also be spelled out in the international negotiating procedure already under way in Jakarta, Paris and in Perm Five meetings, a bilateral agreement in principle between Washington and Hanoi could be a key element in the multilateral process.

Focusing on the '10 percent'

No Gallup Poll is required to support the belief that the great majority of all Vietnamese, whose aspirations are not much different from their Southeast Asian neighbors, would welcome a rapprochement with the West. For us, a fresh attitude toward Vietnam might help heal the psychological wounds of the war that are still so profoundly felt. In the end, however, welcoming the opportunity for a new bilateral

relationship with Vietnam would be simple *realpolitik*, not a dangerous gamble and not an expiation of imagined guilt. Because the Vietnamese government retains much of its wartime fixations and repressive practices, we should deal with Vietnam as we do with other governments of which we disapprove, differentiating between the Vietnamese Communist Party and the people of Vietnam.

In adopting a broader view of American geopolitical interests and opportunities in the region, we would do well to think historically and in terms of more than one or two fiscal years. The thrust of our strategy in the next decade should be to show the Vietnamese that their interests are best served not by Marxism and loyalty to a crumbling socialist block or by emulating China but by peaceful membership in the East Asian community, by good relations with the West, and who knows, by openness, politically as well as economically.

Whatever one thinks of the Hanoi regime and its conduct before and after 1975, the Vietnamese people are not our enemies. In the North, despite past hostilities, Americans today are generally greeted with an astonishing warmth. Any visitor to Vietnam senses the bittersweet inheritance from the vast American involvement and the more than 2 million Americans who served "in-country." The presence of more than three-quarters of a million Americans of Vietnamese descent in the United States creates an eerie, ambivalent intimacy. Over the next decades, the United States and Vietnam should have the capacity to construct a relationship with practical value for both sides. Vietnam is eager to get out from under both its current friend, the Soviet Union, and its traditional enemy, China. The Vietnamese government recognizes full well that the United States can be useful in this effort.

In 1965, according to the *Pentagon Papers*, then Assistant Secretary of Defense John McNaughton made his classic definition of American aims in the Vietnam War: "70 percent to avoid a humiliating U.S. defeat; 20 percent to keep SVN territory from Chinese hands, and 10 percent to permit the people of SVN to enjoy a better, freer way of life."

Today, American interests in Vietnam come down to the Vietnamese people—McNaughton's 10 percent—if only because they, and not American military power, will ultimately determine the future shape of Vietnam. □

Can U.S. Aid Cure Nicaragua's Ills?

The Dominican Republic provides a sobering comparison

PATRICK F. MORRIS

Oops! We just picked up another moral commitment. First Panama and now Nicaragua. How many more victories like this can the United States afford?

Following UNO's triumph in Nicaragua, it is a foregone conclusion that the United States will be a large donor to economic recovery efforts, and Congress recently approved an administration proposal for \$300 million, along with \$420 million for Panama.

Ironically, had Daniel Ortega and his Sandinistas won the election, the United States could have rebuffed requests for assistance and blamed continuing economic malaise in Nicaragua on Marxist economics and Sandinista mismanagement. Now, by honoring its moral commitment, the United States will also be accepting a responsibility to see that its favored free-market mechanisms actually work.

The leaders of UNO will readily agree that financial resources from outside donors must be channeled into productive enterprises to stimulate private investment and a market economy. There also seems to be a general assumption that such a formula can achieve the desired economic results within a reasonable time, while providing a framework for the growth of democratic institutions.

But will it work? At least one other country in Latin America in recent years

Patrick F. Morris spent his Foreign Service career in Latin America and served as AID director in the Dominican Republic from 1977 to 1979.

went through a similar experience, which offers mixed evidence at best.

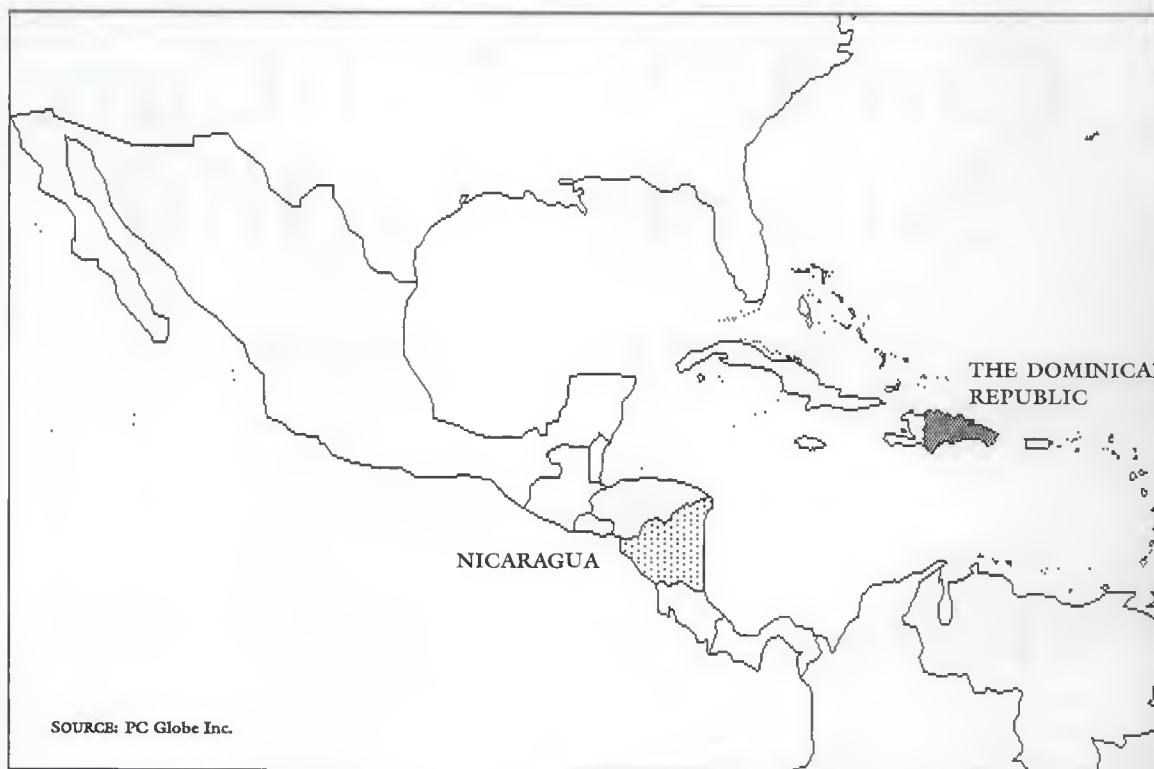
Shot in the arm

In 1966, the Dominican Republic elected Joaquin Balaguer to head a new government, backed by the United States, to recover from the economic dislocation caused by the feudal remnants of a 30-year dictatorship, an aborted attempt at democratic government, and a brief civil war. U.S. troops, brought in during the civil war in April 1965, were withdrawn in August 1966 and a massive U.S. economic assistance program began.

From 1966 to 1969 the United States provided the country with \$300 million in direct economic assistance, also increasing the Dominican sugar quota so that foreign exchange earnings for those same years were \$227.3 million higher than they would have been. The Dominican government opened the country to foreign investment, guaranteeing full government protection and cooperation. From 1966 to 1971, foreign investment in gold mining, ferro-nickel production, bauxite mining, sugar processing, and petroleum refining exceeded \$1 billion. By 1970, the Inter-American Development Bank began making loans for large infrastructure projects. The U.S. government continued a reduced but still significant assistance program.

As a result of this investment, the Dominican economy for seven years, from 1968 to 1974, grew at a phenomenal annual rate of 11 percent, the highest in

*Most
Dominicans
participated
only
marginally
—or not at
all—in the
growth of
the seventies*



CENTRAL AMERICA

the hemisphere. This growth continued throughout the 1970s, averaging an impressive 9 percent from 1970 to 1979. For the first time, Dominican exports passed the \$1 billion-a-year mark. The Dominican Republic seemed ready to pass over that magic threshold to self-sustained economic growth then being attained by countries in the Far East such as Taiwan, Korea, and Singapore.

The political scene also saw steady progress. Balaguer, who was elected to two additional terms, in 1978 reluctantly but peacefully turned over the reins of government to the opposition party after skilled mediation by an Organization of American States observer team and the United States embassy.

Persistent poverty

But the OPEC oil shocks of 1973 and 1979, combined with internal mismanagement and corruption, brought growth to a halt in 1980. Deep recession in the United States in 1981 and 1982 added to the country's problems and caused economic contraction in the following years. Most, if not all, the economic gains of the 1970s were lost in the 1980s.

The optimistic statistics of the 1970s obscured even more serious underlying problems, however. Despite rapid growth, it was estimated in 1980 that 80 percent of the population—or 4 million of the country's 6 million people—were living below the poverty level, which was set at a modest \$300 a year. Unemployment and underemployment were running at 30 percent. Some 75 percent of the population was suffering from malnutrition, and the infant mortality rate was still one of the highest in Latin America. Unemployment remained high, production inefficient, and productivity low, despite the rapid increases in gross national product.

The large majority of Dominicans clearly participated only marginally or not at all in the growth of the golden seventies. The reason more did not benefit is related to a combination of social, economic, cultural, and historical factors that do not respond automatically or quickly to increased investment and production. First, the Dominican Republic in these years saw the disintegration of the traditional agricultural and artisan sectors of the economy. This, combined with high population growth, caused massive rural-to-urban migration that the mod-

ern agricultural and industrial sectors could not absorb. Low levels of literacy and education slowed the development of a skilled and technically qualified work force. Finally, outdated land tenure and taxation systems slowed social change and more equitable income distribution. These conditions were exacerbated by the extreme vulnerability of the local economy, which depended heavily on the export of sugar and import of petroleum, to swings in international commodity prices. Furthermore, wealth and economic power were concentrated in the hands of foreign companies and a small Dominican elite.

The Dominican experience illustrates what most development experts are well aware

the export of tropical products to the U.S. market. Now Nicaragua is faced with the same array of economic, social, cultural, and historic factors that militated against the Dominican Republic's breaking its cycle of poverty a decade ago.

It remains to be seen whether Nicaragua will continue to receive the sustained, direct economic assistance that the Dominican Republic did. But even if economic assistance were to surpass Dominican levels, Nicaragua will probably not receive the volume of private investment that poured into the Dominican Republic from 1966 to 1971. Thus, the economic growth is unlikely to be anywhere near the impressive levels achieved by the Dominicans. More

Growth without equity results in stagnation

1987-1989
GNP PER CAPITA
(in \$US)

NICARAGUA	827
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	699

SOURCE: Compiled by PC Globe Inc. from World Bank data

of, that self-sustaining development requires not only growth but equity. Growth without equity results in stagnation. If most people do not benefit from increases in production, they cannot create the demand for goods and services that will stimulate future increases.

Unfortunately, the free market system in Latin America has had more success at generating growth than creating equity. It is because of this that many of these countries have resorted to state ownership of productive enterprises, and that Marxism, with its promise of a classless society and emphasis on equity, has had continuing appeal.

No quick fixes

Nicaragua offers a number of parallels with the Dominican Republic, including a historical relationship with the United States that has consisted of, among other things, occupation by the U.S. Marines during and after World War I, leading to the creation of a strong-man dictatorship. In addition, the two countries have had similar agricultural economies, dependent primarily upon

sobering yet, even spectacular economic gains achieved through foreign assistance and free market mechanisms will not automatically alleviate the grinding poverty of the majority of Nicaragua's citizens. For that to happen, social structures as well as economic ones will have to change.

If continuing social turmoil is to be avoided in Nicaragua, steps will have to be taken to ensure that the benefits of increased production do not flow only to the privileged few. This is a problem with which Latin American leaders have wrestled throughout the industrial era but which gets little attention in the United States and has recently been further obfuscated by euphoria over the demise of Marxism as a viable economic development alternative. It has become almost an article of faith that increased production automatically brings higher living standards to the poor. The Dominican example refutes that.

Can we show Nicaraguans that the free market really does work and that we can help them break the cycle of poverty? This is the real challenge for the United States in fulfilling its moral commitment to Nicaragua. □

Pattern of Circles: An Ambassador's Story

By John E. Dolibois, Kent State University Press, 1989, \$24 hardcover

Reviewed by Smith Simpson

A native of Luxembourg who made good in the United States, John Dolibois returned to the land of his birth in 1981 as the U.S. ambassador, by appointment of President Reagan. He served four years and from all indications was as resourceful, public-spirited, perceptive, and warm-hearted as he had been in his 34 years with Miami (Ohio) University.

His autobiography recounts his early years in Luxembourg, his arrival in the United States in 1931 at the age of 13, in the midst of the Great Depression, and his varied experiences through the years to the conclusion of his diplomatic tour. His schooling, for which he worked hard, culminated in graduation from Miami, and then, barely married and settled in a job with Procter & Gamble, he was overtaken by World War II. Drafted and assigned to the armored forces, he emerged as an officer with a reputation for being able to "take it."

At war's end, he wound up in Germany and Luxembourg as an intelligence officer interrogating Nazi leaders charged as war criminals, in preparation for the Nuremberg trials. When he returned to Procter & Gamble and found his employment unappalling, he began a long association with his alma mater as its first full-time alumni secretary. His spirit of service, personality, organizational competence, and ability in what is called "conflict resolution" brought him university leadership, and he was rewarded with the post of vice president for university relations. He led alumni tours to Europe, which kept alive his contacts with the continent and sparked the creation of a Miami branch in Luxembourg, for which he was an active negotiator. As a mem-



Ambassador Dolibois

ber of the (Fulbright) Foreign Scholarship Fund by appointment of President Nixon and re-appointment of President Ford, he was brought into contact with the State Department on the assistant secretary level and imaginatively drew upon this relationship to organize a number of foreign policy conferences and visits to Miami of Fulbright scholars.

The notice all this attracted prompted an Ohio congressman (not his own) in 1980 to suggest his name to President-elect Reagan for the ambassadorship to Luxembourg, and although Dolibois was dubious it would fly (as he had never been a big contributor or "officially active" in the Republican Party), it did, and for the first time in our history, a naturalized citizen returned to his native land as our top diplomatic representative.

During the ensuing four years the newly anointed diplomat devoted himself resourcefully to the cultivation of good relations between the two countries. While no significant policy issues vexed this task, the Grand Duchy, as all countries large and small, votes in international assemblies and can form part of that reservoir of good will on which the United States must continually draw for its initiatives. Knowing the history, culture, and psychology of the host country, speaking the local language (Letzeburgish)

as well as French and German, familiar with the general contours of European issues and having acquired numerous Luxembourg friends and acquaintances over the years, Dolibois performed with finesse.

Of particular interest to the Foreign Service is Dolibois' impression of it. Unhappily, it was mixed. Although he refers to his deputy chief of mission (DCM) in the singular, in fact he had two consecutively, neither of whom, to put it mildly, was helpful. This was evident from the start with the first DCM. Confronted on arrival in October 1981 by a "stack of telegrams a foot high" dating back to early August, the ambassador got no more assistance from his deputy than to be informed that "I should read and initial them. Then he walked out of my office," leaving his superior to wrestle as best he could with unfamiliar cable-ese, acronyms, and other esoteric shorthand. It took a year and a half, writes Dolibois, for his number two to stop "acting as if I were the village idiot." Fortunately, his secretary, recruited from the department's secretarial pool, was seasoned and helpful, guiding him through many a labyrinth. The first DCM went so far as to try to cut the ambassador off from the Foreign Ministry, suggesting that Dolibois "is a nice guy but totally ignorant of procedure and policy" and that it would be a good idea for the ministry to deal directly with the DCM.

In language that seems to refer to all Foreign Service officers on his staff, but which I found on inquiry applies only to the DCMs, Dolibois records his impression that they were animated less by a spirit of service than "career and institutional interests. . . . They hardly arrived at post before they began scheming and planning their next assignment and promotion, worrying about efficiency reports and evaluations. . . . The attitude seemed to be, 'So, you want to be an ambassador? Go ahead! I won't stop you.'" Dolibois then adds



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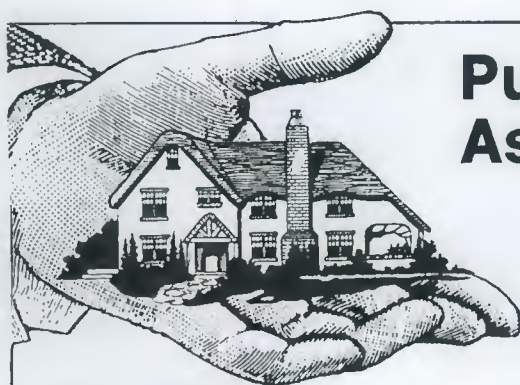
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that "all the other American personnel . . . and the non-American employees gave strong support."

As an Americanization-of-John-Dolibois memoir, this book is fascinating reading. As a reminder that Foreign Service officers can sometimes be the Service's hardest cross to bear, it conveys a useful perspective.

Countenance of Truth: The United Nations and the Waldheim Case

By Shirley Hazzard, Viking, 1990, \$17.95 hardcover

Reviewed by Charles Maechling Jr.

Kurt Waldheim, former secretary general of the United Nations and now president of Austria, has been a continuing subject of investigative reporting, due to his World War II service in German army units involved in atrocities and his concealment of this participation in his personal history and memoirs. There are still large areas of Waldheim's past that deserve exploration, but this skimpy volume will not shed much light on them.

As regards the inner working of the United Nations and the more controversial aspects of Waldheim's tenure, Hazzard offers some interesting insights and confirms the negative feelings Waldheim seems to have aroused among his colleagues. Otherwise, the book is more polemic than carefully documented historical record. The references to Waldheim's military service are particularly weak in their absence of specifics and imprecision of language.

Waldheim's record in the German army has already been well covered in *Waldheim: The Missing Years*, by Robert C. Herzstein (Paragon 1988), and the author makes use of this source. But she seems unaware that Professor C.M. Woodhouse of Oxford and the respected historian and Conservative Member of Parliament

Robert Rhodes James have each written well-documented articles, drawn from British and German army records, on the role played by Waldheim's intelligence unit in deportations and murderous reprisals against civilians by the German army in Yugoslavia and Greece, as well as in the interrogation and subsequent killing of captured British officers.

In addition, use of expressions like "service under Hitler" and failure to put Waldheim's wartime role in any kind of specific context are certain to mislead the unenlightened American reader. In World War II, Waldheim was not "under Hitler" but an obscure first lieutenant (*Oberleutnant*) in the German army assigned to a subordinate field headquarters in the Balkans. As a staff intelligence officer he was, however, involved to some degree in prisoner interrogations and was certainly aware of the appalling treatment of the civilian population going on all around him. Hazzard provides no information in this area and as a result confines herself to loose generalities about the omissions and contradictions in Waldheim's account of his wartime activities.

The most serious omission in what could have been a devastating indictment is the failure to explore U.S. policy motives in Waldheim's selection for UN secretary general. It was part of the sedulously fostered post-war myth that Austria had been a victim of Nazi aggression instead of a willing accomplice. Hazzard's indignation over the whole Waldheim episode does her credit but is no substitute for documented facts.

Argentina: Political Culture and Instability

By Susan and Peter Calvert, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989, \$39.95 hardcover

Reviewed by Donald B. Harrington

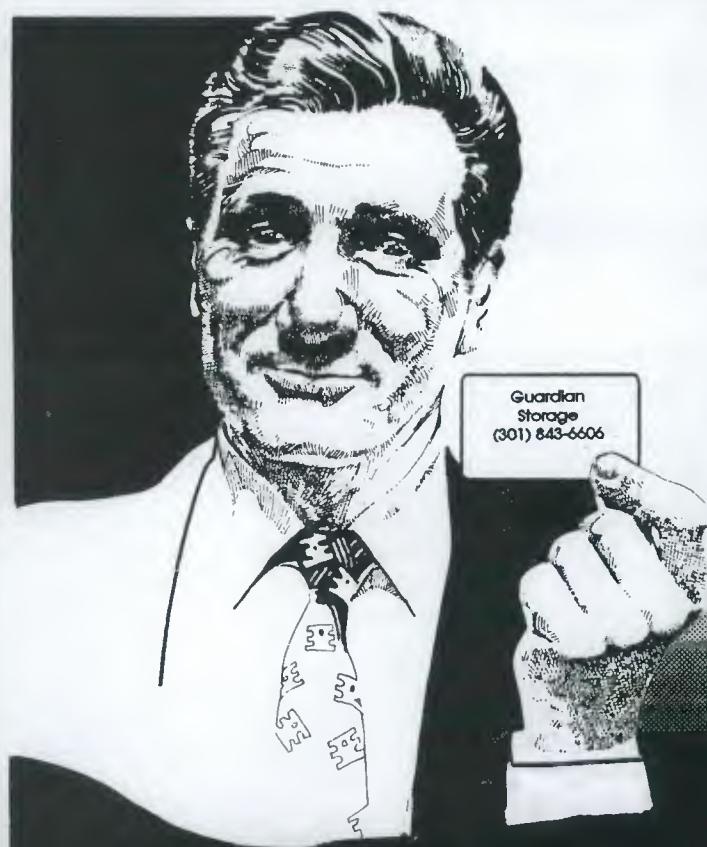
This is not a book for those new to Argentina, despite a useful chronol-

ogy running from independence in 1810 to the Easter Week military uprising in 1987. Instead, area specialists looking to broaden their understanding of Argentina's political development will find here a fresh perspective on the central problem of Argentine politics: instability.

The authors argue that a clash between two dominant strains in Argentine culture—Iberian authoritarianism and 19th century European liberalism—has created “two Argentinas” so lacking in political consensus that, since independence, the conflict has frequently erupted into political violence. While straining to fit the complexity of modern Argentine history into one neat thesis, the Calverts are largely successful and reasonably convincing in their argument.

Iberian authoritarianism is that strain in Argentine political society deriving from the Spanish colonial heritage that looks to the state or leader as a source of authority so great as to overwhelm all others. European liberalism, on the other hand, arrived in Argentina in the somewhat spent and petrified form of positivism.

After setting up their thesis in the introduction and sketching out the two strains of influence in the first two chapters, the Calverts consider the central problems generated by the schism, arguing that Argentine governments since independence have been perceived as lacking legitimacy. This lack of legitimacy explains the importance of constitutional forms even for extra-constitutional regimes, as they offer a cloak of legitimacy. The forms have not been sufficient, however, to overcome the subversive power of the “parallel political system”—the co-existence of Iberian authoritarianism and European liberalism, whereby one system lurks as an alternative to the system in power, legitimating its overthrow. Worse yet, force and coercion have become substitutes for legitimate authority, and a semi-legitimate means of acquiring



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power. The authors conclude that the "two cultural factors interact to often leave Argentina with the worst of both worlds."

Despite a predictably optimistic final paragraph on prospects for political stability in Argentina, the last chapter correctly points out that stability requires more than restraints against military intervention. Ultimately, hope for Argentine democracy rests on longer-term economic stability and the successful blending of its two disparate political cultures—both daunting challenges.

The New Realities

By Peter Drucker, Harper & Row, 1989, \$19.95 hardcover, \$10.95 softcover

Reviewed by Thomas A. Shannon

Written in his characteristically concise and readable style, Drucker's *The New Realities* argues that systematic structural changes in government, economy, and society have altered the way Americans live and mark a historical division as profound as that between pastoral and industrial Britain in the 18th century. Drucker asserts that we are only dimly aware of these changes and ill-prepared to meet the challenges they pose.

Drucker identifies change and its consequences in three areas. In government and politics, recent changes, including the foundering of communism, herald the end of ideology as a guide to political action. Drucker sees new limits on government's purview and a resurgence of pragmatism as well as a willingness to explore non-governmental solutions to social problems.

In economics and business, changes in informatics, finance, and transportation have created a transnational economy in which competition is fierce and no market safe. The ease with which goods and services can flow across national boundaries and

into even the smallest markets means that the well-being of a modern company is determined not by its ability to maximize short-term profits but by its ability to maintain control of market share. The result is a growth in adversarial trade relations, with driving the competition from the market as the object.

Economic change has brought a "transnationalization" of the environment. Drucker asserts that industrial pollution is causing environmental damage that will require that governments and private interest groups go beyond regulation to hit irresponsible companies in their area of accountability—the marketplace.

Finally, Drucker argues that the emergence of a "knowledge society" fundamentally alters work relationships. With the distinction between management and worker disappearing in large segments of the economy, the work force is made up of "knowledge workers" whose skills are highly transferrable. The consequent mobility, combined with declining birth rates, will force companies to compete for skilled workers and will lead to a revolution in labor relations.

It is easy to quibble with Drucker. His arguments are painted so broadly that he sometimes gets the details wrong. Nevertheless, his skillful presentation is convincing and enlightening. For diplomats, the implications of Drucker's arguments are obvious. The need for multilateral agreements in trade, investment, and the environment will create a corresponding need for people to fashion, implement, and oversee such agreements. However, in a knowledge society where information is readily available, the Foreign Service cannot consider itself the sole repository of international expertise. On the contrary, we are operating in an increasingly crowded environment in which we must work with business, universities, associations, and other government agencies to influence policy.

Noted in Brief

Barbarian Sentiments: How the American Century Ends

by William Pfaff, Hill and Wang,
New York, 1989, hardcover \$19.95

"In order to handle barbarian affairs, you have to know barbarian sentiments: in order to know barbarian sentiments, you have to know barbarian conditions," wrote the 19th-century Chinese courtier Wei Yuan when introducing a collection of documents on Europe. To William Pfaff, *The New Yorker* foreign affairs commentator, the epigram describes what American foreign policymakers need to do more of today—educate themselves about the motives of other nations. In easy prose, he describes the complexities of the world in 1989. Some of his musings, especially on Central Europe, are already out of date but still intriguing.

Underlying this essay is Pfaff's worry that the American belief in "unlimited possibility and the transformation of humanity" will not sustain those who must confront the challenges abroad: "We are ready to despise the world again." He suggests that the discrepancy between the moralizing language of American foreign policy employed by conservatives and liberals alike and "what is actually thought (not to speak of what is done) approaches scandal." To escape the resulting intellectual confusion, policy- and opinion-makers may begin to advocate a new isolationism. "But can we now return, containing within these continental limits our energies and crackling tensions? Can we deal with our real selves, with all of our inner distress, our national uncertainty—our unrealized national purpose? We do not possess the privilege of a return to innocence. . . . The old utopianism cannot be discarded with-

out putting something in its place." Yet isolation might help the United States "find itself again." Pfaff simply concludes, "We shall see."

— Ann Luppi

Hemingway in Love and War: The Lost Diary of Agnes von Kurowsky, Her Letters, and Correspondence of Ernest Hemingway

By Henry S. Villard and James
Nagel, Northeastern University,
1989, \$21.95 hardcover

Recuperating from shrapnel wounds in a Milan hospital in 1918, Ernest Hemingway fell in love with a nurse, Agnes von Kurowsky, who would become a pivotal figure in his life and the model for the heroine of *A Farewell to Arms*. Henry S. Villard, a retired Foreign Service officer who was then the youngest Red Cross ambulance driver in Italy, was hospitalized in the room next to Hemingway's and knew both Hemingway and Kurowsky. With James Nagel, he has written this reminiscence combining narrative with Kurowsky's letters and previously unpublished diaries.

A Native's Return 1945-1988

William L. Shirer, Little, Brown,
1990, \$24.95 hardcover

William L. Shirer has a thing to tell you about how he, a highly listened-to, highly paid CBS radio network news commentator in the latter 1940s, was unceremoniously dropped by his sponsor and shunted to the streets by none other than his mentor, Edward R. Murrow. *A Native's Return* is a continuation of Shirer's vivid *Twentieth Century Journey: A Memoir of the Life and Times*. And what times these were: The Cold War got under way, there were media black-

lists, McCarthyism, treason trials, and hate mail.

In addition to being a diarist, Shirer is an inveterate scavenger and saver of scraps of information. He returned from the Nuremberg trials, for example, with his "duffel bag stuffed with the first few hundred thousand words of secret Nazi papers." These formed the nucleus of his magnum opus, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*. Royalties from this work allowed him to turn to other projects: the fall of the French Third Republic, a life of Gandhi, and even a stint in Hollywood.

Divided into seven "books" and arranged chronologically, Shirer's memoir encompasses the news-making events and personalities (particularly journalists and writers) of those years and the impact they had on him.

—Jack H. Shellenberger

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Charles N. Patterson Jr.	Hebrew
Dale T. Prince	Polish
Eric W. Running	Thai
Holcombe H. Thomas	Korean



Pelletreau meets with Tunisian President Ben Ali, December 1987.



Ambassador and Mrs. Pelletreau visit a sheep vaccination center in rural Tunisia.

Patrick McDuffie, the William R. Rivkin Award recipient, is an Agency for International Development officer whose posts have included Niger, Haiti, and Belize. In his recent posting to Haiti, McDuffie consistently challenged the assumption that Haiti was moving toward democratic elections and a commitment to economic development, and events proved him right. Despite his personal differences with U.S. policy, however, he worked energetically to implement E.S. aid programs.

McDuffie earned a degree in forest management from Washington State University and served as a Peace Corps volunteer in Niger.



McDuffie is caught night fishing on a river in Belize.

Robert H. Pelletreau Jr. was awarded the Christian Herter Award for senior officers. Pelletreau was cited for outstanding achievement in carrying out the U.S.-PLO dialogue while serving as U.S. ambassador to Tunisia. He took a courageous role in the formation of U.S. policy amid threats to security. He drew on his excellent Arabic and two decades of experience in the Middle East to manage one of the most difficult assignments in the Foreign Service.

Pelletreau attended the Institute of Political Studies in Paris, Yale University, and Harvard Law School. He and his wife, Pamela Day Pelletreau, have three children, Katherine, Pidge, and Liz.



Hanigan was control officer for Vice Admiral Clyde Robbins, commander of the Pacific Fleet of the U.S. Coast Guard, during a recent visit; she is at his right, at a meeting with the commander of the Korean Maritime Police.



Patricia Hanigan is pictured on a visit to Mount Sorak in eastern Korea.

Patricia Hanigan, an economic officer in Seoul, received the W. Averell Harriman Award for junior officers. Hanigan has demonstrated initiative, creativity, and leadership in pursuing U.S. economic interests in Korea. She developed and defended her own analyses of key economic issues that formed the basis of U.S. policy decisions and employed skillful negotiation tactics to improve the environment for U.S. companies in Korea.

Hanigan earned her bachelor of arts degree *summa cum laude* from the University of Delaware and a master of arts degree from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.



Ruth Wagner, wife of Maracaibo Principal Officer Jim Wagner, received the Avis Bohlen Award as the Foreign Service family member who has done the most to advance American interests at post. Daughter of a Nicaraguan father and a mother who was born and raised in the United States, Wagner graduated from the Universidad Centroamericana (Managua) in 1974. She practiced law in Nicaragua for several years before becoming director of the Office for International Cooperation in the State Agency for National Reconstruction. Following her marriage, she and her FSO husband, Jim, have lived in Madrid, Washington, Cebu (Philippines), and Maracaibo. They have three children, Ivan, Laura, and James.

In Maracaibo, Ruth has devoted herself to assisting victims of Huntington's chorea, an incurable, endemic disease that generally affects the very poor. She organized an association to aid the victims, coordinated fund-raising events, and still found time for other community activities.



Ruth Wagner holds a baby while a van distributes malt drinks paid for by the Huntington's Association. The baby and his mother, on Ruth's left, are at risk of contracting Huntington's, which is hereditary.

In Memory

JOSEPH A. BERTOT, 59, died of cancer March 29.

Mr. Bertot was born in Joliet, IL. A graduate of Bradley University in Illinois, he also received the MA from Columbia Teachers College in New York and a doctorate in economics from the University of Genoa, Italy.

A gifted linguist, he joined the U.S. Information Agency in the 1950s after serving in the Army during the Korean War. His assignments included Italy, Bolivia, Chile, Mexico, the Netherlands, and Washington, D.C. Mr. Bertot retired in 1988 and settled in Alexandria, VA. He also operated a cattle farm near Sperryville, VA.

He is survived by his wife, Helen Demirjian Bertot; a daughter, Jemile Linda Bertot of Bogota, Colombia; and a son, John Carlo Bertot of Albany, NY.

ANTHONY JUSTIN DE SILVA, 75, a longtime employee of the U.S. government in Sri Lanka (Ceylon), died of cancer in February.

Mr. De Silva was educated at St. Aloysius College, Ratnapura, Ceylon and joined the staff of the American consulate. Following Ceylon's independence in 1948, he acted as chief consular assistant at the American embassy until 1972. Shortly before Mr. De Silva's retirement, Secretary of State Rogers presented him with an award honoring his dedicated and meritorious service. He emigrated to the United States in 1972 with his wife Rose, who died shortly thereafter, and his youngest child. His three older children had preceded him to the United States.

He is survived by four children: Raymond of 2015 Hill Crest Drive, West Linn, OR 97068; Joseph and Pam of Los Angeles; Shireen of Washington state, and several grandchildren.

MADLINE FERRARI, 60, a retired Foreign Service nurse, died of ovarian cancer in Merced, California, March

30, 1990. Miss Ferrari was born in Turlock, California. She received her nursing diploma from St. Joseph's School of Nursing in San Francisco and later received a baccalaureate degree from the Dominican College of San Rafael.

Her overseas assignments included La Paz, New Delhi, Monrovia, Jeddah, Phnom Penh, Jakarta, Rome, and Bucharest.

Her distinguished 24 year career in the Foreign Service was highlighted by her tenure as director of nursing during which time she instituted an ongoing continuing medical education program for nurses. During a recent three year Washington assignment, she was deputy nursing director and was editor of the Foreign Service Medical Bulletin.

Memorial contributions may be sent to the Madeline Ferrari Scholarship Fund, AFSA Scholarship Program, 2101 E St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

Miss Ferrari is survived by her brother, Tom Ferrari, 2580 Tuscany, Merced, CA 95340, a sister-in-law, a niece and nephew, and many cousins.

JOHN H. LENNON, 79, a Los Angeles businessman and distinguished diplomat, died at his home in West Los Angeles.

Lennon was the uncle of the Lennon Sisters, featured singers on TV's "Lawrence Welk Show."

He was born in St. Paul, MN. He was a major in the U.S. Infantry during World War II. After the war, he became a Foreign Service officer, serving in Germany, Poland, Pakistan, the Philippines, France, and Washington, D.C.

After retiring in 1970, Mr. Lennon joined the Lawrence Welk Corporation as vice president in charge of real estate in the Santa Monica Bay Area.

Mr. Lennon is survived by his wife, Marge; a son, Gregory Lennon of London; a daughter, Jackie Tydon of Santa Monica; and five brothers.

JOHN FORTNEY PURINTON, 52, died of brain cancer May 20.

Mr. Purinton was born in Grafton, WV. A graduate of the University of Maryland, he joined the Foreign Service in 1961. His postings included Germany, India, Jordan, Pakistan, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and Washington. His most recent assignment was Vienna.

Survivors include his wife, Joyce Crowley Purinton of Gaithersburg, MD and two daughters.

HENRY C. RAMSEY, 78, died at his home in San Francisco April 6.

Mr. Ramsey was a 1932 graduate of Stanford University and received his law degree from Boalt Hall in 1938. He began his career as a tax lawyer in Los Angeles.

During World War II, Mr. Ramsey helped establish the Board of Economic Warfare, in which his duties included attempts to freeze German assets in South America.

In 1943, he transferred to the State Department as a Foreign Service officer. After the war, he served in Spain, Poland and West Germany, and in Washington. In 1964 he was appointed consul general in Madras, India until 1968, when he transferred to his last assignment in Karachi, Pakistan. He retired in 1971.

Mr. Ramsey is survived by a daughter Susan Crutchfield of 1624 Ludington Lane, La Jolla, CA 94903; a sister Pauline Ramsey Moore of 347 Deuor Drive, San Rafael, CA 92037 and two grandchildren.

WILLIAM WOODARD WALKER, 78, died April 29, at the Duke University Hospital in Durham, North Carolina, from pulmonary edema. Mr. Walker retired from the Foreign Service in 1970 after 35 years of versatile service in a variety of posts. His final assignment was DCM at Madrid, Spain, where he had a distinguished service of six years.

He began his career in 1935 in Surabaya, Indonesia, and from there

he went to Port Limon, Costa Rica; to Ceiba, Honduras; to Colon, Panama; and then to Havana, Cuba. In 1945 he served as executive assistant to the secretary of state at the United Nations Conference in San Francisco. After an assignment in the State Department as chief officer of Caribbean Affairs, he was assigned to the Montevideo, Uruguay.

Mr. Walker was born in Asheville, NC, but his home after retirement from the Foreign Service was in Virginia Beach, VA, with winters in Jacksonville, FL, which had been the home of Mrs. Walker before their marriage. Mr. Walker is survived by his wife, Jane Wootton Walker; two daughters, Jane Wootton Walker of Virginia Beach and Barbara Louise Hunter of Annapolis, MD; and a son, William Woodard Walker, Jr., of McLean, VA; and four grandchildren.

CLIFTON REGINALD WHARTON, 90, died April 23, in Phoenix.

In a distinguished diplomatic career that spanned 40 years, Mr. Wharton rose through the ranks of the Foreign Service, ultimately attaining the rank of ambassador under Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy.

He was the first black American to be assigned as minister to a non-black country, the first to attain the rank of career minister, and the first to become an ambassador through the career service. On May 19, 1978, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance paid tribute to him on Foreign Service Day; "Unassailable loyalty and dedication to excellence were the hallmarks of Ambassador Wharton's federal career. He represented the United States and its highest ideals in an outstanding manner."

Perhaps the most historic moment of Mr. Wharton's career was at the very beginning, when in 1925 he decided to take the Foreign Service exam soon after having joined the State Department as a law clerk. He became the first black to pass both the written and oral examinations

with high marks and was soon appointed vice consul and second secretary of the U.S. legation in Liberia. Thus began a diverse and respected career, at every point of which Mr. Wharton furthered the cause of diplomacy while also breaking down racial barriers.

Mr. Wharton was born May 11, 1899 in Baltimore, Maryland. A graduate of English High School in Boston, Massachusetts, he went directly from there to Boston University School of Law, from which he earned his LL.B degree cum laude in 1920. Three years later he also earned his LL.M degree. He received the Honorary Doctor of Laws from that university in 1963.

He is survived by his children, Clifton R. Wharton, Jr. of New York City and Coopertown, NY, William B. Wharton II of Washington, DC, Richard G. Wharton of Hartford, CT, and H. Mary Sampson of Montclair, NJ, and eight grandchildren.

ROBERT LLOYD YOST, 67, passed away on May 29 in Oakland, CA.

Mr. Yost was a 1942 graduate of UCLA. He joined the Foreign Service following military service in World War II. His postings included Spain, Belgium, the Belgian Congo (Zaire), the Philippines, France, Ethiopia, and Washington, D.C. He was appointed as ambassador to Burundi in 1972 and the Dominican Republic in 1978. After retirement, Mr. Yost moved to Oakland and continued to be active as a consultant to international groups and in the Foreign Service Association of Northern California, of which he was president.

He is survived by his wife June and daughters Barbara and Elizabeth, all of Oakland; son John, daughter-in-law Helen, and grandchildren David, John, and Arla, of Angels Camp, CA.

Notices from readers in the form of a brief announcement or tribute may be edited for length.

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SURVEY OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Following is a tabulation of the 2,201 responses received through mid-May to the survey published in the February Journal. It will be brought to the attention of senior management of the foreign affairs agencies. The total number of responses varies between questions because not everyone responded to every question. In several cases, the number of "unsure" or "don't know" responses shown includes the number who failed to respond at all.

I. Personal Information

1. Which agency do/did you work for?

State	1,557	Retired State	54
AID	277	Retired AID	13
USIA	185	Retired USIA	15
Agriculture	32	Other	19
Commerce	49		

2. Are you a member of AFSA?

	Yes (1,246)	No (611)
State	933	375
AID	186	44
USIA	45	112
Other	18	70
Retired	63	10

3. Which pay category are you in?

Senior Foreign Service	244
FS 1 through 3	1,164
FS 4 through 6	587
FS 7 or below	111
Civil Service	9

4. Where are you stationed?

Overseas	1,890
Washington offices of your agency	188
Other U.S.	40

5. Are you:

Part of a tandem couple	255
Not a tandem, but accompanied by person or persons who is/are employed	401
Accompanied by at least one person who is not employed but wants to be	664
None of the above (unaccompanied, or spouse is homemaker)	787

II. General Foreign Service Concerns

6. Following is a list of concerns with Foreign Service life. Which of these should AFSA and the foreign affairs agencies be giving priority attention to? (mark as many as apply)

1,016	Low pay, benefits, allowances
841	Slowness of promotion
1,170	Low morale, esprit de corps, professionalism
996	Decreasing role for FS in foreign policy process

- | | |
|-------|--|
| 1,416 | Poor management and/or micromanagement of the Department and of overseas posts |
| 737 | Lack of rewarding employment for spouses overseas |
| 687 | Frustration with the assignments process |
| 601 | Increased terrorism and common crime overseas |
| 554 | Second-class treatment for my grade and/or specialty |
| 337 | More challenges, greater responsibility elsewhere |
| 318 | Inadequate medical care overseas |
| 255 | Inadequate educational facilities overseas |
| 191 | Lack of meaningful affirmative action program |
| 125 | Other |
-
7. Do you plan to leave the Foreign Service within the next two to three years? Yes 405 No 1,204 Not sure 510
 8. If so, are you leaving:

Because of normal retirement—166
Sooner than would like because of factors noted above—239
(State 180, AID 31, USIA 14, DOC 6, USDA 4, other 4)
 9. If the USG were to reduce space standards for overseas housing, would that:

255—Affect your decision whether to stay in Service
399—Affect post's ability to represent the U.S.
754—Both
693—Neither
 10. Do you and your family feel safer or less safe at your current or most recent overseas post than in the Washington, D.C. area?

506—Less safe overseas
904—Safer overseas
691—About the same
 11. Which of the following are/were real possibilities at your current/most recent overseas post? (mark as many as apply)

1,114—Housebreakings
824—Street crime
406—Mob violence
265—War (including civil war)
456—Major natural disasters
921—Terrorist attacks

12. Are/were security measures at current/most recent post adequate to deal with the threat that exists there? Yes—1,131, No—387, Not sure—601
13. Has the increased funding of security increased security?
488—Yes, money well spent
792—Yes, but not in proportion to the money spent
535—No significant increase in security
304—Not sure
14. Is the hardship differential/R&R/danger pay, if any, at your present/most recent post adequate to compensate for these hazards?
862—Yes
589—No, not adequate
640—No such allowances at this post
15. Are you satisfied with airline security precautions during government-authorized travel on U.S. flag carriers?
882—Yes, all reasonable precautions taken
789—Room for improvement
379—Inadequate and inconsistent
16. Would authorization to fly foreign-flag carriers reduce the risk to the security of you and your family?
1,110—Yes, significantly
616—Somewhat
360—Risk same regardless of carrier
17. Should there be compulsory drug testing in the foreign affairs agencies?

	Yes, necessary	No, oppose	Unsure	Total
State	671	599	287	1,557
AID	102	119	56	277
USIA	70	81	34	185
Other	46	34	20	100
Total	889	833	397	2,119

18. What is your overall perception of your agency's employee evaluation and promotion system?
268—best could be hoped for under the circumstances; 406—worthless, needs major revision; 1,423—something between the two.
19. What problems do you see in the employee evaluation and promotion process? (mark more than one) (AID only) Inadequate recognition of non-direct hire supervisory responsibilities and accomplishments 220
supervisors inadequately trained in EER preparation; 882
insufficient use of objective criteria; 775
overreliance on views and writing skill of rater; 1,557
insufficient recognition of language capabilities; 353
other 357
20. Should a foreign language be a prerequisite for promotion?
Only at the junior threshold 225
At both junior and senior thresholds 1,240
No, not at any grade 345
Unsure 309

21. How would you rate your own, career-long experience with your personnel office in terms of helpfulness, honesty, etc.?

	State	AID	USIA	Other
outstanding (57)	3%	1%	4%	5%
good (529)	24%	22%	34%	29%
fair; variable (899)	43%	37%	44%	41%
poor (415)	20%	22%	12%	19%
abominable (197)	9%	17%	5%	6%
Total (2,097)	100%	100%	100%	100%

22. What has been your experience with career counselors?

	State	AID	USIA	Other
generally helpful (758)	36%	33%	45%	13%
gen. unhelpful (838)	44%	24%	33.5%	20%
can't judge (523)	20%	43%	21%	67%

23. What is your view of the "open assignments" system as currently administered?

235—major improvement over its predecessor—no major changes needed;
1,219—an improvement, but still vulnerable to "old boy networking" and inadequate matching of personal skills with position requirements;
296—not working—needs major revision;
369—no opinion.

24. How might it be improved? (mark as many as apply)

911—Set and enforce minimum qualifications (education, training, experience) for positions;
980—Include thorough position descriptions with the open assignments information;
481—other.

25. Was your most recent assignment to a job on your initial bid list?

Yes—1,313, No—577, Unsure—229

26. Should the Service make greater efforts to ensure good assignments for tandem couples, even if that affects other bidders adversely?

417 Yes
1,008 No greater effort, but continue present policy
503 Should make no special effort for tandems
191 Not sure

27. Several career officers from agencies other than State have recently been named to ambassadorial, DCM and State DAS positions. Should AFSA welcome this new blood?

967—Yes, provided nominees are qualified (520 State, 197 AID, 156 USIA, 44 DOC, 26 USDA, 14 other)

776—Yes, provided State officers are named in equal numbers to senior positions in other agencies (703 State, 42 AID, 23 USIA, 5 DOC, 3 other)

323—No, only worsens State senior surplus (291 State, 27 AID, 2 USIA, 3 other)

28. How would you rate the training you have received?

	State	AID	USIA	Other
231—Excellent	11%	14%	8%	2%
818—Good	38.5%	42%	40%	26%
649—Fair	31%	26%	29%	33%
370—Poor	17%	15%	19%	29%

29. Have you been denied training any time in last 10 years? Yes—525, No—1,536
30. If so, mark all of the following that apply.
 276—Denied in order get me to post sooner
 221—Insufficient funds
 114—Agency didn't consider it appropriate
 65—Not eligible due to my rank or specialty
31. With which of these statements do you most agree?
 351 TIC limits force out of the service more experienced officers than we can afford to lose;
 334 Service has more FS-1 and senior officers than it needs, and must enforce TIC limits;
 1,173 Some truth to both.
 261 Unsure.
32. The personnel systems of State and AID vary significantly. Should AFSA work toward uniform personnel systems?
- | | State | AID | USIA | Other |
|----------------|-------|-----|------|-------|
| 460—Yes | 23% | 19% | 20% | 19% |
| 820—No | 35% | 63% | 35% | 38% |
| 839—No opinion | 42% | 18% | 45% | 43% |
33. State may try to eliminate "prescriptive relief," the stay of separation from the Service of a grievant until the grievance is decided. Should AFSA:
 426—Continue to oppose any change in the law
 1,185—Agree to reasonable time limit on relief
 185—Agree to eliminate prescriptive relief
 323—No opinion
34. Should AFSA seek legislation for paid maternity leave for tenured employees?
 870—Yes, two months
 359—Yes, six weeks
 371—Yes, one month
 465—No
35. If paid maternity leave is granted, should fathers be entitled to some amount of paid paternity leave?
 1,165—Yes, 659—No, 295—Unsure
36. Should untenured women receive maternity leave?
 956—Yes, with pay
 635—Yes, without pay
 324—No
 204—Unsure
- 37-39. Where are/were your effects stored while you are/were overseas?
 at State Dept. facility in Hagerstown; my experience has been Excellent—93; Good—96; Fair—37; Poor—37; Insufficient Data—248.
 with a private commercial company; my experience with this and other companies has been Excellent—180; Good—479; Fair—210; Poor—194; insufficient data—267.
 at a USG facility overseas; experience has been Excellent—42; Good—70; Fair—17; Poor—22; Insufficient Data—60.

40. Do you favor having a State Department-operated storage facility to provide an alternative to private firms?
- | | State | AID | USIA | Other |
|----------------------|-------|-----|------|-------|
| Yes, strongly,—494; | 406 | 32 | 38 | 18 |
| Yes, moderately—398; | 327 | 29 | 31 | 11 |
| No—388; | 228 | 103 | 33 | 24 |
| Unsure—598 | 424 | 81 | 64 | 29 |

III. Affirmative Action

41. Should AFSA support:
 112 substantial number of minority appointments at both entry and mid-levels
 157 minority entrants at both levels limited to 5 percent
 168 substantial number, but only at entry level
 1,618 no fixed targets, but continue recruit qualified minority entrants
42. Should AFSA seek an agreement with State similar to the one with AID that provides for additional promotions for minorities who are "conspicuously absent" from a promotion group?
- | | State | AID | USIA | Other |
|---|-------|-----|------|-------|
| 547—Yes | 23% | 45% | 23% | 17% |
| 770—No | 39.5% | 25% | 29% | 32% |
| 621—Not that agreement but some other encouraging minority promotions | 29% | 23% | 32% | 42% |
| 181—No opinion | 8% | 7% | 16% | 9% |
43. In general, should AFSA be more active and vocal on EEO and affirmative action?
- | | State | AID | USIA | Other |
|---|-------|------|------|-------|
| 1,000—Yes, Service must become representative | 45.3% | 57% | 51% | 37% |
| 921—No, leave to management & courts | 45.5% | 35% | 37% | 54% |
| 198—No opinion | 9% | 8.5% | 12% | 9% |

IV. AFSA Activities

44. Are there AFSA Chapter meetings at your post?
 940—Never, 444—Occasionally, 459—Rarely, 77—Regularly
45. Are AFSA telegrams circulated or posted?
 97—never, 346—occasionally, 123—rarely, 1,474—regularly
46. (Retired only) How useful is the Retiree Newsletter?
 33—very, 27—somewhat, 6—not at all, 6—don't receive it
47. If you aren't a member of AFSA, why?
 157—AFSA ineffective
 143—too expensive
 182—AFSA not interested in my specialty or in retirees
 129—AFSA is a company union, too subservient
 116—non-members get benefits anyway
 277—other

48. If you or your spouse are eligible to join the Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW), but haven't, why?
 778—little or no knowledge about it
 159—does not address the real issues
 88—was a member, but didn't keep up dues
 85—would join if in U.S., but we're overseas
 296—other
 912—no response, or not applicable
- 49-50. If AFSA published an unclassified biographic register, would you buy one (at \$20-\$30)?
 Yes—353; no—1,278; unsure—570
51. Whether unqualified ambassadorial nominees should be confirmed is an issue that will come up again. AFSA should:
 1,292—Be more aggressive, oppose every unqualified nominee
 375—Maintain activity at 1989 level
 299—Keep it general, don't oppose specific nominees
 100—AFSA has no business in politics
 139—no opinion
52. AFSA is sponsoring a series of conferences for business leaders in an effort to broaden our constituency. AFSA should:
 1,057—do more of that kind of professional activity
 816—occasionally OK, but concentrate on members' issues
 112—stay away from activities others are doing
 220—no opinion

V. Group-Specific Questions

A. For All State Department Foreign Service Personnel

53. Would you favor doing away with cones entirely, and going back to across-the-board competition for promotions in each grade?
 Yes (494) No (603) Not sure (460)
- | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|
| SFS | 33% | 52% | 16% |
| FS-1/2/3 | 28% | 43% | 29% |
| FS-4/5/6 | 32% | 26% | 41% |
| FS-7/8 | 22% | 10% | 67% |
54. Would you favor the creation of a multifunctional cone, into which employees with experience in more than one cone, or in MF jobs, could transfer?
 Yes, 1,087; No, 194; Not sure, 276
- | | | | |
|----------|-----|-------|-------|
| SFS | 65% | 18% | 17% |
| FS-1/2/3 | 65% | 13.5% | 21% |
| FS-4/5/6 | 68% | 8% | 23.5% |
| FS-7/8 | 60% | 3% | 37% |

55. Should the "junior threshold" select out a fixed number?
 172—a. Yes, a mandatory percent
 700—b. More than they do now, but no fixed number
 363—c. Present practice (averaging 4%)
 322—d. Not sure

	a.	b.	c.	d.
SFS	17%	49%	21%	13%
FS-1/2/3	12%	47.5%	21%	20%
FS-4/5/6	6%	39%	26%	29.5%
FS-7/8	5%	20%	12%	64%

56. Some people favor only one bidding telegram, once a year, followed by a mandatory assignment, not necessarily to one of the jobs bid on. AFSA should:
 864—a. Strongly oppose
 442—b. Oppose, but not fall on swords
 133—c. Support
 153—d. Take no position

	a.	b.	c.	d.
SFS	44%	27.5%	16%	10%
FS-1/2/3	57%	26%	6%	6%
FS-4/5/6	53.5%	27%	8%	8%
FS-7/8	52%	21%	3%	14%

57. Should the 6-year window be abolished, and all FS-1s considered automatically for promotion until expiration of their TIC?

Yes (664) No (284) Not sure (504)

SFS	49%	33%	17%
FS-1/2/3	53%	22%	25%
FS-4/5/6	40%	16.5%	43%
FS-7/8	27%	10%	63%

58. Some say the regional bureaus are more likely to look out for the employee's interests. Others argue that PER can do rational career planning only if it controls assignments. AFSA should:
 378—a. Support stronger role for PER
 380—b. Support present system in which bureaus have major role
 377—c. Makes little practical difference

	a.	b.	c.
SFS	35%	40%	20%
FS-1/2/3	28%	33%	31%
FS-4/5/6	30%	26%	33%
FS-7/8	33%	16%	31%

59. Should a minimum time of service abroad be a prerequisite for promotion?
 Yes—1,029; no—136; not sure, 392

B. Questions for USIA Personnel

60. Are you a member:
 19—of AFSA only
 12—of AFGE only
 17—of both
 68—of neither
 116—total

61. If not member of AFSA, what is the primary reason?
 17—Only AFGE can negotiate with USIA
 7—Dissatisfaction with AFSA's record on USIA issues
 9—both, 13—other, 34—no response
62. If not member of AFGE, what is the primary reason?
 11—AFSA's broader professional focus
 8—AFGE's performance and style in dealing with USIA
 16—both, 7—other, 45—no response
63. Would you support an AFSA challenge to AFGE for exclusive representation of USIA employees?

	SFS	FS-1/2/3	FS-4/5/6
79—yes	52%	35%	54%
24—no	16%	10%	17%
56—depends on issues at the time	20%	30%	23%
26—no response	12%	25%	6%

64. Should the 7-year window be abolished, and all FS-1s considered automatically for promotion until expiration of their TIC?

	Yes (98)	no (19)	not sure (68)
SFS	52%	8%	40%
FS-1/2/3	48%	12%	40%
FS-4/5/6	57%	3%	40%

C. Questions for AID Personnel

65. AID is considering a major reassessment of mission rankings and position classifications to make them "fair and consistent" and reduce the perceived tendency to overgrade positions. Would you favor enforcing standard, Agency-wide position classifications?
 121—a. yes, the idea has merit and should be further explored;
 103—b. no, would not adequately reflect the diversity of Agency work environments and responsibilities;
 53—c. no opinion.

	a.	b.	c.
SFS	37%	34%	29%
FS-1/2/3	44%	37%	19%
FS-4/5/6	37%	37%	26%

66. Would you favor granting Bureaus broader authority to set and revise position classifications?

	yes (104)	no (93)	no opinion (80)
SFS	54%	31%	15%
FS-1/2/3	34%	32.5%	33.5%
FS-4/5/6	33%	30%	37%

67. AID wants to combine current backstops into a smaller number, primarily to facilitate administration. Do you support?

	Yes (122)	no (83)	no opinion (72)
SFS	60%	17%	23%
FS-1/2/3	42%	32%	26%
FS-4/5/6	40%	23%	37%

68. Should TIC periods and SFS windows (currently 25 years through FS-1, with a maximum of 18 years at the FS-1 level, and seven years for the SFS window) be lengthened to keep officers in the service?

	Yes (69)	no (137)	no opinion (71)
SFS	34%	46%	20%
FS-1/2/3	21.5%	50%	28%
FS-4/5/6	27%	43%	30%

69. If "yes", which?
 24—SFS window;
 14—career TIC;
 3—FS-1 TIC;
 25—combination
 3—no opinion.

D. Questions for FSO-4, 5, and 6 From All Agencies

70. Guidance from personnel officers and supervisors in planning your career so far has been:
 Excellent—23; good—136; fair—167; poor—165.
71. Quality of supervision and management you have experienced so far has been:
 Excellent—47; good—172; fair—155; poor—123.
72. Do you expect to stay in the FS for 20 years or more?
 Yes—209; no—107; unsure—180.
73. What is most frustrating about life/work in the FS? (mark several)
 319—the bureaucracy
 204—lack of recognition and respect
 194—low pay, benefits
 188—effects on family life
 183—slow promotions
 149—inadequate or insufficient training
 107—instability
 92—lack of policy influence
 113—other
74. What is most rewarding about life/work in the FS?
 441—chance to travel
 436—exposure to other cultures
 279—opportunity for public service
 256—opportunity to learn languages
 191—The people I work with
 118—opportunity to contribute to foreign policy
 94—Good pay and/or benefits
 40—other

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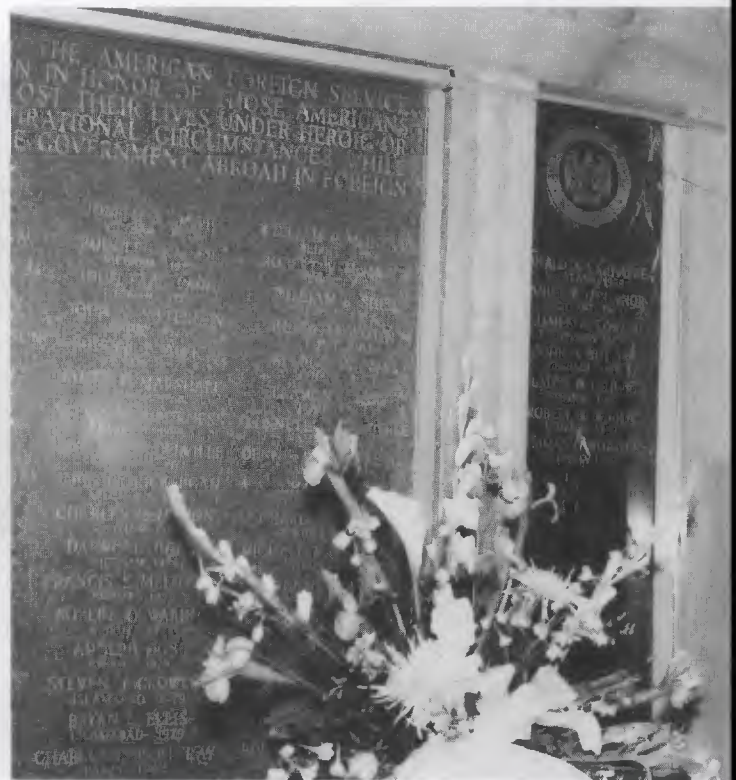


Ambassador Edward J. Perkins, director general of the Foreign Service, welcomes attendees on Foreign Service Day, May 4, in the Department of State.

1990 Memorial Plaque



Deputy Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger unveiled the memorial plaque in the State Department honoring Americans who died in the performance of their government duties. Five names have been added in 1990: Col. James N. Rowe, John A. Butler, Gladys D. Gilbert, Robert W. Woods, and Thomas J. Worrick.





Waiting to confer awards are, from left, the Awards Committee chairman, Ambassador Bruce Laingen, and family members of awards donors: Mrs. Stanley Mortimer Jr., daughter of Averell Harriman; Mrs. John Sterry Long, widow of William Rivkin; and Christian A. Herter Jr.



Ambassador Laingen presents a certificate to David and Roberta Feltman of Ohio, parents of Jeffrey, who received the Sinclair Award for the study of Hungarian and was unable to attend.



Award recipients, presenters, and AFSA officers lunch in the State Department. Clockwise from left: Ambassador Jack Lydman; Merit Award recipient Vincent del Vecchio; unidentified; Ruth Wagner, recipient of the Avis Bohlen Award, and her husband, Jim; AFSA Vice President Charles Schmitz; Mrs. Stanley Mortimer Jr., and Anne Kauzlarich, president of AAFSW.



Following the ceremony, Ruth Wagner, recipient of the Avis Bohlen Award, stopped for a photo with Ambassador to Tunisia Robert Pclletreau, who received the Christian Herter Award for senior officers in recognition of his role in U.S. contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Close Up

On May 24, the Close Up Foundation, an organization that programs "insider" Washington tours for more than 25,000 people each year, accepted an AFSA invitation to a luncheon-lecture session at the Foreign Service Club for one of its senior citizen tour groups.

Following the luncheon, the 100-plus tour participants listened to a talk by Ambassador Bruce Laingen (a member of AFSA's Board of Governors) on today's changing political landscape and the need to attract the "best and the brightest" of our young people into public service.

AFSA is exploring the prospect of making a similar luncheon/lecture session a regular feature of the Close Up Foundation's Washington tour programs.

Proposal to establish a new immigration agency

Yet another foreign service would be established—in this case an independent visa/immigration service—if the current draft recommendations of the Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development are implemented. The 12-member commission's report, mandated by Congress in the 1986 Immigration Act, is due to be published in July. The draft proposes creating a new agency to integrate the Immigration and Naturalization Service (except the Border Patrol); State's Consular Affairs Bureau (except services to Americans); and State's refugee functions in the Refugee Programs and Human Rights/Humanitarian Affairs bureaus.

Though the proposal doesn't specify what would happen to visa operations abroad, the (re)creation of a foreign consular service would seem to follow from the recommendation that "the agency would assume op-

erational responsibility for all immigration and refugee matters."

Drawing on one portion of the report, the commission chairman, retired Ambassador Diego Asencio, is quoted in *The Washington Post*: "Immigration policy is far too important to be relegated to a stepchild agency such as the INS, which falls uncomfortably within the Department of Justice and historically has been beset with serious management and resource problems. Nor should these functions be diluted among three different bureaus in the State Department, where they too often are subordinated to short-term considerations and compete unevenly for resources and attention."

In our view, the commission report's recommendations are based on legitimate concerns about the distortions in U.S. migration policy and its execution that have resulted from having the function split up

among several agencies, all of which have other primary roles. However, AFSA wonders whether concentrating all immigration and refugee functions into a single new agency would provide the best answer. What constituency would press Congress to fund it? How responsive would the new agency be, for instance, to major foreign policy considerations? AFSA also has serious reservations about the idea of populating already fractionalized embassies with yet another foreign service—not to mention the dislocations of throwing the State Department's carefully balanced cone and career management system into a tailspin far more serious than the splintering of the economic and commercial functions 10 years ago, which was serious enough. AFSA plans to press for a full review of the disadvantages of this recommendation in the congressional review that will follow. We will keep members briefed.

Department publications called incomplete and distorted

Warren Cohen, former chairman of the State Department's Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation, recently resigned his position, saying that publications issued by the Bureau of Public Affairs and the Historian's Office lacked credibility. In a May 8, 1990 article in *The New York Times*, Cohen said the committee was being denied access to classified documents needed to verify publications under review by the committee of 10 academics, which meets annually to review the *Foreign Relations* series published by the Bureau of Public Affairs and the Historian's Office. Cohen, a history professor at Michigan State University, served as chairman for two years.

As an example of the publications' unreliability, Cohen cited a recently published volume of *Foreign Relations of the United States* on Iran, which did not discuss the

CIA's involvement in the overthrow of Prime Minister Mossadegh and restoration of the shah in 1953. Cohen also said incomplete and misleading records had been published.

Cohen urged the State Department to implement a previously negotiated agreement allowing the committee to review material withheld from publication to determine if the exclusion distorts the other material. He called for an expanded review committee, including representatives from AFSA, the news media, and congressional offices. The State Department would retain final say over what is published.

The American Society of International Law (ASIL) has also lodged a complaint about department reference publications, complaining to Secretary Baker about the decision to end publication of the department *Bulletin*. ASIL emphasized the

Bulletin's importance in detailing new treaties the United States has signed and its use by more than 10,000 subscribers. ASIL maintains that much of the information currently published in the *Bulletin*, such as congressional testimony and speeches of senior State Department officials, is no longer being routinely printed in any other State Department publication. For example, only the *Bulletin* provided details of the September 1989 Wyoming ministerial between Secretary Baker and Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze.

AFSA is forming an expert committee to look into these questions, following a letter from ASIL requesting that AFSA support resuming publication of the *Bulletin*.

Legislative Issues

Focus on the budget summit

Robert Beers Congressional Liaison

The April 15 deadline for a 1991 Budget Resolution passed into history with the congressional budget committees still virtually stalemated in their efforts to produce a budget document that meets the requirements for deficit reduction and serves as a blueprint for government spending in the new fiscal year beginning next October 1. Final action on a budget agreement could now be postponed until a special session of Congress is convened after the elections in November.

Certainly any determined effort to make a significant reduction in the budget deficit and, eventually, the national debt, will have political repercussions. The budget process has virtually run out of painless gimmicks to make the numbers fit, such as moving a military pay day to a new fiscal year, taking an operating program such as the postal service "off budget," or selling off government assets (Conrail) to produce "revenue." Indeed, there seems to be growing awareness that if the deficit is ever to be brought under control, government revenues must be "enhanced," meaning new taxes must be imposed or present taxes increased, and entrenched special-interest subsidies or benefits can no longer be regarded as immune to reduction or even elimination.

What are some of the possible areas of impact on the Foreign Service community in the deliberations of the budget "summitteers"? First, a pay increase for the active Service (together with all federal employees) could be at risk. Second, the ceiling on the contributions to the retirement Thrift Savings Plan could be reduced. Third, the lump-sum retirement option could be discontinued for future retirees. Fourth, the cost of living adjustment (COLA) for retirees could be eliminated. (Items three and four were actual proposals in the president's 1991 budget.) Fifth, the amount of the government's contribution to em-

ployees'/retirees' health insurance premiums could be cut back.

This is not to say that any or all of these actions will actually be taken. Indeed, H.R. 3914, introduced by Representative Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH) to retain the retiree COLA, has more than 277 co-sponsors, while a companion bill in the Senate, S. 416, introduced by Senator Pete Domenici (R-NM), has 51 co-sponsors. Clearly, there is broad congressional support for retaining the retiree COLA as well as for sustaining other federal employee and retiree benefits. Nonetheless, if the summit conferees do indeed bite the bullet and undertake to make the tough unpopular decisions, anything can happen.

After the summit deliberations have concluded, Congress must approve a budget resolution and enact the reconciliation legislation necessary to implement any changes mandated. Only then will we know the final answers to our questions. Meanwhile, let's hope that this process is completed before the November elections!

A lean '91

Rick Weiss Congressional Liaison

Before the Memorial Day recess, Congress finally removed remaining restrictions on the original FY 1990 Department of State and USIA appropriations bill, together with passage of an omnibus \$4 billion supplemental appropriation for FY 1990. This will provide the department with some leeway (about \$25 million for salaries and expenses) for the final four months of this fiscal year, since prior spending had to be held down to FY 1989 levels, but it in fact does no more than restore the original FY 1990 appropriations level legislated late last fall.

For the FY 1991 budget for the foreign affairs agencies, the status of the authorizing and appropriation bills is as follows:

- *Senate Foreign Relations Committee*: Has completed hearings on the FY 1991 authorization for State and USIA for levels above FY 1990 but has not completed hearings on foreign aid authorization.

- *House Foreign Affairs Committee*: Has completed committee action on State, USIA, and AID authorization (H.R. 4610) and is awaiting House floor action.

- *House Appropriations (Smith) Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, State and the Obeys Subcommittee on Foreign Operations*: Have completed their hearings. Both subcommittees will hold off mark-up until the budget resolution and the White House-congressional "budget summit" meetings are concluded.

- *Senate Appropriations Subcommittee (Hollings)*: Has completed hearings, but the Leahy Foreign Operations Subcommittee will continue hearings into June. These subcommittees, like those in the House, are awaiting budget summit actions before marking up their 1991 appropriations.

Separately, a federal pay reform bill is now in subcommittee hearings. To complement the Senate (Glenn) and House (Ackerman) versions, the administration finally submitted its own draft proposal, introduced by Representative Toby Roth (R-WI) on May 1. As expected, the proposal features a "locality pay" schedule adjusted regionally for technical and clerical personnel; a national schedule for most professionals, with "geographic differentials" for high-cost areas; and an enhanced merit pay system. However, funding for the reform—if passed—is miniscule for 1991. Chairman Ackerman of the House subcommittee noted during the May hearing that the total payroll for the civilian work force is currently \$78 billion, and the administration is proposing an increment of less than \$400 million for 1991. At that rate, Ackerman commented, the grandchildren of current federal employees will be eligible to retire before the current 26 percent gap between private sector and federal employee salaries is closed.

Continuing the fight against the SF-312 disclosure form

The department is continuing its efforts to compel employees to sign SF-312, the form precluding employees from making unauthorized disclosures of classified information. As reported in the May *AFSA News*, the department has been conducting a series of "security awareness" briefings at which people are being asked to sign SF-312. Memoranda distributed to employees asking them to attend these briefings indicate that failure to sign SF-312 will necessitate an investigation by Diplomatic Security (DS) to determine whether the person refusing to sign may continue to hold a security clearance.

Several posts abroad have reported being visited by DS representatives conducting briefings similar to those currently under way in Washington. In at least one case, the DS representative has told employees that failure to sign SF-312 will result in suspension of an employee's security clearance. Employees have also been told that the department determines that a violation of SF-312 has occurred only when an unauthorized disclosure of classified information is "willful and deliberate." The language of

the form, however, does not distinguish between "willful and deliberate" and accidental. The form's vagueness on this issue is among the grounds cited in AFSA's current lawsuit.

AFSA reiterates that we oppose SF-312. However, there is currently nothing preventing the department from pressing employees to sign the form. We continue to hope that the form will be revised as a result of our pending litigation.

New financial disclosure policy

A recent worldwide telegram informed employees that financial disclosure forms (SF-278) will now be reviewed at post by the DCM or another designated senior official. Only after that review will the forms be sent on to the State Department's Legal Adviser's Office. In the past, SF-278s were sent directly to the legal adviser. Employees in Washington will also have their SF-278s first reviewed by a senior official, who will be designated by

the executive director of each bureau.

The department has indicated that this new system will provide an additional review of employee financial disclosure forms, complementing the legal adviser's review. AFSA is concerned, however, that the plan places sensitive financial information in the hands of people with no legal training and no experience in reviewing financial information.

The Ethics in Government Act of 1978 requires certain government employees to complete SF-278 and is intended to insure that federal executives carry out their duties without compromising the public trust. Employees submit SF-278 to reveal existing or potential conflicts of interest.

AFSA has expressed its concern to the department regarding this unilateral change in the review process and requested a formal briefing. The department has asserted its right to assign appropriate officials to review the forms. Without contesting this right, AFSA questions whether DCMs are the appropriate reviewers. We will continue to advise members as the issue develops.

'AFSA Views' continued

in which employees could have their ethnic origins on record, but none would be required to do so. Any solution would have to be broadly acceptable, equitable, and legal, but no one should be allowed to hide behind AFSA in resisting change.

Foreign Service Park: We wish we could generate some gumption on our own seventh floor to face up to the deplorable situation in the triangle bounded by Virginia Avenue and 21st and E streets, which has, ironically, been known since 1970 as the Foreign Service Memorial Park. For those who haven't been home for a while, the venerable "Wolfman Willy" died on his grating several years ago and has been replaced in the triangle by up to eight younger, more active vagrants who aggressively panhandle all passers-by. The park—which was dedicated to the memory of all members of the Foreign Service who gave their lives in the service of their country—is strewn with camp gear and littered with trash. Many AFSA members are deterred from walking up the street to visit their club at 2101 E Street; desk officers try to route VIP visitors to avoid the triangle altogether. AFSA has tried fruitlessly first to get the metropolitan police to crack down on the group, then to get the park transferred to federal jurisdiction. We asked the department to support us. So far our senior leadership has looked the other way, hoping this political hot potato will go away and spare them the risk that an appeal for outside intervention might cause heartburn from Mitch Snyder and Co. for being heartless to the homeless. It's clear the problem isn't going to go away by itself. The time for political courage to face this unpleasant situation, like the others, is *now*.

— Ted Wilkinson

Diplomatic Security

Recent AFSA efforts have focused on three major issues of concern to members in Diplomatic Security (DS): improving DS starting salaries and overtime pay, establishing DS eligibility for the low-cost insurance offered by the United Services Automobile Association (USAA), and investigating an apparent drop in DS tenuring rates.

Pay increases. AFSA wholeheartedly supports the recommendations made by the National Advisory Commission on Law Enforcement to improve working conditions and compensation levels for law enforcement officers. Our support for these recommendations is subject only to the caveat that any differences in compensation and benefits between one group of Foreign Service employees and another should be based on the requirements of their different jobs.

For example, we agree with the commission's recommendation that "foreign language bonuses be made available for all federal law enforcement officers who are required to speak a foreign language," but note that DS officers, like other Foreign Service personnel, are already eligible for hard-language bonuses—a benefit the department sought to curtail two years ago but was prevented from doing by AFSA action. AFSA would not support any new language bonuses for DS officers that are not available to other Foreign Service personnel subject to the same language requirements.

AFSA is already on record in support of the bills that have been introduced for overall federal pay increases, and we have submitted a formal statement of support to the Federal Pay Advisory Commission. We would like to see new DS entrants brought in at starting salaries equivalent to those of entry-level law enforcement officers in other federal agencies, and we strongly advocate geographic differentials and relocation payments, at home as well as overseas. AFSA would also support a consistent overtime pay policy for all federal law enforcement agencies—again, provided that such a policy would not create inequitable treatment com-

pared with other Foreign Service personnel.

Insurance. In a related matter, AFSA is continuing its efforts to convince USAA that DS agents should be eligible for its low-cost insurance programs (auto, home, and life). AFSA first raised this issue almost two years ago, noting that other types of special agents are eligible for USAA membership. AFSA has repeatedly questioned USAA's rationale in denying DS agents similar treatment. At this juncture, unfortunately, USAA is not willing to reconsider its exclusion of DS officers. However, AFSA continues to press USAA to take such action, and they have promised to consider our arguments if they expand their eligibility criteria in the future.

Tenure review evaluations. Another important DS issue involves the December 1989 tenure review for members of DS class 30. DS employees, like all Foreign Service personnel, receive two tenure reviews; the December review was the first for members of class 30. The results showed that tenuring rates—which have generally averaged higher than 90 percent for the first review—were significantly lower for class 30. Agents were concerned that this may have resulted from a procedural error or from an unannounced policy change. To clarify this situation, AFSA arranged a meeting with the department; included at the meeting was a class 30 representative.

The department assured AFSA that there had been no change in the precepts for commissioning and tenure boards, and that the December board had received no special instructions in addition to the precepts. It was noted that the tenuring rates for DS class 29 had also been relatively low, and that these more recent classes were much larger than virtually all of their predecessors. One notable exception was the very first DS class, which was the largest to date. It is worth noting that the first tenure review for this class, held in October 1982, produced tenuring rates which were even lower than those for classes 29 and 30. The implication is that tenuring

boards are inherently more selective when they are reviewing the qualifications of a large class.

AFSA's meeting with the department also touched on systemic problems that may be disadvantageous to DS tenure candidates—most notably, the fact that many raters prepare EERs that are technically acceptable, but are not as detailed as is desirable. In that this can detract from the competitiveness of a tenure candidate's file, employees should be assiduous in ensuring that EERs are carefully and thoroughly prepared. Any employee who believes that he or she has been disadvantaged by a cursory EER is encouraged to contact AFSA; our member services representatives will be glad to review the file to assess whether grounds exist for a grievance.

Embassy Bucharest recognized

Embassy Bucharest received a special commendation at a luncheon May 9 from the business-sponsored Committee for the Support of Public Service during Public Service Recognition Week. The embassy was cited for working, often under fire, to evacuate U.S. families and non-essential staffers, gather information, and coordinate medical relief during the overthrow of Romanian ruler Ceausescu and his family. Embassy spokesman Agota Kuperman, a USIA Foreign Service officer, accepted the award on behalf of the embassy.

Public Service Recognition Week this year included events in more than 200 cities across the United States. Nearly 30 agencies, including the Department of State, organized exhibits on the Mall in Washington, D.C., May 10 to 12, and outstanding public service units were recognized at the annual "Breakfast of Champions" held May 11 in the Senate Dirksen Building. These events are organized by the Public Employees Roundtable, of which AFSA is a member.

Professional Issues

Trade talks

Richard S. Thompson
Coordinator for Professional Issues

May speakers at the Foreign Service Club focused on the trade challenge to the United States and how it should be met, with Export-Import Bank Chairman John D. Macomber describing his agency's initiatives and Japan expert Edward Lincoln analyzing the U.S.-Japanese trade relationship. Both spoke positively about the ability of the United States to compete and maintain a strong trading position.

Eximbank's Macomber emphasized in a May 22 luncheon talk that the new measure of a country's strategic position is not military power or even technological level but market share. Macomber said Eximbank's negotiations to sell a telephone system to Indonesia along with AID will ultimately benefit the United States more than selling a fleet of military aircraft. Macomber also praised the new interest he observed in the State Department in promoting U.S. commercial interests.

Macomber saw three regions as offering particular commercial challenges: Eastern Europe, Latin America, and the Pacific Basin. He declared that U.S. companies in the last five years have improved their ability to compete with Japan and the newly industrialized Pacific Basin countries. A war of tied aid and mixed credits being waged in the region, however, threatens to break world trading patterns. The United States has begun adding Eximbank money to AID programs, creating a soft loan fund that can be used to win key deals.

When asked whether a program limited to four countries and \$500 million could really pose a challenge, Macomber responded that the reaction of other countries indicated they take it seriously, and only a small portion of a loan need come from the U.S. government, with the rest coming from commercial banks. He agreed more could be done with more

money, and said Eximbank is looking for ways to do more in Africa.

Edward Lincoln of the Brookings Institution spoke May 17 on "Is Japan the New Enemy?" He noted that even defining "enemy" in trade presents difficulties, as markets are supposed to be based on competition, not cooperation. He also pointed out some differences between the U.S. and Japanese economies that redefine the terms of trade. In contrast to other industrialized nations, Japan maintains a low and stable percentage of manufactured imports. It also imports products in only about 30 of 100 basic industries, while most countries buy and sell in many more categories. Its banking system is geared to supporting manufacturing, not mortgages. Moreover, company ownership is relatively stable. Government spending is geared to helping business, not consumers. Finally, long-term buyer-seller relationships are prized and difficult to change.

Lincoln emphasized that change is coming, with an appreciating yen, tight labor markets, and an outpouring of capital to the rest of the world that makes the Japanese economy dependent on healthy economies elsewhere. Furthermore, the percentage of manufactured imports has begun to rise, as the Japanese consumer realizes he is paying higher than world prices.

Lincoln concluded that the United States must continue trying to change Japanese attitudes through structural impediments talks and should encourage Japanese manufacturing in the United States so American businesses will benefit from Japanese efficiency and quality in mass manufacturing.

Lincoln suggested an opposition party could change the Japanese economy more quickly, but the most likely prospect is continued rule by the Liberal Democratic Party.

The Whitehouse memorial scholarship

Cristin K. Springet
Scholarship Coordinator

In recent months, the Committee on Education has endeavored to show the importance of our scholarship programs to our Foreign Service families and called on our members in the Foreign Service for support.

Ambassador Charles Whitehouse and his sister Sylvia Blake have generously answered that call by establishing the Sheldon Whitehouse Memorial Scholarship in honor of their late father.

Sheldon Whitehouse began his career in the Foreign Service in 1909. He served in Caracas, Constantinople, Athens, Montenegro, and Madrid and was minister plenipotentiary in Guatemala and Colombia. His children recall that he had vivid memories of his tours in Paris in the 1920s, which coincided with the first transatlantic flight, by Charles Lindbergh.

He recalled his posting to Petrograd during the revolution of 1917 as his most stressful post. He and friend Norman Armour had their car "liberated" and used by Kerensky in his escape from Russia; they later were evacuated with part of the staff to Norway.

The Whitehouse family has continued the tradition of foreign service. Charles Whitehouse served as ambassador in Laos and Thailand and was president of AFSA from 1981 to 1982; Sylvia Blake's son Robert is currently assigned to Washington. We will be proud to award the first Sheldon Whitehouse Memorial Scholarship this August. We thank Ambassador Whitehouse and Mrs. Blake for acknowledging the needs of our community and the importance of our programs.

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