

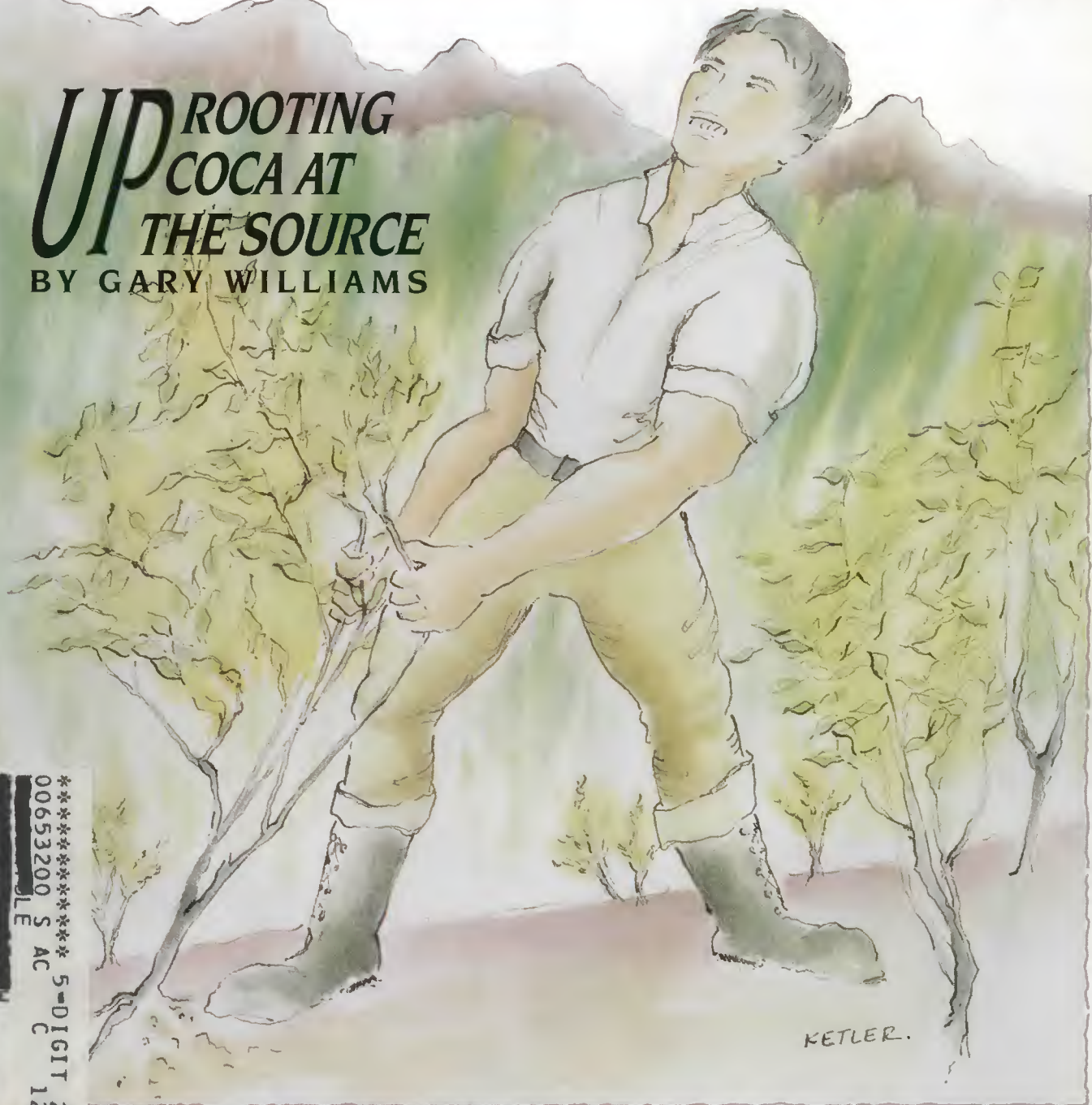
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AFSA Views

Reorganizing for the 1990s

These days we wake up each morning half expecting to see another striking new feature on our horizon, from some further dramatic change in the political landscape. In the course of months we've watched the Warsaw Pact disintegrate, with signs that the USSR may follow. Popular sovereignty surges in the communist world, Latin America, and South Africa. At the same time, statist economic doctrine is receding in many parts of the Third World.

A new landscape may require both new routes and new destinations. Clearly our goals should encompass consolidating the remarkable gains of 1989-90 and dealing more intensively with remaining transnational problems—surplus armaments, narcotics, refugees, population, the environment, and underdevelopment.

What is less clear is how best to pursue these goals. Are our government's foreign affairs agencies still properly structured for a changing set of challenges? Is the Cold War era rationale still valid for independent agencies to handle intelligence, public information, and economic assistance? Can we effectively reduce our persistent payments deficit with trade promotion efforts split up among Commerce, Eximbank, USTR, and State? Should immigration and refugee issues be reassigned to a new, independent agency, as recommended by Ambassador Diego Asencio's commission? How about a stronger structure for environmental considerations, which have gotten such short shrift from Chief of Staff John Sununu?

All of these questions, and a lot of other relevant ones, are being asked today on Capitol Hill. We think the Foreign Service ought to have something to say about how they are answered. We've formed our own task group to develop recommendations, but some preliminary guidelines seem reasonable to us even now:

- ▲ To the extent possible, our foreign affairs functions ought to be reconsolidated as much as possible. Certainly they should not be further fractionalized.
 - ▲ Congress should allow agencies greater latitude to reorganize internally so as to respond to changing circumstances. (AFSA will support an effort by State management later this year to repeal the patchwork legislation on the books that unduly restricts the secretary's internal management authority.)
 - ▲ Increased respect for and reliance on international organizations could substantially reduce some unilateral U.S. efforts and enhance U.S. foreign affairs effectiveness generally.
 - ▲ Whatever organizational changes are adopted, we can no longer afford to starve the foreign affairs agencies, and consolidation where it takes place must not be used as an excuse for false economies.
- In this regard, we applaud the president's June 26 announcement that the budget summit package must include increased tax revenues.

—Ted Wilkinson



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Cover: Author Gary Williams believes eradication will get to the root of the cocaine problem. Ruth Sofair Kettler did the artwork for the JOURNAL.

Letters

USIA's mandate

To the *FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL*:

I read with interest the article by Hans Tuch (*JOURNAL*, May 1990). I would, however, like to offer rebuttal to some of his opinions about the proper role of the Voice of America and especially present some facts—not opinions—about VOA Europe, our satellite network in Europe.

VOA Europe was introduced in 1985 only after VOA conducted a seven-country survey that proved young Europeans held alarming misconceptions about America's government and people. That research told us that young Europeans would be receptive to receiving *accurate* information about the United States if it were contained in a contemporary American radio format. Only after the results of that survey were known was VOA Europe put on the air, with a format specifically designed around the findings of the research.

VOA Europe *has* built a significant and rapidly growing audience. According to independent research, VOA Europe broadcasts to a *minimum* regular core audience of at least 1.25 million. We believe that is a remarkable audience, considering that VOA broadcasts in what is, for most listeners, a second language. Since 1985, VOA Europe has grown into a network that reaches 226 cities or regions in 23 countries of Eastern and Western Europe.

Incidentally, there were two additional errors in Mr. Tuch's article. First, VOA Europe broadcasts considerably more than 10 minutes of hard information each hour. In fact, the VOA Europe format contains more than 20 minutes per hour of information and less than 40 minutes of music, light features, promotional announcements, and continuity. Second, VOA Europe's budget is not \$3 million annually but actually is less than \$2.5 million. In these days at VOA, a half million dollars can make a big difference!

I found it rather curious that Mr. Tuch praised the role RFE played in the East European democratic revolution but failed to mention VOA. Since he once ran the Voice and knows how crucial its role is, I can only conclude that he is being overly modest.

Finally, I would like to address Mr. Tuch's allusion to VOA "scattering its resources on programs and in areas where it is not the best medium for achieving U.S. diplomacy objectives." . . . The greatest value of the Voice of America is that it *does* broadcast everywhere, providing dependable, factual information, telling the true story of life in America, and articulating the policies of the U.S. government. The Voice does a remarkable job of keeping the world informed, on a budget that most realists would acknowledge is tiny when compared with the magnitude of its task.

Richard Carlson
Director
Voice of America
Washington, D.C.

To the *FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL*:

References to training in public diplomacy in the articles of Richard Gilbert and Hans Tuch (May 1990) drew my immediate and supportive attention. Supportive, in the sense that I agree with both writers that training in public diplomacy needs strengthening.

What they and your readers may not know is the increasing attention public diplomacy is receiving in certain of the basic courses at the Foreign Service Institute. The course for new ambassadors, for example, includes sessions on the workings of USIA here and abroad, as well as simulated interviews, which are then critiqued. The A-100 course for junior officers, the deputy chief of mission course, area studies, and our political tradecraft courses all treat public diplomacy to varying degrees.

The practical tips contained in the Gilbert article on embassy dealings

with the American media have value not only for press officers, but for the entire embassy family as well. And, as the Tuch piece makes clear, closer integration of public affairs concerns with the training regime in general is an especially timely and relevant goal. These articles provide welcome support to our new training initiatives in public diplomacy at FSI.

Brandon Grove Jr.
Director
Foreign Service Institute
Arlington, Virginia

To the *FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL*:

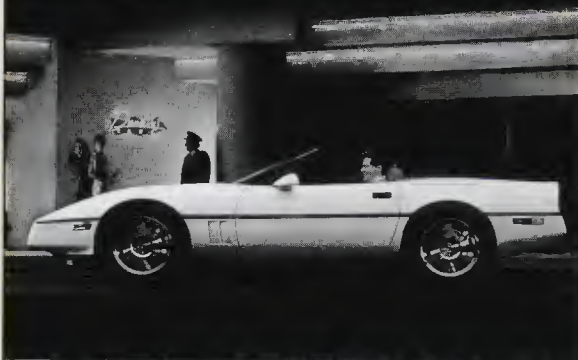
Tom Tuch and Dick Gilbert have both provided sound and measured recommendations for the now and future requirements of public diplomacy (May 1990). I would suggest, however, that USIA still needs a permanent, encompassing but succinct statement of purpose and mission that will provide both a basic national security rationale for its existence and a permanent guide for its operations, to wit: *USIA/USIS, as an integral dimension of American diplomacy, shall project America's open society and the foreign policies that flow from it.*

The operational consequences that flow from this statement of mission, either implicitly or explicitly, are as follows:

—It recognizes a fundamental national security role for USIA, i.e., the encouragement of a world environment congenial to our basic values, both directly and as facilitator for the many private projections of those values of democracy, pluralism, peaceful change, and the unhindered movement of people, ideas, and information for which we have, in essence, twice in this century gone to war. Preservation of territorial integrity may seem the overriding purpose of national security policy, but such a goal alone is inadequate if we end up a garrison state in hostile waters.

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tions of USIA, whose integrated use is essential to a credible public affairs effort directed toward a meaningful projection of our open society.

—It calls for the explication of U.S. foreign policy in the context of the contending forces that give it life, not for a blind defense of the faith.

—It calls for dialogue, an essential of openness, and, by the same token, for all the academic, cultural, political, and economic exchanges the traffic will bear.

—It provides a consistent purpose, i.e., to assist in the preservation or furtherance of open societies everywhere, not one constantly changed by the rise and fall of friends or enemies, and recognizes the ultimate challenge as totalitarianism of whatever political persuasion.

Unless history has truly ended, which of course it hasn't, USIA, under such a statement of purpose, should be able to function consistently and for a long time as an essential element of U.S. diplomacy.

*Gunther K. Rosinus
Potomac, Maryland*

Mr. Rosinus, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer, served with USIA in Japan, the Philippines, West Berlin, and East Germany. In his final assignment he was chief international negotiator for VOA modernization.

To the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

Hans Tuch's timely article (May 1990) presents a comprehensive and thoughtful definition of public diplomacy, against which he measures the workings of the U.S. Information Agency. He finds that USIA or its political-appointee directors sometimes entertain inflated notions of the agency's mission and capabilities. He particularly deplores its expenditures on media extravaganzas of dubious value, as favored by a recent director. Though I began my career with the motion picture programs of OWI and the Marshall Plan, I fully agree.

Perhaps Tuch's forthcoming book will provide an opportunity to explore our nation's concept of public diplomacy in even greater depth. It needs exploring. Essentially, how did it happen that our chosen instrument for public diplomacy came to be USIA and especially its media programs? The answer might reveal the agency as much sinned against as sinning.

Born in the Cold War, USIA inherited (even in law) the media legacies of OWI, the coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and the Marshall Plan. Only some of the programs of IIE, the Department of State's International Information and Education Division, added non-media leavening to the USIA mix.

Truly "made in America," the new agency reflected our enormous appetite for advertising and media hoopla. It naturally saw its mission as "winning the hearts and minds of men" through the media. Its programs today are far more balanced. Even now, however, most Americans probably do believe that ideas and foreign policy can be "sold" like soap. Ask our congressmen, with their million-dollar TV war chests.

Contrast today's attitudes with the understanding of public diplomacy shown by our Founding Fathers when they proclaimed that: "a decent Respect to the Opinion of Mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them."

Seen this way, it is incumbent on democratic government to explain itself and its actions, at home and abroad, *and listen*. As Tuch notes, "public diplomacy is best maintained as a dialogue." The media, however, propel their messages down a one-way street, without much respect for their "targets."

Seen this way, the conduct of public diplomacy ought be no monopoly of USIA, but the duty of every one of our national representatives abroad. Traditional diplomatists are sometimes laggard in this regard.

Thus there is continuing need for USIA's Foreign Service specialists, backed by the resources and programs of an agency shaped closer to Hans Tuch's desire.

*Albert E. Hemsing
Brewster, Massachusetts*

Mr. Hemsing served as counselor for public affairs in Bonn and New Delhi and as USIA assistant director, Europe.

To the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

It has been repeated frequently that the Department of State and the Foreign Service do not have a constituency. They really do have a constituency. They really do have a constituency, and it is one of the very broadest: every citizen of the United States.

The understanding and support of this constituency should be sought diligently. The Department of State and Foreign Service must inform the public of situations throughout the world that are important to the present and future of the United States and how they are being handled. The information should be candid and educational. Too much of this work is left to the communications media, which does not have at its command in-depth knowledge of the matters at hand. State and Foreign Service personnel should make it a point to seek out senators and congressmen to help keep them informed. In doing so, Congress should have a better basis for understanding and supporting our foreign affairs operations.

As things are, the United States is inadequately equipped in staff and operational services to represent and serve the U.S. people, at a time when we are losing ground in world affairs. The Department of State and Foreign Service require substantial increases in their operating budgets, and we must persuade the powers that be to provide them.

*Adolf B. Horn Jr.
Consul General, retired
Guadalajara, Mexico*

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FSJ, August 1980

On July 21, [1945, Secretary of War Henry] Stimson received a very full, quite dramatic report on the power of the Alamogordo test. The weapon probably exceeded the equivalent of 15,000-20,000 tons of TNT, created a crater with a diameter of 1200 feet, with a bowl 130 feet in diameter and six feet in depth, evaporated the 100-foot steel tower holding the device, knocked over a 70-foot steel tower in reinforced concrete a half mile away and "knocked flat" some scientific observers 10,000 yards from the explosion.

According to Stimson, when he read this report to [Secretary of State James F.] Byrnes and Truman on the 21st, "they were immensely pleased. The president was tremendously pepped up by it and spoke to me of it again and again when I saw him. He said it gave him an entirely new feeling of confidence." . . .

"Truman at Potsdam: His Secret Diary"
by Barton J. Bernstein

FSJ, August 1965

To have restored the strength of our allies and sought their help in this effort would have been novel enough in American history, if one remembers the aftermath of the First World War. But President Truman's government went far beyond that. . . .

The enticing mistakes of the ages were put aside in favor of a policy of reconciliation and hope, a policy of transforming liabilities into assets, enemies into allies. For a similar act of statesmanship one must go back over a century to the policy of Castlereagh and Metternich. They, too, made the distinction between a nation and its leader, between France and Napoleon, and restored France to an honored and key position in Europe. President Truman did the same for Germany and Japan in the free world.

Through these early experiences, the new president and his associates learned quickly the nature of the divided chaotic world in which we were all destined to live. . . . Americans learned for themselves what Oxenstierna, Gustavus Adolphus's Chancellor, taught his son always to remember—"with how little wisdom the world is governed."

"The Truman Years," from a speech delivered by Dean Acheson, April 1965

FSJ, August 1940

Events in Europe have taken place with such rapidity in the last few months that it is difficult to grasp the ramifications of each startling change on the continent from day to day. . . . No one will deny that the World War which began in 1914 introduced an order very different from the era brought to a close by the nineteenth century. It is inevitable that any catastrophe which shakes the world to its foundations must usher in a period marked by new economic and social concepts. We must, therefore, assume that the great conflict today will result in certain alterations in our social structure. . . .

There will be difficult questions connected with our overseas trade, to mention but one form of service which we shall be called upon to render to American interests. . . . It is too early, of course, to foresee exactly what the requirements will be; but it is not too soon for members of the Service to begin thinking of the role which will be assigned to them in a world which, everyone agrees, can never be quite the same.

Editors' Column

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Clippings

"New Women"

New Woman magazine, June 1990

Thomas R. Pickering, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, when asked if the Foreign Service is a good field for women:

"We're trying to increase the number of women, so the Foreign Service is a very open field right now. Women have been involved in wars and have been taken hostage. They've run the same risks as men, so why shouldn't they be part of a community that tries to make the world safer?"

Soviet Ambassadors

Interview with Eduard Shevardnadze in Ogonyok (Moscow weekly), reprinted in Vestnik (Soviet English-language magazine), June 1990

Ogonyok: Now let me ask you this: there was a practice of appointing as ambassadors to the countries of the socialist community not "career diplomats" but former high-level Party functionaries. For some of them that new appointment (as in a novel of the same title by Alexander Bek) was a disgrace or "honorary exile," while for others it was, on the contrary, a special kind of reward, a "compensation" for former services, a spell of rest before retirement. And though the reasons were different in each particular case, there was one common element in that practice: appointed to ambassadorial posts were (and still are) people of the same "cut," of the same mentality, the mentality of the leader of a region, a territory, a republic, or a department who are used to whitewash the affairs in their own little "domains" and report to those at the top "rosy" information with "improved" figures having nothing to do with the actual state of affairs.

Don't you think that such "feudal" mentality was of little use in the past and that at the present time it runs

counter to the new political thinking, damaging its progress? Weren't the stormy events in Eastern Europe so much a surprise to us because the information we received from there was too embellished and biased?

Shevardnadze: If I remember Bek's novel well enough, his character Alexander Onisimov was a man of exceptional capabilities and in his new post he demonstrated this only too well. I know quite a few people like him in our ambassadorial corps. I could name many people who were the pride and glory of our diplomacy while not being "career diplomats," and I could also name those who were nothing more than deadwood.

Incidentally, diplomatic service in any country attracts people from politics, from the business world, men of arts, as well as government and Party functionaries. This is just normal. The point is to choose the right people.

Generally speaking, I am opposed to an oversimplified, "averaged" approach to people and phenomena, though I have always considered that any tendency should be brought out. Take, for example, Vladimir Brovnikov, who lashed out angrily, among other things, at his own department at the latest CPSU Plenary Meeting. He began his work as the ambassador to Poland with a clear-cut and wise concept of restructuring the embassy, this major element of our foreign policy service, and he never sent doctored information to the center, I can assure you.

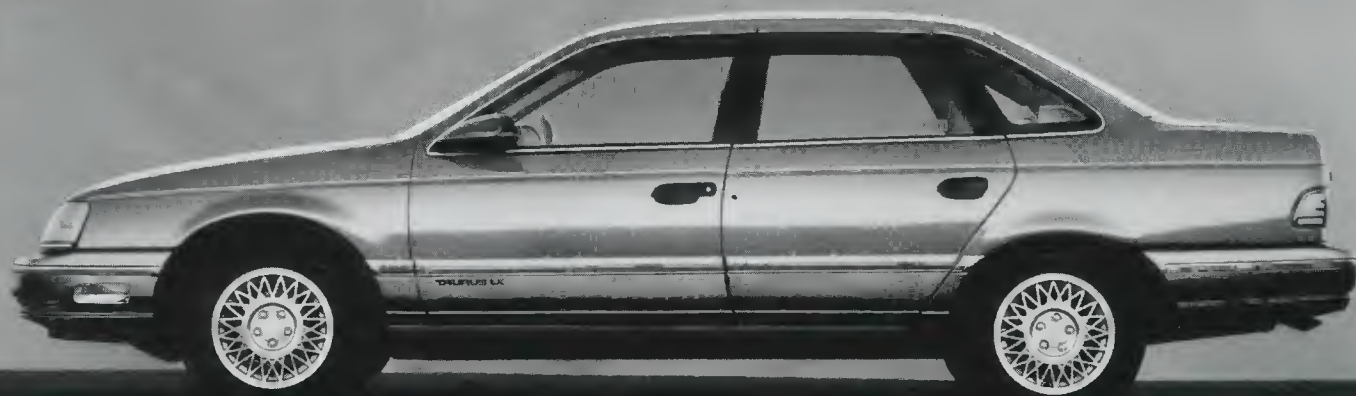
We in Moscow had an adequate picture of the processes going on in Poland and in the other allied countries. We knew about the sentiments in society there. And how possibly could we be misled when there were the events of 1953, 1956, 1968, and also some other meaningful events? It would have been much easier, of course, to label those events "imperialist schemings" and to protect ourselves by that ideological screen from the outbursts of popular wrath caused by violence against [the] natural his-

torical course, against democracy, traditions, the way of life and, finally, against common sense. . . . Didn't we know that part of the GDR population was already "voting" for the FRG by "their feet"? We were receiving exact figures from our embassy. Was it really a secret that many people made attempts, often fatal ones, to go over the Berlin Wall? No, it wasn't. We knew that, too. Unfortunately, falsely interpreted ideological dictums blocked the way for that information into our newspapers, the TV, and radio. We kept our people away from this information. The main element of our relations with other socialist countries was Party ties which involved a narrow elite. No ambassador could establish contact with an outlawed opposition, learn its sentiments and goals, and support it without risking his own career. (Incidentally, restraint in contacts with the opposition is an established international practice, and there are few countries the diplomats of which will venture to ignore the established taboos.)

There are many former staff members of embassies in East European countries among my colleagues in the central offices of our Foreign Ministry. Some five or eight years ago they were already sending telegrams to the center, stating bluntly that the presence of our troops in these countries may have created problems for us. Unfortunately, their warnings were ignored, which was quite natural, as you may understand: we all are what time made of us.

So let us be specific and speak about concrete personalities. Let us try not to extend the dissatisfaction with the Party and state machinery to all without exception and in a way most suitable for ourselves. Let us not strain our eyes looking for scapegoats. This old and sad tradition of ours prevents us from seeing the actual cause-and-effect connections, obscuring the historically objective picture of the reality.

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Speaking Out

How Much Training Do We Need?

Maintaining a competitive system will do more to assure quality personnel

JAMES F. JEFFREY

At the risk of attacking apple pie, I would like to urge AFSA and the Foreign Service to think carefully before getting so eagerly aboard Under Secretary Ivan Selin's training bandwagon (*see* the JOURNAL, "AFSA Views," April 1990). Some of the arguments for more training put out by the department and found often in the JOURNAL's pages are faulty. Even worse, I'm frankly worried about management's (and perhaps AFSA's) willingness to accept potentially far-reaching modifications to promotions and assignments to encourage Foreign Service officers to accept training.

Let me start with one horn of the dilemma, long-term professional training. (I see no problems with our short-term trade craft courses.) Three points should be kept in mind about such training. It involves significant concrete costs, including money, diversion of officers, and administrative overhead. Second, the results, in contrast, are difficult to evaluate and sometimes only marginally relevant to work. Third, professional education, like other bureaucracies, quickly develops its own vested interests and supporters unwilling to adequately consider the first two points.

This being the case, we must soberly and critically weigh the pros and cons of any proposals for expanded training. In fact, FSOs already have access to much long-term training: the economics course, univer-

sity study programs, academic fellowships, military services' colleges, other senior training, and some European programs (plus various "work fellowships" amounting to sabbaticals). Yet Selin tells us he's planning to shift more available resources to training. But what end will justify the costs?

Differing requirements

The percentage of our officers in long-term professional training (even excluding language training) at any one time probably dwarfs that of most businesses, many other U.S. government agencies, and other countries' diplomatic services. This fact was not lost on AFSA President Ted Wilkinson in his recent JOURNAL appeal for more training, but he ducked that point by suggesting that Foreign Service recruits come in lacking the right skills and thus need more training than other diplomats. I disagree. As long as we maintain a highly competitive written exam (which should remain at the top of AFSA's agenda), most of our junior officers can compete intellectually and academically with their foreign peers. Foreign services that recruit almost exclusively from a few elite public service schools or single professions (usually law) obtain not better-trained officers but greater homogeneity. On balance, our new officers have the advantage, with their refreshing mental flexibility and diverse professional skills. Doesn't just this diversity reduce our need for extensive training relative to that of other services?

The military places much more emphasis on professional training. But much of it is designed to usefully employ the vast surplus of officers kept on board beyond force structure needs. More justifiably, the military needs extensive mid-level training to convert field-grade troop leaders into high-level staffers able to deal with international affairs, managing 6 percent of the GNP, and working with state-of-the-art research technology. We have no comparable requirement. Efforts to convert FSOs into nuclear physicists, systems analysts, financial economists, or military strategists don't pay off. Competing agencies can always get better experts.

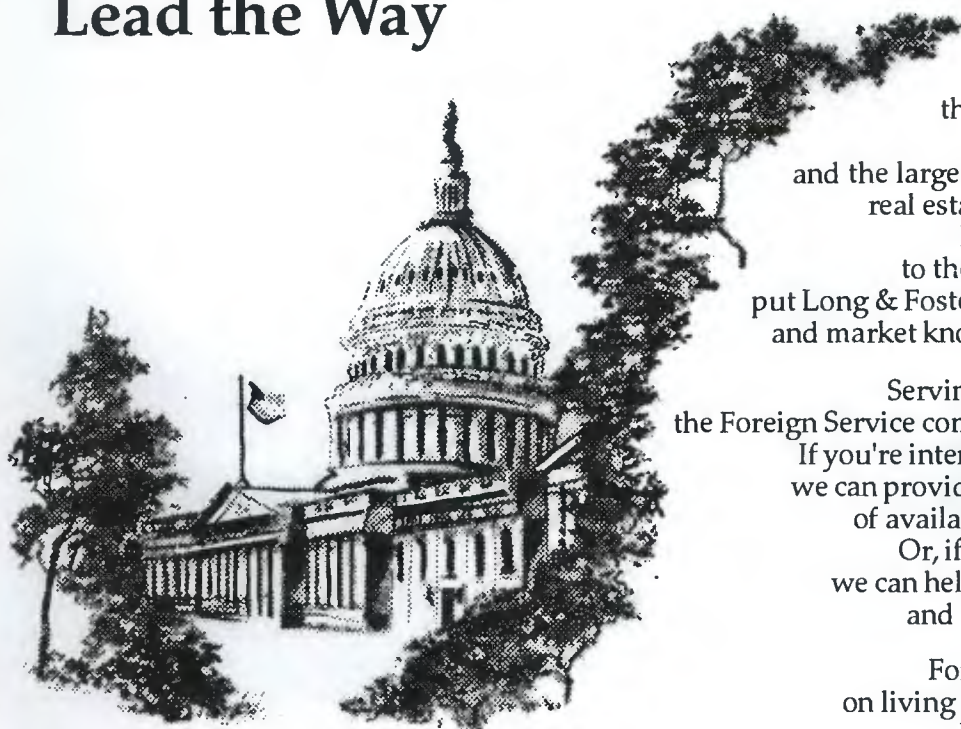
Language training problems

We can measure, at least, the results of language training and its important relationship to our work. Here Wilkinson and others argue that filling only two-thirds of our "language designated" positions proves we need more training. Yet the posts at which I've served always had plenty of language officers, though the quality was often spotty. The problem is that language positions are usually developed by posts. As posts are not run as profit centers and thus are not required to pay for the language positions they request, the natural temptation is to order as much of this resource as possible—simple economics, reinforced by skepticism of the system's ability to provide fully qualified language officers. If posts had to pay the cost of training an officer, they would be much more careful

James F. Jeffrey is the political/economic section chief at the Munich consulate general.

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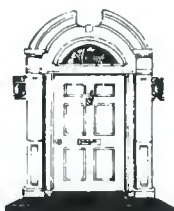
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Speaking Out

about this resource and its quality control.

Despite all this hoopla about our language deficiencies, we train a larger percentage of our people in hard and other languages than any other foreign service I know, with limited competition coming only from the British and the Soviets. On the other hand, the fewer language officers in other diplomatic services are consistently damn good.

My rule of thumb here is that a U.S. Foreign Service officer whose German is competitive with that of other countries' diplomats almost certainly didn't learn it at the Foreign Service Institute. Before we throw more resources and people into FSI language training, let's look at the output and perhaps inquire why USIA and CIA often prefer commercial language training. Why are other agencies and diplomatic services more able or willing than State to provide tutors, in-country immersion training, and low-cost, high-return post language programs? (Our post language program was just slashed by FSI, which meanwhile is investing \$70 million in its new building complex.) Something is wrong with the quality of our language training, while nothing credible proves our current quantity of such training is off base. These facts call for a serious evaluation of our current language program, not a plunge into a bigger program.

Ticket-punch promotions

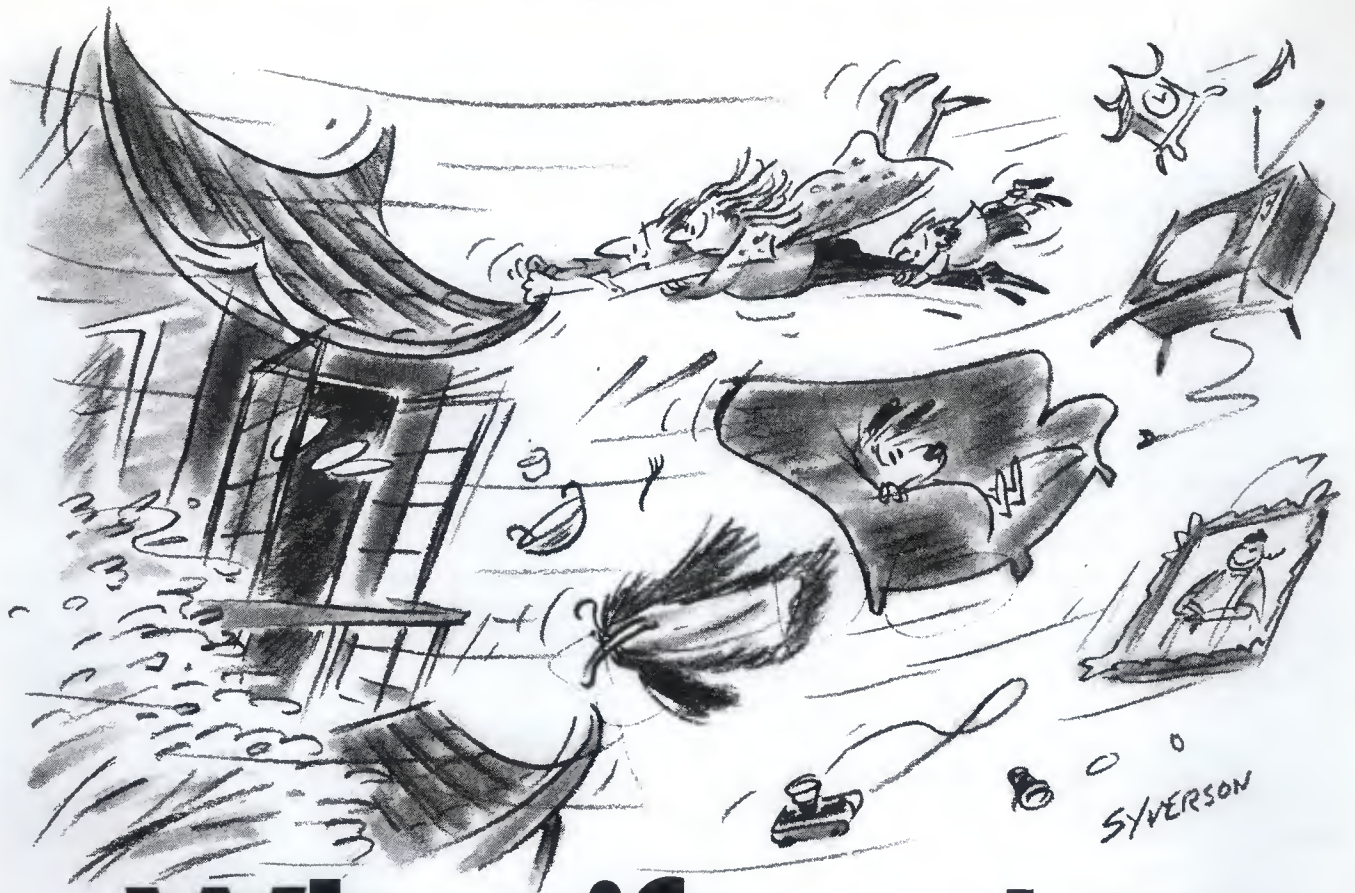
Finally, I'm disturbed by the repeated swipes at supposed "staff reluctance" to accept training and the apparent remedy—linking promotions and assignments to more training. (Although I was happy to see that AFSA in recent negotiations resisted apparent management plans to do just that.) Frankly, our oft-cited "staff reluctance" is not so much an indication something is wrong with our

people as it is a sign that something is foul with our training.

Furthermore, linkage opens a Pandora's box in a personnel system that has traditionally—and blissfully—been free of "ticket punches." Once such linkages, no matter how limited at first, have been introduced, personnel will have an irresistible urge to add to its own power by increasing them. The end of the road could well be something like the demoralizing and disruptive maze of obligatory "stations of the cross" in the army. That's the last thing we need in the already-besieged Foreign Service.

Furthermore, by introducing a self-serving, circular justification for training ("It's necessary and good because you can't get a good job without it") we largely isolate training and its high priests from needs tests, objective evaluation, and outside influence. This gives the training bureaucracy a virtual *carte blanche* to continue stupid policies, such as the past virtual ban on studying in the Washington area, despite the good schools there. The crucial question is whether we want relevant input, requiring a certain amount of training for a given job, or mandated output, demanding training experiences that clearly make us better officers.

Foreign Service officers do volunteer for hard-language training, in part because language skill is seen as relevant. Traditionally, we have also competed hard for congressional fellowships, not because they are required for promotion, but because we believe the experience makes us better officers. We have an excellent system, despite its flaws, for evaluating officers and selecting them for promotion and assignment. Rather than distort it to justify a larger training effort, our training programs should be required to show how they help us become better, more competitive officers. Let Foreign Service officers vote with their feet. Good programs will survive; the bad will not.



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Singles Sing the Blues

Why the Foreign Service has become the *corps célibataire*

KITTY THUERMER

A young woman aspiring to be a diplomat launches her career by walking into a large room armed with a pencil and a candy bar. As she tackles the newly revised Foreign Service exam, her nervousness disappears; for months she has prepared to do battle with the Big Three: PERT, GATT, and Lorraine Hansberry. At the end of the exam, however, she discovers a question that was nowhere in the practice books. She begins to perspire.

If you join the Foreign Service when you are single, which of the following is most likely to occur during the course of your career?

- a) You will receive an average of four marriage proposals per tour.
- b) The peripatetic nature of Foreign Service life will guarantee you a minimum of three spouses during your career.
- c) No idea; ask the ambassador.
- d) You are doomed to retire single.

The woman glances up from her desk, crushes her answer sheet into a tight ball, stuffs it into her purse, and quietly flees the room. Today, she is a successful lawyer in Washington, D.C., where she lives with her husband and two children.

While the above scenario may be fantasy, the plight—and flight—of singles from the Foreign Service is not. Life at an ever-changing series of overseas posts, though professionally stimulating, can bear a cost in

loneliness. Foreign Service officers—particularly women—may not easily find spouses willing to be uprooted every third year or to accept marginal employment at the spouse's post. Moreover, perhaps more than in any other career, the *cordon sanitaire* separating job and home remains deliberately frayed in the Foreign Service. The swearing-in ceremony symbolizes allegiance to a new way of life: one that demands 24-hour duty. After years of finding little time for family, an FSO may find that the woman who married him in Muncie wants to leave him in Manila. As a result, singles must think carefully about what a Foreign Service career—with all its rewards—will mean for the more private aspects of their lives.

Over the last 15 years, according to an estimate from the State Department Bureau of Personnel, the number of single Foreign Service personnel has risen dramatically, from about 10 percent in 1975 to nearly 30 percent in the officer corps and remaining constant at about 40 percent for the specialist corps. One reason for the drastic change in the demographic profile may be that it is no longer possible for the Foreign Service to maintain what used to be the most efficient professional unit: the single-income couple—that is, the male officer and his unpaid working wife. Nowadays, the single-income couple is an endangered species in American society. Also, constant uprooting and the stress of Foreign Service life create pressures that some families find too hard to bear, creating new singles yearly.

Single sub-species

Foreign Service officers interviewed

for this article ranged in age from their 20s to their 50s, included both men and women, white and black, and those who had never married along with the divorced. Most were willing—even eager—to be quoted by name. Three of the women, however, who were interviewed together, wanted to be identified by pseudonyms: Maggie, Joanne, and Laura. They provided a picture of a Foreign Service populated with singles that come in many shapes and protective colorings. Those who are *technically* single may have live-in partners. According to one story, in the days before tandem assignments, one Foreign Service couple got divorced in order to better their chances of being posted together. *Geographic* singles consist primarily of men whose spouses do not reside with them at post. Those who are *single by choice* include gays (with or without partners) and diehard bachelors (male and female) who prefer to remain unaccompanied.

Most singles, however, are those who may be looking for partners, and they fall into a pecking order of social acceptance overseas. The widowed rank highest, with single parents next, followed by divorced persons with no children. The least evolved in the social hierarchy are the never married.

The international dating game

Dating in the Foreign Service can be a sensitive topic, involving, for many single women, a maddening Catch 22. They say that few local men overseas will give up their careers to follow them to the next post. So the single woman scouts within the American community and discovers that her male colleague, with

Kitty Thuermer is a Washington-based free-lance writer.

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whom she could conceivably team up in a tandem couple, is about to march down the aisle with a local woman.

"Local men are *very* happy to go out with you," says Joanne, an outgoing, 30-year-old FSO, "but they have no intention of getting married if that means getting dragged around the world. In a place like Uruguay people who were not making it economically but have the brains, drive, ambition—the kind of attractive qualities you usually look for" have left the country. Do these men make their situation clear when they first go out? "Absolutely."

Female officers often resent the greater marriageability of their male colleagues, and some women think male FSOs look for foreign spouses in the belief that they will be more willing to play second fiddle to a Foreign Service career than many American women. Couples in cross-cultural marriages hotly deny the charge, however.

Ways to mingle

In large, cosmopolitan posts, singles may have more social opportunities, while in smaller, so-called hardship posts, a sense of community linking families and singles is crucial to maintaining high morale.

For Charles Morgan, a career AID agricultural officer, the singles community in Cameroon in the mid-eighties was the best he's been part of. "We were very organized. Most of us had arrived at the same time, and from day one we would go out to night clubs, have Christmas and Thanksgiving dinners together, go on trips, drop in on each other—I have the best memories of being single at that time."

Morgan believes that in most posts, "single women have the toughest time." He talked of a single friend in an African country who "was constantly being hit on . . . She felt that she wasn't being respected for her

work; she was just *'une occasion.'* There was another woman friend in Cameroon who was spunky, active, athletic, did a lot in the community, made an effort to learn about the culture and language. And she didn't seem to feel any handicaps about being single."

What do men want?

Phil Frayne, a former Peace Corps volunteer who dated an Indian woman when he was posted in Calcutta, sees intercultural dating as a natural extension of overseas life. "Why do you join the Foreign Service? Because you're curious about the world. I think it's more interesting to go out with local women. Besides, I don't like getting involved with someone in the embassy, because there's too much gossip. You have to break out of the incestuous American community."

Phil made it clear to any woman he went out with that he was leaving Calcutta alone. "I didn't want to attract someone who might be interested in a green card and not me. If you tell someone you're not interested in the long term from the beginning, and then it develops, that's easier to change than the other way around."

Pitying the poor single

Singles are often acutely aware of their image overseas. Maggie, a soft-spoken, divorced FSO, attended a dinner party of Foreign Service officers and spouses in Brazil where she was the only American-born woman. After dinner, the women gathered to talk. "Well, the evening turned into an instruction session—for me! 'Oh you poor dear, you're not married, and the problem with you American Foreign Service women is that you don't know how to dress, you're not sexy enough, if you only knew how to treat a man properly, you wouldn't be in this pitiful state.'"

Charles Morgan was the object of a similar kind of pity, but one that reaped dual benefits of dinner invitations and dates. "At first it was great, and I'd go out with anybody, but after a while I got tired of not having someone on a permanent basis."

There tend to be more single women than men at post, and they view their male colleagues with envy tinged with exasperation. "There might be one or two single men for six to 12 women at post," says Joanne, "and the minute the men arrive, they go out with the local women."

Ambassador-designate David Passage believes men can more easily find spouses in the Foreign Service than can women, but it's getting more difficult for them. "*Mobility* is the biggest institutional barrier to marriage in the Foreign Service."

Advantage or handicap?

Married officers cast an envious eye at singles, who are less torn between the demands of family and of their work. According to married FSO Doug McNeal, "Given the strange nature of the Foreign Service with its competition and selection, annual ratings, and weeding out, singles who want to get ahead have more time to work late, with fewer outside distractions. The pressure is *always* there to become a workaholic."

That pressure has taken a tremendous toll on overseas marriages. AID alone employs a full-time administrator to process the paperwork of ex-spouses. Although McNeal, who has been both single and married during his career, claims "marriage is far superior," Passage warns that there are "an increasing number of workaholics whose marriages have dissolved." Are there ways to handle the two? "It's very rare," says Passage. "In this business your life becomes a series of trade-offs."

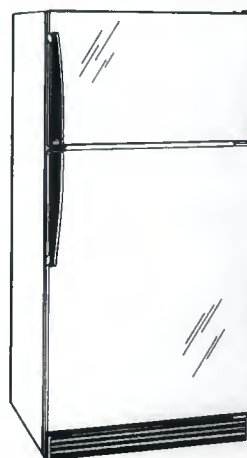
Having more free time leaves singles vulnerable to exploitation, how-

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ever. According to Joanne, the free-wheeling life of singles is a myth. "Not only do you not get out of representational events, you get sent to *more* in other people's place, because the political counselor has to go to Little League and the econ officer has Girl Scouts."

One of the obvious advantages to singles is the ability to travel light, getting more choice in assignment without having to worry about schooling or work opportunities for spouses. This solo flight, however, can cut both ways: Some singles believe they are sent to extreme hardship and danger posts because none of the officers with families would accept the assignments.

Outside the office

For many FSOs, the drawbacks to being single are missing out on the satisfactions of married life and the pleasure of raising children. "Yes, I would like to have been married and I would like to be raising a family," says Passage. "I'm not. Am I comfortable? Yes. Do I have any regrets? Well . . . wistful tingles." A lifetime of overseas duty can exact its toll on all but the most hardy, self-sufficient souls.

Maggie's eyes fill with tears as she remembers some painful moments overseas. "There were times when I would just collapse in tears with loneliness. And it was that kind of profound loneliness, where you realize you have just spent every evening of the last two weeks out and you don't have anybody that you trust with your innermost thoughts." Laura, a 49-year-old ex-Foreign Service wife turned single officer, is swift to console her that this can also happen within a marriage. In fact, "after 15 years of marriage I think that must have happened to me. at least once a week."

"Everyone has times in their job when they're frustrated, or angry, and need outlets they don't necessarily want to share in the office," says

Maggie. "So I look with perhaps unrealistic envy at my Foreign Service male colleagues who have wives to go home to, where they can tell the stories from the office and get a hug."

She is interrupted by Laura, who says, "Having been one of those wives to whom he came home, let me tell you that what he got was not a hug but more likely a kick in the pants! You get home and find that your kids have been fighting all day, your wife is dependent, but in the United States she had a wonderful career as a lawyer, and now she is reduced to working in the commissary; she is miserable, she is not realized."

Singles have a tough time answering hypothetical questions such as "Would you be married if you weren't in the Foreign Service?" followed by, "If you don't see marriage on the horizon, will you leave?"

"The ideal would be to do both," says Joanne. "But in the years that I've been overseas, I've seen no evidence that the odds are in favor of my marrying an American FSO."

Laura, ex-FSO spouse turned officer, imagines that she will settle down during retirement. Wherever she retires, she says, "the man will probably be there. Of course I'm taking a risk that he won't."

Charles Morgan no longer enjoys doing the things he used to as a single. "There's no question that I'm getting married again; it's just a matter of time." But asked whether he would give up his overseas career to be with someone in the States, Morgan hesitates. "That's very difficult. Right now I'm at the point where I feel like I'm running out of time; I still want to spend 15 more years in this career. If I got married now and couldn't go overseas, I'd feel tied down." Charles's advice to incoming officers is to join the Foreign Service already married to someone with overseas experience. He learned the hard way; his ex-wife decided to stay home and pursue her

career when he got his first overseas assignment.

Singles unite!

Joanne is convinced that extraordinary efforts need to be made to preserve families in the Foreign Service. "I think recruitment efforts need to make sure that happens . . . Obviously some single people will get married, but if they haven't thought *before* joining the Foreign Service about what they're going to do once they get married, I think nine times out of 10 the Service is going to lose those officers."

Although Joanne maintains it's much easier to recruit single people into the Foreign Service than marrieds, "in the long run it's not cost-effective. You've trained the people and invested a lot in their careers, and then they just walk away." The Foreign Service could help by restructuring professional life to make it fairer to singles.

Anthony Leggio, now serving in China, believes that single FSOs should unite to fight against what he believes is long-standing discrimination not only in post assignments, but in housing and shipping allowances, among other matters. Ten years ago, he complained in a letter to this magazine that "the old cliché, if you can't fight 'em, join 'em, i.e. get married, should not be intimidating but instead be responded to with the same vigor that other groups have utilized and that has brought such notable results. To wit, no one has ever told a married couple to get divorced, a woman to have a sex-change operation, a minority a name or skin change, or a handicapped person a cure. I maintain the same logic is applicable to the single person."

Think about it, singles. There's plenty to be said about the power of one, but imagine the power of a lot of ones working collectively to make the system a little bit better. □

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State Department Narc

*From a desk to the coca fields
of Ecuador in a few short months*

GARY WILLIAMS

I was six months into my first year as Embassy Quito's political/labor officer when my deputy chief of mission, who was also the post's narcotics coordinator, called me into his office to discuss an unusual requirement. He wanted me to write a series of reports on the local narcotics situation. I did not think much about his request at the time. Little did I know that within a few months I would be knee-deep in Ecuadorian jungle, shoulder to shoulder with local police, uprooting *erythroxylum coca ipadu*—that's "coca" as in "cocaine."

What started out as a simple request for reporting turned into a three-year tour (1986 to 1989) as Quito's narcotics control officer and director of the embassy's Narcotics Assistance Unit (NAU). As most of us in the United States are painfully aware, coca is a growth industry in this hemisphere. And fighting coca production, processing, and trafficking activity is becoming a full-time job in a growing number of U.S. missions in Latin America. After my brief meeting with the DCM, I found myself soon transformed from a desk-bound career diplomat to a jungle strategist and logistics chief on the front lines of the war on drugs.

Well, perhaps I exaggerate slightly. To be honest, despite the postings to exotic

Gary Williams is a Foreign Service officer whose posts have included Lima, Taipei, Beijing, and Quito.

locales and the occasional opportunity to witness history in the making, most of us in the diplomatic service spend our days doing the same things that other white-collar workers do: we manage the information flow and try to make sense of it. So, when we get out to the field and come back with our boots muddy, we are tempted to put a slightly heroic cast upon it. When word of my new assignment reached friends back in the United States, I informed them that I had no need to buy my jungle outfits at the Banana Republic, because I had been to a real rain forest.

To my new colleagues in the Ecuadorian National Police, who now became the focus of my professional life, I was considerably more restrained. They were accustomed to working with Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) agents and expected of me the same skills, stamina, and courage. I could never quite get it into their heads that I was not a policeman but just a budget-balancing, number-crunching diplomat.

In 1983, the State Department had closed down a small narcotics assistance program in support of the Ecuadorian government. Ecuador, unlike neighbors Peru and Colombia, seemed a very minor area of concern. Then in 1984, coca was discovered growing on the border with Colombia. A decision was made to support the police in eradicating this crop. In 1984 and 1985, approximately \$450,000 was provided to the police to rent helicopters to provide airlift support,

without which it was impossible to eradicate in the remote zone where the coca was being planted. These funds were initially managed by the DEA country attaché in Quito. In early 1986, Embassy Quito obtained the State Department's permission to reopen the Narcotics Assistance Unit and to staff it with a Foreign Service officer. That was when I was drafted.

During my three years as the "embassy narc" I saw my budget increase from \$400,000 to more than \$1 million a year. At first, I saw my role primarily as a manager of program resources. The narcotics police had almost no equipment to battle traffickers and producers. I helped with the procurement of such items as four-wheel drive vehicles, narcotics detector dogs, communications equipment, and jungle river boats. I rented the helicopters that the police needed to get around Ecuador's difficult mountain and jungle terrain. I did not participate directly in interdiction operations, but the police often involved me in the planning stages because of my crucial role in providing resources. As the program expanded beyond the narcotics police, I had plenty of opportunity to use my diplomatic skills in negotiating cooperation among different agencies within the police and between the police and other Ecuadorian government entities.

I do not know how much safer I made the world from the scourge of drugs, but I do know I helped make Ecuador, a tiny country sandwiched between Colombia and Peru, a little safer. And, as I occasionally reminded my superiors back in Washington, especially at budget time, you have to win a battle before you can win a war. Ecuador was my battle.

The Ecuadorian police pulled up coca plants one by one wherever we could find them. Our progress in eradicating coca in Ecuador was never more than a small victory, but it was a genuine one. When we began, we estimated that Ecuador had 3,000 hectares of coca. By the time I left in 1989, we had destroyed nearly 1,000 hectares. The rest was either abandoned by growers as a result of our actions or was of such poor quality and so sparsely scattered as to be insignificant. We appear to have stopped new cultivations. Did we make a difference, considering the tens of thousands of hectares growing in Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia? It is hard to say. But in the Upper Huallaga Valley of Peru, where only a few thousand hectares of coca were growing at

the beginning of the 1980s, today there are more than 100,000 hectares.

Ecuador was fortunate in that it attacked its production problem early on and before it became entrenched. Coca had "drifted down" from Colombia and only a small population of Ecuadorians had a stake in the business when we began eradication. Prevention is always cheaper, more effective, and *harder to justify in the face of other pressing needs*. The Quito DEA office deserves the credit for persuading the State Department and the Congress back in 1984 to make this investment in prevention.

Quito was not by any means a typical narcotics posting. Its problems were not nearly as intractable as those some of its neighbors. Because the Ecuadorian president took a personal interest in narcotics control, we had an unusually high level of cooperation with local officials. Still, I learned some things in Ecuador that are probably important anywhere we have a narcotics program.

● *Good police make a difference.* There are honest and hard-working police in every country. A successful narcotics control program depends on the government's placing honest and capable police in narcotics work, giving them the support they need, and keeping them alive. It can be done. Honest police respond to lack of support from their superiors not by taking bribes from the traffickers but by getting out of narcotics work. In Ecuador, being head of the anti-narcotics division became the fast track to rising to senior positions in the police. This was a deliberate policy of the government while I was there. It made all the difference.

● *Countering trafficker propaganda.* Top-echelon traffickers, like the corporate executives they are, place a premium on public relations, and their propaganda has to be constantly countered with the truth. Contrary to what they will have local populations believe, cocaine is not just a "gringo" problem and traffickers are not nationalists. They are criminals engaged in a high-profit business that depends on human weakness and degradation. The United States is their primary market because that is where the greatest profits lie for the moment. But the traffickers will sell to anyone, including their own countrymen, when it suits their profit margins. One of the keys to fighting narcotics trafficking is the development of a critical mass of local citizens who apply political pressure on elected and appointed officials to "do something" in defense of

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The root of the problem

in cocaine, than the “coca” varieties found commonly in Peru and Bolivia. These two countries produce almost all the coca leaf that ends up in the United States as cocaine and crack.

From time to time I see it written or spoken that coca, like marijuana and opium, can be produced in a variety of other places around the world. That misses the point. The question that should be asked is whether or not it can be produced in quantity and quality as it is in Peru and Bolivia. I doubt it very seriously. Or, at a minimum, I doubt that a serious shortfall (serious for the traffickers, that is) of coca leaf production in Peru and Bolivia could easily and over a short period of several years be replaced with significant plantings anywhere else. If one believes as I do that the supply of an addictive drug like cocaine, not a commodity in the normal sense, creates its own demand, this fact—that coca is not

easily transplanted from the Andean region—has significant implications for policy. I hasten to add that I am not advocating dropping coca-eating moths on that part of the world. The coca producers are already doing enough ecological damage with pesticides now.

There are other, better possibilities, however, in the form of aerial application of certain coca-specific herbicides. The idea of massive application of any kind of herbicide over a wide area worries environmentalists. But anyone who is familiar with the terrible ecological destruction being carried out by the coca producers and processors in the Upper Huallaga Valley in Peru will likely conclude that such an eradication program would at its worst be a lesser evil and, in terms of the impact on cocaine use worldwide, a probable good. Such a program, in any case, would certainly make life more difficult for traffickers.

—G.W.

Erythroxylum coca ipadu tends to be found in lowlands with high rainfall, as in the northeastern Colombia-Ecuador border area and in the Brazilian Amazon. On occasion, one of my police contacts would identify a clump of bushes as “Peruvian” coca, by which he meant *erythroxylum coca coca*. *Ipadu* produces a coca paste much lower in alkaloid content, which provides the active agent that causes the “high”



Peru: Test plot shows that Spike kills coca and not other vegetation.

An interesting example of such propaganda that I saw during a recent trip to Peru, is a letter circulating in the Upper Huallaga Valley, which is the heart of coca production in South America. Somewhere between a third and half of all cocaine in the world originates in that valley. According to the letter, the governments of Peru and the United States have signed an agreement to use the herbicide Spike (a trade name for tebuthiuron) to "fumigate" the valley. Spike, according to the letter, "is not selective, kills all plant life." Spike also will "kill all life" in the rivers, including fish and plants. The use of the herbicide, the letter concludes, will "condemn to death all life in the Upper Huallaga."

The letter, signed by a "priest" and using the letterhead of a local church, is not just confused, it is malicious. Use in the United States and Brazil and tests in the Upper Huallaga show that Spike, a common weed killer, does not kill all life but is highly selective. One of the few things it does kill is coca. It is applied in clay-based pellet form, is absorbed into the ground, and attacks through the roots. It will not be used to "fumigate" the valley but could be dropped from the air on coca fields, where growers have already destroyed all the local vegetation. It does not persist in the soil. I have seen the test site. The coca is dead and, less than a year later, jungle vegetation has reclaimed the land. As for fish in the rivers, we will never know if Spike harms them in any way. Processing chemicals used to make cocaine paste and base have already killed all the river life.

● *Make coca production financially risky.* Most cultivators of coca probably are not traditional coca farmers but, rather, migrant workers. Agricultural workers who move into an area to profit from coca production move out just as fast when the profit is gone or endangered. We started a coca eradication program in Ecuador at the end of 1984, and by 1987, except for isolated pockets, ran out of coca to destroy, two or three years ahead of our own schedule. We could not predict the producers would stop planting the minute they realized the government was serious about eradication. I remember vividly a conversation with Colombian agricultural workers just across the border from Ecuador. Asked why there was no coca on the Ecuadorian side anymore, the workers replied, "Because they don't let us." The Colombian side of the border, in contrast, was dotted heavily

with coca plantations.

● *Crop substitution can't come first.* The Ecuadorian government did not offer the coca growers any "crop substitution" aid to entice them away from coca production. Coca growing was treated as a crime, and those caught involved in its production were arrested. Because no crop in South America is as profitable as coca, coca growers cannot be bribed with coffee or palm oil or sugar cane to give up coca. Crop substitution can play a role only in mitigating the economic disruption that large-scale coca eradication might cause in countries where coca is widespread. But anyone who says that crop substitution must precede crop eradication has it backwards. It will have to be the other way around.

Making a difference

I believe that nothing I have done in the Foreign Service and, probably, nothing I will do can match the experience I had as narcotics control officer in Ecuador. I had an opportunity that few FSOs of any rank ever enjoy: I established a new section within an embassy and managed a million-dollar-a-year budget. I took the bare bones of a program and added flesh. I was part of and made a difference in an enterprise that affected the lives and well-being of others.

From the first day on the job, it was my program to design and implement. Many individuals, in the embassy, in the Ecuadorian government, in the State Department, DEA, and other agencies, had a hand in how my program was shaped, but in the end, I did most of the planning and tinkering to get it up and running. I had to remember at all times that lives depended upon some of my decisions. I had to ask Ecuadorian police, under threats from traffickers, to risk their lives for objectives that were not always clear or clearly realizable. It was a sobering responsibility and I hope I was never too casual in assuming it.

During my tenure, I learned to manage by managing. I had no experience and no training in managing a drug-eradication program. (I did, fortunately, inherit one Ecuadorian Foreign Service national employee who was both savvy and hardworking.) It was not easy at first. But along the way, I had absorbed a few basic principles to which I adhered consistently and, I think, successfully. The first was, don't

Because no crop in South America is as profitable as coca, growers cannot be bribed with coffee or palm oil or sugar cane to give up coca.

I tried to remember that my real enemies were the traffickers and not other U.S. government agencies.

worry whether or not you are spending every penny wisely (you can't), but be sure you know where every penny is being spent. The second was, think out thoroughly what it is you are really trying to accomplish (not just the official rationale) and explain it to others as often and as cogently as possible.

My supervisors in the embassy (the ambassador and the deputy chief of mission) and in Washington (the assistant secretary in the Bureau of International Narcotics Matters, or INM) didn't always agree with every detail of what I was doing or, for that matter, even know what I was doing, but they always knew that *I knew what I was doing*. Because of this, I believe, they never tried to micromanage my program, and that was crucial to its success.

Growing pains

INM is a relatively new phenomenon in the State Department and, as I discovered early on, not all that well understood. I was always keenly aware that my real boss was my ambassador (no Foreign Service employee in the field is effective or lasts very long who thinks otherwise). My program, however, was funded by INM, which is somewhat unique among State bureaus in that it has its own congressionally mandated budget.

Within the embassy I too had my own budget and in many ways operated as if I belonged to a separate agency. This inspired occasional envy among my State colleagues, who were always pinched for funds, while I seemed flush. I used to joke that if someone spilt coffee on the carpet in the hallway outside my offices, I was sent a bill by the administrative section for a new carpet.

Like any functional bureau, INM during my tour had at least its share of policy differences with the geographical bureau, in this case Inter-American Affairs (ARA). And, of course, State had its share of disagreements with other agencies over the specifics of narcotics control. It sometimes seemed that one of my duties was to straighten out interagency "discussions" as they related to my program. Having to do this from Quito never seemed to me a very efficient way of resolving differences. I tried to remember at all times that my real enemies were the traffickers and not other U.S. government agencies. I never had any doubts about what my policy was: make life

more difficult for the traffickers and producers in any way possible.

However, now that I have left INM, let me say that this stepchild bureau did everything it could to support me in the field. Like any relatively new organization, INM had its growing pains. Not planning to make a career of narcotics control, as some officers have, I bravely reported to INM its shortcomings as they came into my purview. INM never held this against me when the time came to fix budgets. Assistant Secretary Ann Wroblewski always gave Ecuador and my program their full share of attention—not an easy task, considering all the problems in neighboring countries Peru and Colombia.

Since mid-1989, career Foreign Service officer and Assistant Secretary Mel Levitsky has been dealing with the challenging task of yet another expansion of INM personnel and a wholesale reorganization of the use of that personnel. This year alone, INM is expanding by 25 positions. In addition, the Department of Defense is assigning 30 PASA (other agency personnel temporarily assigned to the State Department) employees to help INM deploy and maintain its congressionally mandated anti-narcotics regional air wing. As INM Deputy Assistant Secretary Parker Borg said to me recently, few places in the Department of State provide officers with the opportunity to deal with policy responsibilities and to manage the programs that implement those responsibilities at the same time. He also noted that few jobs at the mid-level ranks provide the opportunity to manage people and programs like the Narcotics Assistance Units in embassies. On the basis of my own experience, I agree with him totally.

As for me, I am cooling down from my years of hot pursuit in the Ecuadorian altiplano with a year at the Foreign Service Institute as a research fellow at the Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs. I am trying to do a paper that makes sense of U.S. narcotics control policies. Let me say that it was a lot easier putting together a million-dollar budget in support of the Ecuadorian police's counternarcotics division. On the other hand, it seems like an age since I had to take a helicopter flight over the high tops of the Andes and into the exotic and forbidding Ecuadorian rain forest. As a child, I remember, I was so afraid of heights that I couldn't even be persuaded to climb a stately banyan tree in my own front yard. □

Gaps in the Record

How State has allowed history to be incomplete

WARREN I. COHEN

On February 15, 1990 I resigned as chairman of the Secretary's Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation, the committee that reviews the *Foreign Relations of the United States* series, the official record of U.S. foreign policy. In my letter of resignation, I informed Secretary Baker that I could not protect the integrity of the *Foreign Relations* series or testify that this model series continued to provide an honest historical record. Subsequently, the Organization of American Historians and the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations called upon the secretary to take immediate steps to restore the integrity of the series, which has been published since 1862, each new volume now appearing about 30 years after the events it documents. A series of articles in the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, and the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, accompanied by NPR and BBC broadcasts, underscored the seriousness of the problem. What happened, and does it matter to the career Foreign Service officer?

When I was appointed to the advisory committee in 1986, I found the members of the committee angry and frustrated because of the change in the way they were asked to function. Previously, they had been permitted to see the documents, generally about 25 years old, assembled by the Department of State Office of the Historian's staff for publication, including material that was to be deleted for security

reasons. With the full picture in mind, the committee could determine whether the documents to be published were reasonably representative of American activity in a given country. Committee members might question deletions and, on rare occasions, persuade the department to include a document someone wanted deleted, but the ultimate right to determine what would be published rested with the department, as it must.

But in the 1980s the committee was denied access to the deleted material. Lacking adequate knowledge of what had been deleted, the committee *was denied* the information it needed for its work.

Evidence of the disastrous results of the new procedure surfaced last year with the publication of the volume *Iran, 1952-1954*, which clearly did not constitute an honest record of American activity in Iran. The publication contained no document reflecting the U.S. government's desire to see Iran's ruler, Mohammed Mossadegh, deposed. Nor was any document included relating to the CIA-aided coup against Mossadegh, which Kermit Roosevelt described vividly in a memoir that had been cleared by the CIA in 1979, in the midst of the Iranian hostage crisis. It was immediately apparent that the collection was not an honest record of American activity in Iran. The volume was subjected to ridicule by reviewers all over the world. Bruce Kuniholm, once a member of the Policy Planning Staff, called it a fraud. Had the advisory committee been allowed to review that volume and the deletions prior to

Warren I. Cohen is a professor of history at Michigan State University.

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publication, the fiasco almost certainly would have been avoided.

This is not a battle between scholars and diplomats. In the quest for an accurate record of American foreign relations, historians do not see FSOs as the enemy. I know of no one in the department who wants to turn the *Foreign Relations* volumes into propaganda tracts, inviting the kind of contempt Soviet "documents" have long evoked. Indeed, the advisory committee found active and retired FSOs who were serving in the Bureau of Public Affairs (PA) and the Classification/Declassification Center (CDC) our most powerful allies in prying ancient secrets out of other agencies and away from skeptical desk officers.

The Department of State had erred in publishing the Iran volume, but the CIA seemed to be the obvious villain of the story. Department employees were acutely aware of the need to revise procedures to protect the reputation of the *Foreign Relations* series—and ultimately of the department itself. Even before the problem of the Iran volume was appreciated, Charles Redman, then assistant secretary, and George High, then senior deputy assistant secretary of PA, began a dialogue with the advisory committee led then by Bradford Perkins of the University of Michigan. Perkins and I met with Redman and High several times in 1987 and 1988, trying to fashion a new procedure that would reconcile security concerns elsewhere within the department with the committee's need for information. (In June 1988, I came back from my honeymoon just to meet with Redman and High.) On several occasions we came close to agreement, but each time, a key figure in CDC balked.

In 1988 several members of the department suggested that differences would disappear if I were willing to serve as chairman of the committee. In due course, my colleagues elected me, and I carried on discussions with officers from PA and CDC. In September 1989 we reached a working agreement, as follows:

- Each year the committee would request a briefing from CDC on what generally had been omitted from three of the half dozen or so volumes that were ready to go to press. The department reserved the right to brief the committee on a volume of its own choosing rather than one selected by the committee.

- The committee would be permitted to review the material that CDC had deter-

mined should remain classified.

- The committee agreed, temporarily, not to insist on reviewing the guidelines CDC prepared for declassifiers at the National Archives.

I informed the other committee members and the professional organizations they represented. There were varying degrees of dissatisfaction with the agreement, but also a unanimous sense of progress and willingness to try the new procedures.

When the Advisory Committee met in November 1989, I opened the meeting with an expression of thanks to those in the department who had labored over the compromise. CDC duly briefed us on the three volumes requested. And then, to my astonishment, Dick Morefield of CDC refused to show the committee the documents to be withheld from publication. The department had reneged on the agreement.

Legislation proposes to open more documents to review

Consequent to my resignation, congressional leaders and the media have urged the president and Secretary Baker to take steps to restore the integrity of the *Foreign Relations* series. In June the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved legislation that would create an advisory committee composed of at least five historians, two of whom would be U.S. government employees. The legislation, scheduled for floor debate in July, would make available to the advisory committee all documents that the government proposes to withhold from the *Foreign Relations* series. The committee then, by majority vote, could approve the decision to withhold documents. Any deletions made in documentary texts, however, would be indicated with notes in the published text.

I am delighted with the results thus far, but it is essential to create a mechanism that will end the adversarial relationship between Foreign Service officers and historians. I advocate inclusion on the advisory committee of a representative of the American Foreign Service Association whose professional experience and credibility with Foreign Service officers will be an enormous asset.

— W.C.

I was angry and embarrassed, and I asked to see the new assistant secretary of state for PA, Margaret Tutwiler. She was not available. I met with her deputy, V. Kim Hoggard, who assured me that the Department of State would honor its agreement. She did not deliver. At one point I was offered the opportunity to review *one* volume, chosen by the department, but no other members of the committee—all of whom had the necessary security clearances—would be allowed to see these secrets from 1961 of the war in Vietnam. It might be noted that the advisory committee members included the eminent scholars Michel Oksenberg, from President Carter's NSC staff, and Paul Kattenburg, the distinguished former Foreign Service officer. After three months of playing games with me—until after the Historian's Office had finished its bureaucratic battle over its budget in February—I was informed that at an assistant secretary-level meeting in December the department had decided not to honor the agreement. I resigned the next day.

I trust that every Foreign Service officer can appreciate the absurdity of denying advisers the information they need to carry out their assignments and perform a public service, as well as the absurdity of hiding 30-year-old secrets from men and women with clearances and the "need to know." The department's gambit has damaged its credibility with scholars, journalists, Congress, foreign governments, and Foreign Service officers who need quick access to reliable information about America's past.

Although other agencies, especially the CIA, are principally at fault, a misguided few within the State Department have contributed to the damage. These are people whose self-image apparently depends on mystifying the process, who see danger in revealing long-past activities of the department to the American people, and who persist in treating scholars brought in to help the department as adversaries. It takes just a few of such keepers of the secrets, strengthened by inattentiveness or indifference at the top, to subvert the efforts of the overwhelming majority to provide the world with an honest record of America's foreign relations.

The American record must not be viewed with the contempt historically reserved for the records of totalitarian countries. The men and women of the Historian's Office have won a worldwide reputation for their integrity and that of their history. They and

every Foreign Service officer—and all Americans—have been betrayed by the Iran volume. Credibility is a precious asset for the Foreign Service, which must not be tainted by people of narrower vision. The department must honor its agreement with its advisory committee. The department must take steps to assure the American people that there cannot be another travesty like the Iran volume. □

The department's response

The JOURNAL asked several of the department officials named by Professor Cohen if they would like to comment on the controversy over the Foreign Relations series. V. Kim Hoggard, senior deputy assistant secretary at the Bureau of Public Affairs, chose to reply. Her letter follows:

The Bureau of Public Affairs values the advice and recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation with respect to the Department's historical documentary series *Foreign Relations of the United States*. For more than 30 years the Advisory Committee has worked closely with department historians and provided the scholarly advice, criticism, and support that has allowed the *Foreign Relations* series to meet the difficult challenge of preparing and publishing more than 175 volumes of official documentation. I regret that the former chairman, Professor Cohen, felt he could not continue the dialogue with the department within the advisory committee structure. I appreciate the seriousness with which he approached his responsibilities. While I did not promise him then or now a particular solution for balancing document safeguarding requirements with the needs for expanded advisory committee access, I am confident a workable resolution will be found.

I am convinced that the department, working with the advisory committee and with other government agencies, will soon be able to put into effect a plan that can assure the comprehensiveness and accuracy of the record published in the *Foreign Relations* series. This plan will include measures that will:

1. provide necessary access for department historians to the full record of U.S. foreign policy throughout the government;
2. provide oversight to the declassification process that can result in the withholding of sensitive material that does not distort the historical records;
3. publish volumes that clearly explain the sources of documentation and the impact of denied material; and
4. provide the advisory committee the information necessary to make informed judgments and recommendations on the historical accuracy of volumes.

The recent public discussions about the *Foreign Relations* series underscore the importance of this published historical record. The commitment of the Department of State to the traditional integrity of the series is as strong today as it has been at any time since President Lincoln and Secretary Seward began publishing *Foreign Relations*.

Baba & Fazl Inc.



BETTE J. CRUIT

We wondered why his name was Baba. In that part of the world, "Baba" was someone old and wise and venerable. With grandchildren and great grandchildren. With a pipe to smoke, and a long white beard.

But there he was: tall, gangly, and hardly more than 18. The U.S. Army jacket from the used clothing bazaar barely reached his wrists and waistline, and provided stark contrast to the customary white pantaloons billowing out beneath it.

"What can he do?" I asked the resident gardener, Fazl, who was the spokesman.

"He work hard, *memsahib*," he answered, nodding his head up and down.

"That's good, Fazl, but does he clean house, or cook, or wash clothes?"

Bette J. Cruit, a Foreign Service spouse, writes from Reston, Virginia.

"His eyes blue, *memsahib*. He come from Alexander the Great's people."

"Oh?" I muttered, puzzled at such a testimonial. Did blue eyes see dust or bake bread better than brown eyes? Would any kin to Alexander want to serve others rather than lead a lordly and leisurely life in his own village?

"Fazl," I said, impatient at this point, "you know we've just come to Afghanistan, and we need household help, not unskilled teenagers. If Baba is not a cook or *baacha* or *dhobi*, well, I can't give him a job."

Fazl's eyes danced around beneath his turban, and his toothless grin stretched from ear to ear.

"Baba does everything, *memsahib*. He all those things!"

Seeing Baba full of proud determination and standing stiffly at attention before me, his master sergeant, I weakened.

"Okay, Baba. You will start being all those things at 7 o'clock tomor-

row morning."

Before falling asleep that night, I wondered. Could one servant handle all the chores? It was an idea the whole family applauded.

"Who wants a big staff," they chorused.

"With nobody doing the dirty work and all wanting to be number one?" This from a 10-year-old on her second tour abroad.

So, in light of such in-house persuasion, and because it seemed too soon to be burdened with any serious entertaining, I agreed. We'd make do with Baba's raw talent. And of course tapping that talent was my job, when I was not teaching third grade or ferrying the girls to their various activities. It will work out, I promised myself, ticking off things to teach Baba, as one might count sheep before dozing off.

Mornings make a masterpiece of Afghanistan: cool, clear, with sunshine kissing the snow-tipped moun-

tains into pure gold. Mornings should also be a promising beginning to the day—as should the morning meal. But once in the kitchen I braced myself before heating up leftover rice and stone-like rolls from the day before. And when eight-year-old Cindy appeared, bright-eyed and ravenous, I cringed guiltily.

“What’s for breakfast, Mom?” she asked.

Then, as if on cue, came Baba, his arms laden with white melon and freshly baked *naan*. A bottle of milk was in his apron pocket to be quickly boiled.

A miracle is another nice way to start the day, I thought, hurrying upstairs to get ready for the day, while Baba sliced the bread and fixed our tea.

Our welcoming party a week later was a challenge. Faces floated by like birthday balloons, as they always do. And since one doesn’t stand with pad and pencil instead of a cocktail glass, the most practiced art of instant name recall fails miserably.

“Oh well,” I remarked to my husband while heading home. “We’ll get to know them all in time.”

“Actually,” Mike said, “we’ll be getting to know a good many, in no time at all.”

“What do you mean by that?” I asked.

“Well, several of us were talking about party games, you know, ice-breakers? And I mentioned that our favorite was charades.”

“Oh. Any other charaders in the crowd?”

“Yes, about 24, and not all Americans. They want to have a charades evening next Saturday.”

“Great! Where will it be?”

“At our house,” he answered, almost in a whisper.

“OUR HOUSE?” I screamed. “We can’t . . . why . . . our good china and table linens are still on the high seas. And . . . Baba isn’t even broken in yet. We’re not ready for this!”

“Everyone understands that, honey,” he cooed soothingly. “Even the ambassador thinks it’s a good idea here in Kabul to get our feet wet fast.”

I looked at this person, my hus-

band, a man I’d credited with a keen mind and an abundance of insight and common sense. Until now.

“And did Mrs. Ambassador second the notion?” I asked.

He nodded.

“And of course Mr. and Mrs. Ambassador are also coming to charade with us?”

He nodded.

“Okay, that settles it. Tomorrow I look for a cook!”

The search begins

Lucille, an embassy secretary, was the self-appointed personnel director in matters of finding household servants. So in my quest for a cook, I called her.

“Well,” she said, “did you know that the best way to get a well-trained cook is to steal one?”

“Steal one?” I repeated, not sure I’d heard her correctly.

“Oh yes, everyone does it, but no one ever admits it. All you do is tell someone else’s cook you’ll pay him more, through a third party of course. Simple as that.”

“Lucille, do you know a more honest way to find a cook?”

“Sure. I’ll find out which families may be leaving soon.” Then she lowered her voice. “Rumor has it that our administrative assistant is about to run off with a young British Council guy. And her cook is an expert in French and Flemish cuisine.”

“But Lucille, rumors don’t always happen. I need a cook by Saturday.”

“Okay, then you’ll have to settle for one of the un-credentialed variety, picked off the grapevine by my servant.”

“Beggars can’t be choosers,” I mumbled.

“Right. I’ll send you a cook every day after school for an interview. And may the best chef win!”

The next afternoon I sat in the study, half my mind on correcting spelling tests, the other half on the questions to ask our prospective cooks. I listed good health and cleanliness as the two top qualifications, with expertise in food handling and preparation



a close third. But no one came. Well, it was only Monday, I thought. Too soon to worry. However, when Tuesday and Wednesday passed with no-shows, I checked with Lucille.

“Strange,” she said, “twice I’ve sent Omar, who worked for the GSO for four years, but he couldn’t find you—kept going to the wrong house. Anyway, he’s been grabbed by the German ambassador’s wife. But don’t worry. Tomorrow I’m sending a smart one. Looks part Chinese. Cooks part Chinese too.”

But by Friday afternoon, when the part-Chinese cook either couldn’t find us or was plucked off the street by another desperate *memsahib*, I threw up my hands, and made an announcement at dinner.

“All of you will stay home tomorrow and help with preparations for our charades party.”

"But Mom . . ."

"No buts," I said sharply, and, glaring at my husband, I added, "AND THAT INCLUDES YOU!"

Early the next day I gave Baba a list of items to buy at the market and Mike a list for the embassy commissary. Fazl was to string lights in the garden, and arrange the outdoor furniture for cocktails *al fresco*. Under a full moon, of course.

The girls would consult their friends about prizes for the winning charades team, and we three would shop for them that afternoon. All would fall into place ever so nicely, thanks to my good planning, I thought, lulled into euphoria.

After our lunch, and after their seemingly endless siesta, the Kabul bazaar-keepers unshuttered their shops and opened for business, offering unlimited prize possibilities, a visual feast, if you've an eye for the exotic.

We bargained like pros, choosing a set of hand-blown Herati glasses in a glorious blue; a square horse and rider carved in Nuristan; oil lamps like Aladdin's; a Daniel Boone hat made of rabbit fur; and Kuchi jewelry, unique with multi-colored agates set in silver.

But the search for one prize got us hopelessly lost: the baby chick from the Chicken Bazaar on Chicken Street. I considered talking the girls out of this one, but their hearts were set. I couldn't dampen their spirits. I also couldn't find Chicken Street.

We wandered in and out of foul-smelling alleys, about to give up, when there, behind the Fruit Bazaar it was, narrow, dusty, and full of flying feathers. We picked out two forlorn looking chicks, which the girls promised to wash and blow dry before party time. "They won't get eaten when they're bigger, will they Mom?" Cindy asked. "Not if they're hens," I said.

Now all we need is food, lots of it, I thought, as my spirits began to sink on the way home. I was late. Too late to prepare the stroganoff I'd planned to serve. I wondered if we had any of the ingredients for a party-size pizza. The girls were good at making them. I pictured the Indian envoy's wife coping with the long stubborn strings

of mozzarella. No! Scratch the pizza. Back to square one, the stroganoff. That'll work *if* I spend the cocktail hour in the kitchen. Panic had struck, and taken hold, by the time we drove up the driveway of our compound.

"Mom, look at the table!" Caren yelled as we walked through the dining room. "Wow, it looks great."

And it did. One less chore to do, I thought, wondering who scrounged what from where.

But upon entering the kitchen with chicks and all in tow, we stopped in our tracks, mouths agape, too stunned to utter even a sound.

Lined up on the table were skewers and skewers of seasoned *kebab* meat, ready for the charcoal. On the counter sat rounds of rolled-out *chapati* dough, to stretch and bake on an assortment of chrome hub caps. (Don't ask from which cars these came from, I told myself.) A mountain of white rice, and hills of pine nuts, raisins, and saffron waited to become *Kabuli pilau*. And a spicy pudding, topped with crystalized ginger, was cooling beside the stove.

Like two cats that had swallowed canaries, Baba and Fazl stood tall and proud, immaculately dressed like doctors or dentists in starched white jackets, from where else but the Used Clothing Bazaar.

Fazl looked from me to Baba and back again, his face an open book. It read: *See memsahib, like I said, Baba can do all these things.* And suddenly I knew why those cooks had gotten either lost or stolen. They never had a chance.

I felt the tears begin to press—silly, grateful tears. "Thank you, Fazl, and blue-eyed Baba," I whispered.

"*Taasha koor.*"



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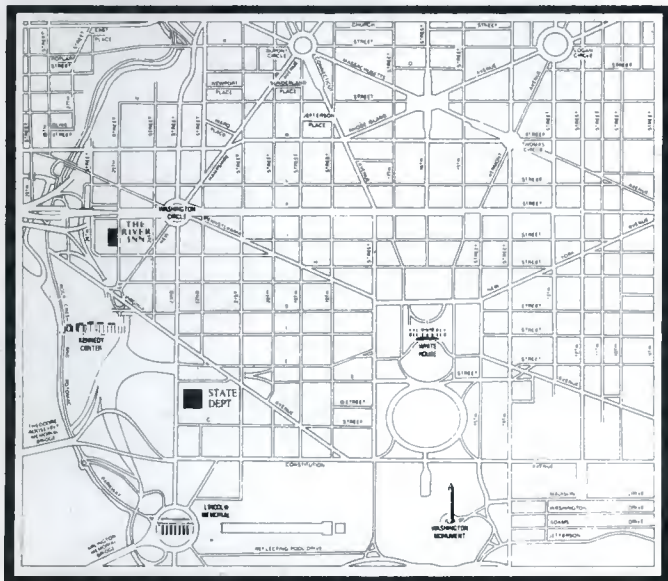
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Refighting Vietnam—and Winning

About Face: The Odyssey of an American Warrior

By Colonel David H. Hackworth and Julie Sherman, Touchstone Books, 1990, \$14.95 softcover

Slow Burn: The Rise and Bitter Fall of American Intelligence in Vietnam

By Orrin DeForest and David Chanoff, Simon & Schuster, 1990, \$19.95 hardcover

Second Chance: The United States and Indochina in the 1990s

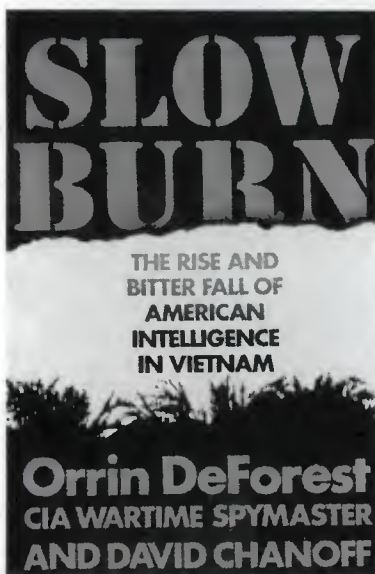
By Frederick Z. Brown, Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1990, \$14.95 softcover

Reviewed by Sol Schindler

Of these three books on Vietnam, two are on how we should have fought the war and didn't, the third examines how to deal with our old enemy in the coming decade.

Colonel David Hackworth is by now relatively famous. When his giant autobiography first appeared in hardcover, it was extensively reviewed. We learned of his eight purple hearts, four in Korea, four in Vietnam, his very many daring exploits (he has a total of 110 medals), and of how in 1971, with American troops withdrawing in stages from Vietnam, he made a TV appearance attacking the conduct of the war. In effect, after 25 years he had turned against the U.S. Army, which had nurtured him from the age of 15, educated him, elevated him to high rank, and forgiven him much, because he had given so much. It is clear that he loved the army far more than he loved any of his wives, and that a separation appeared to be unthinkable. Why then, like a modern Oedipus, did he turn against the only parent he ever had?

Hackworth is a passionate man; he



took the army precepts literally, in particular those concerning the training and guidance of people serving under him. When they suffered, he suffered, and when they died he took it more personally than perhaps some others. He was demanding of both himself and those who worked with him. He strove always for perfection, felt it attainable, and was usually outraged when it was not reached. His approach to life and war can be understood better by comparing his version of an encounter at the hamlet My Lanh II with that found in the semi-official *Infantry in Vietnam*. Lieutenant Colonel Albert Garland, the book's editor, gives us a straightforward account, using the battle to illustrate how difficult it was to pin an enemy battalion in place. He concludes by saying: "Unfortunately, all of the routes were not blocked, and the enemy did manage to get out. The next morning the U.S. battalion found only a number of enemy dead." Hackworth's personal account is more detailed and dramatic. He fulminates against errors committed, some because of bad training, others because of stupidity, and explodes in rage when he learns that his unit suffered 26 killed in action and 28 wounded. "It was a

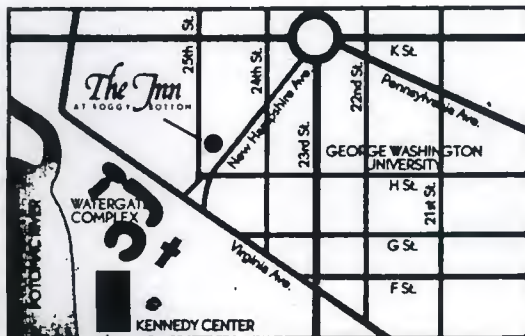
terrible price," he writes, "in no way justified by the 66 NVA bodies and 20-odd Chinese-made weapons we found the next morning, or the fact that we were the proud possessors of this demolished village, which we'd soon pull out of anyway."

Three years later, during his second tour in Vietnam, Hackworth finally began fighting the way he wanted. In March 1969 his battalion "utterly demolished" the Main Force VC 261 Alpha Battalion's base camp, killing 143 men. American casualties were "eight wounded in action." Exactly two months later, after careful reconnaissance, he took on the VC 261A Battalion in "the most satisfying operation of my career." Following his plan of combining guerrilla tactics with American firepower, his battalion virtually destroyed the enemy force, which suffered 113 dead. In exchange, the Americans had "exactly four casualties, all just slightly wounded." The next day brass from every echelon converged to congratulate him, yet no one asked him how he'd managed it. His tactics were admired but not copied. He writes: "In our corner of the Delta, that birthplace of the Vietcong and their longest and strongest of strongholds, we were cleaning their clocks. During the (four and a half) months I commanded the 4/39, our body count figures were more than 2,500 VC killed in action, in exchange for 25 battalion lives. . . . I wrote a couple of articles for military publications in the next two years explaining our tactics . . . and while there seemed to be widespread agreement on the principles, no one seemed willing or able to try them out. . . . There were no lessons learned, and the same mistakes were allowed to be made, day after day after day." And this of course is the cause of his rebellion. Priorities were askew.

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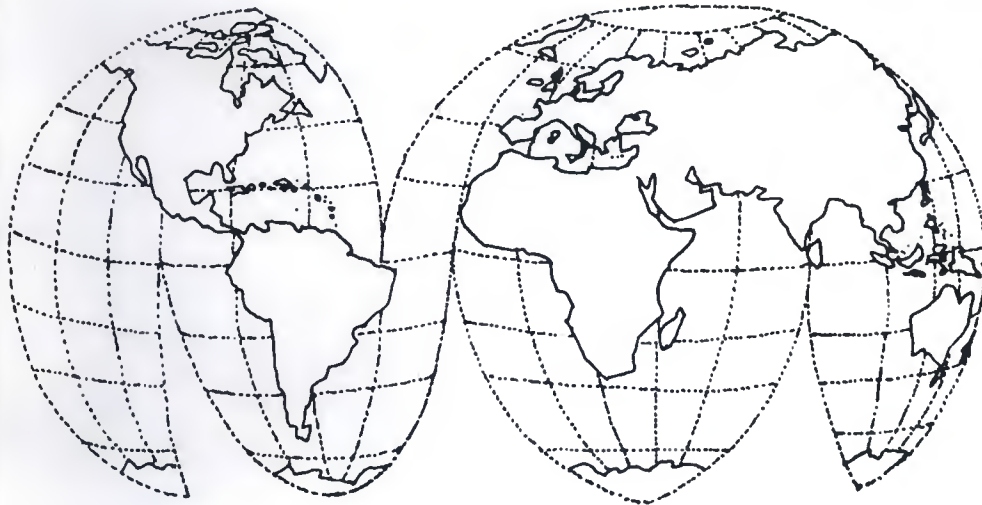
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It was show rather than substance. New weapons did not work, because field requirements and field advice were ignored. Ticket punchers came to Vietnam because they could not be promoted otherwise, stayed the minimum amount of time, and left having accomplished nothing but a glowing efficiency report. Medals were debased through inflation. Those with inferior combat records but who met other irrelevant criteria were promoted. Personal advancement at the expense of everything was how to play the game. The promotion system itself was suspect. The principle of "up or out" made honest efficiency ratings impossible. The officer had to be rated as outstanding in everything, otherwise his career was in jeopardy. Experienced officers who could have made valuable contributions in training and inspection were forced to leave because of too much time in grade. There was no *esprit de corps*. Individual rotation rather than unit rotation broke up working teams. Fighting officers were replaced by managers, and some battalion and even brigade commanders who came to Vietnam had yet to earn their combat infantryman's badge. Officers looked upward to see how to win favor rather than downward to see what had to be done. And always the replacements in the ranks were poorly trained.

Hackworth was convinced he knew how to win; he had received lavish praise from every quarter, but could not get the army to change. Finally, he opted out.

Now of independent means through success in business, he devotes himself to writing on military matters. He thinks the current army not all that bad and even has moderate praise for its Panama operation. He seems to have made peace with himself and the world. Yet surely the army regrets losing a fighter of his caliber. Nevertheless it carries on, and even manages to win a few.

The story of Orrin DeForest has a

similar motif. A trained detective in his middle forties and wanting to go "first class," he accepted in 1968 an offer from what he thought to be the finest organization in American intelligence, the CIA. Upon arrival in Vietnam, however, disillusionment was virtually complete. He found that the CIA itself had no agents in the field but gathered information through Vietnamese "cutouts" or intermediaries. Information gathered in this way was not very germane, and the method lent itself easily to corruption. Further, whatever information did accrue was not coordinated in a useful manner, despite the computer worship in Saigon. After a period of orientation he organized an interrogation center in his province using modern police methods.

The terrible losses the Vietcong had suffered during their Tet offensive plus the steady attrition they endured through American military action engendered streams of defectors, or *chieu hoi*. Gentle interrogation of these people, stroking rather than brutalization, brought forth surprising amounts of information. A data base was formed and information cross-catalogued. Diagrams of the VC infrastructure could be drawn, with the blanks constantly being filled in with new information. Informants within the VC ranks were used, and soon the Vietcong forces in Bien Hoa (Military Area III) were as compromised and riddled with spies as the government of South Vietnam. All this was achieved by using time-tested methods, long hours, and attention to detail. The only thing spectacular was the results. Equally spectacular results could have been achieved in every province, DeForest believes, if only the methodology had been replicated. But arrogance in high quarters prevented this. Just as the army brass was so tied up in its own procedures that it could not find out why Hackworth had been successful, so CIA brass could not bring itself to ask why DeForest's interroga-

tion center supplied more information than all its other centers combined. Even worse, they did not pay attention to what was reported. DeForest could act only in his own province, but he received information quite relevant elsewhere. He reported a major money smuggling operation out of Saigon; nothing happened. He warned that VC "sappers" or mine layers were en route to blow up the major South Vietnamese fuel dump near Saigon; it got blown up. He gave repeated warnings of the final North Vietnamese drive in 1975, but the station chief preferred to credit other reports, received through a Hungarian channel, that a peace would be negotiated.

Both Hackworth and DeForest write what could be called one-sided or self-serving accounts. They criticize many by name, and, of course, those people have no opportunity to reply. Nevertheless, both men have made such significant contributions to the war effort that they are worth listening to, and although they attack the establishment with a passion that Jane Fonda would applaud, they both think the war could have been won, which may upset a good deal of conventional thinking. Certainly, if both men had been able to work together in any province in South Vietnam, that province would have been cleaned up quickly and for a good period of time.

With Frederick Brown we leave the world of blood and guts for the more sedate corridors of diplomacy. Through the courtesy and financial support of the Council on Foreign Relations and Rita Hauser, he addresses "negotiating a solution to the Cambodian problem and building a new relationship with Vietnam." Despite what has happened during the past 35 years, he believes the United States can now play a positive role in Indochina. Through diplomatic relations with Hanoi, such humanitarian problems as the emigration of American-fathered orphans could be facili-

tated (although it would appear that most are fully grown by now), and other refugee problems could be handled more easily. In Cambodia he envisions a coalition government between Hun Sen and the non-Communist factions of Son Sann and Sihanouk, with the exclusion of the Khmer Rouge (even though Sihanouk has said they should be included). American diplomacy could encourage such a solution if it had a spokesman in Hanoi.

The big objection to diplomatic relations with Vietnam has always been the idea of American aid implicit in it. Many Americans object to giving aid to a country as cold-blooded and bloodied as Vietnam. There is also the larger policy question we might begin asking ourselves of whether the United States is like a tired Byzantine Empire (or a modern Saudi Arabia) that must always be throwing gold at people to make its

voice heard: Further there is the hard-to-swallow fact that Hun Sen and the Vietnamese will do in Cambodia whatever they think they can get away with. The future of Son Sann and other non-Communists seems limited.

Despite these caveats, it should be emphasized that Brown has given us a very cogent account of the situation in Vietnam and Cambodia. For this enlightenment we may be grateful.

Lithuanian Social Democracy in Perspective: 1893-1914

By *Leonas Sabaliunas*, *Duke University Press*, 1990, \$29.95 hardcover

Reviewed by *R.T. Davies*

At the end of the 19th century, Vilnius (called *Vilna* in Russian and *Wilno* in Polish) was the site of seminal developments in the Jewish,

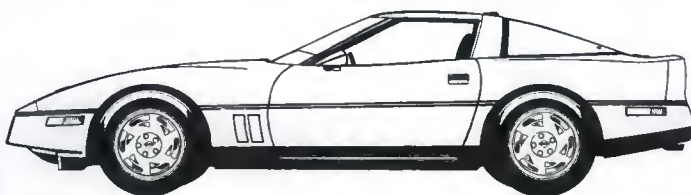
Polish, and Russian Socialist movements; the concept of worker agitation that began in Vilnius became the hallmark of the Bund, General Jewish Workers' Union, and the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party. Linked with the city are such names as Joseph Pilsudski, Julius Martov, Rosa Luxemburg, and Felix Dzierzinski. Now Professor Sabaliunas brings us a study of the Lithuanians who interacted with these leaders and brought the theory and practice of Socialist politics to their countrymen.

Like their counterparts in the Bund and the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), the leaders of the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party (LSDP) spent much time and intellectual energy wrestling with the problem of nationalism. The party's initial programmatic demand was for an independent Lithuania, which would subsequently unite with several of its neighbors to form a

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federated state. During the euphoria of the 1905 revolution, the Grand Diet of Vilnius, representing a broad spectrum of Lithuanian opinion, adopted a platform influenced by the LSDP's national policy. The suppression of the revolution and the strength of the Tsarist counterrevolution led to the diminished LSDP platform of 1907, in which the victorious Autonomist faction settled for the more modest goal of a democratic Russian republic in which Lithuania would be permitted to have its own legislature.

Participants in these debates could not foresee the independence Lithuania would win when the Tsarist Empire collapsed in 1917, nor could they have guessed that, in the interwar Republic of Lithuania, their party would play only a minor role. They likewise could not have known that after only eight years, parliamentary government would be eclipsed alto-

gether by the fascism of Voldemaras and Smetona.

Like their counterparts in Russia, the Lithuanian Social Democrats tried to build a proletarian party in a predominantly agrarian country. At the beginning of the century, Lithuania's industrial center, Vilnius, was a Polish city with a large Jewish minority. Klaipeda (Memel), the country's leading port, was a German city. Reduced to seeking adherents primarily among the smallholders and agricultural laborers, the LSDP had only indifferent success in adapting its program and agitational activity to their interests.

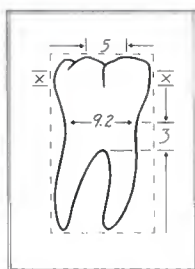
Sabaliunas handles the intricacies of his subject with objectivity and professional detachment. Dealing with an area of the world in which nationalistic bias is all too common, he is evenhanded in treating the claims of the Polish, Jewish, and Lithuanian communities and their Socialist or-

ganizations. His work is noteworthy for the tribute it pays to the influence of the Bund and the PPS upon the development of Lithuanian social democracy.

Without forcing the evidence, Sabaliunas draws the consequences from this slice of history. The professional LSDP administrators, Zigmars Angaricis and Vincas Mickevicius-Kapsukas, disappointed because most of their colleagues were not prepared to sacrifice everything to the interests of the revolution, became Bolsheviks. The party's intellectuals, on the other hand, adapted to the changed situation after 1905. "To them," Sabaliunas writes, "the party organization was always a means to the furtherance of Socialist ends, never a substitute for them."

This sober, thorough, and painstakingly researched book helps the reader understand the tenacity of contemporary Lithuanians in the pursuit of independence. Some problems have been "solved," at a terrible price during the 20th century. It is no longer possible to believe in the feasibility of the Autonomists' 1907 solution—the subordination of the Lithuanians and their Baltic neighbors to a centralized Russian state, however democratic it might be. Many of the demands of today's proponents of independence repeat those of their ideological predecessors of the early days of the century, that is, that draftees should serve in their home countries. These demands can be met only in independent states.

When independence is achieved, the leaders of the Republic of Lithuania will still have to wrestle with the problems first raised nearly 100 years ago by the Social Democrats whose work and thought are so carefully documented in this book: the relationships of the independent republic with the neighboring states and the wider European world. The impetus it gives us to think about this subject is the greatest merit of Sabaliunas's study. □



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Conference program brings policy debate to AFSA

Charles Schmitz
Director of Outreach

Carl Sagan warned a group of businesspeople and government officials at AFSA's June Environmental Conference that global warming will have dire consequences for the world's environment if scientific predictions turn out to be correct. "We have spent \$10 trillion on the Cold War not because we thought that a Soviet takeover of the world was the *most likely* case, but because we bought the idea that it was the *worst* case," said Sagan, the distinguished Cornell University scientist and president of the Planetary Institute. Likewise, Sagan said, the world should prepare for a worst-case environmental scenario, taking measures now to correct global warming patterns. Luncheon speaker Senator Timothy Wirth (D-CO) energetically supported Sagan's activist view.

Some 30 conference speakers represented the DuPont Corp., 3M, General Electric, the Sierra Club, the Rocky Mountain Institute, Brazil and Japan, the U.S. Coast Guard, and the American Petroleum Institute, among others. One day after the AFSA conference, the U.S. government revised a previous decision and agreed to contribute to an international fund for CFC (chlorofluorocarbons) phase-out in the developing world.

AFSA's March symposium on strategic export controls also reflected high-level policy debate within the U.S. government. In the interests of American competitiveness and East European economic development, business representatives and luncheon speaker Senator John Heinz (R-PA) called for greater relaxation



Carl Sagan delivers the keynote address on June 14.

of export controls than the administration had been contemplating. Four weeks later, after hearing the same message from its partners in the Coordinating Committee on Multilateral Export Controls, the United States agreed to significant liberalization of controls for products and technology to some Eastern European nations.

"I applaud the leadership of the American Foreign Service Association in focusing our attention on the need to adapt our laws, our style of doing business, and even our way of thinking to compete in the global marketplace of the 1990s," said House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-MO) at AFSA's conference on Eastern Europe in April.

In only seven months AFSA has brought the Foreign Service into the center ring of nonpartisan foreign policy debate through its conference and symposium program. Among the 85 panelists and speak-

ers addressing AFSA audiences have been Vice President Dan Quayle, Deputy Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger, former Secretaries of Defense Caspar Weinberger and Frank Carlucci, Ambassadors Rozanne Ridgway and Henry Owen, President of the Center for National Policy Madeleine Albright, Eastern European recovery architect Jeffrey Sachs, and many more.

To support and guide the Outreach Program, AFSA has formed an International Associates Council of American corporations active in international trade and investment. Among the 35 current international associates are Alexander & Alexander, American Cyanamid, American International Group, Caltex, Citicorp Banking, DuPont, Exxon, GE, ITT, LTV, Ralston Purina, Shell, Philip Morris, and Westvaco. Through their subscriptions, international associates make it financially possible for AFSA to sponsor the conference series without jeopardizing other AFSA responsibilities.

The success of the Outreach Program so far encourages AFSA to move forward, and even to expand, its events in the coming year or so. The current schedule for conferences is:

- ▲ **September 18** American Business and Korea
- ▲ **October 11** Telecommunications
- ▲ **November 14** New Dimensions in International Trade
- ▲ **February 1991** State and Local Governments in International Commerce

Continued on page 54

AID Standing Committee

Wendell Morse AID Vice President

Little progress has been made on areas of concern reported in this column in May. AID has backburned both the restructuring and reclassification of positions throughout the agency and the reorganization of the Office of Personnel Management while the administrator mulls the options. AFSA was assured in early April, however, that we will have an opportunity to review reorganization plans before they are implemented. Personnel has assured us that the reorganization will not have an adverse impact on either the Foreign Service or any Foreign Service employee.

AFSA is hopeful that by the end of summer negotiations with the agency will be concluded on an AFSA-AID agreement that will include a full-time, agency-funded position for an AID vice president.

The training division has agreed that eligibility criteria based on personal rank, as stated in current training announcements, does not accurately represent broader selection criteria for training and may unduly discourage employees from applying for training. Announcements will be modified to represent the broader set of selection criteria.

Selection boards. Personnel in its briefing to the 1990 selection boards expressed concern about the low number of FSOs who are members of minority groups or women. It also stressed that service "out of the mainstream" (i.e. within Personnel Management or the central bureaus) should receive due consideration by the boards and similarly encouraged board members to acknowledge the important contribution of technical employees to our agency. Personnel reminded board members that promotions do not reward past performance but reflect potential for higher-level work, and it emphasized the importance of providing feedback to employees, raters, and reviewers. All selection board work should be concluded by early August.

Affirmative action. AFSA has approved extension through the

1990 selection boards of the affirmative action agreement negotiated with the agency last year. This extension may lead to affirmative action promotions this year. We have expressed our concern to management regarding the apparent lack of commitment to equal employment opportunity (EEO) and affirmative action. We hope to work with management in ensuring greater managerial commitment and accountability, by convening the EEO oversight board and complying with congressionally mandated EEO and affirmative action reporting requirements, among other things.

Senior Foreign Service window. In late May AFSA concurred with the interim extension of the senior threshold window from seven to eight boards. As reported in State 198341, AFSA will consider very carefully the impact of both this interim measure and the agency's proposed changes in Handbook 25, chapter 38 (Senior Foreign Service) when we renegotiate this set of regulations later this year. AFSA understands that FS-1s facing their seventh board this summer will be given the option of an additional eighth board; the agency will not unilaterally force an eighth board on them. It is yet undecided what

the impact of this interim extension will have on Senior Foreign Service employees or on FS-1s who "windowed out" in past years but are still with the agency.

EER negotiations. AFSA will renegotiate Handbook 25, chapter 40 (Foreign Service employee evaluation program) later this year. We hope negotiations will lead to a system that will more adequately fulfill the mandate of the Foreign Service Act. We solicit membership commentary and recommendations as to how the EER system can be made more objective.

Grievances. My experience since becoming AID vice president earlier this year leads me to conclude that grievances are necessary to resolve employee-management disagreements. This mechanism does not necessarily leave negative marks on employee records, as many believe. Both labor and management recognize the importance of the grievance process in resolving labor-management disputes. The real negative repercussion may come from not correcting damaging records in employee files. Supporting statements by people who are not party to an EER greatly strengthen an EER-related grievance.

No-smoking agreement

AFSA and the Department of State have negotiated a new three-year agreement on no-smoking policy. The agreement changes existing policy in these respects:

- The ban on smoking, already in force in all buildings managed or occupied by the Department of State, is extended to all Department of State-owned or leased vehicles.
- An exception to the ban for the Diplomatic Functions area of New State has been dropped, and guests at department functions must now comply with the policy as well.
- Most important, the section on enforcement has been strengthened and clarified. Current policy has no provision for reporting violations of the ban beyond the employee's im-

mediate supervisor. The new agreement provides, "If the employee is dissatisfied with the attempts to address the noncompliance . . . the employee should request review . . . by the Executive Director of his/her bureau (if assigned domestically) or by the official designated for that purpose in post policy (if assigned overseas). If the noncompliance remains unresolved, the employee may seek assistance from either the Office of Employee Relations (for FS employees) or the Employee Relations Division (for GS employees)."

As under the 1987 agreement, smoking continues to be permitted in private offices and designated smoking areas of cafeterias.

State Standing Committee

George F. Jones
Vice President

You might be interested in the variety of issues AFSA has been dealing with lately on your behalf:

☆ Agreement in principle has been reached with management of all the foreign affairs agencies on increasing the consumables allowance for employees initially assigned to two-year tours at consumables posts and who subsequently extend for a third year. People in this situation are currently ineligible for any increase beyond their initial 2,500 pounds. We hope to have final agreement by mid-July and to put it into effect shortly thereafter.

☆ We have asked management for a list of all positions it intends to designate as multifunctional. We will be reviewing the list, along with the proposed revisions to the Foreign Affairs Manual sections dealing with the multifunctional skill code, for consistency with the understandings reached during the recent generalist negotiations.

☆ We answered questions from one post about the provisions of 3 FAM 236 and 237 relating to on-call and standby duty. We told them that our agreement with management on those regulations expires next April and that we would welcome suggestions on changes we should seek when we renegotiate.

☆ We've written Under Secretary Ivan Selin, Deputy Assistant Secre-

tary Jerry Tolson (who supervises the storage of household effects), DAS Audrey Morton (Equal Employment Opportunity), and the directors of the Foreign Agricultural and Foreign Commercial services to bring to their attention the results of AFSA's survey of Foreign Service opinion. We enclosed the full results as printed in last month's JOURNAL, as well as a more detailed print-out on specific questions of interest to them. (For example, we sent the director general of the Foreign Commercial Service a breakdown of how commercial officers had responded to every question.) Selin responded by asking AFSA to meet with him and Ambassador Perkins on July 20 to discuss the survey and its implications.

☆ We've asked for a meeting with a senior official to discuss the growing pressure to make home leave shorter and harder to take. Although recognizing the budgetary pressures that are responsible, we also believe management must recognize the statutory requirement for home leave, and we have some ideas on how to make it easier for people to use their accumulated leave without added cost to the department.

☆ We also scheduled a meeting to review the department's new "Civil Service Mobility Program,"

which it announced before informing AFSA or asking for our comments. We will convey our serious concern over the apparent trend toward moving civil servants into Foreign Service positions. We told the deputy director of PER/FCA about the AFSA member who received the much-ballyhooed "counseling letter" from her career development officer—a letter that included all the alternate paragraphs in the computerized model letter, with check marks by those applicable to this officer. The deputy director expressed shock and promised it won't happen again.

This is my last *AFSA News* column before I return to duty with the Foreign Service. I've enjoyed working for you these last nine months. I have learned a lot about the intricacies of personnel procedures and regulations. I learned to appreciate, far more than I ever had before, AFSA's role in championing the cause of the individual who has run afoul of the system—or who simply can't get it to answer a question. Seeing AFSA's selfless staff work long hours to protect individual rights and promote the interests of the Foreign Service has been a privilege, and the opportunity to work with them, and you, has been an honor. Keep those thoughtful and thought-provoking letters and telegrams coming to my successor and to our colleagues on the board.

No more extra service credit

Congress has passed an amendment to the 1990-91 Foreign Relations Authorization Act eliminating the Extra Service Credit (ESC) as of February 1990. Under the old Foreign Service pension system, ESC was a means for employees to gain time-and-a-half annuity credit for service at an unhealthful post; for example, two years in an unhealthful post would count as three when calculating an employee's annuity. Anyone who opted for ESC after

February 16, 1990 will be ineligible.

Under the old system, employees had the option of electing ESC as an alternative to post differential payments, where they existed. This option was particularly important for those who could not receive full post differential, due to the pay cap affecting some senior-level employees. The congressional amendment is thus a matter of some concern to some more senior members of the Foreign Service assigned to unhealth-

ful posts with differentials.

The bad news for these employees is that hardship differential is counted toward an employee's total salary in determining whether the pay cap is applicable (unlike danger pay or performance pay, for example). The good news is that the pay cap was raised as of January 1990 from \$89,500 to \$96,600 (the executive II level). Provisions for chiefs of mission differ slightly, although the pay cap is the same.

Professional Issues

Fighting the drug war in Colombia

Richard S. Thompson

"We have come to the end of the beginning" of the battle against drugs in Colombia, Ambassador Thomas E. McNamara told a May 31 luncheon at the Foreign Service Club, noting changing attitudes toward narcotics in both the United States and Colombia.

A whole generation of Americans began to condone the use of drugs 15 or 20 years ago, while Colombians looked at drug producers as businessmen rather than criminals. Drugs became embedded in both societies. Americans in the 1980s, however, increasingly realized that drugs are not benign, while Colombians began to see drug dealers as a threat to the authority of local government.

By 1986 both countries had come to realize that the drug problem had to be fought in a determined, forceful way and on a long-term basis. Colombia in the late 1980s began devoting a large percentage of its budget to the police and military, and a special anti-narcotics police unit was formed to seize labs and confront traffickers. In early 1989 the traffickers reacted with a series of assassinations designed to weaken the government's will and intimidate the populace. These only increased the government's resolve.

Ambassador McNamara cited several events demonstrating Colombian public support for the anti-drug struggle, most recently the election of Cesar Gaviria as president on an anti-drug platform.

As for the drug effort in the United States, all measures pale in comparison with the need to reduce consumption, the speaker said. The U.S. government should continue economic assistance, work to reduce the supply of weapons to drug traffickers, and seek an international agreement to cut the supply of chemicals needed for drug manufacture. Finally, the United States should do more to combat money

laundering and transfers.

Responding to questions, Ambassador McNamara agreed that the anti-drug effort must also involve Colombia's neighbors to be effective but commented that traffickers become weaker when forced to move to new areas. He emphasized that U.S. military and Drug Enforcement Agency activities in Colombia involve only training and intelligence activities, while Colombians

carry out all field operations. He said that contrary to myth, the military has become less corrupt when actively engaged in battle against traffickers.

He concluded that the United States must find a way to begin aerial eradication in tandem with crop substitution. He offered no "silver bullet" but said that a long-term, broad-gauge strategy will ultimately succeed.

Proposed law threatens privacy

Chris Perine
Legal Issues Coordinator

Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Chairman David L. Boren (D-OK) and Vice Chairman William S. Cohen (R-ME) have introduced legislation to drastically increase safeguards on classified information and to protect the national security. Specifically, the Counter-intelligence Improvements Act of 1990 would require that everyone with top secret clearance provide investigators with access to personal financial records and information about foreign travel for as long as they hold the clearance and for five years afterward. The bill would also require those with access to cryptographic information to submit to periodic polygraph exams.

The proposed legislation comes in response to recommendations made in a recently completed report commissioned by the Intelligence Committee. A panel of business leaders and former government employees recommended that Congress enact a new law aimed at increasing the federal government's ability to "deter, detect, and prosecute" alleged espionage by government employees. The panel, chaired by Eli Jacobs and called the Jacobs Panel, called for more stringent

security clearance procedures, greatly increased use of polygraph exams, and new penalties for espionage activities.

AFSA does not believe that these dramatic steps, which severely curtail privacy rights, are warranted. AFSA does not dispute the pressing need to protect national security by safeguarding classified information but believes that the consistent and proper application of current laws will achieve this goal. A recent General Accounting Office study showed that a vast majority of routine security-clearance update investigations are not conducted as frequently as prescribed by law or even on a regular basis. It seems more prudent to assure that present laws, regulations, and procedures be employed correctly before enacting new legislation that will further impinge upon the privacy rights of people with access to classified information.

The Senate Intelligence Committee had originally scheduled a hearing in connection with the proposed legislation for June 20, but the hearing was postponed for at least a week. AFSA plans to submit a statement to the committee for the hearing.

Legislative Issues

Rick Weiss Congressional Liaison

Authorization: The Senate Foreign Relations Committee (SFRC) reported the Supplemental Foreign Relations Authorization Act of 1990, on which floor action will be scheduled after the July 4 congressional recess. Highlights of the legislation include the following:

- The committee endorsed the president's request that Congress authorize the payment of all U.S. arrears to the United Nations over a five-year period.
- On a 16-0 roll call vote, the committee rejected the administration's proposal to tear down the unfinished U.S. chancery building in Moscow and construct a new building on the site. Instead, the committee voted \$50 million to complete the unfinished building for use for unclassified activities and to provide additional secure space in the old chancery or elsewhere in the U.S. embassy compound.
- The act reduces funding for the chancery at Port Moresby in Papua New Guinea from \$15 million to \$3 million. The funds saved on this project are to be used to keep open consulates in Western Europe.
- It requires the renewed publication of the *Department of State Bulletin*.
- It establishes a system for review of documents to ensure that *The*

Foreign Relations of the United States history series constitutes a complete diplomatic record (*see* Warren I. Cohen, page 27).

- The legislation mandates Voice of America broadcasts in Kurdish.
- It prohibits all U.S. assistance to any Chinese missile programs and revokes any previously authorized export of U.S. satellites to be launched from Chinese missiles, until the president certifies to Congress that China is not supplying ballistic missiles, missile technology, or poison gas to certain countries in the Middle East.

Appropriations: House floor debate on the Commerce, Justice, and State FY 1991 Appropriations Bill commenced June 20, and the House is expected to complete action by June 26. No amendments were offered to the State Department title of the bill during the June 20 session. An amendment to USIA appropriations was defeated that would have cut 50 percent, or \$58 million, from TV Marti's operating budget. The State Department salaries and expenses account for FY 1991 is almost \$80 million more than FY 1990, although \$34 million less than the department/administration request. For USIA, the committee provides \$13 million more than was available for FY 1990 and over \$11.5 million more than the budget request.

Hatch Act Revisions: On June 21 the Senate sustained the presidential veto of revisions to the Hatch Act, providing for expanded political activities by governmental employees. It is expected that a revised version will be introduced in the House in the 102nd Congress, beginning January 1991.

SFRC on Consulates: Reacting to continuing efforts by the department to save money by closing posts, the SFRC commented in its report on the authorization bill:

"For 12 years the committee has been approving legislation designed to defeat administration proposals to close consulates. The committee believes that embassies and consulates abroad are the most cost-effective means of promoting U.S. interests and values. The senior American official in any city is inevitably one of the key people in the economic, political, and social life of the city. The committee believes that with dramatic changes in Europe, now is the time to raise the American flag around the world and not, as the administration would, pull it down. The committee endorses the opening of new consulates in Eastern Europe but believes these new consulates should not come at the expense of existing ones."

Slow movement in the Bloch case

Chris Perine Legal Issues Coordinator

More than a year after the media blitz following allegations that the career diplomat Felix Bloch had engaged in espionage, the State Department is in the last stage of its efforts to discontinue his employment. Bloch's final appeal, a hearing to challenge the termination of his employment, is scheduled for July 9. (Originally set for May 7, the hearing was postponed by the consent of both parties.)

Under department procedures specifically created for the Bloch case, the hearing is to be conducted by a Department of State panel comprising the under secretary for management, the legal advisor, and the assistant secretary for diplomatic security or their designees. The procedures allow any designated panel member with prior knowledge of the case to disqualify him or herself and appoint someone else instead. In this case, all the prospective panelists, Under Secretary Ivan Selin, Legal Adviser Abraham Sofaer, and

Assistant Secretary Sheldon Kryz, disqualified themselves. The three panelists chosen to replace them are Director General Edward Perkins, Deputy Legal Adviser Michael Matheson, and Director of the Office of Security Technology Gregorie Bujac respectively.

Upon conclusion of the hearing, the panel will draft a report for review by the secretary of state, who will issue the department's final decision. Barring further delays in the hearing process, the department

Continued on next page

New residential security standards

AFSA recently met with officials in Diplomatic Security (DS) to discuss new residential security standards that took effect in February. AFSA was not consulted prior to issuance of the new standards; indeed, we did not learn of the changes until we were notified by several concerned posts. Although AFSA's options were limited by the non-negotiability of security issues, we did have the right to consult with management, and AFSA set up a meeting with DS to convey employee concerns and obtain information on the new standards.

At the meeting, DS explained that the program was aimed at establishing uniform standards applicable to all foreign affairs agencies that would fairly and accurately gauge the threat level and security needs of each post. Of course, establishing such standards will necessarily change the allocation of security resources to some posts. Posts facing a reduction of resources are understandably concerned about this prospect, and AFSA attempted to obtain assurances that the security of employees at such posts will not be compromised.

We were assured that security threats are not measured solely in terms of terrorism or mob violence, and that posts where the only threat is from common crime receive equal consideration in determining whether residential guards are authorized and whether they are posted 12 or 24 hours a day. The post must document the threat, however. If a post's submission lacks relevant statistics and incident reports, it cannot expect a high threat rating.

A post may challenge the department's assessment of its threat level. DS is also prepared to send out a team from Washington to take a first-hand look at the situation if posts so request.

Finally, DS will look at any proposal for different security arrangements that is more cost-effective than those authorized by the worldwide standards. At one African post, the department had intended to

discontinue stationary guards and replace them with roving patrols. However, post management demonstrated that the cost of 24-hour guards was actually less than that of patrols, and DS agreed to retain stationary guards. AFSA believes that other posts may be using the same guards, under the same contract, for chancery and bodyguard duty (where well-trained guards are essential) as well as at employees' homes (where

a watchful presence, rather than a highly trained marksman, is needed). Setting different standards and pay scales for guards with different duties could reduce significantly the cost of the guard force.

We were pleased with the indications of flexibility in the DS presentation. AFSA's overseas chapters should encourage post managers to try some of these approaches and test the response from DS.

Bloch case

Continued from previous page

will probably publicize its decision in mid-August or early September.

The State Department elected to proceed after a Justice Department investigation failed to produce sufficient evidence to continue its case against Bloch. On February 6, 1990, the department informed Bloch that he was being terminated because his continued employment posed a security risk. To effect this termination, the department employed a little-used McCarthy era statute. This statute, 5 USC 7532, supersedes the Foreign Service Act and allows any federal agency to fire any employee without going through the normal administrative channels. The statute may be employed when the agency determines that the individual's continued employment poses a risk to national security. Because this law is not part of the Foreign Service Act, the accused does not have the right to file a grievance.

Even under the 5 USC statute, the accused does have the right to a hearing if termination is proposed. However, evidence that forms the basis of the department's decision to fire Bloch may be excluded from the hearing process if it is determined that it might damage the national security. Given the nature of the allegations against Bloch, it is quite possible that his attorney will be barred from defending his client

against a significant body of evidence that supports the department's decision to fire him.

Bloch has been on administrative leave since June 22, 1989, when the State Department removed him from his position as director of the Office of European Regional Economic-Political Affairs and required that he surrender his building pass. The department cited the ongoing investigation and the safeguarding of national security in making its decision. Initially the department placed him on administrative leave (which in itself is not an adverse personnel action) and continued to pay him, while waiting to see if the Justice Department would bring criminal charges against him.

Bloch continued in this status until early 1990, when his employment and pay were suspended pursuant to the department's invocation of 5 USC 7532.

The Justice Department has filed no charges against Felix Bloch to date and publicly admits that the case may never go to trial.

Although none of the parties to the Bloch case has requested assistance or opinions from AFSA, we are following the case carefully because of the precedents it may set, and we will continue to report relevant developments to our membership.

Photos, clockwise from top:

1. Carl Sagan responds to a question during a panel discussion about U.S. business and ecological issues. Purnell Delly of ARA/ECP, left, moderated. Panelists, from left, are: Robert Bringer of 3M Corp.; Richard McCormack, under secretary of state for economics; and Warren Brookes, the syndicated columnist.
2. Senator Timothy E. Wirth (D-CO) gave the luncheon address.
3. Richard Smith, acting deputy assistant secretary of state for environment, health, and natural resources
4. Discussing the conference in the Foreign Service Club are, from left, Ambassador Alfred Atherton Jr.; Curtis Bohlen, assistant secretary designate, OES; Ambassador Richard Benedick, and AFSA Vice President George F. Jones.
5. Sergei Zelenev, left, a Soviet environmental expert, talks with AFSA President Ted Wilkinson.
6. Tony Vogelsberg, environmental manager with DuPont, talks with William Nitze, former deputy assistant secretary of state



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- ▲ April 1991 Agriculture
- ▲ Mid-1991 New Diplomacy for a New Age, and Non-Profit Organizations in International Relations

AFSA must charge for participation in the conferences, but AFSA members qualify for special consideration. Contact Brian Hennessey, 338-4045, for further information.

For those who cannot attend, parts of AFSA's conferences are covered by the C-SPAN cable network as well as other press organizations. AFSA has published reports on each conference for participants and the media, and the reports are available to all members on request.

Activities we are seeking to launch include a speakers bureau that we hope will make special use of the talents of retired Foreign Service officers. We are also establishing AFSA links with non-profit organizations concerned with international issues.



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Survey results: Foreign Service people reveal concerns about poor management and low morale

George F. Jones
State Vice President

In the Foreign Service today:

- Two-thirds of the membership are concerned about poor management, more than with any other single aspect of Foreign Service life, with low pay and low morale running close seconds.

- Some 16 percent plan to leave the Service within the next two to three years, and 11 percent are doing so because of their concerns about poor management, pay, and morale.

- Almost half say their decision to stay in or leave the Service would be affected by a decision to reduce the space standards for government housing.

- Yet 28 percent say their experience with their agency's personnel office has been good to outstanding, and 36 percent say their career counselors have been generally helpful. Only 19 percent say the evaluation and promotion system needs major revision, and only 14 percent favor major revision of the "open assignments" process;

- Forty-three percent say that terrorist attacks are a real possibility at their overseas post, and 52 percent worry about burglaries, but two-thirds say that security measures overseas are adequate to deal with the threat. Presumably because of improvements in security at embassies in recent years, less than a third say that terrorism and crime are a priority concern; in fact, despite the real danger of terrorism, 43 percent say they feel safer overseas than they do in Washington, D.C., an increase of 10 points since our 1980 poll.

- The Service is deeply divided on compulsory drug testing, with 42 percent saying it's necessary, 39 percent opposing it, and 19 percent unsure. A slim plurality in State favors it, but pluralities in USIA and AID oppose it.

- Only 9 percent believe affirmative action should be among the Service's top priorities, but 46 percent say AFSA should be active and vocal on EEO and affirmative action issues.

- A third of the households have more than one family member working, and another third have one or more family members who are seeking employment.

Those are some of the results of AFSA's survey of Foreign Service opinion, published in the February JOURNAL. A detailed tabulation appeared in July.

The response to the survey exceeded AFSA's most optimistic projections. We received 2,201 completed questionnaires, which represents 17 percent of the entire Foreign Service (in all five foreign affairs agencies). The survey was completed by 20 percent of all USIA Foreign Service employees, 15 percent of AID, 15 percent of the Foreign Agricultural Service, 30 percent of the Foreign Commercial Service, and 17 percent of the State Foreign Service. Thanks to an extraordinary effort by AFSA's post representatives, the response was particularly good overseas: one out of every four State employees overseas filled out the survey, compared with only 5 percent of those on Stateside tours of duty.

Changes over a decade

Some interesting comparisons can be made with the survey conducted by AFSA a decade ago, and published in the September 1980 FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL. Asked to name the most important problem facing the Foreign Service then, 41 percent of those responding named low morale, low *esprit de corps*, and a lack of professionalism. Ten years later, when asked to tick off which

of 14 issues should be priority concerns for AFSA, 55 percent made the need for improved *esprit de corps* and greater professionalism one of their choices. In 1980 only 11 percent listed low pay as the Service's most important problem, but 48 percent said it was a top concern this year. In 1980 only 17 percent put "diminishing authority over foreign policy" at the top of their list; 47 percent put it on the priority list in 1990. Only 3 percent said lack of promotions was the most important problem in 1980, but 40 percent listed it as one of their priority concerns this year.

Some issues got low rankings in both surveys. Only 7 percent put terrorism at the top in 1980, and only 28 percent listed it as a priority concern in 1990. Only 5 percent put frustration with the assignments process at the top in 1980, and only 32 percent gave it priority this year. In the earlier survey, only 4 percent said affirmative action was the most important issue; this year, only 9 percent gave it priority rank.

But the issue given priority by more people than any other in 1990—two-thirds of all those responding—was "poor management and/or micromanagement in Washington and/or overseas." (There was very little difference in the response from different agencies.) Unfortunately, the survey told us little about what specifically people had in mind. Some clues were provided by the almost 500 FS-4s, FS-5s, and FS-6s responding to the survey. Of that group, 56 percent rated the quality of the supervision and management they had received as either poor or fair; two-thirds said the guidance they had been given by personnel officers and supervisors had been either poor or fair; and 64 percent listed "bureaucracy" as one

of the things they found most frustrating about the Foreign Service.

One in six members of the Service is planning to resign or retire within the next two to three years.

Foreign Service members planning to retire or resign within three years

| | |
|-------------|------------|
| State | 15 percent |
| Agriculture | 28 |
| Commerce | 18 |
| USIA | 15 |
| AID | 22 |
| SFS | 25 |
| FS-1-3 | 16.5 |
| FS-4-6 | 14 |
| FS-7-8 | 11 |

Of those planning to leave soon, 60 percent—11 percent of the entire Service—are leaving sooner than they would like because of the frustrations and concerns listed earlier. (Ten years ago, 47 percent said they were seriously considering leaving the Service, without specifying a time frame.) If the Congress and the GAO succeed in reducing space standards for overseas housing, that would clearly add a powerful reason for leaving: 46 percent say that would affect their decision whether to stay in the Service, and 52 percent say it would affect their post's ability to represent the United States.

Somewhat surprisingly, terrorism, crime, and security in general, although concerns, do not appear to weigh as heavily on morale as mismanagement, pay, and the lack of professionalism. Forty-three percent said they felt safer overseas than they do in Washington, D.C. (as opposed to 33 percent 10 years ago), and another 33 percent said they felt about the same overseas (exactly the same as in 1980) as in the nation's capital. Although hardly complimentary to Washington, that doesn't appear to make safety a primary concern in deciding whether or not to accept an overseas assignment, and in fact it appears to have lessened as a concern during the decade.

The security concerns on people's minds in the two surveys were (in percentages):

| Crime | 1990 | 1980 |
|-------------------------|------|------|
| Housebreakings | 52 | 63 |
| Street crime | 39 | 34 |
| Mob violence | 19 | 34 |
| War (incl. civil war) | 13 | 23 |
| Major natural disasters | 22 | 22 |
| Terrorism | 43 | * |

* not listed in the 1980 survey, but written in by five people, less than 1 percent.

The great majority in both surveys thought that DS and post management were doing a good job of dealing with the security threat. Of those responding, 63 percent said in 1980 that security measures at their current or most recent overseas post were adequate, and 68 percent said so today. (The survey, of course, was taken prior to management's decision to cut residential guard services in half around the world; knowledge of that cutback might have produced different figures.) But not everyone in 1990 thinks that money necessarily buys greater security. Thirty-seven percent said the increased funding of security in recent years had increased security, but not in proportion to the amounts spent. Another 25 percent thought it bought no significant increase in security, and only 23 percent called it "money well spent." Interestingly, of those serving at posts where there was some combination of hardship or danger pay and R&R travel, almost 60 percent said those benefits were adequate to compensate for the hazards of overseas living.

Security and storage

Forty-two percent said they thought the U.S. flag airlines take all reasonable security precautions, but everyone else disagreed: 18 percent said flatly that safety measures were inadequate, and another 37 percent said there was room for improvement. Over half said that permission to fly foreign flag airlines would improve their security, and that of their families, significantly; only 17 percent said the risk was the same regardless of the nationality of the carrier.

Forty-two percent thought compulsory drug testing—already under way for new employees, and due to begin this fall for personnel in Washington—was necessary as part of the nation's drug war, but 39 percent thought it wasn't, and urged AFSA to oppose it. Nineteen percent were undecided. In the departments of State, Agriculture, and Commerce the plurality supported testing, but Foreign Service members in USIA and AID opposed it by a similarly narrow margin. This was one of the few issues on which there was disagreement by agency.

Response was limited to our question about the storage of household furnishings, but of those who responded most had had satisfactory experiences with both private and government storage.

Seventy-two percent reported excellent or good experience with the State Department's storage facility in Hagerstown, 74 percent with U.S. government-controlled facilities overseas, and 62 percent with private storage companies. Seventy percent of those responding (47 percent of the entire sample) said they hoped the State Department would maintain the Hagerstown facility as an alternative to commercial firms. Only 22 percent of AID employees supported the facility, however, and 37 percent were flatly opposed, with the rest uncertain.

Spouse employment, tandems, and maternity leave

We wanted to find out both what part tandem couples played in our constituency, and how many other Foreign Service families have or would like to have a second, or third, breadwinner. Of the 2,107 persons responding to this question, 12 percent said they were part of a tandem couple; 19 percent said they were not part of a tandem, but were accompanied by one or more people who are gainfully employed outside the home; 32 percent said they were accompanied by one or more persons who are not currently employed outside the home, but who would like to be; and 37 percent were "none of the above"—either unaccompanied or accompanied by homemakers or other persons not

employed outside the home and not wishing or able to be. We conclude, unsurprisingly, that there is a vast unsatisfied demand for family member employment. A third of the Service has a family member who would like a paid job and hasn't found it—and 87 percent of those in this category are currently overseas. Agency and post management are clearly going to have to give this issue more attention. In our survey a decade ago, half the respondents marked "employment for spouses" as a matter of high concern to them.

Asked whether the Service should do more, less, or about the same as now to ensure decent assignments for tandems, 46 percent voted to continue present policy and only 19 percent in favor of a new special effort on behalf of tandems. As might be expected, those who are part of tandems were 48 percent in favor of making a greater effort to arrange good assignments, but another 44 percent of the tandems supported present policy.

Seventy-three percent urged AFSA to seek congressional authorization of paid maternity leave for tenured employees; in USIA, the support was 82 percent. Fifty-three percent supported paternity leave as well, with the lowest support in Agriculture, 37.5 percent, and the highest in State, 55.5 percent. Support for maternity leave for untenured officers was voiced by 72 percent, but only 43 percent thought it appropriate that the non-tenured be given leave with pay.

Performance evaluation and promotion

Asked for their overall perception of their agency's employee evaluation and promotion system, almost two-thirds said it was somewhere in between "the best that could be hoped for" and "worthless, needs major revision." The latter option, unsurprisingly, got twice as much support (29 percent) among those who have decided to leave the Service shortly than among those who are staying (14.5 percent). The degree of support for major revision by agency and grade:

| | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| Commerce | 31 percent |
| Agriculture | 28 |
| State | 19 |
| AID | 18 |
| USIA | 17 |
| SFS | 7 |
| FS-1-3 | 19 |
| FS-4-6 | 21 |
| FS-7-8 | 33 |

Asked to identify the problems with the evaluation and promotion system, 73 percent said "overreliance on the views and writing skill of the rater." There was no significant difference among agencies or other categories, although senior officers—who do a lot of the rating—marked this option somewhat less frequently (61 percent) than other grades. Certainly this perception must be taken into account in any future revision of the EER process. Forty-two percent said lack of training of raters in EER preparation was another problem, and 37 percent said that the rating form made insufficient use of objective criteria. Seventeen percent of the total sample, and 14 percent of State employees, said the rating and promotion process gave insufficient recognition to language ability. Almost 60 percent said that the ability to speak and read at least one foreign language should be a prerequisite at both the junior and senior thresholds. (Beginning in 1993, it will be.) Support ranged from only 48 percent in AID to 69 percent in USIA, and from only 34 percent among grades 7 and 8 to 73 percent among senior officers.

Agriculture was the only group where opposition to any language requirement exceeded 20 percent.

In a question addressed only to State employees, 77 percent said that a minimum period of overseas service should also be a prerequisite for promotion. The 1990-91 precepts encourage the selection boards to take the presence or absence of overseas service into account, but do not make it a requirement.

Employees of State and USIA were asked whether the "window," which FS-Is are required by law to open if they wish to be considered for promotion into the SFS, should be abolished. AID personnel were

asked only whether the window (as well as time-in-class limits) should be lengthened. Forty-seven percent of State and 49 percent of USIA favored doing away with the window and considering FS-Is automatically for promotion. Employees in grades 1 through 3 supported abolition by 53 percent in State, with 25 percent undecided, and by 48 percent in USIA, with 40 percent unsure. In AID, on the other hand, 47 percent of the whole sample, and 50 percent of mid-level employees, opposed lengthening the window (already longer than in State) and time-in-class limits.

State personnel were asked whether there should be a more rigorous "junior threshold," i.e., whether more untenured officers should be selected out rather than given tenure. Over half said there should be, with 10 percent favoring a mandatory percentage of selection out and 42 percent favoring more selection out than at present, but not a mandatory percentage. Support was higher in the upper grades and less at grades 4 and below.

Personnel systems and assignments

The survey asked how people rated their own, career-long experience with their personnel office, focusing on the office's helpfulness, responsiveness, and frankness. Twenty-eight percent of those responding called it either good or outstanding, 43 percent said it was fair or variable, and 29 percent said it was poor or worse. USIA's personnel office got the biggest vote of confidence (39 percent good or outstanding) and AID the lowest (24 percent). AID also had the highest number saying their office was "abominable" (17 percent). Ten percent of mid-level employees in all agencies also voted for abominable, and another 21 percent for poor, higher numbers than for either juniors or seniors. Among those planning to leave the Service, 39 percent said personnel offices were poor or worse, but so did 24 percent of those planning to stay.

Opinion on career counselors

(CDOs) was equally divided. Thirty-six percent of those responding said they had found them generally helpful, 40 percent generally unhelpful, and the remainder had had insufficient experience or contact with them to judge. That in itself is a condemnation; if CDOs rarely contact those they are supposed to counsel, they are certainly not doing the job they are supposed to be doing. Again, USIA's personnel people have the most positive image; 47 percent considered them helpful. Only 28 percent of those planning to leave the Service found the CDOs helpful, as compared with 41 percent of those staying. There was little difference by rank, although "no contact" was highest (37 percent) and "helpful" was lowest (33 percent) among grades 7 and 8.

Seventy percent of those responding said that "open assignments"—competitive bidding on publicly announced vacancies—is an improvement over the days when people sought jobs in the dark, but only one in 10 said that no major changes were needed in the assignments system. On the other hand, only 14 percent said it wasn't working at all and needed wholesale revision. That comment came more often from State (16 percent) than from any other agency. Interestingly, the number who said it wasn't working was directly proportional to rank: 22 percent of senior officers made that comment, 14 percent of mid-grades, 12 percent of FS-4/5/6, and only 9 percent of FS-7 and 8. One might be tempted to infer that assignments are less truly open, and more vulnerable to "old boy" networking and favoritism, at senior levels than at lower grades.

To find out to what extent people are getting jobs they bid on under the open assignments procedures, we asked whether their current job had been on their initial bid list the last time they were transferred. Sixty percent said yes, 26 percent no; 14 percent did not respond. The affirmative response in Commerce was 71 percent, USIA 65, State 63, and AID 53 percent. There was little difference among grades.

The training given Foreign Serv-

ice employees was rated positively in all the agencies. It was considered either good or excellent by 56 percent of AID respondents, 49 percent of State, 48 of USIA, 44 of Agriculture, and 37 of Commerce. Seniors were more positive (60 percent) than other grades (48 percent). Only 24 percent of the Service said they had been denied training they had requested at any time in the last 10 years, although the number was slightly higher (31 percent) in grades 7 and 8. Half of those who were denied training said the reason given by their agency was the need to get them to their next post sooner.

Members faced a real dilemma on time-in-class (TIC) limits. Fifty-five percent said there was some truth both to the assertion that rigid limits are forcing more good people out of the Service than we can afford, and to the assertion that the Service has more FS-1 and senior officers than it has meaningful jobs for, and so must limit TIC. Those who favored one statement over the other were almost equally divided. The most significant exceptions were seniors in all agencies and USIA officers. Among seniors answering this question, 28 percent thought too many good people are being forced out, whereas only 18 percent of all other ranks thought so. In USIA, 31 percent thought TIC limits were too rigid, compared with 16 percent in State and 13 percent in AID. Among both seniors and USIA, however, half the respondents still chose the "some truth to both" option.

The cone system

State personnel were closely divided on the cone system: 29.5 percent favored abolishing it entirely, 36 percent said keep it, and the rest were undecided. The number who wanted to keep it declined, and the number of undecided rose, from higher to lower ranks. But support for adding a new "multi-functional" cone, into which anyone with out-of-cone experience could easily transfer, was much stronger. Sixty-five percent supported the idea

and only 11 percent opposed it. There was 60 percent or better support at all grades. (AFSA and State management agreed on the new cone in May.)

AID issues

AID employees were asked whether they favored granting AID bureaus greater authority to set and revise position classifications. Thirty-eight percent did, 34 percent did not. Asked if they favored standard, agency-wide position classifications, 44 percent did, 37 percent did not. On the first question, seniors favored bureau-set classifications much more strongly (54 percent) than did other grades (34 percent). On the second question, there was little difference between grades.

Forty-four percent favored combining backstops to reduce their numbers and 30 percent opposed. Again, seniors favored the idea much more strongly (60 percent) than other grades.

Affirmative action

The members strongly believe that both entry into the Service and promotion within it should continue to be based on merit and merit alone. Asked to choose between a variety of options for limited minority appointments at the bottom and/or mid-level, 76 percent said the department should have no fixed target for minority entry at any level. Instead, an effort should be made to recruit qualified minority applicants who can meet existing entry standards without preferential scoring or quotas. Senior officers were twice as willing (15 percent) to support preferential appointment of minority junior officers than was the rest of the Service (only 7 percent).

A question as to whether AFSA should seek to negotiate with State an agreement similar to the one we reached with AID last year, providing for additional promotions for members of a minority group who are "conspicuously absent" from the list of promotions at a particular grade, brought a similar response

from State employees, but, as might be expected, a more favorable one from AID. Only 23 percent of State and USIA employees favored such an agreement; 45 percent of AID supported it. Another 29 percent of State, 32 percent of USIA, and 23 percent of AID favored some other type of agreement encouraging, but not guaranteeing, minority promotions. Differences between grades were not large.

State is much more closely divided on the question of affirmative action generally than are the other agencies. Among active duty State employees, 706 said the Service must become more representative of the U.S. population and that AFSA should be active and vocal on affirmative action and EEO issues; 708 said AFSA should leave those issues to management and the courts (which we have no intention of doing, by the way). Majorities of both AID (57 percent) and USIA (51 percent) supported an active role for AFSA.

Grades 4 to 6

Forty-two percent of the FS-4, 5 and 6 employees answering said they expected to remain in the Service for 20 years or more, 22 percent said they did not, and 36 percent were unsure. The number planning to leave (19 percent) was only slightly higher than the figure for the Service as a whole, despite what appears to be a higher level of dissatisfaction at these grades with the quality of career planning, supervision and management.

Asked to identify what they found most frustrating about life and work in the Foreign Service, 64 percent cited "the bureaucracy," 41 percent a perceived lack of recognition and respect for the lower ranks, 39 percent low pay and benefits, 38 percent the effects on family life of constant transfers, and 37 percent slowness of promotion. People were realistic enough so that only 19 percent cited "lack of influence on foreign policy."

Asked what they found most rewarding about the Service, 89 percent mentioned the chance to travel, 88 percent exposure to other cul-

tures, 52 percent the opportunity to learn other languages, and 56 percent the opportunity for public service.

AFSA activities

The survey strongly reaffirmed the members' desire to see AFSA maintain its status as a professional organization, not just a trade union, and to expand those activities that enhance the status and the constituency of the Service. Ninety percent approved the series of conferences for American business which AFSA's Outreach Department has been organizing since November 1989. Over half were unreservedly supportive, while 36 percent coupled their support with an admonition not to let such activities detract from our attention to members' interests such as pay and promotions. There was little difference among agencies, but support did decline markedly with rank—60 percent of the SFS strongly supported the conferences, 51 percent of the mid-level employees, and only 13 percent of grades 7 and 8.

Three-fourths said we should be at least as aggressive in opposing unqualified political appointees to ambassadorships as we were in 1989, challenging specific nominees by name, and almost 60 percent said we ought to be even tougher. Support was strong in all agencies and at all grades.

When we asked what position AFSA should take on the appointment of career officers from the other foreign affairs agencies as ambassadors, DCMs, and deputy assistant secretaries in State, opinion, unsurprisingly, was much more divided. Overall, 44 percent said we should support qualified career nominees regardless of agency and regardless of whether State officers were given equivalent jobs in other agencies. Only a third of the State Foreign Service took that position, but 71 percent of AID, 81 percent of Agriculture, 84 percent of USIA, and 90 percent of Commerce. However, only 19 percent of State, and 15 percent of the Service overall, flatly opposed all such appointments.

One-third of our sample were

non-members of AFSA, and we tried to get a reading as to why. The most frequently chosen response (by 29 percent) was that AFSA isn't interested in the respondent's cone or specialty or function. Only 10 percent of our senior non-members said that, but 41 percent of our non-members in grades 4 through 8 told us that was their perception. The second most frequent response, from 26 percent of all non-members (36 percent of seniors), was that AFSA is ineffective. Forty-five percent didn't like any of our suggested replies and wrote in their own; we'll be looking carefully at those. Only a handful of our retired members answered our survey, but we were pleased that of those who did, 46 percent found our *Retiree Newsletter* very useful, and 38 percent somewhat useful.

Challenge to AFGE in USIA?

Forty-three percent of our USIA sample said they would support an AFSA campaign to replace AFGE as the bargaining agent for USIA Foreign Service employees, 13 percent said they wouldn't, 30 said it would depend on the issues at the time, and 14 percent did not respond. The earliest time for such a challenge is 1992.

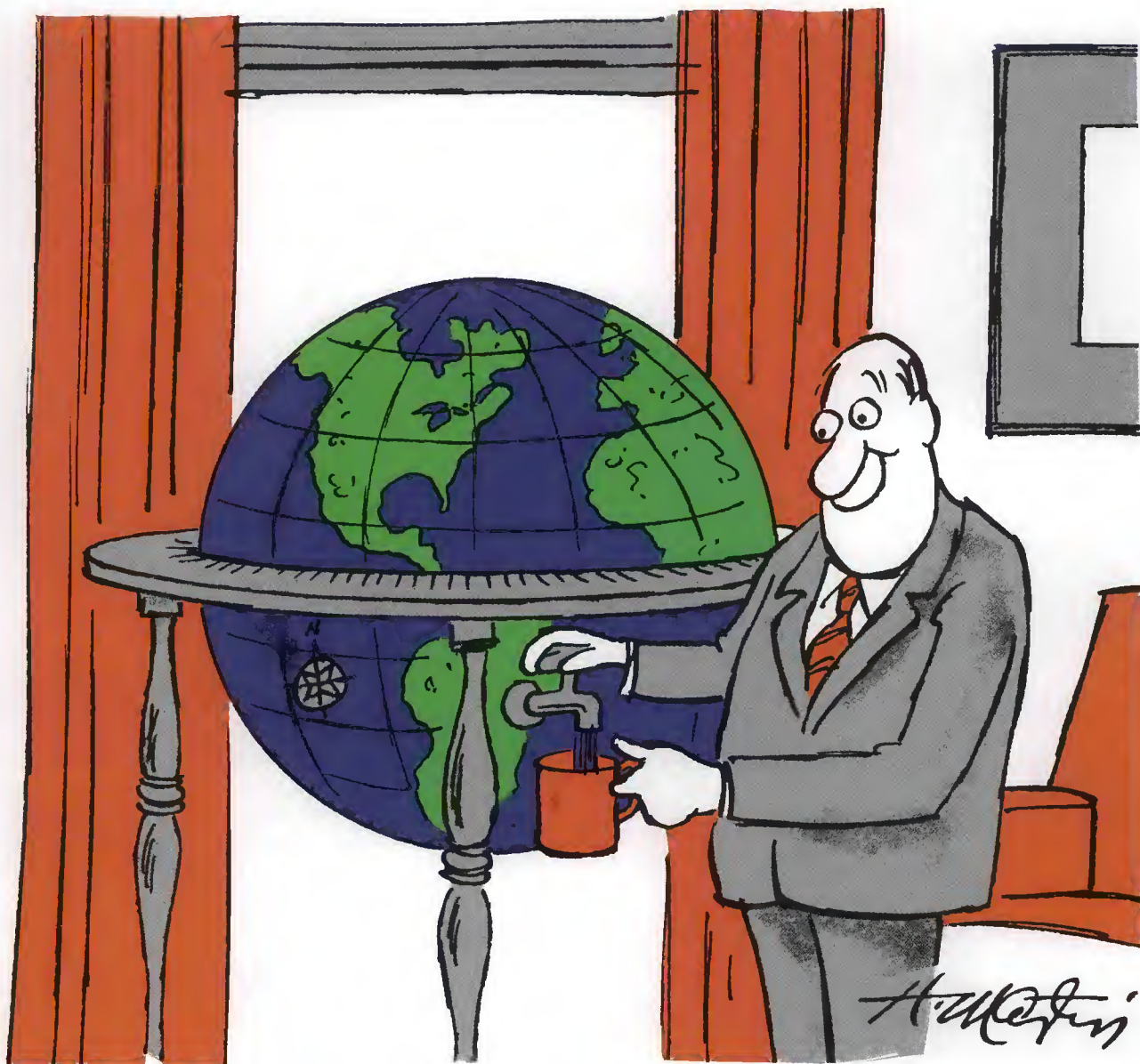
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