


# FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

NOVEMBER 1992

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**W**ill USAID  
Survive 1993—  
And Should It?

**ALSO:**  
The New Oral Exam  
and  
An Interview with  
Julia Child



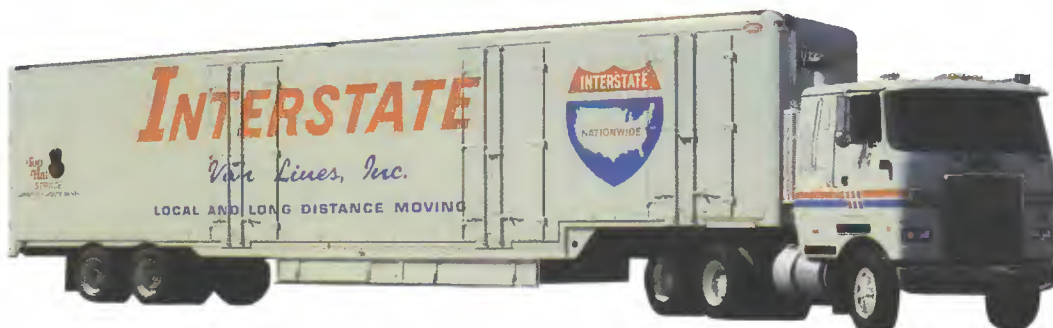
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# AFSA VIEWS

## USAID and the Foreign Service

*This space is occasionally made available to members of the AFSA Governing Board to address issues of specific concern. The contributor this month is AID Representative Bill McKinney.*

In service of the King, it has often been said, "Many are called, but few are chosen." Now, it seems, the phrase has acquired a new twist. We at the Agency for International Development are not only being called but also being chosen—called names and chosen to become political scapegoats for both Congress and the president. First, Congress says we are "out of step with the global challenges to our national well being" and are "failing to address" the issues of population, environment, and poverty. Then, the president says we are "another institution born during the Cold War [that] needs to be fundamentally and radically overhauled" and that our purpose should be to "support U.S. business in providing expertise, goods, and services overseas." Through it all, one management review after another proposes still more regulations and systems to add to the already impenetrable thicket of laws and regulations within which the agency is forced to operate. Even as some sharpen their axes at the convenient USAID grindstone by insisting on new mandates, priorities, and restrictions, others suggest phasing USAID out altogether. As though we had dreamed up this confusion ourselves, we are called "bloated," "unfocused," "tired," "dispirited," and overly bureaucratic.

Like any good scapegoat, we now appear to have attracted the wolves. Sensing our vulnerability, the media are circling for the kill. A succession of newspaper articles and TV programs have culminated recently on "60 Minutes" and "Nightline," which are inciting the American people against us with stories about how we are spending their tax dollars to export American jobs. Never mind the tangible evidence that we are producing real development; never mind that we are successfully accomplishing what we have been asked to accomplish; never mind that we are merely the instrument and not the formulator of policy and that other government agencies are in place to handle the domestic development. And, never mind that this point is not being made by our own leadership. We will still be blamed, and if we are to save ourselves we must be passionate in our own defense.

The irony of this situation is that, despite the attacks, we know we are more needed now than we have ever been before. It is all too clear that the possibility of a new world order makes increased foreign assistance critically important. Now, more than ever, such assistance can really make a difference because it no longer has to contend with opposition from the Communists. Third World countries and emerging market economies are becoming of central importance in U.S. international relations because, for the first time, the United States can really begin to lead the world to an integrated global economy under the democratic rule of law.

### A Voice for Development

We, the Foreign Service officers who make up the USAID membership in AFSA, have vast experience in promoting development in Third World countries. Now we have begun to work in the emerging nations of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. All told, we have a presence in some 90 countries. As the inevitable debate heats up during the weeks and months of

*continued on insert page 5*



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NOVEMBER 1992 VOL. 69, NO. 11

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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL (ISSN 0015-7279), 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990, is published monthly by the American Foreign Service Association, a private, non-profit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the views of AFSA or the JOURNAL. Writer queries are invited.

JOURNAL subscription: AFSA Members -\$9.50 included in annual dues; others - \$40. Overseas subscription (except Canada) - \$50 per year. Airmail not available.

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990.

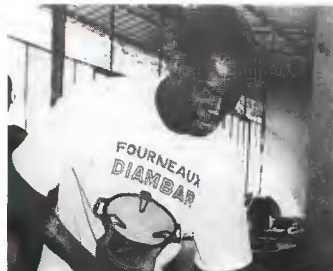
Microfilm copies: University Microfilm Library Services, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 (October 1967 to present). Indexed by Public Affairs Information Service (PAIS). Advertising inquiries invited. The appearance of advertisements herein does not imply the endorsement of the services or goods offered. FAX: 202/338-6820 or 202/338-8244 • TELEPHONE: 202/338-4045 or 338-4054.

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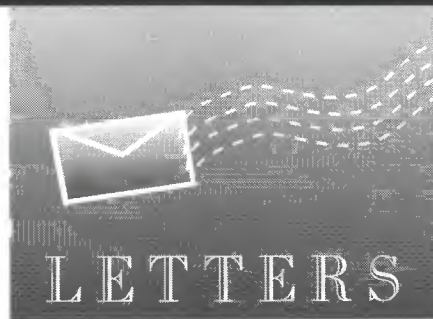
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## KENNAN CLARIFIES POLICY PLANNING ISSUES

TO THE EDITOR:

The September *Foreign Service Journal* carried a review by Charles Maechling Jr., of the papers of the first Department of State Policy Planning Staff under my directorship (1947-1950). I welcomed the appearance of this review, not only because it was an interesting and thoughtful contribution to the existing literature on this subject, but because it served to draw attention to this unusual publication of documentary materials on the American diplomacy of that time, a collection that had previously received



of the American response to the British notes of late February 1947, warning us of the limitations now being placed on British responsibility with relation to the Greek situation. Somewhat later I was shown, informally, a draft of the proposed presidential message; and I objected precisely to what I considered to be its over-sweeping content, including the inclusion of Turkey,

will be found in the chapter entitled "Japan and MacArthur" in the first volume of my memoirs.)

The results of this mission took the form of an extensive Policy Planning Staff paper (PPS/28/2) of May 26, 1948 (a document of some 70 pages), which was then submitted to the National Security Council, where it was adopted in almost its entirety as an NSC paper. The paper recommended a basic change in occupational policies—a change which was indeed carried out. I have always considered this paper, in point of the approval it received and of its influence on American policy, the most successful of any of the efforts of the planning staff in my time, except the part the staff took in designing the Marshall Plan.

If, as Mr. Maechling considers, I was "out of my depth" in relation to Japanese matters, then this was true also of a number of eminent persons in various parts of the Washington establishment, including the State Department, the Chiefs of Staff, the National Security Council, and the White House, all of whom approved the basic conclusions of the paper. I would like also to mention that the drafting of the paper was in large measure a joint effort of myself and of Marshall Green, who had accompanied me on the journey. The paper thus reflected at many points his experience and judgement as well as my own; and this, as I need not emphasize, was not an area with relation to which Marshall Green could have been correctly described as "out of his depth."

Thirdly: of greater importance than either of the points just mentioned are Mr. Maechling's observations on the extent to which the planning staff should or should not have taken into account in its papers the domestic political aspects of the questions at issue. To this, let me just say the following:

My directorship of that staff came at the conclusion of some 20 years of experience as an officer in the Foreign Service, as designed by the Rogers Act of 1924. I believe I would be speaking for all those who at that time held

**"It was my understanding, and that of my superiors, that we career officers were there to serve the United States government, as an agency of the entire American people, but not the interests of any political party or politician."**

almost no public notice. There are, however, certain points in Mr. Maechling's review on which I would like to add a word of comment.

First: Mr. Maechling, in his references to the Greek crisis of 1947, professes bewilderment over the fact that none of the planning staff papers addressed the question of why Turkey was included, together with Greece, in the Truman Doctrine message. It is hard to understand why he should have found this strange. The Policy Planning Staff was, at the time of the "Truman Doctrine" speech, not even in existence. Had it been in existence, it would scarcely have been involved in the drafting of Truman's statement.

I myself was not serving in the State Department; I was then deputy (commandant) of the National War College. I was asked by Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson to serve as co-chairman (together with Loy Henderson, then chief of the Near-Eastern Division) of an ad hoc committee set up to examine the question

along with Greece, as a target of our proposed aid effort. My objections were disregarded. I cannot imagine any reason why the future planning staff should have been expected to address, in its various papers, the question as to why the presidential decision should have gone the way it did.

Secondly, I find myself puzzled by Mr. Maechling's feeling that "Kennan was out of his depth in the effort to grapple with the future of Japan."

In the winter of 1948, I was ordered by General Marshall to go to Japan, to discuss with General MacArthur the problems of future occupational policy in that country (to that point the department had had no direct communication with that general on this or any other subject) and to offer my views as to the positions our government, and the department in particular, should take on these matters in the future. All this I did to General Marshall's evident satisfaction. (A detailed account of the entire episode

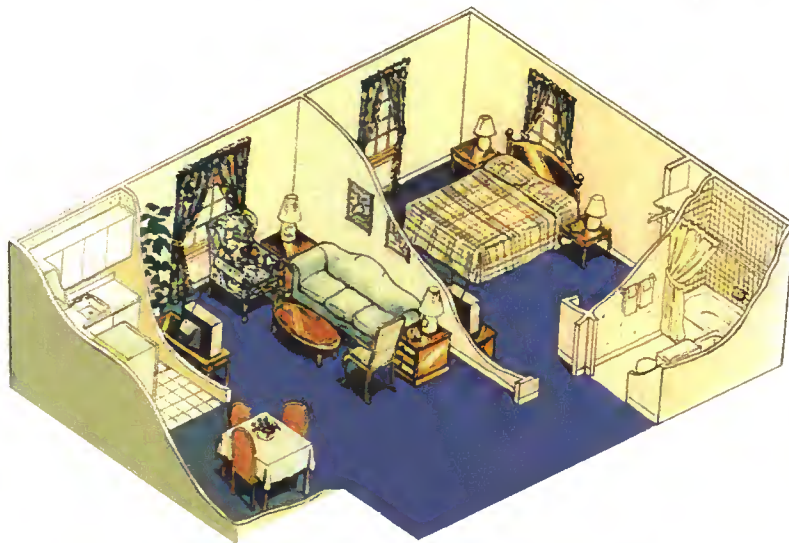
positions in that service when I say that we considered ourselves as professional civil servants in whose selection and training domestic/political considerations had had no part, and who were never asked or expected to be guided by such considerations in the performance of our duties. It was my understanding, and that of my superiors, that we career officers were there to serve the United States government, as an agency of the entire American people, but not the interests of any political party or politician.

What General Marshall wanted from myself and from the members of our staff was our honest judgement as to what was or was not in the national interest. He was not bound, of course, to accept our recommendations, nor did he always do so. But if he had not wanted them and valued them, he would not have kept me in that position to the end of his incumbency as secretary of State. He knew, and we in the staff knew, that our judgments, even where they met with his approval, would still have faced the test of reconciliation with the political commitments and personal preferences of the president in office, with the demands of domestic lobbies and pressure groups, and with the views of individual legislators and congressional majorities. But his concern was that in the final governmental decisions there should be as large a component as possible of consideration for the interests of the nation at large. In the effort to establish what *was* the national interest, he felt the need of such professional judgement as we could offer to him; and it was this that we endeavored to provide.

The task of reconciling this with the other influences described above was not for us. This was not our responsibility, and we would not have been prepared to exercise it. Had I attempted to weave domestic/political considerations into our papers, the general would have been astounded and would have demanded an explanation. Had he or anybody else instructed me to take account of such matters in drawing up the papers, I would at once have asked to be relieved of my posi-

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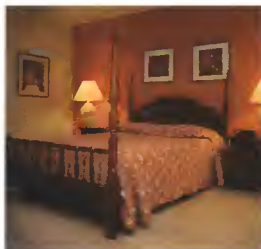


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## LETTERS

tion. If anyone had wanted to have me, personally, as a political adviser to the president, my place should have been in the White House and not on the fifth floor of the old Department of State. But for such a position I would not have considered myself qualified, nor would I have found it reconcilable with my status as a Foreign Service officer.

Fourthly, Mr. Maechling takes me to task for failing to give credit in the volume in question to the contributions of my colleagues on the staff, not even listing them by name in an appendix.

I had no part whatsoever in the compiling and editing of the volume in question. I had no idea that any such publication was being prepared before I was confronted with the finished product and asked to contribute a foreword to it. The membership of the staff was a rotating body. I cannot recall that any of them was there for the entire time except the executive officer, Mr. Carlton Savage. Nevertheless, I too, regret the omission of their names and welcome the opportunity to reaffirm my deep indebtedness to every one of them for the contribution he or she made to the work of the staff.

Finally, I would like to invite the attention of the *Foreign Service Journal* and its readers to the searching and exhaustive treatise on the work of this planning staff which has recently appeared under the title of *George F. Kennan and the Making of American Foreign Policy, 1947-1950* (Princeton University Press, 1992) from the pen of Professor Wilson C. Miscamble, C.S.C., of the University of Notre Dame.

*George Kennan  
Princeton, New Jersey*

## SOVIETS DID THREATEN TURKEY

TO THE EDITOR:

Charles Maechling (September *Journal*) makes the extraordinary assertion that no hard evidence of a Soviet threat against Turkey has ever been found. What about the records of the Potsdam Conference or the

published accounts of Molotov's demand to the Turkish ambassador in June 1945 that the Turkish-Soviet frontier be "rectified" and that the USSR be accorded naval base rights in the Turkish straits?

*Daniel O. Newberry  
Bethesda, Maryland*

## INFORMATIVE ARTICLE

TO THE EDITOR:

My warmest congratulations for publishing Hans N. Tuch's balanced and persuasive article, "The Case against Radio Free China" (*July Journal*). Tuch certainly clarified for me a number of questions related to this particular issue. I hope that the current Commission of Broadcasting to Asia has given careful consideration to the arguments he so skillfully marshaled.

I have sent copies of Tuch's article to my two senators from Florida. I am confident that they and their staffs will find the article both informative and helpful as they deal with the various issues involved in this question.

*Charles G. Stefan  
Gainesville, Florida*

## WHY COMPENSATE STAY- AT-HOME SPOUSES?

TO THE EDITOR:

I am writing to complain about the blatant unfairness of the current policy on separate maintenance allowances. According to the regulations, these sums are paid to any spouse who remains in, or returns to, the United States while the other spouse serves an overseas tour. The payments are awarded with no regard to hardships at post, reasons for the separation, or the financial situation of the stay-behind spouse.

Of course, there are valid reasons that preclude a spouse from accompanying an officer to a given post: danger, disease, no schools, a pre-existing medical condition, etc., and probably spouses remaining behind under those conditions should receive separate maintenance allowances. Judging by the realities at this post, however, the

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(required by 39 U.S.C. 3685) 1A. Title of Publication: Foreign Service Journal. 1B. Publication no: 00157279. 2. Date of filing: October 1, 1992. 3. Frequency of issue: monthly. 3A. No. of issues published annually: 12. 3B. Annual subscription price: \$40.00. 4. Complete mailing address of known office of publication: 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990. 5. Complete mailing address of the headquarters of general business offices of the publisher: 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. 6. Full names and complete mailing address of publisher, editor, and managing editor; Publisher: American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Editor: Anne Stevenson-Yang, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. 7. Owner: American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. 8. Known bond-holders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: American Foreign Service Protective Association, 1716 N Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; AFSA Scholarship Fund, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. 9. For completion by non-profit organizations authorized to mail at special rates; the purpose, function, and non-profit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes: (1) has not changed during preceding 12 months. 10. Extent and nature of circulation; average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: A. Total no. of copies: 11,800. B. Paid/and or requested circulation: (1) sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 15. (2) mail subscription: 10,800 C. Total paid and/or requested circulation: 10,815. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means; samples, complimentary, and other free copies: 530. E. Total distribution: 11,345. F. Copies not distributed: (1) office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 450. (2) return from news agents: 5. G. Total: 11,800. Actual no. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: A. Total no. copies: 11,700 B. Paid and/or requested circulation: (1) sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 15. (2) mail subscription: 10,733. C. Total paid and/or requested circulation: 10,748. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier, or other means; samples, complimentary, and other free copies: 525. E. Total distribution: 11,273. F. Copies not distributed: (1) office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 427. (2) return from news agents: 0. G. Total: 11,700. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. (signed) Anne Stevenson-Yang, Editor.

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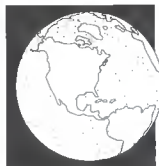
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## LETTERS

overwhelming number of those drawing separate maintenance are spouses who simply find it inconvenient to be in El Salvador and choose to remain in, or return to, the United States. Furthermore, most of these spouses are involved in rewarding careers back home and have no economic need whatsoever for additional money.

Most important, however, is what this policy says to those spouses who do travel with the officers and do put up with the hardships of life overseas. The message is very clear: if you accompany your spouse to El Salvador, you will have to put up with Third World living conditions, you will probably not be able to find a meaningful job, and you will be restricted on where you live, where you travel, and so on. And your reward? ZERO! But if you stay home in your comfortable house in Washington, near your family, in your lucrative and interesting job, then the department will pay you a nice stipend.

It is thus painfully clear whose contribution is more highly valued by the department. I think this is totally unfair to the accompanying overseas spouse. If any category of spouse deserves a financial boost, it is the overseas spouse, not the stay-at-home. In the interest of morale and fairness, the department should seriously consider revising the separate maintenance allowance policy.

*Donald H. Miller*  
*Consul*  
*San Salvador* ■

### OOPS!

The photo on page 34 of the October *Foreign Service Journal* is not of Clinton's foreign policy advisor Anthony Lake, but of Joseph Lake, ambassador to Mongolia. The ambassador is not traveling with the Clinton team, nor is Anthony Lake in Mongolia.

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7 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	7.17	8 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	7.87	9 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	8.60
7 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub>	7.26	8 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub>	7.96	9 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub>	8.69

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## PRESIDENT ATTACKS USAID

THE WASHINGTON TIMES, SEPTEMBER 22, 1992  
BY WARREN STROBEL

President Bush yesterday took the first major step toward overhauling a foreign affairs bureaucracy that remains largely unchanged despite the worldwide revolution of the last three years.

The most dramatic step outlined in his speech to the United Nations General Assembly was an announcement that [USAID] will be "fundamentally and radically overhauled."

Calling USAID an "institution born during the Cold War," the president said its more than \$7 billion in aid programs need a new focus and its bureaucracy . . . drastic thinning.

A senior administration official, asked if USAID might be eliminated altogether, said, "That's obviously an option that is being considered."

[Bush said yesterday], "I will propose a top-to-bottom overhaul of our institutions that plan and administer foreign assistance, drastically reducing the bureaucracy that has built up around government-based programs, stream-



lining our delivery systems, and strengthening support for private sector development and economic reform.

The president proposed taking \$1 billion out of current foreign aid programs and putting it into a "Growth Fund" that would help U.S. businesses aiding former communist nations build free-market economies.

"The president is correct. The world has changed dramatically and the mission of USAID will be changed accordingly," said USAID's chief spokesman, Steve Hayes. "These initiatives reflect a vastly different world and, because of that difference, USAID will change."

### A VOICE FOR CHINA

THE BOSTON GLOBE, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

By a less-than-overwhelming 7-to-4 vote, a presidential Commission on Broadcasting to the People's Republic of China yesterday urged creation of a new "Asia Democracy Radio" . . . [The president] should reject the majority report and adopt that of the four-member minority, which urges an "enhancement" of the Voice of America.

In its report, the minority argues that an enhanced VOA would "capitalize on the VOA's established audience and credibility" and could be up-and-running much sooner than a new service—and at far less cost.

The argument makes good sense. . .

It is also worth noting that the Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty operation was beamed into countries with which the United States was in conflict and whose people were regarded as captives of an alien dictatorship. . . . Most Chinese who seek a greater measure of freedom—personal, economic, and political—expect that goal to be accomplished within the context of the present political system. A confrontative radio service is not what they need. ■

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**Pentagon Building**

Published in the Journal November 1942

The world's largest building, tremendous enough to provide offices for over 40,000 war Department workers, is fast approaching completion on the south bank of the Potomac not far from the heart of the nation's capital. Dwarfing Cheops pyramid, even larger than the Chicago Merchandise Mart, this titan spreads across 43 acres of land on a 300-acre plot.

A purely functional and utilitarian structure throughout, this building is built to best house the hub of America's momentous war effort. . . . Virtually a modern and air conditioned city in itself, the building provides expansive offices. . . . To feed the hungry thousands, huge cafeteria facilities have been provided, with seating for over 6,000 people at one time. . . . Food is prepared in the building's own kitchens and bakeries equipped with facilities to receive, store, refrigerate, prepare and serve

food for a city of 100,000.

A three-lane bus and taxi terminal capable of loading 28 busses simultaneously every three minutes extends beneath a large concourse. . . . Terminal facilities, rivaling Grand Central Station will handle 30,000 people in an hour. Two large parking areas for a total of 8,000 cars have been paved. . . . These lanes may be filled or emptied in an hour's time without congestion or interference from local traffic. The building is approached over a network of 20 miles of highway ingeniously arranged so that nowhere on the entire twisting system will there be a stop light or cross traffic.

Conceived by the War Department and initiated and organized a brief six months before Pearl Harbor, this building has received the personal attention of the president. Scheduled for completion in December, in a period of 15 months it has been both designed and constructed. ■

**FOREIGN SERVICE QUIZ**

**GEOGRAPHY QUIZ**

- Name the countries and ranges where the following great mountains are found: a. Aconcagua, b. Elbert, c. Elbrus, d. Elgon, e. Hermon, f. Godwen-Austen (K-2), g. Kosciusko, h. Pelee, i. St. Elias, j. Stromboli
- Name all the cities above 5,000 ft. elevation hosting a U.S. embassy.
- Through (or past) which national capitals do the following rivers flow? a. Danube, b. Dnieper, c. Mekong, d. Niger, e. Tagus, f. Vistula, g. Zaire

- a. Argentina, Chile/Andes; b. USA/Rockies; c. Russia/Caucasus; d. Kenya, Uganda; e. Lebanon, Syria/Anti-Lebanon; f. Pakistan/Karakoram; g. Australia/Australian Alps; h. Martinique; i. Canada, USA/St. Elias; j. Italy
- Addis Ababa, Antananarivo, Bogota, Guatemala City, Kabul, La Paz, Maseru, Mexico City, Nairobi, Guito, San'a, Windhoek
- a. Belgrade, Budapest, Vienna; b. Kiev; c. Phnom Penh, Vientiane d. Bamako, Niamey; e. Lisbon; f. Warsaw; g. Brazzaville, Kinshasa

**ANSWERS**

Contributed by Gil Kulick, Quiz Master



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# SPEAKING OUT

BY EDWARD L. PECK

## Selection in and promotion up

**C**onsider this. The single most important function performed by a closed, competitive personnel system like the Foreign Service, as distinct from work performed by individual members, is to determine who gets in. Everything involving the organization—everything—flows inescapably from that set of actions.

Our recruitment process is extensive and convoluted, but the meeting with the Board of Examiners (BEX) is the only time in which key factors in a candidate's potential for success in the career is evaluated by people already in it. To be meaningful, this evaluation can only be made, and should only be made, by those who themselves have been highly successful.

Nonetheless, BEX has for years been staffed with knowledgeable, competent officers, who for whatever reason, have not done outstandingly well. They are capable and hard-working, but that is not the point. An organization that largely and consistently relies on *anyone* other than its most successful members to select the new members is acting neither in its own interests nor, in the case of the Foreign Service, those of the nation.

The promotion precepts, meticulously prepared by the department and AFSA, list and define the attributes desired in an FSO. Only those officers that the system has recognized for possessing those characteristics should be allowed—and must be required—to serve on the Board

of Examiners. They will naturally tend to replicate themselves, which is what is happening now, and thereby increase the proportion of the intake likely to reach the top.

### Moving up

After selection in, the second most important Foreign Service function is deciding who gets promoted. Promotion boards must be staffed by officers possessing those traits the service has concluded it wants, i.e., the most successful ones, to insure that those with generally similar attributes will advance.

As an example, if it is decided that take-charge, assertive managers are needed at the top, then officers with those traits must serve on the boards.

They will instinctively favor officers whose files indicate dynamic leadership characteristics. Any board member espousing low-key management will have a less positive—or even negative—reaction to the same officers.

In practice, the boards often rely heavily on good officers who are available, rather than the best ones, who often are not. A top officer may actually have too important or too urgent a task to participate, but the short-term nature of the assignment generates significant additional resistance. Prospective Washington-based members know it is a full-time duty in addition to their other work, to the detriment of both; those from overseas know supervisor and spouse will object to their absence and clamor for a prompt return. As a result, the critical promotion decision is often placed in the hands of

officers who may not be the best qualified for the task.

The BEX and promotion board shortcomings are well known, but no serious effort has been made to deal with them. Here is a set of proposals that may merit consideration.

### A new approach

- Change the name of BEX to the DG's Executive Staff (EXSTAF) (or anything else). This is not a major step, but it signals a new era and also avoids any stigma that may be attached to the present name.
- Require EXSTAF as the top bid for two years for every new counselor and minister counselor, putting the most talented officers at the disposal of the DG for assignment to that organization every year.
- Choose for EXSTAF assignment only stars and near stars, clearly marked for further advancement.
- Shorten the tour to one year. Even highly motivated officers who recognize the importance of the work do not want to spend too much time out of the main stream.
- To the maximum possible extent, staff Promotion Boards with EXSTAF officers.

The above steps would quickly convert EXSTAF to the kind of assignment it should always have been: one which the best officers fight to get, and from which they could expect desirable onward assignments. Of far greater importance, they would also benefit everyone concerned, both now and in the future: the individuals, the service, and the nation. ■

**Edward L. Peck is a retired FSO with a strong interest in management issues.**

**if . . . take-charge,  
assertive managers  
are needed at the  
top, then officers  
with those traits must  
serve on the boards.**

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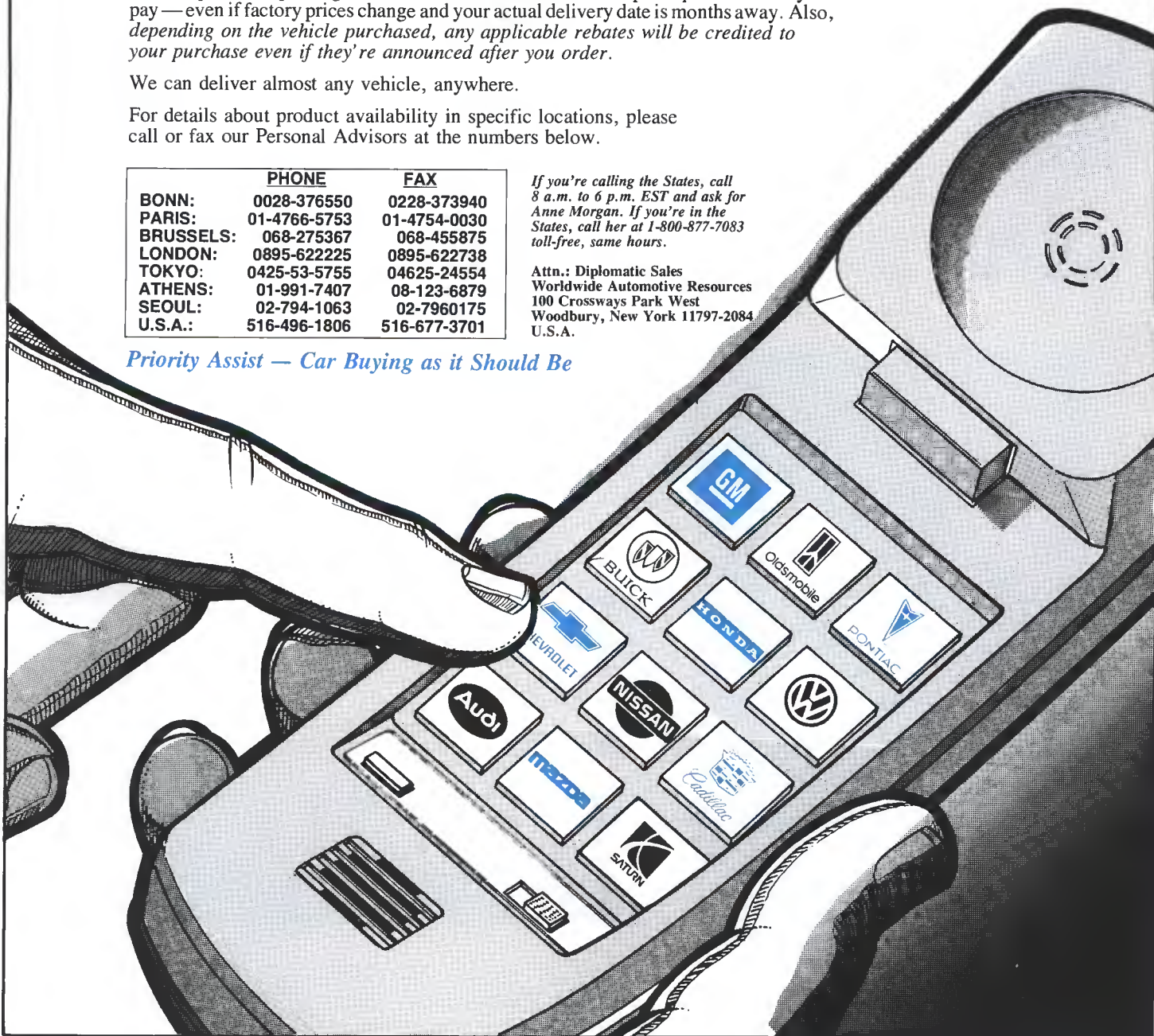
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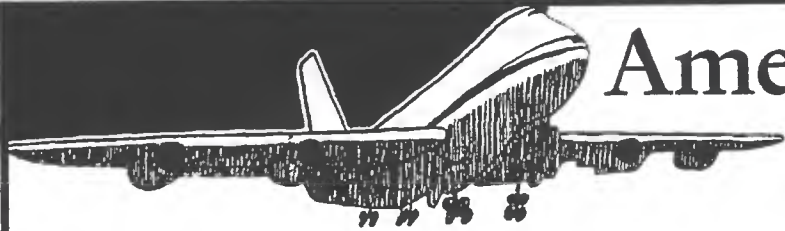
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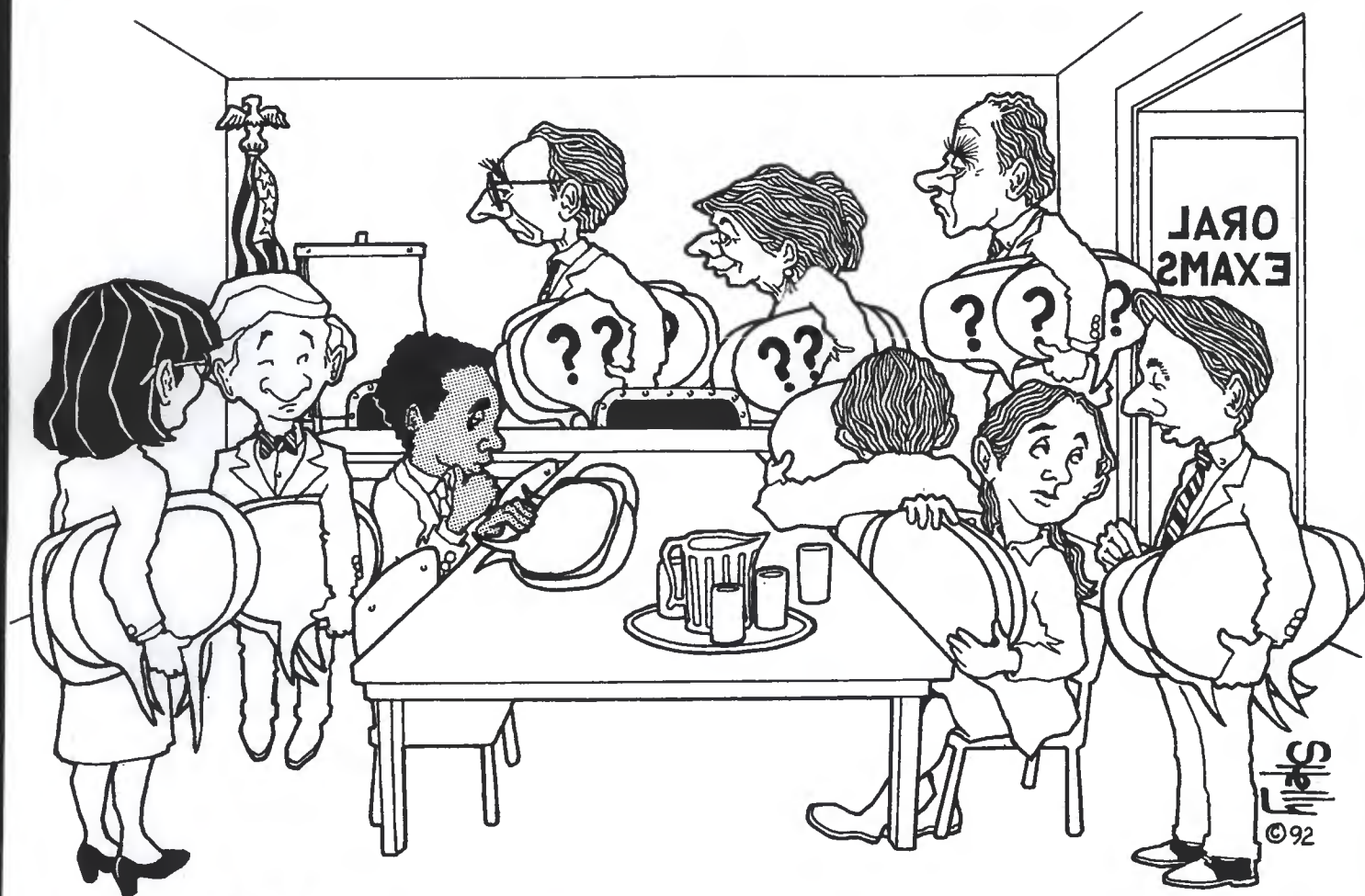
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# Clearing the Final Hurdle

## *Reinventing the Final Exam*

**A**lmost while no one was looking, the Foreign Service oral exam has been revolutionized. For a generation, the oral exam has been the most difficult hurdle between the candidate for the Foreign Service and status as an FSO. If the written exam was the coarse screen to determine basic intellectual competence through which 30 percent of the candidates passed, the “oral” was the fine screen through which perhaps 15 percent of this remaining group emerged successfully. >

BY DAVID T. JONES AND TERESA C. JONES

While the written exam application procedures have changed, now requiring an autobiography, statement of interest in the Foreign Service, and a form 171, it is not different in type from any massive SAT/Law Board. However, the oral exam has always been a defining, shared Foreign Service experience.

In the past 20 years the oral exam has gone through three stages:

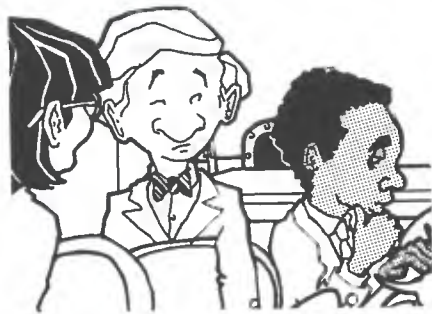
**General knowledge.** A generation of FSOs shared the experience of the one-to-three-hour exam with the candidate seated at the end of a T-shaped table faced by three examiners/inquisitors. To the examinee, the session appeared free form, trivial pursuit in nature. No question seemed out of bounds: "What is the capital of Zambia and who is its leader?" "Tell me about the local politics of Philadelphia." "What books would you take to a desert island?" The outstanding liability of this exam was that it occasionally rewarded the brilliantly trivial mind.

**Job-related skills.** A decade ago, the exam was expanded to include a greater focus on job-related skills. While retaining the traditional three-on-one exam, it included a written specimen, a "round-table" group discussion to assess interpersonal skills, and an "inbox/out box" test to judge organizational talent. This hybrid experience represented the oral exam in evolution.

**Objective and job relevant.** The current revision focuses almost exclusively on precisely calculated job-related skills. It is designed to be color- and gender-blind and thus defensible against any legal challenge. Well aware of the possibility of class action suits by those concerned over any less-than-proportionate pass rates by any group and seeking to assure that every element of its selection decision was objective, State determined that it was better to switch than fight: subjective and qualitative are out, objective and quantitative are in. Consequently the oral exam is now a precisely designed, labor-intensive minuet, formulated to provide a reasonable judgement of

Foreign Service success—at least at entry levels. Some illustrations of the care and balance include:

- No factual questions. Gone are the specific information questions of global scope and dimension. All purely factual information is assumed to have been adequately tested in the written exam or able to be learned on the job.
- A larger examining team. A normal team has six examiners with one or more female or minority members. A recent team, for example, had five of the six members either female, minority, or both.
- Examiners rotate, taking a differ-



**At the undiplomatic hour of 7:30 a.m., the candidates for the day are introduced to the procedures. . . . Remarkable numbers show up late, do not listen, or fail to read (or remember) the instructions.**

ent job each day. Four of the six conduct the exam, while two review the candidates' personnel files and autobiographical material.

- No limitations on the number who can pass. On a given day all, or none, could pass. Several assessment centers work simultaneously throughout the United States and one may pass 30 percent in a week and another pass none.
- Regular review. A representative from the Legal Office frequently sits in on examination sessions to assure quality control.
- A wide variety of protection for the individual examinee. Examiners (other than those designated to review files) do not see personnel files or know anything about the candidate beyond what is immediately obvious. The Harvard Ph.D. stands equal with

the high school graduate. The first-time candidate is equal to the one who has tried (and failed) a dozen times. Likewise, examiners grading written samples do not see the candidates. Examiners judging candidates in the morning elements of the exam grade different candidates in the afternoon, so no candidate suffers unduly from a poor first impression, or benefits disproportionately from a good one. Each candidate is scored separately by each of the four examiners with decisions for pass/fail based on consensus discussion at the end of the day. The examiners who scored the candidates do the "exit interviews" for those who failed and thus must deal out the disappointment.

The new exam has ten graded exercises, each correlated to a specific job-related skill—determined by labor specialists following extensive analysis of Foreign Service job requirements. Nevertheless, this is not laser eye surgery and there is leeway for examiner latitude and disagreement.

### The starting gun

At the undiplomatic hour of 7:30 a.m., the candidates for the day (four to six in number) are introduced to the procedures. They are warned that the day is a "test, not an interview" and are cautioned to "read the instructions" before plunging into individual exercises. Some fail before they start. They appear despite illness, jet lag, or a week of insomnia. These brave souls may deserve credit for their hardy spirits, but fail in organization and judgment. Remarkable numbers show up late, do not listen, or fail to read (or remember) the instructions.

**The Essay.** Each candidate chooses one topic from five regularly rotated, general-knowledge essay topics, and writes for 45 minutes. The topics, such as "the role of third parties in U.S. politics," are of a political, economic, cultural, or social nature upon which any reasonably informed citizen should

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have basic knowledge. The objective is to secure an appreciation of the candidate's ability to write a lucid, coherent, well organized essay. There are no right or wrong answers.

Unfortunately, English grammar and coherent style appear to be so badly taught (or learned) that the essay often is an embarrassment rather than a cameo. Basic spelling, grammar, and punctuation errors abound. More important are fundamental failures in organization, logic, and coherence. Many college graduates, even those from our most prestigious universities, have forgotten the virtue of brevity. Students appear unable to clear their intellectual throats in 500 words, let alone write something coherent at that length. The most successful preparation appears to be journalism, where writing designed to fill ten column inches results in a tight, coherent essay.

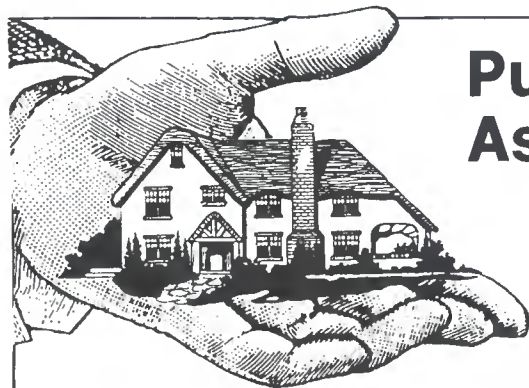
**The Demarche.** This role-playing exercise determines the ability to organize, articulate, and persuade on U.S. policy issues. A candidate chooses from a regularly rotated set of non-

technical topics, such as trade negotiations or political issues, and, taking the role of a U.S. diplomat, presents arguments before the examiners ("foreign officials"). Having chosen a topic, the candidate is given a package with an "instruction cable," along with backup material providing details of the hypothetical country. The "foreign officials" then respond to the presentation, making their rebuttal points clearly during a discussion of about 15 minutes. Following these exchanges the candidate takes notes and writes a word-limited reporting telegram. There are separate scores for both the oral presentation and the written report.

Failure in the oral facet of the demarche is usually a failure in organization, a failure to note clearly marked cultural sensitivities, or a too aggressive stance (invoking the Marines is the magic wand of diplomacy). A number of candidates apparently cannot speak without "uhs," "ums," "ya know," disobey basic grammar rules, or make up words on the spot

(disputification). More troubling are the candidates who appear to lack a moral compass, who blithely will tolerate unethical actions or actions against U.S. values, or show no sense on how our values should be applied. In writing the "reporting cable," candidates frequently misquote the "foreign official" or manage to write a 300-word cable in 500 or more words. One bewildered candidate noted that he had completely forgotten the "foreign official's" response.

**The Hypotheticals.** Candidates are presented three randomly selected hypothetical situations: one each in consular, administrative, and public affairs. These situations are fun, testing a candidate's ability to think on his feet, organize for action, respond to new situations, and take responsibility. How to assist an American in trouble, deal with a media image problem, respond to a reported natural disaster, or manage local employee problems—these situations are the warp and woof of Foreign Service life. Indeed, each of the hypotheticals is based on a real



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event, often one personally experienced by the examiner who drafted it.

Here, life experience counts. A candidate with no more than a university career has little to draw upon. While the situations are not monstrosly demanding and certainly do not require a detailed knowledge of government regulations, it does help to know what an embassy is. Often the best performers are those who have overseas experience, such as in the Peace Corps and military. Frequently a candidate "freezes" or locks into an unproductive path; others are floored by the idea that foreign officials will not simply accept our views, or think that the solution to a low-level consular problem is to call the president directly. While there are no "right answers," the adroit respondent must demonstrate mature thinking, recognize alternative approaches, and both short and long-

term consequences from decisions.

**The Country Team Group Exercise.** In this role-playing exercise, the candidates act as proponents of specific projects and present proposals for



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**... it does help to know what an embassy is. Often the best performers are those who have overseas experience.**

funding to their colleagues. Based on distributed materials, candidates are given 30 minutes to prepare a presentation on the pluses, minuses, and U.S. interests related to their

projects. There are no pure winners or losers among the proposals; each has flaws and each has silver linings. And, naturally, there is not enough money to fund all the projects. Therefore, in open discussion observed by the four examiners, the candidates review the merits of their projects and agree (or disagree) on which should be funded. Candidates are cautioned frequently that the exercise is not a war game, and they are not competing against each other.

In this most individually revealing exercise, all candidates can pass (or fail). Examiners note organizational skill in presenting projects, verbal fluency, honesty in presenting the merits of the projects, leadership ability, and the interpersonal diplomacy that permits the adroit to win points without leaving scars. Some failures are obvious: basic inability to explain their project,

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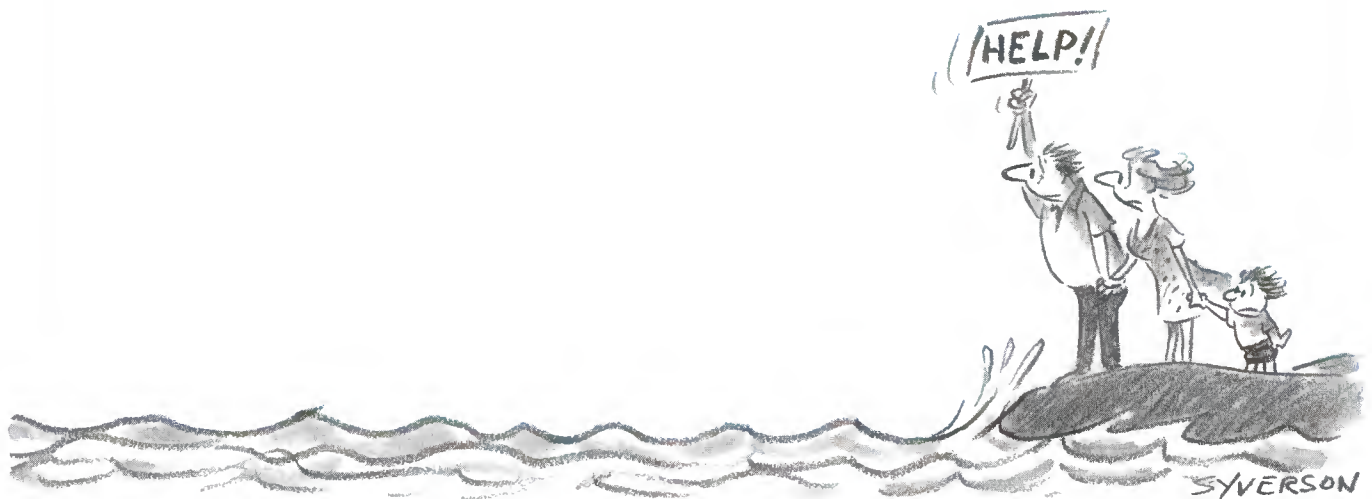
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insulting behavior (screaming "Fascist" is not good form); some are more subtle, such as an impatient arrogance that bodes ill for day-to-day relations with colleagues.

The best candidates not only are honest and organized, but often show the ability to integrate information presented by others and emerge with original ideas and solutions. In a good group, individual members can make each other look better. A "poison pill" member can drag all down. Very good leaders can draw out individual members and move the group to consensus. Leadership, however, is not *de rigueur*. Many passers are no more than solid contributing group members—but neither bullies nor wimps succeed.

Despite its subjectivity and complexity, the group exercise provides a wealth of information on interpersonal skills. The candidates must deal with total strangers, different in age and background. Some groups never jell at all, plodding through a dull, mechanical discussion; group chemistry may depend upon as trivial a point as whether

the group lunched together or ignored one another during the morning break. The essential conclusion is that while a good group performance does not assure great interpersonal skills, a bad performance is a negative guarantee.

#### **A summing up**

At the end of the day, while the candidates sit and stew, the examiners review, discuss, and come to final consensus scores on the 11 dimensions that had been graded. There frequently is an AM/PM split, where the candidate "larks" seem to lose their adrenalin rush and lapse into a coma, while the "owls" awake to scintillate. Scoring is tough. A 5.5 on a 10-point scale was the 1991 cutoff score. Most scores fall between 4 and 6, with a 5 listed as the minimum acceptable score.

Those candidates who have provisionally passed the oral still face an immediate personal interview—a scored element of the examination and not simply a "job interview." The examiners conducting the personal interview have material such as academic records, the

federal 171 form, and an autobiography and essay, but have not met or watched the candidates. They are prepared to explore anomalies in the record and to make certain that the candidates are willing to accept the three conditions of the Foreign Service: world-wide availability, willingness to do assigned tasks whether or not in the official job description, and willingness to defend U.S. government positions in public.

It has been fascinating and humbling to look at the next generation of the Foreign Service. We note that the obstacle course to a Foreign Service career is longer and the hurdles higher with each passing year. More specifically, we learned:

- There are a lot of unemployed liberal arts graduates. It is disconcerting (and a degree disheartening) to see just how many political science, international relations, and English literature graduates are still seeking a real job in their late 20s and early 30s.
- The credentials tell you very little. Over and over again, candidates

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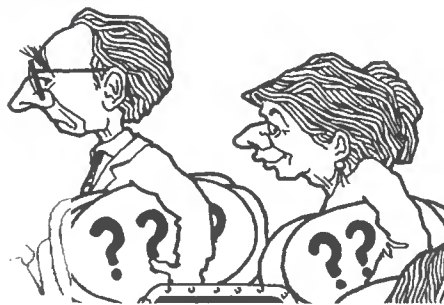
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with exceptional grade point averages and graduate degrees from excellent schools demonstrate puerile writing ability and minimal interpersonal skills. A law degree can be even more stultifying, honing combative rather than integrative skills.



**We expect  
the Foreign  
Service  
examination  
process to  
continue to**

**evolve. It is surely fairer, more professional, and more calculated than the process we survived 20 years ago.**

- The Foreign Service is an emerging second career for the military. With a downsizing military force, enlisted men and officers are turning overseas experience, familiarity with oral presentations, and ability to convince, not just command, into success in the oral exam.
- There are real regional differences. The United States is not yet homogeneous. Your typical East Coast candidate is still more wound up, driven, and pessimistic than the Californian, who is more relaxed, "cool," and handles group activities well.
- The Foreign Service is still not getting enough female and minority candidates. Although in the first half of 1992, females and minorities passed at a slightly higher rate than white males, more than 70 percent of those taking the oral exam were white males—despite a doubling of the number passing the written exam. Consequently, in absolute numbers your "standard white male" is still dominating the list of those passing the Foreign Service exam.
- Real quality shows. There is a small, but significant number of those who stand out from the rest. Faced with new situations and new structures, they demonstrate presence and intelligence that cannot be taught. We wonder if we saw the next George Kennan, Phil Habib, or Chip Bohlen.

### Final observations

We expect the Foreign Service examination process to continue to evolve.

It is surely fairer, more professional, and more calculated than the process we survived 20 years ago. For every complaint by a disappointed candidate that his or her superior credentials were not recognized, a successful candidate comes to mind who held still better credentials. The Foreign Service is fortunate in the large numbers of capable, motivated people who want to serve the United States.

Nevertheless, the oral assessment is tough. To be honest, there are large numbers of candidates who, even though they scored slightly below the "cutoff," would have made fine FSOs if the State Department had more positions. However, the sum total of the oral exam represents no more than a very simplified version of the real situations Foreign Service officers face daily. We do no one any service to lower our standards.

The rigor of the examination process, however, places an imperative on the Foreign Service to maximize the potential of its successful candidates. It is a disservice to demand the very best and then to use it badly. We need a management that considers each career failure to be a real loss to the system and works to improve the assessment process to prevent future failures. The examination system has shown the depth and wealth of our human skills. If we use them wisely, America's diplomatic future is assured. ■

*Teresa Jones currently serves as deputy principal officer in Congen Montreal and David Jones is political counselor in Ottawa. Teresa recently served on the Board of Examiners.*

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# QUESTIONS OF RELEVANCE:

**T**he American public has been sharply questioning the utility and purpose of the U.S. Information Agency in a post-Cold War era. An amendment offered by Senator Harris Wofford (D-PA) to dismantle USIA's television and film service was narrowly defeated in July 1991. Wofford had argued for eliminating this service because it "duplicates efforts done far better by the private sector" and would "save the taxpayers over \$22 million." Referring to his years working in Third World countries, Senator Wofford added, "in all of those places I have seen the skepticism, and I think justifiable skepticism, that people have about any government's, including our government's, official programming."

But the most searching questioning of USIA has come from a surprising quarter, conservative columnist and sometime presidential challenger Patrick Buchanan. Although he said that the agency "did a great job ideologically winning the Cold War," Buchanan stated on "Meet the Press" in January that he also believes maintaining USIA at its current size no longer serves the national interest. USIA has become a "huge bureaucracy" in Buchanan's view, and he asks "do we need it that large now?"

## **Political target**

With public opinion now registering no concern about any strategic or ideological threats to the United States, it should come as no surprise

## **USIA's mission in the post-Cold War era**

that USIA, which has been so openly identified with Cold War polemical strategies, has now become a political target in an election year. Even if USIA is also the smallest of the foreign affairs agencies, with 8,900 American and foreign national employees compared to 11,000 for USAID and 26,400 for State, its current annual budget of \$1.1 billion remains sizeable. It would be difficult to make a case to keep USIA's budget this large if its overriding purpose consisted of simply finishing the job—speeding the collapse of the last Communist dominoes represented by

China, North Korea, Vietnam, and Cuba.

But what is generally overlooked in the skepticism about USIA is the extent to which, since its creation in 1953, it has evolved as a foreign affairs agency to advance the national interest beyond what many believe to be its original mandate to counter global Communist propaganda. It would be a major mistake to conclude that the end of the Cold War has now eliminated or significantly diminished America's need for the core objectives of USIA's mission.

USIA's traditional objectives were the focal point of an historic memorandum from President John F. Kennedy to Director Edward R. Murrow in 1963. The mission of USIA was to "help achieve United States foreign policy objectives by influencing public attitudes in other nations." It was to "unmask and counter hostile attempts to distort or frustrate the objectives and policies of the United States." But it was also to "encourage constructive public support abroad for the goal of a 'peaceful world community of free and independent states, free to choose their own future and their own system so long as it does not threaten the freedom of others.'" USIA was also expected to "facilitate sympathetic understanding of United States policies" in a manner which, as international relations scholar Robert E. Elder has noted, "would make it possible for foreign publics to retain or develop relatively objective views of the United States and its policies."

Countering distorted information

**BY LOUIS S. SEGESVARY**

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about the United States has lost its urgency in a post-Cold War world. With the threat of expanding international communism vanished, the overriding need to galvanize international support for what was once the principal foreign policy objective of the United States, the containment of communism, has mostly abated. Nonetheless, facilitating understanding and promoting peace remain relevant goals and should be the focus of any conceptual debate about USIA's continuing purpose. Peace, after all, means no state of war, no destruction of American assets or interests, no loss of American lives, and no need for costly arms build-ups.

### Getting the full picture

The national interest of the United States will always require the exposition of its policies in a timely and accurate fashion, particularly in view of the increasing complexity of the full range of its bilateral and multilateral relations. No one should presume that commercial international news organizations alone, such as CNN, can be counted on to accomplish that task in the depth of substance foreign policy and economic issues require. For that reason, it is incumbent upon any major world power to possess a governmental information service, if only to assure that the complete dimensions of its positions on fast-breaking global and bilateral issues are readily available to its intended audiences. It should also be noted that the viewership for an English language commercial television broadcaster such as CNN represents a relatively small percentage of the host country's population in most of the world. To reach its intended audiences abroad, U.S. policy-related information often needs to be made available not only in English but in the country's own language, and certainly by more than TV.

The individual interlocutory efforts of USIA officers in the host country's language and the expository materials that USIS posts distribute abroad via the print, radio, and television are the guarantee that U.S. positions will not be misunderstood by key host country officials, opinion leaders, and the media, particularly at crucial times. There is simply too much at stake for the United States to risk not making all the information and its attendant nuance available to policy-makers and opinion leaders in other countries. The



Some of the ministers of education from the former Soviet republics pose during their visit to the United States organized by USIA's private sector exchange program.

importance of the Voice of America to Chinese audiences is but one example of the relevance of USIA's worldwide information impact.

### Peace through democracy

The other principal objective stipulated by President Kennedy for USIA, the consolidation of "a peaceful world community of free and independent states, free to choose their own future and system," remains at least equally important to the United States. But the achievement of peace in the world is hardly foreordained, even with the end of the Cold War era.

How, then, can USIA help promote democratic systems of government, which the historical record indicates are most conducive to peace? And what contribution can USIA make that

would justify the cost of its efforts to the increasingly burdened American taxpayer? Just how effective should USIA be expected to be in changing or reinforcing attitudes favorable to democracy in its targeted audiences?

### Information, not propaganda

David Hitchcock, a recently retired senior USIA officer, was refreshingly candid about acknowledging the agency's limitations in an April 1985 article in the *Foreign Service Journal*. His review of the available research has concluded that "there are limits to what can be achieved with government-sponsored information and cultural activities, especially if one seeks to persuade publics to support U.S. policies in the short run." The research findings he cites hold that "it is quite difficult to produce an enduring attitude change by exposing people to a persuasive communication." Furthermore, "although laboratory studies show that propaganda has some effect on individuals, sociological studies in the field show more often that

communications reinforce the audience's previous positions rather than converting them to a different view."

To this can be added the experience of any thoughtful person who has been exposed to methods of persuasion. There is a natural human aversion to being manipulated. People tend sharply to question or reject whatever they perceive as slanted or propagandistic.

But Hitchcock also cites a research conclusion that interpersonal communication can effectively precipitate attitudinal change when information is presented that enhances learning. The Foreign Service officer who can communicate effectively with the host country's population, that is the cultured, well-informed officer who is language-proficient, articulate, and

gracious, would seem to represent our most valuable resource abroad when he or she has credible, fresh, and accurate information materials at his or her disposal.

It will always be formidable to attempt to assess fully the impact of informational activities, due to the infinite gradations of attitudinal change and the difficulty of establishing clear cause-and-effect relationships between exposure to any particular material made available by USIA in distinction to the vast range of other informational stimuli otherwise present in the environment.

Hans Tuch, retired career minister with USIA, sums it up pretty well in his book *Communicating with the World: U.S. Public Diplomacy Overseas* when he writes "no social scientist has yet assessed the depth, duration, and breadth of impact that all these images and signals carve into the consciousness of various audiences with different cultures and traditions, living on different continents. It is also impossible to measure accurately, except in very

limited circumstances, the impact of a government's public diplomacy program on foreign audiences in the face of all the other images and signals to which they are exposed." Edward R. Murrow's famous and much repeated dictum, "no computer clicks, no cash register rings, when a man changes his mind or opts for freedom," is not likely to lose its relevance any time soon.

But Tuch also summarizes the case for adding to the pervasive global information pool. Encouragement comes from the realization that these efforts "significantly balance, moderate, and supplement the information available to foreign publics from other sources without necessarily being able or even wanting to supplant them. The absence of the body of thought and information supplied through public diplomacy programs, one can thus argue, would deprive foreign publics of the opportunity to obtain as comprehensive and accurate an understanding of America as possible," or of democracy, it could be added, if that is the goal.

Tuch concludes that USIA is uniquely well-positioned and organized to promote the public diplomacy component of U.S. objectives by involving the entire communication spectrum. USIA is particularly geared to engaging modern communication technology in interaction with other methods of inter-cultural communication, such as cultural and educational exchanges, libraries, publications, English teaching, and above all with people (among them professionally qualified Foreign Service officers).

**Ripple effect**

Exchanges remain crucial to winning sympathy and understanding for America and its democratic values. Indeed, in this increasingly interdependent world, enormous political and economic benefits can accrue to societies able to generate international appreciation of their culture, language, and institutions. A growing number of USIA's exchange programs at present have a direct economic or commercial orientation. There



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is also an obvious ripple effect from having foreign professionals in the arts, engineering, business, economics, and other fields train at American universities or make contacts on short-term professional orientation tours or workshops.

Seeing is believing—and understanding. There is no substitute for the person-to-person experiences that are the essence of exchange programs. The superficial glimpses of America provided by the commercial media or even accounts of friends or relatives can never have the resonance or lasting impact of the direct experience of life in America, which comes from her peoples, her cultures, her landscapes.

In 1990, there were more than 13,000 participants in the agency's exchange programs. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell believes these programs, which account for only 16 percent of USIA's budget, "are our most effective expenditures to enhance American influence abroad." Pell points for proof to "the roster of Fulbright alumni who serve as heads of government, cabinet members, university presidents, high court justices, scholars, and newspaper editors in foreign countries."

In enhancing American influence, USIA's exchange programs also enhance prospects for peace, for mutual understanding promotes peace as nothing else can. The direct contact foreign visitors have with American institutions and the American way of life through exchange programs is one of the surest avenues there exists for generating the most lasting kind of understanding and creating thereby the best foundation for peace.

### The culture of attitudes

Just recently the British journal *The*

*Spectator* provided an illustration of the kind of result that can be obtained from even modest efforts to promote democratic values. *The Spectator* had already earned some important moral credentials for exposing the plight of Romanian citizens under Nicolae Ceausescu's brutal Stalinist dictatorship long before his popular and bloody deposition. Since



At the Third Andean Drug Conference in La Paz, Lee Johnson, head of USIA's Drug Unit, right, and Public Affairs officer Bob Callahan answer questions from regional journalists.

1989 it has been sponsoring gift magazine subscriptions to Romania and other Eastern European countries, at one point sending out some 500. In its February 1992 issue, its editors reprinted the words of one grateful recipient from Romania. "What Romanians need now, perhaps more than decent food and clothes, is food for thought, information, a substantial connection with all things Western they have gone without for almost half a century." To which the editors add, "The eventual solution of Romania's problems can only come from the internal political development of that country, which depends in turn on the development of a political culture, a culture of attitudes and ideas. If we can help that development in any way we shall be glad."

According to USIA's chief of Communications Media Research, Sherwood Demitz, "surveys show that right after democratic revolutions people wanted training and information rather than financial aid."

Romania is only in the earliest stages of evolving into a genuine democracy, and most of the rest of the world is still groping through the various stages of developing strong, viable, secure forms of democratic government as well. The lapses of Haiti, Venezuela, and Peru are only the most recent reminders that this is no easy process. The current Balkan crisis shows us how intractable it can appear. But national interest and moral responsibility demand that the United States not remain detached from this struggle.

To leave the exposition of the democratic process, with all its difficult collateral issues, to the uncertain currents of the commercial media represents risking not getting the message to just those places where it may be most needed. That risk is diminished by USIA's systematic efforts to focus on themes

related to democracy.

How much to invest in these efforts is a fair question, and reasonable minds will differ. But the question of doing something significant at all represents the heart and soul of the matter that should confront all serious politicians with respect to USIA. The other issue, about how actually to shape this investment, is procedural in nature. Questions of audience targets, communication strategies, the proper mix of exchanges, international visitors, speakers, print, radio, television, or personal contacts belong to another debate. It should not obscure the basic issue of the kind of world in which we want to live and what we are prepared to do to achieve it. ■

---

*Louis Segesvary is a career Foreign Service officer with USIA. His writings have appeared in The Wall Street Journal, Neue Zürcher Zeitung, and the Swiss American Review, among other publications.*

# afsa news

## Promotion review boards preserved

by Colleen Fallon  
Staff Attorney

AFSA has succeeded in preserving Special Promotion Boards for employees on special assignments, which management had proposed terminating. Any employee who is on a special assignment and is not promoted may be reviewed by a second, special board, which has access to the employee's classified EERs.

The department had proposed elimination of the special boards on the basis of a legal interpretation that the current procedure violated the Foreign Service Act of 1980. AFSA asserted that the problems with the boards were not legal, but administrative. At a meeting with officials from

the Legal Advisor's Office, the Director General's Office, and Labor-Management, AFSA pointed out the disadvantage to employees in this promotion cycle if the boards were discontinued. The department subsequently reexamined its position and agreed that the Special Boards should take place this year, while the regulations implementing the boards are being reviewed further.

## USIA election ballots mailed

by Lauren Hale  
AFSA USIA Representative

The election to determine who will represent the USIA Foreign Service is finally under way. The Federal Labor Relations Authority has mailed ballots to all members of the USIA Foreign Service bargaining unit in Washington

and overseas. Representatives of both AFSA and AFGE witnessed the mailing. The Authority is scheduled to count the ballots on November 24.

We urge members of the USIA bargaining unit to mail in their vote for AFSA as soon as they receive their ballots. Even if you are already a member of AFSA, you must still vote to make your choice known.

As preparations for the elections were in their final stage, AFSA continued to make known its views on the future of international broadcasting. This summer AFSA supported a House Appropriations Bill amendment that would have eliminated funding for TV Marti. The amendment was narrowly defeated but represented the biggest challenge to TV Marti yet.

In September, AFSA called on the Senate to reject legislation introduced by Senator Joseph Biden that would establish a costly new radio service to China. AFSA recommended instead that the Chinese Service of the Voice of America be strengthened.

As AFSA President Bill Kirby wrote to the bill's sponsors, VOA already has the infrastructure, experience, and, above all, listeners that would make a small augmentation of its budget cost-productive. A new service would take years to get up and running. VOA is there and ready right now.

AFSA does not believe we should spend money to create another government service to compete with VOA. As AFSA said during the TV Marti debate, new broadcast money should go to expanding medium-wave radio listeners worldwide and to expansion of current USIA television operations.

## AFSA protests CG appointment

AFSA is protesting the appointment of Edward Howell Sims to the consul general position at Zurich. The association is disturbed that an individual who is not in the Foreign Service is being appointed to a position that is clearly designated Foreign Service. Further, the administration's intention to give this individual the personal rank of ambassador and a Senior Foreign Service appointment is contrary to section 502 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, as amended.

Even more disturbing is the fact that, although the department claims severe budget restraints, it is willing to place an inexperienced outsider in this position at an excessive salary, rather than an experienced Foreign Service officer at the normal FS-01 salary. Section 502(b) of the Act provides that "Positions designated as Foreign Service positions **normally shall** (emphasis added) be filled by the assignment of members of the Service to those positions." While section 502(b)(1) provides that Foreign Service positions **may** be assigned to department employees or employees of other agencies, Mr. Sims is in neither of those categories. Notwithstanding the preceding sections, there is no provision in the Act calling for the appointment of an individual outside the Foreign Service to positions such as this. In fact, an FSO had been assigned to this position, but the assignment was broken to accommodate Mr. Sims.

## Hurricane Relief Fund grows

AFSA continues to collect contributions to the AFSA Hurricane Relief Fund, which was established earlier this month to provide financial assistance to State Department employees in Miami who suffered losses as a result of Hurricane Andrew. As of Oc-

tober 15, AFSA had collected more than \$22,000 including one very generous contribution from a group of Foreign Service Nationals. Contributions will be welcomed until at least November 26. A disbursement committee has been formed from members of the parent bureaus of affected employees and AFSA officers and staff members. They will assess extent of damage, insurance coverage and as-

sistance already received in making disbursements. To make your tax-deductible donation, please send a check payable to "AFSA Hurricane Relief Fund- A/C No. 109942," to AFSA, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Please contact AFSA on (202) 647-8160 with any questions.

## Junior officers discuss 'cones'

by Julie Smithline

### Member Services Representative

More than 50 junior officers recently met to discuss the unconed Junior Officer Program. In a meeting organized by AFSA with Mary Ryan, chairperson of the Commissioning and Tenure Board and Joe Melrose, AFSA State vice president, the junior officers discussed concerns about the program. Deputy Assistant Secretary Barbara Harvey and John Limbert, A-100 class director were also present. The junior officers particularly felt that the five-year wait to be designated into a cone created an uncertainty in their futures: with no assurance of a preferred cone, five years of preparation could be wasted.

AFSA will be actively involved in the revision of the precepts and regulations for this program. At present, an unconed junior officer has a maximum of five years with two tenure board reviews to be granted tenure. Tenuring will coincide with coning, with the same board deciding both issues. The first review will be 44 months after employment, the second will be 12 months later, if necessary. The first implementation of the joint tenuring and coning boards will be in December 1993.

Other issues of concern included the methodology of coning, the amount of weight given to past job experience and schooling, and knowing in advance the number of positions open for each cone. Junior officers also wanted assurance that they could work in their first and second choice cones before the review boards met, so that they had experience in their fields of choice.

AFSA would welcome comments from the field on this issue. Please

## Sabine Sisk, AFSA executive director, resigns

An era in the history of AFSA ended last month with the resignation of Sabine Sisk as executive director, a position she had held since 1987. From 1980-1987 Sisk was in charge of AFSA's Member Services Department and in that capacity played a key role in the implementation of the Foreign Service Act of 1980.

The senior staff position is of critical importance in any non-profit organization. This is particularly true in AFSA, with its biennial elections to the Governing Board and with individual members of the board subject to re-assignment at any time. During Sisk's tenure as Executive Director, AFSA has undertaken a wide range of new programs designed to spotlight the Foreign Service, and our membership has grown to over 10,000. Much of this success has been due to her dedicated and skillful management of our staff and resources.

Many AFSA members may not know Sabine, but all of us have benefitted from her work on behalf of the organization. We wish her well as she leaves us to pursue new horizons and thank her for all of her contributions.

## New executive director chosen

Our new executive director is Susan Reardon, who comes to AFSA from the League of Women Voters where she has been senior director for Finance and Member Services. Reardon holds a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of California and has completed graduate work in business and information systems management at St. Louis University.

At the League, Reardon was responsible for developing a large budget and worked extensively with an active board of directors. She says that she is looking forward to working closely with the AFSA board of directors and to serving the members of AFSA.



contact Julie Smithline by mail, FAX: (202) 647-0265, or AFSA cable.

## Student receives Harriman award

For 60 years AFSA's Financial Aid Program has assisted the dependents of Foreign Service employees in meeting college expenses. Tamara Sheesley, daughter of Dan and Amy Sheesley of the Department of Agriculture's Foreign Service is this year's recipient of AFSA's oldest and most prestigious award, the Oliver Bishop Harriman Scholarship. Dan Sheesley is posted at the embassy in Mexico City.

A senior at Principia College in Elsau, Illinois; Tamara is majoring in communications with a double minor in English and women's studies. She is planning to attend law school and then work in the area of women's issues.

Tamara was chosen to receive the Harriman Scholarship because of her many achievements: an Honor Roll student, a 1991 All-American Scholar-Athlete, president of her college residence in 1992-93, captain of her college volleyball team for two years, and news editor of the school paper. Tamara has lived in Guatemala, Puerto Rico, Costa Rica, and Mexico and considers her overseas experience central to her development. "I think that living in Latin America has given me many of the greatest gifts I've ever received. When I was 11, and living in Puerto Rico, the other children used to taunt me mercilessly about being so fair-skinned and blond. It was then that I swore to myself that I would never look down on anyone because he or she was different. That knowledge I will carry with me forever."

She would like someday to work with a segment of society that often seems forgotten--single, teenage mothers, educating them "to their own self-worth," and their importance to society. It is because of her present achievements and her aspirations that the AFSA Committee on Education selected Tamara for the Oliver Bishop Harriman Award.

## How does free money for your child's education sound to you?

1993-1994 scholarship applications available

**Eligibility:** Dependent students of all Foreign Service personnel in State, USAID, USIA, Commerce, or Agriculture who have served abroad.

**Merit Awards:** For graduating high school students in 1993 only, based on academic merit.

**Financial Aid Awards:** For full-time undergraduate students in the United States, based on need.

**Special Foreign Affairs Study Awards:** For full-time rising junior or senior college students with a major in the field of foreign affairs.

**Deadline:** Applications become available in October 1992 and must be completed and returned to AFSA before **February 15, 1993**.

**Contact:** For more information and a 1993-94 AFSA Scholarship Programs application, clip this coupon and mail today to: AFSA Scholarship Department, 2101 E St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. FAX: (202) 338-6820.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

Student(s) name \_\_\_\_\_

The Oliver Bishop Harriman Trust was established in 1926 to provide scholarships exclusively for Foreign Service dependents. This was the model upon which the AFSA Scholarships Program was built in 1932. The Advisory Committee this year consisted of Ambassador William Clark, Jr., chair, and Ambassador David L. Mack.

## Speakers Bureau up and running

by *Gil Kulick*  
**Speakers Bureau**

Our speakers bureau is, at long last, up and running. From the initial public response, it appears that the bureau will greatly extend AFSA's outreach effort to communities all across the country that have hitherto had little exposure to current foreign policy issues and even less access to first-hand accounts of what we in the Foreign Service do.

For our inaugural event, retired veteran Soviethand Robert German gave the opening address at the University of Nebraska's Midwest Conference on

World Affairs in Omaha, followed by talks to World Affairs Council groups in Kansas City. Programs have thus far been scheduled for October and November in Phoenix, Arizona; Raleigh, North Carolina; Springfield, Missouri; Lincoln, Nebraska; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and Orlando, Florida, and many more are in process. About 25 organizations have expressed interest in AFSA speakers in our first two months of operation.

The response to our call for volunteers has been equally enthusiastic. Thus far more than 80 Foreign Service alumni from all over the United States have volunteered to speak. Response from active-duty people has been much more modest, although several members have offered, in response to an AFSA-channel cable to the field, to speak to home-town audiences while on home leave.

We still have far to go to meet our goal: a pool of 200 speakers available to speak in all parts of the country. This means YOU. If interested, please contact AFSA's director of outreach, Gil Kulick.

# Recognize Outstanding Achievement

## Call for AFSA Award Nominations

A strong Foreign Service is based on a tradition of excellence. Everyone is urged to submit nominations of worthy colleagues for the prestigious AFSA awards.

Nominations may be submitted on the form being mailed to all AFSA members, or typed following the format below. They should be returned by pouch or interoffice mail to Awards Committee, AFSA, Room 3644 NS, Department of State or mailed to AFSA, 2101 E Street NW, Washington DC 20037, no later than January 31, 1993. Questions should be directed to Richard Thompson, coordinator for professional issues, tel: 202-338-4045.

In addition to the awards described below, a number of \$1,000 **Matilda W. Sinclair Awards** are conferred for achievement in the study of hard languages. Most Sinclair nominations are submitted through FSI, but nominations from the field are encouraged. Information is available from the School of Language Studies or AFSA's coordinator for professional issues.

### The Awards

Three awards are for Foreign Service Officers who have "exhibited extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and constructive dissent."

**The Christian A. Herter Award** is for members of the Senior Foreign Service and includes \$1,000 cash.

**The William R. Rivkin Award** is for mid-career officers (FS 1-3) and in-

cludes \$1,000 cash.

**The W. Averell Harriman Award** is for junior officers (FS 4-6) and includes \$2,500 cash.

**The Delavan Award** is for an individual or group of Foreign Service secretaries who have made a significant contribution to post or office effectiveness and morale beyond the framework of their job responsibilities. This additional contribution might include some or all of the following elements:

- Unusual initiative and leadership in contributing to improved management and morale.
- Intellectual courage and/or integrity.
- Outstanding contributions to improving the morale and professionalism of the Foreign Service secretarial corps.
- A positive and helpful attitude in all matters, on and off the job, which improves post or office efficiency and morale.
- Serving as a role model for other secretaries.
- Contributions to the American community through involvement in community activities, for example those of a social, charitable or cultural nature.
- Contributions to better relations with the local community, the host

government, other embassies, or the private American sector. This award includes \$2,500 cash.

**The Avis Bohlen Award** is presented by Mrs. W. Averell Harriman in memory of Avis Bohlen (wife of the late Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen) to a member of the family of a Foreign Service employee whose relations with the American and foreign communities at a Foreign Service post have done the most to advance the interests of the United States. This award includes \$2,500 cash.

### Format for Award Nominations

**Part I:** Biographic Data: name and identification of nominee (grade, agency, position or relationship to a member of the Foreign Service)

**Part II:** Name and identification of nominator and description of association with the nominee (limit 250 words)

**Part III:** Justification for nomination (500-700 words): summary of reasons for nomination. The narrative should discuss the performance and qualities which qualify the nominee for the award, including specific examples of the nominee's accomplishments that meet the criteria.

## Welcome!

The *Foreign Service Journal* welcomes new staffer Samuel Stevenson-Yang, born to editor Anne and her husband on September 9. Mother and son are busy editing at home.



## Treasurer's Report

The audited 1991 Financial Statements appear on pages 7 and 8 of this month's *AFSA News*. I take this opportunity to add a few words about the financial health of AFSA in 1992. The treasurer, along with the executive director and the controller, has a dual responsibility to the membership: to maximize revenue and also to fund program growth. In 1992 we have been very successful in meeting these two seemingly conflicting goals and will end the year with a projected 10 percent increase over the 1991 surplus. We have purchased new computer equipment, continued remodeling of AFSA facilities, and provided funding for AFSA's challenge to AFG's representation of USIA employees.

To ensure continued growth, I intend to work with the board in instituting additional sound management policies that will continue our financial growth and increase support for the membership.

*Joseph Huggins*  
Treasurer

## Congressional Update

by Rick Weiss

### Congressional Liaison

As the legislative branch prepared to close down the 102nd Congress and to face the voters on November 3, they took the following actions:

**State Appropriations.** A very tight, no-frill salary and expense budget was provided for the State Department. The Graham amendment reducing S&E by \$85 million was dropped in conference, as was the House amendment reduction of \$19 million.

**USIA Appropriations.** Existing programs will receive less than in FY92. As stated in the conference report, "The total amount provided for USIA under the conference agreement is substantially below the amounts needed to maintain current program levels and allow USIA to open new posts in the countries of the former Soviet Union."

**Foreign Operations Appropriations.** \$417 million provided for the

former Soviet Union and \$2 billion a year for five years provided under the loan guarantee program for resettlement of refugees in Israel. The Leahy Appropriations Subcommittee stated that it was disappointed that the 1993 request was similar to past requests.

**President's Pay Reduction. Draft Legislation:** The proposal provided a reduction in salary of 5 percent for members of Congress and senior officials paid more than \$75,000 in all three branches of the government. Moreover, scheduled pay increases in January 1993 (COLA) for these officers would not take place. Congress responded to this proposal by noting that "conferees [of the Treasury, Postal Service and Executive Office of the President Appropriations Bill] have been assured by the administration that no unilateral reduction in pay or benefits shall occur either in this fiscal year or in the coming fiscal year and that any reductions would only occur as a result of legislation passed by the Congress and signed by the President."

## USAID

*continued from page 2*

come and as the future direction and competence of USAID are called into question, we must make certain that our own unique perspective is added to the discussion. We must give voice to our accumulated wisdom and experience. To do this we need your assistance.

We ask you to add your voice to this effort. AFSA is collecting personal development success stories from present and former USAID employees with a view to publishing them, as we strive to provide a more balanced view of USAID's mission in carrying out our foreign assistance mandate. The need for such a document flows from the failure of recent studies and government reviews to adequately assess the in-country work of Foreign Service development officers, the weak leadership which has been provided to those officers by the politically appointed senior managers of the agency, and the failure of that leadership to understand the pivotal role of our field-oriented approach.

We are looking for real success stories written by those who were personally involved and showing how, through our personal experiences, USAID has helped to change the world. If you have such a story, please send it to AFSA.

The present doubts and confusion about the potential and effectiveness of foreign assistance have diminished USAID's capacity to fully meet foreign policy objectives, as funding has been reduced and staff lost. USAID's weakness is not irreversible, however. With the right leadership and a renewed sense of purpose, foreign assistance can regain its dynamic role as a key instrument for promoting economic development and U.S. security.

**William D. McKinney**  
*AFSA Representative for USAID*

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## newsbriefs

**Rockefeller Amendment Update:** AFSA is pleased to learn that Congress will not consider an amendment in this session that could limit employment opportunities for Foreign Service dependents. After learning last month of the contemplated legislation, AFSA contacted the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and submitted alternative language. The Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW) worked with AFSA in submitting supporting argumentation in favor of AFSA's proposed amendment. AFSA continues to monitor this issue to ensure that Foreign Service dependents will have maximum job opportunities.

**Full-time Vice President for USAID:** As reported in the October *Journal*, AFSA has won its dispute with USAID management over the need for a full-time USAID vice president. AFSA's new USAID vice president is Carey Coulter, who began his duties October 5. The previous vice president, Bill McKinney, will stay on as an AFSA representative to the Governing Board.

**Timing of Step Increases:** The Foreign Service Grievance Board has held that the award of a language incentive increase should not have caused an employee to be ineligible for a regular periodic within-grade step increase (WGI). The Grievance Board found that nothing required the department to time the granting of the language incentive award so that the employee would become ineligible for the regularly scheduled within-grade step increase. The department should have delayed the certification for the language incentive to make it coincide with the date of the employee's regular WGI, thus allowing the employee to receive both. Contact AFSA's Member Services Department with any questions regarding the timing of language and within-grade increases.

**Complimentary Mailing:** AFSA has arranged for all members to receive a complimentary issue of *Federal Times*. The issue will be mailed in November and contains the annual comparison of health plans.

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**American Foreign Service Association and Associated Organizations**  
**Combined Balance Sheet**  
**December 31, 1991 (With Comparative Totals for 1990)**

	1991			1990	
	AFSA		Scholarship and AFSA Funds	Combined Total	Combined Total
	General Fund	Capital Maintenance Fund			
<b>Assets</b>					
<b>Current Assets</b>					
Cash and cash equivalents	\$ 293,929	\$ 44,199	\$ 73,316	\$ 411,444	\$ 402,286
Accounts receivable, less allowance for doubtful accounts of \$10,000	64,385	—	—	64,385	41,345
Interfund receivable (payable)	(48,953)	(18,425)	67,378	—	—
Prepaid expenses and other	16,709	—	—	16,709	19,698
Accrued interest and dividends	—	—	17,647	17,647	13,989
Total current assets	326,070	25,774	158,341	510,185	477,318
<b>Land, building and equipment, net</b>	312,031	208,869	13,980	534,880	487,655
<b>Other Assets</b>					
Endowment fund marketable securities	—	—	195,271	195,271	195,271
Marketable securities - at lower of cost or market	—	—	1,359,022	1,359,022	1,287,372
<b>Total Assets</b>	<u>\$ 638,101</u>	<u>\$ 234,643</u>	<u>\$ 1,726,614</u>	<u>\$ 2,599,358</u>	<u>\$ 2,447,616</u>
<b>Liabilities and Fund Balances</b>					
<b>Current Liabilities</b>					
Accounts payable	\$ 25,524	\$ —	\$ —	\$ 25,524	\$ 33,446
Deferred revenue	208,195	—	47,407	255,602	271,074
Accrued expenses	33,577	—	—	33,577	33,042
Current portion of mortgage payable	1,328	—	—	1,328	1,199
Total current liabilities	268,624	—	47,407	316,031	338,761
<b>Mortgage payable, less current portion</b>	196,137	—	—	196,137	197,369
<b>Fund Balances</b>					
Unrestricted					
Undesignated	173,340	—	(11,926)	161,414	62,653
Designated	—	234,643	—	234,643	182,798
Restricted	—	—	1,495,862	1,495,862	1,470,764
Endowment	—	—	195,271	195,271	195,271
	<u>173,340</u>	<u>234,643</u>	<u>1,679,207</u>	<u>2,087,190</u>	<u>1,911,486</u>
<b>Total Liabilities and Fund Balances</b>	<u>\$ 638,101</u>	<u>\$ 234,643</u>	<u>\$ 1,726,614</u>	<u>\$ 2,599,358</u>	<u>\$ 2,447,616</u>

**Combined Statement of Activity and Changes in Fund Balances**

	1991			1990	
	AFSA		Scholarship and AFSA Funds	Combined Total	Combined Total
	General Fund	Capital Maintenance Fund			
<b>Revenue</b>					
Membership dues	\$ 999,528	\$ —	\$ 41,163	\$ 1,040,691	\$ 953,634
Advertising sales	247,110	—	—	247,110	220,179
Corporate sponsors	—	—	96,719	96,719	—
Subscriptions	11,650	—	—	11,650	9,035
Club fees	4,000	—	—	4,000	8,050
Dividends and interest	7,106	4,335	—	11,441	8,529
Other	23,377	—	6,900	30,277	66,494
	<u>1,292,771</u>	<u>4,335</u>	<u>144,782</u>	<u>1,441,888</u>	<u>1,265,921</u>
<b>Support</b>					
Contributions	38,964	—	151,377	190,341	173,888
<b>Program expenses</b>					
Journal	334,740	—	—	334,740	314,940
Labor relations	285,993	—	—	285,993	297,746
Legislative action	53,896	—	—	53,896	59,486
Club	38,943	—	—	38,943	28,044

Professional issues	—	—	—	—	22,962
Outreach	—	—	156,208	156,208	138,487
Membership	153,211	—	—	153,211	119,099
Election	7,182	—	—	7,182	—
Scholarship	—	—	202,191	202,191	157,127
AFSA Fund	—	—	82,948	82,948	32,916
Capital Maintenance	—	12,490	—	12,490	3,578
Total program expenses	873,965	12,490	441,347	1,327,802	1,174,385
<b>Management and general</b>	236,763	—	—	236,763	243,283
<b>Excess (deficiency) from current activity before capital additions</b>	\$ 221,007	\$ (8,155)	\$ (145,188)	\$ 67,664	\$ 22,141
<b>Capital Additions</b>					
Loss on sale of marketable securities	—	—	(10,991)	(10,991)	(13,959)
Investment Income	—	—	119,031	119,031	123,433
<b>Excess (deficiency) from current activity after capital additions</b>	221,007	(8,155)	(37,148)	175,704	131,615
<b>Fund Balances, Beginning of Year</b>	62,653	182,798	1,666,035	1,911,486	1,779,871
Fund transfers	(110,320)	60,000	50,320	—	—
<b>Fund Balances, End of Year</b>	\$ 173,340	\$ 234,643	\$ 1,679,207	\$ 2,087,190	\$ 1,911,486

### Combined Statement of Cash Flows

	1991			1990	
	AFSA		Scholarship and AFSA Funds	Combined Total	Combined Total
	General Fund	Capital Maintenance Fund			
Cash flows from operating activities					
Excess (deficiency) from current activity after capital additions	\$ 221,007	\$ (8,155)	\$ (37,148)	\$ 175,704	\$ 131,615
Adjustments to reconcile excess (deficiency) from current activity after capital additions to net cash provided by operating activities:					
Depreciation	44,481	10,886	1,117	56,484	48,617
Loss on sale of marketable securities	—	—	10,991	10,991	13,959
Interfund transfers	(110,320)	60,000	50,320	—	—
Change in assets and liabilities:					
Increase in accounts receivable	(23,040)	—	—	(23,040)	(14,631)
Interfund receivables and payables	43,072	18,596	(61,668)	—	—
(Increase) decrease in prepaid expenses and other	2,989	—	—	2,989	(5,108)
Increase in accrued interest and dividends	—	—	(3,658)	(3,658)	—
Increase (decrease) in accounts payable	(7,922)	—	—	(7,922)	25,636
Increase (decrease) in deferred revenue	(62,879)	—	47,407	(15,472)	59,078
Increase (decrease) in accrued expenses	535	—	—	535	(863)
Total adjustments	(113,084)	89,482	44,509	20,907	126,688
<b>Net Cash Provided by Operating Activities</b>	\$ 107,923	\$ 81,327	\$ 7,361	\$ 196,611	\$ 258,303
Cash flows from investing activities					
Acquisition of equipment	—	(102,565)	(1,144)	(103,709)	(138,958)
Proceeds from sale of marketable securities	—	—	479,427	479,427	1,035,202
Purchase of marketable securities	—	—	(562,068)	(562,068)	(1,383,321)
Transfers of equipment	3,653	9,688	(13,341)	—	—
<b>Net Cash Used in Investing Activities</b>	3,653	(92,877)	(97,126)	(186,350)	(487,077)
Cash flows from financing activities					
Payments on mortgage payable	(1,103)	—	—	(1,103)	(1,091)
Payments on loan receivable	1,108	—	(1,108)	—	—
<b>Net Cash Provided (Used) by Financing Activities</b>	5	—	(1,108)	(1,103)	(1,091)
Net increase (decrease) in cash and cash equivalents	111,581	(11,550)	(90,873)	9,158	(229,865)
<b>Cash and Cash Equivalents, Beginning of Year</b>	182,348	55,749	164,189	402,286	632,151
<b>Cash and Cash Equivalents, End of Year</b>	\$ 293,929	\$ 44,199	\$ 73,316	\$ 411,444	\$ 402,286
<b>Supplemental disclosure of cash flow information:</b>					
Cash paid during the year for interest				\$ 18,939	\$ 20,820

# REDESIGNING

# FOREIGN

# AID

**SENEGAL:** Under the technology transfer project a worker makes a ceramic lining for an improved charcoal stove.

BY  
JOHN W. SEWELL  
AND  
TIMOTHY A. JOHNSTON

**F**aced with dramatic changes in the world and declining support for foreign aid at home, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) has been subjected to a time-worn remedy—reorganization. This is a bit like performing cosmetic

surgery on a patient in cardiac arrest—appearances are improved without changing the prognosis. Without fundamental changes to make it relevant to the international challenges of the 1990s and responsive to the concerns of Americans, the U.S. bilateral aid program could end up not just leaner—it could end up dead. Sound alarmist? Consider that by the beginning of next year:

- The United States will have a new administration with a mandate to focus on domestic issues (regardless of which party wins).
- A new Congress will be in place with at least 100 new members, with several leading supporters of U.S. foreign assistance retired.

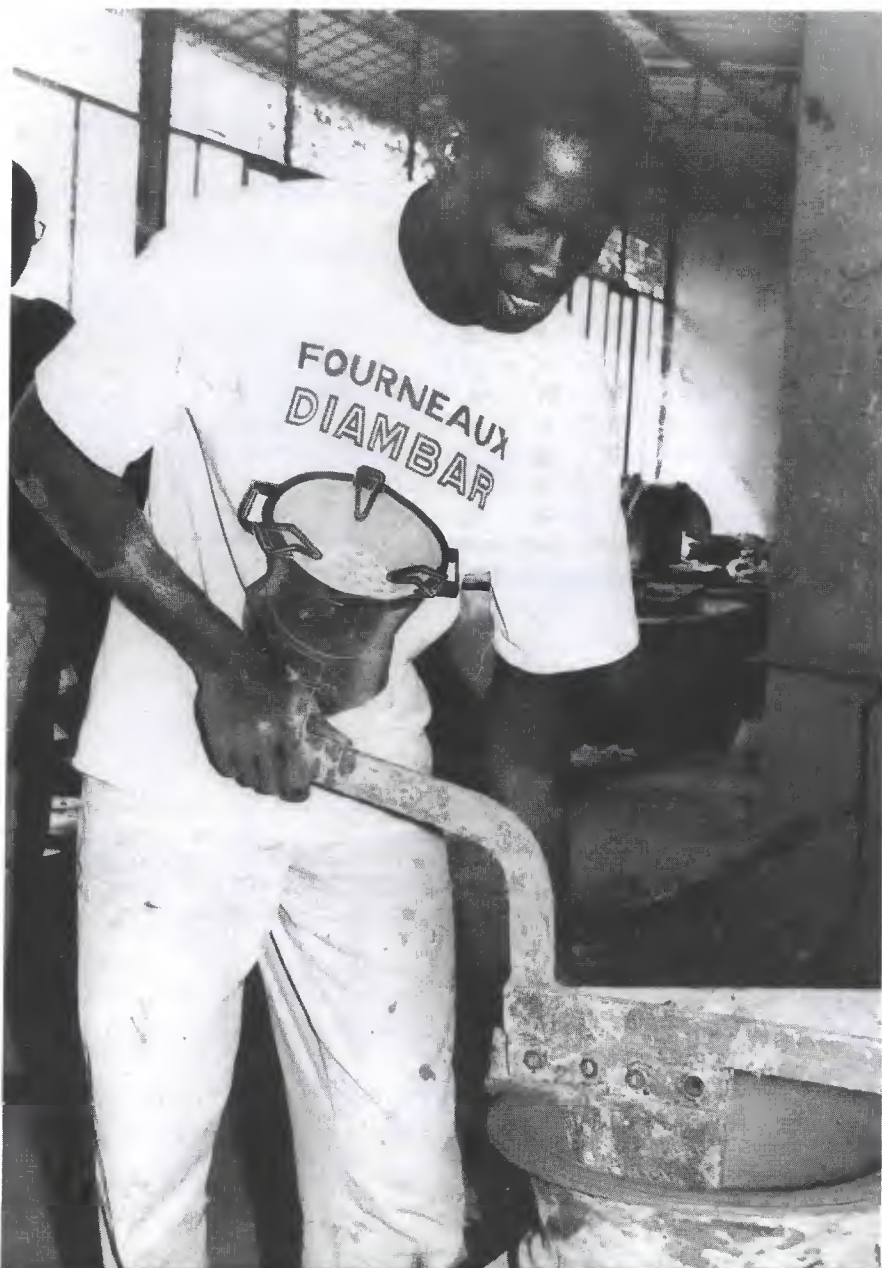


PHOTO BY ANDREW HARRISON



**INDONESIA:** On the floor of the Jakarta Stock Exchange, a USAID Foreign Service national gets a briefing on the day's activities. USAID supports economic development through technical assistance to the exchange.

- The budget summit agreement will be at an end, and both Congress and the administration will be free to raid the international affairs budget to fund domestic programs.

U.S. international interests have been transformed in recent years, due both to changes in the world and the increasing urgency of domestic problems. The entire U.S. international affairs budget must therefore be rethought if it is to survive. Marginal changes are no longer adequate. Instead, the very conceptual base of the U.S. international affairs budget needs to be recast into programs that reflect the new global interests of the United States in the post-Cold War world.

### Helping ourselves, helping others

In the past decade, the preoccupation with confronting communism abroad was paralleled by a neglect of problems here at home. Americans are now demanding that domestic problems be given priority. Yet the traditional dichotomy between "domestic" and "international" issues is an anachronism. Global action is needed to address successfully domestic concerns as well as to advance long-term U.S. international interests in building a better world and promoting fundamental American values.

Despite the current opposition to "foreign aid," U.S. interests in development and the developing world in particular are greater than at any time in American history. These interests can be organized into three broad policy clusters: promoting U.S. competitiveness in order to expand exports and create jobs; confronting pressing international political, social, and environmental challenges; and promoting American ideals and values.

A U.S. foreign policy built around U.S. interests and American values could gain the support of the electorate. Political leaders need to articulate these new interests to the public, however, and make tough choices to end outdated programs and reorder U.S. budgetary priorities.

The Overseas Development Council's second annual "Alternative Budget" for international affairs, *Challenges and Priorities in the 1990s*, lays out a proposal for a comprehensive overhaul of the U.S. international affairs budget and programs. The Alternative Budget identifies \$25.3 billion in savings over a five-year period—achieved by cutting foreign military financing, base rights payments, and broadcasts to Eastern Europe—and shows how these savings can then be used to promote America's international interests.

A reordered international affairs budget that reflects U.S. interests in the 1990s should be recast into four categories appropriate to today's realities:

- promoting growth in an open world economy through trade liberalization, increased export credits, and debt relief;
- facilitating conflict resolution through diplomatic efforts, and increased funding for post-conflict reconstruction, UN peacekeeping, and refugee assistance;
- expanding multilateral cooperation for economic development by approving the International Monetary Fund (IMF) quota increase, fully funding existing commitments to the World Bank and the regional development banks, and increasing U.S. support for the International Development Association (IDA); and
- transforming bilateral cooperation to promote sustainable development through the creation of a Sustainable Development Fund (SDF).

No programs in the budget are more in need of change, however, than those designed to promote international development.

### Bringing aid up-to-date

The United States needs a bilateral assistance program, but one designed for the 1990s, not the 1960s. The Foreign Assistance Act has not been revised since 1973 and U.S. aid is still mainly channeled to middle-income countries that were strategic allies in the Cold War. Saddled with a multitude of objectives and no focus, USAID is no longer adequate to the challenges ahead. It has been battered by a proliferation of mandates and a tug-of-war between

Congress and the administration and hamstrung by bureaucracy.

The aid "business" itself has changed since USAID's birth in the throes of the Cold War. In the 1960s, the United States provided more than 60 percent of worldwide development assistance; today, it supplies only 21 percent. Japan has emerged as the second largest donor, and there are many more aid providers—public and private, multilateral and bilateral—with greater capability than USAID in a number of sectors. Rather than continuing to take on new regions (such as Eastern Europe), and new sectors (such as democratization), development funds should go directly to organizations best qualified to carry out specific programs.

The United States urgently needs to rethink the way it goes about bilateral development assistance if its programs are to be relevant to the 21st century. It must focus on achievable development goals that are consistent with U.S. interests, capabilities, and values, and that would be supported by the American public. Leadership and focus are essential, but not enough. To respond to these changes and challenges, the United States needs a new entity to carry the U.S. development cooperation program into the next century.

The Sustainable Development Fund (SDF) would replace USAID as the primary source of U.S. bilateral development assistance. It would be a "wholesaler" of development resources, competitively allocating funds to a wide variety of public and private actors, based on their ability to address an identifiable number of development objectives jointly agreed upon by the president and Congress. Unlike USAID, the SDF would *not* be an operating agency.

After an initial transition period, most U.S. bilateral assistance would flow through the SDF. The SDF would use its resources strategically to help set global agendas and to leverage support from others. The president and Congress would agree on a number of specific development objectives, and the SDF would be freed from the cumbersome earmarks that hamper USAID. An oversight committee composed of members of Congress, the executive branch, and the private and non-profit sector, as well as an independent evaluations unit, would insure accountability for taxpayer funds. Both to monitor projects and gather proposals, the SDF would assign a small number of highly qualified individuals to U.S. embassies, mainly in the low-income countries.

USAID could compete for

SDF funds but would no longer monopolize U.S. bilateral development assistance. Its continued existence would depend on its ability to compete.

The SDF will be characterized by competition, focus, accountability, and responsiveness:

- *It will be a competitive "wholesaler" of development assistance resources.* The SDF will be a source of funding for global cooperation rather than an operational agency. It will introduce an element of badly needed competition into U.S. bilateral development programs, channeling resources through U.S. government agencies, multilateral institutions, and private voluntary organizations in this country and abroad, universities, and cooperatives, among others. No single operating agency, including USAID, will have exclusive rights to SDF resources. This will allow the SDF to cooperate with a range of institutions within the United States and in developing countries.
- *It will be responsive to developing countries' own perceptions of their priorities and needs.* Those who bid for SDF funds will be required to demonstrate the active support of relevant national, provincial, and/or local governments and nongovernmental organizations in the countries in question.
- *It will focus on a limited set of high-priority achievable development challenges, jointly agreed upon by Congress and the president.* Issues should be chosen because they are fundamentally important to the future well-being of developing countries, address a number of interrelated problems, reflect long-term American interests and values, build on particular U.S. strengths, and hold promise of measurable results in a defined



**BANGLADESH:** Health workers inoculate a child at an urban clinic. USAID's Munciple Immunization Program helps fulfill health needs in the urban areas.

period of time. Once Congress and the president agree on priorities, SDF grants will be confined to these subjects until the list is revised by further legislation. Congressional appropriations will be allocated to these priority areas, leaving the SDF substantial discretion in implementing programs.

- *It will be fully accountable to Congress.* Ongoing assessment by SDF personnel of what is accomplished with the fund's grants will be an integral element of the operation. In addition, however, a separate and independent evaluation unit, analogous to the World Bank's Operations Evaluation Department, will undertake in-depth evaluations of SDF projects and programs. These evaluations will be available to members of Congress and relevant committees.<sup>1</sup>

### Getting SDF off the ground

The Sustainable Development Fund is a long-term initiative whose scale, organization, and doctrine should be developed incrementally over a period of approximately five years. The specific organization of the SDF should be determined as part of the implementing legislation, but the following measures could contribute to its effectiveness:

- *The SDF should not be subordinated to any single existing line department or agency, including the Department of State or Treasury.* The State Department, with its focus on short-term political goals, has neither the interest nor the capacity to evaluate or conduct the U.S. bilateral aid program. The SDF will work only if it has the strong backing and attention of the president and Congress. The head of the fund must be a dynamic, highly respected leader, appointed by the president and subject to Senate confirmation. In addition to managing the SDF, the appointee will chair an advisory committee, consisting of him or herself and the secretaries of State, Treasury, Agriculture, and Commerce or their senior deputies. It will need a small but strong staff; attracting an able staff will not be difficult if the SDF has the kind of leadership, centrality, and budgetary clout proposed. The staff will define programs based on its own analysis and proposals and input from a wide variety of official and private developing country sources.
- *The SDF should be endowed with no-year or multi-year funding.* To enable the fund to conduct its operations and planning on a long-range basis, and to allow it to enter into multi-year contracts with operating agencies, the SDF should be provided with multi-year funding. A considerable portion of SDF assistance should be untied to maximize the effective use of resources.
- *The SDF should maintain effective relations with the*

*private sector, including nonprofit and for-profit organizations in the United States and abroad.* In part, this can be achieved by inviting private organizations to compete for SDF funding. The SDF should also establish an eminent advisory council. The membership should come from the relevant private sectors and from research institutions and private foundations. Individuals could also be drawn from multilateral agencies and developing countries. The advisory council should have an important role in the design and conduct of SDF operations.

### Where the market leaves off

Trade is more important than aid to the well-being of the developing world; to promote development, the United States must work with developing countries to create policies and agreements that will promote mutually beneficial economic growth. Bilateral assistance, however, should be concentrated on those challenges least likely to be addressed by markets. The SDF must therefore focus explicitly on the interlinked problems of poverty, population, environment, and human development—each of central importance to the United States and the developing countries, and each unlikely to be solved by markets alone.

For example, the SDF could support the establishment of a global network of disease surveillance centers in the developing world to interdict new health threats—such as AIDS—and prevent global epidemics. It could also support expanded efforts to control population, increase global food production, and establish innovative and replicable programs to protect the environment while alleviating extreme poverty. Such initiatives are doable, cost-effective, in the U.S. interest, and capable of generating public support.

Funding for the Sustainable Development Fund must be large enough for it to have an impact on the development challenges selected and be considered a “player” in determining U.S. and international development priorities. It will take some time for the SDF to define its priorities, to translate them into programs, and to choose private contractors or public agencies to implement them. In the meantime, the SDF must have sufficient funding to enable it to plan for an expanding program and to launch multi-year initiatives. The Alternative Budget includes funds to launch the SDF with \$2 billion in 1993, increasing gradually to \$5 billion in 1997.

U.S. bilateral assistance has reached a defining moment in its history. The United States still needs an effective bilateral aid program, but to survive and flourish, it must be transformed to better promote U.S. interests and values and make use of scarce resources. The status quo—reorganized or not—will result in declining budgets, declining support, and possibly, eventual demise.

The choice is simple. Either move boldly forward or be left behind. For the sake of the United States, and of the developing world, we must choose the former. ■

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**John W. Sewell is president of the Overseas Development Council in Washington, D.C. Timothy A. Johnston until recently was a researcher at the Overseas Development Council.**

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<sup>1</sup>*The SDF should not be confused with the existing International Development Cooperation Agency (IDCA). IDCA was established in the late 1970s at congressional initiative as an independent agency to coordinate all U.S. assistance programs, bilateral and multilateral, and to advise the president and the secretary of state on “. . . all trade, science and technology, and other matters affecting the developing nations.” It was therefore to reflect the reality that development policy should extend far beyond aid programs. IDCA, however, was never enthusiastically implemented by either the Carter or Reagan administration and now exists in name only.*

# THINKING GLOBALLY,

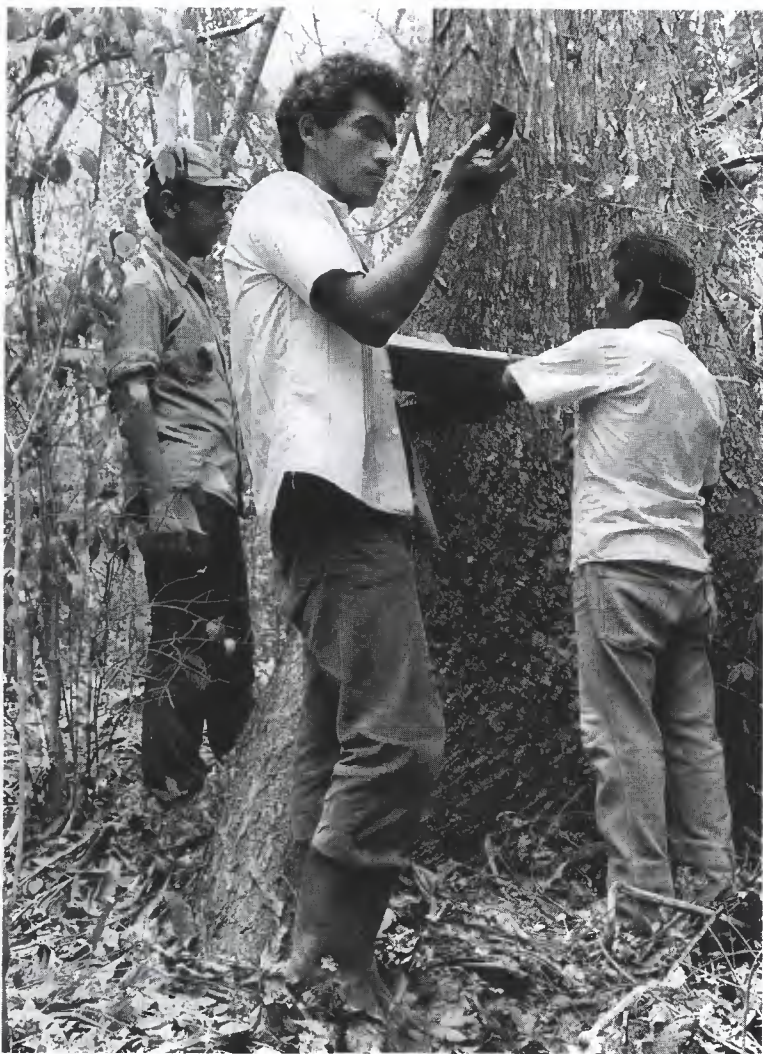


PHOTO BY CAROLYN WATSON

# ACTING LOCALLY

**GUATEMALA:** Men trained by the Tropical Agronomy Research and Education Center measure, identify, and record each species of tree found in the Maya Biosphere Reserve.

**T**he future of foreign assistance and the Agency for International Development is on the chopping block. In an August letter to the president, Senator Patrick Leahy (D-VT), chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, noted the disintegration of congressional support for foreign aid and called for “a total reexamination” and a “massive readjustment” of the program. President Bush, in a September speech to the United Nations, called for “a top-to-bottom overhaul of our institutions that plan and admin-

ister foreign assistance, drastically reducing the bureaucracy, . . . streamlining our delivery systems, and strengthening support for private sector development and economic reform.”

A major voice in the debate on foreign aid is the Washington-based Overseas Development Council (ODC), which has presented its second annual “alternative budget” with suggestions for improving the foreign assistance program (see page 31).

The ODC cites several reasons for “skepticism . . . about the continued effectiveness of [USAID]” and concludes that

BY C. STUART CALLISON

"USAID should no longer monopolize the distribution of U.S. bilateral assistance and should be forced to compete . . . for available resources." It therefore proposes the creation of a "Sustainable Development Fund (SDF) to replace USAID as the centerpiece of U.S. bilateral development cooperation."

The SDF would solve neither the current leadership problems nor the impasse between Congress and the administration over foreign assistance priorities. It would simply create an additional layer of bureaucracy between the real world and funding decisions. The ODC proposal exemplifies Washington's tendency to avoid dealing with disagreements head on: by creating a new agency it wishes away problems that it hopes will die quietly with USAID.

The ODC claims that the SDF would be a competitive wholesaler of development assistance resources, focused on high-priority development challenges and responsive to developing countries' needs. In fact, the SDF would be much less effective than USAID could be, if the latter were given the same stature, policy emphasis, and means proposed for the SDF. Let's look at proposed features of the SDF one at a time.

### Limiting goals

The ODC report suggests that, for the SDF to be successful, the president and Congress must agree on "a limited number of development challenges." It complains that "the current U.S. bilateral aid program has a multitude of objectives and no focus." In fact, if Congress and the administration had agreed on development priorities during the last few years, USAID would not be in its current state of malaise. (See "A.I.D.'s Identity Crisis," January *Journal*.) This problem cannot be solved simply by shifting the control of funds to another agency.

The notion that multiple objectives inevitably lead to a lack of focus and success is flawed. Virtually all development solutions require action in several areas. We are talking about whole societies and about what will help them achieve their multiple objectives. A global agenda emphasizing the more important elements of successful development programs is one thing, but limiting foreign assistance to only a few objectives will lead to failure in countries where several development goals are interlocked. For example, sustained reductions in population growth seem to require reduced infant mortality rates, improved female education, and growing family incomes, in addition to the wide availability of modern contraceptive methods.

The priority focus areas suggested for SDF funding include agriculture and food security, rural employment generation, health, child survival, nutrition, population, environment, education, and human capacity building. The ODC also recognizes the importance of an even broader list of problems and issues, but it proposes to concentrate funding on a small subset of these problems, leaving most of them to other U.S. and international agencies. However, unless these interrelated problems are solved simultaneously, the chances of sustaining development will be seriously compromised. For example, broad-based economic growth, achieved through appropriate reforms of economic policies, institutions, and incentive structures is of critical importance. Economic growth, which

## An Alternative Solution

The ODC envisions the Sustainable Development Fund as having the strong backing and attention of the president and Congress with a dynamic, highly respected leader of cabinet rank. The ODC should also add that this leader should have experience in development. If the same things were true of USAID, would they not help solve the problems of USAID effectiveness?

The frequent preoccupation of State/AID leadership with other than development objectives contributes to the short-term perspective and lack of sound development rationale in U.S. foreign policy. The basic disagreement between Congress and the administration over funding priorities leads Congress to use its constitutional power-of-the-purse to impose its will through extensive ear-marks and micro-management.

It is unrealistic to expect that the foreign assistance program ever will be limited to a short list of purely long-term, global development objectives. Aside from the conceptual problems already mentioned, short-term foreign policy and political objectives are also important, and different domestic interest groups will demand that their special concerns be explicitly recognized. The politics of foreign assistance is, after all, the art of generating majority support in Congress from different groups that may have only a tangential interest in the program.

On the major divide, one can expect the Republicans to continue to insist on the primary importance of open markets and broad-based economic growth, while the Democrats will likely continue to give more attention to the poverty-reducing and human resource-building aspects of the program. The irony of this great debate is that both are partly right, in that both sets of priorities are essential to successful development. The hope is that both sides will gradually reach a better understanding of the complexity and comprehensive nature of a successful development program.

How can we proceed amid constant tensions (a) between short-term foreign policy and political objectives and the longer term requirements for successful development; (b) between country-specific development strategies and global concerns; (c) and between limited resources focused on a few priority activities in each country and political requirements for a broader worldwide agenda? How can we proceed in view of the need for broader institutional involvement

is not given sufficient emphasis in the ODC reports and is not a suggested priority for the SDF, is crucial to generating the resources necessary to underwrite most of the other objectives.

The large number of development objectives frequently bandied about can be logically grouped as supportive elements of the five or six development goals of the revised Foreign Assistance Act currently before Congress, or they can be disaggregated still further into an even larger number of supporting objectives. What is important for success is not how many different objectives USAID may have at different places in the world, but how they are prioritized and given focus within each country program. A centrally imposed focus on a limited number of global objectives, no matter how important the goals, will simply

in foreign affairs, while retaining accountability for results? Two changes in the way we are currently doing business would go a long way toward achieving a more effective program.

### **Geographic and global objectives**

First, USAID budgetary appropriations should be divided not by functional account and specific global objective earmarks, but rather between geographic regions and global objectives. The USAID regional bureaus and country missions would receive country allocations and be primarily responsible for the progress of specific country programs—with priority given to overall economic growth, employment generation, poverty reduction, and building democratic institutions—pursuing other developing targets in combinations and orders of precedence suitable for each country. USAID central bureaus would receive direct appropriations and be primarily responsible for pursuing global objectives, mainly through scientific and technical cooperation. They should have the flexibility to reallocate funds among objectives and country programs to achieve the most rapid progress on a world-wide basis.

While USAID missions would set country-level priorities, they would compete with other country missions for the additional funds available against global priorities. Central bureaus, with their repository of technical expertise, would devise global strategies to promote the achievement of global objectives. Thus, the responsibility for country-level and global objectives would be divided among those better able to evaluate the potential and design programs to achieve each. Country missions would establish the appropriate preconditions for success against both country and global objectives and bid competitively for larger programs that would contribute to key objectives.

All such appropriations should be on a no-year basis to permit tough policy negotiations at the country level and the withholding of funds if preconditions for success are not met. This is critical to the success of both the country programs and the global programs.

All central bureau appropriations for global objectives should include the authority to use a portion of such funds for technical, administrative, and operational support at the country mission level,

in order to avoid the charge that long-term, centrally funded programs impose an impossible "management burden" on the field missions. Furthermore, if Congress continues to set "targets" for the funding of global priorities, as it has done with both the Development Fund for Africa and the regular development assistance accounts, it should also agree that any discussion of a shortfall in targeted funding levels can take place only on a country-by-country basis, in the context of each particular country's development priorities.

### **Monitoring progress and results**

The U.S. foreign assistance program, including development problems, strategies, and assessment, along with other aspects of our foreign policy toward developing countries, should become part of a public dialogue among knowledgeable experts. Accordingly, it would be appropriate to establish committees or task forces of experts, drawn from both within and without the government, to participate in the identification and analysis of key development problems, to review the strategies designed to achieve country and global objectives, and to measure and track progress. The committees would include leading non-government American experts, as well as senior State and USAID officials. Committee meetings would be open to the public, and their reports would be made available to anyone interested. Problem and strategy analyses would be conducted in collaboration with relevant developing country and USAID mission analysts.

Such a system of joint committees could be an expansion of that already envisioned between USAID and the American college and university community under a revitalized and expanded Board for International Food and Agricultural and Economic Cooperation (BIFADEC). There is considerable interest and enthusiasm for the concept within the college and university community. It would provide university and other experts a regular mechanism for constructive input into important deliberations about American foreign assistance and related policies. It would also be a way to keep the experts better informed about development problems and programs abroad, helping to meet our nation's need for more current and accurate information on trends, events, and problems around the world.

limit the chances for success in the field.

### **Short-term results**

To be successful, development efforts must address a number of interrelated problems and, to enlist support at home, they must also reflect long-term American interests and values. The ODC would add a requirement that assistance should also "hold promise of measurable results in a defined period of time, similar to past efforts to eliminate smallpox." This would tend to push the program toward shorter time-horizons and away from the long-term needs of successful development and American interests in building a world society of politically stable, productive, and democratic nations. Sustained development requires, more than anything else, building the indigenous human and institutional capacity

in each country needed to achieve and sustain the objectives. Progress in these critical areas is often hard to measure in the short term. Of course, more attention should be given to the measurement, analysis, and evaluation of development progress. However, to focus foreign assistance only on those issues that can provide measurable results would tend to drive funding decisions away from areas of even greater importance that cannot be measured so easily.

### **Competitive assistance**

The ODC wants to "channel resources" through U.S. government agencies, multilateral institutions, private voluntary and nongovernmental organizations . . . universities, and cooperatives." This is precisely what USAID does.

Except for disaster relief, USAID is not currently an

operational agency, as ODC suggests, in the sense of providing hands-on assistance. Almost all its projects are managed either by host-country operating entities or by U.S. contractors selected according to stringent federal procurement regulations, thereby insuring the maximum degree of competition. The main exceptions to this are some grant programs to private voluntary organizations (PVOs) and universities and a few programs designed to encourage and assist some countries with difficult economic policy reforms or to provide budgetary or balance-of-payments financing in support of a U.S. foreign policy objective.

### Country-by-country development

If U.S. foreign assistance is to be successful, both Congress and the president must recognize that, while the overall development goals can be identified centrally, the specific funding priorities cannot be dictated from Washington. They must be based on sound technical, economic, social, and political analysis country-by-country and project-by-project.

While USAID does not need to deal directly with all the areas of concern in each country, it must be aware of both the constraints imposed by each of them and the rate of progress in all of them. There are times when it is most prudent to lend a helping hand in some area that is not a major priority but which, left alone, might otherwise cause a more general failure. There are other times when an attractive proposal should be rejected as redundant or unsustainable. This is precisely what USAID, working through its field missions, is organized to do.

The ODC would require those who bid for SDF funds "to demonstrate the active support of relevant . . . governments and nongovernmental organizations." It envisions an SDF with "a small but strong staff [which] will define programs based on its own analysis and proposals and input from a wide variety of official and private developing-country sources." USAID discovered long ago that it is fairly easy to obtain and demonstrate the active support of cooperating host-country organizations for almost any worthy development project. Much needs to be done, and there are good people in every country willing to try almost anything that someone with funding might propose.

The long and costly "wish lists" contained in national development plans are derived from different political constituencies and often are difficult to broker against limited investment resources. But faced with limited resources, hard choices must be made among proposals in different sectors, not all of which can be objectively compared. It is difficult to evaluate such proposals, especially to rank order them for funding, without conducting independent analysis and making professional judgment about country development strategies. USAID relies heavily on its field missions for the collaborative analysis and for the negotiations with host-country authorities needed to make these critical choices. It recognizes the inherent inability of a central office to make wise judgments on such matters, given the great diversity among developing countries and the rapid changes occurring in most of them. The new Washington-based bureaucracy proposed by ODC would not be able to duplicate the effectiveness of the well-

established USAID mission system.

### Lessons learned

No matter how important global development objectives and priorities are, they must be achieved and sustained country-by-country. The necessary technical expertise, institutional capability, financial resources, and political will must be generated in each nation. Foreign donors can provide significant assistance to initiate and improve this process, but not indefinitely. Development strategies—with their priorities among sectors and among competing project proposals—must be based on careful analysis of the particular country conditions and awareness of the needs of competing groups of people—the winners and losers of each game plan.

The ODC, by proposing a new Washington-based agency without country-based expertise, whose sole function is to make funding decisions against competing, mostly *ad hoc* proposals would deny the hard lessons learned from long USAID experience. In this denial and by emphasizing shorter-term "measurable results" over longer term needs, the proposed SDF would turn the clock back on the quest for an effective development program.

### Development challenge

Not only would a short list of global development challenges be politically difficult to obtain, but the ODC call for such a list represents an oversimplification of the overall development challenge. It is extraordinarily difficult for Washington—Congress or the administration—to deal sensibly and individually with the quite distinct needs of more than a hundred developing countries and "emerging democracies." The tendency to generalize and propose sweeping, worldwide programs to solve particular problems is overwhelming in a society dominated by 30-second sound bites and one-page memoranda. But if we are to have any lasting, positive impact, we must recognize and deal with reality in all of its complexity. In the global campaign to solve priority development challenges, each country is a separate battleground with the contenders dug-in on their own turf. It is here that the global campaign will be won or lost. It would be a mistake to move funding decisions away from country-based missions where cross-sectoral priorities and the merits of individual projects can best be judged.

To the contrary, the analysis and country development strategy prepared by the USAID mission, in collaboration with embassy and host-country analysts, should become a major part of the blueprint for U.S. relationships with each developing country. This simply requires State Department and executive branch leadership that recognizes the importance of long-term development considerations in shaping U.S. foreign policy. ■

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*Stuart Callison, a development economist, is the deputy executive director of the USAID Center for University Cooperation in Development (UC). The views expressed herein are solely his and do not necessarily represent the official views of USAID, BIFADEC, or the UC.*



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# Bon



# Appétit

## *Julia Child: from Foreign Service wife to French chef*

**F**or Foreign Service couples assigned to Paris, Marseille, Bonn, or Oslo in the late 1940s and 1950s, dinner at the home of Paul Child, USIS information and cultural officer, might have been an unexpected gastronomic encounter with *suprêmes de volaille a blanc*, accompanied by *pointes d'asperges*, *risotto* and of course a fine, moderately-priced white Burgundy. These couples may not have realized that their American palates were testing classical French cuisine for Julia Child, whose 1961 publication of *Mastering the Art of French Cooking* helped revolutionize the way Americans approach food.

In the 1990s, most Americans would not be surprised to sit down to a meal of chicken breasts in cream sauce, asparagus spears, seasoned rice, and a wine likely to be a California chardonnay. But in Oslo in 1959, this Foreign Service spouse faced a different American culinary experience when she attended ladies lunches.

"It was a typical American women's club luncheon," Julia said in an

interview about her Foreign Service life. "They had a salad made out of jello, with bananas and grapes and marshmallows, and really it looked like a phallic symbol. It was sitting on a little piece of lettuce. You couldn't hide it under anything.

"The luncheon," Julia continued, "ended with one of those cake-mix cakes with a white mountain of coconut frosting. Horrible! And some of us got

together and said, 'Never again!'" and formed a cooking committee.

Oslo was the Childs' last post before relocating to Massachusetts in 1960, one year before Julia's career in gastronomy began with Alfred A. Knopf's publication of the first volume in the *Mastering* series. But the story of her unlikely odyssey to the pinnacle of American cooking begins much earlier.

Still vigorous at 80, Julia (everyone calls her Julia) is America's most famous Foreign Service wife. Her voice is still her most unmistakable characteristic, with the flute-like quality familiar to millions of home cooks from several hundred public broadcasting episodes. But it was the Foreign Service that provided the Pasadena, California native the opportunity for immersion in French language and culture.

Julia's Foreign Service career began in Washington, as one of the countless "government girls" who descended on the capital at the onset of World War II. She had applied to "both the WACS and the WAVES," she said, "but standing to my full height, I was an inch and a half too long. Thank heavens."

Her first successful stab at war work

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BY JEWELL FENZI AND CARL L. NELSON

was an emotional rollercoaster. "I had no qualifications of any sort," Julia recalled. "I started out at a place we called 'Mellett's Madhouse,' across from the Willard Hotel. There was a woman in charge, a naval officer with feet that went tap, tap, tap, in a staccato rhythm. She was very severe; she never gave you a smile. And I was so furious at my job that I typed little white cards so hard that they had to get two people to replace me when I left," Julia said, noting that "it just shows what you do without any pull. And no talents."

But Julia had friends in the wartime Office of Strategic Services and soon landed a post in the file room of General William (Wild Bill) Donovan, director of the OSS, whom Julia describes as "a fascinating man, kind of smallish and rumped, with piercing blue eyes. It was said that he could read just by turning the pages, one of those people who could take the whole thing in. I don't know what there was about him, but people were just wonderfully loyal to him."

Promoted to administrative assistant in the newly formed air-sea rescue equipment section ("The only time I got out of the files"), Julia soon had an opportunity to apply for an overseas posting, and in 1943 was assigned to Kandy, Sri Lanka (then Ceylon), where she met her husband-to-be, Paul Child, an OSS visual presentations specialist, whom she married in 1946. Before their marriage, the Childs also served together in Kunming, China, during the war years, 1944-45.

#### Love at First Bite

But it was with Paul Child's USIS postings in Paris (1948-52) and Marseille (1953-54) that Julia discovered the passionate avocation that would become her career. Until then, cooking had not been a priority in her life. "I can remember some terrible meals," she told the *Austin American Statesman* last November. "When Paul and I were courting, he came to California to visit and I made a dish of brains in red wine. It was mush. Paul often said he married me in spite of my cooking."

The image of Julia as neophyte may seem impossible to anyone who has watched her, on camera, flip a potato

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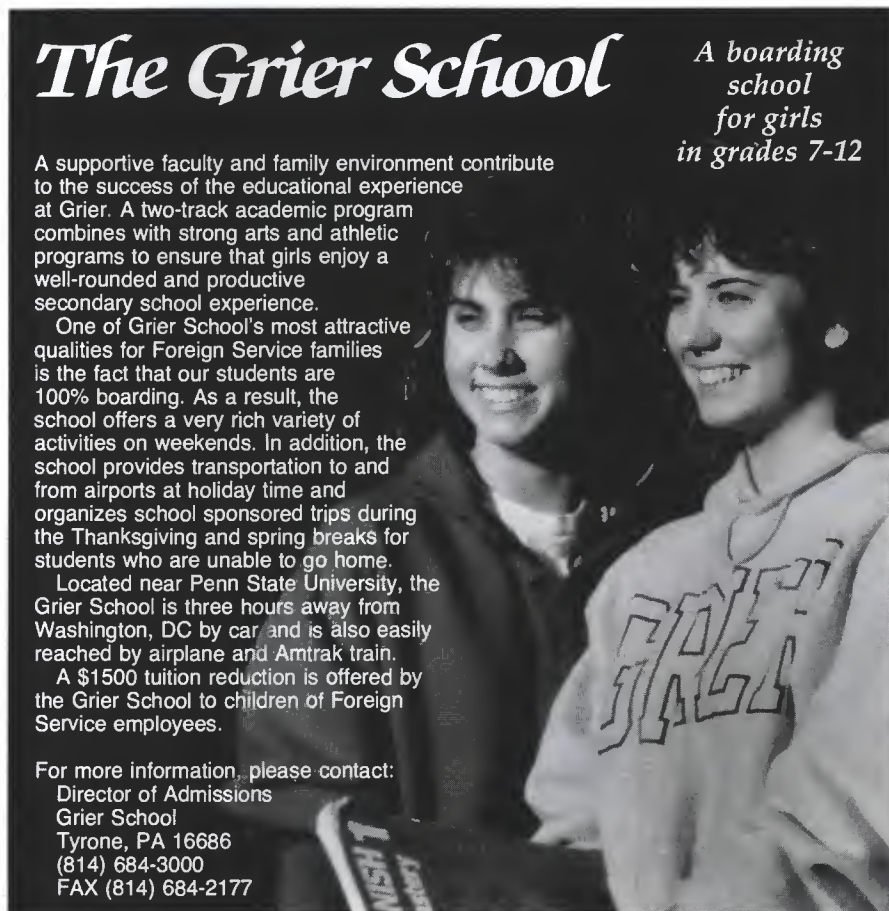
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Paul Child in Norway with Julia Child.

pancake into the stove burner, scoop it back into the pan, and continue on unflustered. Behind such aplomb was a long apprenticeship that began with her arrival in France in 1948. Her philosophy, then and now, was to teach Americans that good cooking, using the best and freshest ingredients, can be learned by anyone and is always fun, mishaps included. "Detailed recipes . . . are teaching recipes, and I consider this book to be a private cooking school," she wrote in the introduction to her 1975 book *From Julia Child's Kitchen*. "For example, I don't think a plain recipe for souffléed potatoes is nearly enough. Not for me, anyway. They're tricky little busters, and we should know every detail about how they work, why they don't work, and what the general pitfalls are."

In 1948, Julia was a 36-year-old Foreign Service spouse embarking on a new career. "We came over on the *SS America* with our old blue Buick," Julia continued in the oral history interview. "My first French meal was

**Her philosophy, then and now, was to teach Americans that good cooking, using the best and freshest ingredients, can be learned by anyone and is always fun, mishaps included.**

in Rouen," en route to Paris, "and I never, never turned back after that. I just fell in love with French food from the first bite."

Julia promptly enrolled in the professional course of the premier Parisian cooking school of that era, the Cordon Bleu, the only woman "with a group of GIs" on the GI Bill, where she trained under chef Max Bugnard, who in turn had learned his craft from the most famous 20th century French chef, Auguste Escoffier.

"I had been looking for a career all my life," she said. "I was passionately interested in it, the tremendous care that all the chefs and teachers took. It was art for art's sake. It made no difference how long it took; if it came out beautifully, that was it."

Paris, then, presented a marvelous opportunity for Julia, and she took full advantage of it. Paul was fluent in French and had lived in Paris. And at a cocktail party, she met her two collaborators on *Mastering the Art of French Cooking*, Simone Beck ("we literally embraced each other") and Louisette Bertholle, who were already working on a cookbook for American audiences with an American who subsequently died. "I never knew him," Child said. But it was "good timing, so we started in on our book together."

The three hit it off immediately. "We started our cooking school several months later," Julia recalled. "We called it the *École des Trois Gourmandes*, the School of the Three Hearty Eaters." The book that resulted, after a de-

cade-long gestation period, was the first step-by-step guide to French cooking accessible to Americans. As Julia pointed out, the classical French cuisine could be intimidating. The classic *sauce espagnole*, for example, "literally took us three days to make. You start out with six kilos of meaty shanks, which need boiling for about 12 hours. It goes on and on. But it is delicious, and you can freeze it."

### Foreign Service Spouse

Paul Child's approach to his career allowed Julia an extraordinary amount of freedom to pursue her ambition in cooking. "We were always down around rank four, so we didn't have to do any embassy things," she said. "We had our French friends, and we lived a very, very nice life," in a third-floor Rue de l'Université apartment near the Chambre de Députés, where Paul could walk to work. But even keeping their heads down could not shelter the Childs from the strong political winds that buffeted the State Department during the 1950s.

Those strong forces, called McCarthyism, brushed the Childs' lives abruptly when they were stationed in Bonn in the mid-1950s. Julia still reacts visibly when she tells the story: "Paul suddenly got a cable, and it said, 'Send Child at once to Washington.'

"I said I know why he is going—they are going to make him head of the department."

It turned out to be an FBI examination.

He was furious. He was absolutely furious. The real object of the investigation was an old friend of both Childs, from Ceylon and Paris days, "who had turned out to be a Russian agent," said Julia.

Paul Child was sent back to Paris via Brussels where, Julia said, he helped choose the site for the American pavilion at the 1958 World's Fair.

### The Language of Success

In Julia's view, successful Foreign Service includes at least one prerequisite—reasonable fluency in the local language. "What good are you if you can't talk to the people?" she asked. "I think that in the Foreign

Service you should have at least one major language and if possible, one minor one."

In 1948, Julia's newfound passion for French cooking proved useful in learning the language, as well. "I had had French all of my life," she recalled, "but when I got over there I could neither speak it nor understand it." She went to Berlitz two hours each day, but it was eventually the cooking instruction, both at Cordon Bleu and in informal groups, that led to her reasonable fluency in the language, as all of the instruction was in French. "It was wonderful just to be drowned in French."

Although her television career as "The French Chef" ended in 1982, Julia still is instantly recognized by fans wherever she goes in public. Her last book, *The Way to Cook* has more than 500,000 copies in print, and she maintains a busy schedule of interviews and cooking demonstrations.

Julia is also a founder of the American Institute of Wine and Food, which was established 12 years ago by

professionals and others interested in furthering the quality and safety of what we eat and drink. Another of her current interests is promoting the master's program in gastronomy at Boston University, an interdisciplinary degree program which began operation last year. It includes courses in aesthetics, communications, marketing, anthropology, sociology, language, oenology, and culinary history.

"At first, it was very hard to get the academics [involved], because they weren't at all familiar with the [culinary] profession," she said. "They thought it was a lot of piddling around in the kitchen making hamburgers. So we said to them, 'If you are an architect you have to get your hands in the building, and if you are a surgeon you have to get your hands in the body.' It's the same thing with gastronomy." ■

*Jewell Fenzi is the director of Foreign Service Spouse Oral History Inc. She is working on a history of the Foreign Service spouse for Twayne Publishers. Carl L. Nelson is a Washington writer.*

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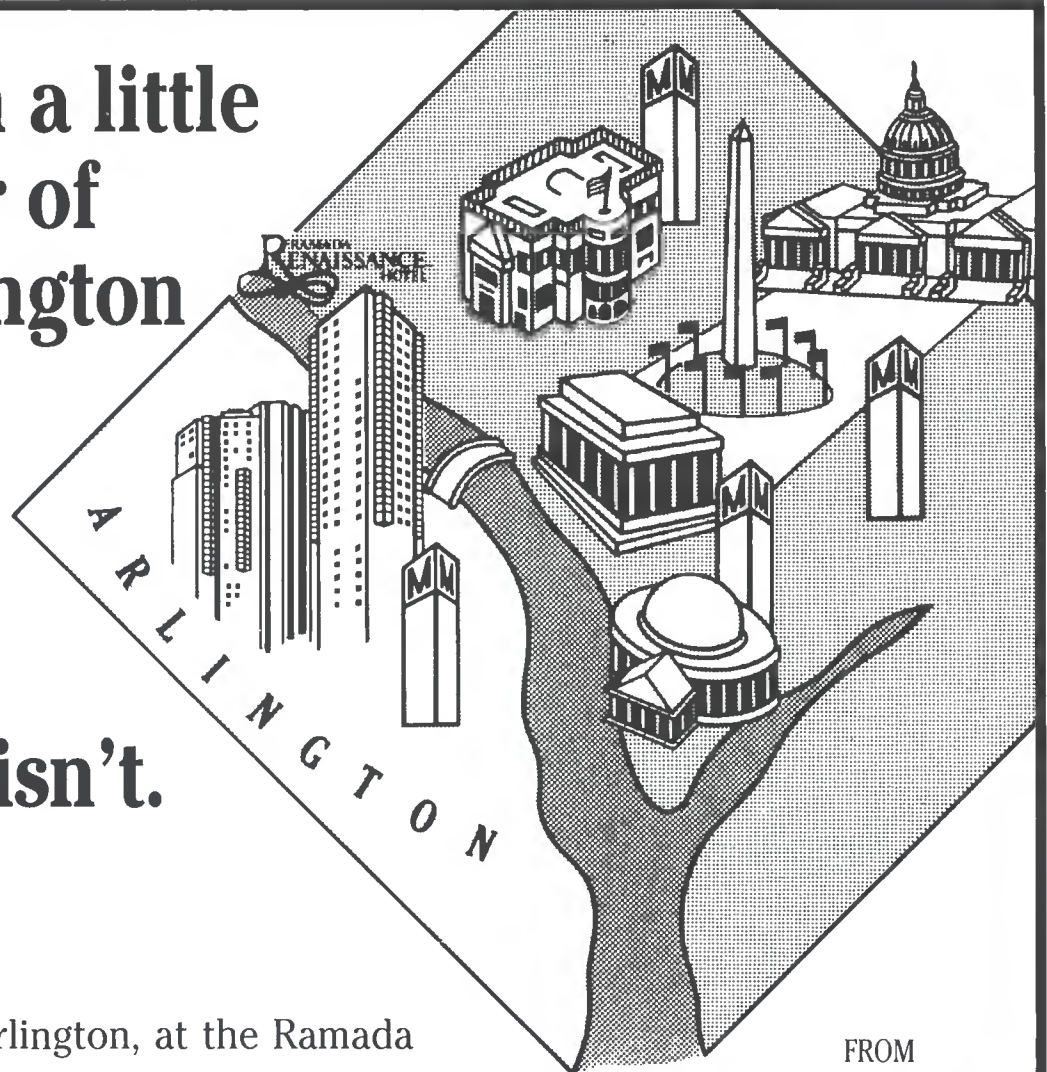
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## Treasure Islands: *Gaining from Guano*

BY ROBERT HOUSTON

**F**ew Americans know of the Guano Act of 1856 that brought many tiny tropical islands under American control. But many might wonder: Why would Congress be concerned about old bird droppings?

In the 19th century, the first truly scientific study of what plants need to grow showed the value of mineral fertilizers. Around 1840, guano, with its high phosphate content, was touted as a valuable fertilizer in the United Kingdom, and a few years later, in the United States. Guano began to be imported into the United States around 1850, but at a price considered excessive, \$55 a ton. U.S. maritime interests wanted to get in on this trade, lifting guano from unclaimed tropical islands and bringing it to the United States.

In 1852, Secretary of State Daniel Webster, a New Englander, was persuaded to promise U.S. protection to an American company planning to remove guano from the Lobos Islands off Peru. However, Peru successfully pressed its claim to sovereignty and nothing came of this venture. Two years later, Secretary of State Marcey instructed the American minister in Quito to try to negotiate a treaty with Ecuador to give Americans the exclusive right to remove guano from one of the Galapagos Islands. The inducement for Ecuador would be a U.S. loan on favorable terms, and a U.S. commitment to protect the islands from encroachments by third parties. The best the minister could do was to initial a treaty setting the loan amount at \$3 million, but giving the U.S. only a preferential price for guano extracted by Ecuadorians. The U.S. did not ratify this treaty. Ecuador withdrew it in 1855 in the face of much criticism from



After guano mining ended on Navassa Island, the United States constructed a manned light house there to protect ships in a channel serving the Panama Canal.

other countries. The episode showed the degree of American interest in getting into the guano trade.

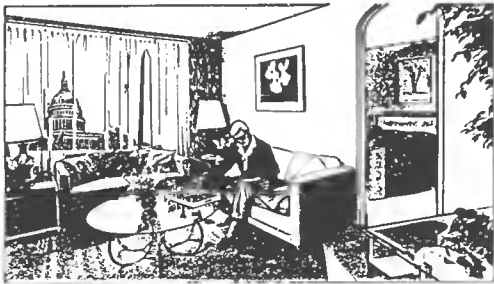
In 1856, northeastern maritime ventures and agricultural interests in Maryland, Virginia, and Delaware

joined in inducing Congress to pass the so-called Guano Act. The major provision of this act, signed into law by President Franklin Pierce, stated: "Whenever any citizen of the United States discovers a deposit of guano on

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any island, rock, or key, not within the lawful jurisdiction of any other government, and takes peaceable possession thereof, and occupies the same, said island, rock, or key may, at the discretion of the president, be considered as appertaining to the United States."

The act further provided that U.S. law, as applied to crimes committed on board an American vessel on the high seas, would apply in all territory subject

**The political trade-offs in the Guano Act were clear. Northeastern commercial interests would get U.S. government protection to mine guano on distant islands. American farmers would get all the guano produced and at a low price.**

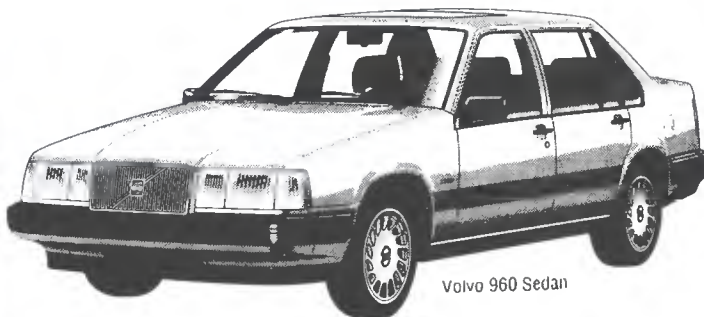
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to the Guano Act. The United States was not "obligated" by the act to "retain possession of the islands, rocks, or keys after the guano shall have been removed from the same," but the president at his discretion could do so. Also at his discretion, the president could use the land and naval forces of the United States to protect the rights of American discoverers of guano deposits. Other sections provided that a discoverer would have the exclusive right to exploit his guano deposit, but could not charge more than \$8 per ton FOB for the product, which could be shipped only to the United States and only in American bottoms.

The political trade-offs in the Guano Act were clear. Northeastern commercial interests would get U.S. government protection to mine guano on distant islands. Maritime labor was assured employment by the requirement that guano be shipped in

# HISTORY

American bottoms. American farmers would get all the guano produced and at a low price. In 1862, with Southern farmers cut off from imported guano by the Union blockade and with no Southern votes in Congress, the act was amended to permit guano discoverers to ship their product anywhere.

## Questionable acts

The Guano Act was notable for a number of reasons. It made a congressional industrial policy statement: Americans should establish a guano mining industry to supply American farmers at a low price. The act showed congressional trust in the president's discretion, both in claiming new territory and using military force, to a degree that seems remarkable today. The act also introduced the concept of "throwaway" national territory: when the miners had exhausted the resource, we could wash our hands of the territory if we wished. But the act left it uncertain when or how a guano island ceased to "appertain" to the United States. Also, when was an island in the "lawful jurisdiction" of another state? Lots of room for argument here.

Finally, the act brought private initiative into a realm usually reserved for government agents: adding territory (at least temporarily) to the nation. Under the Guano Act, Congress was giving private enterprise wide latitude to exercise a para-statal function. Guano seekers could snatch an island first, and only after the fact seek government approval.

Congressional encouragement to Americans to sail the oceans seizing uninhabited islands may seem high-handed to Americans today. But in this same period, Britain, France, Germany, and Italy were dividing up the continent of Africa, which definitely was inhabited, and doing so with little concern for the desires of the inhabitants. Tsarist Russia was then subduing the largely Moslem peoples of Central Asia and the Caucasus, often using force. And others, especially Britain, Germany, and France, were also on the prowl for unclaimed islands.



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The behavior encouraged by the U.S. Guano Act was not really all that unusual for the times.

**State's dilemmas**

The State Department was never happy about the responsibilities assigned it for verifying that claims made of the discovery of guano deposits met all provisions of the act. How to know for sure which islands were in fact not subject to a valid prior claim by another country? Guano deposits existed in commercial quantity only on remote tropical islands, usually rocky and with little rainfall. Fertile, well watered, sizable islands were not likely to be unclaimed and unoccupied, nor were such islands likely to have a good grade of guano. Yet the act encouraged some less scrupulous persons to seek monopoly holds on various islands for purposes not related to supplying American farmers with cheap fertilizer. Also the act did not require public registry of transfers of rights to guano deposits; thus State often did not know who currently owned previously certified rights to a guano deposit on a distant island. Finally, Guano Act claims made by private Americans were often an irritant in relations with countries whose good will we sought.

State apparently did not maintain a current register of valid guano island certificates, but depended on the Treasury Department to keep such lists and its Customs Service to enforce the rules requiring shipping in American bottoms. The department's Legal Adviser's Office, in 1932, said that State had never mastered the problems encountered by the Guano Act and recommended repeal as a way of ending such problems.

**In retrospect**

What were the results of the passage of the Guano Act? The act did bring increased imports of guano into the

United States, at lower prices, for a few years. U.S. imports peaked around 1878 at 18,000 tons. It was not exhaustion of the deposits which did in the American guano industry, but technology. By 1900, guano lost its status as the phosphate fertilizer of choice, and imports into the U.S. virtually ended.

The guano industry was a poor choice for congressional favor. It used no advanced technology. Labor conditions in the guano mines were often deplorable. As late as 1940, a Pacific Guano and Fertilizer Company was in operation, but with the emphasis

**Many different individuals and companies over the years wrote to the State Department to claim some 200 different islands under the Guano Act. Some of the claimed islands may have been imaginary, as they could not be found later where claimants said they were located.**

on "fertilizer" not "guano." No other guano mining company lasted long.

The virtual blank check given the president to use the military to protect American guano mining never had to be used in any serious fashion. State asked the Navy to send a ship to Navassa Island in 1858 to frighten off Haitian Emperor Soulougue when he threatened to expel American miners so that he could grant a concession to a British-financed firm from Jamaica. Fortunately, only a show of force was needed.

Fortunately also, the surface mining operations unleashed by the Guano Act seem to have done little permanent environmental damage. The eclipse observers who went to Enderbury and Canton islands in 1937, a half century after guano mining ended, reported remains of buildings as the only evidence of previous human activity there. The United States in 1971 gave up title to one set of guano islands, the Swan Islands off Honduras, which

might have played an important role in U.S. efforts of the late 1980s to preserve breeding grounds for endangered sea turtles. Now it is up to Honduras to act there.

Many different individuals and companies over the years wrote to the State Department to claim some 200 different islands under the Guano Act. Some of the claimed islands may have been imaginary, as they could not be found later where claimants said they were located. Few of the "real" guano islands were the site of long-term guano extraction, but the United States, in time, came to value some islands for other reasons. For example, at least for a period, the mid-Pacific islands were very important for aviation refueling purposes. But no guano island became a durable and major national asset. Even with the changes in the Law of the Sea in the 1970s, which meant that the smallest island could potentially control marine and seabed resources over

an area of 125,000 square miles, the assessment stands: none of the claimed guano islands was a great national asset. Johnston Island may be the exception, if the chemical weapons disposal facility there works effectively.

The major result of the Guano Act was the burdening of U.S. relations with other countries by claims made under the act. The conflicts raised by these claims lasted many years. In the Caribbean, the last major conflict ended only in 1971. Then the United States accepted Honduran claims to the Swan Islands and Honduras agreed that U.S. facilities could continue to operate there. In the Pacific, the conflicts were ended in 1979-80 by Friendship Treaties in which the U.S. gave up Guano Act claims in favor of the new Pacific fishing nations of the Cook Islands, Tuvalu, and the Republic of Kiribati. ■

**Robert Houston is a retired FSO with an interest in history and maritime affairs.**

**Catherine Stough Lotsberg**, 62, wife of retired Foreign Service officer Roman Lotsberg, died of cancer in Washington on June 26.

Born in Moscow, Idaho, Mrs. Lotsberg went to USIA Calcutta as a Foreign Service secretary in 1955 where she met and married Roman. She served with him in Calcutta, Paris (twice), Washington, Cairo (was evacuated in the June 1967 war), Tehran, and Madrid.

Mrs. Lotsberg was an English teacher at the Binational Center in Madrid and Munich, where they moved following retirement in 1981.

In addition to her husband, of Mclean, Virginia, survivors include a daughter, Carolyn Lotsberg of Madrid.

**Gertrude M. Wallner**, 80, wife of the late Woodruff Wallner, a former Foreign Service officer, died in Saint-Sylvestre de Comiellles, France, in November after a brief illness.

Born and educated in the United Kingdom, she had been an ambulance driver with the British Red Cross and a secretary to the American Embassy prior to her marriage in 1944. She and her husband had served posts in France, Yugoslavia, Brazil, and Italy.

She had been interned by the Germans from 1942 to 1944.

For years, she championed animal rights and was an avid gardener and landscaper, designing numerous gardens throughout France. Her work was often featured in French periodicals.

Mrs. Wallner is survived by a son, Nicholas A. Wallner of Concord, New Hampshire; a daughter, Ann Calhoun of Niskayuna, New York; and five grandchildren.

**Albert E. Carter**, 82, a retired Foreign Service officer, died August 18 of Parkinson's disease and heart failure in Austin, Texas.

Born in Virginia, Carter attended the University of Chattanooga and worked as a journalist until joining the State Department in 1943.

As a Foreign Service officer, Carter served in Costa Rica, Uruguay, Chile, Panama, and Germany. From 1957-61 he was deputy chief of mission in Paraguay. He also served as acting director of the Office of Research and later as a member of the Board of Examiners of the Foreign

## IN MEMORY

Service.

He is survived by his wife of 46 years, Dorothy Sharp Carter, of Austin; a son, Robert Sharp Carter, of Richmond; three daughters, Janet Carter Kessler of Lyon, France, Deborah Carter Blank of Austin, Texas, Sally Carter Meyer of Brussels, Belgium; and five grandchildren.

**Lawrence Koegel**, 75, a retired Foreign Service officer, died August 18 in Washington, following a stroke.

Born in Brooklyn, Koegel graduated from Pace College in New York City where he worked for American Express for four years. He then served 17 years in the Navy before joining the State Department. After joining the Foreign Service in 1959, he served in Bonn, Bucharest, and Dacca. In 1971, Koegel returned to Washington to serve in the Bureau of Consular Affairs where he remained until his retirement in 1981.

He is survived by his wife, Signe, of Bethesda, Maryland; a son, Lawrence Koegel, Jr. of Columbus, Ohio; two daughters, Mary Catherine Helmuth of Gaithersburg, Maryland and Susan Koegel of Austin, Texas; and two grandchildren.

**Leslie Snowden (Lee) Brady**, 82, a retired Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Information Agency, died September 10 in Woodstock, Virginia of Parkinson's Disease.

Born in College Corner, Indiana, Brady received his B.A. and M.A. from Miami University in Oxford, Ohio. He received his PhD. in French language and literature from New York University in 1943 and joined the Office of War Information that same year.

His USIA posts included Paris, French Indochina, and Moscow. After retiring from USIA, he became director of the Miami University European Center in Luxembourg and later joined the staff of the Atlantic Council launching a series of educational exchanges.

He is survived by his wife, Mary

Walser Brady, of Chevy Chase, Maryland; two daughters, Patricia Ann Brady of Poughkeepsie, New York, and Lynn Brady Freisenhan of Converse, Texas; a son, Phillip Snowden Brady of Washington; and one grandson.

**Viola C. Dux**, 72, wife of retired Foreign Service officer Michael J. Dux, died August 25 in Aurora, Colorado, after having suffered a stroke.

Born in Mt. Carmel, North Dakota, Mrs. Dux came to Washington to work for the State Department in 1941 where she met her future husband.

She accompanied her husband on assignments to Madras, New Dehli, Bangkok, Bonn, and Dusseldorf. After retirement, the couple made their home in Colorado.

Survivors include her husband, of Aurora, Colorado; two daughters, and four grandchildren.

**Kenneth Joseph MacCormac**, 81, a retired Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Information Agency, died of cancer September 8 at his home in Belvedere, California.

Born in Cordova, Alaska, MacCormac received a B.S. degree from the University of San Francisco. He returned to Alaska to work with the Red Cross until 1943. He then served in the U.S. Army before joining the State Department in 1949.

After transferring to the U.S. Information Agency in 1953, he served in Seoul, Tokyo, and Bangkok. After retirement, he also served in Thailand as director of the Fulbright Commission for two years.

He had no immediate survivors but leaves several cousins in the San Francisco Bay area.

**Walter S. Burke**, 71, a retired Foreign Service officer, died September 10 in Bradenton, Florida.

Born in Chicago, Illinois, Burke attended the Chicago Latin School and the Northwestern Military Academy in Wisconsin.

He joined the State Department in 1947 where he served in Czechoslovakia, Haiti, Denmark, Senegal, Greece, Istanbul, Pakistan, Iran, Hong Kong, Vietnam, and the Philippines.

He is survived by his wife, Gabriele, of Bradenton, Florida; two daughters, and five grandchildren. ■

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# BOOKS

## Manning the Barricades

**BREAKTHROUGH TO HOPE: MOSCOW, AUGUST, 1991**

By James H. Billington, *The Free Press*, 1992, 202 pages, \$ 19.95, hardcover.

Reviewed by Stephen N. Sestanovich

Young Russians manning the barricades in Moscow during the *putsch*, or coup attempt of last August and defending themselves at the heart of the old Soviet empire are the stuff of James Billington's new and exciting memoir, *Breakthrough to Hope*.

Billington is an academic kremlinologist who just happened to be in Moscow during the unbelievable events that shook the world nearly as much as in 1917. He was attending a pre-arranged conference of international librarians, and although he presents himself as merely a bystander-historian-observer, there is no doubt that the immense prestige that attaches to his official position as librarian of Congress opened many doors to insightful contacts with leaders on both sides of the eruption. The little world of deteriorating Russian libraries suddenly came to mirror the larger world of the crumbling Soviet Union.

In less competent hands such a microcosmic analogy could easily miss and become a sophomoric and maudlin chronicle of sensationalized incidents. Billington pulls it all together with a pen so deft that historic characters, movements, and paradoxes combine to demonstrate how, when suddenly confronted with a *putsch* that intended to reimpose the old Leninist politics of fear, the Russian people unexpectedly found a way to affirm a new politics of hope.

To illustrate how the Russian people were transformed psychologically by

the events of August 1991, Billington weaves the most relevant threads of Russia's history and culture into a fabric so culturally sensitive that its equal is only rarely found in reportorial literature. Tracing Russia's record of unrelieved autocratic rule, he then introduces the reader to the development of a different kind of leadership—the young leaders now arising from the ashes of the attempted *putsch*.

At its beginning, on-the-spot senti-

percent of Russians favoring continued state control over most industrial enterprises. The cocoon of order and predictability that communism provided for decades seemed too comforting for the average Russian to give up. Furthermore, the coup leaders broadcast reports that on the international scene Presidents Bush and Mitterrand would accept them so long as existing international treaties were respected.

But on the afternoon of August 19 everything began to change as powerful new elements entered the drama.

Paradoxically, as Billington observes, between the liturgies for the Orthodox Feast of the Transfiguration, on the 19th, and those for the Feast of the Assumption, on the 28th, the Russian people were transformed.

Billington's gripping eyewitness account of those days of heroic activities, enriched by his grasp of the dynamics of Russian mentality will appeal to historians, sociologists, philosophers, revolution watchers—even mystery buffs.

Images of Gorbachev's release from house arrest, Yeltsin's riding atop a tank and in command, reformist messengers darting out from the Russian White House to inform military officers still under Junta control of the illegality of their action, the FAXes and the copiers whirring, and the historic tri-color flag hoisted on flag poles around the city appeared throughout the world on the likes of CNN. Played back for Russian viewers, they gave worldwide recognition to the brave spirit of the barricades.

As the military units of varying size came to Yeltsin's side, they seemed, according to Billington, to inspire a feeling that power was not being merely transferred, but relegitimized.

It all ended so quickly. *Chudo*, "a

...Billington weaves the most relevant threads of Russia's history and culture into a fabric so culturally sensitive that its equal is only rarely found in reportorial literature.

ment seemed to indicate to Billington that the *putsch* launched by the Communist power elite might succeed. Recent events had reduced the national morale to the level of humiliation: retreat without victory from Afghanistan; political withdrawal from Eastern Europe; support of a war against Saddam Hussein, a favored former client; and now the accelerating disintegration of the Soviet empire. The mood was to throw the reformist rascals out.

In addition, the Junta's leaders seemed far more shrewd than the image of bumbling kidnappers that we in the West were given at the time by the media. They (the Junta) exploited both Gorbachev's unpopularity and the popular fear that plunging the country into a market economy, as Gorbachev and Yeltsin were planning, would only make things worse. A public opinion poll conducted just five days before the *putsch* showed 79

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## BOOKS

miracle," was the word almost everyone used in Moscow to describe how it all ended so much sooner and better than anyone had expected or could believe.

The burden of fear, Billington observed, had shifted from the populace at large to the heart of the KGB. The unconstitutional government forces and the KGB were expected to storm the massive White House, but it never happened. The prospect of facing six tanks and 15 armored carriers and 500 well-armed people inside the building dissuaded them. They simply feared for their lives.

In the eventful hours and days that followed the failed *putsch*, Billington notes that most Russians, especially the younger generation, clearly wanted something more than reformed communism. They were now in rebellion against Marxist materialism and its totalitarian offspring. They wanted the better future that up to now had only been promised them.

Russians—young and old—feared that a blood-bath would follow, but no, the populace seemed remarkably free of vindictiveness. In rapturous often almost poetic prose, Billington notes a revival of the repentive and redemptive features of Russia's Orthodox Christianity. Most Russians, he discovered, did not seem eager to bring the Junta to trial, let alone to punish its members. There was a sense that almost everyone had been implicated in the moral degradation of communism and was now involved in his or her own self-cleansing.

The Cold War ended, in Billington's words, with neither a military bang nor a whimper, but with an unanticipated explosion of human feelings long suppressed. He credits modern technology, but emphasizes books and people-to-people exchanges of scientists, sociologists, parliamentarians, journalists, and teachers as vehicles that transformed and so quickly catapulted a passive Russian population from totalitarian rule to democratic ways.

Billington acclaims Yeltsin as the man of the moment, and the book revolves around his important role in the validation of democracy for ordi-

nary Russians. Yet, he has qualms about Yeltsin's capacity to create the necessary new democratic institutions, and to survive. He speculates that Anatoly Sobchak, the dynamic young liberal mayor of the newly re-named St. Petersburg may be the one to eventually engulf Yeltsin to become the biggest *Matroshka* doll of all. ■

*Stephen Sestanovich is a retired Foreign Service officer.*

## The Uses of Secrecy

### REGULATING COVERT ACTION

By W. Michael Reisman, Yale University Press, 1992, 256 pages, \$28.50 hardcover.

Reviewed by Noel V. Lateef

In a thought-provoking assessment of post-Cold War intelligence published in the February 1992 *Journal*, Frank McNeil concluded that "the need for covert action, except against international thugs, is over." The authors of a timely and pragmatic analysis of covert action might disagree.

In *Regulating Covert Action*, W. Michael Reisman, Wesley Newcomb Hohfeld professor of jurisprudence at Yale Law School, and James E. Baker, of the State Department Office of the Legal Adviser, top their useful list of recommendations with perhaps the most compelling one: "Try, as far as possible, to accomplish overtly what subordinates propose to do covertly."

A conventional justification for covert action is that others do it. During the Cold War it was widely assumed that the Soviet Union engaged in covert action and, therefore, the United States had no choice but to follow suit. With the demise of the Soviet Union, there has never been a better time to address frontally the hard moral and political questions posed by covert activities.

Rising to this challenge, Reisman and Baker offer a seminal discussion of the legality of covert operations under domestic and international law. After reviewing various kinds of covert action, ranging from the Trujillo assassination in 1961 to the raid on Libya in 1986, they distill a number of proposals for policymakers.

The risk in covert action is the inevitable tendency to view the mission and not the rules as having primacy. *Regulating Covert Action* is a most timely contribution to discourse on the competing cultures of secrecy and openness in a democracy.

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*Noel V. Lateef is senior vice president and general counsel of The Bowery Savings Bank in New York.*

## Déjà Vu

**FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1958-60, VOLUME VI, CUBA**  
*U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991, 1226 pages, \$39.*

**Reviewed by Wayne S. Smith**

Reviewing the documents in this volume was like reliving a chapter of my life. Many of them I remember reading years ago. A few I even had a hand in writing. By and large, they confirm my recollection of the trend of events during that period, as I think they will confirm the recollections of others who worked on the Cuban issue. There is, for example, abundant evidence that in 1958 the U.S. government incorrectly hoped right up until November that the elections called by Batista for that month might produce some solution to Cuba's problems. Document No. 136, for example, is the September 26 despatch from the embassy concluding that while the elections weren't likely to meet all the standards of an ideal democratic process, they were the best that could be had and might indeed lead to some way out of Cuba's political impasse.

The actual elections, of course, were blatantly fraudulent. Even had they not been, they offered no way out. On the contrary, they were utterly irrelevant. By the Fall of 1958, Castro had gained the military advantage. His forces were advancing up the island, and it was clear that Batista's days were numbered.

On January 1, 1959, the inevitable happened. Batista fled the country and Fidel Castro marched into power. The United States immediately recognized the new government and made some initial efforts to get along with it. One of the most important steps was sending

Ambassador Philip W. Bonsal, an experienced diplomat who had managed to establish good rapport with another social revolutionary government, in Bolivia. But Castro's objectives were to free Cuba of U.S. economic domination and to encourage other Latin American countries to stand up to "U.S. imperialism," certainly not the best prescription for a warm relationship.

The remainder of the documents in Volume VI stand as testimony to the steady deterioration in U.S.-Cuban relations right up until the eve of their severance. The chronology is as I remember it. There were growing problems and tensions during the latter half of 1959. Then, on January 19, 1960, Fidel Castro made a series of particularly offensive remarks concerning the U.S. government (no. 424). On January 23, Ambassador Bonsal was recalled to show U.S. displeasure (document no. 434). The United States nonetheless decided to make one final effort to negotiate and on January 26 issued a statement reaffirming strict adherence to a policy of nonintervention in Cuban affairs and stressing U.S. determination to solve disagreements through diplomatic negotiations (no. 438).

The Cuban government responded positively, indicating its own wish to negotiate our differences. The Cuban press moderated its attacks against the United States, and even Fidel Castro toned down his rhetoric. There seemed to be some hope of avoiding a clash. But then, in February, came the visit of Soviet Vice Premier Anastas Mikoyan, which the United States interpreted as a signal that Castro had already decided to turn to Moscow and that negotiations were simply a stalling tactic. On February 29, the embassy delivered a tough note to the Cubans reiterating earlier complaints and virtually accusing the Cubans of bad faith (no. 467). Any hope that negotiations might get back on track were ended definitively on March 4, when the French munitions ship *La Coubre* blew up in Havana harbor and Castro accused the U.S. of sabotaging it. Having concluded at that point (we are told here) that there was no possibility of working with the Castro government, on March 16, 1960, President Eisenhower signed a finding authorizing the CIA to begin actions to

remove it (no. 481).

Another nine months would pass before diplomatic relations were finally broken, and not until April 17, 1961, would the Bay of Pigs invasion actually be launched. The die nonetheless was cast on March 16 of 1960. Or was it? With its note of January 26, the United States had made a sincere effort to settle differences through negotiations. Or had it?

Unfortunately, this volume of foreign affairs documents was compiled before the provision for fuller disclosure was attached to the State Department appropriations act in October 1991. Thus, it tells only part of the story. From the research done by Professor Piero Gleijeses of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, we now know that the Special Group (consisting of the special assistant to the president for National Security Affairs, a deputy under secretary of State, the deputy secretary of Defense, and a senior official of the CIA) had already concluded, on January 13, 1960, that the United States had to get rid of Castro. Accordingly, Branch WH/4 was established within the CIA on January 18 and set about preparing a plan of action. It was this plan that Eisenhower signed on March 16.

Thus, the machinery to oust Castro had been set in motion even before his offensive remarks of January 19 and well before the United States note of January 26 giving assurances that the U.S. wished to negotiate and would not intervene in Cuba's internal affairs. One can argue that had Mikoyan not visited Cuba and had *La Coubre* not exploded, the situation might have developed differently and President Eisenhower wouldn't have signed the March 16 finding. Perhaps. Still, the full record places the whole situation in a new light and casts some doubt on the sincerity of the U.S. offer to negotiate. At least, it points up the fact that without *all* the documents, one cannot but have an incomplete and sometimes misleading picture. ■

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*A retired Foreign Service officer specializing in Cuban affairs, Wayne S. Smith is now director of Cuban Studies at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, D.C.*



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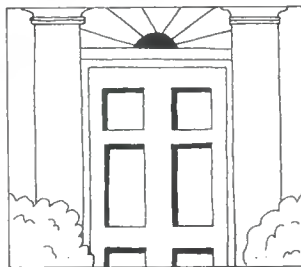
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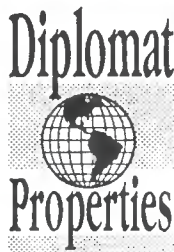
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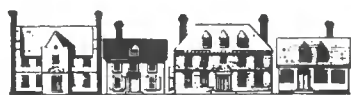
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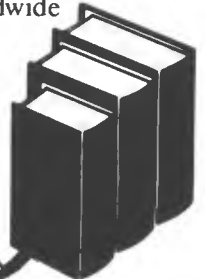
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