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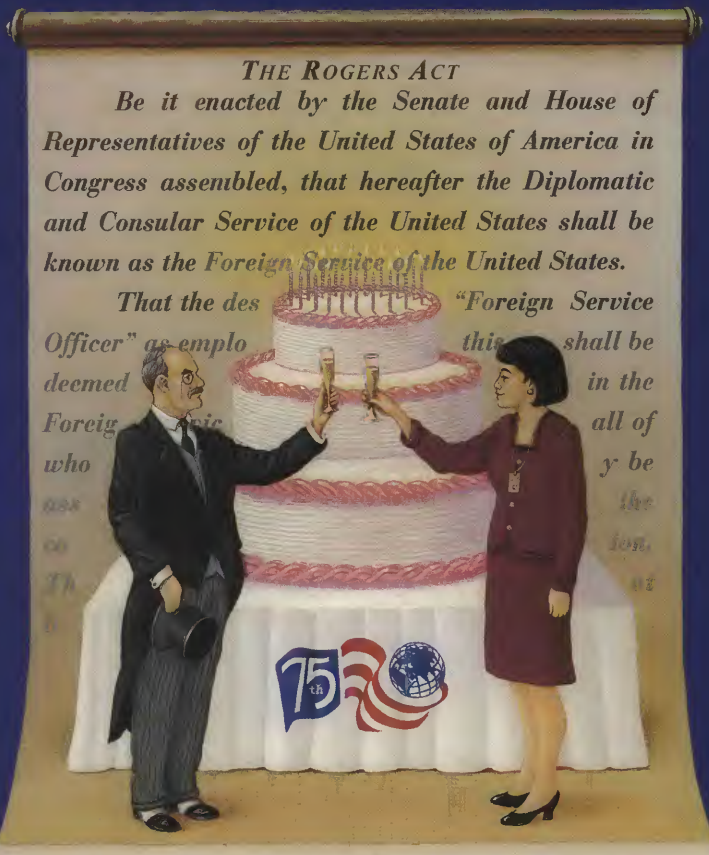

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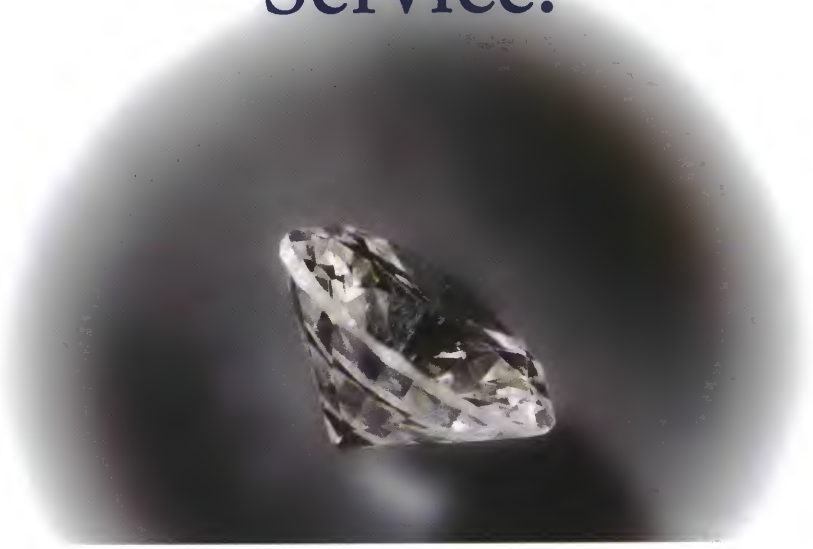

So let us dream of a world in which all states, great and small, work together for a peaceful flowering of the republic of man. A. Stevenson

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CONTENTS

May 1999 ■ Vol. 76, No. 5

COVER

75TH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

COLUMNS

DEPARTMENTS

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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

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THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

Dear Colleagues:

I am pleased to extend my congratulations to the entire Foreign Service family on the occasion of your 75th Anniversary. In my years as Secretary of State, my respect for the members of the Service, and the family members who accompany them to distant and sometimes hazardous locations, has grown steadily. Every time I travel to a foreign post and meet with the staff in our Embassies, I am proud to see the excellent work you do on behalf of the United States. It is truly an honor to work beside you to create a world that is free, peaceful and prosperous.

The Foreign Service of today is very different from that of 1924. Women, previously relegated largely to supporting roles and denied the option to combine family and career, are an ever-increasing component of the Service. We also now recognize the importance of a Foreign Service which truly reflects the diversity of America, and we will continue our concerted efforts to attract the best and the brightest from across the entire spectrum of American society. The mission of the Foreign Service has also changed over the years. With the end of the Cold War, we have had to reassess both our goals and our strategies for achieving them. Today's Foreign Service demands, and is cultivating, a strong expertise in many non-traditional areas, ranging from international law enforcement to environmental protection. With reorganization, we are establishing a new cone for public diplomacy officers and placing arms control, public diplomacy and sustainable development within the mainstream of our foreign policy, right where they belong.

One aspect of the Foreign Service that has not changed over the years is the dedication and selflessness of our people. Our work remains dangerous, as last year's bombings in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam so clearly illustrated to us and to the entire world. Yet the members of the Foreign Service continue their work, at home and abroad, knowing that what they do is essential to the well-being and security of the United States.

I am proud to join with you in marking this milestone in your history. Please accept my congratulations and sincere wishes for the continuation of the Foreign Service tradition.

Sincerely,

Madeleine Albright

Honorary Chair
Madeleine Albright

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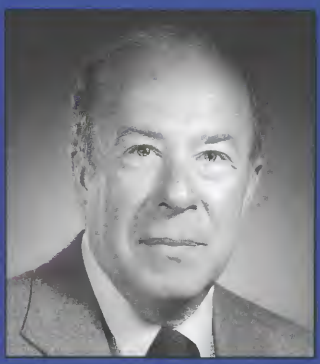

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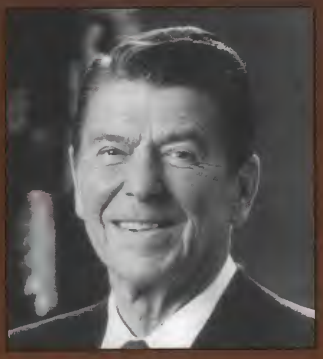

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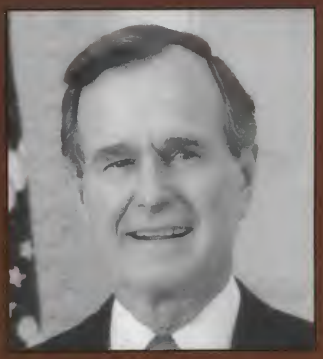

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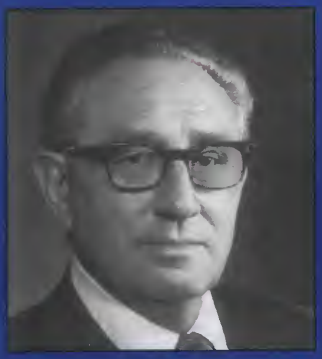
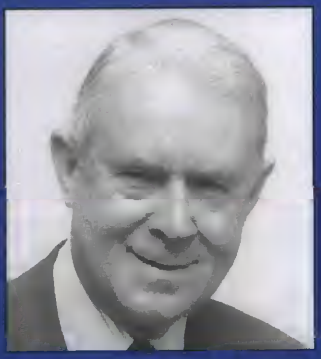
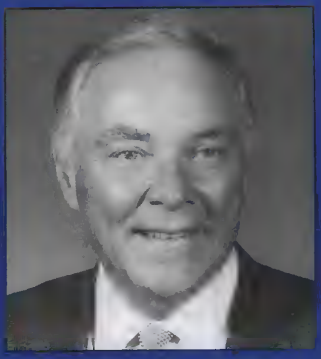


Henry A. Kissinger



Cyrus Vance



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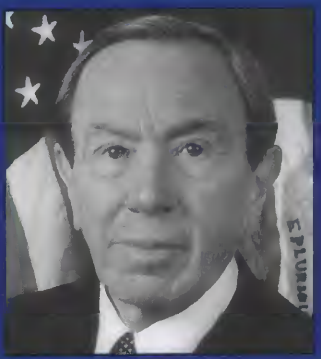

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President's Views

The Constant Factor in U.S. Diplomacy

By Dan Geisler

Charles Evans Hughes, who was secretary of State 75 years ago in 1924, wouldn't be surprised by some of the items heading America's diplomatic agenda today. Hughes was concerned about the strategic balance among the United States, Japan, Russia and Western Europe. He believed that China held enormous, if as yet unrealized, geopolitical potential. The areas of the world he tended to ignore still get little attention, with the exception of the Middle East. Even in a rapidly changing world, there are some constant factors.

In economic diplomacy, Hughes would recognize some constant factors in 1999. He lived in a pre-Smoot-Hawley Tariff world where free trade was the norm rather than the exception, and capital flowed across borders easily.

Still, a number of items on the diplomatic agenda would be unfamiliar to Hughes. He operated in a bilateral world; so-called "global issues" rarely crossed his desk. He wasn't worried about the environment, never heard of nuclear proliferation and was not concerned about the physical security of overseas diplomatic missions. He didn't need to be skilled in managing alliances such as NATO, building consensus in the UN or shaping economic policy in APEC.

Hughes would have been comfortable with the current emphasis on small, efficient government. That was a priority of the Coolidge administration and Hughes supported it. He was, after all, a man who grew a beard because he found going to the barber an inefficient use of his time. The institution he led was minuscule compared to the State Department of 1999. It employed only 1,300 people and had an operating budget of only half-a-million dollars.

What changes in U.S. diplomacy will Madeleine Albright's successor find 75 years from now?

Hughes lived in a different world than Madeleine Albright, his present-day successor. He would be breathless at the sight of the aircraft available for her travel, amazed at the real-time availability of information and probably intimidated by the speed at which he would be required to make decisions. Even a remarkably prescient Hughes could not have predicted in 1924 the role technology would play in 1999 diplomacy.

What changes in U.S diplomacy will Madeleine Albright's successor find 75 years from now? Bob Galvin, former CEO of Motorola, once said that his experience in a high-tech company taught him that invariably the future is not just different from what was foreseen, but different from what could possibly have been foreseen. In 75 years will nation-states and governments have disappeared, as writers from the Bleak School of science fiction predict? Maybe, as former Republican House Speaker Newt Gingrich once foresaw, technology will obviate the need to send diplomats overseas.

I offer the following prediction to mark the 75th anniversary of the modern Foreign Service: In 2074, if the world is composed largely of sovereign nations governed by human beings answerable to their citizens, U.S. diplomats will still have the same fundamental task as they had in 1924 and have today. Their job will be to identify and influence foreign decision-makers and foreign publics to take actions which further America's national interests. Just as the speed of light is a fundamental constant in physics, using personal relationships to enhance security and prosperity will remain the fundamental constant of U.S. diplomacy.

NOTE: *I would like to take advantage of this column to acknowledge and thank Ambassador Brandon Grove for his outstanding leadership and unflagging energy in guiding AFSA through its 75th Anniversary program.* ■

Dan Geisler is president of the American Foreign Service Association.

CELEBRATING A GRAND ANNIVERSARY

To the Foreign Service community and its friends:

Anniversaries can give us a chance to pause for breath, a time-out in which to commemorate the past and create the visions needed for a better future. This, the 75th Anniversary of the founding of the United States Foreign Service, is such an opportunity.

It is an anniversary that calls for celebration throughout the last year of a turbulent century. It's a time to reflect on how America's diplomacy has changed through World War II and the Cold War — and how it needs to continue changing to meet the challenges ahead.

At first, for those planning the anniversary events, there was simply a date: May 24, 1924 — the day 75 years ago on which President Calvin Coolidge signed into law the Rogers Act. From that beginning, a worthy team of volunteers and friends of the Foreign Service has created a series of events that continues throughout the year.

We are taking advantage of the 75th Anniversary to sponsor a number of programs which will raise awareness of the role, contributions and history of the Foreign Service throughout America. Our kickoff was a reception on March 17 to honor the role of U.S. and foreign diplomats in supporting and promoting international business.

The reception, cosponsored by the American Foreign Service Association and the Washington Export Council, was held at the Department of State eighth floor. Under Secretary of State for Economic, Business and Agricultural Affairs Stuart Eizenstat officiated and gave a moving tribute to the Foreign Service.

Laurie Fitz-Pegado, former director general of the U.S. Commercial Service and now a vice president at Iridium LLC, and Millard Arnold, U.S. minister-counselor for commercial affairs in Johannesburg, chat with Stuart Eizenstat March 17.

At the March 17 reception, Under Secretary Stuart Eizenstat talks with Japanese Deputy Chief of Mission Hideaki Kobayashi and Eizenstat's Executive Assistant Rob Ries.

At the kickoff reception (from left): Paul Freedenberg, chairman of the Washington Export Council, Tema Razavi of Nihon Information Co., Thai ambassador Nitya Pibulsonggram and Ken Deguchi of NTT America, Inc.

A national high school essay contest (publicized on the Internet, of course) reached out to young people and invited them to think about what the Foreign Service means to them. Some 300 students, from Maine to Hawaii, participated. A first prize of $2,500 will be presented by the secretary of State to the student whose essay is chosen.

Next, photographic exhibits displaying images of the people and work of the Foreign Service have been prepared for the 10 presidential libraries across the country. About 1.5 million visitors a year interested in history, and including thousands of school groups, come to these presidential shrines to learn more about the domestic and foreign policy legacies of our chief executives. Some may be stimulated to think of foreign affairs careers for themselves.

Conferences, symposia and university seminars are planned across the land and throughout the year in venues such as Columbia and Georgetown universities, World Affairs Councils, the Middle East Institute, Meridian International Center, the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, and the U.S. Institute of Peace. Many of these conferences will focus on applying lessons learned over the past 75 years to the future.

Abroad, all of our posts are invited to hold their own 75th Anniversary celebrations—recognizing, also, the indispensable and enduring contributions of Foreign Service nationals. Celebratory banners have been sent to each embassy to get this going in ways that fit the unique circumstances of every U.S. post overseas, where the Foreign Service family, writ large, is the flag-bearing American presence abroad.

And finally, a gala celebration will take place in the Benjamin Franklin Room on May 24, to which Secretary Albright has invited members of the Anniversary's Honorary Committee consisting of all former presidents and secretaries of State, along with foreign affairs leaders of the Congress, the media, corporate sponsors, the foreign policy community, representatives of the Foreign Service itself and, of course, the winner of the national high school essay contest.

For the U.S. Foreign Service, its supporters and friends, it will be a very good year.

Brandon Grove
Chairman, 75th Anniversary Steering Committee

Historical Clippings

"It was rank heresy, even presumption rife with danger of untold complications and inevitable embarrassment to the Department for young consular officers to think that they could publish a printed periodical which, under any circumstances would be diffused to the public and the press and all that it contained would be laid on the doorstep of the Department, leaving the Department holding the bag of responsibility for the indiscreet printed articles of indecorous young men."

—James Barclay Young, recounting in the March 1944, *FSJ*, the State Department's reaction when he and Wesley Frost decided in 1919 to publish the *American Consular Bulletin*, the precursor to the *Foreign Service Journal*.

Consular Connivance With a Flourish

***FSJ*, May 1925** — Mary Gaunt, the famous traveller and writer, recalls in *Woman's Magazine* meeting an Englishman who owed his liberty to an American consul. He had been caught in Eastern Europe just as World War I broke out, and in the absence of a British consul, appealed to the local American representative in desperation. Initially, the American regretfully declined to offer any assistance, but then he had an inspiration:

"He took up a sheet of paper with the arms of the great republic blazoned large at the top, and he wrote on it that he regretted very much that, being an American consul, he was entirely unable to help Mr. Smith. He signed it with a flourish, stamped it with the seal of the consulate, and handed it over to the forlorn Briton, remarking that he did not think anybody in those parts understood English."

The Englishman thanked him warmly and took the hint. And as the consul had predicted, he was thereby "passed into the land of his desire on the arms of the United States, over a statement that their consul could do nothing for him."

Century of Spragues As Gibraltar Consuls

***FSJ*, June 1932** — On April 30, 1932, the Foreign Service commemorated the remarkable centennial of continuous consular service by the Sprague family at Gibraltar. According to an article in the May 3, 1932 Springfield, Mass., *Register*, Horatio Sprague was the son of a Massachusetts sailing family who was sent around 1800 to pick a likely port in which to set up a trading business. He chose Gibraltar as the crossroads of the world. In 1832, President Andrew Jackson appointed the successful trader as American consul to represent the U.S. before the British government in Gibraltar and the Spanish government in Algeciras, Spain. Upon his death in 1848, Mr. Sprague was succeeded by his son, Horatio Jones Sprague who continued as a consular agent for 53 years until his death in 1901. Horatio Jones was in turn succeeded by his son, Richard Sprague.

In addition to intervening on behalf of American sailors and tourists, the Spragues witnessed much of American international history. The *Register* cites the colorful entries in the consulate's log: "effecting the release of American sailors from Barbary pirates, advising Washington as to the movements of Confederate ships from Liverpool during the Civil War, cabling Admiral Dewey what he later informed the second Sprague was the most useful information on the movements of the Spanish warships, helping American ships run down slavers, and in dealing with Presidents, admirals, travelers."

Victimized by FDR's Third Term Victory

***FSJ*, March 1941** — The following letter was addressed to the American Consul General in Jerusalem.

Dear Sir:

I have the honour of introducing myself to you as an owner of a soda water fountain at Raanana Colony in Sharon.

Historical Clippings

As I became a victim of the American elections and success of Mr. Roosevelt and suffered a loss of 50 mils, I therefore apply to His Honour the Consul with the explanation and request to reimburse me with the amount I suffered from Mr. Roosevelt's success.

And these are the details:

A meeting of the _____ Synagogue Council, which regularly gathers once a week, took place yesterday. They used to purchase from me soda water for every meeting for an amount of 50 mils, but this time in honour of the event of Mr. Roosevelt's success in the elections they have purchased beer instead of soda water and raised a toast to the health of Mr. Roosevelt, which had resulted me a loss of 50 mils.

I think that Mr. Roosevelt will participate in the loss caused to me by him.

Very respectfully,

WWII: The Pros Were Better Diplomats

***FSJ*, July 1944** — Near the end of World War II, when a member of Congress expressed the fear that we might end up with a "diplomat's peace" rather than a "people's peace," a June 3, 1944, *Saturday Evening Post* editorial came to the defense of the Foreign Service, suggesting that the congressman's analogy was like subordinating "people's medicine" to "doctor's medicine." Leaving diplomacy in the hands of amateurs does not improve the results. The article points out that "the State Department is denounced for 'appeasement' because it has used diplomacy instead of epithets, to support military invasion. Pressure on Turkey to cut down sales of chrome to Germany, on Sweden to reduce exports of ball bearings to Germany, on the Argentine to co-operate in watching the overseas operations of German-controlled firms — all this pays off in the lives of Allied soldiers. But our ideologists will never be satisfied with the solid accomplishments of diplomacy, because diplomacy is not demagoguery."

Successful diplomats, the article notes, must display patience and "retain some fundamental suspicions" which set them apart from the ardent ideologues who criticize them. If Russia and Japan agree to give less oil to Japan from Sakhalin Island, the diplomat "must stifle that cheer and retain in the back of his head the possibility that the agreement may have extended beyond oil. The diplomat is aloof from the hates and dotings which bemuse most of us, because he never forgets that strategy and self-interest are far safer guides to policy than transient partnership in the same wars."

Korean Evacuees Find Congress Unjust

***FSJ*, August, 1952** — A July 3, 1952 *Washington Post* editorial accused the House Rules Committee of "inflicting a rank injustice on 459 Federal employees who have been waiting more than two years to collect $934,000 from their government." On official orders to the U.S. diplomatic and economic missions in Korea, these people were evacuated on June 27, 1950 one step ahead of the Communist invasion.

Complying with their instructions, they

75 Years Ago

If, in this political year, the *Journal* should be called upon to enunciate the bases of its platform, it might be stated that its purposes are to add to the understanding of the tasks and surroundings of the Foreign Service, to maintain and enlarge the acquaintance with one another of widely scattered colleagues, and to preserve and increase the zeal of the officers in the Foreign Service for the protection and promotion of these American interests. For the fulfillment of these ends, the editors must call upon the loyal cooperation of their colleagues, and it is to be hoped that the diplomatic branch of the Service will be as generous with its contributions as the consuls have always proven themselves to be.

— From the opening editorial of the American Foreign Service Journal, *Vol. 1, No. 1, Oct. 1924, which superseded the* American Consular Bulletin

each carried only one handbag. Thus their household effects, which were left behind on order, fell to the Communists. Despite the U.S. government's willingness to reimburse this group, the Congress, especially the House Rules Committee, does not agree and has twice blocked consideration of the claims on the House floor. Rep. Howard W. Smith of Virginia voiced the opinion that "these government workers had no business being in Korea in the first place."

The indignant *Post* editor goes on to say, "This is a contemptible attitude for anyone in a great legislature to adopt toward public servants. The civilian officials in Korea were doing their duty to their country on a difficult and unpleasant foreign assignment. They have suffered serious financial loss through no fault of their own. Surely the House as a whole believes that the United States government should pay its debts. This one is a debt of honor, and it should be honored before Congress goes home."

COLD WAR HUMOR FROM MOSCOW

***FSJ*, February 1957** — When Daniel Schorr returned from an assignment as CBS correspondent in Moscow, he shared these anecdotes as insights into Russian everyday life in a broadcast with news analyst Eric Sevareid and later recounted them in a *Washington Post* column. (Note: Imre Nagy was a leader of the failed Hungarian anti-Soviet rebellion of 1956.)

"Probably the most significant anecdote of the year was this one recently told to me by a Russian in Moscow. Three Hungarians meet in the famous Lubyanka Prison in Moscow. One asks, 'Why are you here?' The second replies, 'I was pro-Nagy. How about you?' 'I was anti-Nagy,' says the first. Then they turned to the third who had been silent, and ask, 'Why are you here?' He replies, 'I am Nagy.'

"Now these stories aren't particularly funny to us and I am not telling them for laughs but more because of what they reveal about Russian thinking. Another revealing story had Khrushchev on an inspection tour asking the worker what's wrong with conditions in his factory. The worker praises everything in glowing terms, says nothing is wrong, gives implausible figures about production. Khrushchev turns angry and says, 'Who are you trying to kid? Don't you know that I'm Khrushchev?' The worker apologizes, and says, 'Sorry, I thought you were a member of a foreign delegation.'

"The story is told, quite apocryphal of course, that Nehru of India on his visit to Russia saw streams of people walking to work in the early morning. He asked, 'Who are these?' And he was told: 'These are the masters of the nation.' Then seeing a line of sleek Zis limousines barreling through the streets, he asked, 'And who are those?' The answer: 'Those are the servants of the nation.'

"Then the one about the foreign tourist who saw a man sitting on the highest tower in Moscow. He climbed up and asked the man what he was doing. The flagpole sitter replied, 'I am waiting to see communism come.' The tourist decides to offer him a job sitting on a New York skyscraper to watch for the end of the American depression. (You will note that this Russian story assumes that we are having a depression.) The man ponders and finally he replies, 'No, why should I change: Here I have a lifetime job.'"

VIETNAM: A WAR FOR MEN'S MINDS

***FSJ*, January 1965** — Robert S. Smith, a USAID Associate Assistant Administrator and member of the *Journal*'s editorial board, explained U.S. policy in Vietnam as follows:

"The headlines of the war in Vietnam have in recent months emphasized the internal struggle for leadership of the Government of South Vietnam. Buddhists vs. Catholics, civilians vs. military, sect vs. party seem to be the key struggles. By the time this article is published, the Government may have changed again. Yet the Vietnam imbroglio is much deeper and historically more involved than these headlines imply. It is essentially a struggle for men's minds and loyalties, a chapter in the continuing battle between a Communist-led "war of national liberation" and a Western-supported nationalist war of independence. ...

"What are we doing to help the Vietnamese fight this political-psychological war? Early in 1962, the number of American military personnel was increased to about 15,000. This number remained more or less constant until quite recently when another several thousand American military men were sent over. They train and give logistical and combat support to the Vietnamese army and paramilitary forces. They advise the Vietnamese commanders on combat decisions and, while they are in no way commanders of the Vietnamese units, their job is often more difficult than an actual combat role. Since 1961, over 200 Americans have been killed in combat situations — while Vietnamese military casualties have numbered close to 10,000 a year. Whether it be alongside his Vietnamese batallion at the front lines, or passing down a rural road by jeep, the American soldier in Vietnam is constantly risking his life in this undeclared war. ...

"In view of the socio-economic nature of the war in Vietnam, a large part of American assistance in the counter-insurgency effort is civil in nature. It is channeled through the AID mission in Vietnam. AID officials advise on all non-military aspects of the clear-and-hold campaign, and help direct United States assistance toward bringing prompt economic and social benefits to villages as soon as military forces have cleared an area of Viet Cong guerillas. ...

"Things went from bad to worse in the rural areas following Diem's fall in November 1963. The dislocations, the turnover of province and district officials, all contributed to temporary paralysis in the countryside. For all his shortcomings, General Nguyen Khanh, who led the country for most of 1964, restored some strength to the rural program. ... (But) it remains to be seen how well the new leadership will treat the program.

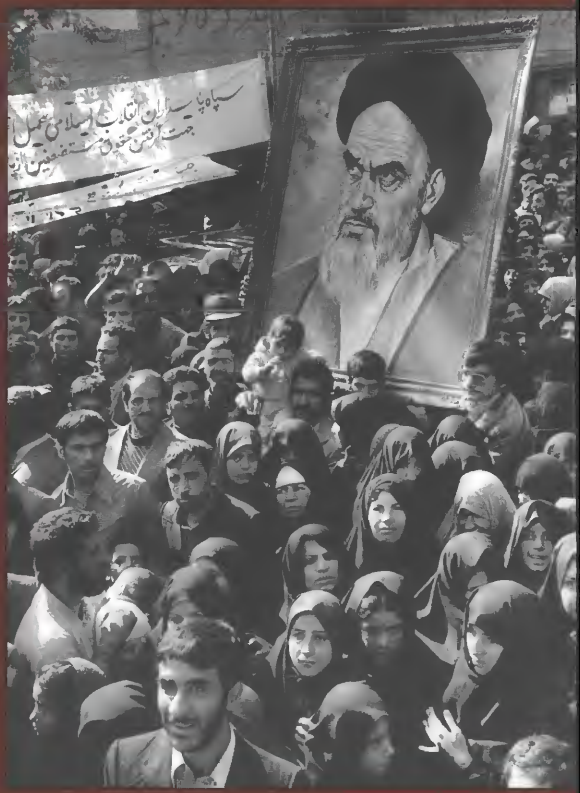
"This is the war in South Vietnam today, almost a quarter-century after the Japanese took over Indochina. Vietnamese troops and their American military advisors are deployed to all the provinces. AID representatives are working beside them. As the reins of government in Saigon alternately tighten and fall slack, the repercussions are bound to be felt in the provinces, but the political and psychological warfare — a long, slow struggle — go on. The prospects for sound, popular South Vietnamese leadership are precarious. Even if the feuding factions fall in line, the crucial conflict between subversive guerrillas bent on destruction, and nation-builders seeking security, independence and peaceful growth, will continue for a long time." ■

PHOTO HISTORY: *Diplomats in Danger*

FSOs Survive Captivity In Iran And Kuwait

On Nov. 4, 1979, Iranian students and other militants loyal to the "revolutionary" regime of the Ayatollah Khomeini took over the U.S. embassy in Tehran and held 72 American diplomatic personnel hostage. (This was the first instance of terrorism aimed at an entire diplomatic mission being supported and encouraged by the government of the host country.) Nineteen of the hostages were released or managed to escape soon after the ordeal began, but despite intensive negotiations, the other 53 Americans were held for 444 days until Jan. 20, 1981 — President Ronald Reagan's Inauguration Day. *Top*: Blindfolded, with bound hands, one of the hostages is shown to the crowd on Nov. 8, 1979. *Lower right*: Thousands of Iranians, including women clad in traditional chadors, march toward the U.S. embassy on Nov. 21, 1979, bearing larger-than-life pictures of Khomeini.

Just a decade later, another group of FSOs underwent their own siege. On Aug. 2, 1990, invading Iraqi forces trapped hundreds of U.S. diplomats and dependents (among others) in Kuwait. While most Westerners were evacuated from the country within a few weeks, some two dozen U.S. embassy personnel remained confined within the walls of their compound for over four months. *Bottom left*: Secretary of State James A. Baker, III greets U.S. Ambassador to Kuwait Nathaniel Howell and his wife Margie upon the Howells' landing at Andrews AFB on Dec. 14, 1990.



SPEAKING OUT

Disloyalty — Taken Out of Context

BY JOHN S. SERVICE

In a Foreign Service Journal *editorial in 1951, the Editorial Board called on the State Department to "have the courage to defend" Foreign Service officers and support them in carrying out their job of reporting honestly on events overseas. (See: "From Striped-Pants Set to White-Collar Union," page 68.) The editorial referred to the loyalty and security investigations then being conducted by the State Department in the wake of Republican Sen. Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin's charges that Communist sympathizers had infiltrated the government.*

Among those whose careers were ruined was FSO John Stewart Service. Service, who died on Feb. 3, was born in China of American parents and joined the Foreign Service in 1933. He served as vice consul and secretary in the Diplomatic Service and was assigned to China as a language officer until 1946. Service was the subject of six loyalty board and security hearings, all of which cleared him until 1951, when a Civil Service Loyalty Review Board found "reasonable doubt" about his loyalty. Secretary of State Dean Acheson fired him from the Foreign Service. In 1957 the Supreme Court ruled that he had been wrongfully fired and Service returned to the Foreign Service, serving as the U.S. consul in Liverpool, England, before retiring in 1962.

Following is an adaptation of an article Service wrote for the October 1951 Journal *under the title "Pertinent Excerpts." This is his reply to accusations made about his reporting from China in the Senate Judiciary Committee's Internal Security Subcommittee on Sept. 19, 1951:*

> *Service was the subject of seven loyalty board hearings; he passed the first six.*

The *Journal* has commented generally on the current threat to the integrity and independence of Foreign Service reporting which can result from investigative autopsies without regard to context, either in time, substance or circumstance. No less ominous is that type of public investigation which by "interpretation" ascribes to a report a meaning completely unwarranted or opposite to the writer's intent and language. A recent example of both techniques is the treatment a few weeks ago by the Senate Judiciary Committee's Internal Security Subcommittee of a memorandum I wrote in April 1944.

First, some background is necessary. In the spring of 1944, I was a relatively junior officer attached to the staff of the commanding general of the China-Burma-India Theater, then Gen. Joseph Stilwell. Popularly (but never officially) called a "political adviser," my duties consisted of many minor chores and very occasionally providing a little advice. A fully operating embassy was just down the road and routine liaison between it and headquarters was one of my regular duties.

In spring of 1944, there was a flurry of excitement in Chunking over a border incident in the remote Central Asian Chinese province of Sinkiang. Sometime before, the USSR had withdrawn its longstanding protection of a local warlord and the Chinese National Government, for the first time, had assumed de facto control.

The shift in administration was amicable and the local situation peaceful. Nonetheless, the National Government, despite a still unchecked Japanese threat in China proper, proceeded to send several divisions of troops into the province.

The need for this foray was not readily apparent: the war with Japan was a very long distance in the opposite direction. There appeared to be some basis for the gossip-report from Kuomintang circles that the intention was to create a military base for postwar establishment of Chinese control over Outer Mongolia and Tibet and an "impregnable bulwark" against Russia.

Whatever their objective, the

Chinese soon began having troubles. One difficulty was with the Kazaks, a hardy nomad tribe living on both sides of the Sinkiang-Outer Mongolia frontier. Chinese official sources reported in March, 1944, that planes "bearing a red star insignia" had committed repeated acts of aggression by bombing Chinese forces in this area. Tass, reporting from Ulan Bator, presented an opposite account: the Chinese were the aggressors.

Chiang Kai-shek's persisting in an active anti-Soviet policy was reckless adventurism.

While a battle of communiqués raged, the National Government plied the Army Headquarters with requests to send American officers to the spot to investigate and fix the blame. Headquarters was puzzled: we were fighting the Japanese — not the Kazaks, Outer Mongols or Russians; how to transport American investigators into that remotest part of Central Asia; and, by the time they got there, would a few shell or bomb craters on the vast Gobi mean much? I was told to watch the situation and "advise."

This was not easy from Chunking. After struggling with daily-different reports, I hit on the idea of comparing the best available maps: American, Chinese, British, Russian and any others. To my surprise there was the wildest disagreement on this particular section of Sinkiang. Even some official Chinese maps did not support the Chinese boundary claim. The "aggressor" claim depended on which map you used.

We could assume Russian sponsorship of the Outer Mongolian action. But how immediately important was a sharply defined line in this unmapped, open and semi-desert country, containing no permanent settlements worthy of the name and peopled by nomads continually moving back and forth with the pasture and seasons?

I questioned the motives behind the Chinese request. To have given no inkling of the vagueness of the border was less than forthright. Chinese policies in Sinkiang had dangers which made our involvement seem unwise. Finally, we had enough problems in our relations with Russia in early 1944 without an added controversy of doubtful validity and certain futility.

I could not see that American interests would be served by our intervention. They might be harmed. I recommended that we decline the Chinese request to investigate.

I had written a series of reports on the border incident. In my final memorandum on the subject, I related my recommendation to the broader aspects of the situation in Sinkiang and then went on to some general remarks concerning China, Russia and the United States. The following is the relevant passage, dated April 7, 1944. (Italics have been added; their significance will be apparent later.)

"We must be concerned with Russian plans and policies in Asia because they are bound to affect our own plans in the same area. But our relations with Russia in Asia are at present only a subordinate part of our political and military relations with Russia in Europe in the over-all United Nations war effort and post-war settlement. ***We should make every effort to learn what the Russian aims in Asia are.*** A good way of gaining material relevant to this will be careful study of the strength, attitudes, and popular support of the Chinese Communists. But in determining our policy toward Russia in Asia we should avoid being swayed by China. The initiative must be kept firmly in our hands. To do otherwise will be to let the tail wag the dog.

As for the present Chinese Government, it must be acknowledged that we are faced with a regrettable failure of statesmanship. ***Chiang's persisting in an active anti-Soviet policy, at a time when his policies — or lack of them — are accelerating economic collapse and increasing internal dissension, can only be characterized as reckless adventurism. The cynical desire to destroy unity among the United Nations is serious.*** But it would also appear that Chiang unwittingly may be contributing to Russian dominance in eastern Asia by internal and external policies which, if pursued in their present form, will render China too weak to serve as a possible counter-weight to Russia. By doing so, Chiang may be digging his own grave; not only North China and Manchuria, but also national groups such as Korea and Formosa may be driven into the arms of the Soviets.

Neither now, nor in the immediately foreseeable future, does the United States want to find itself in direct opposition to Russia in Asia; nor does it want to see Russia have undisputed dominance over a part or all of China.

The best way to cause both of these possibilities to become realities is to give, in either fact or appearance,

support to the present reactionary government of China beyond carefully regulated and controlled aid directed solely toward the military prosecution of the war against Japan. To give diplomatic or other support beyond this limit will encourage the Kuomintang in its present suicidal anti-Russian policy. It will convince the Chinese Communists — who probably hold the key to control, not only of North China but of Inner Mongolia and Manchuria as well — that we are on the other side and that their only hope for survival lies with Russia. ***Finally, Russia will be led to believe — if she does not already — that American aims run counter to hers, and that she must therefore protect herself by any means available; in other words, the extension of her direct power or influence."***

Supporting China's reactionary government would deepen U.S. - Soviet tensions.

The Army accepted my recommendation. The Embassy raised no objection and forwarded a copy to the Department. Months later there came one of those always pleasant surprises — an instruction from the Department saying that my memorandum had been "found of much interest and value...given the grade of Excellent."

The scene shifts now to Sept. 19, 1951 — almost seven and a half years after the memorandum was written.

General Wedemeyer, who took General Stilwell's place in China and to whose staff I was attached for a short while in early 1945, is being interrogated by the Internal Security Subcommittee in public session. The general has been led to testify that *subsequent* re-examination of reports made to him by his State Department "advisers" has caused him to believe that their recommendations were pro-Communist and contrary to American policy.

Testimony

The subcommittee counsel (Mr. Robert Morris) has therefore turned to some specific reports to provide illustration of the General's testimony. The following is from the official transcript of the subcommittee hearing:

Mr. Morris: "General, my I call your attention to the report of April 7, 1944, that is before you?"

Gen. Wedemeyer: "Yes, sir."

Mr. Morris: "Mr. Mandel, will you read pertinent excerpts from that?"

The Chairman (Sen. McCarran): "Before we go into that, what is the instrument, where does it stem from and what is the foundation for it?"

Mr. Mandel: (The research director of the subcommittee staff.) "The date is April 7, 1944, by John S. Service forwarded to [the State] Department as enclosure No. 1 of despatch no. 2461, April 21, 1944, under title: *Situation in Sinkiang: Its Relation to American Policy vis-à-vis China and the Soviet Union.*

"'Chiang's persisting in an active anti-Soviet policy, at a time when his policies — or lack of them — are accelerating economic collapse and increasing internal dissension, can only be characterized as reckless adventurism. The cynical desire to destroy unity among the United Nations is serious.'"

Mr. Morris: "What paragraph is that?"

Mr. Mandel: "The second paragraph. Further, 'Finally, Russia will be led to believe — if she does not already — that American aims run counter to hers, and that she must therefore protect herself by any means available; in other words, the extension of her direct power or influence.'"

Mr. Morris: "General, can you comment on that?"

Gen. Wedemeyer: "This statement was made at a time when there were a lot of people in our country who were making similar statements. Today they are on the bandwagon of opposing Communism. In fact, when I came back after the war, I found it rather dangerous ... to talk realistically about the implications of Communism in this country. I am very glad that Chiang Kai-shek even at that time epitomized opposition to Communism.

"As far as cooperation was concerned the Soviet Communists did not persist in the China Theater. The contribution they made in the war against Japan was negligible. The American people ought to understand that clearly."

Sen. Ferguson: "Might I ask in relation to this, is this not an indication that this was a warning at least to America that she had better see what Russia wanted in Asia and go along with Russia's desires rather than what was well for America or the world? That is, when he says 'We should make every effort to learn what the Russian aims in Asia are,' and the previous sentence that was read to you about Russia having her way. Is that right?"

Gen. Wedemeyer: "It could be interpreted that way. I think that is a sound interpretation of the statement."

Gerrymandering An Excerpt

We will pass over the fact that although the general was supposedly testifying concerning my views while working for him, the counsel selected and interrogated him on this memorandum written nine months before I joined the general's staff. There are more important matters.

First, the subcommittee did not use the whole memorandum, not to mention the series of which it was a part. It used only an excerpt from the memorandum's conclusions without any of the essential background which led to those conclusions. Unexplained and shorn of context, many of these statements are meaningless — or capable of varying interpretation.

Second, not even the whole excerpt was actually considered. The research director, by some unexplained logic, selected three unrelated sentences as "pertinent excerpts." These poor fragments are actually subordinate to the principal thesis. From them one cannot hope to discover — much less understand — what I was recommending.

Third, required by the counsel to comment on these meaningless fragments, the unfortunate witness could hardly be expected to give a very meaningful response. He can scarcely be blamed for seeming irrelevance. Should not this investigative body, after such loose criticism by innuendo, have asked Gen. Wedemeyer how my views differed from some of his own? As late as September 19, 1947, in his report to the president after a survey of China, he said:

"Adoption by the United States of a policy motivated solely toward stopping the expansion of Communism without regard to the continued existence of an unpopular and repressive government would render any aid ineffective. Further, United States prestige in the Far East would suffer heavily, and wavering elements might turn away from the existing government to Communism."

Fourth, omission of the actually pertinent material, even from the limited excerpt used by the subcommittee, leads a subcommittee member to come to the apparent conclusion — and permits the witness to agree — that an isolated sentence really meant that America "had better see what Russia wanted in Asia and go along with Russia's desires rather than what was well for America or the world." Is this not the exact opposite of the meaning of my whole memorandum and particularly that portion of it which was omitted by the research director?

Such an investigative technique, I submit, is neither helpful to public understanding nor fair to the reporting officer, be he an officer of the Foreign Service, the Department of State, or any other part of the government. ■

Spellings for cities and provinces are left as they appeared in 1951.

"I see Smith has found a new way to settle international disputes."

Cartoon from the Foreign Service Journal, *July 1958*

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Algeria	0.38	El Salvador	0.53	Macao	0.37	Slovania	0.21
American Samoa	0.25	Equatorial Guinea	0.99	Macedonia	0.49	Solomon Is	0.69
Andorra	0.27	Eritrea	1.33	Madagascar	0.84	Somalia	0.92
Angola	0.50	Estonia	0.25	Malawi	0.54	South Africa	0.48
Anguilla	0.49	Ethopia	0.95	Malaysia	0.24	Spain	0.19
Antartica	0.34	Faeroe Is	0.29	Maldives	0.69	Sri Lanka	0.86
Antigua/Baruda	0.43	Falkland Is	0.41	Mali	0.95	St. Helena	0.67
Argentina	0.54	Figi Is	0.72	Malta	0.28	St. Kitts & Nevis	0 52
Armenia	0.65	Finland	0.12	Mariana Is.	0.21	St. Lucia	0.64
Aruba	0.32	France	0.10	Marshall Is.	0.45	St. Pierre	0.36
Australia	0.11	French Guiana	0.39	Martinique	0.37	St Vincent	0.68
Austria	0.13	French Polynesia	0.59	Mauritania	0.76	Sudan	0.48
Azerbaijan	0.53	Gabon	0.63	Mauritius	0.69	Suriname	1.17
Bahamas	0.22	Gambia	0.49	Mayotte Is.	0.68	Swaziland	0.33
Bahrain	0.68	Georgia	0.67	Mexico	0.40	Sweden	0.10
Bangladesh	1.03	Germany	0.10	Micronesia	0.86	Switzerland	0.12
Barbados	0.58	Ghana	0.55	Moldova	0.53	Syria	0.86
Belarus	0.45	Gibralter	0.33	Monaco	0.17	Taiwan	0.24
Belgium	0.11	Greece	0.33	Mongolia	0.97	Tajikistan	0.60
Belize	0.68	Greenland	0.29	Montserrat	0.77	Tanzania	0.64
Benin	0.63	Grenada	0.49	Morocco	0.49	Thalland	0.52
Bermuda	0.22	Guadelope	0.39	Mozambique	0.57	Togo Rep	1.01
Bhutan	0.53	Guam	0.13	Myanmar	1.23	Tonga	0.97
Bolivia	0.68	Guatemala	0.34	Namibia	0.42	Trinidad/Tobago	0.67
Bosnia	0.38	Guinea	0.55	Nauru	0.82	Tunisia	0.49
Botswana	0.41	Guinea-Bissau	1.03	Nepal	0.98	Turkey	0.45
Brazil	0.42	Guyana	0.89	Netherland	0.10	Turks & Calcos	0.53
British Virgin Is	0.36	Haiti	0.72	Netherland Ant.	0.40	Tuvalu	0.79
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Cameroon	0.87	Indonesia	0.70	Niue Is.	1.23	USA	0.09
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Cen. African Rep	0.94	Ireland	0.11	Pakistan	1.03	USA Virgin Is.	0.12
Chad	1.03	Israel	0.19	Palau	0.92	Uzbekistan	0.69
Chile	0.24	Italy	0.16	Panama	0.66	Vanuatu	0.87
China	0.50	Ivory Coast	0.96	Papua New Ginea	0.43	Venezuela	0.41
Xmas & Cocos Is.	0.99	Jamaica	0.65	Paraguay	0.72	Vietnam	1.21
Colombia	0.44	Japan	0.15	Peru	0.57	Wallis & Futuna	0.39
Comoro Is.	0.68	Jordan	0.63	Philippines	0.43	Western Samoa	0.66
Congo	0.77	Kazakhstan	0.64	Poland	0.34	Yemen Arab Rep	1.04
Cook Is.	1.18	Kenya	0.75	Portugal	0.31	Yemen P. Rep	1.04
Costa Rica	0.37	Kiribati	0.79	Qatar	0.80	Yugoslavia/Serbia	0.47
Croatia	0.42	Korea (North)	0.83	Reunion Is.	0.64	Zaire	0.71
Cuba	0.77	Korea (South)	0.18	Romania	0.47	Zambia	0.69
Cyprus	0.38	Kuwait	0.97	Russia	0.51	Zanzibar	0.95
Czech Rep	0.30	Kyrgyzstan	0.53	Rwanda	0.95	Zimbabwe	0.44
Denmark	0.12	Laos	0.94	San Marino	0.40		
Diego Garcia	0.62	Latvia	0.36	Sao Tome	1.26		
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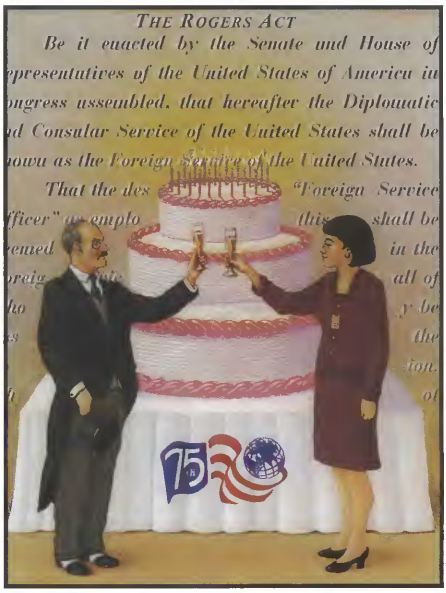

CHET PHILLIPS

HOW A STATE DEPARTMENT INSIDER AND A YOUNG CONGRESSMAN JOINED FORCES TO CREATE AMERICA'S FOREIGN SERVICE

BY ROBERT MOSKIN

The *City of New York* slipped into Liverpool harbor, already jammed with ships seeking refuge from the submarines lurking outside. Shortly after dawn, a tender came alongside, and the American consul and the British port officers climbed aboard and led the American off the steamship. Even though he had traveled on a darkened American ship and the U.S. was not at war in October 1916, the voyage's last night had been filled with tension.

The American, Wilbur J. Carr, pushed on to London where his work began. When Secretary of State Robert Lansing had ordered him to Europe, Carr was secretly thrilled. Although he had been the director of the U.S.

Consular Service for seven years, he had never been abroad. He confided delightedly to his diary in his tiny pinched scrawl: "Here is the oppty I have wanted for years ... it is a long way to have travelled in 25 years — from the plow to all this!"

In London, Carr was shocked to see the consular staff wearing top hats and tails to work daily.

In London, Carr visited the consulate general in New Broad Street. He was shocked to see the staff still wearing top hats and long-tailed coats to work each day; the quarters were dingy and cramped. And worse than that, they were miles from the embassy. Carr was appalled, according to Robert P. Skinner, the American consul general at the time, to see the two branches of the foreign services in locations so distant and competing with each other.

It made trouble, Carr discovered. He wrote in his diary: "...there is some latent feeling between Emb & Consulate. No open clash. Emb. evidently ... has blocked Consulate with FO [Foreign Office]."

Tensions built up because, at this time, men (never women) followed one of three career paths. They became officers in the Department of State in Washington, diplomatic secretaries in embassies abroad, or consular officers in ports and commercial cities. These were distinct universes, and cross-overs from one to another were extremely difficult.

Beyond the Spoils System

A spoils system, which President Theodore Roosevelt called "wholly and unmixedly evil," had dominated the consular and diplomatic services since the early days of the American republic. Barely a decade before Carr's trip, Presidents Roosevelt and Taft had inaugurated written and oral examination for entering consuls and diplomatic secretaries. And only in 1915 had Congress given the presidential executive orders the force of law. In London, seeing how the system actually worked, Carr became convinced that the times demanded change.

J. Robert Moskin, the former foreign editor of Look *magazine, is the author of seven books including* The U.S. Marine Corps Story *and* Mr. Truman's War. *He is working on a history of the U.S. Foreign Service.*

Until World War I, the nation had overlooked lax standards in its foreign services. Young men entering the diplomatic service usually came from the affluent, fashionably-educated East Coast elites. One American diplomat called them "the boys with the white spats, the tea drinkers, the cookie pushers." Their professionalism, a scholar wrote decades later, was "shadowy and incomplete in many respects, and somewhat spurious."

Salaries were so low, many said, that only a son of wealthy parents could aspire to a diplomatic career. Hugh Gibson, the outspoken U.S. minister to Poland, told a congressional committee: "We are far too largely dependent upon the class of men who are not only incompetent in the service, but who could not make a decent living in private business if they had to." His view was shared by many who blamed "professional diplomacy" for the Great War and its aftermath.

Postwar America had become, suddenly, a world power, a burgeoning empire, and a global trader — it could no longer afford the luxury of what was called "outdated courtier diplomacy."

Consular Service on Top?

Carr felt, quite correctly, that the Consular Service he ruled was better organized — a tighter ship — than the Diplomatic Service. And he was nothing if not dogged. By May 1918 he was asking all consular officers for recommendations on how to improve their own service. As the Great War ended, reform was in the air. In 1919, the National Civil Service Reform League recommended a long list of changes to curtail patronage in the overseas services: entrance by examination, merit promotions, higher salaries, and, most radical of all, transfers between the diplomatic and consular services.

That same summer, young Congressman John Jacob Rogers visited London and dined with a Harvard Law School friend, Keith Merrill, and his boss, Consul General Robert Skinner. Over dinner, Skinner persuaded Rogers to propose legislation that would unite the two services by folding the Diplomatic Service into the Consular Service. When Rogers returned home, he introduced a bill in Congress that would recommission

all diplomatic secretaries as consular officers. The career diplomats were horrified.

Carr must have relished the idea of giving his Consular Service dominance, but he wisely suggested something more practical — and politically astute: Combine the two services into a single Foreign Service. Let it be unified for pay and promotion purposes, but have the diplomats and consuls continue to function separately. Of course, this would work only if their salary scales were equalized.

In 1924, the Diplomatic Service, Consular Service and the Washington State Department were entirely separated.

So, Rogers introduced a second bill, and thus began the long, embattled journey that Rogers and Carr traveled together. Rogers became the driving force that kept bringing reform of the foreign services before Congress. Carr was the architect who kept hammering each new version to fit his vision of what the foreign services might become. Every revision of the Rogers bill was written and rewritten in Carr's office in the Department of State.

Rep. John Jacob Rogers

Rogers — a 37-year-old Republican representing Lowell, Mass., and in 1919 just back from brief wartime duty in the Army — had been interested in international affairs since his undergraduate days at Harvard (in the same class as Franklin D. Roosevelt '04). He became an advocate of career diplomats and professional diplomacy. (He would die at age 45 and his wife Edith Nourse Rogers would replace him in Congress.)

Carr grew up on a farm near Taylorsville, Ohio, and now, at 49, was already a veteran of 30 years in the Department of State. Photographs show Carr as a bespectacled, balding man with a neat mustache and a long neck; he seems awkward with his colleagues. Although he was without experience in foreign policy, he was a canny, ambitious bureaucrat dedicated to professionalism at a time when the spoils system was in flower. Carr's biographer Katherine Crane, a thoughtful observer, wrote: "Punctual, methodical, prudent, and disciplined, he was the typical bureaucrat. ... Carr amassed extraordinary power."

John Rogers and Wilbur Carr became the fathers of the modern U.S. Foreign Service. And it is quite to the point that neither of them was a member of the Diplomatic Service.

Rogers' first two bills went nowhere. But he persisted. He promised the House of Representatives that if his proposals were adopted, "we shall have laid the foundation of a thoroughly progressive, modern, and businesslike foreign service. We shall go far to eliminate from the diplomatic side the idle rich young man who thinks in terms of silk hats ... and afternoon teas."

Events began to swing in his direction in January 1920 when only 12 candidates sat for the Diplomatic Service entrance exam (and the following October, only 18).

Secretary of State Lansing, sensing the urgency for change, agreed for the first time that the two overseas services should be brought closer together and made interchangeable. Business and industrial associations, needing help to compete overseas, began to rally round. And the following year, President Warren G. Harding declared: "American diplomatic appointments should not be regarded as mere temporary results of political football in the United States."

Watertight Boxes

But the foreign services had been marked for political football from the beginning. The Constitution said the president alone shall "nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls. ..."

In an attempt to control the worst of the spoils system's abuses that developed, Congress, in 1856, had enacted a law establishing salary scales. And in 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt put the consular service under civil service law. TR's reforms also created a Board of Examiners to pass on candidates for the Consular Service. Three years later, President Taft extended civil service status to the Diplomatic Service.

Four main issues were still to be solved after World

War I, when, as Walter Hines Page, America's war-time ambassador to Britain put it, the United States would "play a part in the world whether we wish to or not."

- The Diplomatic Service had to attract the best and the brightest, not only the best of the wealthiest.
- The separate watertight boxes in which the Diplomatic Service and the Consular Service operated had to be unlocked — politics and business were becoming interlocked.
- The two salary structures had to be brought into harmony so that officers could be shifted between diplomatic and consular assignments.
- And provision had to be made for envoys' old age to retard the "brain drain" of able men into better paying private sector jobs.

Rogers complained that U.S. diplomats became "abject followers of the social regime" in foreign capitals.

By the summer of 1922, Rogers had learned enough to drop Skinner's unpalatable proposal of merging the Diplomatic Service into the Consular Service. Rogers and Carr fashioned a bill to which Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes, who succeeded Lansing, gave his crucial support. And when Hughes got President Harding's endorsement, Rogers introduced the new bill. It began: "That hereafter the Diplomatic and Consular Service of the United States shall be known as the Foreign Service of the United States."

Wilbur Carr

A Question of Breeding

This was the key. Rather than enroll candidates as diplomatic officers or consular officers, all of those below the rank of minister would be commissioned — and paid — as Foreign Service officers. But no such term existed under the international rules by which nations had agreed, back in 1815, to send representatives abroad. So the president would assign the "Foreign Service officers" to duty as either diplomatic officers or consular officers — or both.

This "interchangeability" was new — and controversial. Rogers' bill proposed to re-commission all 120 diplomatic secretaries and 520 career consular officers as Foreign Service officers, or retire them. If the bill were adopted, the United States, for the first time in its history, would have a formal and unified Foreign Service.

Although this proposal was a tide that raised all boats and would raise diplomats' salaries, the diplomats were bitterly opposed to being linked to consular personnel. A good number of senior career diplomats were quite outspoken. Among them were Under Secretary William Phillips; Lewis Einstein, minister to Czechoslovakia; Ulysses Grant-Smith, minister to Albania, and Hugh Gibson, minister to Poland. William R. Castle, scion of a wealthy American family on Hawaii, believed simply that no man who did not have a large income should be admitted to the diplomatic service; one had to have a certain upbringing to succeed in diplomatic circles.

These men cherished the pre-war formal diplomacy. They thought intellect was less important than personality, social status and poise. They revered breeding and background. A diplomat joked that the definition of a man in a "sweat" was a consul at an embassy dinner. And they feared being assigned dull, pedestrian work in ugly industrial cities and unhealthy ports.

More realistically, Joseph C. Grew, the minister to Denmark, voiced a widespread concern that Wilbur Carr would be put in charge and would "bureaucratize" the Diplomatic Service. It would disappear into the larger Consular Service. Grew, Castle and Gibson actually met in Berlin in 1922 and sought to counter this threat by proposing a powerful chief of personnel identified with neither branch.

A "Rich Man's Club"?

Secretary of State Lansing had another criticism of the bill: It failed to cover the officers of the State Department in Washington, who did not belong to either overseas service.

At times the critics grew quietly spiteful. Hugh Gibson tried to persuade Grew to appear before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. Gibson said

someone had to show that American diplomats spoke American and could "find their way in and out of a drawing room without the use of a monocle." Grew refused and wrote Gibson that "people who talk through their nose and spit on the floor will cut a lot more ice than those who try and talk like Englishmen." In the end, it was Gibson who went home from Switzerland and testified.

The Consular Service was better paid and better organized than the Diplomatic Service — but got less respect.

In December 1922, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, of which Rogers was a member, held six days of hearings. Secretary Hughes himself made the opening argument: Low salaries are keeping out men who might invigorate the Diplomatic Service and are "creating the impression that it is a rich man's club." He championed "democratization."

In answer to a question, Carr admitted the president already had the power to move a man back and forth between the diplomatic and consular services, but, he pointed out, their salary scales were so disparate that this was impractical and rarely done.

As to the "cookie pushers," Rogers told the committee, "I have seen some of these young secretaries, who have had exceptional social opportunities and advantages in the capitals abroad, become the most abject followers of the social regime in the foreign capital. One of the things that I hope is going to follow from this bill is to send some of these de-Americanized secretaries to Singapore as vice consul, or to force them out of the service."

Carr interjected: "I am grateful to Mr. Rogers for expressing a sentiment that up to the present moment I had not had, perhaps, the courage to voice. His views coincide with my views exactly. If this bill has any purpose whatever, it should have the purpose of putting more Americanism into our foreign service, in both branches of it."

Rogers added: "One of the most intolerable things that I have come across in connection with inquiries into the foreign service is the fact that some of the little [diplomatic] secretaries who have the background of a social position and money have the effrontery to look down on big men in the Consular Service who have grown distinguished and experienced in that work."

Carr was too cautious to be quoted on that; but he must have chafed, knowing that his beloved Consular Service was larger, better paid, and better organized — but it did not command the respect that the Diplomatic Service did.

Consul General Skinner, who had arrived the night before from London, took another tack to gain the support of the Republican-dominated Congress. He began: "Mr. Chairman, this bill is a business bill." He promised it would assist commercial relations and do it in a businesslike way.

Congressman Tom Connally, Democrat from Texas, asked: "What is the matter with our foreign service? Is it so serious?"

Skinner answered him: "It lacks stability; it lacks unification; it lacks special training among the higher diplomatic officers where such training and experience are most necessary. It is not properly housed, and in the higher diplomatic offices the rate of pay is such that only rich men can accept the positions."

Connally retorted that if salaries are inadequate they should be raised. "If it is, I am for big salaries. I want to know what this bill is about."

Carr shrewdly emphasized that while Congress could not tie the president's hand in appointing or promoting diplomatic secretaries and consuls, it could regulate the new class of Foreign Service officers. And, Carr predicted, the president would fill appointments from among them.

A Penniless Old Age

When the committee met again the following Tuesday, John W. Davis, the former ambassador to the Court of St. James's, pleaded for reform of the entire foreign services. In London, he said, serious young diplomatic officers often came and asked his advice about staying in the service, and he had to tell them that, in justice to themselves, they should get out because it was a blind alley. There were no incentives, salaries were inadequate to support a family, and they

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faced the "fear of a dependent and penniless old age."

Rogers' bill would raise the ceiling on diplomatic officers' salaries and face up to the gap between diplomatic and consular salaries. The then current scale for diplomatic officers rose in four steps from $2,500 to $4,000; the scale for consuls had 25 levels, with salaries climbing from $1,500 to $12,000. Rogers protested: "Four is too few, just as 25 is ... absurd."

The Rogers Act put diplomats and consuls on the same pay scale — generally to the diplomats' benefit.

The new Foreign Service would have one scale with nine steps for both diplomatic secretaries and consuls. Everyone would start at $3,000 a year and could climb to $9,000 for the rank just below that of minister. Rogers asserted: Promotion up the nine-rung ladder would be "one of true merit — an American ladder."

The bill did not touch diplomats of the rank of minister or above, except that they would benefit from the so-called "representation allowance" that embassies would receive to help pay for entertainment expenses.

Congress Has It Out

Tom Connally rose in the House to oppose the bill. He attacked it on the very grounds on which Rogers had sought to defend it. He contended that the designation of Foreign Service officer became meaningless "the moment the foreign-service officer leaves the shores of the United States and comes in contact with the diplomatic or consular officers of other countries." The caste distinctions between the diplomatic and consular services are created by the customs of other countries, he warned. "We are not going to change that system."

Connally also criticized the bill's retirement plan as more liberal than the government could afford. He and his colleague, Congressman Thomas L. Blanton of Texas, both objected to the bill because, as they figured, under it salary increases alone would cost the government an additional $528,000 annually.

The ranking Democrat on the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Congressman J. Charles Linthicum of Maryland, spoke for the bill; he cautioned that "the turnover in the diplomatic service is tremendous and extremely injurious to the service and to the country." Diplomats going overseas often returned poorer than when they went, and young diplomats could not provide for a family. Rogers supported the point with the story of one diplomat who had resigned after 16 years service because he wanted to have something left for his wife when he died.

And at the same time, Linthicum said, older men were not being retired; they were clogging up the rolls and blocking the promotions of younger men. Under present salaries, he said, young men could not hope to raise a family. He asked, "Shall our government be a party to a service which compels celibacy?"

On Feb. 8, 1923, the House passed the Rogers bill by 203 to 27. The Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations swiftly and unanimously reported it out without amendment. The Senate was ready to pass it by unanimous consent, but Sen. Thomas Sterling of South Dakota objected and not even a letter from President Harding changed his mind. The 67th Congress adjourned on March 4 without the Senate having acted on the bill.

Starting Over

Its sponsors had to start over. The following October, Secretary of State Hughes obtained President Coolidge's endorsement of the bill, and on Dec. 5, Rogers introduced it once again. Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge, like Rogers a Massachusetts Republican, introduced an identical bill in the Senate.

In January 1924, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs again held hearings and reported the bill to the House, which debated it on April 30. This time, each side was limited to one hour. Connally immediately claimed the hour against the bill. The fight was not over.

Rogers used much of his time to assure the House that the proposed reforms were affordable. For the previous fiscal year, he said, Department of State expenditures totaled $8,435,000 and receipts — from passport and visa fees and the like — totaled $7,981,000. The net cost to the taxpayers was less than a million. He predicted his bill would increase that cost by only $345,000 a year. Observing that a large coast-

defense gun installation in Boston cost $2 million, he said, "We must have proper defense, but, gentlemen, in my judgment, if you can give us the best foreign service that the country can provide, you are doing a lot more toward peace insurance than you are by multiplying munitions of war." He was greeted by applause.

"What are we going to do under this bill?" Rogers asked. "Every young man, when he is originally appointed to the unified foreign service is going to be sent to a consulate. He is going to be sent to Singapore, perhaps, or to the West Coast of Africa or to some point in the Transvaal or to Saigon. He will not find social opportunities awaiting him in those cities. He will rather find an opportunity for the hardest kind of work." And, Rogers concluded, he will become a better public servant for it.

"Shall our government be a party to a service which compels celibacy?" asked one representative.

Rogers defended the proposed retirement program; under it, he said, the career Foreign Service would for the first time be treated like the Army and Navy and federal judges. He pointed out that Civil Service employees are taxed 2.5 percent of their annual salaries for retirement; but the Foreign Service officers will be asked to contribute 5 percent of theirs.

Congressman Blanton of Texas pointed out that long-time House Speaker Joseph G. Cannon, who had served for 44 years in Congress, retired without a single dollar contributed by his government. "Why are these people entitled to more consideration than Uncle Joe Cannon?"

Linthicum responded with numbers: the British ambassador to Portugal receives $19,466 and the British ambassador to Uruguay is paid $29,439 while in both cases the American ambassador receives $10,000.

Connally came back to the attack. Our representation abroad is "not dependent for its standing upon expensive diplomatic entertainment. ...We do not need to provide salaries sufficient for every little secretary to hold parties and levees and to entertain abroad. ..."

He argued also that a lot of poor men serve in the Consular Service and the bill does not materially help them. But, he said, his greatest objection was to the high rate of the proposed retirement pay. A secretary of embassy could retire under it after 30 years' service with $5,400 a year. "That is too high, gentlemen."

And Connally warned that the interchange of diplomatic and consular personnel should not make them "selling agents and salesmen."

Blanton from Texas had one more argument: the bill would hurt farmers who want the government to spend less.

Henry W. Temple, Republican of Pennsylvania, came to the bill's defense, pointing out that the government spends more than $300 million for the Army and a similar amount for the Navy and only $8 million for the conduct of foreign affairs.

Reform at Last

After a motion to recommit was defeated 201-110, the House passed the bill — again with 27 negative votes. This time, only two days later, the Senate approved it by unanimous consent. The House concurred with four minor Senate amendments.

In its final form, the Rogers Act accomplished the most fundamental reform in American history of the system by which the United States is represented abroad:

It established a single Foreign Service that allowed officers to be assigned on an interchangeable basis between diplomatic and consular branches.

It created the first uniform salary scale for both branches, making interchangeability feasible and reducing the need for private income.

It granted American missions abroad representation allowances to reduce the demand on the private resources of ambassadors and ministers, thus making it possible to promote more trained career people to those ranks.

And it initiated a program of retirement payments that promoted efficiency by retaining able Foreign Service officers for a full career, with a pension awaiting them at retirement.

On the sunny Saturday afternoon of May 24, 1924, President Coolidge signed the Rogers Act into law and brought the United States Foreign Service to life. American diplomacy became a profession. ■

MR. X GOES TO WASHINGTON:
AN INTERVIEW WITH GEORGE KENNAN

DAVID TURNER

FRESH OUT OF PRINCETON IN 1926, GEORGE KENNAN JOINED THE FOREIGN SERVICE. IT CHANGED HIS LIFE.

BY BOB GULDIN

When he wrote an article for the *Foreign Service Journal* in 1953, the accompanying author's identification said, "George F. Kennan needs no introduction to *Journal* readers."

That may no longer be quite as true as it was 46 years ago, so a biographical note is perhaps in order.

George F. Kennan is probably the best known and most highly esteemed scholar and shaper of foreign policy to emerge from the U.S. Foreign Service during its 75 years.

Kennan joined the Foreign Service in 1926, just two years after the Rogers Act was signed. As he explains below, the service was then still very much in transition — from the old upper-crust diplomatic corps to a more democratic service that could welcome a young man like him, a Milwaukee lawyer's son.

Kennan was posted to Germany and the Baltic states, then served in Moscow with the first U.S. mission after the United States recognized the Soviet Union in 1933.

He returned to Moscow in 1944, and while serving in the embassy wrote his famous "long telegram" to the State Department on the Soviet worldview, followed by a 1947 article in *Foreign Affairs*, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," under the pseudonym "Mr. X." Kennan urged a sober view of ideologically based Soviet expansionism, and coined the term "containment" as an appropriate Western response.

Kennan is considered by many to have established the conceptual framework for U.S. policy during the Cold War — so much so, that when that era ended in the early 1990s, many observers asked "who would be the new Kennan" and establish a paradigm for the post-Cold War world. That question is still unanswered.

Secretary of State George Marshall selected Kennan in 1947 to be the first director of the department's new Policy Planning Staff. In 1952, Kennan served briefly as ambassador to the Soviet Union, and retired from the Foreign Service the next year.

Soon thereafter, Kennan was appointed a professor at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, a position he has held ever since, except for a stint as ambassador to Yugoslavia from 1961 to 1963. He has written numerous works on foreign policy and diplomatic history, as well as several memoirs. His book *Russia Leaves the War* won the Pulitzer Prize in 1957.

When we visited Kennan at his home in Princeton last December, we found him, at age 94, charming, funny, self-assured and in full command of his material. When Mrs. Kennan, concerned for his health, attempted to cut the interview short, Kennan objected, "We've only gotten started! We'll need at least a half-hour more."

Perhaps we've found the Kennan for the new era.

Escaping Milwaukee

Foreign Service Journal: As you know, this interview is occasioned in part by the upcoming 75th anniversary of the modern Foreign Service.

George F. Kennan: It's also occasioned by the fact that I'm probably the oldest living retired member of the Foreign Service. I don't know if there are any older. At any rate, if anybody is, they're not very active.

FSJ: What first drew you to the Foreign Service, as a young man fresh out of Princeton?

Kennan: I came from Milwaukee, Wis., but I hadn't lived there since I was 13, because I was sent away to military school for four years. There followed those four years in Princeton. At Princeton I took a regular humanities course with an emphasis on modern history.

I must say that I loved the service and the life and what it gave me.

There came a man from the State Department in Washington who spoke to those of us that might be interested in the Foreign Service. I had very few ties to Milwaukee at that time, and no particular desire to return.

When I left college, I sensed, quite correctly, that I wasn't really ready to make decisions about my future. The thought of going back to Milwaukee — I was afraid of getting caught there, with a job, a wife, a home and so forth, and never being able to get away from it.

What the man told us about the State Department and the Foreign Service interested me, and so I applied. That meant, in those days, several months in Washington, practically an academic year of tutoring, because the Foreign Service exam demanded of you things you didn't always have.

FSJ: Even if one had done well at Princeton?

Kennan: Even if one had done well at Princeton. They did want things about the United States and American affairs and especially commerce and geography and all of that.

So, like a number of other chaps, I did take the tutoring course given by a great big, often drunken, Scots scholar but a very wonderful teacher and an amazing man. Most of us who had taken his tutoring got in.

This was in 1925 and '26, and then we took the exams. And only 18 of us were admitted out of 100-and-some candidates at that time. I was one of them. And I must say that I loved the service and the life and what it gave me, from that time on.

FSJ: At that point, the Rogers Act which created the unified Foreign Service, from what had previously been the separated consular corps and diplomatic corps,

must have been very fresh history.

Kennan: It was. We were the second class admitted on the basis of the Rogers Act.

FSJ: Was the unified Foreign Service still coming together?

Kennan: With rather surprising results. Because they found that the old diplomats who were supposed to be snobbish and look down on the Foreign Service acquiesced in this with good grace and good humor, and took their consular jobs and in many instances loved them too. Whereas a number of the consuls general did not feel terribly comfortable in the jobs to which they'd been sent.

They wanted to make sure that we didn't succumb to liquor or the women or the wrong things.

To this day, I'm not convinced that the amalgamation as it was then set up was entirely a good thing. Certainly, they should have much greater flexibility and movement from one service to the other. Perhaps it could have been more wisely architectured.

But we were all sent to consular posts initially, that's my recollection. That was a good idea; it gave you a broader concept of American representation abroad than most of the purely diplomatic assignments would.

Calling on the Proper Ladies

FSJ: Was there much difference in the qualifications or background or training between those who had come in previously and those under the Rogers Act?

Kennan: It seems to me the Rogers Act did signify a certain social democratization of the Foreign service, as compared with the old Diplomatic Service. Remember that the old Diplomatic Service really assumed an independent income, and a pretty secure family or professional background in this country before you entered it.

At the time I was admitted to the Foreign Service, I don't think snobbish considerations played a great role. They were quite prepared to take other kinds of people, as they did myself. I didn't come of a wealthy family; my father was a modest lawyer. And I had no social connections whatsoever.

What they looked for in the candidates was a firm, reassuring family background. They were impressed that I had come to Princeton and come through it creditably.

I can remember only one or two men in our class — both, incidentally, became excellent Foreign Service officers — who came of the old New England top drawer. They were very good men.

The only thing was they did feel that we ought to be able to go to a foreign post in a diplomatic capacity, and we ought to be able to deal with the diplomats of other countries. And the French and British and German governments almost invariably chose their diplomats from the upper classes. And these were fellows who knew how to behave themselves. Much greater stress in those days was given to manners than is given today.

We were supposed to have been the equivalent of officers in the Army or the Navy. That was why the term Foreign Service officer was chosen. When we came to Washington to enter this Foreign Service school, we were given a list of the ladies that we should call on in Washington.

We were part of the diplomatic family in Washington once we were appointed, and we were supposed to call on the proper people. And we were expected to go to their homes and if they were not home to leave a proper card with the proper initials on it. And if we were admitted we were supposed to know how to enter what was very often a rather elegant and high-class home and acquit ourselves creditably of this task.

FSJ: And did you do this?

Kennan: Oh, yes! We did, usually two of us together. Washington was considered to have a certain portion of its inhabitants who were in close association with the diplomatic corps, who formed the sort of society in which the diplomatic corps circulated.

FSJ: With the newly amalgamated Foreign Service, though, it wasn't quite so necessary that FSOs bring with them an independent income.

Kennan: Not quite so necessary. We entered with an

annual salary of $2,500 a year. But many of the perks which now exist did not exist at that time. When you went to a foreign post, yes, they paid your way to the post, but after that you were on your own. You had to find your own housing. Nobody cared. All the State Department did was buy us a ticket, a steamship ticket usually, and after that they washed their hands of us. We had to find our way to the post and report to the senior officer. And then we had to find a place to live on our own expense.

FSJ: I understand there's more assistance with housing now.

Kennan: It's much more paternalistic now than it was then. We were rather assumed to have enough knowledge of the world and maturity to know how to go through all this.

The One-Room Foreign Service Schoolhouse

FSJ: These days, when you enter the Foreign Service, there's the A-100 class, which is basic training for new FSOs. What kind of training did you get?

Kennan: We had at that time a Foreign Service School in the department, which was the first thing we were assigned to. It was in a comfortable room, one of the big rooms in the State, War and Navy Building looking down over the White House gardens. And I can remember Calvin Coolidge coming out and putting on Indian feathers to be photographed for some reason of his own.

FSJ: That's a famous photograph; you saw him in that garb?

Kennan: Yeah, we did (laughs). We were all taught by one experienced, older consul general of the service, William Dawson, who was a fine linguist and who had had very considerable experience in both the diplomatic and consular service — that was infrequent at the time.

FSJ: So you had one teacher for that course?

Kennan: We had one teacher, and we had classes in various things, what visa work was about, passport work, commercial work. And we were asked in the end to write a mock Foreign Service report. Great importance was attached at that time to your own writing ability and style.

FSJ: What then was your first assignment?

Kennan: My first assignment was officially as a vice consul in Hamburg. But just at that time Pinkney Tuck, who was a member of the old Diplomatic Service, a very distinguished one, had been made the American observer to the League of Nations in Geneva. Tuck was serving as American consul general, and he found himself unable to cope with the consular work, because so many other demands were being made on him from the other duties as an observer and point of contact with the League of Nations.

So Tuck asked for a couple of officers to aid him. And a boy by the name of Henry Beck and I (Beck was a brilliant fellow; he'd gone through Harvard in three years) went out there in the way that I've described; somebody bought our ticket to Geneva, and said go out.

And I remember we reported in at Tuck's office. He was very nice, very polite to us. And he said, "What brings you here? How long are you going to be in this town?" We said, "We're assigned here," whereupon he blew up, threw his papers around, and said "God damn it, I asked for experienced officers and look what they send me!"

Well, we dug in, and took the consular correspondence very seriously. He was quite mollified. We did better than he expected. But that went on only for four or five months, to carry him through the summer, the difficult period.

I moved on then to Hamburg where we had a big office because Hamburg was then the leading port of the European continent. That meant a lot of work for the American consulate general. Because many of the older customs of the 19th century which have now been abandoned had been preserved. No goods could be shipped to the United States, but what I had to sign the outgoing invoice and customs document. I was also given the seamanship work; I had a little office of my own in the basement of the Hamburg American Line building. Every American ship captain who came in had to deposit his papers with me and leave them with me until they were ready to sail. This was a holdover from sailing ship days. The tramp steamers used to hire Americans, then come to Europe and hire cheaper labor.

We also screened immigrants, especially from

Russia, who had great visa problems. We had at this time no relations with the Soviet government.

The Day I Almost Resigned

FSJ: You were in the Foreign Service for 26 years. Looking back on your career, what did you feel were the high points, and the low points?

If I have any hero it was George Marshall, a man of qualities very similar to those of George Washington.

Kennan: About a year after I entered the service, I was in Hamburg, I knew German and I began attending courses in literature and other subjects. And I came to the conclusion that I shouldn't have gone directly from Princeton to the Foreign Service, that I should have graduate school training. And I began to feel so strongly about this that I wanted to go home and consult with the department about this. So they let me do this, at my own expense of course, and I went to Washington, and went to see the director of personnel at the department. He was very cold and said, "Is this your decision? All right, then, that's it." He said go up and write your resignation. And I started upstairs and on the stairs I met Willie Dawson, the old head of the Foreign Service school, and he said "What are you doing here?" and I told him and he said, "Look, are you sure you want to do this?"

He said we are now just putting into operation a system of special training of three years post-graduate training for men already in the service, in any of what were regarded as the four exotic languages — Chinese, Japanese, Arabic and Russian. You could have post-graduate training without leaving the Foreign Service, so I did sign up for the Russian. But we had to serve for a year and a half in that field before our academic training even began. They wanted to make sure that we didn't succumb to the liquor or the women or the wrong things, and that we could be depended upon as serious officers.

So I was then sent as a consular officer for a year or so in the Baltic countries, then as part of the diplomatic staff in Riga, and then returned to Berlin. I was then sent to the University of Berlin largely because it had the best courses in the world at that time on Russian and Soviet life and economies, and also because they realized I had the linguistic capability in German to go there as a regular student.

This was a school set up by Bismarck for German diplomats. So I went there for two years, and at the end of that time FDR decided to recognize Russia.

I happened to be home on leave at the time the agreements with Litvinov for the conclusion of relations were completed. And I was introduced to Bill Bullitt, the first man selected to go to Russia as ambassador. Bullitt was delighted and took me along as a personal aide all the way to Russia. He spent only a few days and went back to organize an embassy. But my wife and I were left as the first American diplomatic representatives residing in Russia for some months. All of this, of course, was enormously exciting and interesting. I loved the Russian assignment. We were there at a difficult time, but we were prepared for this.

After about four years of service in Russia, I was removed, I think at the instance of the ambassador that FDR sent to replace Bullitt. Bullitt was a brilliant man; he was explosive and impatient, but he was a man of the world and he knew what he was doing.

But the man sent to replace him was a fraud, a figure in the Democratic Party [ed note: Joseph Davies]. He was ... whew! The day he and his wife came, all of us who were Foreign Service officers met in Loy Henderson's flat and asked ourselves if we should all resign, because we, through great devotion and effort, had made our embassy in Moscow, along with the German embassy, the most respected diplomatic mission in town. Diplomats came to us for guidance in understanding Russia.

And we felt that this assignment of ambassador showed that the president couldn't have cared less about us. He didn't give a goddamn. He wanted to get kudos for this in the Democratic Party.

In his view, the whole mission was expendable for his political purposes at home. I rebelled against this. We considered resigning en masse.

I expect that the ambassador knew my feelings. I was soon transferred. I didn't serve there again until '44 when Averell Harriman took me along as counselor of the embassy.

FSJ: I know you served with and under some impressive people. Are there one or two people that really stand out in your mind?

Kennan: I was very close in my official position to

George Marshall when he was secretary of State. I had the only office adjoining his. If I have any hero it was George Marshall — a man of a great many qualities, qualities very similar, literally, to those of George Washington.

I served with Wilbur Carr briefly in Czechoslovakia, when Czechoslovakia was folding. Carr was a great old standby, an assistant secretary in the Department of State who was really a rock and foundation of the department for many, many years.

Of the others — Averell was the hardest, stiffest, most demanding and unbending of my chiefs, but a man of great quality.

FSJ: You've had a career with several phases — you've been known as a diplomat, a shaper of policy, a writer and scholar. During which period in your career do you feel you made the greatest contribution?

Kennan: Serving in Moscow after the war, in the winter of '46, the ambassador was gone and I was chargé d'affaires. I had written for Harriman three longer articles about how I saw the Soviet Union, coming back after seven years' absence. I handed them to Harriman as my chief, to do what he wanted with them. They were not regular dispatches; they were rather literary papers. They appear as annexes to the first volume of my memoirs.

And then I wrote this long telegram, which for some reason struck this very, very responsive bell back in Washington, and it was circulated all around. It was made required reading for officers of the armed services in the Pentagon. [James] Forrestal was then the secretary of the Navy and was interested.

And when I came home from Russia I was assigned as the first civilian deputy commandant of the National War College, in the first year of the college's existence. I had to set up political instruction.

And during that time Gen. Marshall came into office as secretary of State, made his trip to Europe and came back extensively worried. He decided to set up a planning unit in the Department of State similar to one that he had had in the War Department.

He had very much on his mind the problem of Europe. Something had to be done about Europe and done in a hurry. He couldn't go through the bureaucracy if he wanted to move quickly. So he said, "I'm going to take you away from the National War College. I want you immediately to set up a small staff in the Department of State." And he gave me the rooms right next to his office. He said, "I want you to tell me, within a matter of two to three weeks at the most, what this government should do about Europe."

So not only did I have to find quarters in the department — I had to look around for people. I had no time to go outside the department, so I gathered together a small group of seven or eight from within the department. And we threw ourselves into this work, which we completed in the time given and submitted a report to the secretary. And the significant wording of that whole report appeared unchanged in his Harvard speech and did set in certain very fundamental ways the whole framework of the Marshall Plan.

I also wrote the "X" article for *Foreign Affairs* at this time.

Almost Isolationist

FSJ: How do you see the Foreign Service as having changed during its 75 years?

Kennan: Though people talk about the modern Foreign Service having started in 1924, there was, in the present sense of the word, nothing modern about it. It was, in fact, very old-fashioned by modern standards. The modern Foreign Service, to my mind, dates from the immediate aftermath of World War II, and has very little relation to what had been established before the war.

For example, ours was a service where we were all known to the top people in the department. The under secretary, the assistant secretaries, had participated in examining us, and we were not ciphers for them — we were real people. They followed our careers with interest and read our efficiency reports. They were moved by all this in their promotions and the nature of the assignments they gave us. I don't think that anybody can expect that today. Whatever may be the virtues of the Foreign Service, it's part of the vast Washington bureaucracy today, and you can't change that.

FSJ: If you were talking to some bright young people today, college graduates, would you recommend the Foreign Service to them?

Kennan: No. A number of youngsters have come to me to ask my advice about this. What I have said in recent years was: Look, if you are going to regard life in the Foreign Service as a prolongation of your education, as a remarkable and unique opportunity to live in a foreign city with a respectable entree to the whole place, including the government — if you

take it that way, then by all means.

But if you're fiercely ambitious, and you want to get ahead, and you're interested in getting promoted before anybody else, then I wouldn't join it. I would have to say also that I've gradually become persuaded that this is not a thing one should join for life.

That's for two reasons. First, if one had a wife, she would now want a professional life of her own. But also, the fact that top ranks of the service are so blocked by White House appointments means that you're apt to be cut off just when you've achieved the peak of your usefulness to the government.

FSJ: You are identified as a scholar and a writer with the realist, as opposed to the idealist, school of foreign affairs. We seem to be moving further away from that in the current period — getting more idealistic, perhaps more altruistic. From the realist perspective, which emphasizes the pursuit of specific American interests in the conduct of foreign policy, it's difficult to understand what the American interest in Somalia or Bosnia might be.

Kennan: This is difficult to say in a few words. I feel that we are greatly overextended. We claim to be able to do more than we really can do for other people. We should limit our contributions, and let others take the initiative.

I'm close to the isolationists, but not entirely, because I've always recognized that those alliances to which we belong and which the Senate has approved as provided for by the Constitution, we must remain faithful to those. That includes the original NATO alliance, our alliance with Japan. Our complicated relations with Latin America contain elements of long-term assurances, in the Monroe Doctrine sense.

Beyond that, when other countries come to us asking for help, we should ask, "Why do you need it?" and "Why should we provide it?"

Within our time, I don't think that democracy is going to be the universal form of government. I'm very hesitant about our pushing democracy and human rights on other countries, whose democracy in any case would be rather different from our own. We can't ask other countries to be clones of America. ■

"When an error is made, Spencer, we do not comment on it by saying, 'Somebody made a boo-boo.'"

Cartoon from *The Foreign Service Journal*, November 1957

Congratulations and Best Wishes to the United States Foreign Service on its 75th Anniversary.

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IN THEIR OWN WORDS

CHET PHILLIPS

AN ORAL HISTORY PROJECT BRINGS DIPLOMATIC EXPERIENCE TO LIFE IN THE WORDS OF THE FSOS WHO LIVED IT.

BY STEVEN ALAN HONLEY

As a young FSO, former Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger made a prediction that, at the time, did not make him popular among his colleagues.

"When I was in INR (the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research) on the Cuban political desk, it was the time of the Bay of Pigs (1961). I was not knowledgeable about the event and the plans leading up to it," he recalled in a 1988 interview for the Foreign Affairs Oral History Project. "I learned about it when everyone else did, when it was reported in the news that there had been an invasion of Cuba. I made the mistake, perhaps, of predicting that it wouldn't succeed, which in the first 24 hours made me very unpopular in the department, but

later on made me a bit more popular."

Like Eagleburger, many FSOs have been witnesses to diplomatic crises and triumphs. Though no one else has gone on to become secretary of State, many have risen through the ranks to become ambassador or to hold other high-level diplomatic posts. Still others have fought battles — either bureaucratic or literal — that convey valuable insights about diplomacy. While retired diplomats have often written memoirs or nonfiction books, taught or found other ways to pass on their store of knowledge, until recently there was no systematic effort to record and disseminate their insights. This gap in institutional memory became even more pronounced after the Foreign Service instituted an "up or out" promotion policy following the passage of the Foreign Service Reform Act of 1980 and large numbers of senior and mid-level officers began leaving the service. For the most part, these witnesses' observations of history-in-the-making went unrecorded until 1985, when retired FSO Charles Stuart Kennedy founded the Foreign Affairs Oral History Project.

Many academics believe that individuals recall their own actions in a more favorable light than other observers.

History of Oral History

The idea of gathering and preserving historical information through recorded interviews with individuals is the oldest type of historical inquiry, according to the Oral History Association.

More than 2,400 years ago the Greek historian Thucydides prefaced his *History of the Peloponnesian War* with some notes about his method. "I have made it a principle not to write down the first story that came my way, and not even to be guided by my own general impressions," he wrote. "Either I was present myself at the events I have described or else I heard of them from eyewitnesses whose reports I have checked with as much thoroughness as possible."

At the same time, oral history is one of the most modern historical disciplines. The development of portable tape recorders in the 1940s made it possible for researchers to go directly to their subjects. Likewise, computerization — in particular, CD-ROM technology — has not only made possible worldwide dissemination of interviews but has allowed on-line readers to do specific data searches and retrieve and organize information in myriad ways.

So, why did it take so long to apply these techniques to American diplomacy? The State Department Historian's Office informally explored launching an oral history project, but stopped because of the practical difficulties involved. For example, hierarchical sensitivities would make it very awkward for government historians to interview officers without also interviewing their superiors. In addition, there would be substantial political pressure to record "official" chronicles of events or to over-classify material.

Two long-standing biases in the academic world also account for historians' reluctance to explore the resource more thoroughly. They prefer documentary research over the "mere" collection of reminiscences and see oral history as unreliable. They also believe that individuals recall their own actions in a more favorable light than other observers, a tendency which becomes more pronounced over time.

Getting Off the Ground

As is often the case, several people decided that it was time for oral history collections in the diplomatic community at the same time, in the mid-1980s. The USIA Alumni Association Oral History Project began interviewing retired diplomats in 1985 and two Foreign Service spouses, Jewel Fenzi and Ann Miller Morin, began interview projects that would later turn into books for the Twayne Publishers Oral History Series. Fenzi, supplemented by volunteer interviewers, recorded the experiences of diplomatic spouses for *Married to the Foreign Service: An Oral History of the American Diplomatic Spouse*, published in 1994. Morin concentrated on in-depth biographical studies of women

Steven Alan Honley, a freelance writer, was an FSO from 1985 to 1997, serving in Mexico City, Wellington, and Washington.

ambassadors for *Her Excellency: An Oral History of American Women Ambassadors*, published in 1995.

In 1983 Charles Stuart Kennedy had an epiphany while attending the funeral of Ambassador Burke Elbrick. During the service he realized that many FSOs like Elbrick were taking colorful memories to their graves. Elbrick, for example, was forced to flee Warsaw in 1939 with the Polish government as the German and Russian armies invaded. Though he was later ambassador to Portugal and Yugoslavia — where Kennedy knew him — he is best known for his courage when, while serving as ambassador to Brazil, he was kidnapped by leftist terrorists.

The program strives to survey all aspects of American diplomacy and foreign policy, not just describe colorful foreign adventures.

Shortly after Elbrick's funeral, Kennedy and Victor Wolf, a retired FSO who died in 1986, started an oral history project for diplomats. In 1985 the George Washington University History Department gave them $10,000 to cover operating expenses and a room in which to set up the "Foreign Affairs History Center." GWU expected that Kennedy would raise enough money to cover his other costs, but, as he cheerfully admits, "Fundraising is not my strong suit." When the initial grant ran out in 1988, Kennedy moved the program to Georgetown University. Transcribed copies of all interviews are still available at the library there, as well as at the Foreign Service Institute and through the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training. That same year Kennedy also found a permanent home for the oral history operation.

The Role of ADST

The Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, a private, non-profit organization, was founded in 1986 to encourage the study of American diplomacy and to enhance the training of those who represent the United States abroad. Located on the campus of the National Foreign Affairs Training Center, ADST is not part of, nor is it funded by, the U.S. government. This gives it freedom to act in areas in where the U.S. government lacks either funds or authority.

Dick Parker, ADST's first director, worked closely with then-FSI director Steve Lowe to set the association's agenda as they sought ways to commemorate the achievements of the Foreign Service. One of their first priorities was to establish a diplomatic studies publication program. With the co-sponsorship of Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired, the publication program is a major component of ADST's research center. The association also oversees exhibits covering the people and events of U.S. diplomatic history, sponsors policy round-tables, gives language-teaching awards and offers a home to occasional diplomatic scholars-in-residence.

ADST put Kennedy under contract in 1988 to set up and direct its Foreign Affairs Oral History Program. Since that time, he has supervised the completion of more than 1,100 interviews, making the program the largest in the foreign affairs field. In addition to oral histories, the program houses an extensive collection of unpublished memoirs and completes some 80 new oral history interviews each year.

Expanding the Program

At first, the oral history program concentrated on Foreign Service officers who had been born before 1918 and who had served as chiefs of mission. Organizers moved quickly to gather information from their subjects before the actuarial tables deprived future generations of their reminiscences. Inexperienced volunteers conducted these early interviews and, as a result, they are brief and stick close to general guidelines. As criteria expanded to include as narrators less senior FSOs — both in age and rank — and a broader range of retired FSO interviewers became involved, topics have been covered in more detail.

For example, interviewers now ask more questions about a subject's childhood, youth and economic and educational background, as well as formative professional experiences. The interviews themselves often take place in several sessions. The idea is to bypass self-congratulatory "My Brilliant Career" accounts and capture the overall texture of an officer's tenure. As a result, these reminiscences are not "of interest only

to other Foreign Service officers," says Charles Stuart Kennedy.

Once a series of interviews has been recorded, the tapes are transcribed. This can be a lengthy process, with many details to be verified. Then a copy goes to the narrator for review, and sometimes an additional interview is added. Only then — an average of 18 months from start to finish — is the interview transcript finalized and added to the collection.

Though the majority of the collection's 1,100 narrators have been retired Foreign Service officers, political appointees have also been included. Important to the program is the idea of surveying all aspects of American diplomacy, rather than merely describing colorful foreign adventures.

Another big plus of the collection is the candor with which narrators feel they can speak. Admittedly, this comes more easily to retired diplomats who no longer have to fear professional opprobrium or retaliation from their peers. Decades after having left government service, most diplomats still have strong feelings about the countries in which they served, the issues they handled and their colleagues. They are not shy about giving their blunt assessments.

Country Readers

The oral history collection is also a boon to researchers interested in tracking the evolution of U.S. policy toward particular regions of the world. So far, some 50 "country readers" — collections of interviews with several diplomats talking about a particular country — have been assembled. Sometimes officers whose tours overlapped offer distinctly Rashomon-like versions of events, leaving it up to the reader to decide whose version is closest to the truth. In addition, the first 900 oral histories recorded from 1986 to 1998 will be available on CD-ROM in July.

It's a well-worn cliché — in the Foreign Service at least — that diplomacy has no constituency because the American public has little idea what it does. While the Foreign Affairs Oral History Project is not the only solution to that problem, it can only benefit the Foreign Service by putting a human face on diplomacy.

On the pages following, you'll find some excerpts the author encountered while browsing through the collection.

"The Oral Examination," a cartoon from the American Foreign Service Journal, *1925*

Foreign Service Adventures
In the First Person

Memorizing A Language

Ambassador William G. Bradford describes how a half century ago he finally got into the Foreign Service on his third try:

I took the Foreign Service exam two years running. In those days, it was a three-and-a-half-day exam. One half was a language. ... You wrote page after page after page. When they got all through grading, the first two years I failed the exam by one-tenth of a point each year. I had 69.9, and 70 was passing. ... So we took it again after a one-year layoff, and passed it rather easily. We came to that half-day language exam I spoke of and I passed it by memorizing a small Spanish dictionary. I could not speak a word of Spanish, nor could I really read it, but I could pick out a lot of words. Somehow I staggered through it, and they thought I spoke Spanish.

Getting A Jeep, Cheap

Ambassador Philip Manhard recalls a rather unusual reimbursement claim he had to file in his days as a young FSO in China:

One time when I was out in a language course, a friend of mine was a middle-aged Presbyterian missionary, who was in a little town outside Peking. This was during the investment, I guess you'd call it in military terminology, of Peking ... [at] the end of 1948, the beginning of 1949. I took a consulate jeep out on a Sunday to see her, because a Chinese friend of mine had told me she was sick out in this little town, which was in between the [battle] lines, I thought. It turned out the Chinese Communist Party lines were closer [than I realized]. I got out there on a road and got sniper fire from the Chinese Communist side, turned around and came back on the road, whereupon I met machine-gun fire coming at me from the Chinese Nationalists. It destroyed the front end of the jeep. I drove it into the consulate compound. It was a diesel engine by that time because all the water had drained out of the engine block. I had to wait for the gas to run out for the engine to stop. Then I was told that I would have to pay for the damage, of course, since it was my own personal affair on the weekend. (Laughs)

Q: Did you actually ever pay for it?

Manhard: I had some friends in the Army language school, which was just closing down. They were leaving the city, and they had extra equipment. They said, "Phil, we'll give you a jeep so you can pay your difficult Foreign Service folks who count the pennies."

The Singing Toothbrush

About a decade later, FSO William L. Fry had his own adventures in language training:

At the end of the training class in June 1961, I was assigned to Geneva and was going to take a French language course. We then went into another week or two of very specialized consular training and the day before we finished, my orders were changed to go to Rome and study Italian one-on-one with a barrage of tutors. They wanted a test to see how quickly a person could learn a Romance language and Italian was a language I didn't know a word of. Also, they needed a junior officer in Trieste in September because the visa situation there was fairly active for a small post. ... So I went to Rome and studied Italian very hard all of July and August, and about half of September. I lived in an Italian hotel and tried to speak only Italian; I didn't have to work in the Embassy. ... I arrived in Trieste towards the end of September and by November, when I was tested up there, I did get a 3/3, which amazed even me because I had a fairly low language aptitude on the entering test. ... I always found Italian easy to read because if I didn't know a word I would glide over it and didn't worry about it too much. ... I started getting the Trieste dialect, which is a very interesting dialect, woven into Italian because when I asked for a word, they would give me the Triestine word, not thinking too much about it. This led to situations such as one at a dinner party out of Trieste when someone was talking about music and how the Italians love opera, etc., and I said, 'Every morning about 6 o'clock, I have a toothbrush that comes down my street singing while cleaning the street.' As it turns out, it was the difference between spazino, street-sweeper, and spazolino, the Trieste slang for a toothbrush.

Foreign Service Adventures
In the First Person

Just Fill In The Box, Please

Anthony Geber, an economic assistance program officer in Jakarta from 1954 to 1957, tells how he was called upon to become a prophet:

One of my early battles with Washington was that in preparing the [yearly technical assistance] plan, we had to fill out a box on a form projecting the growth rate of the Indonesian economy several years ahead. There was a UN team at that time trying to construct the first national accounts for Indonesia. They were engaged in making calculations and estimates for several years back on the basis of inadequate statistics. [So] I thought that making any GDP projections for the years ahead would be irresponsible.

In the end, I lost the battle. I was told to put in any number, but it was essential that I fill in the box. Much to my amazement, a couple of years later, when I was back in Washington, I saw a printed hardcover book on the Indonesian economy which contained those figures which I'd picked out of thin air.

Geber encountered a similar situation when he was sent on TDY to Cambodia to pinch hit as program officer in the aid mission.

The ambassador confirmed to me that he was really having problems with his aid mission. For instance, he asked the mission to give him a projection of how long it would take to phase out the military support program. This was a very large program of commodity imports to support the Cambodian military budget. Unfortunately, the aid mission could not come up with an answer, as they did not have a competent authority on their staff. Ambassador McClintock then turned to his military, who in good military fashion came up with a beautiful bar chart within the allotted deadline of one week. It showed that in the first two years the military support program would have to be kept at the same level, but that it could rapidly decline in the next two years. I asked the ambassador to let me look into this.

I got hold of the colonel who prepared the chart. He admitted that he didn't have much to go on that justified the assumption reflected in the chart but the presence of a fairly large aid mission whose task was to improve the Cambodian economy. I reported back to the ambassador that in my opinion the only basis for the chart was that the colonel who prepared it had a tour of duty in Cambodia for the next two years, after which it was to be somebody else's problem.

Q: What was the ambassador's reaction to that?

Geber: I think he laughed.

Aid Follies, Ours and Theirs

Henry Dunlap, the PAO (Public Affairs Officer) in Ghana from 1957-59, describes the pitfalls of foreign aid that both sides sometimes fell into during the Cold War:

We had a need in the local secondary school, which was called, I think, Hotchimoto. They needed space for boarding and there wasn't any. So the Ford Foundation had sent two people out traveling around looking for some sort of grant to be helpful, a Mr. Fox and a Mr. Wolfe. And my CAO (Cultural Affairs Officer) and I advised Fox and Wolfe very strenuously to give a $50,000 grant to this secondary school and that would build them a dorm. They could handle the teaching but they had no place to put the kids overnight. So they listened. And they ended up giving a grant on Western cooking to the University College of Ghana which, of course, was totally asinine. And they also spent $200,000 doing it. But in most cases, private organizations, foundations, as well as our government did things that were really truly helpful. I couldn't resist digging Fox and Wolfe because they didn't even know what they were doing. ... When I was in Ghana, the Russians gave the people of Guinea a huge shipment of farm tractors and they were never used because they were equipped with automatic heaters which couldn't be turned off. So they were run once and when the driver melted that was the end of that. Another great gift the Soviets gave the Guineans: they built, I think they called it a "radio of the revolution." They built a transmitter on this mountain outside of Conakry and it was a megawatt, terrifically powerful. Unfortunately, the mountain was iron ore and the signal went out of the antenna and right into the ground. So they just made me feel good that other people can make errors, too.

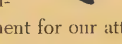
Foreign Service Adventures
In the First Person

The Codel From Hell

Every FSO has at least one horror story about a VIP visit, but L. Michael Rives, deputy chief of mission in Jakarta from 1975 to 1978, did something about it:

We, as is usual, prepared a program for the Codel [congressional delegation], on their instruction, and they never approved it. It wasn't until they left Bangkok on their way to Indonesia that they got on the radio to me, from the plane, saying, "We're coming to Indonesia as a rest stop." This was on a weekend, of course. The Indonesians took their weekend seriously. They didn't have any receptions or anything on weekends. [Yet] I had gotten the government of Indonesia to work on this weekend to meet with these people. And I was told they weren't interested, they were going shopping. So I'm afraid I was a little annoyed, and I said that was impossible. Finally, they came back and said they'd agree to meet a limited number [of officials] for fifteen minutes, so I said no, I'd rather cancel it. So I did cancel, by letter to everybody, sent by special messenger.

What they did want was a briefing on Sunday morning by the embassy. So on Sunday morning, we started at 9 o'clock. At 1 o'clock, we were still going. Every section chief had his say, and the AID mission and everything. But it was mostly spent by the congressmen attacking the embassy and the U.S. government for our attitude towards Indonesia. We were doing too much, we were wasting money, all that kind of thing. We listened. ... As I say, this went on for hours. Finally, I had had enough, so I stood up, and I said that I appreciated their visit. ...Visits like theirs serve two useful purposes: One, they allow congressmen to see a new country and get the point of view of the country they are visiting. And, two, they also allow the country visited to get the point of view of the U.S. Congress and the U.S. government firsthand. But, I said, "Things work both ways." In this particular trip, they had been extremely rude to the Indonesian government by casting aside all the plans that had been made; had been extremely rude to me and the embassy by not answering our cables; and I and everybody in the embassy had just been accused of being crooks. I didn't accept that — I didn't take that positively. I said, "I want you to remember that we pay your salaries, just the way you pay my salary. This is the end of the meeting."



They were perfectly furious. After I left, they demanded to see the exchange of cables, which proved that they were in the wrong. I was giving a large reception for them that evening, and the State Department escort officer called me and asked, "Do you still want us to come?" And I said, "Certainly. I want one thing understood, though. If the Indonesians come, and I'm not sure anybody's going to come, I don't want to see a single American speaking to another American. I want you to let the congressmen know that." I also asked him, "By the way, what are you doing on this trip? You are a useless appendage. Why didn't you see that those cables were replied to?" So I wasn't very popular there, either. So they came, and it turned out to be a very good evening, because they all spoke to the Indonesians; they really made an effort.

Ambassador Newsom returned from Washington, where he had been on consultations, the next day. I told him what had happened, and he said, "Well, I don't want to say anything, but you'd better pack your bags!"

But nobody said anything. They knew they were in the wrong.

Cartoon from an article about VIP visits in the July 1952 Foreign Service Journal.

Foreign Service Adventures
In the First Person

Temperature For Bilateral Relations

John Linehan, who was DCM in Accra from 1975 to 1977, attests to the fact that VIP visits, even if they don't actually come off, can still cause major headaches:

Henry [Kissinger] was about to make his first visit to Africa. ... At 5 p.m. on the day before Kissinger was due to arrive at 10 a.m., we were called to the foreign ministry. I went with [Ambassador Shirley Temple Black]. They said, "Unfortunately, Colonel Acheampong, the head of state, is ill and cannot receive Mr. Kissinger. Therefore, it wouldn't be appropriate for him to come."

The real story was, apparently, that the Nigerians had sent a plane and a delegation to convince Acheampong not to receive Henry Kissinger because the Nigerians were concerned about our involvement in Angola at that period. The fact of the matter was that the head of state did have a boil on his rear end, but I don't think it was all that serious. We sent a "flash" message to tell Kissinger that he could not come. He asked Ambassador Black to meet him in Monrovia, which she did. She came back three days later with orders to return to the States. I was told that our relations would be cool. No signing of aid agreements, etc. So, she took off, and I was chargé d'affaires, basically for six months. ...Well, how do you play things cool? I guess you do the best you can. I stayed on pretty good terms with the government. By September, I was told, "You can warm up again."

Q: Do you feel that anybody paid attention to our playing it cool or playing these games?

Linehan: No, it was a farce. But I don't think that much damage was done, either.

Q: Did the Ghanaians know that we were doing this?

Linehan: No. I think it made Henry feel better.

Presentation Of (Dis)Credentials

Ambassador Marshall Green arrived in Indonesia in 1965 at a particularly difficult moment in bilateral relations, but his diplomatic skills rose to the challenge:

President Sukarno hated to see [former U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia] Jones go and saw in me a different type of diplomat, one that was perhaps best described as a no nonsense type, a man who was not going to play the Jones game. Therefore Sukarno made life rather uncomfortable for me. My arrival was attended by signs all over the streets of Jakarta saying, "Green, go home!" Under one of those signs, someone had scrawled in lipstick, "And take me with you!" So I always had faith, especially in the students who later on played a very major role in Sukarno's demise.

When I presented my letters shortly after arrival, maybe within two weeks, there was a big affair at the palace. Thousands of guests were there. I was attired in a white business suit, as indeed all my principal officers wore. We all lined up facing Sukarno and some of his 105 Cabinet members in the Istana (which is the palace) at which time I then read my carefully prepared remarks which had been cleared in Washington for the occasion and in which we said all the nice things we could possibly say about Indonesia and its president. Then I stepped back and Sukarno stood forward and delivered a terrific blast against U.S. foreign policy.

Well, you know, on occasions like that, diplomats often times leave the room, but I decided I had no choice but to stay. When he finished, Sukarno then introduced me to the leading guests. Our voices were being carried by microphones all over the room; everyone was listening, so this is how I got back at Sukarno. When he introduced me to the third-ranking person in the Foreign Office, a woman who was one of his many former mistresses, Madam Supeni, who is a very beautiful woman, I said to her, very loud so that everybody could hear: "Madam Supeni, it's a great pleasure to meet you. You know, with that beautiful raven hair and flashing eyes and green sari, I really couldn't keep my mind on what the president was saying during his recent remarks. Could you tell me what he said?" Well, there was a ghastly silence until Sukarno, who in a way was flattered by the attention I gave to his former mistress, slapped his thigh and laughed and everybody laughed. There was a general sigh of relief around the room. ■

Ever notice that the Foreign Service can be a little hard on the people involved?

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MEMORIAL PLAQUE

The paired marble plaques located in the State Department's Diplomatic Entrance off C Street were established by the American Foreign Service Association "in honor of those Americans have lost their lives under heroic or other inspirational circumstances while serving the Government abroad in foreign affairs." The first plaque was unveiled in 1933, the second in 1972. Together, they currently contain a total of 178 names, with eight more to be added on May 7, 1999.

Top: An engraver chisels the name of William R. Buckley, one of the hostages killed in Lebanon in 1985. Bottom left: Secretary of State George P. Shultz views the Memorial Plaque on Foreign Service Day in 1987. Bottom right: Lloyd R. Van Landingham, accompanied by his daughters Amber and Ashley, attends the ceremony marking the addition to the plaque of his late wife Jacqueline Van Landingham, killed while serving in Karachi, Pakistan, in 1995.

TODAY'S A-100 CLASS: BUILDING A BETTER FSO

RICK REINHARD

MEET THE REAL FUTURE OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE — THE A-100 CLASS OF WINTER 1999

BY HOPE KATZ GIBBS

Amid a sea of power suits sits Harmony Caton. The 24-year-old from Connecticut is wearing her most professional looking charcoal gray wool blend, and she's sweating. It isn't the temperature of Room F-2328 at the Foreign Service Institute that's getting to her. It is anxiety. Today is flag day, and Caton and the 33 other members of her A-100 Class are about to find out where they'll be spending the next two years of their lives on their first assignments as Foreign Service officers.

"I have never been so nervous," says Caton, shifting impatiently in her assigned seat. "My first choiee is to be posted to Damascus, but if I get any one of my top 15 choices, I'll be happy."

Finally, the flag ceremony begins. Taking center stage is Niels Marquardt, director of the entry-level division of the State Department's Bureau of Personnel, Career Development and Assignments. His charge: To announce where each member of this 90th FSI A-100 orientation class will be posted.

A half-hour into the ceremony Caton has her answer. "Going to Windhoek, Namibia," Marquardt says slowly, "Miss Harmony Caton." Caton blushes, rises and retrieves the green and blue flag representing the country she'll depart for on May 17. She gives it a wave for the benefit of her parents in the audience.

"I'm happy," she says later. "I had no idea I'd be going to Africa. Windhoek was pretty far down on the list. When I first heard where I'd be posted, I thought they'd called the wrong person. But this will be great. Yeah, I'm happy."

Joy, fear, excitement, quiet contemplation. These are the reactions of most of the students in Caton's class for, as any FSO knows, flag day is a milestone. It marks the start of a journey that aspiring officers have worked toward for years. Doni Phillips, for instance, has been trying to pass the Foreign Service exam since 1996. Last year, she accomplished her goal. "I feel like I've won the lottery," she says upon learning she'll be posted to Mexico City. "But I don't think it would be very professional to jump up and down. So I'm trying to stay as stoically serene as possible."

If you only go around this earth once, why would you want to do anything but work for the Foreign Service?

— LOUIS CRISHOCK

A Select Group

Phillips has a right to be proud, for she is part of a select group. Of the 9,618 would-be Foreign Service officers who took the Foreign Service exam in February 1998, a mere 380 passed both the written and oral portions of the test. Before heading off to embassies around the globe, however, each junior officer must take the mandatory A-100 Class. FSI hosts the orientation classes five times each year, training 30 to 50 students during each seven-week session.

"The A-100 Class is a crash course that introduces junior officers to the mission of the U.S. State Department," says Jean Neitzke, chair of the course. "Once they leave here, they'll get more specialized training, but we give them the basics."

The Foreign Service has offered some form of orientation program since 1922. The A-100 Class is an updated version of the program, Neitzke says, a creation of the Foreign Service Act of 1980. And in the last two decades, the curriculum has improved dramatically, says Craig S. Tymeson, director of the Orientation Division, who himself is an alumnus of the A-100 Class of '81.

"When I was a student, we mostly sat in a chair for two months and were overwhelmed with information," Tymeson says. "Today, we don't attempt to teach the students everything they need to know for their entire careers. We simply try to give them a foundation, then provide the resources to fill in the gaps later."

Specifically, Tymeson says, the new and improved program provides students with details on everything from how to fill out a travel voucher to State Department ethics. Of course, students are also briefed on many other subjects such as State Department security programs, the agency's mission and structure, the structure of embassies and other political and military issues.

Students, however, say the most useful information comes from the personal accounts that Foreign Service veterans share. For instance, Tymeson tells of an incident that occurred during his first assignment. Posted in Fiji, he was called upon to host a backyard pig roast for 200 diplomats. He knew nothing about the tradition. So he and his wife did some quick research, found out that the event was similar to a Hawaiian luau, and began organizing the celebration.

"It worked out fine and everyone had a great time," Tymeson says. "The experience taught me a big lesson. I realized that I needed to think quick on my feet because I'd have to be prepared for anything."

Hope Katz Gibbs is a freelance writer living in Alexandria, Va.

Photo (page 50): Louis Crishock and Bob Dreesen proudly display the flags of their first-tour FS posts. (All photos by Rick Reinhard.)

New, But Experienced

Student Louis Crishock, 28, says he appreciates such helpful hints. Although he may never have to roast a pig at his post in Kiev, Ukraine, Crishock says just hearing Tymeson's tale makes him feel like he's being welcomed into a fraternity.


LOUIS CRISHOCK

"The senior FSOs have so much experience and have so much to offer," says Crishock. "It's great just knowing I can tap them as a resource. And that's comforting, since I know my first post won't be all fun and games."

In fact, the pace of a junior officer's first assignment can be unrelenting, says course chairman Neitzke. "The work at an officer's first post is hard and the hours are long," she says. "Most nights, you just want to go home and put your feet up."

Crishock says he's ready for the hard work. He already has spent a few years in the former Soviet Union as a teacher with the Civic Education Project, a New Haven-based non-profit organization that sends Western-trained professors to teach university courses in states making the transition from communism. The Arlington, Va., native taught sociology at Urals State University in Yekaterinburg from 1995 to 1996, then worked as a deputy director for the Civic Education Project's Russia office until 1998. The experience, he says, changed his life.

"Living and working in Russia opened vistas for me," Crishock says. "I never lived outside the Beltway for more than a month until I went to Russia after finishing graduate school at Catholic University. I caught the travel bug, and decided I had to spend my life doing international work. I can't imagine a better career than being an FSO. I mean, if you only go around this earth once, why would you want to do anything but work for the Foreign Service?"

Crishock's optimism doesn't blind him to the dangers involved in serving at a foreign post, however. "It would be foolish to say that safety isn't on my mind," he admits.

Crishock is not alone, says course chair Neitzke. "In general, the students that go through our program today are more aware of terrorism than were previous generations," she says. "We don't dwell on the potential dangers, but we prepare our students for possible scenarios. Most people who make it through the recruitment process know the reality of what they are getting into."

Class member Diana Haberlack, for instance, says she made a deal with herself years ago that if she was going to pursue a career in the Foreign Service, she simply wouldn't fret about the unforeseen.

"If I did worry, I'd be a crazy person inside of a week," says Haberlack, 56, who found out on flag day that she'll be posted to Seoul, Korea. "I am confident I will be able to deal with things as they come up."

Perhaps maturity brings wisdom. As the most senior member of the class, Haberlack already has years of experience with the Foreign Service. She applied in 1994, after having spent more than 20 years as a paralegal in Colorado, Oregon and Washington state. In 1995, she became a Foreign Service secretary in Lusaka, Zambia, and in 1997 was transferred to a similar position in Amman, Jordan. While in Lusaka, Haberlack worked with Bill McCulla, then a consular officer and now the deputy course chairman of FSI's A-100 class. He encouraged her to become an FSO. "She's a bright and ambitious person, and I thought she could handle more than she was being asked to do," says McCulla.


DIANA HABERLACK

So Haberlack took the Foreign Service exam and passed on the first try. She says having already worked overseas for the Foreign Service gives her confidence that she'll be able to cope with the challenges of living abroad. Still, being an officer will be a change.

"Already I can see how different life is going to be," she says. "Studying and mastering the course material of the A-100 Class was more difficult for me than it was for some of the younger officers."

In fact, the average age of the 90th A-100 Class is

32, with class members ranging in age from their early 20s to their 50s. That's a typical breakdown for most A-100 classes, Neitzke says. Despite their youth, the class members bring a wealth of experience to the Foreign Service. Previous positions held by students include controller, market research analyst, naval officer, economist, historian, writer and editor.

Also typical of most A-100 classes is their uniformly high level of education. The 90th class is no different. Thirty-two of the 34 students in the class have master's degrees, law degrees or doctoral degrees.

Simon Lee, for example, is a 1997 graduate of the University of Pittsburgh Law School. When he got his law degree, he had no idea it might help him land a job in the Foreign Service. Rather, he planned to be a corporate lawyer for a few years to get the experience he needed to accomplish his ultimate goal of working internationally. The Korean automobile manufacturer Hyundai Motor Co. even offered him a job. However, when the Asian market began its decline two years ago, Hyundai told Lee it would have to cut his salary in half, to less than $20,000.


SIMON LEE

Lee, 29, figured he could do better elsewhere and declined the position. The experience actually dulled his desire to pursue a career in law altogether. So instead of taking the bar exam, Lee opted to try to land an overseas job and took the Foreign Service exam. He passed the first time.

"Working for the Foreign Service fills my desire to work internationally," says Lee, who is being posted to China. "My long-term goal is to work on issues dealing with my native country of Korea. But going to China will provide me with a strong base to understand the region, and I think that will be great for my career. After all, come the new millennium, no country in the world will be able to ignore China."

Lee is single, as are 24 of his 34 classmates. For married FSOs, however, finding a way to travel abroad with a spouse can be complicated — especially if the mate is also an FSO.

Class member Susan Tuller, 31, for instance, spent flag day praying that she'd end up at the same destination as her FSO husband, Bill Bridgeland, a computer scientist. The couple, married for five years, has always had wanderlust. They met in 1990 while working in Micronesia for the Peace Corps, and have since traveled together for work and pleasure to the Marshall Islands, Ecuador, Uganda, Eritrea and Romania.


SUSAN TULLER

Last year, though, Tuller and Bridgeland decided they wanted to work for the Foreign Service. Both took the exam, and passed. They knew they might not be posted together, but it was a risk Tuller says they were willing to take.

"The worst thing that could happen would be if one of us had this great career and the other just had to follow along," says the level-headed Tuller, 31. "Being that we both made it into the Foreign Service, I know we'll each have a fulfilling career, and that is a big relief. Sure, it may mean that we'll be apart for this first assignment, but this career path is the best thing for us in the long run."

Tuller says Vietnam was initially the couple's first choice of postings. But the night before flag day, they had a change of heart.

"We just found out my husband got a job as a Foreign Service specialist in the computer programming division and that Haiti would likely be his post. So I was crossing my fingers that I'd get assigned to Haiti, which actually was my second choice."

Sure enough, when Tuller's name was called on February 9, the flag of Haiti was raised. "What a relief," she said after the ceremony.

Class member Kristina Midha, 27, was also sitting on pins and needles on flag day, worried that she may be separated from her future husband, Kevin Olbrysh, 29, the junior FSO she's scheduled to marry in June. While Midha hoped the couple would be able to be

newlyweds together, she also had another dream.

"For as long as I can remember, I have wanted to land a job working overseas as an FSO," says the Arlington, Va., native. She grew up travelling to her father's homeland in India and to Germany, where her mother was raised. As a college student, she majored in Asian studies and then got a master's degree from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service.

I have to admit I'm surprised when I look around and see I'm one of only three non-Caucasians in the class.

— ALBERTO RODRIGUEZ

On flag day, her worries were quelled when she found out that both she and Olbrysh would be posted to Ho Chi Minh City.

"I realized when I got engaged that being part of a tandem couple was going to be tough, and I am so grateful to the Foreign Service for accommodating us," Midha says. "It came as a real surprise, and a huge relief."

Of course, the situation is simpler for married officers whose spouses are not in the Foreign Service and either don't work or have flexible jobs. For example, Kelly Garramone, wife of student Gregory Garramone, will accompany her husband to his first posting to Bucharest this year. She will keep her job as the chief operating officer for KRW International, an executive consulting firm in their hometown of St. Paul, Minn.

"She'll be telecommuting from Bucharest, a practice she perfected last year when we lived in England while I was studying for my master's [in European policy at the London School of Economics]," says Garramone, 44, who credits his wife with being responsible for his FSO career path. He got the bug to join the Foreign Service when he accompanied her on a business trip to France in 1993. "My wife was working long hours, and I was out sightseeing one day when I walked past the American Embassy in Paris," Garramone recalls. "I was inspired by the beauty of the city, by being abroad. When I got back to the hotel room, I called the embassy to see if I could get a job there."

The next day, he says, an FSO in Paris gave him a

PHOTO: RICK REINHARD

The 90th A-100 class demonstrates its proficiency at the macarena.

courtesy interview. Garramone was told that embassy jobs were hard to come by, but to call the State Department to inquire about joining the Foreign Service when he returned to the U.S. He did, and for the last six years tried to get over the hurdle of the Foreign Service exam. Now that he has passed, he says he's raring to head to his post.

Michael Kleine, Mateo Ayala and Harmony Caton are ready to depart.

"I'm not an impatient person by nature, but I have to admit I am anxious to get overseas," says Garramone. "Don't get me wrong. My seven weeks at FSI were great. I learned a lot. But I'm antsy to get to work."

Garramone's sentiments are typical of those of most of his classmates. In fact, the 90th Class resembles its predecessors in many aspects, but there are a few characteristics that do set this class apart. For instance, men usually outnumber the women in the orientation program. This class, however, has 19 women and only 15 men. Nearly all of the students are Caucasian, with the exception of one Korean student (Simon Lee), and two Hispanic students, including Alberto Rodriguez, 38, who spent 10 years taking and failing the Foreign Service exam before finally passing it in 1998.

Is Diversity An Issue?

Rodriguez didn't waste his time in the last decade, however. He joined the Foreign Service as a communications specialist, working in Somalia and Haiti. Now that he's an FSO, however, he says he's a bit shocked to see such a lack of diversity among his A-100 classmates.

"I have to admit I'm surprised when I look around and see I'm one of only three non-Caucasians in the class," says Rodriguez, who is being posted to Barbados. "Is it that African-Americans, Asian-Americans and Hispanics simply aren't taking the Foreign Service exam, or is it that they are taking it and not passing?"

The answer, says John Collins, director of the Office of Recruitment, Examination and Employment, can be found in the statistics. The State Department's Office of Equal Employment Opportunity and Civil Rights reports that of the 9,618 people who took the Foreign Service written exam in 1998, 2,030 were minority group members — including 626 African-Americans, 673 Asian-Americans, 702 Hispanics and 29 Native Americans. Of the 3,012 people who passed the written exam, only 1,328 took the oral assessment portion, with only 380 passing. Of those 380, 31 — 8.2 percent — were minorities. In 1998, 242 new junior Foreign Service officers, many of whom had passed the exam in previous years, were trained at the Foreign Service Institute. Of those new FSOs, 32 — 13.2 percent — were minorities. Rodriguez' class had a slightly lower percentage, 3 out of 34 students, or 8.8 percent.

Collins says that although the State Department has no policy of hiring specific groups of people, it does strive to reflect the general U.S. population in its ranks. In an effort to accomplish that mission, for the last several years his office has pinpointed 57 colleges with high Hispanic and African-American enrollment in hopes of finding qualified candidates. However, says Collins, he has no control over who passes the Foreign Service exam.

Rodriguez says he's just glad to have beaten the odds and chalks his accomplishment up to sheer perseverance. "I am a determined person," he says. "When I set my mind to something, no matter how long it takes, I strive to accomplish my goal. It feels really good to have accomplished this one." ■

FIFTY YEARS OF FOREIGN AID

CHET PHILLIPS

IF IT WEREN'T FOR ONE AUDACIOUS STATE DEPARTMENT INNOVATOR, TRUMAN MIGHT NEVER HAVE STARTED FOREIGN AID.

BY SAMUEL H. BUTTERFIELD

On Jan. 20, 1949, President Harry Truman said in his inaugural address, "We must embark on a bold, new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. ... I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life. ..."

That statement unveiled Truman's new technical assistance program. For the first time, the United States enunciated as a policy goal the economic development of the world's non-communist less developed countries.

It's a little known story, but if it weren't for the efforts of one stubborn State Department officer, Truman's famous Point Four Program might never have been launched. It was Benjamin Hardy, a man with a strong belief in a bold new concept, who did an end run around an indifferent bureaucracy and took his idea directly to the White House.

The White House had a speech in search of an idea; Hardy had an idea in search of a speech.

As a consequence of Hardy's audacity, the United States undertook a development assistance program that has since assumed a worldwide scale and become a model for dozens of other nations. In this year, the 75th anniversary of the Foreign Service, it is worth remembering this other important milestone: the 50th anniversary of Truman's Point Four speech and the consequent inception of the aid program in which Foreign Service officers have played a central role.

The Origins of "Point Four"

Truman's declaration was the last of four major foreign policy elements he laid out in his inaugural address. The points were:

1) Support for the United Nations;

2) "Full weight" behind the Marshall Plan for European reconstruction;

3) Partnership in a new "defense arrangement" among freedom-loving nations of the North Atlantic (later NATO): and

4) A "bold new program" for the improvement of the world's underdeveloped areas.

Truman's "Point Four" drew a favorable response from the press. But the new policy was not motivated by any visible popular sentiment, or State Department lobbying. Rather, it was the search for a new idea for President Truman's inaugural address that pushed "Point Four" onto the president's agenda.

Truman's aide Clark Clifford recounted in *Counsel to the President: A Memoir* that several weeks before the 1949 inauguration, White House speechwriters were "still having a difficult time putting together an address that did not have the ring of recycled campaign promises." Clifford wrote he "understood that Truman needed something fresh and provocative," after eking out his narrow surprise victory in the 1948 presidential election.

Earlier Clifford had asked the State Department for a draft of text that could serve as "a democratic manifesto addressed to the peoples of the world, not just to the American people." As of early January, less than three weeks before the president would deliver his inaugural address, the White House speechwriters had received nothing from State.

This apparent inattention to an important policy-making opportunity is surprising, and the reasons for the department's inaction are unclear. What is clear is that one innovative proposal for the speech went to Under Secretary of State Robert Lovett via Francis Russell, director of State's Office of Public Affairs, who supported the proposal. It had been drafted by one of his staff officers, a former journalist with Latin American experience named Benjamin Hardy.

Hardy's paper began by noting "considerable criticism of U.S. foreign policy" because of its focus on combating Communism with little attention to eliminating the social and economic conditions on which Communism thrives. "It would seem advisable," he wrote, "that we make a vigorous, effective rebuttal of this criticism in the form of a move that would ... accelerate" in other regions "the momentum we have gained" in Europe from the Marshall Plan initiative.

"The U.S. has an excellent instrument already at hand, which with bold, imaginative adaptation could be fashioned into a potent weapon in the present struggle and a powerful constructive force in the national interest generally. This instrument is the employment of America's immense technological resources through the medium of ..." technical cooperation "which has

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Sam Butterfield served in USAID and its predecessor from 1958 to 1980, and was director of the Office of East and Southern Africa, operations director of the Technical Assistance Bureau and mission director in Tanzania and Nepal. Since retirement he has taught and consulted, and is writing a book on the history of development aid. He welcomes comments and suggestions at bfields5@gte.net or at 328 N. Polk St., Moscow, ID 83843.

been utilized and developed for the last 10 years in the Western Hemisphere (through the government's Institute for Inter-American Affairs or IIAA) and is now being extended ... to the rest of the world ..." on a limited, ad hoc basis.

Hardy recommended that "the president conclude his inaugural address with a specific ... declaration that the U.S. offers the world our accumulated store of technical knowledge, in order to help men everywhere realize their aspirations for a better life."

Kennedy put his own stamp on foreign aid with the Alliance for Progress and the Peace Corps.

Under Secretary Lovett sent the proposal back with a note that the idea needed more study. Apparently a second draft sent forward to Lovett was rejected also. State did not inform the White House of Hardy's idea.

Hardy's concept of a worldwide program of technical assistance had been in his mind for several years. It first came to him on a slow boat home from Brazil in 1946. In that leisurely setting he mulled over his just-completed work in Brazil with the pioneering technical assistance organization IIAA. He thought about its relevance to the increasing social unrest in poor countries on all continents.

By 1948 Hardy was confident that his idea was of value, and he felt sure it would appeal to President Truman. However, it had become clear to him that State's leaders were not even going to forward the proposal to the White House. Time was short. Hardy's frustration must have been intense. He decided to make a bold and risky move, one that could destroy his career. He would go over the head of Under Secretary Lovett and try to take his rejected draft directly to the president's aides.

Hardy picked up his telephone and dialed the White House. He got through to George Elsey, who was drafting the inaugural address, and asked to see Elsey right away. Though Elsey did not know Hardy or Hardy's purpose, he agreed to a meeting in the White House.

Hardy presented his idea and handed Elsey a copy of the rejected memorandum. Elsey liked what he read, and assured Hardy that the out-of-channels contact would be held in confidence. Elsey immediately took Hardy's paper to presidential aide Clark Clifford (later a secretary of defense and major figure in the Democratic Party). "One reading convinced me that it was the right idea at the right time," wrote Clifford in his memoir. "This was the solution to our dilemma: while we had a speech in search of an idea, Hardy had an idea in search of a speech."

Clifford outlined the proposal to President Truman. The president immediately saw the strategic significance of Hardy's idea. "Fine, put it in [the speech] and we'll work out the details later," he said. Ben Hardy's determination had made a difference.

A Slow Start at State

Despite favorable editorial and public response to Truman's Point Four, State remained cool to the plan and delayed submission of implementing legislation for many months. Eventually a proposed Act for International Development was sent to the Hill.

The bill's declaration of policy stated, "The people of the United States and other nations have a common interest in the freedom and in the economic and social progress of all peoples." The bill blended humanitarian and "national interest" objectives.

Congress responded with a vigorous debate. During the legislative process, the bill came within one vote of being defeated but was eventually approved by a clear majority. The Act for International Development authorized the president to carry out programs of technical cooperation designed to enable the people of underdeveloped countries to make better use of their own resources by their own efforts.

On Oct. 27, 1950, having received a presidential directive, State established the Technical Cooperation Administration within the department. Henry Garland Bennett was named TCA's administrator. Bennett had been the highly regarded president of Oklahoma State University. Ben Hardy was appointed TCA's chief of public information, an appropriate reward for his great contribution and journalistic talent.

Hardy relished his new role; he and Bennett worked closely together. But in December 1951, the new agency suffered a terrible blow. Bennett and Hardy

were traveling together to the Middle East, planning to visit TCA's field missions in that region. They were killed when the airplane in which they were approaching Teheran airport crashed. New leadership was appointed, of course, but it is sad and ironic that Hardy got to spend so little time implementing the idea he had nurtured from the start.

The 1950s: Strong Beginnings

Once under way, the Technical Cooperation Administration moved briskly. By mid-1951 it was working in 28 countries. That number increased annually for over a decade. Work focused mainly on agriculture, education, health, transportation and administration.

As TCA's leaders expected, the technical assistance concept and the implementing programs of TCA and its successors appealed to Americans as a worthwhile occupation. The agency welcomed into its ranks scientists, administrators, economists, secretaries and specialists in many fields — some for 30 days, some for 30 years.

In 1951 TCA was placed under the Coordinator for Mutual Security and in 1953 was replaced by the Foreign Operations Administration (FOA). In 1955 FOA was replaced by the International Cooperation Administration (ICA). The agency's name changes had little effect on the substance of the Point Four program. The principal purposes of the shifts to FOA and ICA were to put President Dwight Eisenhower's stamp on Truman's program and to accommodate congressional views.

Eisenhower significantly expanded the development aid program by adding capital assistance as a major element. Following several years of debate within his administration, Eisenhower proposed a Development Loan Fund, which Congress authorized. DLF, established in 1957, provided very low-interest, very long-term loans. Generally the loans supported ambitious national development plans of Third World countries, most notably India.

In the early 1950s, Americans were naively optimistic about the speedy impact of technical assistance. Projecting from promising evidence in a few places of limited size, TCA's first administrator, Henry Bennett, asserted that "concrete, practical results can be had quickly." By the end of the 1950s such assumptions had vanished. The complex reality of "under-development" had become apparent.

The 1960s: "Decade of Development"

By the late 1950s, Eisenhower had reluctantly concluded that development aid was essential to effective free world leadership. President John F. Kennedy, taking office in 1961, had a positive view of development aid as a desirable foreign policy tool. An indicator of Kennedy's fresh approach was the founding of the Peace Corps as a way to harness the energy of idealistic American volunteers to further Third World development.

Aid moved closer to center stage when Kennedy launched a "Decade of Development." He consolidated ICA and DLF into a new Agency for International Development (AID or USAID) to carry out America's substantially expanded development mission. USAID has proven to be sturdy and durable. Despite numerous proposals to do so over nearly 40 years, USAID has never been replaced.

Within USAID, capital assistance dominated policy and program attention during the 1960s, while technical assistance took a back seat. This significant shift of interest from knowledge to money began with Eisenhower's creation of DLF. It reflected the then widely admired policy guidebook *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Democratic Manifesto* by Walter Rostow. Policy-makers drew the conclusion that national economic growth was a relatively straightforward process, if savings were available for investment in a Third World country having enough modernizing institutions. Where savings were insufficient, foreign aid could supply capital to fill the gap. Large development loans would promote such a country's economic "takeoff." Countries that seemed ready for "takeoff" were in Asia (e.g., India and Taiwan) and Latin America (e.g., Brazil and Chile). Kennedy's hemispheric "Alliance for Progress" also drew policy attention to Latin America.

Beyond economics, Kennedy offered national development as a moral equivalent to war. He urged a great international effort that could focus regional and national energies on improving human lives rather than on fighting bloody campaigns for power and territory. Foreign aid would be a crucial American input.

Before Kennedy's death in 1963, it was becoming clearer that national conflicts and territorial ambitions, as in Vietnam, were unlikely to diminish as national development efforts increased. In addition, slow implementation of programs under the Alliance for Progress

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had revealed other daunting obstacles to successful, broad-based development.

As cracks appeared in the Decade of Development concept, criticism of USAID programs increased. In addition, President Lyndon Johnson's troubles with the Congress brought more difficulties to the agency. Those difficulties reflected declining public and congressional confidence in the president's Vietnam policy, including foreign aid expenditures there. Also, Congress used foreign aid legislation as one available platform from which to criticize and try to influence the President's foreign policy.

While this article cannot deal in detail with AID's large special program in Vietnam during the costly and tragic U.S. war effort there, that program was a significant, peaceful part of the U.S. presence. USAID's Vietnam program involved many of the agency's best officers and much top-level attention, at some cost to development aid work elsewhere. It is not surprising that USAID's total personnel level peaked in 1968, the height of American involvement in Vietnam.

Development aid appropriations increased under Kennedy, as they had under Eisenhower. Appropriations for development aid peaked in the mid-1960s, in real purchasing power. Johnson succeeded for a time in minimizing congressional cuts.

Paralleling his domestic agenda, Johnson turned USAID's attention back to the long-term task of breaking the Third World's institutional constraints on development by increasing attention to public health, education and food production.

As the decade closed, USAID's shift of attention toward applied knowledge was reinforced by the positive impact of the agricultural "Green Revolution," which helped increase Third World grain production. Responding to the alarming, negative impact of population growth, Congress and USAID also began earmarking substantial funds for fertility research and promotion of "family planning."

To improve its performance, the agency began a systematic study of some of its projects' effectiveness. This evaluation program continues today and has add-

An AID worker helps a local woman during a seamstress training program in Costa Rica.

ed greatly to USAID's understanding of what works and what doesn't. Unlike many aid agencies, USAID has made its project evaluation documents available to the general public.

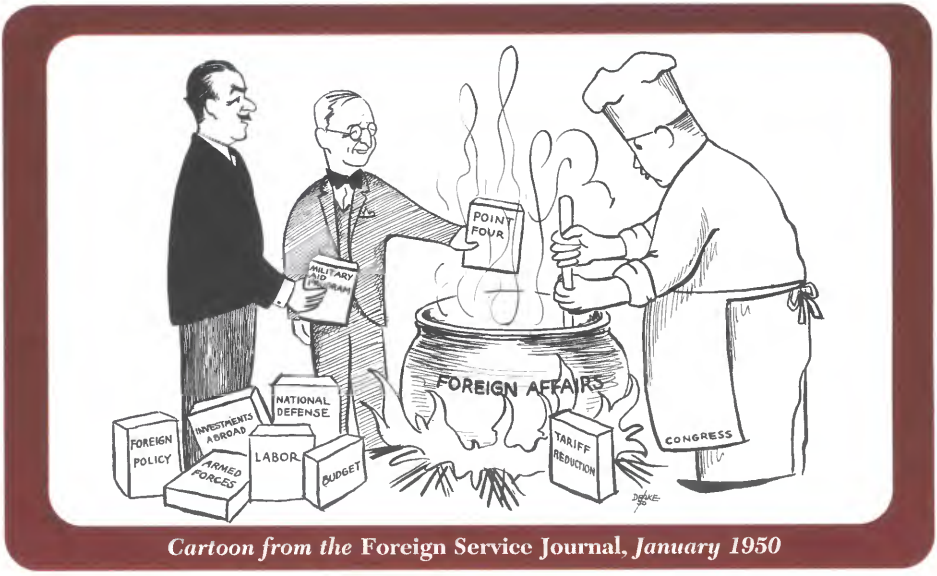
The 1970s: "New Directions"

During the Nixon administration, the executive branch and the Congress each proposed somewhat different (but identically named) "new directions" for foreign aid. President Richard Nixon took office in 1969 determined to revive support for development aid through an organizational approach to "New Directions." As with Johnson, presidential conflicts with Congress over the Vietnam War doomed all but one of his efforts. That exception was the reinforcement of USAID's reviving interest in technical knowledge and institutional improvement. Under Administrator John Hannah, a Technical Assistance Bureau was created to lead the agency's R&D program in collaboration with U.S. universities and international research centers.

In 1973, an assertive Congress mandated its own substantive "New Directions" for development aid. Those aimed at shifting USAID's focus from increasing a country's national production to increasing the benefits of production accruing to a country's "poor majority." The "New Directions Mandate" responded to those who had criticized AID in the 1960s for its capital-led, "trickle down" development programs. Many of the critics contended that refocusing development on benefits for small farmers would not only provide more equity but would produce more agricultural output. This in turn would strengthen the non-farm economy by keeping food prices low while raising rural incomes, thus expanding the market for non-farm products. The new approach was influenced by the book *Development Reconsidered*, by the late AID officer Edgar "Ted" Owens.

The 1973 "New Directions Mandate" constructively challenged all country programs of USAID for the rest of the decade and beyond. From the United Nations, led by its International Labor Organization (ILO), came a compatible concept called "Basic Human Needs." Both terms emphasized focusing development aid on improving the lot of the Third World's poor majority.

Using a similar rationale, the inequitable and underutilized development role of Third World women was highlighted by private analysts and some in Congress. USAID established an Office of Women in Development and field missions were instructed to address the issue in their strategy and projects. Despite foot dragging by some of its officers, USAID was a leader in promoting opportunities for women. Results, however — improvement in women's status in less developed



Cartoon from the* Foreign Service Journal, *January 1950

countries — were rarely visible in the 1970s.

President Jimmy Carter's administration supported attention to the role of women and accepted the New Directions Mandate. The Democratic administration added its own special enthusiasms, such as the "small is beautiful" concept which emphasized small-scale "appropriate technology." Carter hoped to increase significantly funding for development aid. He was unable to do so, which is perhaps understandable, given the general American disillusionment with international action in the wake of the Vietnam War.

By the late 1980s, "sustainable development" — growth with sound environmental principles — became a watchword.

As the 1970s ended, U.S. development aid was under attack by ideologues of both the left and the right. The left charged that U.S. aid supported undemocratic regimes. The right charged that U.S. aid supported left-leaning regimes, promoting central planning and discouraging free enterprise. Both groups urged reduction and reform of the program.

The 1980s: Free Enterprise Rules

President Ronald Reagan's administration increased funds for military aid and economic aid focused on U.S. security interests. For example, his Caribbean Basin Initiatives package responded to increased instability in that nearby area, including the advent of left-leaning governments in Jamaica and Grenada. Investment, trade and aid were to lift the small national economies of Caribbean countries. The package of initiatives failed when Congress refused to pass adequate implementing legislation.

In line with its conservative ideology, the administration shifted attention to promoting market forces as the engine of development. Emphasis was placed on policy reform at both national and project levels. Country aid missions were encouraged to start policy dialogues with officials in less developed countries leading to the design of new projects in support of market-strengthening institutions. At the same time, USAID Administrator Peter McPherson's sensible strategy (titled Four Pillars) provided a broad framework hospitable to Reagan's revisions but also to prudent continuation of projects addressing the Third World's poor rural majority. McPherson, who had hands-on development experience with the Peace Corps, also supported R&D and increased the bureaucratic clout of technical experts within the agency.

USAID continued to fund projects aimed at stemming environmental deterioration. Rising concern for the earth's environment had influenced USAID's work at least since the mid-1970s. Consistent with its general rural focus, USAID promoted reforestation and soil conservation. During Reagan's second term and George Bush's administration, the concept of "sustainable development" emerged as a USAID goal. Sustainable development attempts to link economic growth and sound environmental management. The concept reinforced growing interest in village-level environmental initiatives.

The 1990s: Beyond the Cold War

The early 1990s saw a radical transformation of the international situation. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the United States became the world's lone superpower. Though the need for containment was gone, development aid continued to be an element in the nation's foreign policy. Its stated purposes were to expand world trade and democracy as well as reduce threats to the world's health and environment.

As the Cold War ended, USAID appeared to be in organizational disarray. In the late 1980s and early 1990s the agency went through a series of leadership changes and became increasingly the object of congressional attack for alleged mismanagement of resources and proliferation of aid into too many countries. While the first criticism seems to have heen substantially overstated, the second prohably had some validity.

In 1993 the new Clinton administration moved to counter these attacks. Administrator Brian Atwood phased out programs in a number of less developed countries while instituting new assistance efforts to strengthen democratic and free market institutions in the former Eastern bloc nations. The agency also undertook a restructuring of its computer systems. Problems with computerization have surfaced, leading to widespread criticism of AID management both by AID insiders and outside monitoring agencies. At best, one can say that the computer upgrade remains a

work in progress. During the Clinton years, the agency also went through a reduction in force that thinned the ranks of its experienced managerial and technical staff. (The aid agency has gone through ups and downs in numbers of American employees: roughly 4,000 in 1955; 8,000 in 1968, around 3,500 through the 1970s and '80s, and below 2,500 in the late 1990s.)

The brief summation above of 50 years of foreign assistance has of course left out a great deal: the vital hands-on work of AID in the field; food aid; disaster assistance; and the complex relationship between USAID and State. One must hope that this outline has captured some of the essentials.

Public Support and Doubts

Ever since its inception, the American public has been of two minds about foreign aid — supportive of the general notion of helping poor countries, but concerned about the costs. In 1956, polls showed that 71 percent of Americans supported economic aid. In the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s the figure varied between 50 and 58 percent. But in 1992, that number dropped to 47 percent, with 44 percent opposed to foreign aid. However, in the same year 89 percent of Americans polled agreed that "wherever people are hungry or poor, we ought to do what we can to help them."

The American public's ambivalence about foreign assistance has been exacerbated by two widely held myths:

First, a gross overestimation of foreign aid spending. Though many Americans believe that 15 to 20 percent of the federal budget is spent on foreign aid, the actual figure is close to one-half of one percent. Most significantly, the U.S. provides the lowest percentage of its gross national product for foreign aid of any industrialized country — less than 0.2 percent.

Second, an incorrect belief that the U.S. is the leading foreign aid donor. While that was true until 1990, Japan is now the biggest donor. In fact, U.S development assistance (in constant 1993 dollars) held fairly steady at $10-12 billion between 1961 and 1992. In contrast, development assistance from other donor nations rose from $11 billion in 1961 to $50 billion in 1992.

But Does It Work?

Foreign assistance and USAID have often faced tough sledding in Congress. Decade after decade, the demise of AID seemed imminent, but Congress has always eventually passed foreign assistance funding, usually by a substantial majority. One reason may be that senators and representatives, in addition to recognizing the program's value, have found that foreign aid's annual hearings, committee reports and floor debates provided their most dependable platforms for influencing consecutive presidents' foreign policies.

The Third World's economic and social progress has been impressive over the past 50 years. While that progress resulted primarily from the internal efforts of the countries themselves, there can be little doubt that foreign assistance from the United States and other developed nations has played a significant role.

Examination of some 90 countries that received foreign aid and are home to 3 billion people supports that thesis:

- Of the 90 countries, a majority (with about 2.5 billion people) have produced significant rates of per capita annual economic growth (1.3-7.1 percent) on a sustained basis since 1985 or earlier.
- At least 25 less developed countries that received assistance in the 1970s are aid "graduates" today, including Taiwan, South Korea, Thailand and Turkey. Some have become aid donors.
- Despite the Third World's huge population growth, development has both increased the proportion of its people living above the poverty line and reduced its internal income inequality.
- Since the mid-1960s, infant mortality in those 90 countries has dropped dramatically (over 50 percent) and life expectancy for children reaching their first birthday has risen from 49 years to 67 years.
- Literacy has climbed from 35 percent in 1950 to 70 percent in 1995.

Ben Hardy's brilliant concept and courageous resolve 50 years ago sparked a U.S. policy innovation and a line of practical action toward the Third World that have proved important and enduring. As a result of Hardy's determination and President Truman's bold leadership, economic and social development of the Third World became an American policy goal in 1949. During the ensuing 50 years, America devoted much money and talent to the pursuit of that goal.

Overall, has the U.S. government's development aid policy been successful? Are the poor people of the world better off now than they used to be? Have America's money and Americans' toil been effective? Could we have done our work better? Could we usefully have done more?

The answer to all five questions is "Yes!" ■

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President Kennedy addressing a a group of recently promoted FSOs, March 6, 1963.

George V. Allen took the oath as Ambassador to Iran on May 29, 1946
From left: Marvin Will, Mrs. Allen, Amb. Allen, and Dean Acheson.

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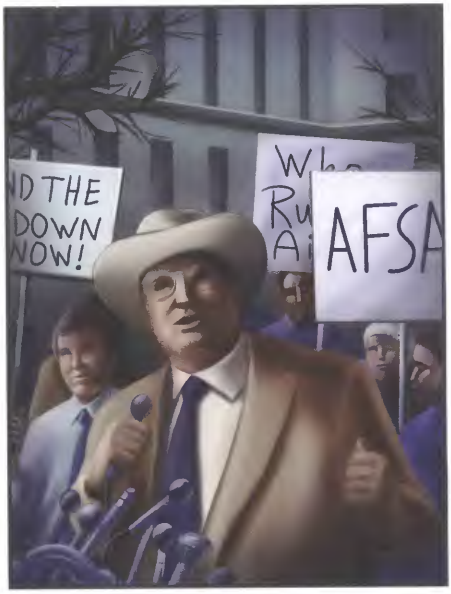

CHET PHILLIPS

FOUNDED AS AN ADJUNCT TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT, AFSA EVOLVED TO FIGHT FOR MEMBERS' INTERESTS

BY NANCY A. JOHNSON

The American Foreign Service Association began as a social and professional club with only 400 members in the first quarter of the 20th century. This early incarnation was created to work for the betterment of its members shortly after the Rogers Act, which unified the consular and diplomatic services, passed Congress in 1924. Seventy-five years later AFSA has grown to become the voice of the Foreign Service, both a professional association and a union representing the labor interests of 10,000 members. Through AFSA, members speak to the U.S. Congress, the Department of State and the American public on foreign policy issues as well as Foreign Service employment concerns.

AFSA has evolved with the Foreign Service, through isolationism in the 1920s and 1930s, the eruption of World War II, vilification of the "old China hands" in the 1950s and the upheavals of the Vietnam War years in the 1960s and 1970s. It has changed from an organization that, in its early days, welcomed top managers from State's hierarchy as honorary officers to a union that protects the interests of the Foreign Service employees of the foreign affairs agencies.

Well into the 20th century, AFSA was little more than an adjunct to the State Department.

Now in its 75th year, with revenues of $2.5 million and total expenditures of $2.4 million, AFSA has far exceeded its modest beginnings.

The American Consular Association

It all started with 300 men — and they were all men in those days — in 1918.

After World War I, the diplomatic and consular services were separate organizations in the Department of State. The Diplomatic Service was made up of men of means who supplemented their low salaries with their own money for entertaining, travel and housing. In contrast, the 300 consuls general of the Consular Service depended on their salaries, but were given no funds for the costs of representing the United States abroad: no allowance for housing or trips home, no health or life insurance and no retirement or pension benefits. On top of that, consular officers lacked public recognition and prestige and had little clout within the State Department. Following the war, the Consular Service coped with expanded trade and economic responsibilities. In order to improve morale and foster esprit de corps, consular officers circulated two letters in 1918 proposing the creation of an American Consular Association. The new organization would unite consular officers in their efforts to improve their service. Among the objectives listed in the letters were "the collection of information on living conditions and determination of Service sentiment on matters of interest and assistance of members coming to Washington."

Nancy A. Johnson, a freelance writer, is the former managing editor of the Foreign Service Journal.

The first meeting of the American Consular Association was held on March 18, 1918. Ralph Totten was elected president and James Young was elected secretary.

When the Diplomatic and Consular Services were finally joined six years later by the Rogers Act, Foreign Service officers posted in Washington met and organized the American Foreign Service Association. All career officers of the American Foreign Service were eligible for membership. An executive committee adopted the articles of the association on August 19, 1924. The articles were adopted by the membership of 414 Foreign Service officers on September 8, 1924. The early leadership of the association was top-heavy with State management. Wilbur J. Carr, director of the Consular Service, was the first honorary president, and for the next 50 years top officials in the State Department were listed as presidents of AFSA. There was also an honorary vice president, but a president, vice president and secretary-treasurer were elected by mail ballot by the membership. Members living in Washington chose a chairman and vice-chairman; a five-member executive committee was made up of officers assigned to Washington.

Well into the 20th century, AFSA was little more than an adjunct to the State Department. Although officers doubtless hoped they could bring about reforms through their association, they nonetheless tried to gain the good will of State's highest officers by avoiding any step that might suggest disrespect for a superior authority.

A Roll of Honor

The new association also published a magazine, *The American Consular Bulletin*, which became the *American Foreign Service Journal* in 1924. Early *Journals* included many social notes: notices of marriages, births and deaths, as well as photos of Foreign Service families traveling by ocean-going vessel to their assignments. Articles about and by State Department management were also regular features. In contrast, today the *Foreign Service Journal* prides itself as being "the independent voice of the Foreign Service."

Another of AFSA's earliest programs began with a

"Roll of Honor," published in the January 1929 *Journal*, naming Foreign Service officers who had died by violence while serving their country. This article sparked the idea for the Foreign Service memorial plaques listing FSOs who perished in the line of duty that now flank the diplomatic entrance to the State Department. By November 1931 AFSA had raised close to $1,200 to fund the first plaque. Still, additional funds were required, so the State Department contributed the flags and bronze bases for the green stone plaques. Secretary of State Henry Stimson unveiled the initial plaque on March 3, 1933 at the entrance to what is now the Old Executive Office Building next to the White House, where State was then housed, along with the War and Navy Departments.

Over the years the question of who should be included on the memorial list has vexed AFSA. A second plaque was added in 1972 and dedicated to "those Americans who have lost their lives under heroic or other inspirational circumstances while serving the government abroad in foreign affairs." Today two plaques mounted inside State's Diplomatic Entrance bear the names of 178 men and women from State, USAID, USIA and other foreign affairs agencies who gave their lives in diplomatic service.

After World War II, Foreign Service officers found themselves at the center of a new foreign affairs era, with the two major powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, engaged in diplomatic and political struggles around the world. A foreign aid agency was established to fund post-war relief efforts and the Foreign Service was expanded to meet the United States' growing international role. The 1946 Foreign Service Act increased FSOs' salaries, established procedures for "selecting out" — dismissing — employees and improving home leave.

The Price of Dissent?

Foreign Service morale plummeted with the security scares of the McCarthy years. It was common in the last half of the 1940s for members of Congress to call the State Department "a hotbed of Reds." Republican Sen. Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin turned this grumbling into an all-out assault on both the State Department and the Foreign Service. "The bright young men [at the State Department] who were born with silver spoons in their mouths are the ones who have been most traitorous," said McCarthy in a speech to Congress in the early 1950s. Central in the "great conspiracy" were FSOs like China expert John Service, whom McCarthy falsely accused of urging "that communism was the only hope of China." (See page 17 for Service's article defending his reporting from China in the 1940s.) Many FSOs hesitated then to make policy recommendations, fearing that their views might be used against them. A December 1954 unsigned editorial in the *Journal* commented on the security "termination" of FSO and "China hand" John Paton Davies: "There are probably few officers in the Service who do not feel a deep sense of both personal and professional concern over this decision. ... Can anyone doubt the serious effect on Service efficiency and morale or the implications of the Davies decision? We who are dedicating our minds and energies to a lifetime in the Foreign Service will do our best and hope that we shall not become 'security risks' ... when the course of history takes an unfavorable turn."

Sen. Joseph McCarthy attacked the State Department's "bright young men" as communist sympathizers.

FSO Leon Poullada wrote in the May 1954 *Journal:* "An atmosphere of distrust, fear and suspicion descended over the Foreign Service as a whole. ... Promotions and assignments were suspended while everyone was investigated and a general feeling of insecurity permeated the Service." Morale was further damaged as an urgent need for economy within the State Department led to a series of dismissals under the Reduction in Force (RIF) program.

As a professional association, AFSA lacked the clout or the will to directly confront management about these issues. Scars from this era stayed with the Foreign Service for years. It was not until much later, during the Nixon years, that AFSA became involved in protecting the right of dissent for Foreign Service employees. In late 1969, 50 junior Foreign Service officers signed a

petition against U.S. Cambodian policy. This so enraged President Richard Nixon that he wanted them fired, but his order was never carried out. For the first time, AFSA worked to stop the State Department from savaging employees with dissenting views when it received assurances from Deputy Under Secretary for Management William Macomber that no formal or informal disciplinary action would be taken against the signers.

In the late 1960s, AFSA's "Young Turks" began to turn their association into a union.

It was not until 1974, however, that AFSA sponsored a luncheon for the "China hands," acknowledging and honoring those FSOs who had suffered for their views during the McCarthy period. "We will never again permit McCarthyism or any other threat to impinge upon our integrity," said then-AFSA President Thomas Boyatt.

As the foreign affairs agencies expanded, so did AFSA. It became the professional association for Foreign Service employees in the State Department, the Agency for International Development, the United States Information Agency and more recently, the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture. AFSA's member services also expanded with the addition of special insurance programs, yearly information on state and federal tax laws, a speakers bureau, and special retiree programs, including co-sponsorship of Foreign Service Day.

A scholarship program was started in 1926 with funding from the estate of diplomat Oliver Bishop Harriman. Since then, private donors have provided funds for annual and perpetual financial aid scholarships for children of Foreign Service personnel. During the 1998-1999 academic year, AFSA awarded 62 college students a total of $122,000 in financial aid scholarships. AFSA also administers a merit scholarship competition for academic and art excellence for high school senior dependents of Foreign Service personnel that is co-sponsored by the Association of American Foreign Service Women.

From its earliest days, AFSA has hosted regular luncheons with guest speakers as a prime way of reaching out to its members. In the 1960s, luncheons with distinguished speakers drew several hundred members to the Shoreham Hotel each month. In 1968 AFSA bought its own building at 21st and E Streets, with club and dining facilities on the first and second floors and association offices on the third floor. Later, the association expanded to the second floor. The first floor was open for lunch to AFSA members until 1997, when it was leased to a catering operation for special events only.

Power in the Union

The 1960s saw AFSA's transformation into a union, as the association became more vocal about personnel issues. AFSA gained approval for the appointment of the first grievance officers at the Department of State to advise on personnel issues. It also worked for travel advances and more liberal travel allowances, pushed to increase health and insurance benefits and supported legislation providing overtime pay for Foreign Service support staff.

The transformation of AFSA into a union was evolutionary, not revolutionary. In the mid-1960s a group of junior Foreign Service officers began to discuss the need for internal reform. They felt that State Department administrators were increasingly domestically oriented and didn't understand the problems FSOs encountered overseas. While reform of the State Department and the Foreign Service had been promoted before, these young FSOs felt that change should come from within the ranks of career professionals.

In 1968 AFSA elected the "Young Turks," a slate of reform-minded FSOs headed by Lannon Walker as chairman. The next step was unionization, a move that was fueled by political developments in the 1960s and 1970s. Executive Order 11491, signed by President Richard Nixon on Oct. 29, 1969, gave greater rights to federal employee organizations that wished to engage in collective bargaining. At AFSA, those who wanted more say in decisions that affected their lives and careers saw becoming an exclusive employee representative as the

most effective way to deal with FSOs' personal and economic frustrations. Pushed by the "Young Turks," AFSA's board, led by Chairman Charles Bray, grappled with becoming a trade union.

In open hearings the State Department proposed that State, USAID and USIA be excluded from the presidential order. Deputy Under Secretary William Macomber argued that such orders could not be applied to the unique personnel of the Foreign Service with its special security matters and its appointment of officers by the president. Saying that the State Department intended to improve employee participation, he rejected the concept of negotiated agreements. AFSA countered, pointing out that historically the association had only been consulted at the pleasure of agency officials and that State Department management was fundamentally opposed to meaningful participation by the Foreign Service in the formulation of personnel policies and programs. The Junior Foreign Service Officers Club and AFL-CIO representatives also argued that, like other federal employees, the Foreign Service should be covered by executive orders. On September 23, 1970 AFSA's board recommended that the association seek exclusive recognition as the bargaining agent for Foreign Service employees. The State Department continued to oppose "unionization" of the Foreign Service, but the Federal Labor Relations Council recommended that the Foreign Service be included among other Federal agencies with union representation.

In the early '70s, AFSA won union representation elections in the State Department, USAID and USIA.

At about the same time, State's personnel problems were highlighted by the tragic suicide of Charles Thomas. Thomas, an FSO with 19 years' experience, failed to win promotion and was selected out of the Foreign Service at age 45 without a pension. Thomas took his own life so that his wife and children could collect a government annuity. At the State Department, bitterness about such treatment produced a near revolt against administrators and their inequitable grievance procedures. It also helped AFSA convince members that they needed the clout of a union.

Argument about becoming a union was heated within AFSA. Former AFSA President Thomas Boyatt remembers that "there was a certain amount of negative feeling among the old guard." AFSA member Everett Briggs argued in the *Journal* that "the effort of certain members of AFSA's current board to turn AFSA into a union suggests that what they may really want is greater authority to 'force' actions by — rather than merely to influence — management. ... This would be incompatible with our professional status and our relationship to the president."

Other members felt that AFSA hadn't advocated for members' work issues strongly enough. Writing in the December 1970 *Journal*, L. Wendell Hayes claimed that AFSA had been "unconcerned or lackluster with regard to 'bread and butter' issues and had shown no interest in energizing itself to deal with such mundane things as salaries, wages, working conditions, fringe benefits, etc."

Battle over Bargaining

In 1971, William Harrop, Hank Cohen, F.A. "Tex" Harris and Thomas Boyatt won election to the AFSA Governing Board with the promise that they would organize a white-collar union. At the same time, 86 percent of members who voted supported a referendum giving AFSA permission to seek recognition as a union.

The battle for exclusive recognition as bargaining agent for the Foreign Service was begun in June 1972 when, claiming that AFSA had been too closely associated with State Department management to effectively fight for employees rights, the American Federation of Government Employees opposed AFSA in an election. AFSA won by overwhelming majorities in State and USAID and by a narrow majority in USIA. AFGE continued to protest the election through legal means, but eventually AFSA was certified as the bargaining agent for the three foreign affairs agencies. USIA later chose AFGE as their representative, but in an election in 1992, they again re-established AFSA as their exclusive representative. In 1993, AFSA was elected the exclusive representative of Foreign Agricultural Service and Foreign Commercial Service employees.

"The early 1970s was a very creative era," said Thomas Boyatt in an oral history interview for the

Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training. "AFSA set up structures of employee-management relations that still exist. We wrote grievance legislation and employee-management system that was incorporated into the Foreign Service Act of 1980. The [State] Department could not believe they had to deal with us. We brought unfair labor practice suits and kept on winning them. ... We had some very bloody times in the beginning." Eventually, the State Department started to negotiate in good faith. When Henry Kissinger was appointed secretary of State in 1973, he understood that there was a power center in AFSA that he couldn't control and would have to get along with, says Boyatt. Accordingly, Kissinger dealt fairly and respectfully with the association.

In 1974, AFSA took State Department management to court for the first time.

Getting Down to Union Business

Still, AFSA lost members after the 1971 election. Some members thought that AFSA represented only middle-grade officers looking for a promotion. Others thought AFSA was not changing the system enough. In 1976 John Hemenway won AFSA's presidency on a platform of radical change in the Foreign Service system. By July, special meetings were being held to consider his recall. He was accused of misrepresenting AFSA positions, hindering AFSA Board functioning, destroying employee representation and pursuing his own personal positions. After a membership-wide vote, Hemenway was recalled from office in November 1976.

AFSA's agenda and priorities over the years have depended on who has served in its board slots and offices. A basic problem for AFSA is that it represents different constituencies from all ranks and specialties within five foreign affairs agencies. These members often have different interests and, depending on the issue, one group of constituents can oppose another.

Even with these inherent difficulties, AFSA has been a major player in influencing State's personnel policies for the Foreign Service. "The development of AFSA has played an important role in the evolution of the Department's personnel system over the past 30 years," State Department management expert William Bacchus said in an ADST oral history. "AFSA rises to the occasion when you get a major effort for reform."

In 1974, following the turmoil of unionization, AFSA grew to 7,200 members, with the highest percentage to date of eligible Foreign Service employees having become members. This confirmed AFSA's new direction. "AFSA is unique in American history in succeeding to maintain both a professional role and an organization with a union agenda," says former AFSA President Bill Harrop.

In 1974 AFSA took State Department management to court for the first time, challenging USAID's arbitrary RIF of 66 personnel in the Office of Public Safety. Although AFSA did not receive the temporary restraining order it sought, it still made an important point. It would take any necessary steps to defend and protect the rights of Foreign Service employees. AFSA's labor-management role was affirmed with the passage of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, which incorporated important reforms urged by the association. Negotiation of regulations implementing the act's hundreds of provisions and monitoring of agreed regulations continue to be important components of AFSA's employee representative role. Virtually every regulation, guideline and policy that affects members of the Foreign Service passes through the hands of AFSA.

AFSA's first staff attorney was hired in 1975. By 1998 five attorneys and a law clerk were on staff to help employees with grievances, equal employment opportunity abuses, Diplomatic Security and Inspector General investigations and other personnel problems. In keeping with guidance issued by the Federal Labor Relations Authority in 1997, the AFSA Governing Board passed a resolution providing one-on-one assistance in grievances only to dues-paying members. Still, AFSA's work as exclusive collective bargaining agent and its advocacy for better working conditions benefit all Foreign Service personnel, whether they are members of AFSA or not.

A major campaign to eliminate the abuses of political ambassadorships was started in the 1970s. AFSA proposed legislation requiring that ambassadorial nominees disclose their political contributions, testified

against unqualified nominees in the Congress and spoke out in the press against unqualified political ambassadors.

At the same time, AFSA has publicized the work of the Foreign Service to the American public through its public affairs committee. In addition, AFSA is a key member of COLEAD (Coalition for American Leadership Abroad) and sponsors the International Associates, a program for corporate leaders. Foreign Service retirees are also a significant part of AFSA's membership, so their expertise in diplomacy is a valuable asset in AFSA's outreach effort. Retired members now have separate organizations in 34 states and teach Elderhostel courses on foreign policy sponsored by AFSA.

The 1990s have been a challenging time for the continuing battle for resources for foreign affairs agencies, especially on Capitol Hill. Accordingly, AFSA hired its first full-time director of congressional relations in 1994. After years of decline, funding for the State Department increased to $19.996 billion in 1999, with an additional $1.823 billion for embassy security, drug enforcement and other foreign operations.

In the 1990s AFSA and the Foreign Service have grappled with the issues of diversity and dissent in the workplace as well as reductions in force that have forced layoffs of Foreign Service personnel. The assignment and treatment of tandem couples, employment for dependent spouses and secretarial and specialist personnel issues were also important, as were threats from terrorists, danger pay, the Foreign Service assignment process and negotiations over how FSOs could be dismissed from the Foreign Service

On the Information Highway

In the mid-1990s, AFSA logged on to the World Wide Web with its Web site, www.afsa.org and Diplomats On-line, an on-line forum for Foreign Service officers to talk with the public. In 1996, with support from DACOR and the Una Chapman Cox Foundation, AFSA published a primer on American diplomacy, *Inside a U.S. Embassy.*

Perhaps the predominant issue of the late 1990s is

reorganization of the foreign affairs agencies. As a participant in the Reorganization Task Forces working on consolidation of USIA and Arms Control and Disarmament Agency into the State Department and USAID as a separate organization under the State Department, AFSA worked to ensure a sensible transition. When 10 percent of USAID Foreign Service personnel were dismissed as the result of a reduction-in-force, AFSA worked to design and implement a program to help these employees find other jobs. In October 1996, USAID installed a defective computer system — the New Management System — and the result was chaos and poor morale. With congressional support, AFSA facilitated an open and participatory review of the computer system, which, according to USAID Inspector General Jeffry R. Rush, Jr., had "disrupted USAID's operations, increased the risk of fraud, waste and abuse and reduced morale."

In a related action, AFSA filed an unfair labor practice complaint against USAID Assistant Administrator Larry F. Byrne, because he continually threatened the union. Byrne had helped conceive the NMS and was one of those responsible for closing 26 USAID offices overseas and dismissing 2,700 USAID employees, including 200 senior officers. After USAID settled the suit, the agency was required to post a public notice promising not to threaten AFSA.

As AFSA moves into the 21st century, it must insure that the public and political leaders see diplomacy as a crucial component of national security. Just as defense forces must be maintained, "diplomatic forces and embassies must also be built up," says Bill Harrop, a past AFSA president and current AFSA board member. "AFSA needs to put this idea forward."

AFSA President Dan Geisler agrees. "If AFSA does not speak out, the Foreign Service is not heard. We are the only voice operating independently of the administration and the Congress," he says. "We are the only voice that explains to the American people the vital importance of Foreign Service officers and specialists to our national security and domestic prosperity." ■

From a book of cartoons by M. C. Paris

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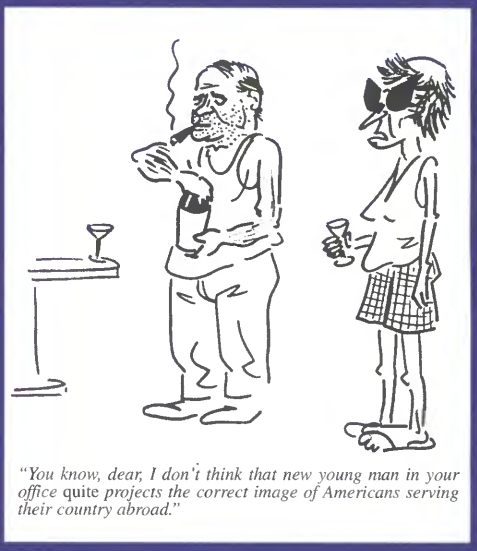

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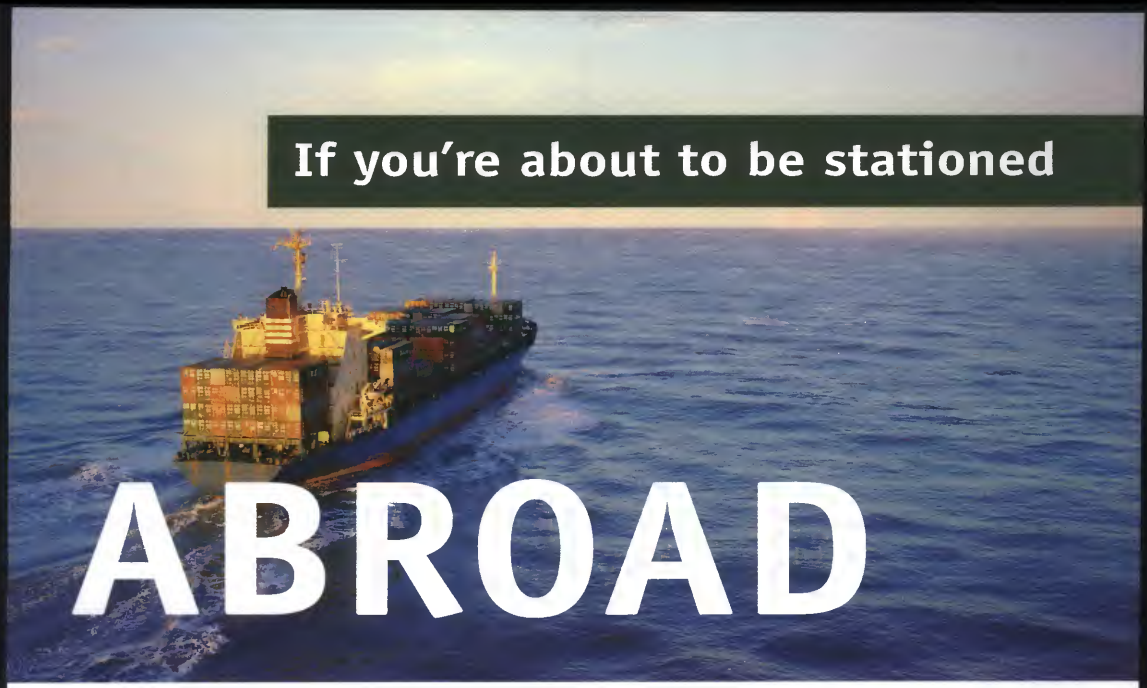

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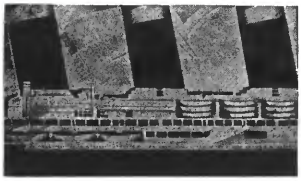

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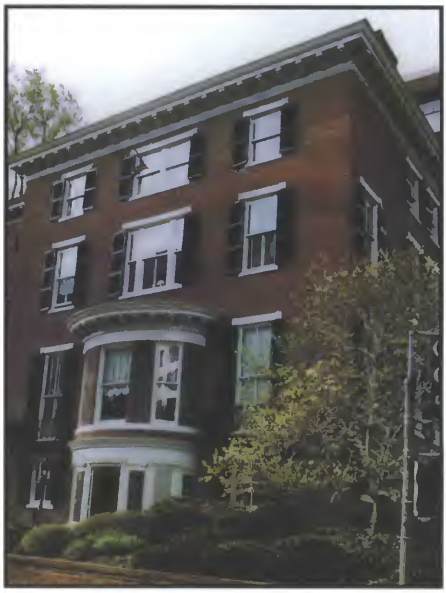

RICK REINHARD

BASED IN A LOVELY HISTORIC TOWNHOUSE, DACOR SUPPORTS THE FOREIGN SERVICE COMMUNITY

BY DANIEL O. NEWBERRY

The majority of active duty *Foreign Service Journal* readers may be forgiven for knowing little about a group that is, more often than not, referred to by its acronym DACOR. Occasionally an AFSA member has been heard to confuse DACOR with an association of interior decorators. Most, however, know that the acronym for Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired is properly pronounced DACK-or.

DACOR is an integral part of the celebration of the 75th Anniversary of the Foreign Service. The organization, dedicated to strengthening the service, has offered significant financial and organizational support to

the anniversary observances.

Many Dacorians, in wry mockery of their own senior citizen status, like to say that DACOR uses "tri-focal" lenses. Rooted in the past, involved in the present, and aiming at building the future of the Foreign Service, the organization has much to offer in all three frames of this triptych.

DACOR, in fact, engages in a remarkable range of activities that educate the public about the conduct of foreign affairs and enrich the lives of members of the Foreign Service community.

DACOR tries to strengthen U.S. involvement in the world by helping to sustain a strong Foreign Service.

An Elegant Home Base

In the minds of most Washingtonians, DACOR is associated with its elegant and historic headquarters building, DACOR Bacon House, located at the corner of 18th and F Streets, N.W., two blocks from the White House. DACOR Bacon House, listed in the National Register of Historic Places, was bequeathed to a Bacon House Foundation that merged with DACOR in 1985. Virginia Murray Bacon, widow of Congressman Robert Low Bacon (R-N.Y.), was one of Washington's most renowned hostesses for decades before her death in 1980. Mementos of Mrs. Bacon's reign are still to be seen in dozens of celebrity photographs atop her grand piano, among them one signed by Artur Rubenstein, who performed on that same instrument.

The house itself dates back to 1824 when it was built by a close friend of President James Monroe. During the early years Chief Justice John Marshall and several associate justices of the Supreme Court boarded there at 1801 F Street. The house passed through several owners during the rest of the 19th century. It was redecorated at the turn of this century. Congressman and Mrs. Bacon moved in in 1923. Since DACOR acquired the house, the main floor has been restored as it was in Mrs. Bacon's day and includes many of her art objects, paintings and family portraits. The elegant interiors have been further embellished by museum-quality gifts to DACOR from Foreign Service families. DACOR's curator, retired FSO William Calderhead, has produced a handsome new book, richly illustrated, and timed for publication this month to grace the Foreign Service anniversary celebrations. The book, *DACOR Bacon House*, was published by and is available from DACOR.

As an organization, DACOR itself dates back only to its incorporation in 1952. The nucleus of the founding group was an informal cluster of retired diplomats who called themselves the Foreign Service Club. As DACOR, they acquired a modest house at 1718 H Street, N.W., from which DACOR operated until 1985. Among DACOR's original objectives was to set up an Educational Counseling Service for Foreign Service parents. This function was turned over to the American Foreign Service Association in 1958. This is an example of DACOR-AFSA load-sharing, or load-shifting, and cooperation over the years. Another of DACOR's early activities was lobbying Congress on annuities, allowances, and the general quality of life for Foreign Service people. These lobbying activities were substantially taken over by AFSA after the "Young Turk" revolution of 1967 opened the way for AFSA to become more of a labor and advocacy organization.

Dacorians, with good reason, like to think of themselves as looking out on their world through the middle lens of their tri-focals. They hungrily follow world events while worrying about the future. DACOR's educational and discussion agenda focuses heavily on the hottest topics of the day. Moreover, 10 percent of its 2,300 members are active duty Foreign Service officers. DACOR has for many years tempted newly commissioned FSOs by offering a one-year free membership. All newly minted FSOs, whether they join or not, are feted on graduation from the A-100 course, so they can meet the battle-scarred veterans of the foreign policy wars.

Scholarship and Socializing

Dacorians, like many others in the foreign affairs community, are anxious about the standing of the

Daniel O. Newberry, a retired FSO, compiled and edited the Foreign Service Reader, *jointly published by DACOR and AFSA in 1997.*

United States in the global arena. DACOR tries to strengthen America's involvement in the world by helping to sustain a strong, professional Foreign Service. Through its DACOR Bacon House Foundation, DACOR devotes the lion's share of its annual budget to graduate fellowships in international relations and undergraduate scholarships. The next most prominent budget item is DACOR support to publications on current foreign affairs topics.

The organization's centerpiece activity is the annual DACOR conference. The 1998 conference covered "Central Asia and the Caucasus — a New Version of the Great Game," and the 1999 conference, next October, will treat "Peacekeeping and Intervention." Proceedings of these conferences are published and distributed to Congress, foreign affairs analysts and think tanks. For several years the conference has drawn such a large audience that the venue has had to be shifted to the World Bank or the Organization of American States. DACOR's own house on F Street, however, is the locale for an impressive variety of lectures, seminars, musicales, and luncheons throughout the year.

"I don't know about you, but I prefer a post like this to an Embassy."

Cartoon from the July 1964 FSJ.

There is, to be sure, the clubby side — a music salon, a bar, and a circulating library of some 2,000 books related to foreign affairs and the Foreign Service life. The library walls are hung with memorabilia from Foreign Service events of yesteryear. Elsewhere in the house are overnight guest rooms for out-of-town members. Individual members make frequent use of the club for wedding receptions or private dinners. An endowed series of Sunday afternoon musicales (admission free) is, hands down, the best bargain in town for high quality musical experiences. There is usually a waiting list of music-lovers for these SRO events.

On the substantive side, each month at 1801 F Street a session labeled the DACOR Forum features speeches by active duty ambassadors or senior foreign policy practitioners. Forum topics range from the Philippines to Mongolia, to USIA's integration into State, to an appraisal of President Clinton's conduct of foreign policy, and periodic briefings by the director general of the Foreign Service. There are also monthly seminars for area graduate students of foreign affairs, led by Dacorians or experts from foreign affairs agencies.

Support for Outreach

Additionally, a monthly speakers' series on non-foreign-policy topics is designed to draw members to the clubhouse. Recent speakers in this series include the author of a new biography of Lincoln, an astronaut son of a Foreign Service family describing the future horizons of space travel, and a slide presentation on 19th century Japanese architecture.

On other days the twice-weekly members-only luncheons are typically preceded by an informal talk-fest in the club library. Participants in these utterly unstructured colloquies are sometimes tempted to indulge in swapping old "war stories." They are usually overruled by others who have some urgent comment on current affairs or are eager to share some stimulating discovery made while cruising the Web. The acknowledged but unofficial referee of these discussions is Ambassador Jack Lydman, who supplies a measure of intellectual rigor to what is sometimes called the longest continuous floating diplomatic crap-game in Washington.

DACOR's charter states that one of its purposes is "to pursue programs of a public and educational

nature to enhance public awareness and foster educated leadership in international affairs." The foundation's non-profit educational and welfare budget during the first two months of 1999 exceeded $100,000.

DACOR is involved in the closest cooperation with other diplomatic and Foreign Service organizations. It plays a role, for example, in annual Foreign Service Day activities. DACOR is a major supporter of AFSA scholarship programs. It helps to underwrite many AFSA publications as well as the book production arm of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training (ADST). DACOR has made a number of subventions to the American Academy of Diplomacy (AAD).

A more extensive grant-making program for this year has been waiting only for the inauguration of DACOR's new executive committee at the end of April. Incoming President Kenneth Rogers, a retired consul general, is the first since DACOR's founding in 1952 to come to the presidency without having been an ambassador or an assistant secretary of State. He succeeds Ambassador Joan Clark, the first woman president of DACOR.

Rogers, who is fond of alluding whimsically to his namesake, the sponsor of the Rogers Act in 1924, sees DACOR as developing a stronger outreach to and support of kindred groups like AFSA, ADST, and AAD. Rogers is also asking DACOR to commit itself to donating a substantial sum each year to the Senior Living Foundation through the American Foreign Service Protective Association. Like his predecessors, Rogers believes DACOR has a responsibility to sustain a synergy among these and other groups devoted to strengthening our professional diplomacy.

In many ways, DACOR is at the center of a network of organizations and individuals devoted to the understanding and practice of foreign affairs. Among organizations, DACOR serves as a supporter and catalyst to educate the public about the current questions and future directions in world events. For individuals, DACOR hones the intellect and maintains strong connections among past, present and future members of the Foreign Service community. ■

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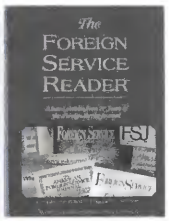

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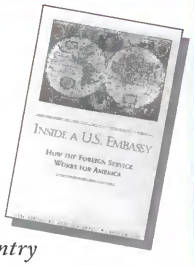

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POSTCARD FROM THE PAST

The Czar's Last Legation

BY PIERRE DE L. BOAL

There were thousands of them. Officers and men, wives, daughters, old people and infants from every corner of the vast domain that had been the Czar's. They formed a sort of fourth dimension in the norms of Serbian life. There was the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, with its people's problems, new and old, and their way of living. And everywhere, permanently transient, shadowy, there were the Russians and their way of living.

The men were all more or less uniformed; their women in dingy dresses, serviceable and worn, seemed somehow less ghostlike. Peasants, shopkeepers, provincial nobles, courtiers and great personages differing from each other in so many noticeable ways were yet essentially in consonance. It was more than a community of misfortune. They were Russian – old Russian. Of course there was a bazaar, small and crowded with refugee portables, jewels, silver, furs, oriental rugs. And many wedding rings, symptoms of ultimate distress.

One reason for the fortitude, stoicism, uncomplaining attitude of most of the Russians — call it what you will — may have been the example set them by their minister. This was the man sent some years before to the Serbian government to represent the government of his Imperial Majesty, the Czar. Murder obliterated the reigning Romanoffs. Czarist Russia ceased to exist except with a few thousands of refugees living in the courts of hunger, but the influence of their representative in Yugoslavia did not diminish but increased.

The minister lifted his glass toward the portraits and touched it to his lips, as did those in the room.

He was host to a thousand problems and leader of an army of misfortunes, yet no dilemma could dispirit him and no misery could make him importunate. Day after day, month after month, he worked at his desk in the finest legation in Belgrade. Its location symbolized the preponderant weight that Russia once had in the affairs of Serbia. Full-length portraits of the Czar and Czarina and the Czarevitch hung in the ballroom, but these were now curtained with green baize and the room, although kept dustless, was locked and never used. Everywhere but in Serbia the pressure of Soviet successes had forced the abandonment of the Czarist diplomatic missions. Only in Yugoslavia was there still a legation, a legation staff and a minister.

The gratitude of the Serbs and their government was real and lasting. In the days of need the Imperial Russian Treasury had lent the impoverished Serbs large sums of gold. The collapse of Imperial Russia might have supplied a pretext to the new, hard-pressed Yugoslav nation to postpone repayment indefinitely. King Alexander and his ministers chose otherwise. They admitted the army of refugees and repaid the debt to these last defenders of the old empire as a daily quittance for their most urgent needs. This and many other benefits to the exiled people of the Czar were largely brought about through the tactful and persistent efforts of the last representative of the Emperor and autocrat of all the Russians.

He was an unassuming man, their minister, very neat without being dapper, soft of voice, unobtrusive, experienced and accurate. A man to whom his colleagues came naturally for guidance.

One day the minister said to us: "The legation is to be closed. We are going to turn it into headquarters for the Russian Red Cross." He said it quietly, almost casually, but we knew what it must mean to him. We also knew that although he would

POSTCARD

close the doors on the home of a tradition built up for centuries, that tradition would be carried away by him and others like him to inspire their new lives in distant lands.

The legation prepared its own demise for many days. Safes were emptied and archives were packed. Smoky chimneys dispersed some of the secrets of the Empire into a cobalt sky. We received an invitation to attend an evening reception at the Imperial Russian Legation. The refugees exchanged animated whispers and hurried mysteriously about the streets carrying bundles.

When the day came, we came to the legation and found the ballroom lights brightly lit. The open doors showed us that each step of the staircase was flanked by two Cossacks in full-dress black uniforms. Flowers and lights were everywhere. Damasked tables displayed silver and such an abundance of food as no refugee had seen for many years. There were bottles of Mumm and Veuve Cliquot in silver buckets and of course bowls of caviar. Liveried servants came and went amid a throng of personages. The elderly colonels and generals were no longer newsboys or street vendors, but were resplendent in field uniforms and decorations, some even in dress uniforms glinting with gold and silver braid. Laces and satin, silk, velvet and jewels had been found by the ladies. Here and there we recognized rings, bracelets and necklaces recovered for the evening from the counters of the Russian Bazaar.

Young officers of the cadet corps of St. Petersburg in dark blue with silver cartridge-cases and gold-eagled sabretaches accompanied girls in new evening gowns into the ballroom where a small orchestra played a waltz. The girls' cheeks were flushed and their eyes shone. Most of them were at their first ball, and there might never be another in lives from which all luxury had been banished. The thought of what past and future privations these new ball gowns might signify was staggering, but just now the girls danced rapturously. The state portraits of the Czar, the Czarina and the Czarevitch, whose baize coverings had been removed, looked down upon them from their escutcheoned gilded frames with eyes both formal and affectionate.

The doors of the legation closed behind us with a slight metallic sound.

There was a hum of cheerful conversation under the high ceilings. Some talked quietly, some laughed, all seemed at home and at their ease. There was dignity without constraint, an evident realization of the significance of the occasion. It was a reenactment on a small scale of an evening at court in St. Petersburg and on a great scale a manifestation of the survival of the reserve and taste of an old aristocracy.

After midnight some of the officers and their wives and daughters gathered around the candlelit piano and sang. The voices were good and the songs simple. When this was finished champagne was passed again. The minister raised his hand and silence fell. He spoke in Russian for a few minutes and we could only guess at the meaning of his words, which were soft and grave. At one moment he lifted his glass toward the portraits and touched it to his lips, as did those in the room. After this no one spoke for a short time that seemed long and then the ranking guests came up to their hosts and the legation staff to bid them goodnight and goodbye. The officers clicked their heels and bowed slightly as they took the minister's hand. The young girls curtsied.

Soon all the guests had filed by and we found ourselves in the hall receiving our wraps. The musicians went by carrying their instrument cases and we followed them out with the rest of the guests, passing the silent Cossacks on the steps. Farewells were exchanged. The doors of the legation closed behind us with a slight metallic sound. Tomorrow the silver and china would be packed or sold, the portraits would be taken down, their baize covers would be replaced and they would be stored. The minister and his family would leave for a far country to start life over again. The last legation of Imperial Russia had ceased to exist. ■

Pierre de L. Boal was an FSO assigned to U.S. Embassy Mexico City when he wrote this story for the Journal's *January 1941 issue. He served in Belgrade from 1920 to 1922.*

NOTE: This article was adapted from the original.

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