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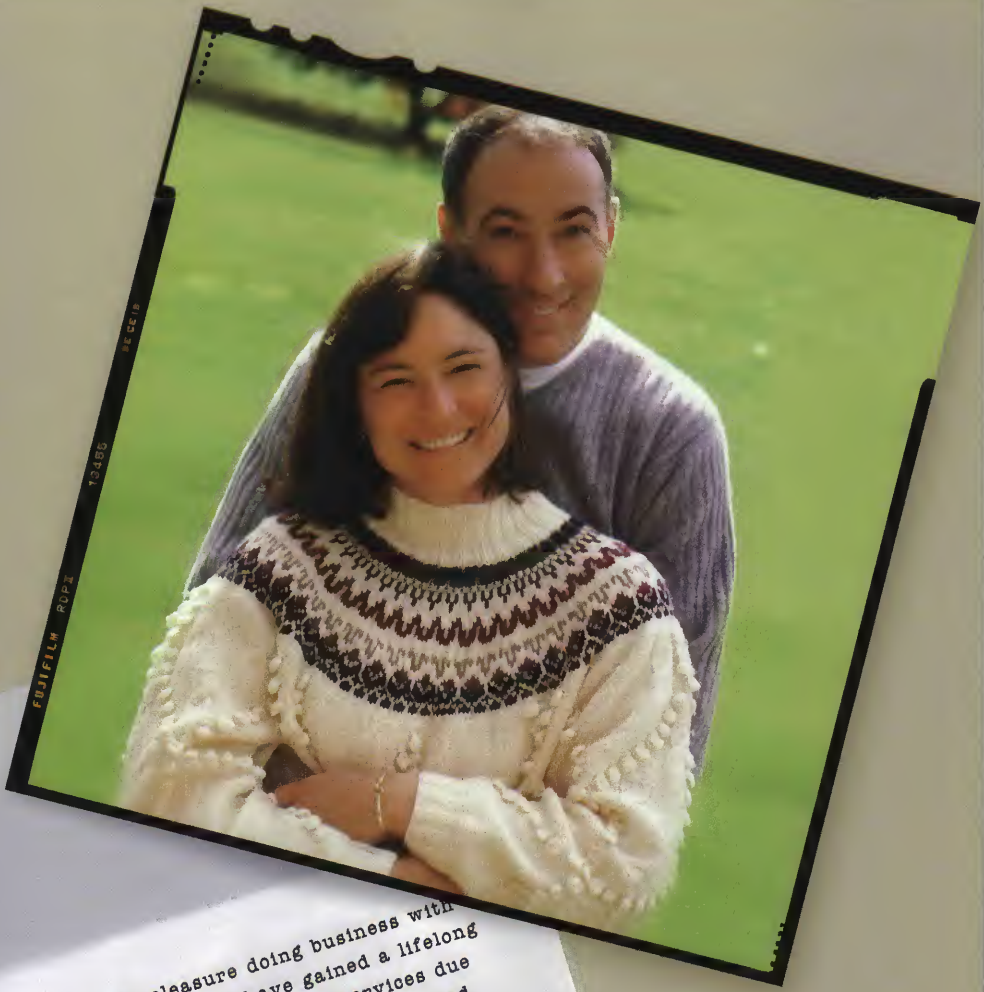

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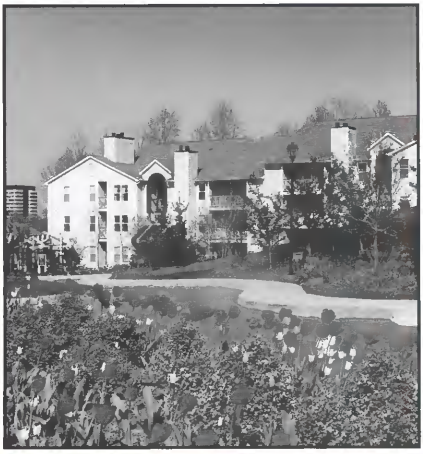

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75th 1924–1999 ANNIVERSARY THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES

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President's Views

An Outstanding Precedent

By Marshall Adair

The first message of a new president is usually about the goals of the new Governing Board, but I would like first to look back at the contribution which Dan Geisler has made. Dan's summary in June said very little about himself. His personal touch, though, was very important, and I think it made him one of the best AFSA presidents in memory. Talking with those who have worked with him, three of his personal characteristics stand out: pragmatism, inclusiveness and integrity.

Dan brought to this job a pragmatic vision of the Foreign Service, its role and its people. He was not constrained by conventional wisdom, nor paralyzed by idealism. His clear concept of what could realistically be done enabled him to approach management and the Congress with confidence, and to make progress on issues which affect us all.

With management, Dan reassessed overseas allowances, walked back a number of administrative actions which had reduced important medical benefits, and completed negotiations to simplify the multifunctional promotion system. On the Hill, he explained the increasing cost of service overseas and obtained support for real improvements such as changes to the tax code. Facing revision of the Foreign Service disciplinary system, Dan insisted on improved protections for individuals against unwarranted or protracted investigations, but also supported swift and clear discipline for infractions. With both management and Congress, Dan relentlessly demonstrated the paucity of the response to last year's embassy bombings, and there is now some hope the administration will improve its proposal.

Dan Geisler brought a pragmatic vision to the AFSA presidency.

The improvements which he brought to AFSA itself were essential. His reforms, including a restructuring of the dues system, have made AFSA a significantly more stable and effective organization than it was before.

Dan has been particularly adept at listening to opinions from all parts of AFSA's membership, and making use of contributions both from within and beyond the service. Earning the trust of representatives from other agencies, he made AFSA a constructive player in the difficult integration process of the last two years. He also provided dynamic leadership to the AFSA staff, truly making them part of the team with a sense of mission and the appreciation they deserve.

Dan's team building went well beyond AFSA and even the administration. He mobilized widespread public and political support for the 75th Anniversary events, and enthusiastically promoted public outreach, securing resources from private sources to expand activities such as the Elderhostel program, and serving as an outstanding public spokesman for the Foreign Service. He built congressional support for long-term management with the dedicated workforce planning language in the Authorization Bill.

Dan's integrity was evident in all he did. He dedicated his efforts to the service and its people, and did this job without self-promotion or posturing. While uncompromising in his defense of the service, his lack of ego involvement allowed him an unusually flexible and creative approach to problem solving, and won him the confidence of all his interlocutors. He brought to bear the most important skills of a modern diplomat on our Foreign Service family writ large, and we are all better off for it.

Now, a new Governing Board takes over. We will continue Dan's work, including pursuit of the recommendations made on member benefit issues. There is much to do. Our service is one of this nation's great resources, but it faces modern challenges that will not allow it to rest on its laurels. To continue improving, it will need more support from the administration, the Congress and the public than it has received in recent years. Increasing that support must be our foremost objective. ■

Marshall Adair is the newly elected president of AFSA.

LETTERS

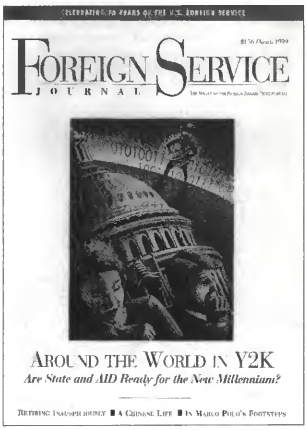
Y2K and Paychecks

I was pleased to see the *Journal* sharing some information at last on State's and USAID's Y2K problems. I was surprised, however, that the article failed to address what I assume is the number one concern of employees and retirees: Will both agencies have their acts sufficiently together by Jan. 1 to get out salary checks and annuity payments on time?

I would hope in a future issue the *Journal* will address that question and others re Y2K and give less attention to the bureaucratic backing and forthing.

Lois Richards
USAID, retired
Spokane, Wash.

Editor's response: As of last May, the State Department reports that all 59 of their mission-critical systems, including those used for payroll and benefits, are Y2K-ready. However, as State Department officials are quick to point out, these systems are only the first link in a chain that involves computer systems of the Treasury Department, telecommunications companies, and the banks that issue checks. With all these chances for error, we'll only really know Y2K's effect after Jan. 1, 2000. (For another view, see the following letter from a knowledgeable source at State.)



State's Progress on Y2K

The two articles in the April *Journal* were a positive contribution to a broader understanding of the Y2K problem. Since their publication, however, a great deal of progress has been made, and the State Department is doing much better than portrayed.

One indicator: Rep. Steven Horn, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Government Management, Information and Technology, raised the department to an A minus in his June 15, 1999 quarterly "Y2K Report Card." The high rating this time is an important recognition of the department's having implemented 100 percent of its mission-critical systems and of advances in other areas.

Further confirmation of our progress came with the Office of Management and Budget's ninth quarterly report, also released on June 15. Although OMB dropped its three-tier ranking system because most federal agencies have completed implementation of mission-critical systems, they acknowledged State would have been placed in the top tier had this ranking system continued in use.

The department's Y2K staffs deserve credit and appreciation for the long hours spent overcoming the many challenges of the Y2K bug.

In addition to the Web sites listed in the *Journal*, you may find useful information on the department's Y2K web site (*www.statey2k.com*) and that of the Bureau of Consular Affairs (*http://travel.state.gov/y2kca.html*). For those with access to State's internal intranet, more Y2K information can be found at *http://199.77210.33/Y2K*.

As your authors noted, it is not possible to predict everything and there is still much work to do, including finishing renovation of non-mission-critical systems, vigorous end-to-end testing of the department's business processes, and preparing certification packages and contingency plans. Nevertheless, the progress acknowledged by OMB and Rep. Horn gives us increased confidence that the State Department will be ready for the year 2000.

David E. Ames
Deputy Chief Information Officer for Y2K
State Department

The Foreign Service Journal *welcomes your signed letters to the editor. Please mail letters to the* Journal, *2101 E St., NW, Washington, D.C., 20037; fax to (202) 338-8244; or send via e-mail to journal@afsa.org. Letters, which are subject to editing, should include full name, title and post, address and daytime telephone number.*

LETTERS

Consular Corps Makes Good

As a former chair of the editorial board and frequent contributor to the *Foreign Service Journal*, I congratulate you on the May issue celebrating the Rogers Act.

One of its consequences which would have pleased Wilbur Carr and which gave Loy Henderson and Bob Murphy — great men who were not immune to the sin of pride — immense satisfaction was that circa 1960 they were the highest placed and most influential career officers serving the secretary of State. They had both entered their careers in the Consular Corps.

John Hale Stutesman
FSO, retired
San Francisco, Calif.

Ambassadors and Assignments

Stephan Helgesen, who complained in "Speaking Out: Assignment Amembassy Limbo" in the June issue about not getting an assignment because the ambassador objected, apparently doesn't get it. Micromanagement from Washington is almost always a bad idea, particularly when, as in this case, it would undermine the authority of the ambassador.

As a consular officer accompanying Ambassador Foy Kohler when he left Moscow's Sheremetyevo Airport on an Air Force plane for Wiesbaden, I carried a two-kopeck coin (no one ever had them) so that I could telephone the embassy to give the "wheels up" time — whereupon an already prepared telegram would be transmitted stating that he had departed the USSR at ____ hours and that John Guthrie had assumed charge.

The pomp surrounding an ambassador reflects an important and desirable reality. The ambassador is captain of the ship and cannot escape accountability for what transpires on his watch — hence the wheels-up time to establish precisely when his watch is interrupted.

The appropriate sanction in the rare cases of ambassadorial misconduct is not nit-picking by home bureaucracies but removal by higher authority — the president. Meanwhile, the ambassador must have authority commensurate with the high responsibility conferred upon him.

Dexter Anderson
FSO, retired
Westerly, R.I.

Russia, NATO, and Kosovo

The Kosovo war is, contrary to White House dreams, not yet over. So far, we seem only to have succeeded in alienating China and Russia, the two most important elements related to American long-term security, while giving ammunition to Russian radicals like Vladimir Zhirinovsky and Alexander Lebed to use in the upcoming Russian presidential elections.

We've simultaneously undercut the influence of the (relatively) reformist prime minister of China, angered NATO allies Greece and Turkey, and motivated France and Germany to hire away NATO's secretary general to try to turn the Western European Union into a European mini-NATO — bringing into grave question the future of the grand alliance which has given us 50 years of peace. All this will inevitably weaken the only forum in which the USA has a voice in Europe.

What can be done? Russia's voice has been weakened in negotiating with Milosevic because Yeltsin no longer represents a great power. Hesitatingly, we have invited Russia to participate in the G-7 (now the G-8) and a couple of other halfway houses. We should have immediately invited them to join the North Atlantic Council — the political wing of NATO. It is not too late.

While leaving them out of the NATO command structure for the time being, as France has been for the past 35 years, this would give the Russian government and Russian people a sense of stature, feeling that they've traded Soviet stalemate for membership in the more vibrant Western community of nations, thus tying them to the West politically in the only way possible at present.

Russia is not yet ready for the EU — or military participation in NATO. But it has already demanded participation in the peace-keeping force for Kosovo. If it were part of the NAC it would at least be subject to political pressure from its NATO partners. Let us invite Russia, without further delay, to join the political dimension of NATO. We can then observe whether Russian politics and economics over the next few years permit consideration of full-fledged Russian membership in the EU and NATO.

D.B. Timmins
FSO, retired
Geneva, Switzerland

Kennan's Challenge

In the excellent May '99 75th Anniversary issue, there is a provocative interview with George F. Kennan. Whether one agrees with Kennan's assertion that "If you're fiercely ambitious, and you want to get ahead and you're interested in getting promoted before anyone else, then I wouldn't join it [the Foreign Service]," it is indeed controversial, coming from this famous practitioner of foreign policy. As such, it merits discussion on the pages of the *FSJ*, perhaps as a debate on both sides of the issue.

You could augment the discussion by using the Internet and inviting readers to answer a poll on the issue.

Michael S. Zak
FSO, retired
Annandale, Va. ■

CLIPPINGS

"I would argue that this account [development assistance] represents the future, but if you sit at the State Department, you have to believe the future is now. State's crisis orientation is natural, but it does crowd out the more prospective vision. That is why an AID sitting in the State Department would in time find itself crowded out. I am grateful to Madeleine Albright for appreciating this reality."

—OUTGOING USAID DIRECTOR J. BRIAN ATWOOD, IN A JUNE 29 SPEECH AT THE OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

SMALL ARMS LIMITS: THE NEXT FRONTIER?

With the convention to ban the use of landmines completed, increasing attention is being focused on the danger posed by small arms — rifles, machine guns, grenades and mortars, according to the April 1999 issue of *The World Today*, the journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. The article heralds the May 11 launch of the International Action Network on Small Arms in The Hague.

Small arms "are responsible for 80 to 90 percent of casualties in modern wars," writes Paul Eavis, director of Saferworld, an independent think-tank which focuses on preventing armed conflict. The simplicity of these weapons promotes the use of child soldiers in armed conflicts, writes Eavis, and their portability causes problems in disarming combatants after hostilities have ceased. This leads to increases in violent crime and "the development of entrenched cultures of violence as the demand for arms rises with communities seeking to defend themselves." As a result, the South African death rate from violence, mostly attributed to firearm injuries, is the highest in the world with nearly 50 deaths a day, six times the U.S. rate.

Nations are beginning to take steps to counter small arms proliferation, especially in West and Southern Africa. "West African governments have recently taken the innovative step of establishing a three-year moratorium on the import, export, and manufacture of light weapons in the region." A new Southern Africa Action Program on small arms will try to halt trafficking and control legal weapons, and the EU is considering regulating the activity of arms brokers in Europe, perhaps using a licensing or registration system.

A major obstacle to disarmament is making the populace feel secure enough, amidst corrupt security officials and widespread violence, to lay down its weapons, Eavis notes.

STATE VS. Y2K BUG: PROSPECTS IMPROVE

Fernando Burbano, the State Department's chief information officer, says the department is ready for the year 2000. In an article by Steven Watkins in the June 28 *Federal Times*, Burbano reported that State completed the Y2K fixes on the last of its 59 mission-critical systems May 14.

This is a substantial achievement for an agency that had been receiving failing grades in Y2K readiness last year from both congressional and executive branch watchdogs.

Burbano also said the department is crafting a detailed "Day One" plan to monitor potential problems as Jan. 1, 2000 arrives. "If a Year 2000-related problem afflicts a computer system at the Tokyo embassy, for instance, technicians at a situation room at department headquarters could attempt to fix it remotely while warning embassies in later time zones to take preventative measures to minimize their computer problems," the article says.

Y2K readiness is only the most urgent of many tasks needed to upgrade the State Department's information technology systems, Burbano admits. There are several projects planned that together would give State "an electronic diplomacy capability,"

CLIPPINGS

Burbano says. "Now it's a question of whether we get the money to do it."

Already under way is a three-year $120 million program to "revamp overseas our unclassified IT architecture," Deputy Chief Information Officer Don Hunter told *Federal Times*. That would include installing "new local area networks, modern office automation software packages, upgraded communications bandwidth, more powerful desktop computers and Internet access at more than 230 posts worldwide."

U.S. AND UNESCO TOGETHER AGAIN?

Nearly 15 years after the Reagan administration pulled the U.S. out of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in protest of what it perceived as the agency's leftist leanings and mismanagement of funds, the U.S. is moving closer to rejoining the organization, Zarrin T. Caldwell reports in the spring 1999 issue of *The InterDependent Magazine*. The Clinton administration rhetoric has long favored the move, Caldwell notes. Back in 1995, President Clinton sent Director-General Federico Mayor a letter pledging his support for American reentry, but he never submitted a funding request to Congress. Now, however, the administration is finally putting its money where its mouth is, satisfied that Mayor has used his 12-year tenure to undertake fundamental management reforms of the type the U.S. has consistently demanded of all U.N. divisions.

One positive sign: Raymond E. Wanner of State's Bureau of International Organization Affairs reported that UNESCO's October 1998 World Conference on Higher Education "energized" the U.S. education community.

State sought $22 million in its FY 2000 draft budget submission to the Office of Management and Budget to fund American reentry to UNESCO in October 1999. That timing would allow the U.S. to influence the selection of a successor to Mayor (whose six-year term ends that month), a crucial decision since some of the candidates for the job hail from countries without a strong tradition of press freedom (one of the issues that precipitated American withdrawal from UNESCO in the first place).

While Education Secretary Richard W. Riley warmly endorsed U.S. reentry as a millennium initiative to "demonstrate a legacy of continuing support for such priorities as education, the environment, cultural preservation, and global communication," OMB has reportedly denied State's funding request.

Rep. Jim Leach (R-Ia.) is expected to introduce legislation seeking $68 million for UNESCO membership. However, Caldwell notes that congressional approval for that initiative is unlikely until the larger issue of U.N. arrears is addressed — even though the U.S. does not owe any money to UNESCO.

Whatever the outcome of that contentious issue, the agency's relationship with U.S. professional organizations will continue. As Wanner told *The InterDependent*, administration policy is to "continue to interact constructively with UNESCO with intentions to reenter when the budget situation permits."

50 YEARS AGO

"The Palestine situation as such cannot be shifted on to the shoulders of either the Jews or the Arabs, but is without question the fault of Great Britain. British policy was so vacillating that one minute it would back the Arabs, the next the Jews. ... Such a situation could not afford harmony between these parties, but did lend confirmation to 'the divide and rule' policy of Great Britain."

—FROM A BOOK REVIEW BY ELEANOR WEST, SEPTEMBER 1949 FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

"As large clumsy bodies, parliaments cannot effectively exercise initiative and their participation upsets diplomacy."
—JOSEPH FRANKEL, BRITISH POLITICAL SCIENTIST, 1963

STATE: NO BENEFITS FOR GAY PARTNERS

In May, FSOs Bryan Dalton and David DiGiovanna and another State Department employee applied to have their partners recognized as spouses for employee benefits purposes. The department promptly returned their applications marked "disapproved."

But according to a June 4 article by Kai Wright in the gay-oriented weekly newspaper *The Washington Blade*, this is an issue which refuses to go away. At stake is a panoply of benefits and privileges extended to family members — from the issuance of diplomatic visas to eligibility for post jobs to the right to be evacuated in medical emergencies.

The denial of benefits appears to some FSOs to be contrary to the spirit (if not the letter) of President Clinton's 1998 executive order banning bias based on sexual orientation in all federal jobs. Secretary of State Warren Christopher had issued a similar policy for the department in 1994.

According to one unnamed personnel officer at State, the department has been known to bend some of the rules overseas, especially regarding shared housing. "Nobody's getting thrown out of housing because they have their partner reside with them. We're not taking that kind of draconian approach," the personnel officer told the *Blade*.

DiGiovanna and Dalton have met with the director general of the Foreign Service, most recently in January, to discuss the matter, and they said both sides agreed to study the question further. But State's hands are tied, one officer said, by restrictive federal definitions of dependents and spouses dictated by the Office of Personnel Management. ■

SPEAKING OUT

Reinventing State: Lessons from U.S. Business

BY JOHN K. NALAND

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright has promised Congress and wary employees of the soon-to-be "consolidated" USIA that the State Department will reinvent itself to improve efficiency and effectiveness.

Unfortunately, State has a poor record of self-reform, despite at least 90 reports since 1946 recommending changes in the department's operations. Recent in-house efforts like the Strategic Management Initiative of 1995 have proven no more successful.

Some may conclude from this record that reform is impossible. I disagree. Last year, while working at a Fortune 500 company under the State Department's Corporate Placement Program, I saw first-hand how a fundamental reinvention was actually achieved at an organization that matches the State Department in size, complexity, and global reach. While there are obviously some differences between the operating environment of a company and that of a federal agency, many fundamentals are the same — in particular, the need to find, motivate and retain talented employees.

Reinvention

Caterpillar Inc., the world's leading manufacturer of construction equipment and diesel engines, is a $21 billion-a-year company with 66,000 employees and operations in almost every nation. Recently lauded by *Fortune Magazine* as one of the world's most admired companies, Caterpillar was in deep trouble a decade ago. Unfavorable global economic conditions, strong foreign competition, and other factors combined to produce operating losses of a million dollars a day for three years running.

If State is to remain the preeminent foreign affairs agency, it must reform its corporate culture.

Fighting for its corporate life, in 1990 Caterpillar appointed a new chief executive officer, Donald V. Fites, who undertook a massive organizational transformation. Significantly, he began with the realization that merely rearranging organizational charts would achieve little unless it was accompanied by fundamental changes in the organization's "corporate culture."

Every organization has a distinct culture that shapes the work environment. At Intel the culture is agile and innovative. At General Motors it is bureaucratic and confrontational. When Caterpillar took a frank look at its corporate culture, it saw well-entrenched characteristics that were holding the company back from adapting to a rapidly changing operating environment.

Today, after nine years of reform, the results are in. Caterpillar was remarkably successful in driving a "culture change" which, in turn, is credited with being a key to the company's dramatic return to profitability. It is this focus on changing the organization's culture from which the State Department could learn the most.

Shared Vision, Values

Working at Caterpillar, I saw the strong emphasis placed on fostering a culture in which employees are given the authority, tools and resources to do their best work. To promote such a culture, statements of "shared vision" and "common values" are explained to new hires and posted in all offices. These values are not unique to Caterpillar, but are exhibited at most other successful organizations, both in the private and public sectors.

Open Communication. Listening to employees was a centerpiece of Caterpillar's culture change effort. Employee satisfaction is measured in twice-yearly surveys. Once a year, employees provide upward feedback by way of an anonymous survey asking 43 questions about their *supervisor's* performance (anonymity is possible

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John Naland is an FSO whose postings include Bogota, Managua and the White House Situation Room. He was recently elected AFSA State Vice President.

because results are summarized by work group).

Empowerment. Decision-making at Caterpillar was consistently pushed down to the lowest possible bureaucratic rung through decentralizing and delayering. This not only encouraged employees to develop new expertise and take initiative, but had concrete results as well: I was usually reimbursed for my business travel on the *same day* that I submitted the voucher.

Trust. Despite a strong focus on the financial "bottom line," Caterpillar does not stand over employees' shoulders when they make long-distance calls (e.g., no phone logs like at many State Department offices) or travel (compare my 5x7-inch reimbursement form to State's multi-page voucher).

Continuous Improvement. Caterpillar's management constantly encourages its employees to look for more efficient and effective ways to do their jobs, particularly through the use of state-of-the-art information technology. Robotic carts deliver interoffice mail at Caterpillar's headquarters, freeing up employees to take on more challenging responsibilities.

Risk Taking. Caterpillar recognizes that the real risk lies in *not* challenging and improving processes. As a consequence, calculated gambles are part of the business plan, and million-dollar business decisions require fewer "clearances" than does the typical morning press guidance statement at the State Department.

Sense of Urgency. In all its operations, Caterpillar takes into account the fact that "the competition is coming." State would benefit from more of this feeling — working in the White House Situation Room in 1993, I often saw U.S. Embassy reporting cables on breaking events arrive long after we had briefed NSC staff members using information from other agencies. If State is to remain the preeminent foreign affairs agency, it must become a more agile bureaucracy.

Service. Like most successful firms, Caterpillar is "customer-centric." Superior service is greatly facilitated by the fact that Caterpillar rarely permits staffing gaps. State, of course, has customers too, ranging from visa applicants to NSC officials who read our analyses. In addition, Caterpillar's employees work just as hard at responding to internal "customers" in other divisions of the company as they do for external customers.

Integrity. Caterpillar promotes adherence to sound, ethical work practices through such tools as an Intranet Web site that explains the rules for business conduct and offers practical examples. It also puts out a 60-page booklet that explains corporate travel rules in plain English. In contrast, try searching the Foreign Affairs Manual to find out under what circumstances premium class travel is authorized.

Creating a "New State"

My experience at Caterpillar convinces me that the current talk by State Department management about creating a "New State" will remain empty rhetoric unless we focus on reinventing our culture. I suggest several starting points for our culture change:

Values. The State Department should adopt, disseminate and implement its own list of shared institutional values. The reality is that senior managers will only delegate decision-making authority if they are confident that lower-level employees' decisions will be given focus and discipline by common values.

Leadership. Secretary Albright and other department principals must lead the culture change. Department

employees will quickly "get with the program" once top managers make their expectations clear. One small but telling example: The percentage of Foreign Service employee evaluation reports being turned in late dropped from 60 percent in 1989 to nearly zero percent two years later after management signaled that late reports would no longer be tolerated.

Listening to Employees. State should emulate the 80 percent of Fortune 500 companies that measure employee attitudes and satisfaction. In the Caterpillar division where I worked, the Gallup Organization administers an anonymous 12-question survey about the workplace environment twice a year. After the survey, supervisors get scorecards highlighting areas that need improvement.

Rewards and Sanctions. It is a law of human behavior that you get more of what you reward and less of what you discourage. To promote culture change, State should overhaul its system of rewards and sanctions to help institutionalize its newly identified common values. One starting point would be to include those values as "competency groups" requiring comment on employee evaluation reports.

The State Department should be a great place to work. Its mission gives employees the opportunity to shape the future of the world. Its people are widely recognized as being among the most talented individuals that America has to offer. Unfortunately, as an organization, State sometimes is less than the sum of its parts. Over the years, I have often seen individuals of exceptional ability who were constrained by "the system" from performing to their full capacity. State can no longer afford to waste personnel resources. The time has come for us to emulate top American corporations in empowering all employees to realize their full potential. ■

TROUBLED TAKEOVER: THE DEMISE OF USIA

Marcia Stinner

UNLESS THE DEPARTMENT CAN REINVENT ITSELF, PUBLIC DIPLOMACY WITHIN STATE MAY TURN INTO A SPIN MACHINE.

BY KENTON KEITH

As of Oct. 1, 1999, the U.S. Information Agency will no longer exist as an independent agency. Most of its work and people are being absorbed by the Department of State, while the Voice of America and other broadcasting operations are being spun off as a separate organization.

How and why did the demise of USIA come about? As a Foreign Service officer with the agency for 32 years, I got to see its strengths and weaknesses, the ebb and flow of support for an agency that was continually evolving. As a member of the USIA negotiating team in 1997, I saw the complex and troubling issues that arose during the integration process, and how those issues were resolved — or in some cases, left unresolved. To understand the demise of USIA, we have to look at both the long-term trends and the short-term politics that set the stage for the agency's merger with State.

Ironically, USIA, while advocating the U.S. point of view around the world, almost always lacked the tools to fight its own battles at home. Because of legal strictures prohibiting propaganda within the United States that were understandably imposed on the agency from the start, USIA was never able effectively to organize or lobby on its own behalf.

Hard-Bitten Ex-Journalists

In 1965 when I entered USIA, we newcomers were virtually indistinguishable in style and educational background from our State Department junior officer colleagues. But the agency we discovered was an exhilarating collection of characters, both in the field and in the domestic service. The World War II legacy of the Office of War Information was still very much alive, with hard-bitten ex-journalists pounding out policy pieces that would add column inches to newspapers around the world, "placed" usually by information officers, frequently also ex-journalists, who spoke the universal language of journalists. This was the high-pressure world of "fast policy guidance." Congress had created USIA in 1953 to coordinate U.S. information activities overseas.

The agency was a major producer of first-rate media products. USIA at that time was an award-winning producer of documentary films. Our own studios, run by people like George Stevens, Jr., made films that compared favorably to any produced today. USIA produced "Years of Lightning, Day of Drums," the unforgettable homage to John F. Kennedy. It was also the agency that produced "Night of the Dragon," the strident Vietnam propaganda piece narrated by Charlton Heston. In the days when television was a rarity in much of the world, the impact of these films was incalculable. (Turkey, for example, got television only in the 1970s.)

Though it may be hard to imagine in today's wired world, USIA's artists and technicians produced major exhibits that were often the most effective means of introducing American society to foreign audiences. At the height of the Cold War, exhibits arranged under a U.S.-Soviet cultural exchange agreement reached millions throughout the USSR. Vice President Richard Nixon's celebrated "kitchen debate" with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev took place in the midst of one such exhibit. These "political presence" exhibits, so named to distinguish them from purely commercial exhibits, could often serve policy goals better than any other tool. The "Space Lab" and "Moon Rock" exhibits effectively re-established an American presence in Damascus after a seven-year hiatus in diplomatic relations.

Willis Conover, the most famous American unknown in his own country, was the voice of that all-American music, jazz, to millions of VOA listeners. At an emotional memorial to this soft-spoken man, a Polish musician recalled that in the dark days of the Iron Curtain he and his friends would tune in to Willis Conover nightly for "a few minutes of freedom."

As we saw in the months leading to consolidation, one area of USIA activity does have a domestic constituency: exchanges. And if a cadre of true believers ever existed in the U.S. government, it is the cultural officers and exchange specialists who maintain an academic exchange program based on merit and academic freedom. The International Visitor program, pound for pound perhaps the most effective public diplomacy tool ever devised, has reshaped attitudes about America in thousands of visitors who make policy, buy airplanes, write poetry and make films.

Cultural diplomacy was serious business in the days when we could afford to send Duke Ellington and Louis Armstrong, the New York City Ballet and the Philadelphia Orchestra all over the globe. Superb USIS libraries and cultural centers were windows on our society. France's Socialist Prime Minister in the mid-1980s, who read Hawthorne and Hammett at the famed USIS "Rue Dragon" Cultural Center, once asked me how a country could be so inept as give up a jewel like that library.

The explanation for the disappearance of much of the agency's resources and production must begin with a general reduction in government spending in real terms, but that does not go far enough. Those for whom USIA was a Cold War agency have argued that the demise of communism at the beginning of the 1990s coincided, naturally enough, with cuts at USIA. In fact, USIA was losing even its modest share of the overseas budget before then.

Except for some areas of the exchanges program, USIA's activities were meant to be invisible to the American public. The Voice of America was understood

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in government circles to be a powerful tool, but it was silent in the U.S. The agency's leadership has always had difficulty getting traction in the struggle for support. Edward R. Murrow lent his national prestige to USIA, Charles Wick brought with him a special relationship with the White House. Otherwise, the agency's leaders have faced an uneven struggle. At no time was this more evident than in the months leading up to USIA's demise.

A Rocky Road to Consolidation

If USIA people at home and abroad view consolidation with State with trepidation, it is as much because of the troubled passage as the final destination. Despite the best efforts of the interagency negotiators in the spring and summer of 1997, the general perception among USIA rank and file was that of a hostile takeover. That attitude was shaped by several factors.

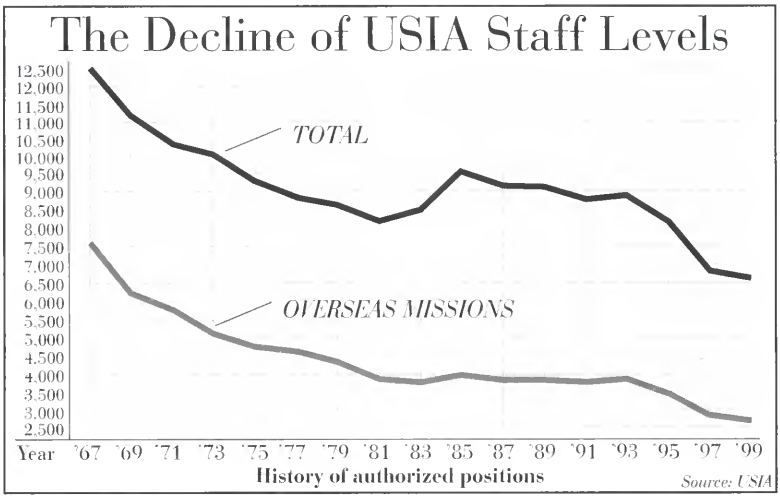
To begin with, the psychological atmosphere could hardly have been worse. USIA had just gone through a major and traumatic reorganization in its information and media (I) bureau. A by-product of this process was the termination of venerable agency magazines and the exhibits service. Many USIA employees were still adjusting to new roles within the agency. A prize-winning picture editor, for example, might have become a speaker recruiter.

To make matters worse, the consolidation was not seen as integral to administration plans for foreign affairs operations in the new millennium, but rather making the best of an imposed situation. Most USIA people believe consolidation was the price the administration had to pay to gain Senate support for the chemical weapons ban. Recall that only the year before, in response to Warren Christopher's call for absorption of USIA into State, Vice President Gore had publicly said it was a bad idea because the two organizations had distinct missions and no money would be saved.

The production of a blueprint for consolidation was arduous. It revealed a surprisingly deep misunderstanding of USIA culture, structure and activities by key State Department officials, especially in the early going. Also, there was a persistent refusal to come to grips with the basic legislative mandates of USIA: the 1948 Smith-Mundt Act, which prohibits the use of resources meant for overseas advocacy to influence the American public, and the 1961 Fulbright-Hays Act, the basic law for the academic exchange (Fulbright) program.

Department negotiators held to the view that the congressional action that launched foreign affairs consolidation somehow opened the door to replacement, or at least reinterpretation, of these laws and their restraints. Arguments to the contrary were construed as delaying tactics by USIA negotiators who were accused of hiding behind Smith-Mundt to avoid real amalgamation. Perhaps inspired by the secretary's goal of reaching out to the American public to make foreign affairs more prominent in the national agenda, State officials were examining ways to beef up the department's Public Affairs Bureau. USIA's foreign press centers, television production facilities and personnel trained in media operations must have seemed tempting.

Thus, in April 1997, the first major issue for the negotiators was simply establishing that there was indeed a difference between public affairs and public diplomacy, in congressional budget terms if not in techniques.



Interagency Negotiations

The next factor contributing to the concern of USIA people was the very structure of the interagency negotiations. All affected foreign affairs agencies (State, USIA, USAID and ACDA) were supposed to be represented at four levels.

At the top was the Steering Committee, comprising the heads of each agency (the secretary of State, etc.). This group was intended to meet periodically to resolve key issues that could not be dealt with at a lower level. I am not aware that this group ever met to discuss reorganization issues.

The next level, the Core Team, in fact attempted to carry out that dispute resolution function. It was composed of very senior members of each agency, including State's overall coordinator, Assistant Secretary for Administration Patrick Kennedy, and USIA's deputy director. This group met at least once a week and received reports from the full-time negotiating teams.

The next group down was the Planning Team. It was this group, on which I was USIA representative, that was charged with coordinating the work of six task forces and ten major management sub-task forces charged with preparing a consolidation blueprint that was to be delivered to the secretary for presentation to the president by Aug. 15, 1997. Of all these, it was the task forces and the management sub-groups that actually dealt with the real-world, practical issues of blending people and programs from three agencies into one. Significantly, no "State reinvention" task force was ever created, though for a time a slot for it remained in the organization scheme. In addition, no "development" task force was formed, since it was clear that USAID was not going to be integrated into State.

Veteran arms controller James Goodby was brought out of retirement to head the Arms Control Task Force. USIA'S Joe Bruns, the agency's chief information officer, headed the Information Technology sub-group. That was in deference to USIA's concerns about State's less advanced information technology. Apart from those two, the other task forces and sub-groups were headed by State representatives. Task force leaders were decided upon, we were told, "at the highest level." In any case, this State Department domination produced another blow to the credibility of the process among USIA rank and file.

It was a matter of deep disappointment to USIA that a State officer, as opposed to a senior USIA professional, was chosen to lead the Public Diplomacy Task Force. USIA had proposed its counselor for this position. For many, this arbitrary decision from above was viewed as highly symbolic, a means of keeping control of the process. Some said the process was damaged beyond repair. The choice did, however, serve to demonstrate a public diplomacy deficit in Foggy Bottom.

For the record, the task forces overall did a splendid job. Most worked in extraordinary harmony, particularly the Management group (under the department's able and even-handed Genie Norris, senior deputy assistant secretary for administration) and its important sub-groups. Tensions existed in the Congressional Relations Task Force where it was suspected that the USIA Congressional Liaison office continued to lobby Congress to maintain the Smith-Mundt Act.

A Blueprint [With Brackets]

The Press Task Force and the Public Diplomacy Task Force were essentially combined and comparatively little was accomplished during the negotiating process. For example, important questions regarding public diplomacy units at embassies (also known as U.S. Information Service posts) were dealt with by the Overseas Facilities and Overseas Operations task forces. It was agreed that the USIA area offices would be integrated into the State geographic bureaus, but exactly how this would be accomplished was not decided. There was some feeling that USIA area directors and State assistant secretaries, most with shared experiences at overseas posts, should be left to decide how to coordinate their work on a case-by-case basis.

Despite these difficulties, a document was produced on time. It was the result of thousands of staff hours of debate, analysis, horse-trading and creative thinking. Along the way, from the perspective of USIA participants, there were very positive developments, particularly in the management realm. Genie Norris was an outstanding team manager, and in the background there was Skip Gnehm, director general of the Foreign Service, whose steady support for a public diplomacy "cone" in the department, and whose frequent public assurances that any pain from downsizing would be equally shared, were critically important to the forward movement of the process.

The blueprint went forward to Secretary Albright, on

schedule but with "bracketed language" indicating the issues that had not been resolved by the negotiators.

The negotiators were able to agree on these important points:

- A Public Diplomacy cone in the Foreign Service;
- An under secretary for public diplomacy with responsibility for three bureaus — Public Affairs, Educational & Cultural Affairs, and Information Programs;
- A Bureau of Educational and Cultural Exchange (E Bureau) with a separate budget allocation;
- A Bureau of Information Programs (I Bureau); and
- A system that would respect the open communications technology applications of public diplomacy.

It had been decided separately, in discussions among Congress, the White House and the secretary of State, that the Voice of America and other broadcasting operations would become an independent entity. So VOA essentially did not figure into our negotiations.

In mid-July 1997, the unresolved, bracketed issues were:

- Budget structure for the Public Diplomacy function;
- I Bureau composition;
- Placement of USIA's office of Research and Media Reaction;
- A designated Public Diplomacy deputy assistant secretary within State's Bureau of Legislative Affairs.

Of these four issues, the first two were of primary importance to the USIA negotiators.

Debate on the budget issue centered on future control of resources for Fulbright-Hays exchanges and the Smith-Mundt overseas advocacy activities. From early in the process there was consensus that the E Bureau should continue to receive separate appropriation. Matters were less clear for the I Bureau.

USIA also sought overall control of overseas public diplomacy operations by the under secretary for public diplomacy. State pushed for control by the regional bureaus.

The blueprint, painstakingly worked out over those months in 1997, was forwarded to the secretary on schedule. However, key decisions on the final shape of the reorganization were delayed for many months. Congressional action on reorganization was delayed by unrelated disputes (principally funding for family planning activities in the U.N.).

Meanwhile, State was moving ahead with a pilot project for integrating USIA area offices into State's geographic bureaus. As a first step, USIA's Western European Area Office moved over to State under the European Bureau.

Another Blow to Morale

Then came another major blow to USIA morale. When the final plan was submitted to the president, it contained a major change: The three bureaus (Public Affairs, Exchanges and Information Programs) that formed the core of the blueprint had been collapsed to two, with Exchanges and Information combined under one assistant secretary. Exchanges and Information were to be run by deputy assistant secretaries.

State's argument that this more closely resembled the time-honored arrangement at field posts (the public affairs officer being responsible for both sectors) was not persuasive to USIA, to Congress or to the broad array of academic and NGO constituencies of the exchange programs. They saw this new formulation as downgrading each of the two functions.

Eventually, pressures from Congress and the stakeholders resulted in a partial return to the original design; the E Bureau would have its own assistant secretary, and an independent I Bureau with a coordinator below the level of assistant secretary (but presumably with the rank of ambassador) would report directly to the under secretary.

By then, great damage had been done to USIA confidence that a new State environment might bring public diplomacy closer to the heart of foreign policy-making. Either the negotiated structure was being sacrificed to use an assistant secretary slot for other department priorities, which was bad enough, or this was simply a decision to lower public diplomacy's institutional profile, which was infinitely worse.

Public Diplomacy Vs. Spin Control

The key to the future of public diplomacy is the reinvention of the State Department. Indeed, a fine opportunity was lost when it was decided in 1997 not to include State reinvention in the reorganization process. If public diplomacy is to thrive in State, the department's focus needs to shift away from the exigencies of the noon briefing. Otherwise, we risk seeing the public diplomacy function drawn deeply into worldwide, centralized spin control.

The fact that assistant secretaries of the geographic bureaus, whose daily lives are often dominated by short-

range media responses to foreign policy issues, will now be responsible for all overseas public diplomacy operations could lead to an overemphasis on news media requirements at the expense of long-range cultural and educational activity.

The State-USIA negotiations are notable for what they did not discuss. Take, for example, State's relationship to USIA's I Bureau. It has been suggested that I Bureau, because of its management innovations, might serve as a "positive virus" within the department. To be honest, the I Bureau's example has not "infected" the rest of USIA despite its laudable reinvention accomplishments. But this is beside the point.

State's approach to I Bureau integration has focused on such questions as whether it is large enough to merit its own assistant secretary, or whether it should "own" the press centers. The questions should have been, "Is this the office that will supply our 'embassies' in cyberspace?" or "How can we best communicate with audiences in the new millennium?" Whatever the answers, the debate would at least have taken us forward.

The Internet is already more than simply an efficient means of transmitting information, and its role in shaping attitudes can only increase in importance. It has been observed that during the Kosovo conflict the Serbian government Web site was better than the VOA's. True or not, the observation points to the reality that diplomacy in the Internet age won't simply be posting policy statements on the State Web site.

Another crucial issue is human resources. Nothing can replace the face-to-face contact provided by the diplomat on the ground. Still, public diplomacy in the future will require people with new skills and attitudes. I believe the public diplomacy career track, or cone, offers the potential for recruiting and training the right people if our examination and recruitment process can be transformed. For that to happen, the PD cone will have to be seen as competitive with the political and economic cones. Moreover, there should be a policy requiring at least one tour in a public diplomacy job for political and economic officers, whose work increasingly involves public outreach and advocacy.

Out there waiting for us are issues of globalization, the environment, civil society and information technology, as well as untold others. There are powerful non-state actors with whom we will have to interact in this new environment, on their own terms, using new tools. Public diplomacy has to play a central role. It must be better understood by top policy makers, it must be funded adequately and it must be allowed to use modern means of open communication. The challenges proliferate. We delay at our peril. ■

"Don't worry dear, I'm sure that State is thrilled to have USIA and Arms Control back in the family."

(Thanks to S. I. Nadler, co-author of *Life and Love in the Foreign Service.*)

A FAREWELL TO ACDA

Marcia Shainer

IT WILL TAKE VIGILANCE TO ENSURE THAT THE DEMISE OF ACDA DOES NOT MEAN A FAREWELL TO ARMS CONTROL.

BY THOMAS GRAHAM, JR.

On April 1, 1999, the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency went out of business. As part of a reorganization of foreign affairs agencies, the main functions of ACDA are now incorporated into the State Department.

Was this a wise decision? Will America and the world be safer with the arms control portfolio integrated into the vast range of foreign policy concerns that occupies State, rather than constituting the sole responsibility of a specialized agency?

Beginning in 1992, much effort went into formulating a strategy for ACDA's survival. When, in late 1996, that no longer appeared to be a viable objective, my colleagues in ACDA and I negotiated the best deal we could for the preservation of the arms control mission.

This, then, is the story of ACDA's end, told from the viewpoint of one who believes in arms control as part of America's national security policy.

Why ACDA Was Born

When President John F. Kennedy signed the legislation creating the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in September 1961, the time was ripe for the establishment of such a body. John J. McCloy, the administration's sponsor of the legislation, said in effect in his Senate testimony that arms control and disarmament is too important a subject to be "buried in the State Department." Instead, a new agency should be created with a director who would have direct access to the president.

Previously, in the Eisenhower administration, the responsibility for arms control had been placed in the White House under former governor and frequent presidential candidate Harold Stassen, but this had not worked well. There were serious conflicts with the State Department and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

By 1961, arms control had become a major national security issue for the United States. In the 1950s, the Soviet Union had developed its nuclear weapons and nuclear weapon delivery systems to such a degree that a nuclear arms race was in full swing. John F. Kennedy, during the 1960 presidential campaign, had warned of a possible "missile gap." As a result of these developments, Kennedy decided to establish a separate executive branch agency for arms control and disarmament.

Kennedy's secretary of State, Dean Rusk, supported the draft legislation. Rusk testified, "Disarmament is a unique problem in the field of foreign affairs. It entails not only a complex of political issues, but involves a wealth of technical, scientific, and military problems which in many respects are outside the Department's normal concerns and, in many instances, reach beyond the operational functions the Department is designed to handle." The legislation received strong support from foreign policy leaders in both the Senate and the House. They understood the argument that arms control is just one of the tools of national security policy but, nevertheless, a separate and distinct arena. It is not an end in itself but it represents one of several alternative paths toward solution of national security problems.

The fundamental rationale for not subordinating the agency within State was that the pursuit of arms control and disarmament goals will often conflict with the primary mission of the Department of State, which is to foster good relations with other countries. For example, to press Pakistan on nuclear non-proliferation issues or criticize Russia for perceived arms control treaty violations can be contrary to pursuing improved relations with those countries and will often be opposed by the regional State Department bureau responsible for relations with the country in question. Most often, in the competition of ideas within State, interests of improved bilateral relations will prevail over arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation interests.

A Brilliant Beginning

The early years of the agency in the 1960s were prosperous and successful, as Secretary Rusk believed in and supported the role of ACDA. ACDA was effectively led by Director William Foster, a former deputy secretary of defense, Deputy Director Adrian Fisher, a former State Department legal advisor, and General Counsel George Bunn, the drafter of the Arms Control and Disarmament Act.

Over strong opposition by State — which was pressing for the establishment of a multilateral nuclear force with our NATO allies in Europe — ACDA successfully pressed for the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which is now considered a centerpiece of international security. ACDA almost single-handedly advocated this proposal within the U.S. executive branch and went on to play the leading U.S. role in the complex multi-party negotiations in Geneva. Indeed, if it had not been for an independent ACDA, this important agreement might never have come into being.

Over the years that followed, the post of ACDA director was filled by a series of distinguished public servants, and the agency had a number of significant accomplishments. Among the highlights: negotiation of the SALT I agreements by Director Gerard Smith; the negotiation of the Chemical Weapons Convention under Director Ron Lehman; the extension of the nuclear weapon test

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Ambassador Thomas Graham, Jr., during his career at ACDA from 1970 to 1997, participated in a leadership role in virtually all major U.S. arms control negotiations. He was special representative of the president for arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament from 1994 to 1997, acting director of ACDA in 1993, and for 15 years before that general counsel of ACDA.

moratorium in 1993 (initially and for a long time advocated by ACDA alone), and the indefinite extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the negotiation of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty under ACDA's last director, John Holum. (Holum, for many years a key staffer for Sen. George McGovern, D-S.D., had also been on the policy planning staff at State.) These successes all depended to an important degree on the existence of an independent arms control agency, with a director who could take controversial issues directly to the president and the national security advisor.

The initial argument for ACDA was that arms control was too important "to be buried in the State Department."

More Controversy Per Capita

But there was another side to this history. I often used to say that on a per capita basis (ACDA was always very small) ACDA was the most controversial government agency in the history of the world. In the wake of criticism by Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) of the SALT I agreements, the Nixon White House in 1973 cut the ACDA budget by 30 percent and reduced it to, in the words of White House press spokesman Ron Ziegler, "a research and staffing agency."

Director Fred Iklé effectively restored the agency in the middle 1970s but there were many other attempts to reduce or eliminate ACDA's authority over the years. But for many years, the Congress, regarding ACDA as its creation, served as the agency's defender. Gradually, over time, this support began to cool.

In 1993, when there was great controversy within the executive branch as to whether ACDA should be terminated and its assets acquired by State, the support for ACDA in the Congress was not as overwhelming as in prior years.

Why the decrease in congressional support? Many factors undoubtedly took their toll, including the end of the Cold War (hence less attention to the nuclear threat), and a Congress generally less interested in international issues.

Fortunately for ACDA in 1993, there remained substantial support in other government agencies. In an interagency exercise on the issue, the White House, the Central Intelligence Agency and the Office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff expressed benevolent neutrality, and the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the Department of Energy supported the independence and strengthening of ACDA, with only the Department of State dissenting.

But even this changed after the 1994 elections. The attitude in the new Republican-led Congress toward the independence of ACDA switched from widespread neutrality with pockets of strong support to outright opposition. Sen Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), now chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, pressed for legislation that would eliminate at least two and preferably all three independent foreign policy agencies — ACDA, the Agency for International Development and the U.S. Information Agency — and merge them into State. Director John Holum fended off this effort for ACDA in 1995, with support from the president and vice president.

However, in 1996, a new factor entered the equation — the Chemical Weapons Convention. The U.S. felt a pressing need to get the CWC ratified by early 1997: this was necessary if the U.S. was to be an original party to the convention and thus have maximum influence in shaping the treaty's verification regime. This gave Chairman Helms a significant bargaining chip, as he could hold up approval of the CWC. Action on the CWC was linked, among other things, to merger of the three independent foreign policy agencies into State.

Negotiate or Fight?

So in December 1996, ACDA Director Holum was informed by the White House that the ACDA "independent box" had to disappear. At the same time, senior State officials as well as some long-time congressional supporters of the agency told Holum that the political situation could no longer support an independent ACDA. Accordingly, he called ACDA Deputy Director Ralph Earle, Executive Secretary Barbara Starr and myself into his office and asked whether we should "negotiate or fight." All three of us supported the concept of negotiating the best arrangement we could, given the strategic situation: opposition in Congress, no support in the White House or elsewhere in the executive branch, and limited interest in the non-governmental community. Our position was further weakened by the fact that all four assistant ACDA directors had left by early 1997, and

there was no prospect of getting replacements named and confirmed.

I prepared an opening position based on an analysis of the 1961 Senate Bill which led to the Arms Control and Disarmament Act. (Unlike the House version which eventually prevailed, the Senate bill would have established an independent arms control agency within State.) Barbara Starr did the nuts and bolts negotiations, with Director Holum setting overall policy and, advised by Ralph Earle and me, weighing in as needed with Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, Deputy Secretary Strobe Talbott, National Security Advisor Sandy Berger, and other key officials.

Laying Out the Options

The ultimate decision was to be presented to the president in an options paper. We knew that one option in the paper would be to retain an independent ACDA, which meant that if a suitable arrangement could not be negotiated with State, we could still make a last-ditch stand. With that alternative protected, we set out to work with State to make the merger option as attractive as possible. We wanted to capitalize on what was favorable in the negotiating environment — especially Secretary Albright's longstanding commitment to arms control, and her strong interest in presenting a consensus recommendation to the president.

We all concluded that certain things were absolutely essential to the independent arms control process that we sought to preserve. A central concern was that the responsible official in State — to be called the Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security — had to have the right to attend all National Security Council meetings in any way connected with arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament, and had to have the right to a vote independent of that of the secretary of State. That is, his or her lack of consensus alone would be sufficient to send an issue to the president. Also, he or she must have the right to communicate directly with the President.

These steps, which Secretary Albright and Director Holum resolved positively at the very end of the negotiations, meant that we could preserve within the State Department the independent advocacy role which, as in 1961, most studies had singled out as the main reason why a separate agency made sense. Additionally, we concluded that all arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament functions anywhere in the department should come under the under secretary's authority: there could be no competition elsewhere in State. ACDA's unique responsibilities for verification judgments and reporting had to be preserved as well, as did its special legal competence for arms control treaties and related issues.

And we were determined that the new State Department, bolstered by ACDA's expert personnel resources, should have an enhanced interagency policy role. Thus we argued that the interagency leadership of arms control as well as non-proliferation should be taken from the White House and put in the hands of the under secretary. Almost all of the above objectives were achieved during the negotiation which lasted until April 18, 1997 but their formal inclusion in the official government decision documents took a long time.

There had been strong resistance from the NSC to moving the interagency chairs of the arms control and the non-proliferation interagency working groups (IWG) from the NSC to the under secretary. In an arduous negotiation early in April 1997, this was fought out. We arrived at a compromise: The Non-Proliferation IWG would go to State, but the Arms Control IWG would remain at NSC. However, it was agreed that the under secretary would share with the NSC chair the right to call a meeting and begin inter-agency consideration of a specific arms control issue.

A Presidential Decision Directive

The question of the under secretary's right to communicate with the president was a tough one. No State Department official, other than the secretary, has this right. However, we regarded it as essential to the independence of the arms control process. We fashioned a compromise procedure: the under secretary may communicate directly with the president through the secretary of State, who must forward the under secretary's memorandum but may append his or her views. This right is implicit in the full title of the under secretary, namely, "Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security Affairs/Senior Advisor to the President and Secretary of State for Arms Control, Nonproliferation and Disarmament."

After the agreement on ACDA's future, we pressed to have the central elements of it memorialized in a Presidential Decision Directive (PDD). The White House replied by asking why an announcement by the

president, which had been made, was not sufficient. But we believed to the extent possible this arrangement should be established not just for this administration, but for future administrations as well. After a long debate, this was accomplished in PDD/NSC-65 issued on June 23, 1998. It provides inter alia that the under secretary "shall be invited to attend all National Security Council meetings concerning matters pertaining to arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament" and makes identical arrangements for all NSC Principals Committee meetings, as well as NSC Deputies Committee meetings.

The presidential directive also provides that the IWGs on non-proliferation shall be chaired at the assistant secretary level in the Department of State and that the NSC chair of the arms control IWG shall convene a meeting of the IWG at the request of the Department of State. This means that the Office of the Under Secretary shares with the NSC the authority to introduce an issue into the interagency process — an important right.

However, a serious dispute broke out over conventional arms control in Europe. The agreement reached between the secretary and the ACDA director provided that all arms control functions in the Department of State, wherever they had been located before, would come under the authority of the under secretary. But State's European Bureau (EUR) strongly resisted including the talks on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) in this understanding, because of the close association of the ongoing CFE Treaty adaptation process and NATO enlargement.

Eventually, after long negotiations, it was agreed that an exception would be made for CFE adaptation and directly related issues: EUR would continue to lead under the under secretary's overall authority until 1999. This year, there is to be a review "with a view to consolidating the lead (for CFE) in the new functional bureau under the Under Secretary at the earliest practicable date." In other words, the lead on CFE Treaty issues would be transferred to the Office of the Under Secretary. As of July '99, that transfer had not yet occurred, though the two bureaus are said to be working together on CFE.

Another hard-fought issue was protecting the independence and integrity of ACDA's Verification and Compliance staff. That staff had resided, appropriately, in a separate bureau at ACDA for the previous 16 years. This setup reinforced one of ACDA's strengths — its independent take on verification and compliance questions. These questions have often been hotly argued, not only with foreign powers but also as domestic political issues.

But a separate bureau in State for verification and compliance appeared impossible to achieve in the merged entity. The end result was three bureaus reporting to the Under Secretary: Arms Control, Non-proliferation and Political-Military. So it was decided to insist on an Office for Verification and Compliance to be attached directly to the Under Secretary, a solution eventually included in the final report on State's reorganization plan.

On the question of maintaining a separate legal office for the under secretary, we were less successful. What was eventually achieved was that ACDA's general counsel would become an associate legal advisor dedicated to arms control and non-proliferation issues under the jurisdiction of the Under Secretary. The under secretary would be able to draw on the views of the associate legal advisor even where he or she disagreed with the State legal advisor.

Finally, the official State Department Reorganization Plan and Report set out guidelines for the Office of the Under Secretary emphasizing the objective of preserving the independence of the arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament process.

- The new under secretary will have a "unique" role "reflecting authorities transferred from ACDA."
- The new structure within State is to "ensure that unique arms control and non-proliferation perspectives will continue to be available at the highest levels of the U.S. government, including the President."
- An entity will provide "independent arms control and non-proliferation verification and compliance assessments."
- The new under secretary will "provide oversight for State's new inter-agency leadership role in non-proliferation."

This report, which implements the law that authorized the ACDA merger, is authoritative and cannot be modified without further legislation. Combined with PDD/NSC-65, the report sets forth as U.S. government policy that the independence of the arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament process is to be strengthened and preserved. The arms control alternative in policy debates on national security issues will continue to be made available at the highest levels of the government,

including the president, as was the case when there was an independent ACDA director.

In all these ways, I think we can say that the ACDA negotiating team, faced with a less-than-favorable political terrain, did a creditable job in preserving an independent structure for arms control within the U.S. government.

The Personal is Political

The effectiveness of the director of ACDA over the years always depended on personalities and personal relationships. The relationships of the director with the president, the national security advisor and the secretary of State have been important to the reality of operating as an effective independent agency. Director Paul Warnke, for example, had a close relationship with Secretary of State Cyrus Vance in the late '70s, and this enabled him to function far more effectively.

This personal dimension will continue to be important in the new post-merger arms control arrangement. The new order may work well if NSC and State respect the authority of the under secretary for arms control and international security, and if the under secretary in this and future administrations exercises that authority vigorously.

But now, there is a difference. Previously, if an independent ACDA was marginalized, the structure was solidly in place; therefore the agency could be brought back, as Director Fred Iklé demonstrated. But if this new arrangement does not work properly, and, as a result, arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament considerations become buried in the Department of State bureaucracy, it might not be possible in the future to resuscitate — at least not in a few years — an independent voice for arms control.

We must do our best with the new structure. If the arrangement is implemented properly, it is possible that the arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament process could emerge stronger and more effective than before. But, if over the next five to 10 years the result is otherwise, then I would hope that some future president and future Congress would reenact the Arms Control and Disarmament Act and reestablish an independent ACDA. ■

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF USIA

Marcia Stalmer

IRONICALLY, IN THE INFORMATION AGE, PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IS TOO IMPORTANT TO BE LEFT TO USIA.

BY PETER GALBRAITH

Election night 1996: Like many ambassadors, I used the occasion to showcase American democracy. Using Zagreb's spacious Novinarski Dom (Journalists' Union), I invited Croatian politicians, journalists, and academics to join the American community in watching the returns as they came in.

Live from Washington and on a big screen, USIA's Worldnet began its election night coverage with — a live tour of its Washington Foreign Press Center. Of doubtful interest even if one worked there, it was of no interest to my guests. Meanwhile U.S. audiences were seeing the early returns from Kentucky, New Hampshire, and Indiana.

Moving from the press center tour, Worldnet went to a lengthy interview with Colin Powell, taped months before, who revealed that he was not running for president. By this point Clinton had amassed nearly enough electoral votes

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association

AFSA GALA CELEBRATES 75TH ANNIVERSARY

George Kennan, preeminent scholar and member of the second Foreign Service class, Sen. Paul Sarbanes (D-Md.) of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Nicholas Bomba, winner of the high school essay contest, were a few of the notables among the 200 guests attending AFSA's gala celebration of the 75th anniversary of the signing of the Rogers Act. Hosted by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and moderated by news commentator Cokie Roberts, the gala honored the establishment of the modern Foreign Service. Corporate sponsors for the May 24th event were CMS Energy, the Coca-Cola Co., ENRON Corp., FDX Co. and WARNCO.

In his toast, Under Secretary for Political Affairs Thomas Pickering remembered "those who have given their lives in the service of their country, in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, in San Salvador and Vietnam, in the Middle East and Africa, and 186 places like that, people whom we knew and didn't know, but whom we miss greatly and whom we should above all honor here tonight."

Albright's keynote address debunked the image of diplomat as dilettante: "In my travels, I have seen our people at work not only in conference rooms, but in visits to refugee camps, AIDS clinics and mass grave sites."

She stressed that diplomacy helps Americans at home "land a good job; protect your environment; safeguard your neighborhood from drugs; shield your family from a terrorist attack; and spare your children the nightmare of nuclear, chemical or biological war."

She expressed alarm at additional cuts under consideration in the year 2000 budget allocations. "We have important interests, face threats to them, and nearly everywhere ... Provide us with the funds we need to protect our people and to do our jobs. Let America lead!"

1999 AFSA Governing Board Election Results*

President	Marshall P. Adair	**State Reps**	Marilyn Bruno
State VP	John Naland		Daniel Geisler
AID VP	Frank Miller		Stephen J. Klein
USIA VP	Riley Sever		Lauren May
FAS VP	Maggie Dowling		David Robinson
FCS VP	Peter Frederick	**FAS Rep**	Evans Browne
Retiree VP	Willard De Pree (write-in)	**FCS Rep**	Eric Sletten (write-in)
Secretary	Aurelius Fernandez	**Retiree Reps**	Harry Cahill
Treasurer	Thomas Tiernan		Garber Davidson
AID Rep	James Dempsey		George Jones
USIA Rep	Bruce Byers		Robert Lamb

*See related article with vote breakdown on page 10.

75TH ANNIVERSARY ESSAY CONTEST WINNER

Diplomacy and the Resolution of the Cuban Missile Crisis
by *Nicholas Bomba*

Many remember President Kennedy's Oct. 22, 1962, address to the world as one of the most terrifying experiences of their lives. As the presence of medium-ronge bollistic missile sites on Cubo become certoin, the United Stotes ond its citizens were thrust onto the brink of nucleor wor for the first time, bringing to full throttle the feors ond uncertointies thot underscored the Cold Wor. Resolving the Cubon Missile Crisis will probobly be remembered os the Kennedy odministrotion's greotest occomplishment, but it wos not without the work of U.S. diplomots thot the offoir wos successfully ond swiftly ended. Without o doubt, they occomplished their obligotion under the Foreign Service Act of providing the "first line of defense" in sofeguording the security of our nation. Through their efforts to influence worldwide opinion ond ensure internotionol cooperation, they provided the president ond his odvisors o toehold from which to oct.

Although the United Stotes wos recognized os the leoder of the "free world," it wos evident thot the internotionol community hod to be convinced thot the crisis wos for more thon on exercise of Americon poronoio. With this gool, the USIA distributed propogondo leoflets ond set up clondestine rodio stotions thot corried Kennedy's messoge throughout Cubo. This wos followed by the televised confrontotion between U.N. Ambossodor Adloi Stevenson ond his Soviet counterport V.A. Zorin. Colling the evidence "cleor ond incontrovertible," Stevenson used U-2 photogrophs to prove thot the Soviets hod lied to the world. As Robert Kennedy put it, the "dumbfounded" expression of Zorin convinced even the most skepticol of British newspopers thot the United Stotes wos not exoggeroting. More importontly, however, the U.N. presentotion successfully swoyed once-doubtful worldwide populor opinion solidly to the Americon side. As o result of such efforts, the crisis become not o stondoff between two powerful stotes, but rother a fight between o united front of determined people ond on isoloted Communist regime.

After securing public opinion, U.S. diplomots were foced with the more dounting tosk of ossuring the cooperotion of both ollies ond neutrol stotes. Indeed, President Kennedy was powerless without the explicit support of our Lotin Americon ollies, who, Deon Rusk worned, would be hostile if the United Stotes ottocked Cubo without worning. With Assistont Secretory Ed Mortin ot the helm, on entouroge of Americon representotives oddressed the OAS ond goined thot body's opprovol for the novol blockode; hod this support not been gronted, the USSR would surely hove disregorded the quorontine. In o single move, the United Stotes wos tronsformed from on outlow octing in violotion of internotional low to o chompion octing in occordonce with 20 ollies. This success followed our ombossodors to Africo, where they convinced the governments of Guineo ond Senegol to prohibit Soviet corgo jets from refueling, o remorkoble occomplishment given those notions' sympothy for the USSR. With stortling moves like these, Americon representotives gove their government's policies the oppeoronce of legitimocy. With politicol support from over 50 notions, the U.S. foced little resistonce when it turned to the United Notions for bocking.

As Kennedy considered the possibility of removing the Jupiter missiles in Turkey ond Itoly os o possible compromise with the Russions, the White House desperotely needed to know how the offected stotes would reoct. Thus, the Foreign Service set out to ossess ond report on politicol conditions in the offected stotes. The Stote Deportment osked the embossies throughout NATO to ossure the vorious governments thot the United Stotes wos not compromising their security. It wos Ambossodor Hore's telegrom exploining the Turkish goverment's onger thot convinced the White House thot such o move would endonger NATO solidority. With such knowledge the negotiotors in Woshington ond Moscow ovoided o potentiol borgoin thot might hove bockfired strotegicolly if not politicolly os well.

Nichalas Bamba, winner af the 75th Anniversary AFSA High Schaal Essay Contest, receiving his certificate from Secretary af State Madeleine Albright at the 75th Anniversary Gala an May 24 in the Benjamin Franklin Raam af the State Department. Bamba, wha graduated this spring, competed with aver 300 students fram Maine ta Hawaii. He was awarded the grand prize af $2,500 and his alma mater, Layala High Schaal in Las Angeles, received $500 in hanar af his winning essay. Eva Hartman af Lancaster, Pa. placed secand and Kristian Dyer af Denville, N.J. placed third. This year's contest, spansared by the Una Chapman Cax Faundatian, was established ta pramate interest in the Fareign Service amang U.S. high schaal students. Details far the year 2000 contest will be pasted at www.afsa.org.

Foremost was the diplomatic corps' role as a messenger and a direct mediator between the United States and the USSR. Given the physical separation between the key players and the absence of satellite communication, the primary role of negotiation was directed to the diplomats, who facilitated the interchange and allowed the two sides to comprehend each other's terms. It was only through the American ambassador's frequent "courtesy calls" to the Soviet chairman and his foreign minister, Andrei Gromyko, that lapses in communication and misunderstandings with President Kennedy did not escalate into warfare. In addition, unable to communicate with Castro directly, the State Department arranged to use the Brazilian envoy to Havana as an intermediary. In a telegram to the embassy in Brazil, the State Department directed American agents to instruct Ambassador Luis Batian Pinto to appeal to Castro "in such a way as to make it abundantly clear [the appeal] was a solely Brazilian initiative." Without such efforts the exchange of letters and telegrams between Khrushchev and the American chief executive would never have succeeded so smoothly and with such efficiency.

In the closing remarks of his Oct. 22 address, John F. Kennedy stated, "Our goal is not the victory of might but the vindication of right — not peace at the expense of freedom, but both peace and freedom." The combined efforts of his administration and U.S. diplomats abroad in resolving the crisis proved that the United States was, indeed, committed to preserving its principles while defending its people. Although the threat of nuclear conflict persisted — in fact, the Cold War had barely begun — Americans at home were instilled with a feeling of optimism and confidence that a system was in place to provide security in times of heated conflict. Today, as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the threat of terrorism in our cities escalate, Americans still remain committed to preserving our role as leader of the "free world" despite the dangers on the home front. Never, since the autumn of 1962, has this determination faltered.

USAID

V.P. VOICE

• By Frank Miller •

Know Your Performance Precepts

In May 1999, AFSA and the USAID Office of Human Resources negotiated new precepts for Foreign Service employee evaluations. These precepts are being used by rating officers, appraisal committees and selection boards to establish work objectives and performance measures, evaluate performance, and determine tenure for the current rating season which began April 1, 1999.

The new precepts integrate the six skill areas and five core values introduced in precepts issued in January 1996 and establish detailed, transparent standards for six grade levels.

The new standards clearly state for employees and rating officers which skills employees are expected to demonstrate at all grade levels. AFSA believes that these standards are less subjective and should result in less guess work on the part of the selection boards in determining annual rankings for promotion, tenure and other purposes. They also enable employees to determine what skills they must master in order to move to the next grade level.

Although agency management sent out notices announcing the new precepts in late May 1999, many employees are still not familiar with them. AFSA has been informed that many Foreign Service officer work objectives established for the 1999/2000 rating cycle are not based on the new precepts. This is easily remedied, since it is early in the rating cycle. However, AFSA has also learned that many FSOs in Washington have no established work objectives at all for the 1999/2000 cycle. This is appalling and should be addressed by HR immediately.

What do you do now? First, familiarize yourself with the new precepts and actively participate in the evaluation process. Second, review your work objectives in light of the skills required for your grade level under the new precepts. Your objectives must at least give you an opportunity to demonstrate that you meet the standards of your grade level. If you aspire to be promoted soon, your objectives should allow you an opportunity to demonstrate that you have the potential to perform at the skill level at the next highest grade. Third, if you believe that your work objectives and performance measures may not give you the opportunity to demonstrate the skills required, bring this to the attention of your rater and appraisal committee immediately.

To speed up the process, redraft the objectives yourself. Remember that a work objective is a results-oriented outcome developed for a distinguishable task, not a statement of responsibilities. It is wise to have your rater establish work objectives that allow you to demonstrate progress or mastery in skills that have appeared in prior evaluations as areas in need of improvement. Selection Boards are always looking for employee growth.

For those of you with no work objectives, draft your own in line with the new precepts and give them to your rater ASAP. Follow up in a few days and try to come to closure with your rater and get approval from your appraisal committee in writing.

AFSA would appreciate feedback on the new precepts. Also, if you are experiencing problems either establishing work objectives or getting revisions made, please bring this to my attention.

STATE

V.P. VOICE

• BY JOHN NALAND •

On the Front Lines

During my first month as your State vice president, I have been impressed by how many important issues are on AFSA's plate. Here are just some of what the AFSA State Labor Management staff is working on as I write:

Should overseas tours be lengthened? How can the erosion of benefits and allowances be stopped? How can transparency be increased in the assignments process? How can the language incentive pay program be improved? How will the department assign Diplomatic Security specialists this year in view of the shortage of personnel? How can the department attract and retain highly qualified information managers? Should the time-in-class limit for mid-level FSO generalists be reduced from 15 to 13 years? What kind of mid-level TIC regime should apply to specialists? Are there ways to mitigate the impact of the legislative requirement mandating members low-ranked twice in the last five years be reviewed for possible selection out?

Add to these AFSA's professional and congressional issues (for example, funding for overseas security) and you have a substantial list of things that affect the daily lives of our members and their families.

Many of the labor-management issues are negotiable — meaning that the department may only adopt a new procedure with AFSA's formal concurrence. This includes most regulations having to do with conditions of employment (for example, criteria for promotion, procedures governing disciplinary action, and policies related to the work environment). Both AFSA and State management take this negotiating right very seriously, giving AFSA a real say in vital issues.

"Members are our eyes and ears for what is actually happening on the front lines."

AFSA's involvement in individual issues often begins as a result of input from a member or AFSA representative at post. We are currently working on several topics that began as "did you know?" calls or e-mails to us from members. We enthusiastically encourage such input. Members are our eyes and ears for what is actually happening on the front lines.

Likewise, we highly value members' views on key issues. For example, I received 112 e-mails after sending out our message outlining the Inspector General's proposal to lengthen overseas assignments. Contained in those replies were several observations which, believe it or not, appear not to have occurred to anyone in Washington. Keep up the good work.

Being somewhat cynical about the possibilities of real reform is easy (and probably sensible) in our organization. But, as I wrote last month in my first column, I refuse to believe that change is impossible and am confident that AFSA can continue to be a catalyst for action. I hope that we can count on your active support.

THIRD-CULTURE KID GIVES ONE-WOMAN PERFORMANCE

By Kristine Latronica
FSJ Advertising Intern

"Sometimes I feel like the ocean — it's touching so many shores at once that forms the shape of who I am. We all take our shape from the lands that we touch. That's what home is, I guess."

Alone on the stage performing her one-act play, *ISite*, Katie Buck set the tone of the Foreign Service Youth Foundation's 10th anniversary celebration on June 19, in the State Department's Dean Acheson auditorium. FSYF sponsored the one-woman production to honor the anniversary and the designation of 1999 as the "Year of the Foreign Service Child." A theater major who recently graduated from Wesleyan University, Buck wrote the play this year for her senior thesis.

An Arab-American and Foreign Service dependent who grew up in Kuwait, Oman, Iraq, and Canada, Buck depicts the life of a third-culture kid — a global nomad raised in several different countries struggling to find an identity. Using recollections both humorous and poignant, she weaves together the facets of family life, foreign cultures, home and friends that contributed to her development.

By donning a head covering or changing a voice inflection, Buck illuminates the contrasting images and roles of women in Arab countries and the U.S. She pays tribute to the brave, strong and diverse women, particularly her mother and grandmothers, who contributed to her understanding of her own culture and her identity as a woman shifting between different worlds around the globe.

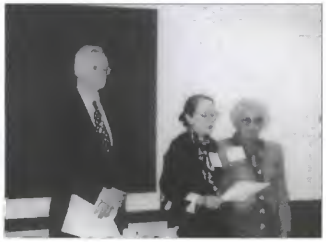
She also acknowledges her late grandfather, Jeddo, who instilled in her a sense of pride and love of knowledge. His saying, "I don't just love you, I adore you," is a source of strength for her during times of adversity as well as times of joy.

Changing props, Buck moves through her traveling life. Holidays abroad can be difficult for Foreign Service families. With a tiny Christmas tree, no bigger than a potted plant, she evokes the challenge of

PMA Donation to AFSA Scholarship Fund

The Public Members Association of the Foreign Service presented the AFSA Scholarship Program with a $3,000 check on Thursday, May 6 at its annual luncheon at the Department of State. This award will be used to help a needy child of a Foreign Service family meet college expenses this fall. The award is designated for a college junior or senior studying foreign affairs under AFSA's Financial Aid Program. PMA, which provides public members to sit on Foreign Service promotion boards, has provided an annual scholarship to the AFSA Scholarship Fund since 1992.

In the 1998/99 school year, AFSA gave financial aid grants to 62 Foreign Service children totaling over $122,000 funded by perpetual and annual scholarships. The Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW) and the Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired (DACOR) also support the AFSA Scholarship Program. For more information on the Scholarship Program, contact Lori Dec at 202-944-5504 or dec@afsa.org.



Amb. Edward Dillery, chair of AFSA's Committee on Education, listens as Holly Thomas, Public Members Association of the Foreign Service president (center) presents a $3,000 scholarship check in memory of Mary Elizabeth Brown's (right) late husband, William.

One-Woman Show

recreating an American Christmas as she draws on fond memories of traditional holidays in different countries.

A full length mirror, unveiled at the end of her play, symbolizes reflection and self discovery. *ISite* is the provocative journey of a young woman with the insight to be comfortable with herself, wherever she is.

USIA

V.P. VOICE

• By Riley Sever •

USIA's Legacy to AFSA

When USIA ceases to exist on Sept. 30, 1999, it will leave to AFSA the legacy of a positive model for constructive labor-management relations as well as the policies that have resulted from this relationship.

USIA and AFSA have a long history. AFSA was the first union to represent USIA Foreign Service employees, although within a few years another union won that right. After a long time and the efforts of many FSOs, both in USIA and State, an election in 1992 reasserted AFSA's right to represent USIA. Like a couple that has met and drifted apart only to finally return to each other again, both organizations gained appreciation of the other through this process. USIA recognized the value of a Foreign Service-oriented union and AFSA realized that it couldn't take for granted an exclusive right to represent the Foreign Service.

> "USIA and AFSA have set a model for a constructive labor-management relationship."

During the last seven years, the AFSA presence at USIA has grown from a part-time vice president with no office to that of a full-time vice president and a labor relations specialist as well as a part-time office manager, all operating out of a suite of three offices. AFSA's commitment of resources to the USIA office and management's provision of services to this office made the expansion possible.

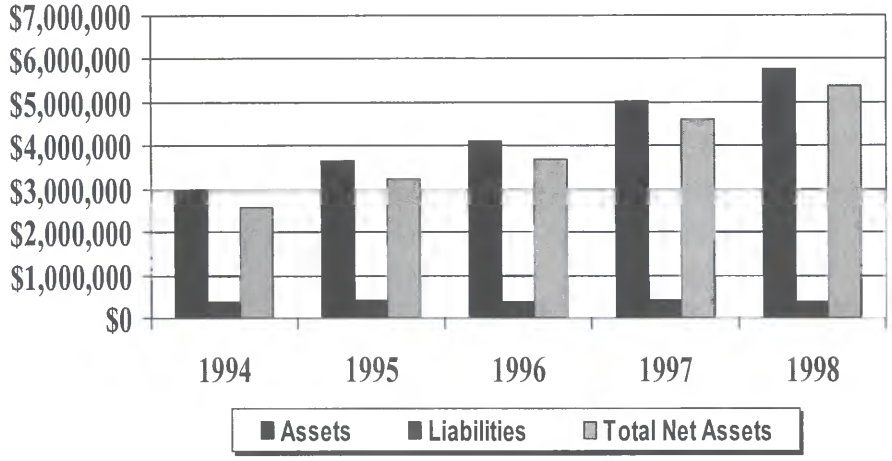
In addition to the usual grievances and negotiations over conditions of employment, this period has seen the challenge of downsizing at USIA; negotiating a reduction in force policy; enduring a RIF at VOA; struggling with on again/off again consolidation; and finally, at the end of this month, adjusting to integration. While not always in agreement on the issues, USIA and AFSA have set a model for a constructive labor management relationship which is characterized by transparency, partnership, and creative problem-solving.

From negotiating promotion precepts and changes in the regulations to developing informal solutions to resolve individual grievances, USIA and AFSA have developed a spirit of cooperation that has greatly benefited Foreign Service employees and the work of public diplomacy. In recognition of that constructive role, State management has agreed to maintain the AFSA offices in M-21 of the USIA building from Oct. 1, 1999 through Sept. 30, 2000.

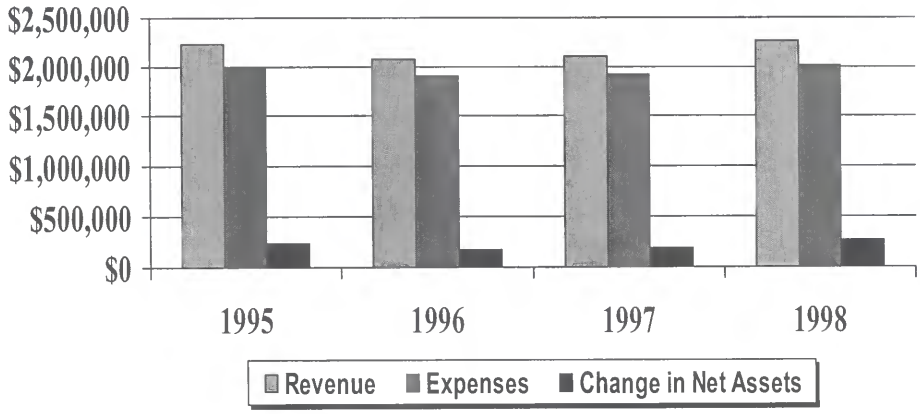
The AFSA office at USIA, or State Annex 44 as it will be known after Sept. 30, will continue to assist employees with grievances and to identify where USIA and State policies or regulations differ. In those instances where AFSA believes USIA may have had the "best practice," we will use the USIA precedent as both an opportunity and justification to negotiate with management on those points.

While the United States Information Agency may disappear as a federal agency, AFSA will continue to use USIA's labor-management legacy for the benefit of Foreign Service employees.

Assets, Liabilities and Total Net Assets
All Funds



Revenue, Expenses & Change in Net Assets
Net of Scholarship Fund



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Independent Auditor's Report

Governing Board of the
American Foreign Service Association
and Associated Organizations

We have audited the accompanying consolidated statement of financial position of the American Foreign Service Association and Associated Organizations (the Association) as of December 31, 1998 and 1997, and the related consolidated statements of activities and cash flows for the years then ended. These consolidated financial statements are the responsibility of the Association's management. Our responsibility is to express an opinion on these consolidated financial statements based on our audits.

We conducted our audits in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards. Those standards require that we plan and perform the audit to obtain reasonable assurance about whether the financial statements are free of material misstatement. An audit includes examining, on a test basis, evidence supporting the amounts and disclosures in the financial statements. An audit also includes assessing the accounting principles used and significant estimates made by management, as well as evaluating the overall financial statement presentation. We believe that our audits provide a reasonable basis for our opinion.

In our opinion, the consolidated financial statements referred to above present fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of the American Foreign Service Association and Associated Organizations as of December 31, 1998 and 1997, and the changes in their net assets and their cash flows for the years then ended in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles.

Lang Group, Chtd.

Bethesda, Maryland
April 28, 1999

AFSA FINANCIAL SUMMARY 1999

American Foreign Service Association and Associated Organizations
Consolidated Statement of Financial Position
December 31, 1998 and 1997

	1998	1997
Assets		
Current Assets		
Cash and cash equivalents, including restricted cash of $212,436 in 1998 and $200,291 in 1997	$ 427,764	$ 362,294
Accounts receivable, less allowance for doubtful accounts of $20,000 in 1998 and $5,000 in 1997	108,282	66,817
Contributions receivable	16,500	---
Accrued interest and dividends	12,892	14,586
Prepaid expenses and other assets	48,232	27,070
Total current assets	613,670	470,767
Noncurrent Assets		
Land, building and equipment, net of depreciation	566,989	616,571
Temporarily restricted investments	4,241,246	3,648,030
Marketable securities	349,519	287,465
Total noncurrent assets	5,157,754	4,552,066
Total Assets	$ 5,771,424	$ 5,022,833
Liabilities and Net Assets		
Current Liabilities		
Accounts payable	$ 87,605	$ 87,084
Accrued expenses	57,655	72,387
Deferred revenue	233,699	228,910
Current portion of note payable	---	17,822
Total current liabilities	378,959	406,203
Commitments and Contingencies	---	---
Net Assets		
Unrestricted	798,268	711,138
Temporarily restricted	4,594,197	3,905,492
Total net assets	5,392,465	4,616,630
Total Liabilities and Net Assets	$ 5,771,424	$ 5,022,833

A complete set of the audited financial statements are available at the AFSA office 2101 E. St. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037

AFSA FINANCIAL SUMMARY 1999

American Foreign Service Association and Associated Organizations
Consolidated Statement of Activities
Years Ended December 31, 1998 and 1997

	1998			1997		
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Total	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Total
Revenue, Gains, and Other Support						
Membership dues	$ 1,371,069	$ ---	$ 1,371,069	$ 1,359,067	$ ---	$ 1,359,067
Advertising sales	375,132	---	375,132	344,619	---	344,619
Contributions	44,392	290,610	335,002	90,789	289,646	380,435
Corporate sponsors	---	---	---	---	20,000	20,000
Subscriptions	11,852	---	11,852	10,218	---	10,218
Rental	22,000	---	22,000	---	---	---
Realized and unrealized gain on marketable securities	49,674	629,754	679,428	30,395	750,659	781,054
Dividends and interest	13,260	108,864	122,124	13,280	99,392	112,672
Other	166,025	---	166,025	86,443	---	86,443
Net assets released from restrictions:						---
Satisfaction of program restrictions	340,523	(340,523)	---	280,292	(280,292)	---
Total revenue, gains, and other support	2,393,927	688,705	3,082,632	2,215,103	879,405	3,094,508
Expenses						
Program services						
Alumni	64,400	---	64,400	99,074	---	99,074
Journal	568,476	---	568,476	504,378	---	504,378
Membership	104,052	---	104,052	61,424	---	61,424
Labor relations	427,140	---	427,140	431,369	---	431,369
Legislative action	123,330	---	123,330	137,963	---	137,963
Club	29,504	---	29,504	50,167	---	50,167
Election	417	---	417	9,813	---	9,813
Board and committee	21,140	---	21,140	39,217	---	39,217
AFSA Fund	103,057	---	103,057	104,928	---	104,928
AFSA Fund - Elderhostel	125,545	---	125,545	71,318	---	71,318
Corporate relations	23,256	---	23,256	48,098	---	48,098
75th anniversary	25,543	---	25,543	---	---	---
Public affairs	20,984	---	20,984	12,455	---	12,455
Diplomats on line	39,969	---	39,969	5,225	---	5,225
Scholarship	290,278	---	290,278	247,868	---	247,868
Total program services	1,967,091	---	1,967,091	1,823,297	---	1,823,297
Supporting services						
Management and general	204,388		204,388	239,020	---	239,020
Membership support	126,542	---	126,542	105,465	---	105,465
Fundraising	8,776	---	8,776	5,279	---	5,279
Total supporting services	339,706	---	339,706	349,764	---	349,764
Total expenses	2,306,797	---	2,306,797	2,173,061	---	2,173,061
Change in Net Assets	87,130	688,705	775,835	42,042	879,405	921,447
Net Assets, beginning of year	711,138	3,905,492	4,616,630	669,096	3,026,087	3,695,183
Net Assets, end of year	$ 798,268	$ 4,594,197	$ 5,392,465	$ 711,138	$ 3,905,492	$ 4,616,630

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New AFSA Governing Board Takes Office

by Richard Thompson, *Professional Issues Coordinator*

The Elections Committee announced the election of the new AFSA Governing Board. The Professional Slate was successful in its campaign to elect Willard De Pree to the position of Retiree vice president as a write-in candidate. Similarly, there was no candidate for Commercial Service representative but a review of write-in votes permitted the committee to announce the election of Eric Sletten to that position. Therefore a complete new Governing Board took office at the traditional July 15 transition luncheon. (A table of numerical results follows. * indicates a Professional Slate candidate.)

1999 AFSA ELECTION RESULTS

CONSTITUENCY	PRESIDENT	SECRETARY	TREASURER
	*Adair - 2,255	*Fernandez-2,238	*Tieman-2,238
AID	134	131	134
FAS	27	26	26
CS	47	48	47
RETIREE	1,271	1,268	1,257
STATE	654	642	651
USIA	122	123	123

CONSTITUENCY	VP	REPRESENTATIVE
AID	*Miller-143	Dempsey-139
FAS	Dowling-37	Browne-36
CS	Frederick-55	Sletten-2
RETIREE	De Pree-134	*Cahill-1,233 *Davidson-1,214 *Jones-1,231 *Lamb-1,245
STATE	*Naland-643	*Bruno-610 *Geisler-637 *Klein-599 *May-610 Robinson-566
USIA	*Sever-129	*Byers-123

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to be reelected, but Worldnet had yet to report any election news.

Fortunately, most of my guests had retreated to the bar. Later, we used the evening to illustrate to the Croatians our point that state-controlled television — in any country — makes for bad television.

Senator Helms' Legacy

USIA will not broadcast election night 2000. On Oct. 1 of this year, the agency will disappear. The State Department will take over its public advocacy functions and the conduct of educational and cultural exchange programs. The Voice of America and similar broadcasting operations will become independent, subject to the control of a presidentially appointed board of governors.

It remains to be seen if the new arrangements will work better. In some areas, notably television, the State Department could hardly do worse. For the educational exchange programs, the critical question is whether the department can maintain the independence and intellectual rigor that make them worth doing.

An initial State Department proposal to merge the information (or, less charitably, the propaganda) function with the educational exchange programs in a single bureau was not encouraging. Faced with strong congressional and university opposition, combined with the discovery that such a combination was flat out illegal under the Fulbright-Hays Act, the State Department wisely changed course. The exchange programs will continue to be administered by an autonomous bureau as required by the 1983 congressional charter.

The most important issue is whether the State Department will make good use of the overseas assets, including the Foreign Service officers, that are the backbone of America's public diplomacy. Over the last two decades, USIA squandered much of its overseas resources. Perhaps State will do better.

The essence of the USIA mission has been public diplomacy. A term of art much beloved within the agency, public diplomacy is the advocacy of national interests by seeking to influence foreign publics and leaders through open means such as the media, exchange of persons, and cultural activities. This is to distinguish it from traditional diplomacy which concerns state-to-state relations and is thought of as more secretive. In the contemporary world, the dividing line has become very blurred.

Credit for consolidation (and therefore for USIA's demise) is substantially due to Sen. Jesse Helms, who was determined to make consolidation of the foreign affairs agencies (USIA, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the U.S. Agency for International Development) into the State Department a major legacy of his tenure as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Although AID remained independent, Helms' achievement in eliminating two government agencies is remarkable, perhaps without recent precedent.

Helms could not have prevailed without the strong support of Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, who shrewdly saw consolidation as a means to curry favor with the powerful chairman while enhancing her own bureaucratic power.

Atwood's Last Stand

AID's survival is almost entirely due to the tenacity of its administrator, Brian Atwood, who called in every chit he accumulated through a 30-year Washington career. Although widely considered the most accomplished administrator in AID's history, Atwood's principled stand proved personally costly. In May, he was forced to withdraw his nomination as ambassador to Brazil when Chairman Helms refused to hold a hearing, a move widely seen as payback for Atwood's persistence.

Many USIA partisans blame the agency's last director, Joseph Duffey, for having failed to make an Atwood-like stand in defense of its continuation. I doubt he could have prevailed, even if he had tried. Since 1981, USIA's leadership managed to alienate key constituencies for its programs, including the university and educational exchange communities, the advocates of radio broadcasting, and those concerned simply with effective use of taxpayer dollars. As a result, few came to USIA's defense when the consolidation was put forward. If anything, Joe Duffey's competent and low-key management helped depoliticize USIA, making it less of a lightning rod than it had been under his predecessors.

There was also a strong substantive argument for AID's continuation as a separate agency under the

Peter Galbraith, U.S. ambassador to Croatia from 1993 to 1998, teaches at the National War College. He was a senior staffer for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from 1979 to 1993.

general authority of the secretary of State. What AID does is different from what the State Department does, and there is no reason to believe that the department has the necessary expertise to master the intricacies of AID contracting. By contrast, USIA's programs (except for the exchanges) have largely outlived their Cold War purposes while its advocacy mission has become so central that there is little reason to keep it separate from the broader conduct of foreign affairs.

USIA's election night TV coverage was awful — it featured footage that was months old.

Charles Z. Wick, Reagan's flamboyant choice to head USIA for both his terms, presided over the greatest enlargement of USIA's budget since its inception (a near tripling in eight years). He also alienated most of its constituencies and through some of his antics (blacklisting as subversives potential speakers such as Walter Cronkite; employing the children of high administration officials so extensively that the Senate investigation into the hiring dubbed it "kiddiegate") not only made the agency controversial, but also ludicrous. Few things are as fatal in Washington as becoming an object of fun.

Early in the administration, Wick alienated the educational community first by proposing to slash the Fulbright academic exchange program and then by directing exchange monies to fund far-right advocacy groups. In one instance, the agency used exchange monies to teach Haitian dictator "Baby Doc" Duvalier's spokesmen how to improve his image in the U.S.

The upshot was the 1983 law not only prohibiting the Bureau of Educational Affairs from engaging in advocacy programs but also inviting the president to move the Bureau out of USIA. (I wrote the 1983 law and, like many involved in the debate then, I would have preferred that the Fulbright exchanges be administered by a non-polit-

ical entity, such as the Smithsonian or the Library of Congress, with solid connections to the academic world.) The danger of moving the exchanges to the State Department is that a future secretary of State will want to use them to support some controversial short-term policy goal, and thus diminish the Fulbright program's reputation.

Under Charles Wick, USIA became an object of ridicule, which is fatal in Washington.

Wick also ignored USIA's overseas operations. While the Washington staff grew on his watch from 3,000 to 4,200, the number of Americans serving abroad declined both as a percentage of the total (from one-third to fewer than one-quarter) and in absolute numbers. Sadly the decline in overseas presence has continued.

The agency now operates on the principle that it will minimally staff overseas missions while investing resources in Washington-based products that can be speedily deployed to the field at the request of the mission. While these media projects are intended to be demand-driven, in fact PAOs often feel pressured to use products because they are there. My PAO in Croatia wasted an inordinate amount of time cajoling a few reluctant Croatian journalists to attend Worldnet interactive programming (where the interviewer can question a Washington talking head over the phone line and see his response on a television screen) in our library. Rarely was there any secondary usage, and this programming never appeared on Croatian television.

Too often, these products are simply bad. During the Kosovo war, I appeared as a panelist on a USIA show to discuss the conflict. We had to avoid anything time sensitive — hard to do in the middle of a war — because the show was being transmitted Saturday and the taping was on a Wednesday. And this for the administration's top public diplomacy priority!

Sadly, USIA has closed most of its libraries — the one overseas program that was widely used and appreciated. These have been replaced by sonorously-named "Information Resource Centers" — essentially a computer terminal that can help the visitor find stuff mostly already available on the Internet. These changes have not only reduced patronage, but also have often been very wasteful. During my tenure in Zagreb, I resisted these trends, keeping the library open, and even securing funding for a major renovation. Just before my tour ended, the newly renovated library was dedicated, in a widely attended public ceremony, to the memory of Secretary Ron Brown, Ambassador Robert Frasure and the 36 others who perished in Balkans peace missions. The day after I left Croatia, USIA closed the library. Not only was money wasted; the United States looked ridiculous.

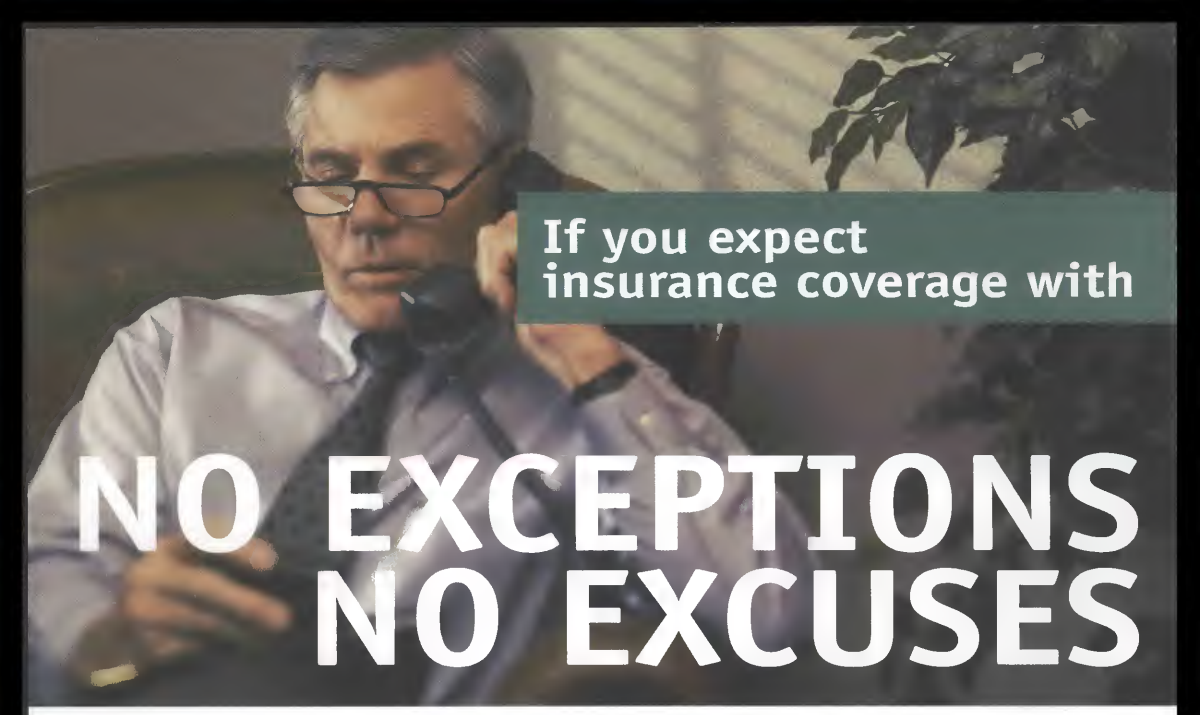
What USIA Forgot

Hopefully, the State Department will learn what USIA forgot: that its most important asset is its people in the field. Any time the United States needed to speak to the Croatian public, my PAOs used their contacts and expertise to arrange the most effective way for me to communicate: an exclusive interview with an opposition newspaper, a guest appearance on state-run television, a speech at a university, or an extensively covered ride on a refugee tractor. This low-tech, relatively low-cost approach gave us far more coverage than all the expensive programs coming out of Washington.

The State Department must adequately support these officers in the field. Their work is the substance of public diplomacy. The department would make an excellent start by reversing the trend that favors marginal Washington-based programs to people in overseas posts. The department should also ensure that consolidation increases the opportunities for USIA personnel. In the modern world where public and traditional diplomacy are so intertwined, public affairs and political officers should not only work closely together — in many cases their jobs should overlap.

In the end, USIA fell victim to a changing world. The end of the Cold War made obsolete many of the programs designed primarily to answer Soviet propaganda. Quality, always a problem, has become a more serious issue when the competition is CNN and the Internet, and not crude Communist propaganda. Fortunately for the State Department, USIA's people have always been much superior to the agency that housed them or, in many cases, to the products they were asked to deliver.

Paradoxically, public diplomacy — USIA's raison d'etre — has become much more important with the end of the Cold War. In fact, too important to be left to USIA. ■



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Fall from Power: The Final Days Of The Marcos Regime

Were Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos tricked into leaving the Philippines? Was there a choice?

By J. Michael Houlahan

The excesses of Philippines President Ferdinand Marcos' regime are well-documented — First Lady Imelda's thousands of shoes, lavish parties and other personal extravagances; the many, rarely used palaces the two built all over the country at government expense; and the millions of dollars a year which mysteriously vanished from the country's treasury throughout their rule — all financed at the expense of desperately poor Filipinos. Likewise, the image of Cory Aquino in her trademark yellow dress leading the "people power" movement that ousted the Marcoses in 1986 quickly entered into legend.

But the actual end of the Marcos regime is much less familiar. What really happened during those fateful days following the snap presidential election of February 1986? The story that follows is based on interviews conducted in 1997 and 1998 with some of the main figures in that tense Philippine endgame. Though some details may never be fully known, it is abundantly clear that U.S. persuasion and pressure were crucial in convincing Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos to leave.

But did the U.S. trick the Marcoses into fleeing Manila? U.S. officials deny it, but Imelda swears it's true. You may have to judge for yourself: Where does deception end and self-deception begin?

The Snap Election

With the benefit of hindsight, it is clear that the catalyst for Marcos' fall was the 1983 assassination of chief political rival "Ninoy" (Benigno) Aquino just before he stepped onto the tarmac in Manila following his return from exile. The shocking image of his body sprawled on the runway was broadcast throughout the world. Yet at the time, Marcos still had every reason to believe that he would continue to enjoy full American support. After all, he had held office since 1965, and had been hailed as a trusted friend and ally by four of the five American presidents during that period (Jimmy Carter being the sole exception). As governor of California, President Reagan had visited Marcos, and the two men (and their wives) had stayed in close contact ever since. And most importantly, Marcos had skillfully portrayed himself (albeit in the face of reality) as a strong anti-communist bulwark against the National People's Army (NPA) insurgency, a role he knew would ingratiate him to the American political establishment in the midst of the Cold War. As Imelda Marcos recalled in a September 1997 interview by the author, "We were on very, very good terms – we never had been more close to Washington, the White House, than during the term of Reagan. We had very good personal rapport."

Nevertheless, President Marcos' declaration of martial law in 1972 and subsequent crackdown on the democratic opposition only helped the NPA grow. Worse, the blatant corruption and incompetence of the Marcos administration gradually infected governmental institutions including the police and the army, which became less and less effective. As a result, the NPA evolved from a nuisance comprising just 900-1,200 insurgents in 1972 to an increasingly viable threat ten times that number by 1983.

Embassy Manila's reporting of the situation on the ground became increasingly unvarnished beginning around 1982 under then-U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines Michael Armacost. The embassy's skepticism about Marcos' fitness to rule and long-term prospects grew even stronger under his successor, Stephen Bosworth, but took time to filter through

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the bureaucracy back in Washington. Even so, American disillusionment with the pervasive corruption and general fecklessness of the Marcos regime, and concern about its ability to remain in power, were already well advanced by the time President Marcos rashly called a snap election.

Opponents In The Streets

Although Marcos claimed victory soon after the polls closed on February 7, 1986, it quickly became apparent that he had resorted to massive fraud to stave off defeat by Ninoy's widow, "Cory" (Corazon) Aquino. Huge numbers of angry Filipinos took to the streets and stayed there. Meanwhile, Marcos' two top military men began to plot a coup. Discovered, they barricaded themselves into a military camp on the outskirts of Manila. Within hours, several hundred thousand civilians, mobilized by the Roman Catholic radio station "Veritas", placed themselves between the loyalist tanks on Epifano de los Santos Avenue (EDSA) and the lightly-armed insurgents. (The "people's power" movement is also known as the EDSA Revolution in honor of this demonstration of anti-Marcos sentiment.)

After initially threatening to crush "people power" with military force, Marcos backed down, dissuaded by the massive outpouring of civilian support for the insurrection, the reluctance of his troops to fire upon unarmed civilians and strong U.S. government warnings against using force. Ambassador Stephen Bosworth recalls in a 1998 interview:

"It was not only our warnings [that dissuaded him], but also the fact that some elements of his own military were unwilling to use force, [like] the general who was in command of the marines advancing down EDSA in their armored personnel carriers. They basically refused to move forward, as per the famous pictures of the nuns standing in front of the tanks."

Bosworth's predecessor in Manila, Ambassador Michael Armacost, points out that the EDSA Revolution was actually the second display of popular resolve against Marcos' rule:

"And that was also true at the time of Ninoy's death [in 1983]. The funeral procession provoked a huge crowd turnout. There must have been a million or more people stretched out along the procession route. And, of course, as the revolution unfolded [three years later], the degree to which Marcos was alienating his own people became more and more clear on the streets of Manila. And this was all witnessed by the world on CNN."

The Regime Collapses

As the situation deteriorated, President Reagan's advisers realized that they had to act. Despite the heavy television coverage of events in Manila, it took the combined efforts of all the senior members of his foreign affairs team (relying heavily on Manila's reporting that all responsible Filipinos believed that Marcos had stolen the election), and the personal appeals of congressional leaders, most notably Sen. Paul Laxalt (R-Nev.), to change the president's mind. But in time, Reagan reluctantly accepted the necessity for his old friends, Ferdinand and Imelda, to exit the stage to avert civil war.

Accordingly, at 7:00 a.m. local time on Tuesday, Feb. 25, 1986, Ambassador Bosworth ordered Lt. Gen. Teddy Allen, Commander of the Joint U.S. Military Assistance Group (JUSMAG) in the Philippines, to rescue President Marcos and his immediate family from the palace complex. Imelda Marcos describes how tense the security situation was becoming there:

"By this time my children, my grandchildren were all in Malacañang Palace and we were being attacked with helicopters with rockets that did not belong to the Philippine Armed Forces. So Mr. Bosworth sent three helicopters: one helicopter with Marcos, the two girls and security, and the other helicopter, me and my boy and 40 others. On the third helicopter were our things. But our things and our papers went over to the U.S. Embassy. And then we were there at Clark Air Base."

The group was to overnight at Clark Air Base. Then the Marcoses expected to proceed by fixed-wing airplane to Ilocos Norte (Marcos' home province and political power base). This would allow Marcos to "spend a day-and-a-half to assure my friends and relatives that I'm not deserting them," Allen recalls Marcos insisting. After that, Marcos was to select a final destination "anywhere in the world."

However, once the group made it to Clark Air Base, several events rendered the original plan impractical. First, one of the two naval vessels designated for the rescue would not fit under a bridge and the remaining ship, unable to rescue some of the designated evacuees from Malacañang Palace because panicky palace guards forced their way aboard, was fired upon by the remaining guards as it departed. Meanwhile, a people's power march and a column of tanks commanded by a Marcos loyalist were both converging on Clark Air Base at dawn, even as the colonel commanding the Filipino air force unit providing base security announced that the loyalty of his guard force was suspect. But the crowning blow to Marcos' hopes of delaying his departure came when Cory Aquino denounced him as a "destabilizing force" and insisted he be removed from the country immediately.

Allen awakened Tommy Manotoc, the husband of Marcos' oldest child, Imee, and Marcos' son, Ferdinand "Bong Bong" Marcos Jr., to brief them on the worsening situation. He warned them that he could not ensure their safety if they traveled to Ilocos

Norte and suggested an aerial evacuation to Guam instead. After a short family conference, Manotoc acquiesced to the revised itinerary. And so, on Feb. 26, 1986, when it became clear that his situation was untenable, Marcos reluctantly accepted the U.S. offer of safe conduct and political asylum in Hawaii. Ninety people, including 41 Filipino security men, were flown out of Clark Air Base on two U.S. military aircraft just before dawn that day.

Not surprisingly, Mrs. Marcos remembers events quite differently. In her own interview with the author, she claims that she and her husband were deceived into believing their destination was Ilocos Norte, Marcos' home province and political power base, not Hawaii and exile:

"Marcos said that we would go to Ilocos. Then we heard on the radio Mrs. Aquino ordering Bosworth, 'You get that Marcos out!' We have tapes of this. 'Get that Marcos out of Clark Air Base! Get him out! Get him out!' And Bosworth took the orders from a usurper. Marcos was still president. Because Marcos, before the snap election, would have been president up to '87, but had succumbed to the request of President Reagan and the American people through [Sen.] Laxalt. And we won in the election, but Bosworth listened to her [Cory Aquino] and then deceived us out of the Philippines. And Marcos, when Gen. Allen of JUSMAG fame went to us and said, 'The communists are going to attack Clark Air Base.' The president said, 'This is ridiculous! Let's go right away. If they give us a plane, if there's any way, we can go right off to Ilocos.'

"And so we rode the plane. After three hours, I asked, 'General Allen, where are we going? I took a helicopter once from Clark Air Base to Ilocos Norte. It took me one hour.' By this time we were landing in Guam. He said, 'We could not land in Paoay, in Ilocos Norte, because the communists are waiting to attack, for us to arrive and land there. So we are going to Hawaii.'"

One hot pink attaché case contained 21 ingots stamped as 24-carat gold.

For his part, Allen acknowledges that "[Marcos] said when we walked out to get on the airplane, he thought they were going to Ilocos Norte." But he maintains, "In my opinion, Imelda and the family made the decision [to leave the country] without disturbing him to save their own hides." He also feels strongly that "we not only saved their lives, but we precluded a civil war by getting them out of the country safely before any shooting started."

Ambassador Bosworth sums up the final evacuation decision: "We thought it was time for a peaceful transfer of power and that the conditions in Manila were deteriorating to the point that he should be concerned about his own safety and that of his family. ... He in the end elected to go out by helicopter to Clark [Air Base]. We made it clear that we would take him to Clark and then would take him out of the country. We never had any obligation or commitment to him to take him back to his home town in Ilocos. That's all the figment of their active imaginations."

When President Marcos attempted to use Sen. Laxalt as a go-between to arrange his return to Ilocos Norte in return for agreeing to serve as an unofficial adviser to the Aquino administration, Ambassador Armacost remembers advising Secretary of State George Shultz:

"'It's a formula for civil war.' His [Marcos'] people would be in place and he would provide a pole of attraction for a number of people in the military. To be in the country as a focal point for resistance to a new regime didn't seem to be a means of stabilizing the situation. As I remember, Laxalt, Shultz and perhaps [special envoy Philip] Habib stopped off at the White House...and it wasn't long before the conclusion was conveyed to him [Marcos] that, if you either have to fish or cut bait, this was the time to cut bait. I regarded that as meaning you leave the country. The offer of safe haven that was reached at the NSC meeting wasn't an offer of safe haven in Ilocos Norte. It was an offer to take him to Hawaii."

Not Exactly Travelling Light

Upon reaching Guam, Gen. Allen spent 90 minutes on the telephone discussing the rescue mission with Adm. William J. Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Allen recalls that this conversation was interrupted three times by Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger, "to give me guidance, not on what to do about the people, but about the follow-on aircraft with the luggage."

Those concerns about the evacuees' baggage proved to be well-founded. Allen personally supervised the opening of several heavy chests included in the Marcoses' luggage, which revealed a large quantity of arms and ammunition, which the U.S. immediately confiscated. As much as possible, personal effects were separated out from boxes of documents and valuables that did not appear to be private property. This was not always simple:

"There was one hot pink attaché case that opened up and there were 21 ingots of gold stamped as 24 carats. And I had to make a decision whether it was personal property or belonged to the treasury of the Philippines. But there was an inscription on the thing and I thought, well, it was a birthday

gift. And so I let that pass as personal property."

In the end, U.S. Customs Service agents confiscated some $26 million in newly-printed Filipino pesos, hurriedly stuffed into "brown paper bags, diaper boxes, and everything else," Allen remembers. Two jewelers had to be brought in to appraise everything from 500 Rolex watches (valued at approximately $7,000 apiece) to a 150-carat Burmese ruby ring with the price tag of $296,000 still attached. The entire jewelry collection, valued at $14 million, was impounded, and its rightful ownership is still in dispute today.

The Marcos Legacy

In the weeks that followed his arrival in Hawaii, Marcos requested several other overseas destinations, including Honduras and Panama; however, each was foiled by President Aquino, who informed the proposed hosts that granting safe haven would be considered a hostile act. And so it was in Honolulu that Ferdinand Marcos died in 1989.

Imelda Marcos returned to the Philippines in November 1991 and quickly reentered politics. In the first of two presidential bids, in 1992, she garnered over two million votes. She later served as a congresswoman representing her home province of Leyte from 1995 until 1998, when she ran for president a second time, again unsuccessfully. Although her legal problems persist, she succeeded in getting a 12-year jail sentence for corruption reversed by the Philippine Supreme Court. In addition, her daughter Imee serves in the House of Representatives and her son Ferdinand "Bong Bong" Marcos, Jr. is currently governor of Ilocos Norte Province.

Mrs. Marcos exuded total confidence about the future of her family in Philippine politics during a September 1997 interview at her high-rise luxury apartment in Makati, a wealthy suburb of Manila. The focal point of her spacious living room was a shrine to her late husband, featuring a bronze bust of the former president, his controversial war medals and other mementos of his years in power. In keeping with the spirit of that display, and despite a mountain of negative publicity concerning what many consider a "conjugal dictatorship," she remains resolutely unapologetic for their years in power:

"I thought that was the greatest moment of Ferdinand's life — when he did not have the revolt shot down."
— Imelda Marcos

"When Marcos became president, there was nothing. I had to build Malacañang and 17 or 18 hotels. We had to ensure our territorial integrity and sovereignty. ... Then Marcos institutionalized democracy. He truly fathered democracy. ... That will never be taken from him. He gave us identity. ... He gave us dignity. He made us proud of our country and self-reliant. ... We [greatly improved] literacy. He built ... roads [and] rural electrification.

"He had a vision, ideology and human compassion. He was a great humanist, really a man of peace. And martial law was — whatever they say — an instrument of peace. It was a constitutional, peaceful, legal instrument to control a violent situation. He institutionalized democracy despite many historical limitations and deprivations. ...

"Our colonial masters just took for hundreds of years. Suddenly they say, 'Why are you still poor?' Then they're saying, 'Mrs. Marcos, why are you so well-preserved? You've packaged yourself. Don't you see the slums?' Yes, these are our colonial masters' work. I have to stand tall. I was their symbol, a standard for dignity. They lost their standard. They were supposed to be Filipinos and they were ordered to be servants. So as first lady, I had to be a star for them to look up to. And this was where I was completely misunderstood.

"Marcos was the focus. He set the vision. He set the goals. He was the logical one and he was the leader. As a woman, I provided the heart, the soul. It worked so well [that] when it was a choice of save the people or save yourself, [he chose to] save the people. I thought that was the greatest moment of Ferdinand's life. When he did not have the people in revolt, actually the oligarchy in revolt, shot down."

Outside observers cannot help but be put off by the almost Orwellian rhetoric (martial law as peace, dictatorship as democratization) with which Imelda Marcos defends her version of the legacy created during 20 years in Malacañang Palace. Yet even her harshest critics would surely agree that the people's power revolution did not usher in the hoped-for era of sweeping political reforms. While representative government has become the norm in the Philippines (no small accomplishment in itself), the interests of the oligarchy (an elite which encompasses both the Marcoses and Aquinos, among other families) continue to dominate politics. Similarly, although the Marcoses' ouster reduced corruption, most Filipinos have enjoyed relatively modest improvements (if any) in their standard of living.

So perhaps it is not so surprising after all, that despite abusing power on a scale previously unknown in the Philippines, Imelda Marcos and her family are still beloved by many Filipinos over 13 years after their fall from power and ignoble flight into exile. ■

Life Lessons in India

Twenty-seven years after a stint teaching science in the Peace Corps, a volunteer is still thinking about the lessons he taught, and even more about the lessons he learned, in Rajahmundry, India.

By Richard Cole Pittman

Rajahmundry, India, 1972. Through the dust and dung-fire haze, the sun rises grenadine-red, like a tequila sunrise. I wake up into this dirty soup, clammy, scratching and yearning for a two-bucket bath. Gazing through the mosquito net I see the ceiling fan, motionless. The electricity is out again. A quick body check reveals no new bites, so I might be winning the war against the bed bugs, and the ants haven't bridged the water traps around the bed's legs. The mosquito net is still tucked in so I must have slept as dead still as Lenin in his tomb. Without a fan to keep the mosquitoes stirred up, just rolling against the net results in a strawberry-like cluster of mosquito bites. While the embassy health officer claims that malaria and filaria are unlikely in Rajahmundry, the local elephantiasis beggars dragging through the train and bus stations suggest otherwise.

My morning dilemma: Do I lie back a little longer in my mosquito net cage or break out to the wicker easy chair by the window? It's a buzzing jungle out there, but the chance of a breeze, a stunning sunrise and the sounds of the awakening city lure me out. Sitting back with my feet propped on the windowsill enjoying the lull between the night and day biting mosquitoes, I review the day's lesson plan. "How can I turn these everyday experiences into science lessons?" elbows its way into my thoughts.

The local science teachers I coach in my workshops exhibit a frustrating cultural fatalism, indifferent to the wonders and mysteries around them. They're most comfortable with a low-effect British lecture style of education, which focuses on the disembodied facts expected on the all-important government exams. They were indoctrinated into a system in which the how of smelting aluminum is taught before the why of rainbows.

My "workshop" is the Science Teacher's Workshop, an extension service program run by the Peace Corps for experienced teachers. My program is one of seven scattered around the state of Andhra Pradesh, in southern India. I'm quartered at the Government College of Education in Rajahmundry, a small, sweaty pilgrimage town in the rice paddies of the Godavari River delta. The STW's mission is to improve science education in rural India by moving the subject out of textbooks and lecture halls and into life and the laboratory with experiments and demonstrations. The Indian government thinks we're doing some good, based on their school inspections and judging of local science fairs. I'm halfway through a two-year commitment I hope to finish, pending President Richard Nixon's threatened budget cuts.

We ask each new class to look at their everyday experiences and ask, "Why is it so difficult to maneuver a slow-moving bicycle, but not a fast-moving one?" Answers are wide of the mark, but the mystery of such common experience in a society dependent on bicycles hooks my students. That, and their childhood experiences with toy tops, lead to a discussion and demonstration of gyroscopic forces and a practical application to inertial navigation. Since this topic isn't going to be on any state exam, the back row retires, straining to read the newspapers concealed on their laps.

After hours I hang around the teachers. America's space program is in the news, and the younger teachers are interested in satellite orbital mechanics, while the older teachers argue that the American space program is a hoax, a Hollywood production. They all know about Hollywood special effects. American credibility, too, is at a low point. It has been since Secretary of State Henry Kissinger said that

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the U.S. was "tilting toward Pakistan" during the 1971 Indo-Pakistan War.

I try to demonstrate the kind of role model that kids interested in science need. Being skeptical is okay. Being uninformed isn't. The kids that hang round our workshop — students from the model school in the college — are smart and curious about blue skies, white clouds and why the dead dog in the road is covered with flies. They'll be tough on their teachers, until they're worn down by the system.

How about the Van Gogh sky I wake up to as a lead-in for a lesson on light? The electromagnetic spectrum and properties of visible light: reflection, refraction and colors; frequencies and wavelengths; absorption and scattering — it's all here. And why are there rainbows? I've got plenty of time to relearn; I won't be seeing one for months, during the rainy season.

About the bugs I have only a clue. They're the curse of every warm-blooded creature in this country and I'm not sure what the attraction is. Body heat? Odor? Color? Movement? I'll have to check this out at the USIS library in Madras when I go down for my shots next month. And maybe I'll have a couple of beers and a steak with a USAID friend at the Queen's Hotel. Steak and beer on my now-vegetarian stomach is gonna hurt, but it'll be worth it.

With a soft rush, the ceiling fan accelerates up to speed, sending a welcome chill over my body and bringing me back to Rajahmundry.

From my second floor rooms by the college I look over low mud brick house fronts on either side and down on a small plaza with the communal water tap and sewage ditch. The plaza below is empty now but for a couple of mangy dogs and a sewer pig rooting through last night's garbage. In the distance, beyond the plaza and the walled schoolyard, puffs of black smoke and soot add another color to the morning palette. I mark the time

I mark the time by the labored breathing and shrill whistle of the morning steam local.

by the labored breathing and shrill whistle of the morning steam local as it pulls out of Rajahmundry station. Later in the morning it's the menacing grumble and flatulent blasts of the diesel electric mail train. I try to relate the speed of sound, the puffs of smoke, and sounds of the engines to estimate the distance to the station, but the puffs and the blasts overlap. Lightning and thunder in the rainy season will be easier phenomena to observe and time.

Around the time of the whistle blasts, Lakshmi pads barefoot upstairs from her parents' apartment to fetch my brass water-carrier urn for the morning ritual of topping off the water storage pot. Water is added twice a day, because it sweats and drips through the unfired clay and small cracks, evaporating, cooling and collecting in a puddle on the floor.

Lakshmi gracefully swings the empty vessel up, gently setting it down, with a slight adjustment, on top of her head. A twisted cloth ring cushions and balances the load. With arms at her sides held slightly askew, she pivots on her toes, steps down two flights of steps and out the door to the water tap. She's about thirteen years old, a member of the Dravidian ethnic group, with waist-length coconut-oiled hair and no toe rings, indicating that she has not been married off yet. An idyllic scene but for the ragged black tobacco cheroot pursed in her lips.

Lakshmi places my jug in line by the tap with a couple of dozen other water vessels made of cheaper aluminum or plastic, and waits, a few steps back as befits her age and single status. For hauling water and a little sweeping, I pay her seven rupees a week. I think of it like seven dollars, a ridiculous amount, though it's actually only fifty cents. That works out to be about five percent of my monthly pay.

I get analytical again, looking for a quiz lesson: "Does the empty water urn rotate with her head when she turns a corner?" Depends on inertia and friction with that cloth ring. "Is it different when she returns with 30 pounds of water in it?" My Telegu, the local language, can get me a coffee in a bazaar, but won't get me very far discussing the subtleties of friction coefficients with my water carrier. I'll just put a mark on the urn and observe.

The water tap looks like a shoulder-high concrete headstone with a waist-high protruding pipe and stopcock. Most of the time the stopcock is left open because the water flows intermittently. There's a catch basin cast into the base of the headstone that functions during the water-off periods as a watering trough for the local stray dogs and pigs and as a foot wash for passersby.

In the morning, the plaza around the water tap is the bath area, latrine, and community center for the neighborhood. While the women stand around waiting for the water, children squat over the sewage ditch under the watchful eyes of mom, who is ever ready to steady a little one about to tumble backwards into the muck. Adults demurely step around a jog in the wall for privacy. Rounding out this domestic scene is a half circle of mangy dogs and sewer pigs, on point and ready to grab breakfast. My role in this tableau seems to be as a silent observer and object of attention for those with nothing else to look at.

When water finally comes, it will run strong for half an hour or so and

then, just as unpredictably, stop. Same thing in the afternoon. The first water isn't saved, but is brushed around and into the ditch with a switch broom. I learned that when the water isn't flowing under pressure, contaminated ground water flows back into the pipes. The first water out of the pipe is deadly. Why anybody thinks that thirty seconds of flow will flush out the system, I don't know. In the workshop we use the microscope to compare the critters swimming around in ditch water with what comes out of the water tap.

During the rainy season, the water smells fresher because the municipality adds laundry bleach to the system to disinfect the pipes. It's this cocktail of disinfected sewage and ground water that ends up in my "fresh water" pot. I personally oversee the sterilization of my drinking water every morning, insisting on a timed 10-minute rolling boil.

Sterilizing drinking water and the skins of raw fruits is incomprehensible to the locals, who have come to an uneasy truce with their dysentery. There isn't even a word in Telegu for "boiling." Asking a stranger to cook plain water until it bubbles for a while always elicits amused looks. In cafes, I'm suspicious of lukewarm coffee, and do a ten-minute treatment with several drops of iodine. While this is neither reliable nor tasty, it is entertaining to the locals who intently watch the coffee and the clock. They're disappointed when the climax is just a few hurried gulps and a quick exit. To avoid offending a local headmaster I once accepted a lukewarm cup of tea. A week later I was suffering severe cramps and worse. During my first six months in Rajahmundry I lost a total of 80 pounds due to various intestinal parasites.

I draw the line at soaking the wonderful mangoes, guavas, papayas and

Asking a stranger to cook plain water until it bubbles for a while always elicits amused looks.

bananas in potassium permanganate, a Kool-Aid purple disinfecting solution also used to treat athlete's foot. I suffer for the delights of mango season but I can hardly wait for next year. I now know that tetracycline, available over the counter, is a good morning-after pill for suspected contamination. Bleach, iodine, potassium permanganate and tetracycline: essential elements of a healthy Peace Corps diet.

Just behind the water tap runs a ditch backed by the dark brick wall that encircles the schoolyard. The wall, we joke, is a community energy recycling facility. Stuck to the wall, baking in the sun, are a hundred or so fresh cow flop patties, each with a characteristic palm print and pattern of finger pokes to identify ownership. A few hours in the sun and they are easily popped off, bundled up, and sold for cooking fires. The vacant space quickly fills with the morning's fresh droppings. If these patties didn't have economic value as fuel, India, which has about as many cattle as people, would have been buried in it a long time ago. (Just for the record, I cook with bottled gas.) I wonder, though, how to measure the energy content of these patties. If the Brahmin teachers get wind of me doing experiments with cow dung in the school, I'll be in trouble, or worse for a Peace Corps volunteer, labeled "culturally insensitive."

My morning ablutions are a couple of buckets of water and a locally made ayurvedic soap that tames the rashes and itches of life in the tropics. The first bucket of water from the pot tells me what kind of day it will be. If it brings a shiver and eye-popping gasp, it will be comfortable and dry. With cool water and Third World razor blades that shave like they've been punched out of kerosene tins, I have long since given up on shaving.

On humid mornings, when evaporation and cooling are nil, I know I'll suffer through a sweaty day. A typical class? Me standing under the one functioning ceiling fan in the front of the room and my students huddling in scattered groups, wet handkerchiefs on the backs of their necks, under the few other functioning fans. "Things don't always work as well anymore since the British left," laments an older teacher.

The first time I demonstrated a lesson on evaporation, cooling and relative humidity, I taught "by the book," an outdated British/Indian text, using wet and dry bulb thermometers. The next time I started off the lesson with a discussion of wet handkerchiefs and a demonstration of the difference in water temperature with clay and plastic pots, and the advantages of putting the kuja, the drinking water jug, in front of an electric fan for a forced convection cooling assist. With the scientific facts nailed down to common experience, the demonstration with the formal apparatus was a hit.

Arguments are common at the water tap, especially when the water is late in coming. As the sun rises higher over the wall, pavement and tempers heat up. Abruptly, water spurts from the tap a couple of times and a murmur goes up from the crowd. Soon enough, the water pots are filled, the bucket baths taken and the flow slows to a trickle. The day's activities move ahead: the dogs spread out, sunning themselves on the warming pavement as the women gather to eat, pound rice and pick nits from their

kids' hair. My cook arrives with breakfast from the bazaar: iddlis (steamed rice cakes) and spicy hot coconut chutney. Water for coffee and the day's drinking water is on the gas ring.

When I finally get my bucket wash, I know today is going to be a hot one.

Huntington Beach, Calif., 1999. "Hey, Dad, what good are these foam things we put the Coke cans in?"

My teenage daughters are struggling to extract crushed cans from their foam sleeves.

"They insulate the cold Coke in the can from the heat," I tell them. "Let me show you. We'll stick this cold can in the hot sand, and bury another can, in a sleeve, right next to it. We'll check them later and see what happens."

Twenty-seven years after India, I'm still teaching science, but now I'm teaching my own children. They often ask me about India and brag that I'll eat anything and don't care much about bugs or the heat. For me, India will always be walking alone through bazaars, picking at stuff in stalls, not bargaining too hard and always smiling.

Indians liked Americans best when they knew us at street level, not as representatives of a government program. They wanted us to acknowledge their uniqueness in the world and show sensitivity to their values.

In India, I fell into the rhythm of the moment, patiently helping along conversations in shattered English, laughing at jokes I didn't get and sharing my family life through pictures from home.

Maybe I sound like too much of a missionary, but I believe that it's the same in Montana or Mexico, Greece or Ghana. Project genuine interest and know who you are, and people will talk to you, respond to you. A hint of superiority, condescension or fear and you might as well get back in the Jeep. ■

Dumbing Down Entry To The Foreign Service?

State's alternative examination program stirs controversy. But Personnel says a new approach is needed.

By Jeff Kaplow

For many years, the Foreign Service Written Examination has been the primary mechanism for joining the Foreign Service. For almost as long, outside detractors have accused it of racial bias, subjected it to lawsuits, and compared it to Trivial Pursuit. And in-house, State Department officials have criticized its failure to bring new talented officers into the Foreign Service, especially those with much-needed technical and scientific skills.

Partly in response to these criticisms, the State Department launched the Alternative Examination Program. The first pilot version of the AEP was given in May. State hopes that the AEP, three years in the making and an alternative to the written exam rather than a replacement, can help draw in highly qualified applicants who aren't being reached in the current hiring process.

But not everyone shares State's optimism. The American Foreign Service Association has been critical of the new plan. AFSA acknowledges that the written exam isn't perfect, but argues the AEP is not the solution to State's recruitment problems.

The AEP substitutes mail-in questionnaires and essays for the several hundred fact-based questions in the written exam. As with the written exam, those who pass the AEP move on to a full-day oral assessment. From the pilot program's approximately 560 applicants in late May, State hopes to send 200 to 300 into the oral exam from mid-September to November 1999. Of these, State expects to hire 25 to 30 junior officers, perhaps as early as January 2000.

This new group of FSOs will leapfrog current waiting lists and enter the Foreign Service as a group. Critics of the AEP call this practice unfair, pointing out that some would-be political officers have been waiting more than two years to enter the Foreign Service. The State Department defends the plan, saying that all AEP applicants must enter in the same class so that their progress may be tracked statistically. Since new positions are being created for the AEP applicants, explained John Collins, State's director of recruitment, "no one will be disadvantaged by the AEP."

The AEP could eventually be given one or more times each year in addition to the annual written exam, but its future depends on the results of the pilot program. How will the success of the pilot program be measured? "The first mechanism for evaluating the AEP candidates will be the oral assessment," said Collins. "If the AEP group as a whole should be sub-standard, it would be evident by a high failure rate." Once in the Foreign Service, those hired under the AEP would be evaluated in the same way as all junior officers.

Two Questionnaires, No Test

The AEP, designed to be taken at home and then mailed to the State Department, begins with two questionnaires. Each asks applicants to rate their expertise in various areas on a six-point scale, ranging from "No Knowledge" to "Could Write a Textbook," and identify the source of those skills with one of five choices, such as "Reading/Personal Interest" or "Graduate Coursework." The first questionnaire consists of 12 questions and is intended for applicants of all cones, while the second varies in length and is cone-specific (administrative, consular, economic, or political; State intends to add the public diplomacy cone in the future). Knowledge areas range from "The impact and interpretation of key historical events in world history" to "Concepts of project finance such as basic rates of return and sources of project finance."

Developed by noted industrial psychologist Frank Schmidt, the accomplishment record requires applicants to document, using 12 one-page essays, their achievements in

Jeff Kaplow, a student at Yale University, was the Journal's *editorial intern for summer 1999.*

six competency groups: goal setting and achievement, interpersonal skills, problem solving, professionalism, oral communication, and written communication. Essays are graded on the merits of the accomplishment, not on writing skills. Applicants are encouraged, but not required, to provide references who can vouch for their work.

Why an Alternative?

Concerns about effectively competing with other employers for a dwindling supply of skilled labor prompted the State Department to develop the AEP. "I have been increasingly concerned by the excellent applicants whom the written exam does not identify and select, or perhaps even reach," explained Foreign Service Director General Edward Gnehm in a cable announcing the launch of the AEP. "Many candidates 'self-select' out of the process when they realize the exam is only given once a year, and may not fit into their personal timetable for job hunting." These problems are compounded by long delays before receiving the results of the written exam and then before taking the oral assessment.

Critics of the AEP have charged that the most obvious means of shortening the lengthy application process is to offer the written exam more often: the next test will be given in November after a 19-month hiatus. But State Department officials dismiss this view. "The Foreign Service Written Examination costs close to $1 million each year to develop and administer," explained Collins. "The money is simply not available to consider offering the examination more than once each year." The AEP pilot program cost only $300,000 to create and administer. Because the AEP doesn't need new questions every year, future tests could cost as little as $75,000 to use.

In creating the AEP, State was also trying to identify scientific and technical skills in applicants which go unnoticed in the current written assessment. "The cone-specific knowledge questionnaires can be designed to assess the level of competence in specific technical areas," said Collins.

State also hopes to increase the pool of applicants interested in the labor-scarce administrative and consular cones. In this, the pilot program appears to have been successful, perhaps because it was open only to current federal employees or those with veterans' or other preferences.

Nearly 70 percent of those participating in the AEP pilot program chose the two deficit cones. Of those who take the written examination, however, the vast majority choose the political or economic cones. State warns that this trend may not appear in future versions of the test that are open to the general public.

While boosting minority participation is not a stated goal of the AEP, the pilot program did increase minority applications. Minorities comprised 29.2 percent of test-takers for the pilot program, more than for any written exam in recent years.

An Invitation to Cheat?

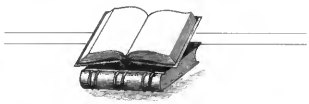
For many Foreign Service officers in the field, the most troubling aspect of the AEP is its reliance on self-evaluations. Said one FSO in response to an AFSA cable, "The Department is being unforgivably naïve if it thinks that in today's world a number of applicants are not going to be tempted to cheat (or at least inflate their knowledge)." A Foreign Service spouse who applied through the AEP agreed, "There is no way for the evaluators to verify the applicants' claimed level of knowledge. Had I been aware of this lack of verification, I would have changed my answers."

State acknowledges that some applicants might be tempted to inflate their knowledge. Still, they believe that by asking applicants to provide references for the essay portion of the exam and affirm that their application is true, they can minimize exaggeration. "The references of all candidates invited to the oral assessment process will be checked," Collins is quick to explain, adding that 10 staff members are currently working to verify references for the pilot program. Some don't think this is enough, however. "As I am sure many of my colleagues in the Fraud Office will confirm," said one FSO responding to the AFSA cable, "the stakes are too high to rely on a belief that 'most people are honest.' A cottage industry offering 'assistance' for AEP preparation will undoubtedly spring up."

AFSA is also concerned about how others view the new plan. "It can be easily characterized in public and in the Congress as a loose, fuzzy method which allows applicants to claim knowledge, skills and abilities without ever requiring claimants to demonstrate them," AFSA explained in a cable. State prefers to see the AEP as an expansion of the current system, adding flexibility to the intake process. The AEP allows the State Department a glimpse at the applicant's qualifications, where the written exam does not. "No other agency, no matter how competitive, selects candidates without considering educational background and work experience," said Collins.

But AFSA doesn't believe the AEP will solve State's recruitment problems. Said AFSA President Marshall Adair, "We need to be careful not to use bandaid solutions to complex problems such as this one, which has its roots in the shortcomings of State's longterm workforce planning."

Despite this opposition, the State Department is intent on continuing to develop the AEP. Said Collins, "The AEP is a pilot program, a first step, and one that will continue to evolve." ■



BOOKS

China's Brave New World

BY DAVID REUTHER

Modern China is undergoing unprecedented change to its social structure and economy, most of it driven from inside the country and out of sight of Western observers. Still, the opening-up process has benefited Western academics, giving them the opportunity to study China's political, economic and social environment more closely than would have previously been possible.

Thirty years ago, China watchers were forced to interview refugees and parse every word in newspaper articles in an attempt to figure out what was going on in the country. In the last 10 years Western scholars, journalists and politicians have collaborated with Chinese colleagues, used Chinese archives for research, traveled in the country unhindered, and interviewed both average citizens and political leaders. The result is a new crop of books about China that shed light on that country's economic and social evolution, and particularly on its tentative entry into the world economy.

Democratization in China and Taiwan: The Adaptability of Leninist Parties
Bruce Dickson, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997, $69, hardcover, 276 pages.

In *Democratization in China and Taiwan: The Adaptability of Leninist Parties*, Bruce Dickson, a political science professor at George Washington University, tackles political change as sponsored by China's elites. An academic tome, the book examines how, despite their common origins as Leninist parties, the Kuomintang, led by Chiang Kai-shek, and the Communist Party, led by Mao Zedong, evolved down different political paths. Dickson recounts how in the 1920s Sun Yat-sen, then leader of the Kuomintang, joined with the Chinese Communist Party to form the United Front and both parties were shaped by the Soviets into Leninist parties. At the end of World War II, the Kuomintang was given the Japanese colony of Taiwan, then the second richest economy in Asia, and reconstituted itself along Leninist lines. Since the late 1980s Taiwan's government has been more or less democratic. Dickson's theory is that since there was little difference between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists in style of authoritarian rule, they could parallel each other in democratic development. He asks why and how the nationalist Chinese evolved into a democracy and concludes that there is hope that mainland China might do the same. Economic prosperity, access to the outside world and better education were major factors in Taiwan's democratization, he says, but, interestingly, human rights protests played an insignificant role.

Building on interviews with political leaders in both mainland China and Taiwan and applying theories of organizational development, Dickson speculates about what it would require for mainland China to democratize. He begins by asking why Leninist parties respond to pressure for change. One way he provides the answer is to retell the story of the Kuomintang's long road from authoritarian Leninism to its development as a democracy in Taiwan. This section of the book is valuable because of its detail and because it suggests many parallels for the evolution of the mainland. For example, Dickson observes that by expanding membership to new blood — China's new entrepreneurs — the mainland has begun to adapt itself to become more effective, and is thus opening itself to more democratic possibilities. Still, he warns that hard-liners are preventing it from becoming truly responsive to its new political environment, thus impeding the turn toward democracy.

China's Provinces in Reform: Class, Community and Political Culture
David Goodman, editor, New York, Routledge, 1997, $27.99, paperback, 278 pages.

David Goodman, director of the Institute for International Studies at the University of Technology in Sydney, Australia, leaves Beijing for rural China as editor of *China's Provinces in Reform*. Drawing on

David Reuther, a retired FSO, writes frequently about China.

contributions from his academic colleagues, Goodman argues that a focus on China's provinces proves that economic reform has spread throughout the country, that its impact is different on each province and that the result is pluralism. Goodman's book is divided into seven chapters, for each of the seven Chinese provinces he studies. Using his research as support for his theory, he dismisses Western worries that decentralization in China will lead to political disintegration and notes that most often, Western analysts miss positive events happening on the provincial level. He believes that China's long history of cultural unity will keep the country together.

Feng Chongyi, a colleague from Goodman's institute, covers Hainan province, an island in the South China Sea. During the early 1990s, Hainan became host to a Chinese-style gold rush when it was declared a Special Economic Zone. This status — and the fact that it had few state-owned enterprises — promoted entrepreneurial fervor in the province.

In contrast, Liaoning province, reports Margot Schueller of the Institute of Asian Affairs in Hamburg, Germany, is dominated by state-owned enterprises. Early on, local political leaders resisted economic reform. As a result, Liaoning sank from fourth most productive province in 1978 to 21st in 1992. A drop in revenue and pressure from Beijing finally persuaded Liaoning's leaders to dismantle the command economy and allow entrepreneurship, moves that pulled the province out of its economic nosedive.

The lesson of the chapter on Zhejiang province, written by Australian academic Keith Foster, is that sweeping national changes create strong local eddies. While on the surface Zhejiang may seem the same as before reform, he writes that underneath there is new life. For example, in January 1993 the provincial legislature demonstrated its independence when it unexpectedly voted the province's governor out of office. Economic reform was driven from the bottom up in Zhejiang, often against the wishes of provincial leadership. Ignored by Beijing for years — in part because it was Kuomintang leader Chiang Kai-shek's birthplace — Zhejiang benefited from this isolation during the Cultural Revolution of the 1970s. When Chinese communist leader Deng Xiaoping visited the area in 1992 to kick off economic reform, the province responded enthusiastically. It had few state-owned enterprises, but they responded to the new entrepreneurial spirit promoted in the Town and Village Enterprise movement, created to decentralize the Chinese economy. The results include buds of a civil society: new businesses and professional and private non-governmental groups.

Zouping in Transition: The Process of Reform in Rural North China
Andrew Walder, editor, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1998, $19.95, hardcover, 277 pages.

Andrew Walder, a noted Stanford University sociologist, and his team of economic, political and educational analysts, train a microscope on Chinese reform in *Zouping in Transition*. The group studied Zouping, a county in Shangdong province, from 1988 to 1993. The book, a collection of articles by various team members, chronicles the dynamic change economic decentralization has brought to this area. Of particular interest is the transformed attitude of local government officials. For example, since local

government can now retain more of its tax revenue, officials have become active promoters of market-oriented reforms, encouraging business creation, expansion and privatization. While entrepreneurs are not as constricted as they were in the former command economy, they are not completely free from the control of county authorities, either. In addition, during the five years Walder and his team studied Zouping's economy, it exploded, becoming the home of several light industries, including a brewery and textile plants. As reported in other publications, business owners in Zouping have also formed associations to press their economic agendas. This type of regional economic diversity, the authors conclude, might be China's best path to pluralism.

East and West: China, Power and the Future of Asia
Christopher Patten, New York Times Books, 1998, $25, hardcover, 304 pages.

Chris Patten, the last British governor of Hong Kong from 1992 to 1997, has written a witty book with serious political overtones in *East and West*. Whether quoting sages from Confucius to Adam Smith, or dishing the dirt on recent events, Patten is full of charm. His book, however, is only tangentially about China. Patten devotes two chapters to his experiences as the architect of Britain's exit from China. He reports that dealing with the Anglophobic authorities in Beijing was demeaning and that he had the impression the communists feared that Great Britain would try to devalue Hong Kong's foreign exchange holdings or otherwise "damage the goods" before handing them off. Still, he reserves his sharpest criticism for the British pols and business people who he says were unhelpful in the task at hand.

Dickson warns that hard-liners are preventing China from becoming truly responsive to its new political environment, thus impeding the turn toward democracy.

These tidbits are nice, but the real meal is the rest of the book, in which Patten adds his voice to the debate on "Asian values." The debate centers on disagreements between Confucianists and Westerners over which type of society provides the best combination of social values to stimulate economic progress. Confucianists argue for a patriarchal society that circumscribes individual freedoms, while Westerners support a more open society. The extraordinary growth of Asian economies in recent decades prompted Confucianists to proclaim success, but the recent collapse of those economies provided fuel for Western commentators to argue that Asian values were overrated.

Patten says that modernization, economic progress and business expansion follow rules that any society can understand, so tying economic process to the way societies function is a false and misleading debate that only leads to condescending, self-defeating attitudes about the East. Patten's blunt assessment of Asian values was so controversial that HarperCollins, the publishing company owned by international media mogul Rupert Murdoch, dropped plans to publish the book in order not to offend the Chinese. The knowledge that Patten's honest musings were so threatening adds to the book's allure — and marketability.

Big Dragon, China's Future: What it Means for Business, the Economy and the Global Order
Daniel Burstein and Arne de Keijzer, Simon and Schuster, 1998, $25, hardcover, 404 pages.

Big Dragon, written by Daniel Burstein and Arne deKeijzer, two business advisers with extensive experience in China, offers something for both academics and laymen. For academics, there is in-depth economic analysis. For laymen, there is a well-told tale, a readable, accessible primer about China's economy. Burstein and deKeijzer sort Western China watchers into two schools: "Hawks" and "Engagers." The Hawks see China as a revisionist country with an expanding economy. They argue that China is a threat to world peace, because any economic advancement will be translated into military power. On the other hand, Engagers argue that China can be integrated into the world economy without friction.

Burstein and deKeijzer are critical of both these points of view. They note that both the Hawks and the Engagers assume that outside pressures will influence China's modernization. They, however, conclude that China is so large that its future rests mainly in its own hands and will unfold based primarily on dynamics within the country. Even though

some commentators claim that in the mid-21st century China's GNP will match that of other world economies, it will still have a puny economy in per capita terms. Its needs are so vast that conflict with its suppliers and customers is inevitable. For example, from 120 to 150 million Chinese — the entire population of the United States during World War II — will still be living below the poverty level. In addition, China is already feeding itself with imported grain and is an oil importer, internal problems that will have ramifications for world prices.

Since its move from a command economy to a free market economy is one of the major changes in China, Burstein and deKeijzer also profile contemporary Chinese entrepreneurs. These businessmen are taking advantage of reforms to create their own forms of innovative business ownership. One example is Zhang Wei, one of Shanghai's new breed of entrepreneurs, who has privatized under reform conditions with little legal guidance. He owns stock, along with his employees, other investors, the government and other enterprises, in a Japanese-style conglomerate. His style of murky capitalism is typical, say Burstein and deKeijzer, because China is still creating the rules of how to organize capital and management.

For the second time since the overthrow of its last dynastic monarch in 1911, China is reinventing itself and opening to Western influence in a search for new ways to organize its capital, industry, society and politics. How China develops may well depend on whether and how strongly the West and its Pacific Rim neighbors encourage the types of changes recorded in these books. ■

TELEVISION

An Ambassador's Healing Mission to Vietnam

BY DAVID RABADAN

Pete Peterson's Mission: Assignment Hanoi
Airs on PBS, Tuesday, Sept. 7, 10 p.m. EDT, (Check local listings for other times.) Produced, directed and filmed by Sandra Northrup.

Ambassador Douglas "Pete" Peterson is the unlikely American emissary to a land he first came to know from the cockpit of an F-4 Phantom fighter-bomber during 67 combat missions. Shot down in 1966, Peterson was imprisoned for more than six years in the "Hanoi Hilton," the ironic name for Hoa Lo prison. He still carries physical scars from the experience. Surviving captivity, Peterson could not have imagined that he would become the first U.S. ambassador to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Pete Peterson's Mission is the hour-long story of Peterson's return to Vietnam as ambassador. It was produced and directed by Sandra Northrup, a self-described "one-woman band" who also operated the one hand-held camera. Northrup, whose previous credits include National Geographic specials for PBS, lives in Hanoi. Her text is a story about a pragmatic American hero; her subtext is the wider American crucible of the Vietnamese war and the healing now taking place between the U.S. and Vietnam. This theme is particularly evident in footage of a long-distance bicycle trek held in Vietnam and sponsored jointly by American and Vietnamese veterans. Northrup also uses archival footage from the Vietnam War era and interviews with Vietnamese and Americans to illustrate Peterson's story. She makes the point that Peterson, a man of character, shows no bitterness toward his former enemies.

Northrup mentions in passing that Peterson, a former businessman and member of Congress from Florida, holds no grudges against his captors. Others, however, opposed sending *any* ambassador to Vietnam or improving trade with that country. The families of Americans still unaccounted for in the war, anti-Communist Vietnamese-Americans and some veterans groups held up Peterson's confirmation for a year. While they postponed the inevitable, they ensured that the fate of America's MIAs remained high on Peterson's agenda. Northrup underscores this with scenes of Peterson at two plane crash sites from the war and a ceremony for the remains of seven Americans being returned to the United States.

For Peterson, however, the past is not as important as the future. Today, some 50 percent of Vietnam's 80 million citizens are under 25; they have no memory of their parents' "American war." This new Vietnam is fertile ground for more than 400 U.S. companies. No one is more of a booster of American business than Pete Peterson, a point that Northrup emphasizes by filming him promoting the free market at a meeting of American businessmen and unenthusiastic Hanoi political leaders. During four months of filming, Northrup also shadowed Peterson through provincial visits and country team meetings, all accurate renderings of day-to-day life in an embassy.

Peterson's personal story also receives sympathetic treatment. A widower with two adult children and one deceased son, Peterson found romance in Hanoi with Vi Le, a Vietnamese-born Australian serving with the Australian Trade Commission in Hanoi. Northrup filmed their 1998 wedding in that city.

Still, Peterson's story is not the only one in Northrup's film. She also follows the 20-year quest of Pham Kim Hy, who, like thousands of Vietnamese, can't locate the remains of her soldier son, who died at Dak To in 1972. She unearthed 45 graves, collecting vials of soil from each one. Finally, resigned to her mission's futility, she buried the vials in a Hanoi military cemetery, which she visits every week.

In the symbolic conclusion of the film, Ambassador Peterson plants a Banyan tree, a metaphor for the future of the Vietnamese-American relationship, in a park outside Hanoi. "The U.S.-Vietnamese friendship is fragile, like the Banyan tree," he says, "but a Banyan tree, I am told, can last a thousand years." ■

David Rabadan, an FSO since 1981, has served in Jeddah, Rotterdam and Toronto. He is a U.S. Army veteran of the Vietnam War.

In Memory

Vaughn Russell DeLong, 96, a retired FSO, died May 10.

Mr. DeLong was born in Corning, Ohio in 1903 and received a BA from Ohio Wesleyan University and an MA from Ohio State University. He began his professional life as a teacher in Ashland, Ky. He went on to serve as superintendent of schools in Ellwood City, Pa., and Oil City, Pa. In World War II he served as a major in the Army. After the war, he was a cultural relations officer with the Office of Military Government United States in Hesse, Germany.

In 1949 Mr. DeLong joined the Department of State in charge of the Office of German Cultural and Social Affairs. He also served as chief of the Program Development Staff, before being assigned as Consul General to Edinburgh from 1956 to 1963.

After retirement in 1963, Mr. DeLong worked in several capacities for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in the Bureau of International Education.

Survivors include his wife, Ilse M. DeLong of Bethesda, Md., a daughter, Gwynne DeLong of Germantown, Md.; a son, Peter DeLong; his grandchildren; and great-grandchildren.

Daniel T. Jones, 82, a retired FSRO, died on April 6 of heart failure at the Reading Hospital and Medical Center in Reading, Pa.

Mr. Jones was born in Peckville, Pa. During World War II, he served in the Army Air Corps. After the war, he worked as lighting director for WCAU-TV in Philadelphia and OGMS-TV at the Ordnance Guided Missile School in Huntsville, Ala.

In 1964 Mr. Jones joined the USIA television service as TV/Film lighting director. He designed lighting for presidents and other dignitaries and celebrities appearing in programs viewed overseas. He also served as a documentary photographer. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1982.

Survivors include his wife, Marie J. Grabias Jones of Reading; a daughter, M. Lynn Louderback of Jacksonville, Fla.; a son, Thomas D. Jones of Medford Lakes, N.J.; a sister, Marion J. Tracey of West Palm Beach, Fla.; six grandchildren; and seven great-grandchildren.

Naomi Meffert Mathews, 88, wife of deceased FSO Elbert G. Mathews, died of pneumonia June 21 at Sibley Memorial Hospital in Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Mathews was born in Missouri and educated at the University of California at Berkeley and George Washington University. She served with her husband in posts in several countries, including Turkey, Norway, England, Australia and Nicaragua, as well as Nigeria and Liberia, where he was ambassador.

She was active in civic and charitable groups as chair of the board of trustees of the World Population Society and chair of Georgetown Children's House and a volunteer with the DACOR (Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired) Bacon House Foundation. She was also president of the Association of American Foreign Service Women from 1970 to 1972.

She is survived by a niece, Pamela Ann Brody, and several cousins.

Robert G. Neumann, 83, a former ambassador to Afghanistan, Morocco and Saudi Arabia, died June 18 of cancer at his home in Bethesda, Md.

Born in Vienna, Austria, in 1916, Mr. Neumann was educated at the University of Vienna, the University of Rennes, France, and the Geneva School of International Studies. He also earned an MA from Amherst College in 1940 and a PhD from the University of Minnesota in 1946. He taught at Oshkosh State Teachers College and was a lecturer at the University of Wisconsin. From 1947 to 1966 he was a professor of political science at the University of California at Los Angeles. He served as ambassador to Afghanistan from 1966 to 1973, as ambassador to Morocco from 1973 to 1976, and as ambassador to Saudi Arabia in 1981. He was also part of the State Department transition team for the Reagan administration from 1980 to 1981.

After his government service, Mr. Neumann became a senior adviser at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C. He wrote extensively on European and Middle Eastern issues in publications ranging from *Foreign Affairs* to *The Christian Science Monitor*. He was decorated with the Knight Commander's Cross and Star of Austria; the Knight's Cross of the French Legion of Honor; the Commander's Cross, and Officer's Cross of Germany; the Order of the Star, First Class, of Afghanistan; and the Honorary Medal of the University of Brussels. He served on several boards and traveled extensively to promote better understanding of the Middle East.

Survivors include two sons, Gregory W. Neumann of Los Angeles, and Ronald E. Neumann, an FSO currently serving in Washington as a deputy assistant secretary for Near Eastern affairs; five grandchildren; and three great-grandchildren.

Howard R. Simpson, 74, a retired FSO and author, died of cancer at his home in Chevy Chase, Md., May 3, 1999.

Mr. Simpson was born in Alameda, Calif. in 1925. During World War II, he served in the U.S. Army and landed on Utah Beach with the 51st Combat Engineers on D-Day, June 6, 1944. After the war, he studied art on the G.I. Bill at L'Academie Julien and produced water colors, oils and lithographs all his life. He worked as staff artist and cartoonist at San Francisco's *Call Bulletin* from 1950 to 1951.

In 1951 he joined the Foreign Service as an information officer with the U.S. Information and Education Program, a precursor to USIA. Posted to Saigon as public affairs officer, he eventually became USIA's war correspondent to the Franco-Vietnamese forces, covering the battle of Dien Bien Phu and later serving as press adviser to Prime Minister Ngo Dinh

Diem. Mr. Simpson went on to serve in Lagos and Marseilles before returning to Saigon in 1964 as press adviser to Prime Minister Nguyen Khanh. Other foreign postings included Canberra, Algiers, Marseilles again as consul general and twice to Paris. During a stateside posting in 1968, he graduated from the U.S. Naval War College in Newport, R.I., where he also taught. Mr. Simpson retired after a tour as deputy public affairs officer in Paris in 1979.

Moving to Kinsdale, County Cork, Ireland, he continued as a consultant on international terrorism and as a writer on defense issues. His articles appeared in publications such as *Harper's, The International Herald Tribune, Military Review, Commonweal* and the *Foreign Service Journal.* He was also the author of 15 books. He moved to Chevy Chase in 1998.

Survivors include his wife, Mary Alice Simpson; four daughters, Shawn, Lisa, Kate and Maggie Simpson; and five grandchildren.

Fred W. Trembour, 86, a retired USIA FSO, died of pneumonia Feb. 3 at his home in Boulder, Colo.

Mr. Trembour was born in Watervliet, N.Y., and was a graduate of the Carnegie Institute of Technology. He worked as a metallurgical engineer up through World War II. In the immediate postwar years, he worked for the Commerce Department in Germany and then transferred to the Military Government in Berlin.

His Foreign Service career took him to posts in Germany, India and Iran. After retirement in 1970, he became an archaeologist, specializing in obsidian hydration dating, and co-authoring many articles on the subject.

Survivors include his wife, Mary of Boulder; two daughters, Alice Trembour and Karla Irvin; two sons from his first marriage, Richard and William; a brother, Max; and six grandchildren. ■

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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

All Along the Watchtowers

BY LYNN W. ROCHE

We were driven through the night, ending our journey at a border outpost nine kilometers from where a corner of Mongolia meets Russia and China. The next morning we saw a sentry wrapped in a huge sheepskin cape and hood and wearing felt boots, standing on the roof of the one-story concrete block headquarters building. He squinted into a rising sun that threw a clear light over the snowy steppe. It was still, dry, desolate and minus 20 degrees Fahrenheit.

For the 25 soldiers of the Mongolian Border Patrol and their families who live and serve at the border for two-year assignments life is harsh, especially in winter, which begins with late October frosts and ends with April winds. Their food — consisting mostly of meat and flour — comes to them from the provincial capital, Choybalsan, which is located 290 kilometers away over a dirt track. They rely on one Jeep and a half dozen horses for both transportation and patrol duty. A single generator provides electricity and there is hardly any fuel, so coal is used for heating and cooking. Water is hauled from a nearby lake; in winter, it is collected from thawed ice.

As we stood at the border, the outpost commander, wearing a simple brown uniform and cap, without coat or gloves, explained the seriousness of guarding Mongolia from its two giant neighbors. Before 1990, the Soviet Union controlled this crossing, but now Mongolia is in charge and struggling. We noticed a relic of a Russian tank resting inside its territory and a two-story, metal Chinese watchtower standing about a half-mile inside its border. We were the first Americans to visit the spot, so we were careful not to transgress country boundaries and cause alarm.

The outpost commander explained the seriousness of guarding Mongolia from its two giant neighbors, Russia and China.

We had an official reason for visiting the three-country intersection. Capt. Jon Edwards, the American embassy's military representative to Mongolia, was conducting a survey of communications facilities so that a new system could be designed for the country under the United States Military Assistance Program. As the embassy's political officer, I was along to help with the survey work and to meet with non-governmental organizations.

As our three-Jeep convoy maneuvered from outpost to outpost, we conducted our surveys, after which we were without fail treated to a meal. The repast was always the same: Mongolian tea with milk and booz, which are Mongolian dumplings made with mutton. Since travel between stops averaged only one hour, it was challenging to keep consuming the same meal, especially when we knew that another one just like it would be waiting for us at the next stop. Still, courtesy dictated that we could not refuse Mongolian hospitality.

Between outposts, we jostled along, looking over the Chinese border 10 kilometers away, searching over the low, rolling landscape for signs of life. The horizon was empty, except for an occasional bird, fox or rodent. Just before we reached our last post of the day, the sun slid down below the edge of the steppe, leaving a thin, brilliant red line of light between earth and sky. By the time we finished the survey and were once again sitting down to tea and booz, darkness had fallen and stars danced from horizon to horizon. A stark beauty covered the isolated steppe. ■

Lynn W. Roche is the political officer in Ulaanbaatar. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."

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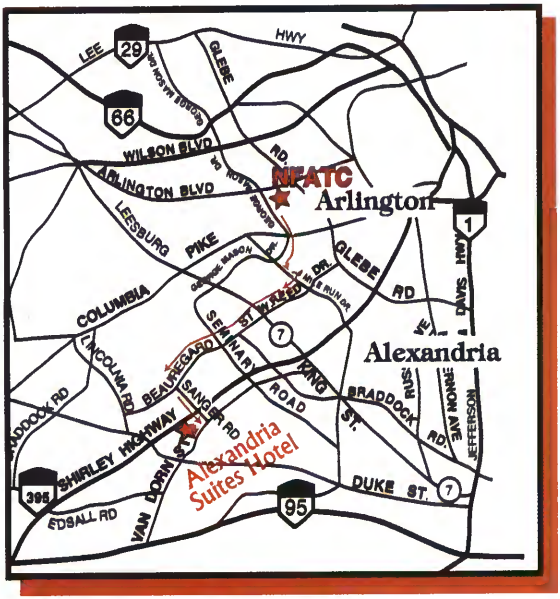

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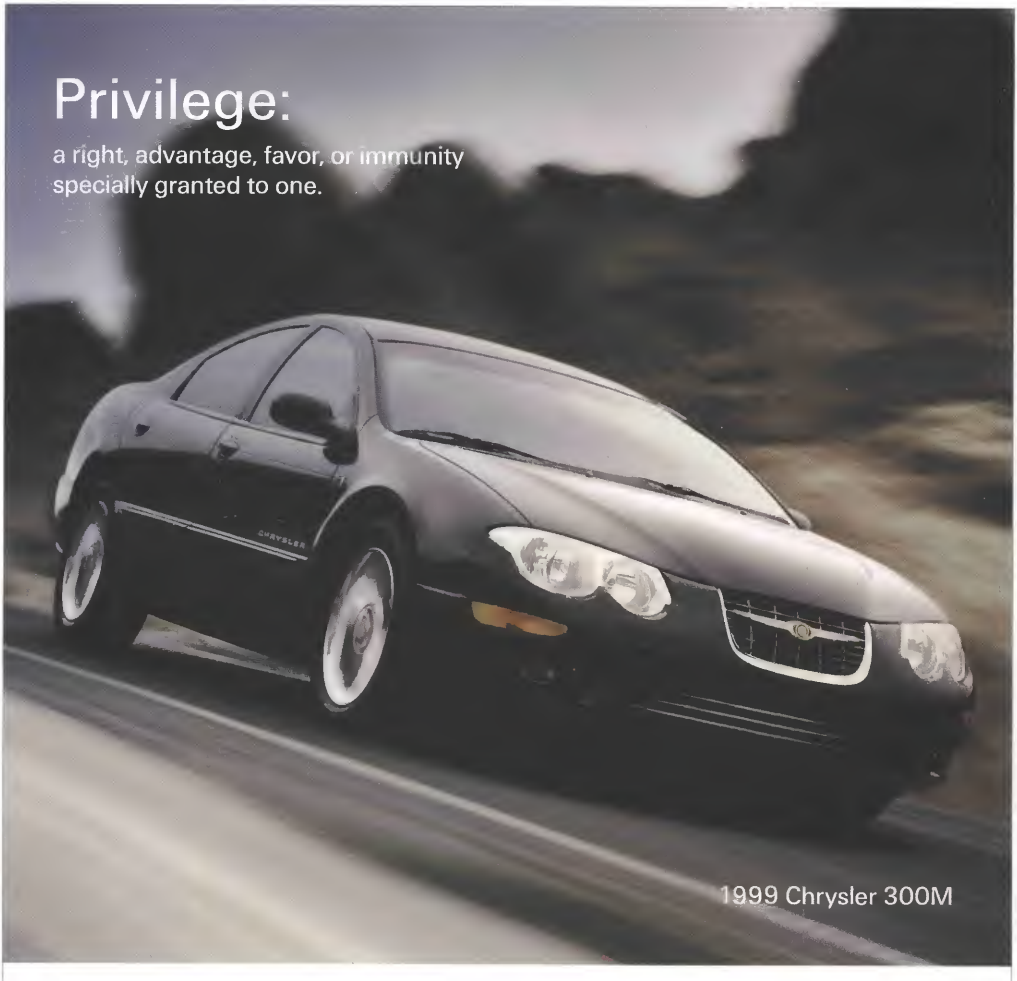

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