FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

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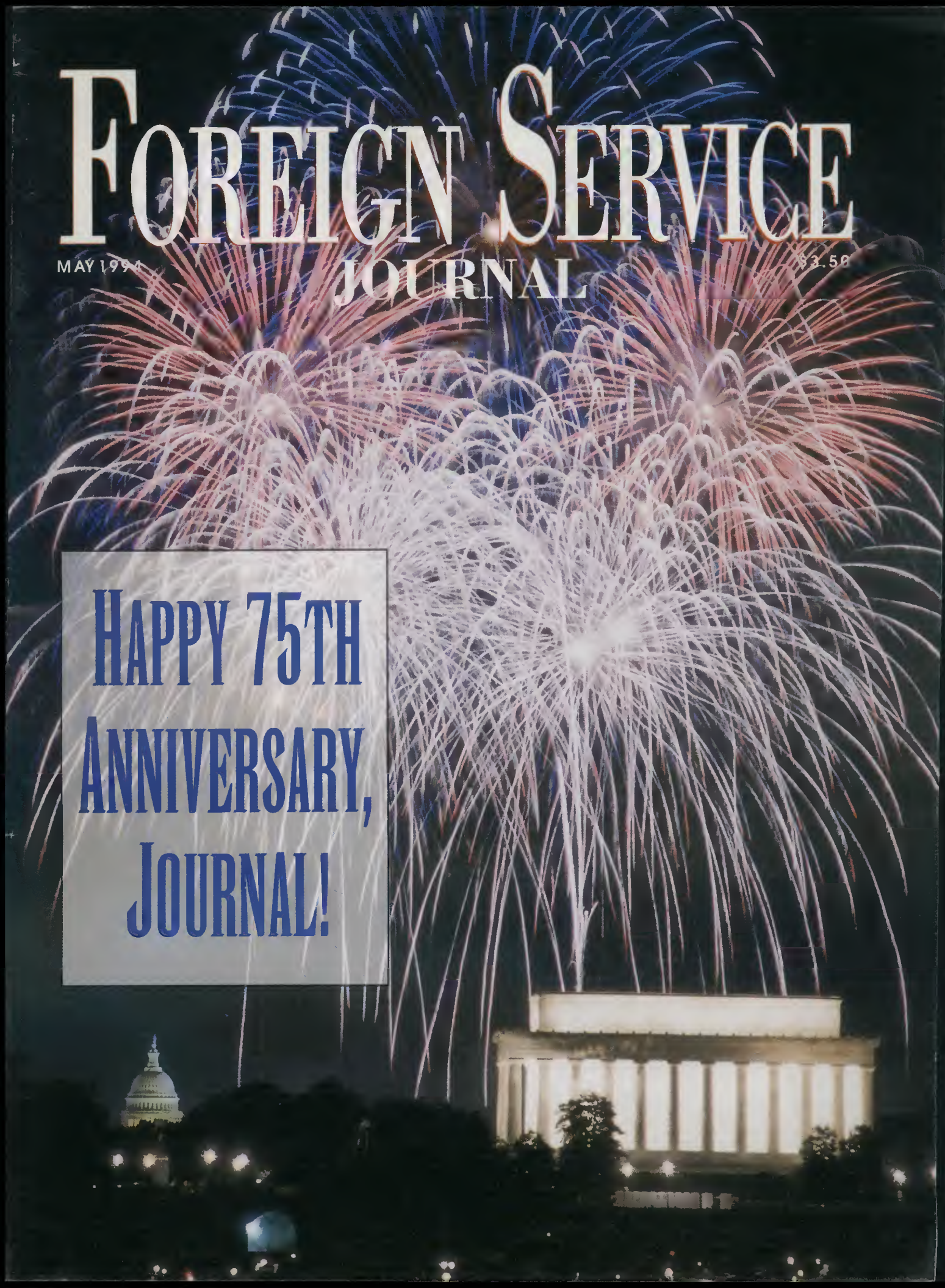

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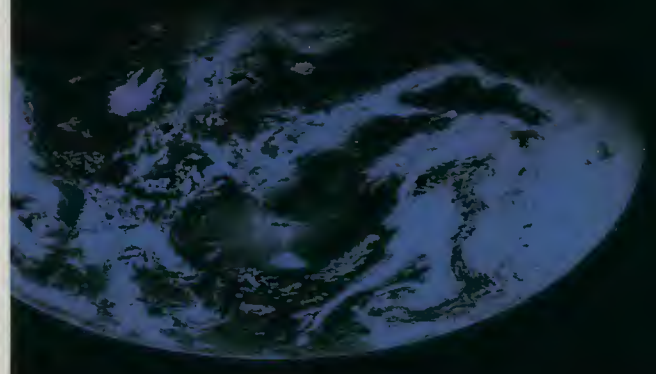

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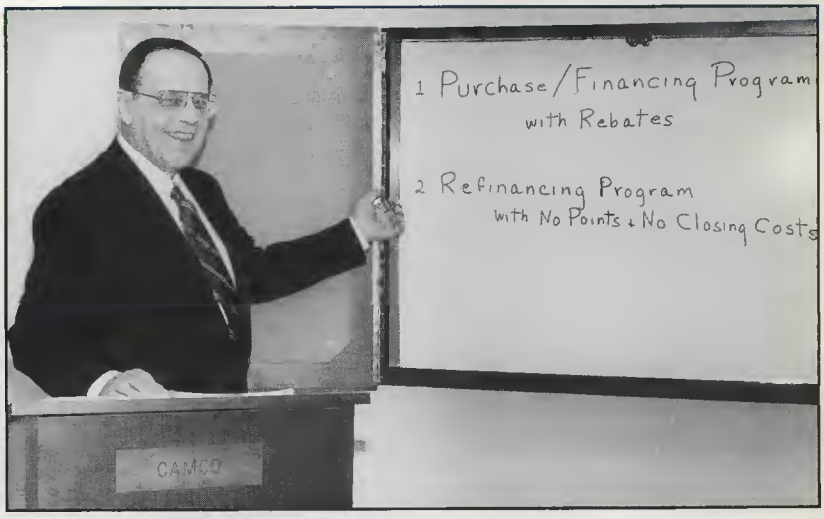
1994

Financial News

FORMER SENIOR OFFICER

Appointed To Assist Colleagues At State



George Mattis, who served as both Foreign Service and Civil Service senior officer during his 30 year career in the Department of State, has been named vice president for Foreign Affairs Services Department of CAMRAN Corp. After completing his public service in 1992, Mattis joined CAMCO Mortgage Bankers, a subsidiary of CAMRAN Corp., as a mortgage executive.

The appointment was announced on February 2, 1994, by Mr. Camran Mostofi, President and Chief Executive Officer of CAMRAN Corp. at the company's headquarters in Falls Church, Virginia. Mostofi stated, "Mr. Mattis' principal responsibility will be to assist both employees and retirees of State and other foreign affairs agencies in purchasing, financing and refinancing their personal residences expeditiously and economically. His extensive work experience with both Foreign Service and Civil Service personnel and his first-hand knowledge of their special housing needs makes him the best choice for this important assignment."

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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

MAY 1994 VOL. 71, NO. 5

A Journal History 32

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Lawrence Eagleburger 46

FOCUS: HAPPY 75TH ANNIVERSARY, JOURNAL!

FEATURES

COLUMNS

DEPARTMENTS

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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

It's Broke — Let's Fix It Together

In a recent AFSA poll, three-fourths of the 900 State Department respondents called the Foreign Service assignment process "not fair." This is no surprise, given the examples of perceived unfairness that abound in the foreign affairs agencies.

- In State, some European and Canadian Affairs (EUR) assignments go to Civil Service and political appointees;
- A political ambassador is allowed to bring not one, but two, political assistants to his post abroad, funded out of EUR's Salary and Expenses (S&E) account;
- A senior officer complains to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission that he was denied seven assignments in favor of "diversity" candidates;
- AID Administrator Brian Atwood improperly denies Limited Career Extension (LCE) review to senior FSOs, then looks for GS employees to fill their jobs;
- USIA threatens to assign an unseasoned political appointee to direct its key foreign press centers;
- FAS and FCS assignments are perceived as far from open and transparent.

Our *real* problem is not the bad cases, it is the lack of a Foreign Service planning system. With few exceptions, the foreign affairs agencies do not have lists of future jobs to fill, nor skills inventories of the FS personnel to fill them. Personnel policy is being made, if not in the dark, at least in deep shadows.

These are signs of broken personnel systems, unable to cope with changing missions, and new political, budgetary and planning demands. The personnel process has increasingly become an exercise in exceptions to meet the management and political needs of the Service's members on the one hand, and the personal and family needs of Service members on the other. Management transparency and accountability are lacking on one hand; and Service discipline among some 15 percent of the Service on the other.

A worldwide, rank-in-person system has got to be flexible. But, this opens it up to manipulation by both managers and employees. The end result is a loss of confidence in the system on *both* sides. That is where we are today.

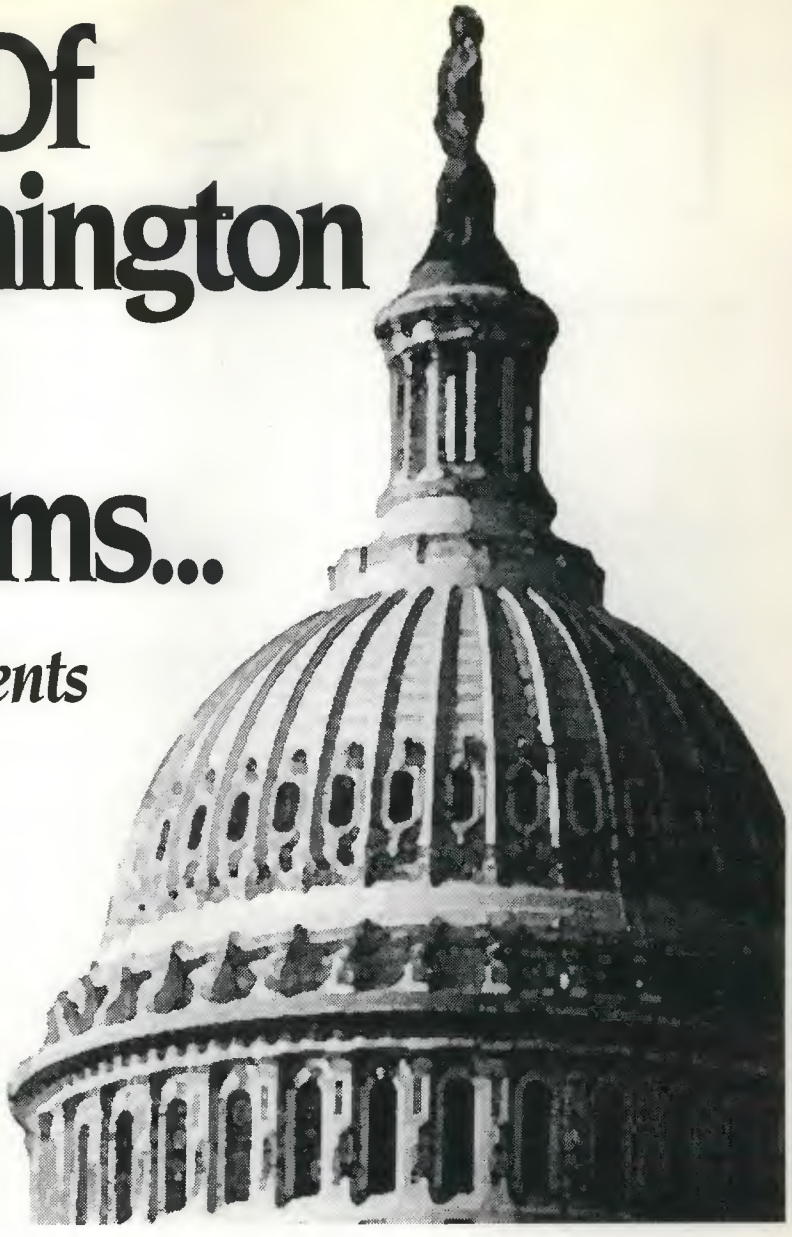
The Reinventing Government initiative has given foreign affairs managers and employees a unique opportunity to overhaul our creaky personnel systems. In AID, Agriculture and Commerce, management plans are underway to amalgamate the FS and GS systems. AID has just sent its Unified Personnel System to the Hill. In State, the personnel-reform initiative launched by Secretary Christopher to promote diversity and Service discipline is turning into a major retooling of how the FS recruits, assigns, trains, develops and promotes its people. Dollars equal people. The traditional is being scrutinized to determine if the FS can still afford to maintain its entry examination, merit-based promotion, open assignment systems. The answer is not clear.

In my view, for these undertakings to succeed over the long term, employees and managers in each FS agency must agree on the principal missions to be accomplished, the problems to be solved, the process and substance of the solutions. The keys are communication, trust and partnership. This is not a zero-sum game. Foreign Service employees have as much at stake in the success and effectiveness of their agency as its managers do. Managers have as much interest as employees that the systems for recruiting, training, assigning and promoting are regarded by all as fair and equitable.

But despite having signed partnership agreements, the old employee-manager adversarial model still prevails in the foreign affairs agencies. Except in USIA, where partnership is being tried; it is business as usual. The "we-them" paradigm rules. All of "us" need to engage in the reinventing of our broken personnel systems. In the long term, *how* we do this is as important as *what* we do.

— F.A. "Tex" Harris

For Those Of You In Washington Who *Want* Shorter Terms...



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LETTERS

Defining Diversity's Limits

To the Editor:

Recent discussion on the diversity issue in the *Foreign Service Journal* offers a fascinating view of the state of the culture, circa 1994. One recurring thread is the apparent understanding that group identity defines us and, less stated but still implicit, that the interests of one group inevitably conflict with those of another.

Right now, debate focuses mainly on race, ethnicity and gender; sexual orientation will doubtless be next. But why end there? What about class? Why does the promotion of a banker's daughter contribute to "diversity" while the promotion of the son of a blue collar worker by and large does not? Or why does hiring the progeny of an Asian or Latin American industrialist count as "diversity" while hiring the son of an East European emigré does not? Then again, the religious profile of the Foreign Service in no way matches that of the American public at large. Why not more fundamentalists? The possibilities are endless, the challenges for the statistical classifiers mind-boggling.

A social vision rooted in large part in some abstract notion of group identity has terrible consequences, for the Foreign Service community and for the country at large. The fact that so much of the "evidence" is based on crude statistics which either trivialize or distort complex social realities is at least as damaging. Unwittingly, we are continuously constructing our own private Bosnias, with scant appreciation for the direction in which our own social rhetoric will eventually take us.

John Simmons
Washington, D.C.

To the Editor:

In your February 1994 issue, retired FSO William H. Mills makes some unenlightened and insensitive remarks regarding diversity. He asserts that before the Civil Rights Act of 1964, "simple fairness" reigned supreme in the United States. What a distortion of reality! It's common knowledge now that it has taken the force of law to correct years of inequities, especially with regard to hiring minorities. AID and the State Department have traditionally been closed societies where minorities and women are just starting to make gains. If it were up to the "fairness" Mr. Mill remembers, things would be far worse. Mr. Mills says that minorities should not be hired based on "unique qualities." I agree with him here, they should be hired because they possess the qualifications for the job and most of them do. However the Foreign Service gets the bonus, in many cases, of having employees who already speak another language and/or understand the poor's point of view.

The real issue here is whether or not the Foreign Service should reflect the composition of American society. I believe it should. Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, Native Americans and women were not just standing around while the non-minorities were building this country. Although their contributions are minimized and underpaid, minorities have worked this country's mines, farmlands, railroads and factories. They have fought valiantly in many wars in the front lines of the battlefield. ... Let's not forget that they are taxpayers. Why wouldn't they want a fair representation in our federal government?

The de facto practice of "the right man for the job is the one that looks like me" has hurt minorities for too long. ... Diversity is just another word for fairness, which should be promoted. While Mr. Mills can speak his mind freely, I, for one, am relieved he is now retired. Hopefully, very few others share his viewpoint.

Francisco Zamora
AID, Cairo

Response to 'The Arabists'

To the Editor:

I read with more than usual interest the Journal's reviews in the February 1994 issue of Robert Kaplan's book, "The Arabists: The Romance of an American Elite." ... Since I regard Mr.

"Now China took us off HER list of most favored nations..."

Kaplan's account in this instance as not entirely accurate, I would like to comment for the record.

I did not respond to Mr. Kaplan's letter to me ... requesting an interview to discuss my role as ambassador in Damascus in the negotiations with the Syrians that led to the release of American hostage David S. Dodge. I regarded those negotiations, and still do, as highly sensitive and not belonging in the public domain — ever. In addition, Mr. Dodge made it very clear to me and others involved in the department that any publicity could put him and his family at risk of retaliation by his kidnappers and those who employed them. There was no question in my mind about respecting Mr. Dodge's wishes and the diplomatic sensitivity of these discussions.

In regard to the "tone" of the talks with the Syrians, they were indeed often heated and acrimonious — it should be recalled that we were in a virtual state of war with Syria from 1982-1983. There were frequent exchanges of fire between U.S. and Syrian forces in Lebanon. Although I am no stranger to colorful language, but however tough the talks with Syrians were (and they were always tough), I used none of the profanity attributed to me in Mr. Kaplan's account. I would like to know who was the source of these "quotes." They make a good story, but bad diplomacy. Suffice it to say that we persuaded the Syrians that it was in our mutual interest to gain Mr. Dodge's release and without their active cooperation it would never have happened. I count the success of our negotiations as the most satisfying event of my Foreign Service career, and believe that sentiment is shared by the cadre of Embassy Damascus and department officers who worked tirelessly and skillfully with me to bring this about.

Regarding my relationship with Secretary of State (George) Shultz, we had profound differences on the management of U.S.-Syrian relations in the context of the Lebanon-Israel-Syrian crisis at that time. I never hesitated to articulate my views forcefully and respectfully.

Robert P. Paganelli
Retired FSO
Fredonia, NY

Reach Out, Touch Someone

To the Editor:

We read with great interest Sherman Funk's insightful article in your March issue, "The Foreign Service: An Endangered Species?" and we offer two concrete proposals to address the problem of fielding candidates for hard-to-fill positions. First, the director general could speak with identified candidates personally, in a two-minute telephone call, to ask for their service in these positions. Even a brief exchange with the senior personnel officer would reinforce the sense that accepting such a position is answering a call to serve.

Second, those who agree to accept the director general's offer could be given written assurance that their service would be taken into consideration in determining their next assignment. While candidates cannot be guaranteed their choice of onward assignment, the department should state clearly that exceptional service will not be forgotten.

Bill Mozdzierz
Steve Eisenbraun
Jennifer Haskell
George Sibley
Washington, D.C.

A Call to Fortysomethings

To the Editor:

Approximately a year ago, I requested that I would like to hear from those who had entered the Foreign Service as junior officers at age 50 or older. In order to expand the size of the group, I am now requesting that anyone who entered at age 45 or older contact me for a questionnaire. I am in the process of collecting information and will share the results. Please send name and address to Sally L. Lindover, 872 Massachusetts Ave., Apt. 501, Cambridge, Mass., 02139. I am a recently retired FSO who entered after 50.

Sally Lindover
Retired FSO
Cambridge, Mass.

LETTERS

Resigning the Right Way

To the Editor:

I am disappointed that the *Journal* printed Mr. John Hols's innuendo about those officers who resigned to protest U.S. policy in Bosnia (February 1994) ... While assigned to EUR's Office of Policy and Public Affairs, I worked closely with Mr. (George) Kenney to prepare press guidance dealing with the former Yugoslavia. His decision to leave came after extended agonizing over what he came to see as an immoral U.S. policy in Bosnia and the State Department's systemic failure to take any kind of responsibility for its formulation. He resigned with virtually no savings, no real estate or significant investments, and — contrary to Mr. Hols's suggestion — certainly no job offers. He left only with his several years of Foreign Service experience, talent and peace of mind.

In the context of other resignations of principle, Mr. Kenney's, in fact, stands out because his loss of employment was not cushioned by a government retirement, personal or family fortune, academic appointment, or membership in the legal profession. His objective was simple and idealistic: to shine a bit of light on an obscurantist policy-making apparatus and a professional subculture where loyalty can translate into a code of silence. He succeeded, and that's a legacy of public service of which he, the son of a Foreign Service officer, can be proud.

Gregory L. Garland
Lakeland, Fla.

To the Editor:

The November *Journal* interview with the three dissidents who resigned over Bosnia has stimulated an unusual number of thoughtful letters to the editor. Although the interview was really about people rather than about policy, I was disappointed that there was understandably lots of strong criticism of administration policy expressed, but little comment about what policy should be. In view of the wide interest, I think a further conversation with the dissenters on this subject would be welcome. Chuck Cross's excellent analysis (Letters, January 1994) would be a good starting point for this discussion.

James K. Penfield
Retired FSO
Longbranch, Wash.

READERS' POLL

QUESTION

Should the Clinton administration link human rights to renewal of China's Most Favored Nation (MFN) status?

_____ Yes _____ No _____ Undecided

Comments _____

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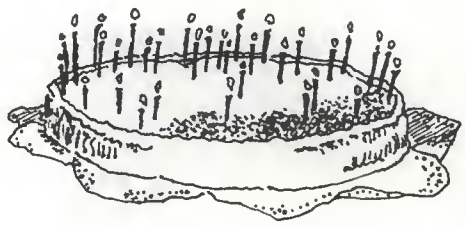
clippings and comment

Kennan: It's Principles, Not Policies

Diplomatic icon George Kennan, in March 14 remarks to the Council on Foreign Relations on his 90th birthday, said that his "containment policy" aimed at halting the expansion of Soviet power into Central and Western Europe was promulgated so that the Soviets could be brought to the table for serious talks about the future of Europe. But when Moscow was halted in its expansionist attempts, Kennan confessed that "it was one of the great disappointments of my life to discover that neither our government nor our Western European allies had any interest in entering into discussions at all."

In the *New York Times* Op-Ed piece, he was quoted as saying, "We did pay a great deal for [the eventual Soviet collapse]. We paid with 40 years of enormous and otherwise unnecessary military expenditures. ... And we paid with 40 years of Communist control in Eastern Germany, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. ... We paid all of this because we were too timid to negotiate."

"We are now at a new



age. ... For the first time in centuries, there are no great power rivalries that threaten immediately the peace of the world. ... Our statesmen and our public are unaccustomed to reacting to a world situation that offers no such great and all-absorbing focal points for American policy. And it is not surprising that we should now be hearing demands for some sort of a single grand strategy of foreign policy to replace our fixation on the Soviet Union and to serve as a guide for our responses to all those troublesome situations."

Kennan noted that America does not need a single policy, but rather "principles that accord with the nature, the needs, the interests and the limitations of our country. ... Look closely at our own society. Look at its strengths and weaknesses, at its successes and failures, at the possibilities and the dangers that confront it. ... [Remember] that it is primarily by example, never by precept, that a country such as ours exerts the most useful influence beyond its borders, but remember, too, that there are limits to what any one sovereign country can do to help another, and that unless we preserve the quality, the vigor and the morale of our own society, we will be of little use to anyone at all."

Foreign Assistance Programs Confront Old Problems

For investigative reporter Jack Anderson, old news is still today's news. In his March 17 *Washington Post* column, he brought up old issues of waste and inefficiency in AID, "where a succession of minor scandals has given the agency a major image problem." Anderson commented on AID Administrator Brian Atwood's efforts to reform the agency at a time of severe budget cutbacks: "AID has been forced to streamline several overseas installations. Some countries have been taken off the dole completely. ... AID recently eliminated 21 overseas missions where assistance is not needed or the recipients have been uncooperative. AID officials hope that by clamping shut the main arteries of waste, the entire agency can function more smoothly."

One Senate aide apparantly has doubts that Atwood will succeed. "[Atwood] can solve some of [AID's] problems, but some are beyond his control. AID is a huge agency, and one person can't control everything everyone does," said the aide, who was unidentified, of course.

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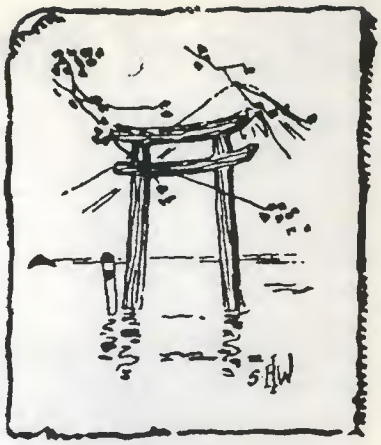
Lord Takes Heat for Debacle in China



"The point man for the Clinton administration on China, [Winston] Lord has emerged as the bane of official Washington ... which has begun to blame him both for Secretary of State Warren Christopher's confrontational trip to Beijing and for the China policy linking trade and human rights," reported Elaine Sciolino in *The New York Times* on March 27, referring to the assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

According to Sciolino, Lord's situation is due to trying to balance Cold-War ideas on how to deal with an authoritarian state and the evolving bottom-line rules on how to make a profit from the world's fastest growing economy.

Sciolino said that it was Lord and National Security Adviser Anthony Lake who devised the policy shift to one of "intense, high-level engagement with the Chinese.

"It was Mr. Lord who convinced a wavering secretary of state that canceling his trip to China would deprive him of the opportunity to carry an unambiguous message to China's leaders and might irreparably damage Sino-American relations. Instead of keeping the diplomatic volume low during the visit, the two men turned it up full blast."

According to Sciolino, members of the economic team headed by Lord admitted they have fought for more emphasis on economics in foreign policy, but say criticism of Lord is unfair. ✂

Oakley Chosen For Top Job

Career FSO Phyllis Oakley, now acting chief of Refugee Programs, has been tapped to head a proposed State Department office on refugee, migration and population affairs, according to State Department sources.

Oakley may have received a little help from the *Washington Post*, however, which opined in a March 17 editorial that "the respected professional

ought to be an easy choice."

But she apparently had some stiff competition: Clinton family friend and former assistant secretary of agriculture, Carol Tucker Foreman, was also considered for the job. Nevertheless, the Post endorsed Oakley, saying she is "not only well qualified, but in a position to land running."

"Rising global instability is moving refugees and migrants increasingly toward the center of official American concern. The United States cannot afford to lag in preparing its positions for the major United Nations conference on population and development opening in Cairo in September. The White House needs to get the best suited person in the job as quickly as possible. We think it's Mrs. Oakley." ✂

50 years ago

FSOs Drafted For WWII

The "Editor's Column" in the May 1944 Journal comments on the willingness of Foreign Service officers to serve in the armed forces. "All members of our Foreign Service have from the outset been keen to serve their country in its armed forces. A large number sought eagerly to resign for the duration in order to enter military service. They were told they were more useful to their government in their present occupations than holding a commission in the armed forces and their resignations were not permitted. They are no less keen to serve now, since the draft rules have been made applicable to them.

"[But] there is a strange inconsistency in the drafting of members of the Foreign Service while legislation lies before Congress ... to add urgently to the career personnel. ... On the one hand, trained men are removed at the most critical period of the war; on the other, needs of the Foreign Service are deemed so great that [it is proposed] to bring men without actual service experience into the higher ranks.

"We do not dispute the ruling which has now come into effect. We do express hope that our officers will in the armed forces be allocated tasks which, at any rate, may partially utilize their skills and natural abilities. Their special training and background should not go for naught when every blow against the Axis counts." ✂

Case of the Homeless Zaire Diplomats

For Zairian diplomats in Washington, a prestigious overseas post has turned into a hand-to-mouth existence. For the last two years President Mobutu Sese Seko has neglected to pay the diplomat's salaries and to make the monthly disbursement of $12,000 to $15,000 required to support the embassy.

Washington City Paper on March 11 reported that the embassy payroll is months overdue and the revenue collected for entry visas has mysteriously disappeared. Gas and water at the New Hampshire Avenue mansion have been cut off because the bills are unpaid, the embassy is sadly in need of repairs and many calls go unanswered because of insufficent staff.

Deprived of salaries, some diplomatic spouses are relying on babysitting income to feed their kin. The budget crunch was so severe that the State Department was persuaded to lift the diplomatic immunity of four Zairians so that their landlords could evict them, reported Diane Bartz, and a local church is providing food to at least one Zairian diplomat's family.

The tight financial situation has led to infighting over the small supply of cash and real estate — three houses — available to the nine diplomatic families. The diplomats asked the ambassador to cover their salaries and rents with monies collected from visa fees. The ambassador responded by chastising the staff "for talking only of their rights and not of their obligations."

"Not surprisingly," Bartz wrote, "the career diplomats have banded together against the ambassador, spending long hours discussing financial woes and the case of the disappearing [visa] cash. 'The relationship between the ambassador and the diplomats is not good,' said a Zairian, resorting to traditional diplomatic understatement." ✂

Continued on page 14.

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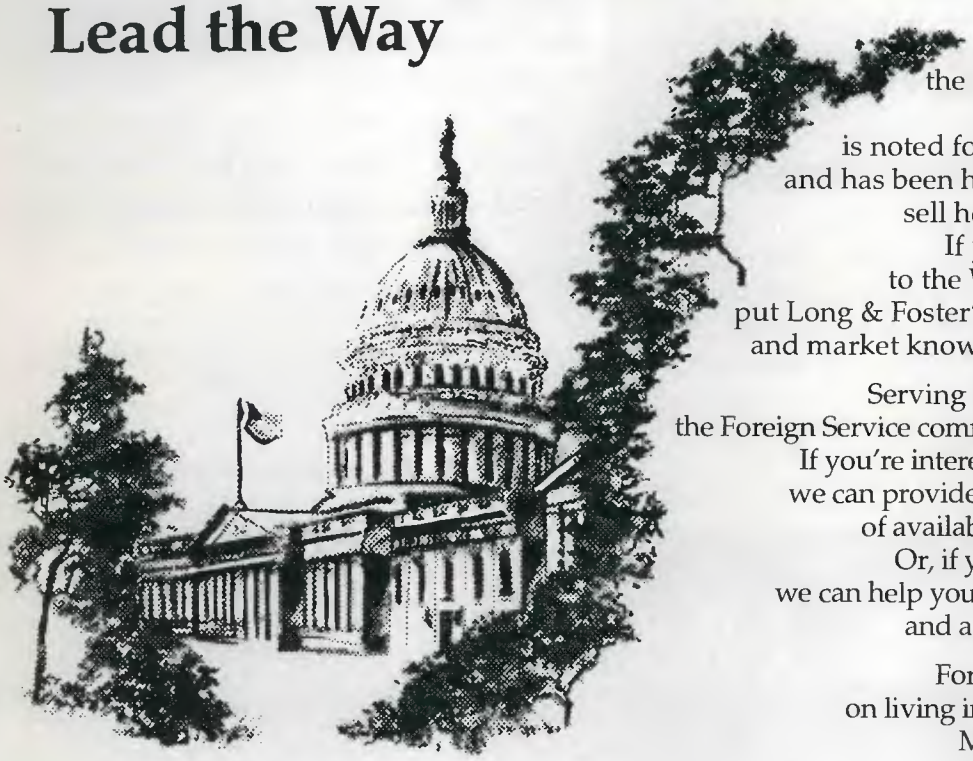

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Keeping Up With Ambassador Lawrence

The First Family recently vacationed at the 17-bedroom, 13-bathroom Coronado, Calif., home of Larry Lawrence, who was recently appointed ambassador to Switzerland.

The Washington Post reported on March 29 that Lawrence's nomination was recently approved after a long Senate delay.

"Forbes magazine places [Lawrence's] net worth at about $300 million, and there were those who cynically wondered about his breadth of diplomatic experience for the post," noted the Post. "He presented his credentials in Bern only last Tuesday."

His wife Shelia greeted the Clintons at the couple's home.

After 50 Years, FSO Deane Hinton Retires

Deane Hinton, the State Department's longest serving Foreign Service officer, has "called it quits after a 50-year government career." A former ambassador to Zaire, El Salvador, Panama, Costa Rica and Pakistan, Hinton has served under every president since Harry S. Truman, *The Washington Post* reported on March 30. He also was U.S. representative to the Economic Community in Brussels from 1976-1979.

"You can kill as many people as you want to; you can throw them out of their homes; you can put them into concentration camps; you can shell their towns until their children die and they live like rats in the gutter. You can do all that on international prime time, and then months later you can be received in Geneva and have the world's finest diplomats only too ready to get you to sign an agreement."

— John Fox, on the policy planning staff under Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, commenting on the West's failure to act in Bosnia.
The New York Times
March 17

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SPEAKING OUT

By Brandon Grove Jr.

Skating Comes from the Blade

This is an open letter to the new class of Foreign Service officers. The title is taken from comments made by Canada's Olympic skating champion Elvis Stojko in a recent interview.

"The Skater," by Gilbert Stuart.

It was April of 1959 when I joined the Foreign Service. I had rented a furnished room on N Street in Georgetown above the Sealtest Milk depot, with a kitchen window that provided a view across the Potomac to Rosslyn. One of the most prominent buildings on the skyline then was Arlington Towers, in whose somewhat remodeled basement garage the next A-100 training class for new FSOs was about to convene. I was 30 and full of enthusiasm.

My big hope was to begin my career in sub-Saharan Africa, which was intruding only in a general way on U.S. policy concerns. I encountered no difficulty at all in being assigned to Abidjan, a new three-man consulate under Donald Norland, who was under Consul General Dumont in Dakar, who reported to Ambassador Houghton in Paris.

Our consular district was vast, including the Upper Volta, Niger and Dahomey, as well as the Ivory Coast. In an epic airgram to the department characterizing this terrain, I noted that if you stepped back from the map and looked thoughtfully at these four countries together they resembled a big poodle, an observation that did not particularly help to establish my credentials. My next assignment abroad was to New Delhi.

Commitment to service and a pervasive sense of professionalism are thoughts that come to mind as I look back on the years from 1960-80. These qualities had been tested during the assaults of the McCarthy era which obliged the Foreign Service to reaffirm its ethos and draw upon its moral resolve in unusual ways. There was, too, a larger sense of common purpose outside one's own responsibilities felt by many.

Not all that occurred in those earlier years was positive, of course. Our Service reflected the prejudices and injustices of the time, as any woman, minority, or Foreign Service wife could tell you. I was, nevertheless, fortunate to have Rupert Lloyd, a black officer, as my first DCM when Abidjan became an embassy, and Carol Laise as country director during my service in India.

With acceptance of professionalism came the responsibilities of discipline. It is fair to say that the phrase "needs of the Service" met with a salute more often than a frantic search for escape routes. It would have been unthinkable to have jobs perceived as hardships or not "career enhancing" go unfilled for months.

Heroes. My generation had them in the persons of such professionals as George Kennan, Chip Bohlen and Tommy Thompson, and in David Bruce and Ellsworth Bunker, as well. Many of us wanted to be a lot like them. We wanted to have knowledge and insight that even presidents needed. It is no coincidence that some of these men were our nation's experts on Russia at various times, and in Kennan's case, until today. Through fate and timing, these diplomats had a near monopoly on

what America's leaders knew about the Soviet Union. Each, too, had his own panache. For me, Phil Habib, with his unflinching honesty and courage and almost guiltily concealed gentleness, was the last of the heroes.

And then there were mentors: colleagues who chose, from time to time, to be like elders around a campfire teaching young bucks the secrets of how to hunt. They cared about passing knowledge on because they sensed that this was how values, professionalism and style were often learned. I will never forget friends such as Frank Meloy, John Jova or Elwood Williams III, that wonderful Germanist in a wheelchair. What a privilege it was to have lunch with them!

Loy Henderson was the equivalent of today's under secretary for management when I arrived in Washington. Henderson knew the Service like few others and managed it for six years. We had, I think, a remarkable faith in "the system," largely due to the caliber of the people in charge. To be sure, there was an "old boy" network; there is today. There was no effective grievance process. But continuity and consistency in leadership did make a positive difference. What a sad message is being sent today about the importance of good management and the Foreign Service itself, when there have been four under secretaries for management in the past five years, two of whom had no previous experience in the State Department.

Life abroad has changed. We still join the Foreign Service to work long years overseas. The thrill of encountering new cultures and challenges has not diminished. But the threat of terrorism, as it is perceived, is transforming the environment in which we work and live, and increasingly isolating us within American-built ghettos. At many posts, a constant flow of official visitors and messages, now including fax and e mail, can become stifling.

Washington sometimes acts these days as if its embassies weren't needed when, in fact, they have never been more valuable. Ambassadors, too, are becoming less "extraordinary," and are appointed with less care. The very forms and purposes of our representation abroad are being re-examined, as they urgently must be when the world and our priorities change while budgets dry up.

Troubling, too, are today's family issues. The biggest "people problem" the Foreign Service faces is the dilemma of two working spouses: one is in the Foreign Service and the other has a rewarding career elsewhere, and the Foreign Service spouse is about to be sent abroad. We applaud the changes in our society that have created this dilemma, but how are families to resolve such crises without anguish?

For most of my career there was no Family Liaison Office in the State Department or community liaison officer at post, nor was there an Overseas Briefing Center to address this question, as well as, for example, the needs of Foreign Service children growing up abroad, teenagers, adoption, divorce, single parents, families with their own parents to care for, and many other poignant situations. The creation and funding of these innovative services is an immense accomplishment.

The Connecticut Avenue apartment building in which my wife Mariana and I live today is about a half hour's walk from the N Street address in Georgetown where I started out. Today, as I look from its roof deck across the Potomac at Rosslyn's skyline in its fully developed chaos, it is a particular joy to me to know that the Foreign Service Institute now has a permanent new home at Arlington Hall, where training can finally meet need.

The Foreign Service Act of 1980 and how it is applied is both a boon and threat to the quality of the Foreign Service. It is paradoxical that the promotion threshold and time-in-class constraints intended to improve the Service are too often doing the opposite: Many of our most talented officers are being forced out because their very accomplishments have catapulted them to senior ranks, and our person-

nel managers decline to apply the limited career extensions foreseen in legislation. This is a visionless waste of talent our country can ill afford.

What has been changing, too, since 1980 is the spirit of the Service, specifically allegiance to service itself. With diminished prospects for promotion to and within the senior ranks for years to come, many officers must view the Foreign Service as a 20-year stint (or less) with second careers to follow. Self-promoters abound. Dubious values of the "Me Generation" are re-enforced as people feel obliged to push themselves forward for advancement under the conditions that prevail.

What is needed most? If I had to cite just one visionary step it would be to create the permanent, career executive under secretary position foreseen in Secretary Christian Herter's 1960 report on the State Department, and reiterated in "State 2000" last year. This office, serving as a gyroscope for secretaries of state, would provide stability and continuity, and improve policy and personnel decisions by drawing on the accumulated knowledge and experience of the past. It would be able to offer the political leadership our most skilled and informed professionals because it would know who they were.

You who are entering the Service are the envy of us all. My advice to you? Play it straight, always. Never lose pride in America or forget our values. Think broadly, struggle for excellence and speak out.

You who are entering the Service are the envy of us all. My advice to you? Play it straight, always. Never lose pride in America or forget our values. Think broadly, struggle for excellence and speak out. Take an aggressive interest, for the nation's sake, in the well-being and relevance of the Foreign Service; it is much more than a separate personnel system. Find out how to become an effective manager. Remember that we are in this together: secretaries, communicators, civil service employees, people from other agencies. Know that you need your family as much as they need you. Keep listening and learning. Laugh a lot and have fun.

Today's issues, many of them still ill-defined and unfamiliar, are every bit as daunting, intricate and vital as those our country faced in the late 1940s. A very different era lies ahead, just as it did then. A previous generation and my own, doggedly, with difficulty but successfully, served our leaders through the Cold War. You are now the fresh skaters with new blades needed in the rink to choreograph unimaginably different patterns on the ice.

Good luck and Godspeed.

Brandon Grove retired from the Foreign Service in April. He served as ambassador to Zaire and was director of the Foreign Service Institute from 1988-1992.

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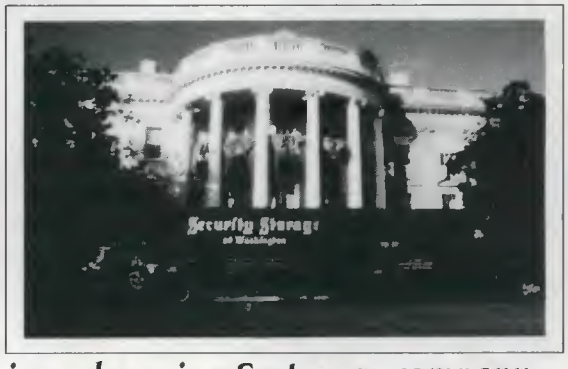

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FALL BACK, TROOPS

Clinton's New U.N. Policy

Last October, when a contingent of U.S. Rangers was ambushed in Mogadishu, Somalia, the casualties included not just 18 Americans, but also hopes for expanded U.S. involvement in U.N. military operations around the globe. Despite evidence that U.S. planners had erred in Somalia, many believed that the lives of U.S. troops could no longer be entrusted to incompetent U.N. authorities. President Clinton's campaign commitment to a new era of U.N. activism, already weakened by early fall 1993, was eroded further after the Mogadishu massacre.

Clinton is set to sign a completed Presidential Review Directive, PRD-13, which outlines stringent guidelines for U.S. participation in future U.N. operations. Despite officials' assurance that the guidelines will be implemented flexibly, they have the potential to remove the United States from the peacekeeping business. Meanwhile, on Capitol Hill an effort is under way to legally restrict the executive branch's power to involve the United States with U.N. actions. The notion of "assertive multilateralism," so much in vogue during the first part of 1993, now seems like a distant dream.

Yet if one vision of American U.N. policy lies discarded, another awaits to be created. In many parts of the foreign policy world, PRD-13 — the contents of which have been widely leaked — has generated as much confusion as clarity. The guidelines of the directive are straightforward enough: They spell out in detail the conditions which must be met before U.S. forces will join U.N. operations. Less clear, however, is the degree to which the guidelines will be followed and what impact they will have on U.N. capabilities in the 1990s. At precisely the time when a beleaguered United Nations needs all the help it can get, many worry that the Clinton administration, reacting to isolationist pressures at home, is abdicating a strong leadership role in revitalizing the organization. There is also concern that the new directive is not part of a broader strategic framework being created by the Clinton administration and therefore that the guidelines, however carefully sculpted, will be of little real use.

The Clinton administration pledged a new commitment to the United Nations. "We cannot let every crisis around the globe become a choice between inaction or American intervention," Secretary of State Warren Christopher said at his nomination hearing in January 1993. "It will be our administration's policy to encourage other nations and the institutions of collective security, especially the U.N., to do more of the world's work to deter aggression, relieve suffering, and to keep the peace." Clinton's choice for U.N. ambassador, Madeleine Albright, moved vigorously after taking office to make the case for a greater reliance on collective security in language seldom heard during the Bush years. In broad terms she argued that collective security had never been given a fair chance in the past. The League of Nations set up after World War I had been fatally flawed, while the Cold War prevented the United Nations from being fully effective. In the new era, she argued, U.S. foreign policy was heading toward multilateralism and preventive diplomacy. "We are going to have to open our minds to broader strategies in multilateral forums," she said. "We need to project our leadership where it counts long before a smoldering dispute has a chance to flare into the crisis of the week."

Albright attacked critics of U.N. peacekeeping performance as unfair. The potential for fraud and misman-

BY DAVID CALLAHAN

agement existed in the United Nations as it did in any large organization, she said. The real problem plaguing U.N. activities was not corruption but rather "the sheer improvisational character of the system. This produces major gaps in institutional capacity on one hand and inefficiencies on the other. In fact, the small peace-keeping staff at U.N. headquarters is superlative, and steps are now being taken to increase its size and effectiveness."

But the year 1993, instead of being a watershed for U.N. revival, proved to be a time of mounting questions among U.S. policy analysts about forging new security ties with the United Nations. There were tensions between U.S. officials and Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, charges of U.N. mismanagement of the large Cambodia peacekeeping operation, and grave doubts about the wisdom of an expanding U.N. role in war-torn Bosnia. At the same time, the U.N. intervention in Somalia, first thought to be a success, started to go awry. Clinton officials began to take a harder look at plans for expanding U.S. participation in U.N. operations. "We developed a better understanding of the political and structural reforms that need to take place in the institution to be able to fulfill the role that we wish it would," says Douglas J. Bennet, assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs.

Outside the administration there continued to be no consensus over the role that the United Nations should play in U.S. national security policy. A special panel appointed by President Bush in 1991 was divided when it finished its study in September 1993. While most panelists envisioned a new and ambitious post-Cold War role for the United Nations, other members, led by former U.N. ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, thought such a role was unworkable. The dissenters attacked "the conventional wisdom that the post-Cold War world is ready for a revi-

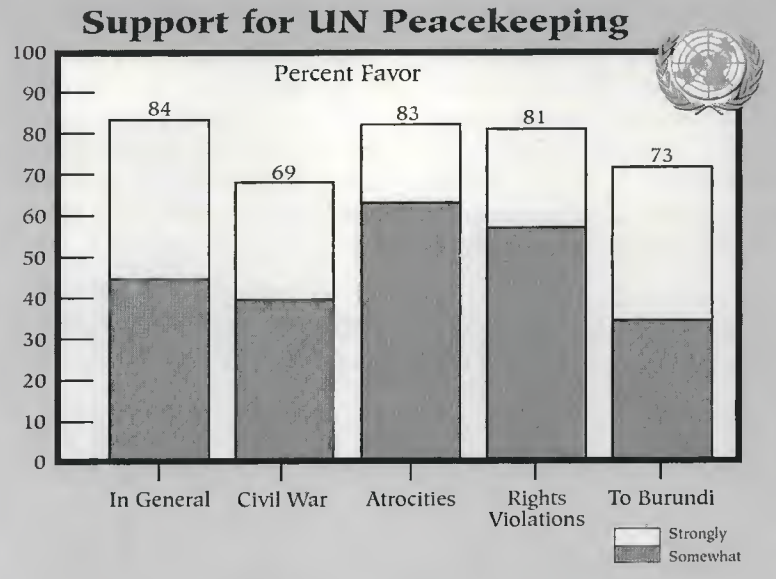
Public Supports U.N. Peacekeeping Missions

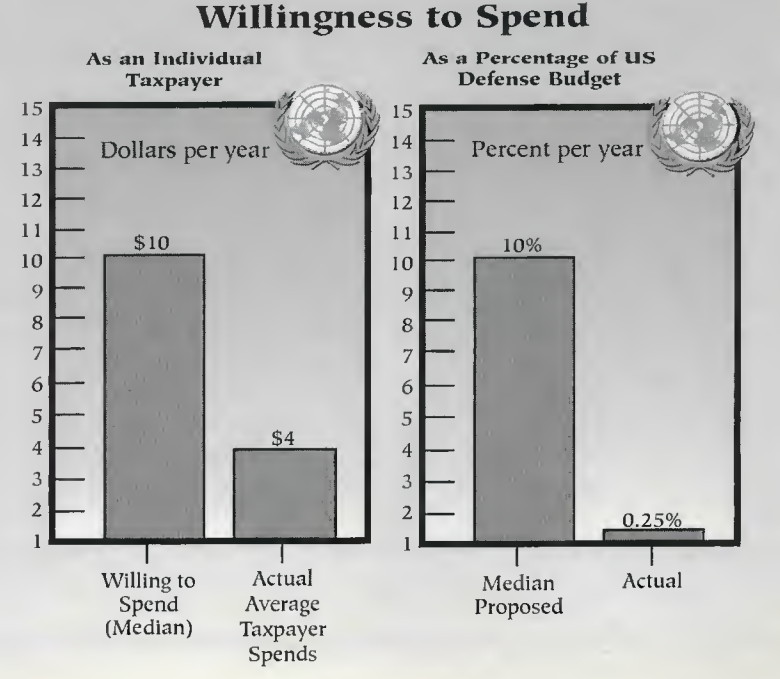
As a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, the United States has strongly suppotted U.N. peacekeeping operations, which was underscored in a recent nationwide poll of 700 Americans. The poll was conducted by the Program on International Policy Attitudes, sponsored by the Center for the Study of Policy Attitudes and the Center for International and Security Studies at the University of Maryland.

The poll indicates that:

- The overwhelming majority supports U.N. peacekeeping in principle.
- The majority is ready to support spending substantially more on U.N. peacekeeping than the United States actually now spends. However, this attitude may not be readily apparent because the majority imagines that the United Sates spends much more than it does and feels that this imagined amount is too high.
- Only a minority is concerned that the United States is paying more than its fair share relative to other countries for U.N. peacekeeping.
- The majority perceives the average American as less supportive of and more resistant to spending money on U.N. peacekeeping than they themselves are.

— Program on International Policy Attitudes





talized United Nations." They argued that there was a "dangerous incoherence in the United Nations' collective security operations" and said that the United States had to be ready to defend its interests alone.

A week before the U.S. Rangers stumbled upon disaster in Mogadishu, President Clinton gave his first address before the U.N. General Assembly. The speech was uninspired and in a news conference the same day Clinton laid out a long list of conditions that would have to be met before U.S. troops would join any U.N. operation in Bosnia. He implied that such demanding conditions should apply to all U.N. operations. "The United Nations simply cannot become engaged in every one of the world's conflicts," Clinton said in his speech. "If the American people are to say yes to the U.N. peacekeeping, the United Nations must know when to say no."

Clinton's comments at the United Nations "met with derision and astonishment" among U.N. officials, recalls Michael Doyle, deputy director of the International Peace Academy in New York, a think tank that studies U.N. issues. The tone of Clinton's remarks implied that the U.N. was some kind of rogue elephant when in reality, notes Doyle, the Security Council is "dominated by the United States" and cannot initiate peacekeeping operations without U.S. approval. Edward Luck, president of the United Nations Association, a nonprofit organization, considered Clinton's speech "a terrible embarrassment." Says Luck: "The canard that the secretary general is running our foreign policy is the height of absurdity. We're the ones with the veto. There are 178 countries with no veto. They have no chance to say no, no ability to say no."

The administration's public cold shoulder to the United Nations reflected the pessimism of its private deliberations. The interagency review of U.N. policy had begun with high hopes in early 1993. Following the instructions of a Feb. 15 NSC directive, four working subgroups were organized to focus on a range of issues involved in revitalizing the United Nations, two chaired by the State Department and two chaired by Defense. The groups analyzed the broad role of peacekeeping in U.S. foreign policy, the shortcomings of the U.N. system and options for reforming it, the role of regional organizations in multilateral operations, the options for funding U.N. operations, and the potential for new legislation to guide U.S. involvement in U.N. operations. The NSC directive laid out a series of demanding deadlines for each component of the review's work, but inevitably the process took longer than expected. It was not until the early summer that a draft of the presidential review directive was completed.

Although news stories based on leaks portrayed the first draft of the directive as a radical document, a State Department official closely involved with the drafting process denies that

Continued on page 24.

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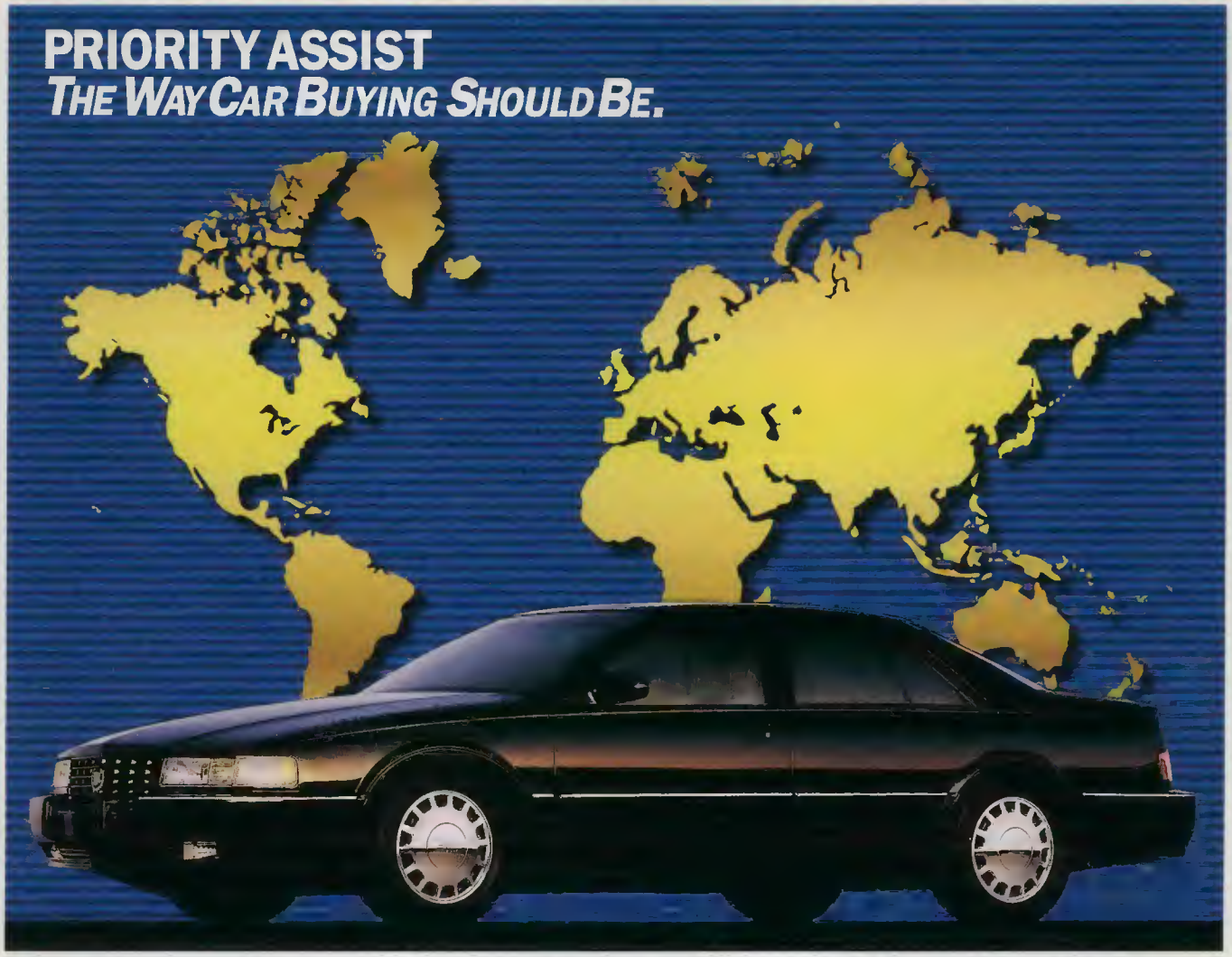

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Continued from page 22.

major substantive changes were made between the first and final drafts. "It was a essentially a conservative document from the beginning," the official says. In contrast to the early public rhetoric of top administration officials, the review groups focused more on the dangers than the opportunities of an expanded U.S.-U.N. partnership. Events in Somalia strengthened this outlook. "The PRD changed very little in response to Somalia," says Bennet. The thrust of the document is "very much the same. The effect of our experience in Somalia was to affirm the validity of the policy." Clinton's negative U.N. speech and the administration's new hardline stance toward the United Nations after the Mogadishu massacre simply made public the retreat which had already occurred in private. To some observers, it was this change in tone of U.S. statements that was most painful. At a time when other nations were looking for U.S. leadership on multilateral issues, Edward Luck says the administration was "bowing to the neo-isolationist movement in Congress." He says the administration, faced with criticism of U.N. operations, seen by many as unfair and exaggerated, "instead of standing up, put its tail between its legs and ran as fast as possible. That did a lot of harm to U.S. credibility around the world and started the unravelling of the possibility for a stronger role for the U.N."

As codified in PRD-13, the new U.N. policy has four central components. First, and most broadly, U.S. forces will not join a U.N. peacekeeping operation unless the administration believes that international security is threatened, that a major disaster requires outside intervention or that gross violations of human rights need to be addressed. Second, as National Security Adviser Anthony Lake explained in February, the administration will ask a number of hard questions: "Is there a clearly defined mission? A distinct end point? How much will it cost? Are the resources available? What is the likelihood of success?"

Third, PRD-13 provides guidance for the command and control of U.S. troops in U.N. operations. American forces could still be placed under foreign U.N. commanders, but this arrangement would be avoided in operations that are considered too complex and dangerous. Fourth, the new U.N. policy calls for a more equitable sharing of the cost of peacekeeping operations. Under a formula set up in 1973, the United States pays 30 percent of the cost of peacekeeping operations; the Clinton administration wants to reduce that to 25 percent. Finally, PRD-13 calls for reform efforts to improve the management and efficiency of peacekeeping operations. This idea, long supported by experts in the U.N. community, was embraced in Clinton's September speech when he called for the "creation of a genuine U.N. peacekeeping headquarters with a planning staff, with access to timely intelligence, with a logistics unit that can be deployed on a moment's notice, and a modern operations center with global communications."

Absent from both PRD-13 and the Clinton administration's public statements has been any mention of creating a U.N. rapid deployment force. Following the Gulf War, there were widespread calls for a new commitment to implementing Article 43 of the U.N. Charter to give the Security Council authority to deploy forces under its command to counter aggression. A 1992 report by Secretary General Boutros-Ghali laid out a plan for partially resuscitating Article 43, saying that a U.N. capability for using military force "is essential to the credibility of the United Nations as a guarantor of international security." On Capitol Hill, some lawmakers have argued that the United States should take the lead in this effort. "The coalition-building process that proved successful in the Gulf War does not constitute an adequate paradigm for all interventions the U.N. may deem necessary," Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.) has observed. "We should strive to create circumstances

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Continued from page 24.

that do not impose upon the United States the onus either to act unilaterally or to galvanize a U.N. action in which we supply the preponderance of military power. ... The time has come: The United States, in conjunction with other key nations, should now designate forces under Article 43 of the United Nations Charter."

On the presidential campaign trail, Clinton embraced in principle the need for the United Nations to create a rapid deployment force. Albright referred to this commitment during her nomination hearings, and in May 1993, commented that there "is much work to be done in creating a U.N. military capability to engage in combat operations." Yet Albright laid out no plans the Clinton administration had for doing this work, and during Clinton's first year in office no significant steps were taken toward making a U.N. rapid deployment force a reality. The completion of PRD-13 now makes clear that this goal has been abandoned by the administration — if, indeed, it was ever seriously entertained in the first place. The document is virtually silent regarding Article 43 issues such as earmarking forces for U.N. use and reviving the Military Staff Committee, the arm of the security council which is supposed to run U.N. military operations. Assistant Secretary Bennet says that the rapid deployment force concept was abandoned because it was deemed too ambitious at a time when the United Nations was still struggling with more limited enterprises. "We thought at this point that it was better to get the U.N.'s structure for managing peacekeeping in good shape." Another State official puts the point more bluntly: the rapid deployment force idea "met reality and was left somewhere along the road."

Although PRD-13 was essentially completed by late fall, finalizing of the directive was delayed by a struggle between the State Department and the Defense Department over who would pay the costs of future U.N. operations.

Each department accused the other of seeking greater control over such operations while avoiding budgetary responsibility. The compromise that was eventually reached directed that the State Department would pay the bills and take the lead in those U.N. operations that held little danger of turning into combat situations, such as when U.S. troops are part of a U.N. contingent monitoring a peace agreement. In more dangerous situations like Somalia, where combat is possible, U.S. participation would be managed by the Defense Department, with the costs coming out of the defense budget.

Apart from this disagreement, which was resolved by January, the drafting of the presidential directive has not been an unusually contentious process and the final document represents a consensus within the administration.

While the shaping of U.N. policy inside the government has been characterized by only modest friction, the broader public debate over America's future role in U.N. operations has been more explosive. In recent months, the administration has found itself sandwiched between critics who envision a more activist United Nations and those that lambaste Clinton officials for placing too much faith in a flawed institution. The guidelines in PRD-13 can be seen as a compromise between these conflicting demands.

To advocates of a greater U.S. role in U.N. operations, PRD-13 represents a disturbing step backwards by the administration. The new guidelines, says Michael Doyle, are "extremely constraining. Strictly implemented, they'll bar participation in anything." Doyle and others worry about the impact of the policy on the United Nations' already overtaxed peacekeeping capacity. With 70,000 soldiers now in the field under the U.N. flag, and peacekeeping costs for 17 separate operations running at $3.5 billion annually, the United Nations needs all the support it can get these days. In early March, Kofi Annan, head of the U.N. peacekeeping office, commented that the U.N. had reached the limits of its available peacekeeping capacity.

"Frankly, if the response of governments remains the way it is today, we couldn't get another operation off the ground," Annan said. "We can't get troops because we haven't got the money to pay for them or the staff to manage them."

While nobody believes that the United States should shoulder more of the financial burden of U.N. operations, the United States is one of the few countries that can provide the kind of highly capable forces that the United Nations needs if it is to take on more difficult challenges. Because the "British and French are up to the hilt" in their contribution of such forces, says Doyle, the U.S. role is becoming increasingly crucial.

In Washington's political climate, however, efforts to expand that role are likely to remain problematical. Right-wing distrust of multilateral activism and international organizations, long a theme in American politics, has again become salient in recent months. Despite the constricting nature of PRD-13, Republican legislators who have been briefed on the document "still worry that there's a hidden agenda for more robust measures," says one House staffer. Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole has taken the lead in signalling the administration that such measures would encounter opposition on the Hill. Complaining that "it is not in America's interests to let the U.N. define our foreign policy" and that the "U.N. peacekeeping account is now an exploding international entitlement program," Dole introduced legislation on Jan. 25 aimed at restraining the executive branch's freedom in dealing with the United Nations. Dole's bill sought to bar U.S. troops from serving under foreign command in U.N. operations or from serving in any standing U.N. army. It also demanded that Congress be a full partner in decisions to commit U.S. forces to U.N. operations and insisted upon a more equitable financing system to stop the United Nations from "shortchanging" the United States. The Dole bill had little chance of passage in its original form, but some of its more mild elements regarding the consultation of Congress were incorporated into State Department legislation passed by the Senate in February.

The sparring between Democrats and Republicans over empowering the United Nations is linked inextricably to a larger debate over when and where the United States should intervene militarily. During the last year this debate has taken place in an atmosphere of intense confusion, and one common complaint about the U.N. directive is that it has been prepared in a conceptual vacuum. "The policy codifies common sense," says Bill Durch, an analyst with the Stimson Center in Washington. "But without strategic guidance it's going to be difficult to implement this thing. You'll get inconsistencies."

But this just confirms to some observers that the whole project has avoided the larger issues. On the one hand, says Thomas Weiss, an expert on U.N. issues at Brown University's Watson Institute for International Studies, the "number of conditions being applied can effectively keep us out of the peacekeeping business." On the other hand, talk of flexible implementation makes it clear that "if you want to get involved you'll find a way to get involved."

As in several foreign policy controversies of the last year, the ambiguities surrounding U.N. policy stem from a lack of presidential leadership. While Clinton has proven to be a forceful leader on some overseas issues, like aid to the former Soviet Union and trade relations with Japan, other foreign policy matters have been left in the hands of the bureaucracy as White House energies have gone into pushing the domestic policy agenda. "The problem we have here is that there is an effort from below to try to make up for a lack of leadership from above," says Edward Luck of the U.N. review. "You can't have mid-level people in the bureaucracy deciding fundamental questions of national interest. It should be from the top, with the president setting national priorities and letting the strategies flow from that."

David Callahan is a freelance writer based in Princeton, N.J.

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A Stroll Through 75

BY NANCY A. JOHNSON

The magazine was born in March 1919, shortly after the end of World War I.

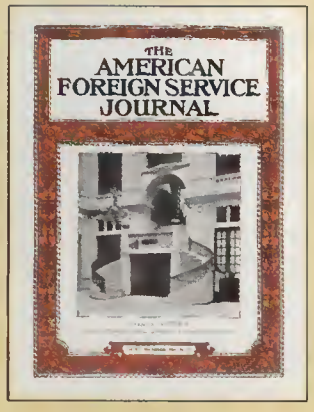
Created by The American Consular Association, the publication grew out of the enthusiasm of two youthful consular officers, James Barclay Young and Wesley Frost. The pair's first effort was a 12-page newsletter known as *The Consular Bulletin*, which would officially be renamed the *American Foreign Service Journal* in 1924, which would be amended to the *Foreign Service Journal* in 1951.

Neither man knew much about starting a publication but, as Young recalled in a piece he wrote for the March 1944 issue of the *Journal*, "I never explored the matter of our relative knowledge as I imagine it might have discouraged us. ... We had started an association among the officers of the Service and were taking their money as dues and had almost nothing to offer them in return ... except good intentions and some few plans."

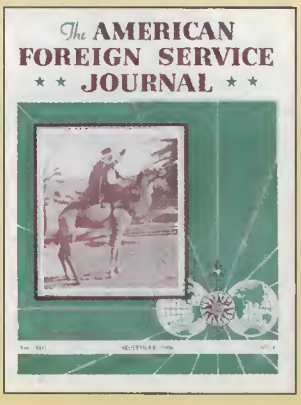
The premier issue, 1919

The State Department was not exactly warm to the idea. "There were quite a few skeptics around the Department of State who had not even approved of our having started the association in the first place and who looked askance on almost everything connected with it," pointed out Young in the 1944 *Journal* piece. "The mere mention of printed matter, statements issuing from the department into print, made them wince as though they were gun-shy."

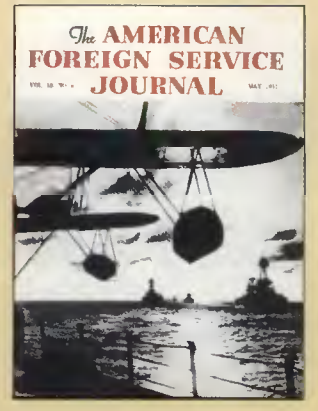
Young admitted that the pair's first venture, which was rejected by the department "mostly on account of lack of dignity of format and size," was "somewhat of a frustration, but it did not dishearten us sufficiently to cause abandonment of the idea." Shortly thereafter, a New York printer agreed to take the editors' raw material and produce a monthly publication. "He [the printer] was to furnish the paper, cliches, etc., including illustrations (such as they were) and he had advertisement rights."



1920s



1930s



1940s

1950s

Years of the Journal

Proofs were sent back to the editors — and the State Department — each month for approvals. "Each proof had to be sent to [Assistant Secretary] Wilbur Carr's office for his approval before it was accepted for publication," Young wrote. He admitted he was surprised the Bulletin actually made it into print each cycle. "Each month the proof of the Bulletin rested somewhere on the assistant secretary's desk, and days went by. ... Wesley Frost and I used to go to Mr. Carr's desk now and then ... and lift the proof out from under a pile of papers and place it on top of the pile, but even at that, our issues were usually about a month late."

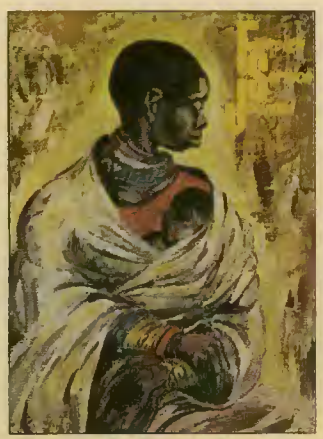
Nevertheless, Vol. 1, No. 1, dated March 15, was promptly mailed to members of the association and others who paid the $1.50 yearly subscription rate. According to the masthead, the bulletin was "published monthly to further American business interests in foreign lands through the Consular Service." The first page of the first issue looks like a flow chart for embassies of 1994, featuring a graph linking American business, the Department of State and foreign business. An editor's note explained the need "to further the closer relations between the United States Consular Service and American business to the end that the latter may benefit to the full from the commercial activities of the Consular representatives of our government."

The first issue carried only two advertisements — one for the Liberty bread slicer and another for the Challenge Machinery Co., which manufactured printing presses. By October 1924, the Bulletin had drawn 21 advertisers to the fold.

More than 30 years after the magazine's birth, Young recalled that the publication "left much to be desired ... and contained a considerable amount of what was nothing more nor less than rubbish, was nevertheless a printed periodical devoted to the interests of the Service."

In October 1924, the Rogers Act combined the consular and diplomatic services, and The American Consular Association evolved into the American Foreign Service Association (AFSA).

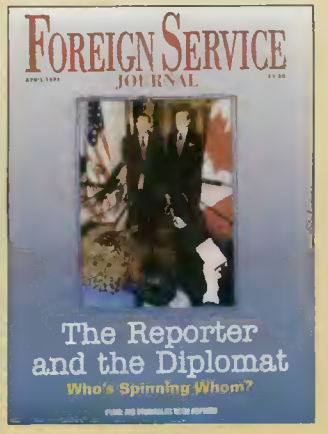
"I desire to congratulate the Foreign Service officers on the new organization which brings into happy coordination both branches of our Foreign Service," Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes wrote



1960s

1970s

1980s



1990s

The *Journal* reported FSOs' assignments, leaves, retirements, illnesses and social lives in its "Items" column. Right, consuls confer in northern Mexico, July 1922; below, "Consul and Mrs. Anderson receive Admiral and Mrs. Coontz" in Washington, November 1925.

in the October 1924 premier issue of the now-renamed *American Foreign Service Journal*. "I trust that the phrase 'Foreign Service' will never become hackneyed. I hope the thought of service to our country will ever be uppermost. It means hard work, unfailing loyalty, deserved distinction. There is always one remedy when routine becomes irksome, and that is renewed zeal. There is endless fascination in the study of peoples, of their institutions, of their lives, of their aspirations. Keep up the zest of intimate study. There is no post which will not yield valuable return in knowledge and experience. I look for a new esprit de corps. The American Foreign Service should be second to none."

In an editorial in this first issue, editor Felix Cole noted that, "The *American Foreign Service Journal* ... owes its existence to the fortunate legacies of goodwill and finance bequeathed it by the Bulletin, which, phoenix-like, died to give it birth. Mindful of these legacies, the editors of the *Journal*, representing both branches of the Foreign Service, desire to make it plain that the future of this magazine lies entirely with its readers, who are at the same time its owners, managers and contributors. ... However, the main purpose of the *Journal* will be inspirational and not educational, and personality will be at a premium in its columns."

Cole, a consular officer, was followed in January 1929 in the editorship by Augustus E. Ingram, a retired consul general. In the first years, consular officers contributed most of the articles, and despite pleas for contributions, those from the diplomatic arm virtually ignored the *Journal*. Travel articles and diplomatic history pieces were staples of the magazine of this era ("Horseback Rides about Mexico City," "By Automobile to Caracas," "Tuba Fishing in the Perak River"). Secretary of State Hughes advised young officers that "Success in any career is primarily in the satisfaction you get out of work," and a few foreign policy articles reflected the broadening range of diplomatic interests ("The Foreign Service and Agriculture," "The Department and American Enterprise Abroad").

But a major appeal to readers of that time were the pages devoted to personnel items such as transfers and assignments and personal issues such as marriages, births, deaths, illnesses, fires, accidents, and vacation and retirement activities of officers and their families.

By March 1925, the magazine was beginning to boldly comment on State Department activities. "From the moment [Charles Evans Hughes] took office, the State Department and the Foreign Service felt a new force and directing control in all their activities, not only in the formulation and carrying out of policies but also in the administration and reorganization of the Foreign Service. ... He placed himself squarely behind the movement to reorganize the Foreign Service and improve the Department of State. In speaking of the diplomatic and consular service he stated: 'Their work is not understood and appreciated by the American people. ... A man must be thoroughly trained in order to succeed in any line; this applies no less to diplomacy than it does to other work. The tasks to be accomplished are too important to be left to inexperienced hands, or to men chosen as a reward for political obligations.'

"How successfully this program of career building and Foreign Service betterment has been achieved is amply vouched for in the Rogers Act [signed into law May 24, 1924]. ... The Foreign Service is now an interchangeable unit; the scale of salaries has been substantially increased; representation allowances have been provided; a retirement system is achieved; stability is now assured by

statute; and under the administrative regulations, promotion to the grade of minister on a basis of merit is contemplated."

The *Journal* publicly shared its financial statement in its August 1925 issue, revealing average printing costs of $400 for 1,200 copies a month, half of which went to members. "The revenues of the *Journal* are received from three sources," wrote Association Business Manager Edwin C. Wilson "First, a quarterly allotment of $500 made by the Association as a contribution toward expenses of publication; second, funds received from advertising; third, subscriptions and sales of individual copies of the *Journal*. The second item, funds received from advertising, is the largest single source of revenue, serving by itself to cover the actual cost of printing." In August 1925, the *Journal* reported a profit of $686.85 for the quarter that ended June 30.

The *Journal's* costs that year, from highest to lowest, were printing, postage, clerical assistance and stationery, according to the report. The magazine was mailed; 620 went to members; 180 went to private subscribers; and 220 were free to public libraries, universities, chambers of commerce and government officials.

With Henry Stimson's arrival as secretary of state in 1929, a new intellectual atmosphere permeated the Foreign Service. The *Journal* reported and printed the secretary's testimony before congressional committees, extracts from his speeches and formal messages to the Foreign Service. In the 1930s the column, "News Items from the Field," was added to include social activities and personal items from posts abroad. Correspondents reported from each post on such mundane items as, "The American chargé d'affaires and Mrs. Sheldon Whitehouse were at home to the American colony of Madrid on Thanksgiving afternoon at a delightful tea." A separate section listed transfers and promotions. The magazine now included columns on books and sports, and women — presumably officers' spouses — occasionally wrote bylined articles. The *Journal* apologized for missed editorials "due to a delay in receiving materials from officers in the field." AFSA scholarships and AFSA meetings were noted and a *Journal* essay contest was begun.

A long series of articles profiled the many buildings that had been home to the Department of State. In a piece in the October 1930 magazine, Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg wrote on the Foreign Service as an instrument for peace. Here, for the first time the Foreign Service was depicted as "the first line of defense ... preventing misunderstanding and building up the good understanding which is the greatest assurance against war."

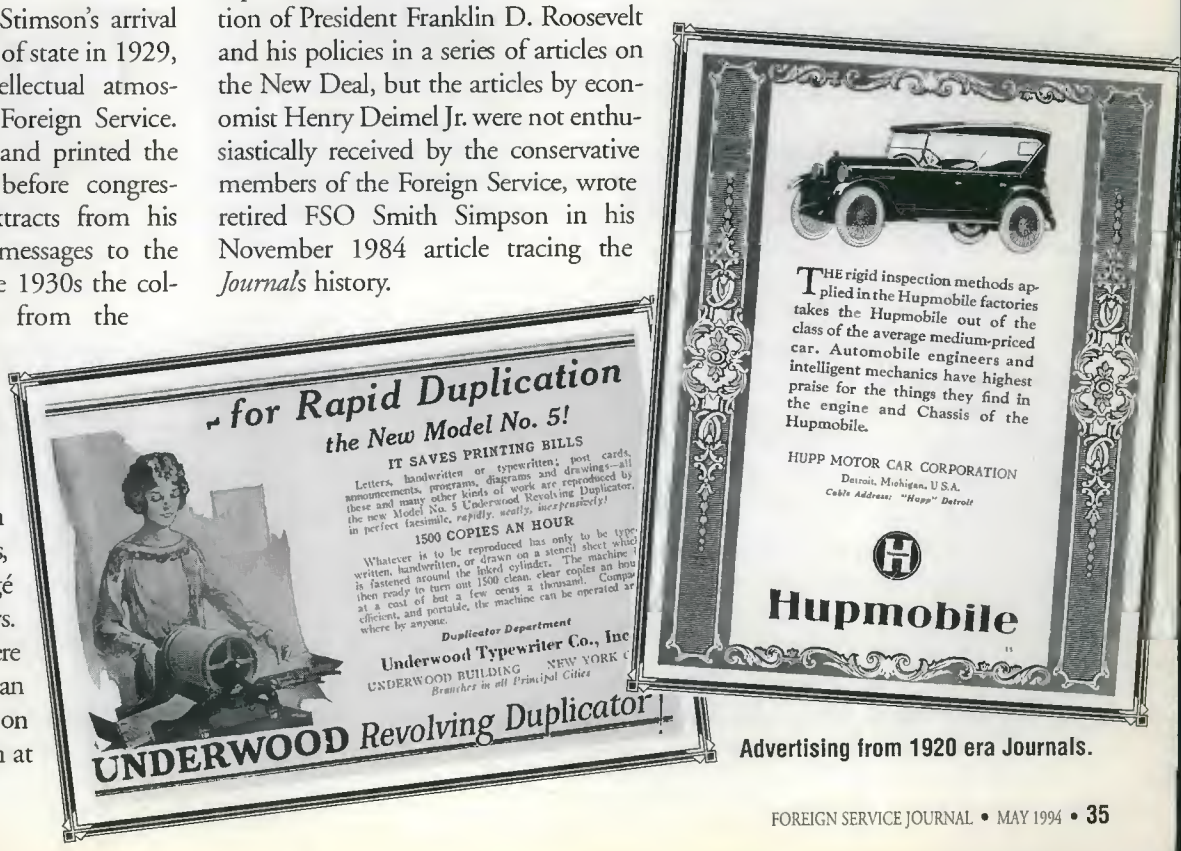
The Great Depression hit the Foreign Service just like the rest of America. Allowances were cut, and families returned home from abroad as a cost-saving measure. All government employees were furloughed for a month and the *Journal* provided advice on how to survive a payless month.

In 1933 the *Journal* attempted to explain the new Democratic administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his policies in a series of articles on the New Deal, but the articles by economist Henry Deimel Jr. were not enthusiastically received by the conservative members of the Foreign Service, wrote retired FSO Smith Simpson in his November 1984 article tracing the *Journal's* history.

In a two-part piece that ran November and December of 1937, FSO Selden Chapin authored one of the magazine's first analytical pieces on the Service, lamenting "certain possible defects in the structure and administration of the Foreign Service," and suggested reforms such as the addition of allowances "to cover important expenditures" and requiring officers to serve a certain amount of time in the United States.

Amusing anecdotes of life in the Service were duly noted, such as Ambassador George Allen's remembrance of how he missed a 1934 assignment in Moscow, which would fatefully change the course of his career.

"When I had finished a three-year tour in Shanghai in 1934, I was granted home leave, but since there were no funds to pay for official transportation, I bought passage on a cheap, but slow freighter," he wrote in the July 1954 *Journal*. "For six weeks I was out of communication with Washington. When I finally arrived at the Department ... the Chief of Personnel said, 'Where the devil have you been? ... It's too bad, but you've missed a good chance. Ambassador Bullitt has been yelling for personnel and six weeks ago I ordered your transfer to Moscow. [But there was no way to get in



Advertising from 1920 era Journals.

The Journal frequently reprinted photos of embassy staffs from around the world. At right, the staff in Surabaya (Soerabaya), Indonesia, included Consul R.R. Winslow (seated), an invoice clerk, a correspondence clerk, a stenographer (seated) and a janitor/messenger, April 1925. Below, the consular staff at Salina Cruz, Mexico, in 1927 consisted of only Consul Paul H. Foster, here pictured with his dog, Flappers.

touch with you], so I sent a vice consul from Bucharest.' So I was sent as vice consul to Patras and have been in the Near East area during practically all my service since then."

World War II permanently changed the United States' international standing, as well as the role, size, composition and scope of activities of the Foreign Service.

Many of the issues that emerged after the war were similar to those taking center stage today in the post-Cold War atmosphere: handling refugee flows, the use of economic sanctions as a diplomatic tool, the lure of neutrality, the protection of citizens in war zones, crafting diplomatic strategies for ethnic conflict, supporting democratization through foreign aid.

The *American Foreign Service Journal* of the war years reflected many of these themes and commemorated heroes and heroines now forgotten: Foreign Service officers and their families who were interned in Manila, Baden-Baden, Tokyo, Vichy and Rome. The *Journal* recounted stories of transfers and reassignments under dangerous and trying war conditions and provided glimpses of life and work in war zones of Europe and Asia.

First Secretary George Kennan's August 1942 account, which chronicled the internment and repatriation of Americans at the Berlin Embassy following the outbreak of war between Germany and the United States on Dec. 11, 1941, was one of several war reports published during those years.

Articles on diplomacy considered neutrality and the conduct of diplomatic relations in wartime, the question of appeasement and relations with Vichy, refugees, prisoners of war, the protection and evacuation of U.S. citizens from the war zones and the use of war propaganda. Foreign policy concerns included the control of exports and foreign funds. FSO Henry Villard's article on the role of Foreign Service officers in the liberation of North Africa was a rare *Journal* scoop and the story was picked up by *The New York Times* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch.*

During the war, the *Journal* was praised in a Febtuary 1945 letter to the editor for its "courage and open-mindedness," by FSO Allan Dawson, who also added, "It is now, thank God, far from the smug and stodgy house organ it used to be."

Issues after the war included war crime trials, relief efforts abroad and the expansion and professionalism of the Foreign Service in a world of growing international responsibilities. Recognizing the need for change, the *Journal* sponsored an essay contest on improving the Foreign Service to meet post-war responsibilities, drawing 60 essays.

First-prize winner James Orr Denby's essay in the February 1945 *Journal* observed that "the task of the American Foreign Service Officer is to study a vast and always changing pattern. He must dedicate himself to this task with sincerity and patience, with good judgement and a sense of balance ... Very properly [people] will look upon the Service as, in peace times, the nation's first line of defense."

A three-person Editorial Board was added to help advise the editor and assistant editor, in January 1933.

Under the Editorial Board chairmanship of Henry Villard, who held the post from 1939-48, the *Journal* was crowded with pieces on the Manpower and Foreign Service acts of 1946. The generalist-specialist issue raged as a controversy of the day. The role of the new foreign aid agency was debated, as was the joining of the Civil Service and the Foreign Service.

The chaos of the McCarthy years was reflected in the pages of the *Journal.* In May 1954, FSO Leon Poullada wrote about the effect of the anti-communism wave on the Foreign Service and the problems of post-war personnel expansion. "Next came the security investigations which cast doubt on the cherished tradition of objectivity in Foreign Service reporting," he wrote. "The loyalty of individual Foreign Service officers was impugned and in some cases resulted in dismissals of officers with records of long service. ... An atmosphere of distrust, fear and suspicion descended over the Foreign Service as a whole. ... Promotions and assignments were suspended while everyone was investigated and a general feeling of insecurity permeated the service.

"Before the Foreign Service could even begin to recover from these blows

there came a series of administrative measures, prompted chiefly by the urgent need for economy [and] many were summarily dismissed under the RIF program."

This widespread feeling of uneasiness prompted the creation of the so-called Wriston Committee, the Public Committee on Personnel, to make recommendations to strengthen the professional service. Articles on personnel issues were prominent during this time, with the piece, "New Foreign Service Problems of Placement," becoming the first in a series on implementing the Wriston Report, which recommended incorporating a significant number of civil service positions into the Foreign Service.

Security issues were written about during this period, but the range of diplomatic concerns was growing, evidenced by the large number of articles published on diplomacy and the press, the role of propaganda, aiding business interests, international trade arbitration, the role of Congress, and, for the first time, an article on science in foreign affairs.

History and travel articles continued to be common and "News from the Field" was augmented by two pages of photos of families and activities abroad and a "News from the Department" column.

Maintaining the integrity and standards of the Foreign Service never ceased to be fodder for *Journal* pieces. In December 1954, an unsigned *Journal* editorial commented on the "termination" of John Paton Davies from the Foreign Service, whose warnings on the growing influence of communism in China caused his dismissal on grounds of security.

"A Security Hearing Board has unanimously found that John Paton Davies' lack of judgment, discretion, and reliability raise a reasonable doubt that his continued employment in the Foreign Service of the United States is clearly consistent with the interests of national security." The Secretary of State reached the same conclusion and terminated Mr. Davies' employment. ...

"There are probably few officers in the Service who do not feel a deep sense of both personal and professional concern over this decision. Since all of us owe our present professional status, be it high or low, to the same system of evaluating performance that carried John Davies to the top of the Service, can anyone doubt the serious effect on service efficiency and morale of the implications of the Davies decision? We who are dedicating our minds and energies to a lifetime in the Foreign Service will do our best and hope that we shall not become 'security risks' through failing to meet 'the standards required' when, in this or that area of foreign affairs with which we are concerned, the course of history takes an unfavorable turn. ...

"Meanwhile, many officers, and particularly those engaged in the front line of the intellectual, moral and material struggle of the age will have the added burden of knowing that in the performance of their duties they may, today, tomorrow or ten years hence, be found to have shown 'a definite lack of judgement, discretion and reliability' with the harsh penalty which can flow from such a finding."

In a three-part series in 1963, retired ambassador George Kennan, an active FSO from 1926-53, discussed the growth of the Department of State and the diffusion of policy-making authority, concluding that there are many dangers in "bigness." As today, the budget and its impact on the Foreign Service continued to be a concern, as did problems of ambassadors and consular officers, the lack of a "swearing-out ceremony" and recruitment and retention of junior officers.

In a February 1964 article, three junior officers, Margaret Beshore, Robert Kaufman, and Edward Nef noted that "the annual number of applicants for the Foreign Service examination dropped from a high of 10,000 to less than 5,000. Perhaps more significant is the warning in the Herter Report that 'there is a substantial attrition between application and possible appointment, and that attrition is particularly marked among the applicants who appear the best qualified.'

"Approximately one in four individuals who pass the written examination does not appear for the orals, and one in five of those who pass the orals declines appointment. Today, as compared to 20 years ago, a large proportion of superior college graduates in almost every academic discipline go to graduate school. Moreover, since the end of World War II the job mobility and salary of the highly competent specialized person have increased substantially. ... The Foreign Service has begun paying serious attention to these facts, but more flexibility is required. While new officers must, as always, be willing to serve in any capacity anywhere in the world if called upon, the Service could do more at the earlier stages of a Foreign Service career to meet individual job preferences."

In the 1960s, development issues and the Third World became prominent themes. "The Decade of Development: Challenges to U.S. Foreign Policy" and "Economic

The oral examination caused much anxiety to entrants throughout Foreign Service history, as seen in this 1925 cartoon.

Who says Foreign Service officers don't have a sense of humor? For more than 20 years during the 1960s and 1970s, the popular "Life and Love in the Foreign Serivce" series often invited readers to substitute lively quotes for real ones in old movie stills. In this 1964 photo, the quote was, "But — but the security officer doesn't like our bringing classified despatches home from the embassy."

Development in Africa" were two of many articles on development. Latin America and Africa emerged as important regions of the world to the United States and science was acknowledged as a critical part of foreign policy.

"The *Journal* is pleased to have in this issue several articles on Africa, a continent until recently little known to most Americans, including most officers of the Foreign Service," an unsigned editorial pointed out in May 1964. "Today, with approximately 60 posts in Africa and over 400 officers serving there, with AID missions in many countries and the Peace Corps valiantly carrying out its varied functions in the villages, Africa looms large as an area in which American interests and responsibilities have greatly increased."

In the early 1960s, the *Journal* was redesigned to include more graphics, though the magazine continued to prominently feature births, marriages and deaths. A "Department of Dissent" was added along with the popular "Washington Letter" by Ted Olson that reported gossip and political trends in the capital. The American Association of Foreign Service Women (AAFSW) penned its own column, as did AFSA News. Paul Child, the FSO husband of celebrity gourmet Julia Child, wrote a monthly photographic column, "Behind the Shutter," and many *Journal* covers of that period featured his photos. In the late 1960s more controversial topics were addressed, such as the July 1968 article by FSO Frederick Nolting on the origin and development of the U.S. commitment in Vietnam.

In an editorial in July 1964, Editor Shirley Newhall evaluated responses to a poll about the the *Foreign Service Journal*. "General approval was expressed ... There was no clear guidance to its editors, however, in pointing the way to [whether members wanted] a new *Foreign Affairs*, an improved house organ, or a mellow vehicle of whimsy and humor. In general the foreign policy advocates seem in the ascendancy, with a strong downbeat on critiques of service administration and policy. Adverse comments included 'Put some life in the publication.' One respondent wrote, 'You are hoping to make the *Journal* a better one; my reaction, is why have it at all?' Many letters noted genuine improvement, however, and even some courage in the face of controversy."

In the 1970s AFSA won State Department, AID and USIA elections to become the labor union for Foreign Service personnel. A larger, separate section of "AFSA News" reflected more of the bread-and-butter issues of the day, such as promotion and tenure issues, AFSA scholarship programs and tax tips for FSOs. A January 1973 article offered a comparative look at German and American Foreign Service employee-management relations, which pointed out that the German system used a Personnel Council that had a consultative voice in administrative matters and unionization was permitted. Professional issues continued to be important and articles dissected the Nixon administration's foreign policy and U.S. security policy and considered the dynamics of development. There were also more articles on FSO family issues.

At an AFSA luncheon for old China hands, the foreign policy establishment acknowledged 22 years of silence and paid belated homage to FSO John Service and some of his colleagues (such as Davies) who "were persecuted for being right." Historian Barbara Tuchman's and Service's remarks were printed in the March 1973 *Journal*.

Latter-day Foreign Service heros, diplomats Cleo Noel and Curt Moore, who were taken hostage and murdered in Sudan in 1973, were memorialized in 1973 in an editorial in the April issue. Opined an unsigned editorial, "Ambassador Cleo Noel turned to his host, the ambassador of Saudi Arabia, thanked him for his hospitality, and with his DCM Curt Moore, was led away to his death. In their final act, these men displayed to their captors, to the other hostages, and to a watching world an inestimable courage and the highest form of dedication.

"Both men were aware of the perils of their tasks and did not shrink from them. Both knew that while the United States would, in the event of their capture, make every effort to effect their release, no major political concessions would be made or pressed on others.

"In that tragic week in early March, Cleo and Curt reminded us all that ours is not just a job, nor even just a profession. It is a calling. It requires a special spirit with the added dimension of courage and dedication."

In the early 1980s, the *Journal* took on a more *journal*istic tone. For the first time in its history, the *Journal*'s editors were *journal*ism professionals. The magazine was expanded to 48 pages and several new columns were added: Clippings, Diplomacy, Suggestion Box, 10-25-50 Years Ago, Periodical Reviews and a "*Journal*" feature on the lighter side of Foreign Service life. An AFSA editorial, "Association Views," was added and

the *Journal* officially adopted the slogan, "The Independent Voice of the Foreign Service" to further enhance its image as a periodical that sought to speak out about problems in the Service as a first step toward solving them.

The monthly became one of the first association journals in Washington to use desktop publishing, buying a typesetting unit in the early 1980s.

In 1984, a cover article featured a profile of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The validity of USIA programs such as Voice of America were debated and President Reagan's efforts to deal with terrorists were critiqued. Many more articles focused on policy issues, such as a February 1984 debate by advocates and dissenters of U.S. policy in southern Africa.

The magazine became more editorially and graphically sophisticated in the 1990s, developing more breadth and depth, reflecting the changing Foreign Service. Professional *journal*-ists and leading economic thinkers of the day now vied for space alongside Foreign Service officers. Reporting on the difficult issues of the Foreign Service — homosexuality, diversity, dissent and resignation — were all featured topics that sparked lively reader debate.

Today's *Journal* averages between 68 and 72 pages, nearly half full-color, with eight anchored sections and an average of 65 advertisements per issue, which subsidize most of the *Journal*'s expenses. The cover price is now $3.50 and the printing budget hovers around $12,000 an issue. Its Editorial Board has 12 members. Today's magazine is more broadly read, as well. In addition to Foreign Service readers, the magazine is now widely distributed from Capitol Hill to foreign affairs specialists inside and outside the Beltway.

In its 75 years, the *Journal*'s editorial content has changed; its budget has changed; its look has changed. Yet, as the torch has been passed down through the generations of editors and Editorial Board chairpersons, its role has remained the same: to be a forum for Foreign Service professional issues and U.S. foreign policy issues through articles, columns and readers' letters.

This mandate has never been more important, as the *Foreign Service Journal* heads toward its next 75 years of service to its readers.

During much of the 1980s, foreign policy news was often the subject of *Journal* commentary. This 1984 photo aboard Air Force One shows the four major policymakers of the Nixon administration: National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State William Rogers, President Nixon and Under Secretary U. Alexis Johnson.

The People Behind the Journal

Editors

1993:	Karen Krebsbach
1990:	Anne Stephenson-Yang
1988:	Ann Luppi
1981:	Stephen R. Dujack
1968:	Shirley Newhall
1964:	Loren Carroll
1956:	Gwen Barrows
1952:	Lois Perry Jones
1949:	Joan David
1940:	Jane Wilson
1937:	George H. Butler
1935:	Herbert S. Bursley
1929:	Augustus E. Ingram
1924:	Felix Cole
1923:	Harry M. Larkein
1922:	Frederick Simpich
1922:	DeWitt C. Poole, Frederick Simpich
1919:	J.W. Young

Editorial Board Chairpersons

1992:	Brandon Grove
1990:	Howard Schaffer
1988:	Anthony C.E. Quainton
1987:	Stephen Eisenbraun
1985:	A. Stephen Telkins
1984:	Edwin M.J. Kretzmann
1982:	John D. Stempel
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1958:	W.T.M. Beale Jr.
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1955:	Joseph Palmer II
1953:	Ray L. Thurston
1951:	Avery F. Peterson
1950:	John M. Allison
1948:	Edmund A. Gullion
1939:	Henry S. Villard
1938:	George H. Butler

***Nancy A. Johnson is managing editor of the* Foreign Service Journal.**

A Glimpse Into the

BY DAVID D. NEWSOM

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

Olden Lane
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

OL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES
c F. Kennan
ssor Emeritus

ch 28, 1994

The American Foreign Service, in its chartered (but not always spected) capacity as a highly selected, non-political, and disciplined body career officials trained for the representation of this country through its bassies and consular offices abroad, has never fitted easily into the merican governmental establishment. Seldom have its nature, its functions, nd its needs been understood either by the general public or by the press or even by those who were responsible for its financial support and administration at the Washington end. In these circumstances, the service has always had something of a dual identity, trying on the one hand to represent this country abroad as the requirements for such representation became evident to its members in the field, but trying at the same time to accommodate itself to the demands being brought to bear upon it from a Washington which would never fully understand what it was, why it existed, and what it was doing.

No institution connected with the Foreign Service can have found itself more in the center of these conflicting pressures than the organ which, for some 75 years, has tried to shape and maintain the Service's own sense of identity and yet to help it to meet the demands placed upon it by both the political and the bureaucratic establishments at home: namely, The Foreign Service Journal. The magazine has passed, in the course of these three-fourths of a century, through the hands of many editors, not all of whom could surely have had identical ideas as to the purposes it was supposed to serve, or the ways it was to serve them. But by and large, all have stuck to the Journal's basic task as intermediary between the professional outlooks of the Service, on the one hand, and such understanding of its possibilities, problems, and needs as the Washington mentality was capable of accommodating.

This must never have been an entirely easy task; but the Foreign Service Journal has pursued it all these years with devotion and persistence, and it is for this that I am glad to associate myself with the many others who are congratulating it on its 75th birthday, and to wish it many more years of useful service to a cause which is none the less valuable for being so rarely understood.

Very sincerely,

George Kennan
George Kennan

The phone call from the editor's office at the *Foreign Service Journal* asked that I write a lead article for its 75th anniversary issue. As a member of the Foreign Service of the United States, active and retired, for 47 of those 75 years, I could not say no.

The subject: the Future of the Foreign Service or the Foreign Service of the Future. Either title requires a look into that future and conjures up questions that today trouble many Foreign Service officers and those contemplating the service as a career.

- Will the Foreign Service as we know it today have a significant role in future foreign policy?
- Will a career in the Foreign Service meet the needs of officers and their families?
- Will officers find satisfaction in such a career?

First, let me try to eliminate some barriers to a clear view.

The obvious: The Cold War is over, the world has changed, the position of the United States is not as it once was. This has been said, over and over, and is understood. There is no need to repeat what have, whatever their truth, become cliches.

Nostalgia: It serves little purpose to harken back to a day when the service was disciplined, the State Department was central to policy, diplomacy

YEAR 2000

Future

was confidential, officers went where they were assigned, promotions were frequent, politics were not a factor, and duties were more exciting. Such nostalgia can be a major barrier to clear views of both the present and the future. And, after all, maybe it was not quite like that.

Stereotypes: Cut away the assumptions of an elite, effete, Eastern-establishment, all-male club, unresponsive to the elected political structure and more concerned with interests of the foreigner than of America. Like all stereotypes, these had elements of truth, not yet totally eliminated.

As we look ahead, we must presume that the United States will remain a major force in the world well into the 21st century, and that, whatever the mood of its citizenry, elected administrations will find the need to deal effectively with the problems of that world. As long as the nation-state exists — and predictions of its demise seem premature — the traditional tasks of diplomacy will be important: assessing and reporting developments in other societies and persuasively pursuing the interests of one's own country in bilateral and multilateral settings. The requirements for individuals with language skills and knowledge and sensitivity regarding other cultures will remain. Assignments and resources for training will continue to be essential.

Until, if ever, the willingness and capacity of the people of the United States to play a truly global role returns, the involvement of American diplomacy will be limited by a hard look at the necessity for action. The day of "What are we going to do about it?" is already being replaced by "Do we have to do anything about it?" Presumably the latter question will still

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 31, 1994

Congratulations and best wishes to the American Foreign Service Association and the *Foreign Service Journal* on the occasion of the *Journal*'s 75th anniversary. The *Foreign Service Journal* has long served as an important forum for discussions of issues of interest to foreign affairs specialists both in and out of government. Indeed, the *Journal* has become one of the leading publications contributing to the national dialogue on U.S. foreign policy. It is a testament to the enduring high quality of the *Journal* and the hard work of its staff that the magazine has reached this milestone anniversary.

I count myself among the many members of the Foreign Service "family" worldwide who welcome the *Foreign Service Journal* each month. The *Journal*'s articles both unite and challenge us. Its staff does an excellent job of covering the lives and accomplishments of our diplomats and their families around the globe.

The Department of State salutes the *Foreign Service Journal* and all those who, over the decades, have been involved with its publication. We wish it many more years of success!

Warren Christopher

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 25, 1994

I am delighted to congratulate the staff and supporters of the Foreign Service Journal as you celebrate your seventy-fifth anniversary year.

As the voice of the United States Foreign Service and as a forum for all those interested in the foreign affairs profession, the Foreign Service Journal has been a meaningful reflection of the changes that have taken place around the world since the magazine's inception in 1919. It joins a handful of periodicals in having presented provocative and original contributions to the national debate on America's role in the international community. I am confident that the Journal will continue to provide an invaluable medium for exploring foreign policy ideals and for reporting the news of the day for many years to come.

Best wishes for every future success.

Bill Clinton

apply — and demand the skills required — on such political and security issues as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the resolution of conflicts that pose a clear threat to U.S. interests. In these areas, however, in both the field and in Washington, an effective future role for the Foreign Service as an institution will depend not only on traditional skills but also on the capacity of its members to implement policy and to face the competition of intelligence and military agencies moving into diplomatic fields.

Diplomacy is more public than it has ever been. With communications that outrun diplomatic reporting, growing democratization, and the use of television as a political tool, the Foreign Service of tomorrow must not only understand policies but must also skillfully participate in explaining them to audiences beyond the foreign offices of the world. The totally uncommunicative diplomat is a creature of the past; hearers tend today to wonder what is being hidden. "No comment" is no longer an answer.

Whether the Foreign Service has an influential future in major national policies will depend on its performance in two other areas, the economic and the newly emerging social and scientific issues, and not just on the capacity of its members to provide the talents in the "political" function. To survive as an influential player in the foreign policy arena, the Foreign Service officer of romorrow and those who assess performances must rurn away from the mind-set that only the political is important and that to be tainted by issues that have a U.S. domestic component is contrary to the diplomatic culture. Otherwise, officers in embassies risk becoming little more than travel agents and support staffs for Washington delegations from other agencies.

The Service must, thetefore, assume an effective role in the making and implementation of economic and trade policy, including new issues such as communications. As the nation shifts to a greater emphasis on competitiveness and its place in the world economy, recognition in Washington will more and more be given to those who can help American business find deals and those reporting officers who can make their assessments relevant to that search. The Foreign Commercial Service is not likely to return to the State Department fold, but its work of export promotion will continue to need assessments of markets that the Foreign Service can provide. The service's political/military function will be joined increasingly by a political/economic function. The line between the political and the economic will become even more blurred than it is today; the degree to which this is recognized with enthusiasm in the department and the Service will have much to do with the longer-term usefulness and satisfaction of FSOs.

Beyond these issues lie others even less part of the traditional diplomatic agenda of the past. Moreover, they are marked by a greater involvement with primarily domestic agencies. Two — narcotics and terrorism — have intensely political aspects, both national and international, and the Foreign Service has adapted effectively to these challenges.

Less traditional are the scientific and social issues: the environment, oceans, refugees and migration, population, health, human rights and democratization. These involve not only a wider range of domestic agencies, each with a slice of the foreign policy pie; they place FSOs in the direction of programs and projects. These issues are transnational, often requiring diplomatic intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries. In the days when political and strategic issues held sway, interference in the domestic affairs of others was considered a controversial, often covert, act. Today, issues cannot be truly resolved without overtly breaching the ancient norms of sovereignty.

The days are past when officers dealing with the environment, oceans, or population issues were lonely voices in obscure corners of the department. Now these are front-page issues, demanding different talents and perspectives. The Foreign Service of the future will need those who can speak the language of the scientist and the demographer to bring the foreign policy component into interagency deliberations and effectively lead specialist delegations in international negotiations.

Human rights, mandated as a foreign policy issue by Congress, appeared high on the diplomatic agenda in the Carter administration. The Reagan team belatedly reached the conclusion that how governments treated their peoples could not be avoided; they added democratization. Although the balance between these issues and concerns of trade and security may vary, they have become an integral part of U.S. foreign policy. No issues are more intrusive or require greater diplomatic skill. Although many Foreign Service officers still lack enthusiasm for promoting these objectives, others have demonstrated their capacity to do so. The Foreign Service of the future will require this involvement more and more; challenges exist on every continent.

Beyond the substantive agenda, four other factors will determine the role and survival of the Foreign Service: the relationship to the politician; service to U.S. citizens; the management of overseas operations; and the ability to adapt to the changing nature of American society.

To be useful and recognized, Foreign Service officers must relate effectively to the elected and appointed officials of an administration; the service is subordinate to that political structure. This relationship has always been a special problem for the Foreign Service. The career of a Foreign Service officer will see several changes of administration. Each change will bring to government people from a political campaign, often new to the ways of Washington and the national government. New presidents may, on the campaign trail, have made commitments on foreign policy issues. Once in office, the administration encounters Foreign Service officers who say that what has been promised cannot be done — or can only be done with serious consequences. Presidents and their staffs are not pleased. They ask, "Who are these people? Obviously they

worked for and supported the policies of the previous administration. How can we trust them?"

Further irritation arises on both sides over ambassadorial appointments; to administrations such appointments are one of the last unchallenged forms of political patronage. The presentation of evidence of a nominee's unsuitability not only does not outweigh the counterpressure of large campaign contributions but often increases irritation with the Foreign Service. In the White House and the Congress, the presidential appointment prerogative is given great weight. The recognition of the advisability of sending professionals to the more sensitive — and, perhaps, less attractive — posts around the world, nevertheless, remains. The Foreign Service of the future should, by demonstrated competence, seek to preserve that recognition.

The threat to the participation of the Foreign Service in higher and more satisfying areas of foreign policy comes not from the ambassadorial appointments process, but from politicization at other levels. The concept of a professional diplomatic service detached from politics has never been fully accepted in the United States. In both the executive branch and Congress, efforts to promote the role of the Service have been seen as bureaucratic self-protection and elitist. Two trends began in the Carter administration and were accentuated in the Reagan years. One, officers were penalized for their prominent association with a past administration's policies repudiated by the newcomers and, two, political appointments were made in positions traditionally held by Foreign Service officers. The Carter administration expanded the practice of outside appointments at the deputy assistant secretary level. The Reagan administration continued the policy and, in the second term, ended the practice of naming a career officer to be undersecretary for political affairs. In the Clinton administration no senior position on the seventh floor of the State Department is held by a Foreign Service officer except for that of executive secretary. The degree of impact of politics on the Service may vary from one administration to another and tends to grow less the longer an administration is in office, but the practice will not go away.

Foreign Service officers appointed to senior positions ultimately come face to face with the realities of American politics through relations with the White House and Congress. And, over the years, many officers have demonstrated a capacity to understand and relate to politicians in the field and in Washington, without themselves becoming identified with one party or another. But invulnerability to the political process is diminishing, and the vulnerability of officers, even at lower levels, to partisan and ideological currents has increased.

Interaction with the political structure of the nation presents and will continue to present dilemmas for the individual Foreign Service officer, especially in areas where policies are controversial. Do you play a sycophant's role? Do you curb honest reporting and avoid risky decisions because of the likely consequences? In recent history, the strong

belief existed that individual Foreign Service officers have fallen from favor and taken the blame for failures when they have faithfully carried out instructions of their superiors. It is not in the interests of a secretary of state to have an obsequious service, concerned primarily with protecting individual careers and reputations against the vagaries of policy and unexpected developments, yet that is the natural result of incidents in which competent officers are believed to have been left "hanging in the wind."

The recognition by secretaries of state of the sanctity of a career service varies from one administration to another. In recent years secretaries who have clearly stood by the service and expressed full confidence in the service have been rare; they have had other battles to fight.

The true constituency of the Foreign Service lies in the U.S. citizens served by embassies and consulates abroad. With more extensive travel and greater complications in many areas for Americans living and working abroad, this function will not be needed less. Even if greater consolidation and computerization of many consular functions is achieved, the personal interest of the consul will remain an important part of the Service's responsibility and relationship to the public at home.

Management of the far-flung and often financially strapped diplomatic network will continue to challenge the wisest administrators. Security will remain a concern. Reports by eminent citizens will pile up with suggestions — sometimes accepted — on how the process can be improved. And Congress will, as in many areas, be looking over management's shoulders. Tinkering is not likely to end.

The future of the Foreign Service as a separate personnel system and as a career will depend ultimately not just on administrative skills, but on its adaptation to the social changes in society as well. The most obvious adaptation has been in creating greater diversity of both gender and ethnic origin. Pressed by the initiative of the department's leadership, the policies of the White House, and by litigation, it has been a painful process.

Two other essential adaptations have also changed the policies and opportunities of assignment: the two-career family and the special needs of the physically disadvantaged. The Bureau of Personnel has worked over many years to create opportunities both for FSO couples and for spouses of officers. It is now engaged in determining how to make overseas service possible for the handicapped. For those looking at the future of the Service, the hope exists that today's efforts will eventually create a plateau in which the need to recognize one individual over another for the sake of equalizing the past will lessen. It is hard, at the moment, to see this happening. The imperative to maintain a balance in the Service, once achieved, will require constant effort.

Today, acceptance in the department

of these policies of differentiation is complicated by a surplus of primarily white male senior officers who feel assignments have been denied them in the interests of diversity. Personnel policies have relied on time in grade to reduce the surplus — at the sacrifice of experienced, competent people.

In the implementation of its personnel policies, the Foreign Service must work in a complex bureaucratic environment. This includes the employee representatives — the American Foreign Service Association — as well as members of key subcommittees in Congress who keep watch on Foreign Service legislation. The Foreign Service has lost some of its staunchest friends and defenders on the Hill, such as Dante Fascell, former chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, who oversaw the enactment of The Foreign Service Act of 1980. Congressional initiatives that occasionally surface to abolish the Foreign Service as a separate system or to weaken its scope or its autonomy appear, for the moment, dormant. Budget considerations today curb efforts of other agencies that may want to place their own people in embassies abroad. The service remains vulnerable to further legislative amendments and changes. For the time being, however, its status as a separate system seems relatively secure.

The Foreign Service today, especially as seen in Washington, is troubled. The problems I have mentioned are leaving scars. The confidence of many officers in the system has diminished; litigation is seen too often by individuals and groups as the only answer to grievances. Assignments are constantly challenged by personal appeals. Many look upon the Foreign Service as neither a calling nor a career, but as "something to try" or as an experience to add to a resume. Some officers exit in a few years; others wait until retirement after 20 years offers the opportunity for a second career. The murmuring about the political ceiling that seems more and more often to cut off opportunities at the policy level is audible.

Yet this dark picture may be exaggerated. In part, it is undoubtedly a reflection of the pain of a long period of transition in both the character of the corps and the contraction of responsibilities, resources and opportunities around the world. The generation feels it most that has lived through this and has experienced what seemed, to them, brighter days in the past. That generation has been most affected by the changes.

If one turns away from the murmuring, there are brighter signs. Seventy-eight percent of today's sitting chiefs of mission are from the career Service. Fourteen of the assistant secretaries, geographical and functional, are FSOs. And, beyond Foggy Bottom, an exciting, changing world exists in which the United States still plays a significant role. New posts — albeit difficult ones — are opening in the region of the former Soviet Union, and young officers, many with enthusiasm, are winning their spurs as another generation did in the newly independent countries of the immediate post-World War II era.

What are the answers, then, to the three questions posed at the beginning?

There will continue to be a Foreign Service, even if, for many years yet to come, that Service will be adjusting to a different nation and a different society. The involvement of its personnel in the policy levels of government will depend on individual acumen and responsiveness to administrations. But, to those who take pride in serving the nation, who find thrills in resolving problems across cultural barriers, and who are prepared to endure the unpredictability of bureaucracy, the Foreign Service of the United States will continue to provide opportunities for a satisfying involvement in the making of history.

David D. Newsom entered the Foreign Service in 1947 and retired in 1981. He served as ambassador to Libya, Indonesia, and the Philippines, and as assistant secretary for African affairs, undersecretary for political affairs and secretary of state ad interim. He is currently Cumming Professor of International Relations at the University of Virginia.

Reflections on the

BY KAREN KREBSBACH

Lawrence Eagleburger, the only Foreign Service officer to serve as Secretary of State — in 1989 under President Bush — also served as ambassador to Yugoslavia for more than three years under President Carter. He is now a senior international affairs adviser at the Washington law firm of Baker, Worthington, Crossley, Stansberry and Woolf.

Krebsbach: *Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed to honor the magazine's 75th anniversary. Looking ahead to the year 2000, what will the Foreign Service look like? What will officers be doing?*

Eagleburger: Basically that's going to depend on the Foreign Service more than anything else. Let's go to 2010, 2020, somewhere there. My point here is that one of the things I think we need to understand is that the world into which we are now moving, and we're only beginning to understand it and see it, is going to be a very mixed-up, unstable, unpleasant, dangerous world. It's not the world of the Cold War, where if somebody pushed a button everybody got blown up. But what it is is a world in which we have learned that having won the Cold War and destroyed the Soviet empire, things are not all beer and skittles as we thought they would be. And in fact, Bosnia is an example, any number of places are examples, so the fact is that with the end of the Cold War a whole host of old historic hostilities we thought had disappeared, in fact have not.

Interestingly enough, I think the Foreign Service, as we move out of this century into the next one, is going to be called on to be much more sophisticated, careful, discerning and able to prioritize than the Foreign Service that I spent so much time in. We were more or less within the confines of the Cold War, and that made a lot of decisions relatively easy, or at least if not the decisions easy, the analysis of what needed to be done easy. In a world in which that principal threat is gone, but in its place we're facing serious new kinds of old challenges, it's going to be quite different.

Krebsbach: *How about the key foreign policy issues? What are they likely to be?*

Eagleburger: I think what we need to understand is to get from where we are now to where we are going, wherever that is in the next century, a lot of the past isn't going to be particularly relevant. How you deal with the kinds of terribly complicated and very challenging issues of nationalism, for instance. What we need to understand is that we're going back into an era in which nationalism, which was the bane of the existence of the close of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, is back with us in spades. How do you deal with those kinds of issues? How do you deal with the whole mass of new kinds of challenges that can't be dealt with except collectively, like managing the avoidance of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction? How do you deal with environmental concerns? How do you do what you can to assure a more open trading and financial system? All of these at a time when the pressures are going to be in the other direction.

It is in that kind of context that the Foreign Service, if it proves up to it, can be terribly, terribly important in finding new answers to old problems, because the old answers to the old problems didn't work. Witness World War I and World War II. And new answers to the new kinds of problems, like proliferation, which we at this stage haven't the vaguest idea how to handle. It means an across-the-board ability to deal with economic and political and cultural issues in ways that we really haven't had to do since 1945 or '46.

Krebsbach: *Which means training will be key.*

Eagleburger: It means training is key, but it also

Foreign Service

WAYNE W. FISHER

means an inherent ability so that the training has some fertile ground to fall on. That means, I think, real care in recruitment, but it also means real care in rewards and benefits. I'm not sure the system is at this stage up to it.

Krebsbach: *Do you see it being a system of more generalists or specialists?*

Eagleburger: I've never been able to answer that question. I can't now. You need them both. In the end, I suspect you need generalists at the top, but you need specialists to make the generalists make sense. I suspect you need both, and you need specialists who can become generalists.

Krebsbach: *How about the skills and specific kinds of knowledge that will be needed? Will they be different than the knowledge or skills needed in today's Foreign Service?*

Eagleburger: Again I'm going to avoid an answer to the question, because I have always believed that the skill that was most necessary was the gray matter that could deal with complicated problems in imaginative and, on occasion, courageous ways. That's the kind of skill you're lucky if you find, and I'm not sure you can train much for it.

Having said that, surely you're going to need real expertise in things like proliferation, environment, economic and financial matters, one of the things that has begun to change, and I think is all for the better. The State Department pays much more attention to assisting U.S. business abroad, and I think that's an area where we need all kinds of training so that our people understand what businessmen think about. It would be terribly critical if we're going

to be as effective in the next century as we should be, despite idiotic articles in the *Foreign Service Journal* by some fellow who didn't like the fact that we were getting more serious about export promotion.

Krebsbach: *Ten years ago, in a 1984 interview with the Journal, you said: "The desired qualities for an FSO are intelligence, communication skills and guts." Do you still think those traits will be important in the future?*

Eagleburger: Yes. It's a less elegant way to say what I just said, but, yes, they are absolutely critical. They may not be the only skills, but without those you can be as bright as a new copper penny, but you won't make much difference.

Krebsbach: *So you don't see the Foreign Service as becoming obsolete, as some have forecasted?*

Eagleburger: No. As a matter of fact, if we're smart and can meet the challenges, I think the Foreign Service is going to be far more important than it was in the past, because we are back in a far more complicated world which most people, including most policy-makers and most politicians, simply aren't going to understand, and where the ability of the Foreign Service to describe and articulate the kind of world we're going inro and what needs to be done about it will be absolurely critical. I'm nor saying I'm absolutely confident the Foreign Service can do it, but I am saying to you that it is a challenge which, if the Foreign Service is smart, it's made to order for them, much more, in a strange way, than the old world of the Cold War, where everything was — if not everything, an awful lot of things — were cast in the context of how it related to the Cold War.

Krebsbach: *In terms of the actual structure of embassies, do you see the continuation of the traditional embassy or a move toward more regional centers or smaller, more specialized posts?*

Eagleburger: I haven't the vaguest idea, and the answer to that is going to depend to a degree on how the world develops. I guess I still believe that if you have the right people assigned to a post who can analyze the situation, report it back in a clear and coherent way with some suggestions on what to do about it, that's critical to providing a Foreign Service that makes a difference.

How that is structured, whether it's a small post, whether the embassies change or not, I don't know, but the one thing that is both an advantage and a threat, depending on how we use it, is the revolution in communications technology. The ability to communicate rapidly and concisely is important. The danger is that the fact of reporting is going to become a substitute for thought and Washington is going to say, "You report and we'll think," and what you're going to end up with is an embassy that is nothing but adept at managing computers and communications technology.

The ability to communicate rapidly is important. The ability to think is at least as important, and that you need in the field as much as you need it in Washington. If we fall back on simply using the technology to get word back to Washington in a hurry, with the assumption that Washington knows all the answers, it would be a mistake.

All of that, I guess, argues for a substantial presence abroad. How structured, that depends on the situation.

Krebsbach: *Given the experience that you've had, and you've seen the importance of strategic planning, how best can the Foreign Service move towards improvement in this area? I hear you saying that this seems to be key.*

Eagleburger: You've asked another question I can't answer. I admit that straregic planning is important, and there are all sorts of mechanisms for doing it, including policy planning staff and so forth, most of which comes with experience. With all respect to all of the people who have served there, by and large it doesn't make much difference, because decision-makers move too fast and without often thinking through the consequences of their acts, which strategic planners ought to be able to give them.

The only way I can answer the question is, aside from saying these institutions ought to continue and be used as much as people are humanly prepared to use them, is to say, again, the Foreign Service as an institution needs to teach its people ro think strategically. It does not take a hell of a lot of brains to be able to see — at least I think — that the world into which we are moving is going to be very difficult, dangerous and unpleasant. That means then that when you begin to think about specific policies that need to be implemented, you need to think about them in the context of the kinds of strategic outcomes you want.

I will be deliberately marginally nasty here and say I don't understand, for example, how you can look at the world in the next 20 years or so and not understand how absolutely critical it is that we have a good relationship with the People's Republic of China, a country which I think is inevitably in the process of change under any circumstances. And if that's the case — and reasonable people can disagree — but if that's the case, if you believe, as I do, that China is in the process of transformation anyway, and we need [the Chinese] in the Security Council now, and we're going to need them whether we need them on North Korea or not, we're going to need them in the future as the world begins to change and as we try to develop a strategic concept of how to deal with the Pacific. It seems to me that as you make your decisions on policy in day-to-day matters, it has to be done in the context of realizing where it is you plan to go with that country. I have been less nasty than I might be, but I think I have made my point.

Krebsbach: *You have. Let's move on to the situation in Yugoslavia. Would you have done anything differently there if you were still secretary of state?*

Eagleburger: Let's remember that this one happened on our watch to begin with. While I don't particularly think the new administration has rediscovered the wheel — in fact, I think they have arrived at some of the same unpleasant conclusions we did — I can't claim any credit for having solved a problem which we clearly didn't solve and which has continually gotten worse.

There are some problems — and this is again an area where reasonable

people can disagree — and whether Bosnia is one or Yugoslavia was one or not, clearly there are going to be these kinds of problems where the ability of the United States to affect events is limited. One of the things that's going to be very critical for the Foreign Service, as much as for any institution in the U.S. government, is to be able to recognize what our limitations are and to be able to take a deep breath and say, "This is awful, but it is one for which we do not at this point have a solution that is worth the price we'd have to pay to make it work."

I kind of believe that is where we are with regards to Yugoslavia and Bosnia and it's where we have been for some time. We can be active on the edges, and the administration is doing the right thing now in trying to bring the parties together to negotiate a compromise. It is a compromise which my sense tells me won't last long under the best of circumstances, given the dynamics of the players, but all of this is to the good. We ought to be trying to bring the sides together.

I have always been more than reluctant to contemplate the use of force here — and this is one of the world's great hot spots — because while I won't say it's Vietnam, I will say that I don't see any forceful engagement that doesn't require a fairly massive use of U.S. forces or Western forces, and in circumstances which I think if not guarantee it will be hard to withdraw, at least there is the likelihood it would be very hard to withdraw, and we'd lose a lot of people. And if we lose a lot of people, the American people are simply not going to tolerate the cost. So I have been less than ready to contemplate the use of force, but I have also been less than creative in coming up with some solutions to a terrible problem. Others may find a solution. I hope they do. In my judgment, that awful mess will end when the participants have worn themselves out.

That's a bad answer and it's one which a lot of people legitimately don't like to accept as an answer, but it is also an interesting fact that people who have been arguing for the use of force are by and large those who in the past have argued against it. And those who have argued for the use of force in the past are by and large against using it in the Yugoslav case. I guess that ought to tell you something about the kind of analysis that's gone in on each side. I happen to be one of those who thinks that the use of force can be a creative, diplomatic weapon, but I also think it's going to have to be used with great care and with some sense of what it's going to accomplish. I don't have the answer to that in this case. Others do.

My bottom line is, I don't have an answer other than time and letting the contending parties work it out with our assistance where we can and providing humanitarian assistance where we. I recognize an awful lot of people find this a very unsatisfactory answer. If they want to try something else, particularly if they're in power, that's their right to do. They will have to be prepared to answer for the consequences.

Krebsbach: *In terms of policy goals, one direction that the U.S. seems to be moving toward is having scarcer resources. Do you see better ways of achieving policy goals with fewer resources?*

Eagleburger: The answer to that, in the abstract, has always been fairly obvi-

ous. I think we as a nation, in the conduct of our foreign relations and our AID program, we waste a lot of money. I think we could do a good bit better with what we have, but that is not a problem of the Foreign Service. It is fundamentally a congressional problem. I think the degree to which they have put bells and whistles on every appropriation and the degree to which they say how money may and may not be used, they've nit-picked it to death. It's totally counterproductive. Having said that, it is also a product of the American democratic system, and while I don't like the consequence, I can't argue with the causes. That's the way the Congress is.

I think we are in crying need of reorganizing AID, and I must say I think this administration has made some good steps in that direction. Quite frankly, I think the need for reorganization is fundamental, but that having been said, [AID Administrator] Brian Atwood has done a good job. I would like to see him go even further. But again, to make AID a more productive organization would require such a change in the way the Congress works that I'm not sure how much can be accomplished.

Despite the fact that I can't argue that there are inefficiencies in the management of an assistance program, the principal culprit, Congress, I don't think is going to change much. ... Well, I'll make one more point on AID. Under the best of circumstances, we have to begin to be far more demanding in our establishment of priorities on who ought to get aid and how much aid. We've got to stop using the shotgun approach. Again, that is easy to say, very hard to accomplish.

As far as the Foreign Service and the State Department are concerned, it's going to be a constant struggle. Here again, it's going to therefore mean a question of establishing priorities. One of the priorities that worries me most is reducing posts abroad and keeping things relatively healthy at home. I think that's probably a mistake. But again, we have to think strategically about what it is that's most important that we do. Then we have to begin to save money on the less important priorities. For example, I think, by and large, the political-military specialization, except as it relates to things like proliferation, is an area that needs less attention, while economics and commercial operations need a lot more attention, a lot more training and more money. But it's going to be tight under the best of circumstances.

Krebsbach: *Do you think the Foreign Service is making the best use of its talent?*

Eagleburger: No. I think the promotion system is less than productive. Well, I have to be careful. It's not bad, but there are some real problems with it, most of which I frankly think are a consequence, again, of legislated requirements. There's one thing that I just find terribly difficult to understand, and that is the number of senior Foreign Service officers who continue on when there's no place for them, and walk the halls. I know how popular that's going to make me when they read the article, but we have too many generals compared to privates, and I think we should be much more stringent in requiring that people depart on retirement after a certain period of time in which they don't have an assignment.

To put it bluntly, I think particularly in the world into which we are going, we're going to have to make room for the younger people. It's easy for me, having left the system, to say that, and I am not saying that once you reach the age of 55 or 60 you've necessarily gone over the hill and out of a job, but I am saying that the promotion system doesn't move you forward fast and if there isn't a job for you in the grade that you have, then there ought to be a way to say, "You may be a great fellow, but it's time you retired." I think we need to be much tougher than we have been. I think that's the biggest problem today.

I think the promotion system needs to be streamlined, I think there needs to be some way found to be much more specific in judging people.

Krebsbach: *Better evaluations.*

Eagleburger: Better evaluations. But it's easy to say these things. I can say them, but if you ask me tomorrow morning to give you a recipe for one, I probably couldn't do it because of any number of constraints, most of which are legal. One of the things that needs to be changed is the desire to avoid training. Most of the Foreign Service that I knew — and I think it's still the case — by and large liked to avoid training because they're not in line for assignments and promotions.

Training is one of the things that's going to be absolutely necessary to start thinking creatively about in the new world into which we're going.

I think, to be blunt, it requires a certain degree of pessimism in terms of what the world is going to look like over the next 10 or 20 years and be prepared to live with it and deal with it.

Krebsbach: *Let's talk about ambassador positions. President Clinton has so far filled 31 slots with political appointees, as opposed to choosing 50 career ambassadors, according to State Department figures. Is that a good ratio or not?*

Eagleburger: Yes. The obvious answer — that is no answer — is we shouldn't care if they're career or non-career as long as they're good. What that means is not a hell of a lot, because a lot of the political appointees are not worth much, and they didn't get there because of their expertise in foreign affairs. A number of the Foreign Service officers appointed as ambassadors are not necessarily worth much either because they're afraid to speak up. When they do speak up, they pay a price for it, so I understand why they don't want to speak up.

Having said all of that, my answer is — don't ask me to defend it intellectually — something like a 70:30 percent ratio is manageable and livable. Seventy [percent] career, 30 [percent] political. Something like 25:75, 30:70, something in there. Because in the end, we can argue with the best will in the world that we ought to have more, but the political system of the United States is going to require that a fair number be political appointees. So we have to live with that. The issue then becomes again paying a great deal of attention,

to make sure that the 75 percent who get their embassies are the best 75 out of the Foreign Service, and let them demonstrate by their abilities the need to keep them.

Krebsbach: *A new class of A100 officers is now in training. Any advice you'd like to give them as they consider their careers in the Foreign Service?*

Eagleburger: The advice I have to give them is pretty useless, because I'm back to what you quoted to me. It is hard for a 25-year-old. I guess the best way I can answer your question is to say that one of the things I did see changing in the Foreign Service, and by and large I thought it was for the good, was if you compared the early classes — the A100 class I was in with the new ones — we may have been more mature because we'd come out of wars, but we weren't as intellectually energetic, and we weren't as prepared to question a given.

One of the things I did see changing in the Foreign Service was a greater willingness to challenge authority and argue, make a point. That's all to the good, up to a point. There does come a time when you have to salute and do what you're told. I think discipline within the Foreign Service has deteriorated. I don't think we ought to have to negotiate every time we turn around about where somebody goes or accepts an assignment. So you pay a price for the greater individual assurance. You pay a price. Having said it, I think in the end it's probably better for the Foreign Service.

I've been asked several times about the resignations in Yugoslavia, and my answer to is that I don't agree with their actions, but I have to admit a certain grudging respect for these kids. ...

To the degree I can advise the A100 class: Don't lose your sense of justice and rightness, and be prepared to stand for it, but understand that the system requires at some stage that you salute and you do what you're told, or you quit. In the end, that plus as much challenge intellectually as you can find in coming to grips with what this new world is going to be like.

The system and the career do a great deal to make people question whether it's still a worthy career. That's true in almost any career, but I think the Foreign Service has been raised to a new elegant level. But having said all of that, if we care about the future of the country and if you care what the country stands for and if you care to see it succeed in this new world, there's probably no more important way to deal with it than the Foreign Service. There will be frustrations. This is a career that takes too long to put you where you can make a decision and a career that promotes on a less than coherent basis, but, yes, I think it's a very worthy career, one which in the end most people would be able to look back on with a good sense of pride.

Krebsbach: *And once again, thank you for having taken the time to talk with us.*

Karen Krebsbach is editor of the **Foreign Service Journal**.

A Captain, a Ship and a Final Battle

The Saga of the C.S.S. Alabama

By Christopher M. Henze

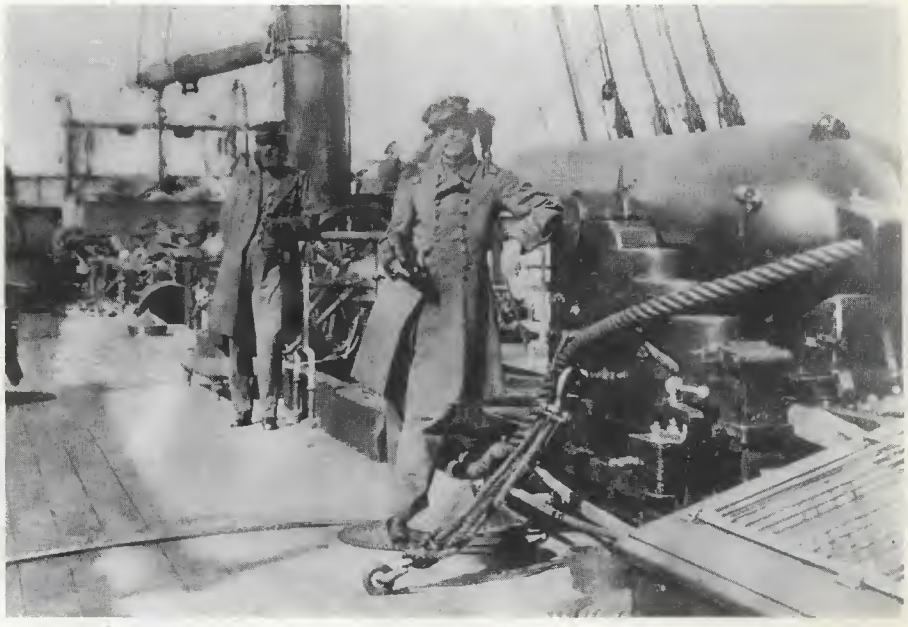
Many people are unaware that an important battle in the American Civil War took place in 1864 off the coast of France. Construction of a cruiser at the Laird shipyard in Birkenhead, England, was secretly ordered under a fictitious name by the representative of the Confederate Navy in Europe, Captain James Bulloch of Georgia. Completed in 1862 and ostensibly destined for the Chinese Empire, the ship took off on a trial run from which she never returned. Instead, in a successful ruse she sailed to the Azores, where just outside the three-mile limit of the Portuguese islands, she was outfitted with artillery and stores from another ship and commissioned in the Confederate States Navy under the command of Captain Raphael Semmes.

For 22 months the Alabama roved the oceans from South America to the China Sea, capturing 65 Union ships, most of which were burned. Her epic cruise was the most devastating in the history of commerce raiding. Insurance rates shot sky-high, and the Union merchant marine was almost put out of business as shippers turned to neutral vessels for their freight. In fact, the U.S. Merchant Marine never regained its pre-war prosperity.

Captain Semmes came from Maryland, but made his home in Mobile, Alabama, where he had opened a law office. He was a dashing master seaman and an accomplished diplomat in his dealings with neutrals and port authorities around the world. Known to his men as "Old Beeswax" because he waxed and twisted his moustache to long points, he was also a strict disciplinarian to his 149-member crew largely composed of Liverpool waterfront toughs.

The Alabama herself was a "screw sloop," meaning she could cruise as a fully rigged sailing ship, but also had a steam engine and retractable propeller for quick bursts of speed to elude pursuit or close in on her prey when the orders "Up Funnel! Down Screw!" were given. The raider marked a key phase in the evolution of ship propulsion. Her naval artillery, too, was in a transitional stage. She carried smooth-bore, 32-pound guns firing solid shot and two shell-firing, rifled "pivot guns," which could swivel on their carriage. Built primarily for speed, the fine lines of the Alabama's copper-plated wooden hull gave her exceptional elegance and maneuverability. Captain Semmes was justly proud of his ship, which he said, "sat upon the water with the lightness and grace of a swan."

On June 11, 1864, the Alabama put in at Cherbourg on the Normandy coast. She badly needed dockyard maintenance after an extraordinarily long cruise which had taken her half way around the world. Captain Semmes favored a French port because France had always been friendly toward the Confederacy, which, for its part, supported Emperor Napoleon III's Mexican expedition, partly because it was a thorn in the side of the North. The Richmond government had hoped for French recognition, until Gettysburg dimmed its chances.



COURTESY OF THE NAVAL HISTORICAL CENTER

Captain Raphael Semmes, also known as "Old Beeswax," led the crew of the C.S.S. Alabama through a largely unknown Civil War battle off the French coast. In the background is Lt. J.M. Kell.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Navy's steam sloop Kearsarge, anchored off Flushing, Holland, had been alerted by the U.S. consul in Cherbourg and arrived on the scene, cruising just outside the then three-mile limit. Her captain, John A. Winslow, had been Semmes' classmate at Annapolis, and the two had been shipmates sharing a cabin during the Mexican War. Rather than ask for asylum in France or surrender to the Kearsarge, Semmes challenged the Union warship to single combat, reck-

oning that the two ships, both steam sloops, were fairly equally matched. On the morning of Sunday, June 19, he sailed out to battle, with a band following in another boat playing "Dixie." When Semmes was seven miles out, the Kearsarge turned and headed straight for the Alabama. The two ships circled, each trying to get into a position to fire at the other's vulnerable stern. A seaman aboard the Kearsarge thought they looked "like flies crawling around the edge of a saucer."

By the time they had made seven circles in little more than an hour, the Alabama was sinking. After ordering his men to abandon ship, Semmes flung his sword into the water before plunging overboard himself. The two ships were not as equal as Semmes had believed. The Alabama's gunpowder had deteriorated, and her aiming was poor because practice had been neglected to save ammunition. The Kearsarge had also armored her wooden sides with iron chains for protection and sustained only minor damage from the Alabama's artillery. The Alabama suffered 43 casualties, 19 of them killed or drowned. The Kearsarge had only one man killed and two wounded of her crew of 163.

Captain Semmes was picked up by a British yacht and taken to England. He later returned to the South via continental Europe and Mexico. He was promoted to rear admiral and placed in charge of the James River squadron defending Richmond. He returned to Mobile after the war.

The battle, which had been announced in the French press, was witnessed by thousands of people from the cliffs surrounding Cherbourg and by others in boats hired for the occasion. Many in the crowd had come by special train on the new railway from Paris for the inauguration of a casino. The duel at sea was also commemorated in a painting by no less an artist than Edouard Manet. Some people even claim the battle contributed to President Lincoln's reelection, because up to that time there had been few decisive Northern victories.

The Alabama continued to make history, legal history, even after her sinking and the end of the war. Following the defeat of the Confederacy, the government in Washington still smoldered with anger over the damage inflicted by Confederate warships on Northern commerce. The American wrath was directed mainly against Great Britain because most of the enemy cruisers, the most notorious of which was the Alabama, had been built in British shipyards. Yet Britain as a neutral power was not supposed to provide assistance to either of the belligerents. In the early part of the war, until slavery emerged as the central issue, the British government had sympathized with the Confederacy — considered a group of gentlemen with whom the English upper classes felt an affinity they did not share with the money-grubbing Yankees. Moreover, the United States was a rising trade rival to Great Britain. The North was also protectionist, whereas the South, like England, supported free trade.

When Ulysses S. Grant became president, his secretary of state, Hamilton Fish, negotiated the Treaty of Washington in 1871, in which the United States and Great Britain agreed to submit to arbitration the "Alabama" and other disputes arising out of Britain's role in the war. An arbitration panel was established in Geneva between 1871-1872, which included Brazil, Switzerland, Italy, Great Britain and the United States. In this landmark case, the first international arbitration tribunal in history awarded the United States $15.5 million in gold.

President Wilson remembered the event when the peacemakers of 1919 were deciding where to locate the new League of Nations. He proposed Geneva. Thus, the Alabama arbitration became that city's first step toward its present international status. Today, visitors to the Geneva City Hall can see the proudly marked Alabama Room, where the 1872 arbitration took place.

In 1984, 120 years after she sank, the wreck of the Alabama was located on the ocean floor at a depth of about 60 meters some six miles off Cherbourg by the sonar of a French Navy minesweeper. The discovery was kept more or less secret to prevent pilfering until shortly before scientific investigation began in earnest in 1988. In May and June of that year, during relatively calm water periods, 162 scuba dives were made to the wreck. Since then, dives have continued each year in May and June when the days are longer and the visibility is better. Artifacts retrieved include items from the ship's ceramic dinner service; a toilet bowl with a Romantic blue landscape covering the entire porcelain interior, and a portion of the ship's wheel bearing her motto "Aide-toi et Dieu t'aidera."

The artifacts have been treated and preserved by experts from the French public utility Electricite de France, who also treated artifacts recovered from the Titanic. By mutual agreement exploration of the wreck is under the strict supervision of a joint French-American scientific committee. After a lengthy series of bilateral negotiations between France and the United States over ownership of the artifacts salvaged from the wreck, which lies within today's French territorial waters, the French government in 1991 officially recognized U.S. ownership of artifacts from the Alabama and permitted their exhibition in the United States. The opening of the exhibit at the Navy Museum in Washington, D.C., in 1992 was attended by representatives of the Semmes and Winslow families. The artifacts were later appropriately displayed in Mobile, Alabama.

Can the legendary ship be raised? Not yet with today's technology, say the experts. She lies too far down, and the currents in the channel are too strong. However, she has delivered surprises and made her mark in history more than once before. The saga of the Alabama will continue.

Christopher M. Henze, a retired Foreign Service officer, is now a consultant in France. He first developed an interest in the C.S.S. Alabama while serving as counselor for public affairs at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations in Geneva. Later, as cultural attache at the U.S. Embassy in Paris, he acted as liaison between French and American legal and scientific experts during negotiations on the ship.

Leaving Rwan

Fear, Courage, Compassion Reign During Ev

Since the April 6 apparent assassination of Rwanda President Juvenal Habyarimana and Burundi President Cyprien Ntaryamira in an airplane crash, Rwanda has fallen into chaos. The latest eruption of ethnic violence between the two main tribes has left an estimated 100,000 dead and forced the evacuation of hundreds of European and American nationals. The feud is decades old between the Hutu tribe, which accounts for 90 percent of the country's 8.5 million people, and the Tutsis, who make up about 10 percent of the population.

This report is an edited version of several excerpts sent via e-mail to the AID Washington office. The writer, AID Executive Officer Jairo Granados of the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi, helped coordinate the evacuation of more than 160 Americans, 600 French residents and 1,500 Belgians, some of whom stopped in Nairobi on their way off the continent. The U.S. Embassy in Kigali was temporarily closed on April 11; U.S. Ambassador David Rawson and his family left with the last convoy of 200 cars, fleeing to Bujumbura, the capital of Burundi.

NAIROBI, April 14 — Thirty five American citizens came on the first flight on April 10. They were tired and in pain, some broken emotionally. A few were still dazed in disbelief, confused and frightened. Others, their eyes red from crying, held hands and supported each other as they descended down the ramp of a U.S. Air Force C-141 at the airport. Children looked disoriented, some too young to comprehend the immense tragedy that had occurred. These were the evacuees from Rwanda.

They had witnessed the ethnic massacres in Kigali, Rwanda, and had travelled by vehicle convoys to safety in Burundi. C-141 cargo planes, 360 U.S. Marines and four helicopters had arrived hours earlier at the Bujumbura airport, ready to load evacuees on planes to fly them directly to Nairobi. The Marines were poised to extricate them with helicopters from Rwanda or provide cover to the convoys had it been necessary.

But now they were safe and being welcomed and embraced with open arms by the U.S. Ambassador to Kenya Aurelia Brazeal and members of the official diplomatic community. When news was received that evacuees would be coming to Nairobi, the U.S. Embassy sprung into action. When the evacuees arrived, "Distant Runner," the code name for the evacuation of Rwanda operation, was fully operational.

The evacuees gave graphic accounts of the terror witnessed by Americans and Europeans as they fled from their homes and friends.

For Americans, coming from a different culture, it is difficult to understand or even begin to comprehend the deep-rooted hatred and animosity of these ethnic wars. We don't understand what an ethnic blood bath is. We shrink in horror. We imagine it happening only in movies or on the 7 o'clock news. It never involves us personally. We don't want to believe the stories. Perhaps they are exaggerated, we say and hope we are right. We try to deny them but they are true — just as they are true in Bosnia and South Africa.

We heard, for example, that a little white child, about 9 years old, saw her Tutsi playmate of about the same age taken from her arms and beheaded in front of her eyes. An American teenage missionary saw a Rwandese on his knees begging for mercy. A soldier blew his brains out while the teen watched. Some evacuees saw houses burning with families inside, gangs of civilians and soldiers throwing grenades into houses. Convoys that searched for escaping Rwandese were harassed during the trip. Rwandese seeking to escape the slaughter ran to an American compound, and begged the evacuating Americans to take their children along, but they couldn't, since the children would have been pulled out of the convoys and killed. Will these Americans now feel guilty for saying no? Are those children left behind alive or dead?

But there were incidents of bravery and sacrifice, like that of missionary Carl Wilkins, who chose to remain behind to operate a short-wave radio, relaying messages to keep the U.S. embassies in Bujumbura and Nairobi informed of the convoys' locations. The U.S. military attache drove from Bujumbura to Kigali in a test run to advise if it was safe to travel the roads to Burundi. Sometimes evacuees travelled through dangerous roads to alert missionaries. On the road, cars that had broken down were pulled by rope by from other vehicles. Ten foreign nuns

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KARSTEN THIELKER/ASSOCIATED PRESS

French paratroopers evacuated thousands of foreigners from the outskirts of Kigali during the outbreak of civil war between the Hutu and the Tutsi tribes, the latest eruption of a decades-long feud between the country's two main ethnic groups. The evacuation included about 160 Americans who lived in the capital.

from the Sisters of Charity refused to be evacuated by the French and abandon their Tutsi sisters, and the 100 elderly and 100 orphans they cared for.

When evacuees reached Nairobi, many were traumatized. They were trying to forget, their emotions and nerves a mosaic of grief and sorrow at the horror they had witnessed fewer than 12 hours earlier.

The airport in Nairobi was total chaos as Belgian cargo planes loaded up paratroopers, equipment, vehicles and ammunition for a flight into Kigali. Waiting for the evacuees was an enormous crowd of people from the United Nations, various embassies, international organizations, non-governmental organizations, religious groups and reporters. Kenya officials who helped in the entry of evacuees were also waiting for U.S. planes to bring their Kenya citizens home. There was a great deal of cooperation between the U.S. Embassy and Kenya officials.

The regional medical officer, Dr. Brooks Taylor, met every U.S. plane, looking for signs of stress in evacuees, comforting them with hugs.

With the help of the Kenya government, the evacuees were helped quickly through customs and transported by buses to hotels or, as with the missionaries, provided with transportation to local offices or churches.

On Tuesday, Taylor and the regional psychiatrist, Dr. Walter Barquist, who had flown in from Pretoria, arranged a "coping with stress" session open to all American evacuees.

Essentially, Barquist explained that they would be going through a period of uncontrollable emotions ranging from sadness to anxiety, as they dealt with their memories. There would be nightmares and periods of irritability and unwillingness to communicate. He assured them their feelings were normal and encouraged them to talk with each other. He warned that very young evacuees might experience different symptoms, such as regressing to early childhood or infancy. A child of 7 might begin to act like a 2-year-old, might start wetting the bed, or might experience personality changes, becoming erratic or aggressive. He urged family members to talk to each other, which would create the strong bond needed to heal from the experience.

Indeed, it may have been the hardest for the children. But they were provided with toys. Their parents were encouraged to take them to the hotel swimming pool, where they laughed and screamed with delight in the water. Others chased each other through the carpeted lobby and hallways, running up the stairs and riding the glass elevators in the main lobby atrium. These were kids acting like most kids everywhere in the world. Normalcy was returning to their lives.

Throughout this, the U.S. government community in Nairobi worked as a team to accomplish the evacuation, particularly given the lack of information and early confusion. The U.S. Embassy's Administrative Counselor Elaine Schunter and General Service Officer Wayne Bush led the operation, coordinating with AID workers in the use of U.S Air Force planes from Germany and U.S. Marines from the carrier Pelilu off the Somalia coast. The planes were to be used to shuttle civilians out of the area; the Marines were to provide some protection overhead as the convoys exited along the roads.

Listening to the evacuees call their relatives at home was a very beautiful, and I might add, emotional experience. As they talked to their families, many sobbed with joy at making it out of Rwanda alive.

As we said goodbye to 35 evacuees on the KLM flight to Amsterdam, with connecting flights to the United States, it dawned on me that I was really saying goodbye to my brothers and sisters. Inside my car, I felt as though I was beaming, as I grinned to myself and remembered the melody from a song by Louis Armstrong, "I see trees ... and I say to myself, 'What a wonderful world.'"

BOOKS

The Third Most Important Country

GERMANY AND AMERICA: NEW IDENTITIES, FATEFUL RIFT?
By W.R. Smyser, Westview Press, 1993, $14.95, paperback, 139 pages.

Reviewed by Kenneth J. Dillon

German-American relations in the post-Cold War era are certainly a topic of note, and this extended essay analyzes them in an intelligent manner. The author, a retired Foreign Service officer, is generally successful in avoiding a rehash of yesterday's news. He recognizes that it is impossible to distinguish fully the U.S.-German relationship from the U.S.-European one, and so he discusses at length various European issues. Nonetheless, it is paradoxically fitting that, even at a time when supranational and subnational players are assuming certain functions previously exercised by states, he chooses this bilateral relationship to analyze. By vitiating the multinational framework of the Atlantic alliance, the collapse of the Soviet threat has obliged Americans and Germans to seek a new bilateral relationship, approached by both with some unease.

Smyser's main argument is that the new Germany, "as the principal agent of the global concert in Europe, and as the major agent of Europe within the global concert," is nonetheless tempted to become the center of a continental European system that departs from the American-led global concert — and the country can potentially undermine the viability of that concert. Judging by recent U.S.-German difficulties in communicating and in reaching agreement, he argues that this will cause a growing and perhaps irreparable rift in the to-date successful Atlantic alliance.

He criticizes Americans' unwillingness to accord the new Germany the status it merits, but the reader is left wondering whether the United States really ought to treat Germany as "the third most important country" in the world, as he puts it. Though it is undoubtedly the leading country in

Europe and deserves respect for its economic, social and cultural achievements, Germany is neither large nor, in global terms, particularly populous. Its economy is stagnating, its population aging. It has fallen behind in high technology, and it has significant domestic problems, above all with the integration of the East Germans. Should the U.S. therefore be expected to treat Germany with particular regard, as its main and in certain senses equal interlocutor in Europe? A reading of this book suggests that Germany is far from ready to play the global role that co-equal status would imply.

A novice of German affairs would profit from this book's clear, balanced presentation of major issues of high policy on the bilateral relationship. Old German hands may find sections such as that on U.S.-French-German debates over non-NATO forces of interest. Analysts of U.S.-Japan affairs might wish to peruse the section entitled, "The Germany That Can Say No," if only to sense the relative lack of tension in the less salient U.S.-German relationship. And those who like to ponder the more problematic side of reality may wish to browse through the book and ask themselves why and how one should analyze state-to-state relationships in an era of pullulating non-state activity, or how a German must feel when confronted for the umpteenth time with a reference to the atrocities of a half century ago.

Kenneth J. Dillon is a McLean-based researcher and consultant.

A Troublemaker's Memoirs

FROM PALACE TO PRISON: INSIDE THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION
By Ehsan Naraghi, Ivan R. Dee: Chicago, 1994, $28.95, hardcover, 283 pages.

Reviewed by Richard T. Arndt

Old Iran hands will remember the author, an engaging, insightful, energetic, outspoken, original, ubiquitous, anti-communist but ultimately mysterious figure, the kind of man invariably rumored to work for any of various intelligence organizations. American officials, social scientists and many of his Iranian colleagues tended to mistrust him, as believers mistrust skeptics.

Now this skeptic has produced an amazing book, adding a basket of new tesserae to the mosaic, which memoirs like those of Asadollah Alam and Sattareh Farman-Farmaian are beginning to allow us to assemble. The inherently garrulous Iranian character has at last begun to emerge and express itself freely.

Reading his book, I suspect that the mystery around this engaging man may have been generated by its very absence: his loquaciousness, bluntness, rough-cut honesty and the courage to speak the same language to all sides — scarcely traits of the deep-cover operative — raised suspicions in Pahlavi Iran. In the numerous interrogations he reports here, none pursued alleged connections with SAVAK, the Shah's secret police.

Descended from a family which has contributed more than its share of reli-

BOOKS

gious leaders to Iran, Naraghi's orientation has nonetheless been persistently French and guardedly Western. His style, too, is French — he would have flourished in the era of the encyclopedistes. He trained in Paris, insofar as Iranian social scientists in the 1950s can be said to have "trained," and returned to Tehran as an "intellectual" in the French meaning, qualified as a demographer and sociologist, to head Tehran University's Institute of Social Studies and Research in the 1960s. His "Brain Drain" survey for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), reflecting Third World thinking, drove some Americans to mild despair; still, de-shredded embassy documents published by Iranian students show that the punctilious Martin Herz warily recommended Naraghi be "cultivated."

In 1969 he left Tehran, declining royal bribes for UNESCO's office of youth affairs, where he caught the irritated attention of the Nixon administration. Back in Iran in 1975, he headed the Institute of Research and Planning in the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, where he found himself at the time this story begins to unfold.

Each reader will find his or her own book here. First and perhaps foremost, this is a gripping tale. On Sept. 23, 1978, with chanted echoes of *Gotterdammerung* sounding through the night, a desperate and disoriented Shah — who had previously delegated contact with Naraghi to Prime Minister Hoveyda and the Empress — invited Naraghi for a no-holds-barred, one-on-one talk at Niavaran Palace. This stretched on to eight encounters, the last on Jan. 14, 1979, two days before the Shah's flight towards his sad and humiliating end.

Naraghi was too prominent not to attract trouble. In April 1979, he was arrested and interrogated from the Marxist side by a group of half-ignorant left-wing youngsters, vaguely Islamic; all were later gobbled up by their own revolution. In December,

with detailed nores of rhe royal conversations in his luggage, he was about to board a plane for Paris when he was apprehended and sent to the dreaded prison at Evin. Luggage and notes flew on to Paris and were collected by his son.

During this second relatively polite imprisonment, apparently a result of personal rivalry between Ebrahim Yazdi and Bani-Sadr, a friendly medical officer assigned him to the prison infirmary; still the constant fear was imminent execution without cause. A critic of both Marxists and radical Islamists as well as U.S. and other Wesrern influence, Naraghi as ever was suspected by all sides of working for the other one. Powerful voices this time got him out after five months and he went underground in Tehran.

The fall of Bani-Sadr, Naraghi's student and thus, by revolutionary logic, an immutable emanation of his teacher, brought him back to Evin. This time the interrogation seems most often to have taken the form of wondering why he was in prison at all. Still, his stay lasted 26 months and included unauthorized brutality by an illiterate and resentful guard the prisoners called "Hassan Gestapo." Regaining freedom in late 1983 he managed to get his family to Paris, where he now lives in exile.

Beyond the lovers of stories, a second group of readers will revel in rhe book's recounring of events of rhe lasr 50 years from an unusual viewpoinr: It tells much about the impact of vacillating American policies on a country like Iran. The second half of the book, a remarkable addition to the prison literature that recurs in world history from Plato forward is a memorable document for any time.

The book's two halves mesh better than it might seem: both the royal discussions and the prison sequences are frequently interrupted by digressions, interpolations, built-in footnotes, stories, episodes, conversations, portraits, explanations or theories, the whole held loosely together by its relentless chronology.

BOOKS

Iran-watchers will of course find useful news here. He clarifies the intellectual differences between factions like the Mojahedin and the Fedayin; he explains the importance of intellectuals like Ahmad Kasravi and Ali Shariati; he provides details on Princess Ashraf's role in the Mossadeq reversal; in a single footnote he sheds light on revolutionary antagonism towards the Baha'i faith; he convincingly relates the history of freemasonry in Iran; he speculates on rough costs of aspects of the Shah's military obsession; he reports long-known but seldom-mentioned stories about substantial Iranian contributions to U.S. presidential campaigns; he extracts a composite picture of the thin-spun Islamic cosmology of the 1970s from younger people, supplementing Roy Mottahadeh's "Mantle of the Prophet;" he interviews young guards and prisoners, illuminating the attitudes of Iranian and Third World youth. The book is crammed with information to be sorted out.

The prison section of the book has a deeper reach. It will appeal to any reader concerned about political imprisonment and prisoners, about depriving humans of freedom either for ideas or for lack of them, and about how prisoners can cope with freedom's loss. This section proves worthy of the prison literature of Stendhal, Arthur Koestler and Nelson Mandela, among others. What is particularly striking about Naraghi's report, and what makes it read like a cross between the harem scenes in Montesquieu's "Persian Letters" and the utopian dreams of Rousseau, is the picture he paints of life in prison. Imagine large rooms containing 30 to 60 Iranians of all ethnic backgrounds and classes, which become microcosmic social organizations, little self-governing social democracies with their own schools, courts, infirmaries, sanitation systems, kitchens, mosques and democratic leveling processes, revealing a degree of prison social organization beyond that depicted by Diderot, Dickens or Dostoyevsky.

In a novel, we would suspect a rigged thesis to the effect that, left to themselves and freed from the constraints of history, social class and foreign meddling, Iranians — even Iranians, some Americans might say — are quite capable of devising ways to live together in peace and equitably share available resources. But this is not a novel. Adjusting for the kind of interpretive truth we would expect from a Diderot or a Dickens, one is inclined to trust this witness.

American policy implacably continues to keep Iran on a short list of principal U.S. public enemies. Those who draw up such lists would do well to look carefully at what this book tells us about the sad history of American failures in that country. Given the inherent and perhaps irreducible obstacles to stable U.S. policy-making here at home, they might be led to wonder who lost what, to ponder the distribution of blame, and to speculate on how, for openers, both nations might begin the long process of putting past grievances behind us.

Richard T. Arndt, a professor at The George Washington University, is a former Foreign Service officer.

FICTION

The FSJ is soliciting manuscripts of under 2,500 words for a special fiction issue. Due June 15. Please send to the editor's attention.

BOOK REVIEWS

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Foreign Service Journal
2101 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20037

AFSA news

AFSA Hosts Sanctions Conference

By John J. Harter
Conference Affairs Officer

The March 31 AFSA symposium on sanctions and trade controls featured sharp differences of opinion between those who see government intervention in international trade as a potent diplomatic tool and others who see the costs of interfering with market forces as exceeding the benefits.

The 18th AFSA conference, attended by 250 representatives of business and government, was timely due to the rising visibility of economic sanctions (e.g., in Haiti, Bosnia, China and Iraq) and intense controversy in Congress regarding renewal of the Export Administration Act. In fact, the demise of COCOM, the Coordinating Committee on International Trade in Strategic Products, a multilateral body based in Paris that sought to prevent exports of products that might enhance the military strength of the communist world, was reported on the very day that the conference took place.

William A. Reinsch, Commerce's under secretary-designate for Export Administration, in his keynote speech, admitted that "sanctions are rapidly becoming, if not our favorite policy tool, then certainly the one we think of first when presented with unpleasant developments overseas, [but] the list of problems they have not solved is far longer than a list of successful outcomes."

Discussions continued at the eighth floor luncheon, where John Shattuck, assistant secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, was the featured luncheon speaker. He said, "Successful use of sanctions and other economic linkages cannot be defined in a one-size-fits-all formula, since what we will want to accomplish in our relationships with each specific country will vary substantially. It is a complicated world."

The program included specialized panels on sanctions and international law, sanctions in historical perspective, proposals for modifying the EAA, and a case study of China.

AFSA is preparing a Highlights Report on the conference that will be available to members in July.

1943-1994

Barbara Schell, 50, a political adviser to the military and an FSO since 1966, was one of 26 killed April 14 when American fighter planes mistakenly shot down two U.S. Army helicopters carrying officials from four allied nations in northern Iraq.

AAFSW Calls for Books

The Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW) seeks donations of books, stamps, coins, crafts and art for its annual fund-raising sale in October 1994. Tax-deductible donations should be brought to room 1524 or you may call (202)223-5796 to arrange a pick-up. Proceeds will go to the AFSA AAFSW Scholarship Fund.

ARA Bureau Meets with AFSA Alumni

In early April AFSA initiated the first foreign policy colloquium with the Inter-American Affairs Bureau. Nineteen distinguished AFSA alumni met with Assistant Secretary Alex Watson and his senior staff for three hours of discussion and an exchange of views.

This was the first of an all-bureau discussion series between policy-makers and senior alumni, including retired ambassadors and former assistant secretaries, to focus on key regional issues. ARA topics included the forthcoming "Summit of the Americas," the evolution of the Organization of American States and developments in Mexico, Cuba and Haiti.

The next meeting is planned with the Africa Bureau, and it is hoped that these discussions will become an established part of a Foreign Service network.

from the State vice president

By Todd Stewart

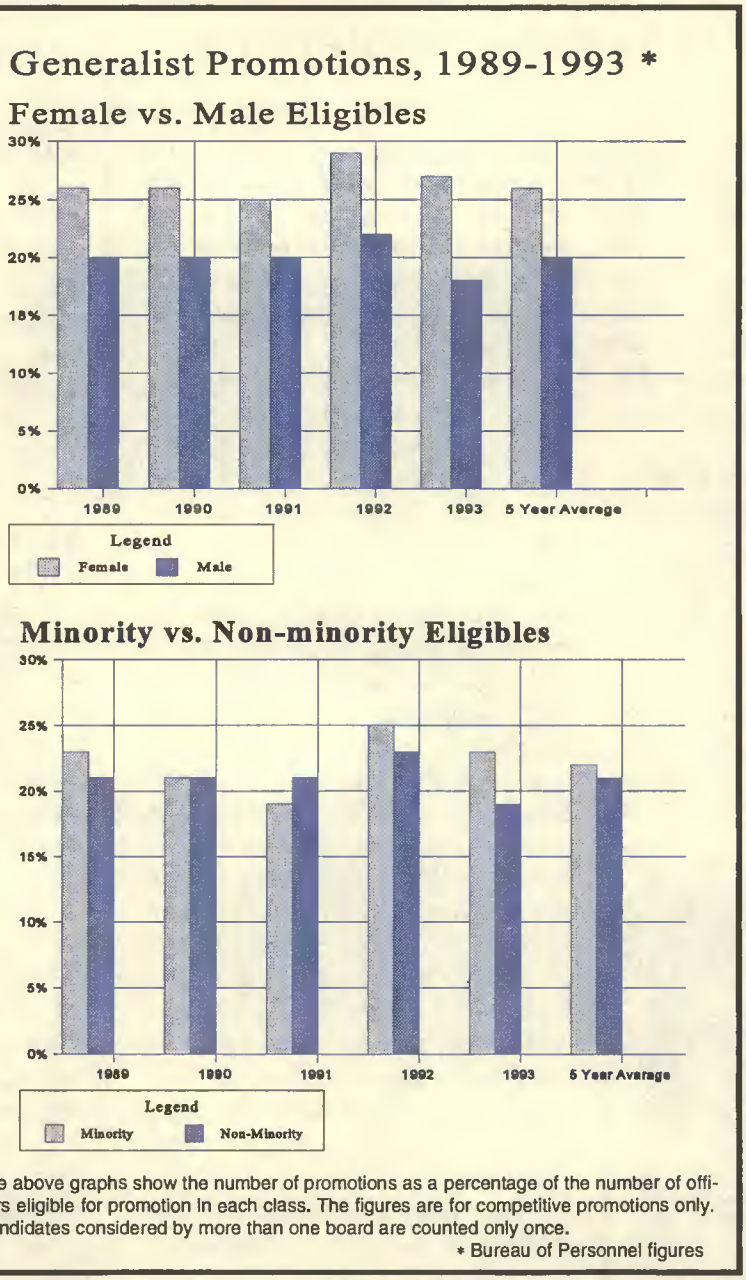
The director general, in her article "Diversity in the Department of State and the Foreign Service" (State Magazine, March 1994), makes a significant contribution to the ongoing discussion of diversity by publishing important new statistics about employment, assignment and promotion by gender and minority status, including the accompanying graphs. The article also contains several statements deserving comment.

Promotions

As the upper graph shows, in the past five years the promotion rate for women officers exceeded the rate for men by at least 25 percent. The difference was 50 percent in 1993. Interestingly, as the lower graph indicates, there was little difference between the promotion rates for minority officers and non-minority officers.

Given the significant differences between male and female promotion rates, it is hard to agree with the director general that "our modest gains in workforce diversity are hardly a factor in the escalating competition for both jobs and promotions. ..." In fact, the disparities appear sufficient to meet the court's test in the Women's Class Action Suit for a *prima facie* case of discrimination.

When last Fall's promotion figures showed that female generalists were promoted to classes OC and MC at three times the rate of men, many male officers assumed that the promotion results were skewed by extra-legal gender-bending. After talking with the chairs of the boards, I do not believe that assumption is correct. Instead, we may be seeing a reflection of the department's efforts to assign women to career-enhancing positions. Those efforts can only be assessed on the basis of more information from the department, which AFSA is attempting to obtain.



The above graphs show the number of promotions as a percentage of the number of officers eligible for promotion in each class. The figures are for competitive promotions only. Candidates considered by more than one board are counted only once.

* Bureau of Personnel figures

Diversity and Merit

The director general accurately brands as 'spurious' the notion that diversity and merit are mutually exclusive. But an absence of mutual exclusivity does not mean inevitable compatibility. The degree of conflict and convergence between the policy goal of diversity and the legal requirement of merit can only be judged in light of the means chosen to promote diversity, and on this point the director general's article was not very illuminating.

As AFSA has repeated since the beginning of this year, the department must develop a policy which is (a) transparent, (b) legal, and (c) agreed to by FS employees through negotiations with AFSA. To lay a basis for this policy, AFSA has requested more detailed statistics on the progress of women and minorities in the Foreign Service.

We continue to believe that it is possible to reconcile merit and diversity – if the task is approached in the spirit of fairness characteristic of the American Foreign Service. AFSA looks forward to working with the department in this spirit.

from the AID vice president

By Pat Patterson

In meetings with AID management, AFSA has expressed concerns about the senior management group (SMG) assignment process, including reports that GS candidates were being considered for SMG positions in a more aggressive fashion than ever before.

We understand that the rationale for this more assertive approach is a desire to increase the pool of qualified diversity candidates and to ensure that the best qualified people are assigned. However, this new assignment process raises a number of issues for Foreign Service members. We are not operating under a unified service. Many Senior Foreign Service employees were separated out this year for time-in-class (TIC) reasons and there is every indication that this will occur again next year. We question the basic equity of involuntarily retiring many talented officers then drawing from a group not subject to the same up-or-out conditions. We understand that GS employees assigned to traditional FS positions would either have reassignment rights or continue in the Civil Service. In either case, they would not be subject to the same up-or-out features faced by FS employees.

During this time when up-or-out is being rigorously applied and few promotions are available in the Senior Foreign Service, it is critical that everyone be given the maximum opportunity to demonstrate their abilities. If GS employees are assigned to SMG jobs, fewer qualified Foreign Service officers will have the opportunity to demonstrate their capabilities effectively.

The SMG process should take into account the effect that Civil Service assignments to SMG positions will have on Foreign Service promotions and departures and thus the upward movement of lower grade officers—who were supposed to benefit from the up-and-out separations this year.

AFSA strongly endorses the efforts to increase diversity in the Foreign Service. However, after talking with officials in personnel, we are convinced that a more thorough process was followed in identifying qualified Civil Service women and minority candidates than FS peers.

Consequently, personnel has agreed to make some changes in recruiting SMG candidates for the 1995 cycle, and to defer consideration of any Civil Service candidates for overseas positions until that cycle is completed.

The larger issue of a unified personnel system must await congressional reaction. Because the FS and GS systems are so disparate in their orientation to foreign affairs activity, AFSA must insist that the present "rules-of-the-game" be fairly and equitably applied.

from the retiree vice president

By Don Norland

AFSA retirees constitute a tremendous asset in explaining the extraordinary complexities of the new foreign affairs agenda to the American public. A common theme of AFSA's outreach programs is to identify ways of making the knowledge and experience of Foreign Service alumni available to business groups, non-government organizations and academia.

Three recent programs illustrate how retirees have contributed to AFSA's outreach programs:

- The success of the recent AFSA conference, "Sanctions and Trade Controls," was due in part to the participation of AFSA members (who attend free-of-charge), including the alumni who organized it and the retirees who actively contributed to the discussions.
- AFSA retirees had a key role in a new AFSA initiative to bring together representatives of some 15 foreign affairs-oriented organizations — the Foreign Policy Association, National Peace Corps Association, InterAction, CARE and others — to consider forming a coalition to work toward a common agenda to promote continued American involvement in world affairs. The initial meeting was enthusiastically endorsed by the participants.
- Yet another opportunity for retiree members to contribute to an AFSA initiative was an April 5 policy "colloquium" with the Inter-American Affairs Bureau. Some 19 distinguished retirees received up-to-date information on current issues, and the ARA Bureau benefited from the experience and ideas of these Foreign Service professionals.

We look forward to expanding these activities — and to involving retirees throughout the country in our growing outreach program. In that connection, Retiree Liaison Ward Thompson traveled to Phoenix and Tucson in late March and met with the two Foreign Service Retiree Associations there, and I will be participating in the May meeting of the Foreign Affairs Retirees of New England.

We look forward to hearing from all of you and we welcome suggestions from you about program ideas and topics of interest.

from the USIA vice president

By Raz Bazala

Partnership finally made it to the starting gate on March 21, 1994, when AFSA, AFGE and USIA Director Duffey signed a previously negotiated Partnership Principles Agreement. This agreement established a Partnership Council in USIA less than six months after the president signed his executive order.

Where do we go from here? For starters, we now have an unprecedented permanent forum in which labor and management are equals. We have unimpeded, continual access to management and Resource Management Committee data and can discuss issues of immediate concern to the Foreign Service. But more importantly, we have also created an opportunity for unions and management working together to design solutions to problems in the workplace and recommend decisions to implement them. Partnership commits labor and management to replace traditional hostility with interest-based bargaining in which the parties involved work to achieve consensus on outcomes that benefit all employees.

Having done that, all we need to make partnership a winning bet is for YOU to roll up your sleeves and climb on board. There is much to be done, but we are off to a good start.

The Partnership Council has ten members consisting of three AFSA , three AFGE and four management representatives. AFSA's team consists of Mike Houlahan, Herman Henning and Renee Earle.

The council is already meeting weekly and is addressing issues raised by the partnership teams on Agency reorganization, the "Just Workplace" Task Force and – first and foremost at this critical juncture – training and transition for those who will most immediately be affected by downsizing this year.

AFSA's Bruce Byers and Hilary Olsin-Windecker are on the training partnership team, while Alice LeMaistre, Elizabeth Corwin, Michael Braxton and John Shippe will sit on the team looking at the "Just Workplace" report.

The unions and Bureau of Broadcasting Director Joe Bruns met to discuss establishing a Partnership Council in Broadcasting, and Dan Streebny will represent AFSA. Only minor issues remain unresolved and we anticipate closing the gap shortly.

Our agenda is extensive. We are looking at many workplace issues: reassessment of performance evaluations and opportunities for career advancement, further restructuring of agency elements, digitalization applications to agency information programs, and the future of TV in agency operations. They all bear on how we do our job overseas and the resources that will be available to achieve our objectives.

One final point, the president's executive order requires that participants in partnership be representatives of employee unions. If you are not a member of AFSA and would like to be involved in Partnership, now is the time to join. Remember, your involvement in partnership qualifies as official time.

In order to get to the finish line, we need your help. I have found partnership challenging, exasperating, exhilarating and ultimately satisfying. Maybe you will too. It's your Foreign Service. Participate!

Quotable Quotes

"We are entering a period in which the user is going to decide what they hear and see and read and that's what telecommunications technology changes mean...that the consumer is in control. And figuring out how they are going to tune in to us, why they are going to choose to listen to us is the issue for us in the future.... We can learn some lessons from history, but some are going to take a leap of faith as well."

– Donna Oglesby, Counselor of USIA
Foreign Service Club Speaker's Lunch, March 17

"When we talk about partnership ... both sides have to understand that in a partnership relationship, we're changing the dynamic, because traditional labor relations in the federal sector is a very reactive system. ... Partnership says to the unions, 'Now, you're not going to simply react. What you're going to do instead is have an obligation to participate when a decision is made.' That's a significant difference."

– Joe Swerdzewski, General Counsel, Federal Labor Relations Authority
AFSA Governing Board meeting, March 16

Congressional Update

By Rick Weiss and Robert Chatten
Congressional Affairs Liaisons

After long delay, the House named the conferees for the Foreign Relations Authorization Act (covering State and USIA) for fiscal years 1994-1995.

Both House and Senate committees are continuing hearings on the foreign assistance redraft legislation and mark-up is expected shortly. However, this Clinton administration reform package may not be passed as Senate floor action is questionable before the Fall elections.

Funding levels being determined by the appropriations committees in the House and Senate will be critical for USIA and VOA programs, as the establishment of Radio Free Asia and TV Marti pose severe resource problems for USIA.

AFSA President Tex Harris is scheduled to testify April 28 before the Commerce, Justice and State Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee. He will emphasize that the steady erosion of resources and personnel in the foreign affairs agencies has had a detrimental impact on the conduct of America's business abroad.

On the health-care front, the restructuring of the federal health-care program for employees, retirees and their families will only be factored in after the national program is debated and parameters established. The AFSA president and Health Coordinator Harry Blaney are calling on key congressional members and their staffs to ensure that Foreign Service concerns are recognized as the process moves forward.

Before the spring break, Congress passed the "buyout bill," with buyouts being offered on a selective basis to State and USIA personnel. The fiscal year 1995 budget resolutions were also passed with the House budget resolution following the administration recommendations. However, the Senate added $26 billion in discretionary spending cuts over the next five years.

One interesting proposal in the Senate version of the bill was the establishment of a deficit-reduction commission similar to the Department of Defense base-closing committee. Congress could only approve or reject the deficit commission recommendations without amendments.

AFSA Grievance Counselors Can Help

AFSA hopes you will never need to file a grievance. But if you do, AFSA grievance counselors are available to help. If you have tried resolving problems through informal channels and have not been satisfied, a grievance may be necessary. AFSA's grievance counselors will assist in pinpointing pertinent regulations, researching issues and reviewing drafts. They will also show you the best way to organize and present your grievance, explain what relief may be appropriate and outline time limitations for the grievance procedure.

Some typical grievance issues involve discrepancies in EERs, denial of allowances or benefits contrary to regulations and restoration of annual leave where wrongfully denied. For example, you may feel there are inaccurate or falsely prejudicial statements in your EERs. While traveling from assignment to assignment, you may be denied travel allowances, or after arriving at post, housing allowances that you are entitled to receive. If you lost annual leave because of illness, administrative error or exigencies of public business you may be entitled to have it restored.

If you have questions or concerns regarding Foreign Service allowances, annual or other leave, professional and language training, EER statements, or any other Foreign Service allowance or benefit, AFSA can help you find the answer.

Race for the Cure 1994

A five-kilometer race (walk or run) to raise money for breast cancer research will take place on June 16 around the Capitol and the Mall. To Join the State Department team call Shelly Kornegay (703)516-1733 before June 3.

Federal Employee Scholarships Offered

The Federal Employee Education and Assistance Fund (FEEA) has announced its 8th annual scholarship competition for federal employees and their dependents.

Scholarship awards, open to high school seniors and students continuing their education, range from $300 to $1,200 per student. Selection criteria include academic achievement, community service, a recommendation and an essay on, "If I were president of the United States for a day, I would . . ." Applications must be postmarked by June 3, 1994.

FEEA also offers low interest student loans. To obtain a scholarship application or student loan information, send a self-addressed stamped envelope to: FEEA Scholarship Program, Suite 200, 8441 W. Bowls Ave. Littleton, Colo. 80123-3245.

Thoughts on Diversity

" . . . Certainly systems of racial preferences are not intended to denigrate either those permitted to benefit from them or those who are excluded. But although those who are excluded are plainly not victims of a system of racial subjugation, such as the one that long oppressed people of color, they are just as plainly victims of racial discrimination, an entirely distinct wrong, but not a trivial one. The backlash against racial preferences is not trivial either, and explaining it away as racism is just another way of silencing critics without debating them. ..."

Excellence and diversity, it must be emphasized, are not enemies.

"Excellence and diversity, it must be emphasized, are not enemies; the professional success of generations of professionals who are not white gives the lie to this old canard. But most of that success has been enjoyed by individuals who have, as members of other excluded ethnic groups have, met whatever standards for success a profession has established.

And if these professionally accomplished individuals happen to have been beneficiaries of affirmative action, then they have plainly made the most of their opportunity to show that they are able to meet the same standards as everyone else."

From Stephen L. Carter, Reflections of an Affirmative Action Baby (Basic Books, 1991).

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Advertising Index

Dear Mother

BY SALLY SLOCUM

I couldn't get to California in time after they told me you were failing fast, so I never said goodbye. That's one of the prices we pay in the Foreign Service. You knew I loved you, but there are still plenry of things I didn't say to you, memories of laughter and pain, danger and boredom, that we could have shared again together.

You were 79 years old when you sold your house and furniture, and flew halfway around the world to join me in Kuala Lumpur. At that age most people have given up adventure, but you didn't see why you shouldn't travel the world. You moved eagerly into the diplomatic life. A reception at the ambassador's, a chili cook-off, a meeting of the recreation association: You were part of it all.

Remember when we sat outside our apartment in Kuala Lumpur half the night to watch an eclipse of the moon? Remember how you insisted on climbing the hill in Malacca to see the old Dutch gravestones? You loved getting pedalled around town in the rickshaw, though you worried it was too hard for the driver. You made lots of friends, not only Americans but Brits, Malaysians, Australians. You learned to cope with tropical heat, bugs and driving on the wrong side of the road. GSOs loved coming to our house because you always gave them cookies.

Then it was pack the bags, off to Africa. Our first day in Abidjan, we kept hearing strange sounds — firecrackers? Then came the call from the embassy: Dangerous political demonstrations, do not leave the house. One of the major riots was two blocks away, at the TV station. "Weren't you scared?" friends asked later. You just shrugged and smiled.

You studied French doggedly in Abidjan, but you could never quite shake off the Spanish you knew. Everywhere you went you drew stares. I don't think most of the Africans had ever seen a "European" as old as you. You were touched that all the Foreign Service nationals called you "Mama." They carefully helped you across streets, found you chairs, brought you food at parties. My status rose because of you.

After only 15 months the news came: a direct transfer to Brazzaville, Congo.

THERESA AURICCHIO

Pack the bags again, watch your life going into boxes, look around at the bare walls, the empty shelves. Cry a little as you say goodbye to friends. The Americans you may hope to see again, but to the FSNs it's probably goodbye forever. Board the plane again for unknown territory. We had a beautiful house in Brazzaville. But you were tired of fighting the heat, the ants, the mosquitoes, the bad water, the cockroaches. The American community was small. Your struggles with French were taking you nowhere, and I could not find English-speaking household help. With no one to talk to, you were lonely while I was at work all day. Though you still went to parties, where everyone called you "Mama," I could see it was getting harder.

In the Congo, political tensions were rising and the democratization process was faltering. Since our phone only worked sporadically, I worried more and more about your safety. Continuing crises often kept me at the embassy long after working hours, and weekends too. Then one night came the radio call: Get out. Barricades were going up all over town, especially in our neighborhood. We could hear the angry crowds and shots in the distance. We threw some things into suitcases, and headed for the home of a colleague. You were not afraid. Your spirit and sense of humor strengthened everyone.

After a few days things calmed down, and we were able to move back into the house. I think the last straw came when you got malaria. You never quite snapped back all the way after that. We finally agreed that you would be better off in the States. So when it came time to take R&R, we went to California, to the town where you used to live, and found a comfortable retirement home. But you cried when you packed up your diplomatic passport, and you cried when I left you there to return to Africa.

Thank you, Mother, for being with me. Thank you for being strong and cheerful and unaftaid. Thank you for your love and support. My hardship posts would have been even harder without you. Again and again I find myself thinking "I must be sure to tell Mother about that — she'd enjoy it." And then I remember.

I love you.

Sally Slocum is a Foreign Service officer now on a Cox sabbatical.

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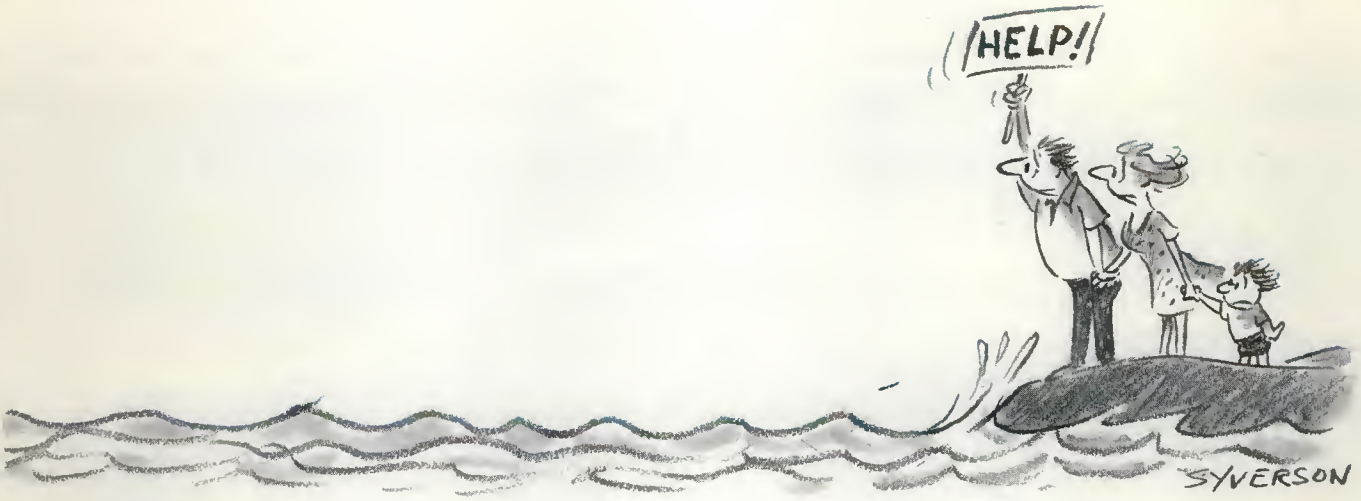

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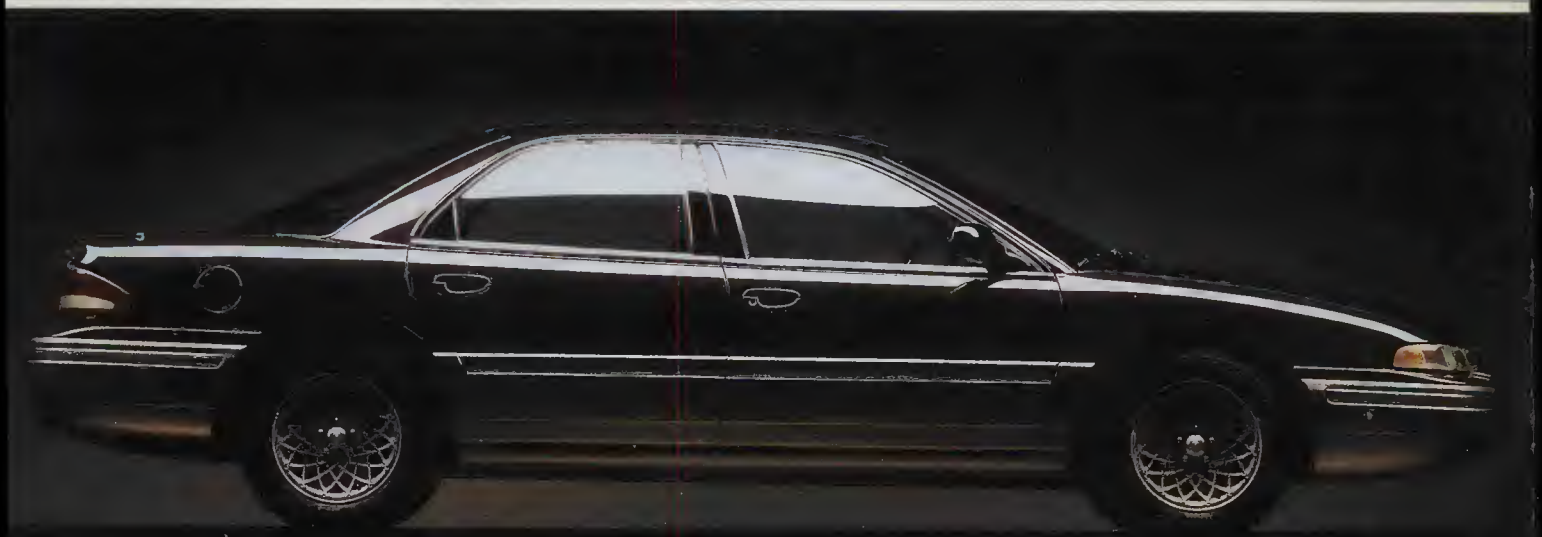

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