

new recruits pushed the civil service into what political scientist James Q. Wilson has called a "death spiral."

President George Bush made a few promising early gestures. He hired a young, dynamic civil servant, Constance Berry Newman, to head his Office of Personnel Management (OPM). She launched a slick \$39.4 million campaign called "Career America" to woo students. But two years later, almost nothing has changed. Nearly 60 percent of the 236 federal agencies have no recruiting budget whatsoever,

Heilemann observes, and very few send recruiters to college campuses. What's worse, qualifying examinations are given only once a year, and students who pass must wait up to nine months for an interview—and they can't choose which agencies they might like to work for.

It makes no sense, he concludes, to complain about the incompetence of government, as conservatives have, and then ensure that federal offices are staffed not by "the best and the brightest," but by "the best of the desperate."

## *Casualties of The Cold War*

"Ending the Cold War at Home" by Morton H. Halperin and Jeanne M. Woods, in *Foreign Policy* (Winter 1990-91), 2400 N St. N.W., Washington, D.C., 20037-1196.

The Cold War abroad may be over, but the murky underworld of espionage, state secrets, and highly classified government projects is still operating at full tilt—right here at home.

So say Halperin and Woods, both of the Center for National Security Studies. In 1951, as East-West tension was increasing, President Harry S. Truman issued a sweeping executive order extending the institutionalized system of military secrecy developed during World War II to certain civilian government agencies. Congress looked the other way, write the authors, as over the years the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and National Security Agency (NSA), among others, ran out of control, creating a "national security state."

Government secrecy is its hallmark. According to the U.S. Information Security Oversight Office (ISOO), in 1989 exactly 6,796,501 government documents were classified. Yet only three percent were marked with a declassification date—a percentage even ISOO found disturbing. A lot of information is needlessly kept secret. And since 1983, the more than four million federal employees and contractors who handle secret information have been forced to sign agreements limiting their First Amendment rights to political speech; even after retirement, some must submit their writings to the government

for prepublication review.

"The Cold war also intensified the practice of government surveillance of persons and groups in America engaged in lawful political activities," the authors say. The harassment of dissidents and alleged communists by the FBI didn't end in the 1950s. Opponents of U.S. policies in Central America and the Middle East, for example, have been tracked by the Bureau. From 1982 to 1988 the FBI's "antiterrorist" unit began 19,500 investigations of American residents. Moreover, say the authors, even though in 1990 Congress barred the government from denying entry visas to foreigners on political grounds, 345,000 names remain on a "lookout list" of suspect foreigners who are forced to seek special waivers to enter the country.

The combined yearly budgets of the CIA, the FBI's counterintelligence unit, and the NSA probably equal about \$30 billion—but the actual numbers are classified. That violates the Constitution's requirement of full disclosure of federal spending. The authors suggest that "massive cost overruns and technological failures" are concealed by this budget secrecy.

Now that the Cold War is over, the national security bureaucracy is searching for new missions: antiterrorism, a war on drugs, industrial counterintelligence. But now is the time, the authors conclude, to "end the Cold War at home."