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# FOREIGN SERVICE

JOURNAL

THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS

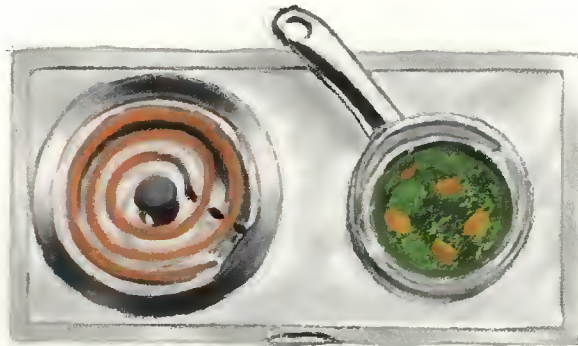


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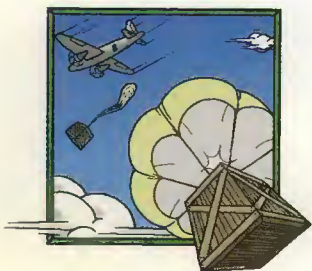


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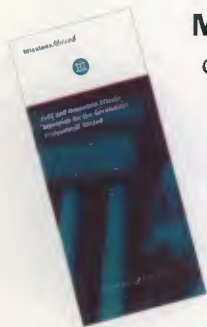
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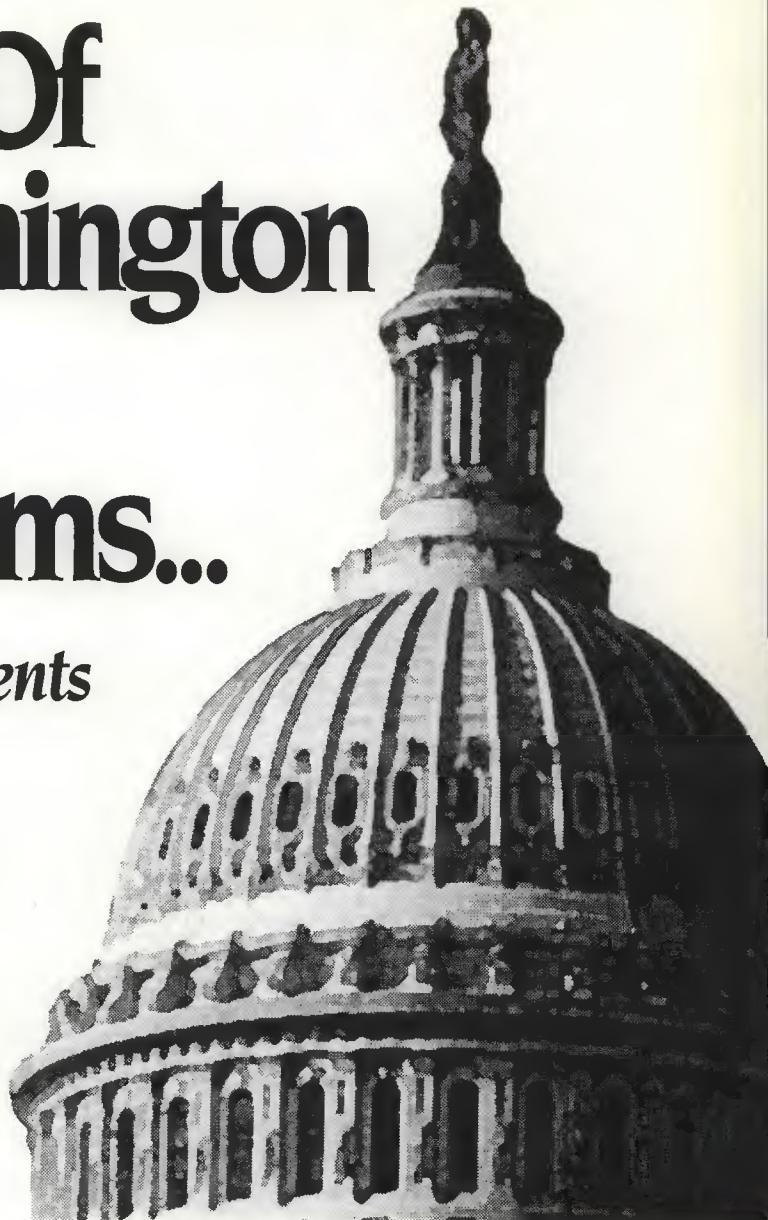
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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *Feedback from the Field: Hands Off Hardship Pay*

BY F. A. "TEX" HARRIS

AFSA's recent cable to overseas posts on the State Department's intention to reduce pay differentials at most hardship posts by 5 percent released an avalanche of outrage and a flood of proposals for dealing more equitably and more realistically with the foreign affairs agencies' budget crisis. The estimated 50 responses were submitted to management to support AFSA's strong opposition to the re-grading proposal, which management says will "save" \$5 million to \$8 million a year. Following are some of the choicest raspberries:

"The primary feeling at this post is one of betrayal. It is not often that we observe an institution in the very act of breaking the bonds of trust with its employees. ... If the proposed reductions are implemented, their impact will ripple through the ranks of all government employees eligible for overseas service for years to come."

— U.S. Embassy Abidjan

"What the department has done is nothing short of a breach of contract. Foreign Service employees bid on this assignment with the enticement of a 20 percent hardship allowance. Now that we are here and cannot do anything about it, the department has cut that allowance in half. Such actions have tremendous personal consequences when families were counting on that extra money to send their children to college or make a down payment on a house."

— U.S. Embassy Doha

*F. A. "Tex" Harris is president of the American Foreign Service Association.*

*'How about a 5 percent pay cut for assistant secretaries?'*



"It is incredible that our superiors can recognize that Washington and other major U.S. cities need 'locality pay' to attract and retain the best people and at the same time think the best way to save a small amount of money is to make serving in our most difficult posts even less attractive."

— U.S. AID Kathmandu

"The conditions that created differentials — critical crime and security problems, isolation, unhealthy conditions and difficult family environments — still exist. The following are a few of the illnesses that our employees have had in the last year: typhus, typhoid, malaria, lead in our children's blood, dengue fever, hepatitis A&B, meningococcal septicemia, giardia, amoebic dysentery, parasites, asthma and pollution-induced allergies. Washington's budget crisis has not eased these problems."

— U.S. Embassy Jakarta

"It does not take a physicist to realize that any savings from cutting post differentials may be more than offset by more frequent employee moves. ... Good managers do not ask their subordinates to make sacrifices they themselves are

not willing to bear. How about a 5 percent pay cut for assistant secretaries? How about a cut for members of the Senior Foreign Service?"

— U.S. Embassy Kuwait

"Employees at posts that presently have no differential should be required to reimburse 5 percent of their salaries to the department as a voluntary contribution toward meeting the budget deficit. ... Otherwise, the burden falls on those privileged to serve in the Monrovia's of this world — a duty that employees in Paris would surely wish to share."

— U.S. Embassy Mogadishu

"It is not fair that overseas people in the least desirable places are targeted. The U.S. Agency for International Development is being hit hardest, as most of its posts are hardship posts. ... To panic, to cut with little comprehensive thought and without consultation, and to single out categories of personnel to target demonstrates bad management and bad faith."

— U.S. Embassy Dhaka

"We have been heartened over the past several years to see AFSA take a harder line against management. AFSA needs to get angry. Take the side of the workers against insane management proposals like this one."

— U.S. Embassy Doha

"A highly motivated work force cannot be sustained by a department that cannot or will not deal constructively or honestly with its employees."

— U.S. Embassy Manila

I couldn't have said it better myself. ■

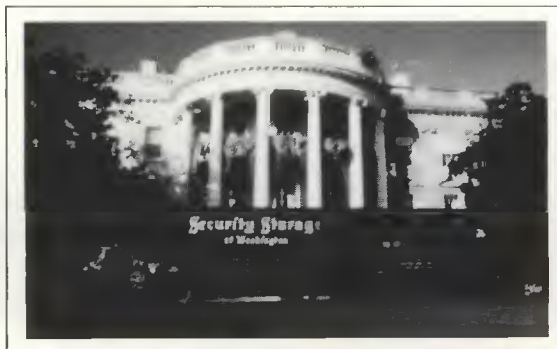
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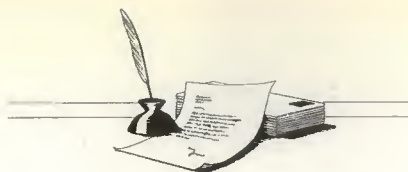
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# LETTERS

*To the Editor:*

As the medical director of the State Department's Office of Medical Services, I feel obliged to respond to attorney Ralph Martin's comments ("Letters," September *Journal*) regarding the death of Nancy Ferebee Lewis in Cairo. Mr. Martin suggests that the department failed to respond properly to her medical emergency and has since treated her family badly by refusing to provide information on the incident.

It is important that your readers have an accurate picture of the department's response in the Lewis case. Immediately upon learning of Ms. Lewis's death, the Office of Medical Services began a review of the actions of the medical team. When a family member informed the post two days later that a highly toxic fumigant had been applied in Ms. Lewis's apartment by a local firm, a Mishap Analysis Board was convened under the direction of the Office of Safety, Health and Environmental Management. The board members traveled to Cairo in the second week of January to investigate. The MAB study was followed by an in-depth investigation, recently concluded, conducted by the Office of the Inspector General. Extensive reports on both investigations have been shared with the Lewis family.

Investigations of Ms. Lewis's death detailed attempts by a nurse, a physician and others in the health unit to aid Ms. Lewis and to resuscitate her after her collapse. After advising that

Ms. Lewis should be brought to the embassy for evaluation, the on-call nurse arranged to meet her when she arrived. Within 20 minutes, the nurse had evaluated Ms. Lewis, consulted the duty doctor, and asked the doctor to come in.

Regarding the autopsy, it is policy to provide pathologists with as much information as possible. This was done in the Lewis case. Again, the results of the autopsy were promptly provided to the family.

There has been no attempt to withhold the results of investigations or any other material. The department is subject to the procedures dictated by the Freedom of Information Act and must comply with those requirements and the Privacy Act. Fortunately this has not caused exceptional delay in providing information to the Lewis family.

*Elmore F. Rigamer*  
Medical Director  
Office of Medical Services  
Washington, D.C.



*To the Editor:*

Charles Maechling's review of Henry Kissinger's *Diplomacy* (September *Journal*) does not do justice to a work of striking insight, originality and force. Offered here is a brief but contrasting assessment of this absorbing analysis of how American foreign policy since Woodrow Wilson assumed its contours and of how

America might fare in the future.

By drawing the reader's attention in new ways to what is to be learned from relations among European statesmen in the 18th and 19th centuries, Kissinger arrives at his central proposition that there is an inner tension in American foreign policy between Wilson's moral idealism and the legacies of Cardinal Richelieu's *raison d'état*, Bismarck's *Realpolitik* and Theodore Roosevelt's and Richard Nixon's visions of national interest.

This enduring tension, so evident in the Clinton administration's policies toward Haiti, becomes in the telling a sort of *yang* and *yin*, a tugging and pulling of opposing forces for which Henry Adams, in a different American context, provided us the metaphor of the virgin and the dynamo. "I tried to describe America's unique blend of hope and necessity," Kissinger wrote to *The New York Times* about his book.

Interestingly, Kissinger finds much of indispensability in Wilson's idealism. "For America, any association with *Realpolitik* must take into account the core values of the first society in history to have been explicitly created in the name of liberty," he wrote in the end.

Kissinger develops a theory of "America's exceptionalism" (there are 21 references to it in the index) that is a stroke of insight. Defined as a sense in this country of "moral superiority ... backed by the nation's material abundance," America's exceptionalism also finds expression in "unrivaled power."

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## LETTERS

This concept, an invaluable analytical tool, has an anchor in Wilsonianism as well. Perhaps only someone born and raised in formative years outside the United States could arrive at this penetration with such a sure and elegant touch.

In creating a new world order, the subject of the last chapter, Kissinger argues that "America's dominant task is to strike a balance between the twin temptations inherent in its exceptionalism: the notion that America must remedy every wrong and stabilize every dislocation, and the latent instinct to withdraw into itself." That chapter alone is worth the price of his hefty book.

This is a grand and indispensable work that fills a gap in diplomatic literature so great that one appreciates its magnitude only at the end. As secretary of state, Kissinger forced badly needed discipline upon the intellectual processes shaping our foreign policies, to the annoyance of many who had their memos returned to them for further work. Suspicious of the Foreign Service throughout his tenure, Kissinger came at the end to admire its best and bravest.

I, too, stood among the many State Department employees gathered in the C Street lobby on the afternoon of his formal departure 17 years ago, when he paused on the landing of the stairs to say a few words of farewell. His voice cracked noticeably, and emotion embarrassed him. Mr. Maechling should have noted that the author of *Diplomacy* dedicated his best and most important book "to the men and women of the Foreign Service of the United States of America, whose professionalism and dedication sustain American diplomacy."

*Brandon Grove Jr.  
Retired FSO  
Washington, D.C.*

*To the Editor:*

Thank you for your excellent article, "The Men Behind the Legends," (September *Journal*). As a first tour junior officer, I found the examples set by Ambassadors Herman Cohen, Deane Hinton and Terence Todman daunting and inspirational at the same time.

Your readers might be interested to know that Ambassador Cohen continues to play a role in the evolution of the Foreign Service: He was the mentor of my A-100 class (the 70th). Further, Ambassador Cohen continues to demonstrate the diplomatic virtuosity and deftness that your article credits him with. An example is an anecdote from our class.

The object of the "off-site" exercise was to simulate the workings of an embassy just prior to and during a vice presidential visit. Ambassador Cohen played the role of the visiting vice president. The host country, Anthuria, had a series of bizarre rituals, which visiting dignitaries were expected to endure so as not to offend their Anthurian hosts. When he stepped off an imaginary Air Force Two, Ambassador Cohen was wrapped in a feather boa, presented with orange slices and crowned with a large sun. Despite his ridiculous attire and the strange greetings that courtesy dictated he exchange with his counterparts, Ambassador Cohen delivered a flawless speech on the importance of the trade, defense and cultural ties between Anthuria and the United States. And he maintained a serious and respectful calm throughout.

Should any members of the 70th attain ambassadorial rank, I hope that they can perform with as much grace under fire as Ambassador Cohen.

*Jeff Hawkins  
Political Officer  
U.S. Embassy Abidjan*

## LETTERS

*To the Editor:*

For many years the Foreign Service has rightly stressed the importance of area experience and expertise as a major tool in the formulation and carrying out of foreign policy. The relevance of such expertise is even more telling now in the post-Cold War world, where so much U.S. attention has come to be focused on the often crucial problems we face in individual countries rather than on global efforts to thwart Communist threats. The expansion and refocusing of U.S. foreign policy to give fresh starts to such matters as the environment, population control, trade promotion and nuclear issues also make area expertise more critical. The availability of area expertise is a unique advantage the Foreign Service enjoys as it deals with other U.S. government agencies in these fields.

With this in mind, I was disappointed to note how little attention the Service seems to have given to area expertise in its staffing of senior field positions in South Asia, where I spent much of my professional life before retiring. By my calculation, at the beginning of August this year only six of the 15 senior positions were staffed by officers who had served a full tour or more in any South Asian country, although one officer had served on a relevant desk. The pattern in the department is better: of the four top jobs in the Bureau of South Asian affairs, three were held by officers who had served in the subcontinent, some for many years.

I don't mean to denigrate the non-specialist senior officers serving in South Asia. Some of them are, by all accounts, providing highly effective leadership to their posts. But their talents need to be supplemented in these and other South Asian posts by officers who return to the region with previous experience there.

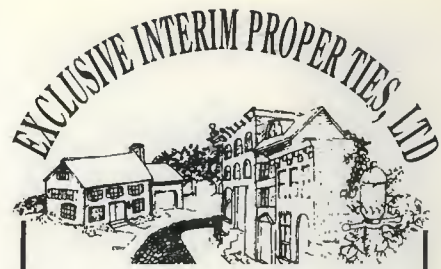
I hope that the record is better elsewhere. I would, in any event, urge that the department and the White House take regional expertise into greater account in the future. Among other benefits, it will also encourage junior officers to seek to develop area competence in the reasonable hope that attractive rewards await the more outstanding of them as they reach senior levels.

*Howard B. Schaffer  
Retired U.S. Ambassador  
Colombo*

*To the Editor:*

From my own experience in the CIA, I know that your quotation from the July 4 *U.S. News and World Report* article in the "Clippings" section (September *Journal*) on the unnecessary duplication of State and CIA reporting (the former which is free, and the latter which is paid for) will undoubtedly resonate with the attitudes of many of your readership. Such views on the redundancy of the CIA are predicated on the erroneous assumption that the primary responsibility of the CIA officer overseas is simply to gather information of intelligence interest, as do the department's political and economic officers. But their unique and primary task is to spot, recruit and handle controlled human sources willing to report such information systematically on a professional and business-like basis. Traditionally the CIA officer is as much a fisher of men as a gatherer of information.

Although the CIA intelligence collection through controlled sources is designed to complement straight political and economic reporting by other agencies, there will always be some overlap. Surely, experienced



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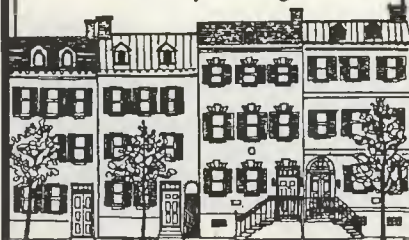
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*LETTERS*



Foreign Service officers will understand that precisely sourced information from controlled, disciplined sources is much more valuable to our policymakers than the same information gleaned from a friendly contact, elicited at a social event or presented officially by a foreign government. To make the case that the CIA is not cost effective because of such occasional duplication shows a deliberate naivete that can only stem from institutional insecurity, bureaucratic self-interest or careerist posturings. Irritating as the CIA's overseas presence may be to other agencies, it would be petty to persist in seeing such a presence as unjustified competition, just as it is unworthy of some anonymous disaffected CIA personnel to pander to such prejudices.

*Christopher D. Costanzo  
Retired CIA Officer  
Randolph, Vt.*



*To the Editor:*

Our post recently received the strategic recruitment plan for 1993-97. The department's strategy for achieving greater diversity in the Foreign Service deserves some comment.

Only rarely do recent college graduates succeed in the fierce competition for Foreign Service positions. But it appears that a very large share of the recruitment effort is still aimed at undergraduates. The average new Foreign Service officer is more than 30 years old and has an advanced degree and close to 10 years' working experience. New entrants come from a wide variety of professional fields, originate from all parts of the United States and receive their education at a multi-

tude of universities in all conceivable specialties. Although the Foreign Service community does not contain racial minorities in the same proportion as does the American population as a whole, by any other measure the Foreign Service has achieved a diversity unapproached by the diplomatic corps of any other country.

As an important part of its recruitment the department has targeted schools such as Georgetown, Harvard and Yale and Princeton for intense minority recruitment efforts. The choice of these colleges seems ironic — recruitment will likely be slow at these schools where good minority graduates receive job offers far more generous than the department can offer.

If the department wishes to increase minority hiring, more effort should be directed to making contact with slightly older minority professionals who, like their non-minority colleagues, have a better chance of success in the competition for Foreign Service positions than do undergraduates. The current emphasis on college recruiting is unlikely to be productive in increasing the minority ratio and may turn the clock back with its emphasis on recruiting at elite East Coast private colleges.

*Theodore Lienhart  
Administrative Officer  
U.S. Embassy Banjul*



*To the Editor:*

In the August "Letters" column, Paul Good writes about effectiveness and diversity. He rightly identified prejudices that must be endured by Foreign Service personnel in some societies but wrongly suggested that

## LETTERS

we comply with them in our assignments policy. Equal opportunity is the core of American values.

Qualification should be the primordial consideration in making an assignment. Historically, some black officers have sought assignment to apartheid South Africa and women to Arab countries. They knew what they were asking for and, based on my experience, have proved to be exceptional performers. Many other able officers have recognized that they might be disadvantaged by service in environments hostile to their race or gender and opted for service elsewhere. What is important is that all have the opportunity to demonstrate their talents.

A number of years ago a valued colleague died of malaria contracted at a hardship post. Only after her death did I learn that she was a Christian Scientist, who in accordance with her faith did not take the prescribed prophylaxis. My first grieved reaction was why would the Personnel Bureau make such a dangerous assignment. I later concluded that it was not Personnel's business to question a person's faith. Nor should race or gender be considered. Foreign Service officers are fully capable of evaluating the hazards in certain assignments. Let us preserve the openness of our assignment system and the ability of our officers to choose their challenges.

*Robert G. Houdek  
Ambassador  
U.S. Embassy Asmara*

*To the Editor:*

I could have retired without ever having served on the selection boards, but when a friend asked me to fill in on the 1994 Foreign

Agriculture Service Boards, I could not say no.

I was assigned to the board reviewing the files of all Foreign Agricultural Service (FAS) seniors for promotion, selection out and awards. There were 22 files, running up to 10 pages each, and only two days allotted for the review. We were told to concentrate on the last five years ... and spend only about 20 minutes on each file. Identifying the small group who were least competitive was relatively easy, and there was little disagreement. Problems came in distinguishing between those at the top and in the middle. Most of the panel put great store on the "outstanding" ratings, which were fewer in number. When I pointed out that in several cases these were not backed up by narrative, I was voted down. Others seemed to feel checking the top box did not require extensive documentation.

I was shocked to learn we were not permitted to consider time-in-class as a criterion for rank ordering officers for promotion recommendations, and was told that it would be taken into consideration at the review stage.

I left feeling guilty that we had not given the files of FAS seniors the amount of time this highly competent and motivated group deserved. I also left feeling a little smug. Based on my friend's comments, I believe we are more conscientious at State.

If we think we can ever devise a system completely fair to everyone for implementing "up or out," we are kidding ourselves. Nevertheless, I recommend exposure to another foreign affairs agency's methods to develop appreciation for the State Department's efforts.

*Walt Lundy  
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— WALTER MONDALE,  
ON THE ADVANTAGES  
OF BEING  
AMBASSADOR TO  
JAPAN,  
NEWSWEEK,  
SEPT. 19

## COWAL BLASTS STATE FOR ‘DISCRIMINATION’

Sally Cowal, one of the few female career ministers in the Foreign Service and the former ambassador to Trinidad and Tobago, is leaving with a blast at what she called a “quota system which discriminates against” women. In the Sept. 26 *Washington Post*, Al Kamen reports that Cowal wrote a letter to Secretary of State Warren Christopher complaining that in spite of her “outstanding” record, she was not given another embassy and thus was forced to retire at age 50.

Cowal, a former deputy assistant secretary for Latin America, said that she was promised her pick of Latin American embassies, and in November agreed to go to Panama. However, unknown to the State Department, the White House had already selected Robert Pastor for the Panama post. Cowal pointed out that she then was offered no suitable jobs and that all but one Latin America job have gone to white males, Kamen reported.

Under Secretary for Management Richard Moose said there was “no basis” for her charge of discrimination. He claims that she was a star and State backed her very strongly for an ambassadorship. “People can’t always get what they want” in assignments, Moose was quoted as saying.

## CURATOR SCHNABEL NOW OUT OF A JOB

Harry Schnabel Jr., curator of the Diplomatic Reception Rooms, has been told that his contract would not be renewed, “due to streamlining and down-structuring,” according to reporter Heidi Berry in the Sept. 22 *Washington Post*.

Schnabel followed long-time curator Clement Conger, who conceived of the Diplomatic Reception Rooms in 1961 after Mary Herter, wife of then-Secretary of State Christian Herter, dissolved in tears at the unattractive settings in which she would have to entertain dignitaries. For the next 31 years, Conger used equal amounts of diplomacy and *chutzpah* to amass a \$75 million collection of American fine and decorative arts, reported Berry. More than 65,000 guests are entertained each year in the Diplomatic Reception Rooms, which also are toured by another 45,000 people annually. Conger estimates that another \$2.5 million will need to be raised each year for an endowment for the rooms, to upgrade its collection, and for conservation and restoration.

Berry reports that one of the things that cost Schnabel his job was his difficulty with fund raising. Gail Serfaty, associate curator, is reported to be the front-runner for the job.

## PANEL PROTESTS DOCUMENT BLOCK

A panel of independent historians has protested that the Clinton administration withheld on specious national security grounds important documents from the book series, *Foreign Relations of the United States*. According to Al Kamen’s column, “In the Loop,” in the Sept. 19 *Washington Post*, Historical Advisory Committee Chairman Warren Kimball wrote a letter to Secretary of State Warren Christopher complaining that the refusal of the State Department and the CIA to declassify 30-year-old documents would “seriously distort the record of American foreign policy with at least two nations during the Kennedy presidency.” The two na-

## CLIPPINGS



tions? Japan and Guyana. Kimball's letter said that the refusal to declassify the material "derives from fear of embarrassment rather than national security." Under Secretary for Management Richard Moose is expected to make the final judgement on release of the documents.

### STATE ABOLISHES 'EASTERN EUROPE'

Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke has banished the words "Eastern Europe" from the lexicon of all embassies, according to Al Kamen in the Sept. 21 *Washington Post*. Holbrooke, the former ambassador to Germany, told a House committee that the people of the region "do not consider themselves Eastern Europeans. ... Prague lies west of Vienna. Budapest has a long cultural tradition as rich as that of Paris, or Vienna or Berlin." The region will henceforth be called Central Europe — the name it was known by in the old days.

### AT STATE DEPARTMENT, IT'S MORE OUT THAN UP

Under Secretary for Management Richard Moose also ends up defending State's policies in a *Washington Post* Sept. 28 column by Al Kamen. In mid-September, 105 Foreign Service officers (seniors and FS-OIs)—higher than the average number — were told they would be "out" under State's "up or out" policy, although Kamen had reported the figure at 107. Responding to those who claimed that there were too many political types in top jobs, Moose said that the number of political appointees had a "minimal impact" on the promotion process and that it was the budget squeeze and the ceiling on senior positions that were the real culprits.

Kamen points out that the administration is falling short on its pledge that

70 percent of all U.S. ambassadors come from career ranks, writing that "the career Foreign Service is falling on hard times."

### CURBING CAVIAR CRISES AT BRITISH EMBASSIES

British-style diplomacy is not cheap. Running an English embassy in a European capital can cost more than 10 million pounds [\$10.7 million] a year, writes Michael Binyon in the Aug. 17 *London Times*. Binyon wrote, "Suggestions that diplomats wallow in a champagne and caviar lifestyle arose bitter objections, not only from harassed first secretaries who have just come back from their 90th national day reception, but also from businessmen who rely on British embassies to fix their connections."

Britain's embassy in Paris costs 16.7 million pounds [\$28.4 million] a year to run and has an annual entertainment bill of 359,000 pounds [\$610,300]. In contrast, U.S. Embassy Paris has an annual operating budget of \$26.1 million and a representational allowance of \$149,200, according to State Department figures. U.S. Embassy London costs \$17.4 million a year and \$151,000 for representational costs.

But the Paris embassy is Britain's most expensive mission overseas and, arguably, one of its most influential, according to Binyon. "But even in Paris they count the pennies," he writes. "The embassy has to account for every item of expenditure — even down to the last mint. Every diplomat has to get clearance before every dinner party to show that the lamb cutlets are really necessary and the embassy cooks, among the 17 domestic staff, are instructed to shop at the cheaper outlets."

The *Times* points out that London's Foreign Office faces deep cuts in the next three years and that entertainment

# 50 YEARS AGO

"The kaleidoscope of changing governments, shifting political and economic concepts in the world today make it essential that the young American diplomat have a wide variety of backgrounds — personally as well as geographically," wrote Florence J. Harriman, former U.S. minister to Norway in the November 1944 *Journal*. In a theme echoed in several articles in this war-time issue, Harriman wrote, "Today, and tomorrow more than ever, the ideal diplomat must be first a citizen who knows and respects America. He should be in the broadest sense of the phrase, a man of the world and a man of the people. ... For it is our mission everywhere to live up to our own traditions of democracy, making our connections when abroad not merely with the privileged society, but with all democratic elements." ■

## CLIPPINGS



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WARREN CHRISTOPHER ON

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SEPT. 20

is the first target, even though these costs account for less than 1 percent of the budget. "Entertaining is a terrible imposition on your private life," notes one anonymous British diplomat. "These things are done for duty. ... I can imagine better ways of spending an evening than entertaining a junior chamber of commerce official."

### CARTER, CHRISTOPHER JOUST OVER DIPLOMACY

"Carter is a two-edged sword for the administration," said a senior State Department official about former President Jimmy Carter's role in the Haiti diplomatic crisis. In the Oct. 3 *Los Angeles Times*, Jack Nelson reported that State Department officials have

tried to work out arrangements with Carter that would permit him to participate in additional talks in North Korea as well.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher reportedly said he believes he and Carter have ironed out their differences over the proper diplomatic role for the former president. "One thing for certain, there'll be better coordination in the future," said Christopher after a late September meeting with the former president at his Plains, Ga. home. "It was a friendly, instructive session. We went through the background of various events, and he recognizes the responsibility that I have as secretary of state."

Christopher said Carter "has three roles: as world citizen, as possible mediator ... and as a representative of the president." ■

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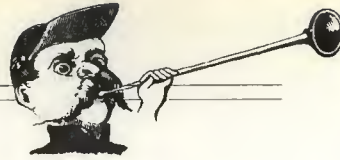
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# SPEAKING OUT

## *At AID South Africa, Does American-Style Apartheid Reign?*

BY PAUL NEIFERT

A visiting South African colleague to Washington recently characterized American foreign policy as "degenerate." Such notions strike proud citizens as offensive, and when so challenged, I reacted with a certain degree of defensiveness. But after a three-year assignment as a Foreign Service officer in Pretoria for the Agency for International Development (AID), and after considering the project implementation methods of AID management in South Africa, I found myself concurring with my colleague's harsh assessment.

Such a revelation was not surprising to me. It was, after all, my assertive disagreement with AID's conduct in South Africa that earned me an early transfer from that beautiful country.

At issue is what I believe to be the racially motivated nature of U.S. policy towards South Africa, the willingness of AID leadership to disregard rules in persuing this policy, and the mismanaged use of taxpayer money in the process. Indeed, I believe it was AID's inability to resist political pressure from the Congressional Black Caucus that resulted in these

*Paul Neifert is a Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Agency for International Development assigned to the Europe and Newly Independent States Bureau. He was a private sector officer in AID South Africa from November 1991 until June 1994, when he was transferred.*

*Trading an  
apartheid gatekeeper  
for an American one,  
however politically  
correct, was  
unacceptable to  
South Africans.*

South Africa policy disputes — policies that underline serious management flaws as the agency attempts to "rightsize" and "diversify" its workforce.

Prior to mid-1992, AID's position in the fight against South African apartheid took the moral high ground. AID's vision was grand, almost a mantra among its staff in Pretoria: "To hasten the end of apartheid and to prepare disadvantaged South Africans for their rightful place in a non-racial society." Employees in Pretoria took pride in the direct, focused and compelling objectives of their work. As Americans, the familiar morality and appealing simplicity of this approach energized us. It attracted committed officers unafraid of confrontation posed by an unjust and unnatural segregation of people. We found an

affinity with our South African friends, and proudly joined the struggle as allies by their side.

The U.S. elected political leadership also provided officers an effective legislative framework. The 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) called for providing assistance to South Africa "without discrimination by race, color, sex, belief or political organization." In providing assistance, priority was given to working with South African organizations where "leadership and staff are selected on a non-racial basis." The CAAA was quite clear that the act's goal was to help all disadvantaged groups in South Africa.

This non-racial and inclusive nature of the governing legislation was no accident, since the apartheid system was designed to strictly segregate South Africa's population along ethnic lines. This was a difficult task in a country with a dozen major African cultures, and with substantial mixed-race, Asian, Indian and white minorities. Indeed, South Africa's successful emergence from the apartheid nightmare required all its diverse stakeholders to invest in its outcome. One group could no longer benefit at the expense of another. U.S. legislation recognized this truth.

The subsequent Transition to Democracy Act (TDA) of 1993 had similar goals to its predecessor, CAAA. It called for "rapid progress towards the establishment of a non-racial democratic government in

  
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## SPEAKING OUT

South Africa." It, too, mandated assistance for organizations which had "the support of the disadvantaged communities."

Additional arrows in the AID quiver were provided by the Small Business Administration and other federal procurement rules. Using familiar "8(A)" and "set-aside" entitlement programs, which aim to assist American "socially and economically disadvantaged" firms, AID could not only help contribute to apartheid's demise, but also further U.S. social agendas at the same time.

Its moral high ground secure with committed staff, its foundation anchored with solid legislation, and its grand vision relatively uncluttered by its usual bureaucratic baggage, AID prepared for the inevitable anti-apartheid victory.

Tragically, just as South Africans of all colors were courageously succeeding in their long struggle and negotiating an unprecedented, peaceful transfer of power, it became clear to me that AID leadership chose to surrender its moral capital to a narrow, racially-motivated, domestic-interest faction. I maintain that elements within the Congressional Black Caucus, with the eager assistance of race-conscious AID bureaucrats, engineered an unofficial reversal of the long-standing — and multi-racial character — of U.S. policy towards South Africa. Prior to this capitulation, beginning in mid-1992, the entire AID Washington management hierarchy related to all things South African changed in short order, which I believe began a domino effect felt most strongly in the South African AID mission. AID's director of the Office of Southern Africa Affairs in Washington, a white male, was replaced by his deputy, a black

## SPEAKING OUT



male. The deputy director of the Pretoria office, a white female, was removed before the completion of her term to make way for a black male. And, around the same time, the AID assistant administrator for Africa, a white male, was replaced by his deputy, a black male. After arrival of the new management team in late 1992, a two-week mission retreat was held with the Africa Bureau staff in Pretoria. During these two weeks, management made clear its opinion that too much AID money was going for white-led groups and not enough for "black-led" groups. Those unaccustomed to this terminology must note that — up until this moment — the terms "black" and "disadvantaged" traditionally included not just Africans but also Asians, "coloreds," Indians and any other of the "non-white" individuals who suffered under apartheid. Yet, during and immediately after this retreat, management made clear that the South Africa program was now to become more "Afro-centric" in its implementation. This was to be accomplished, according to management's new restrictive "black-led" definition, by aggressively increasing AID contracts and grants to groups in South Africa and black-led U.S. groups and by decreasing assistance to all other racial groups.

Professional staff appeals for adherence to the mandated, balanced and multi-racial character of the program were ignored by mission leadership. In at least three public meetings, management informed staff that those uncomfortable with the new Afro-centric direction should leave. Even appeals from black South African business and academic consultants for an open, non-racial approach were disregarded. During one project design

process, a group of South African business consultants met with the mission director to plead for "full and open competition" of a contract they helped design. After ignoring this advice and the recommendations of his technical officers, the director subsequently questioned his staff on the ways AID could ensure the award of the contract to a black American company under the guise of an "8(A)" or "set-aside" procurement.

Consistent with the new, ethno-centric approach was unrelenting pressure for utilization of black American firms and grantees. One program, the Tertiary Education Linkages Project, required several years to perfect what I submit is an inappropriate and gerrymandered racial design. In another instance, described in a recent *Wall Street Journal* article, the AID mission in South Africa mischaracterized U.S. minority set-aside rules as black-American entitlements, and sought policy guidance on ensuring further Afro-centric restrictions on AID contracting. Project reviews had to run a racial litmus test and pass through a gauntlet of bureaucratic clearances. Even support to multi-racial groups was viewed as contrary to the new AID policy. When challenged by the mission's legal adviser, a black American male, in early 1994 to name black-led groups in the mission's private sector portfolio, one choice was dismissed as irrelevant, since, according to the adviser, "multi-racial groups don't count."

Over time, pressure increased to follow the new guidance. Mission management required officers to identify the racial composition of South African grantee organizations as part of the mission's project

approval process. One employee memorandum to the AID director in January 1993 questioned the "audacity of (management) asking in an open meeting ... what it would take to get (a white South African male) to resign" from an AID-funded organization. This same officer feared "that probing groups about racial breakdowns can put (AID) on a collision course," according to the memo.

While the AID mission would once cloak its racially-motivated intentions under the veil of normally inclusive 8(A) and set-aside rules, it soon dropped this pretense when it met with regulatory resistance and it became inconvenient. In one surreal public meeting, the mission's deputy director emotionally accused his private sector division of "actively circumventing the hiring of (black) American firms by using an 8(A) Chinese (American) woman-owned company." In instances where set-aside rules and emotional bluster could not further the mission's Afro-centric intentions, major procurements would simply be canceled — after their advertisement — wasting enormously expensive design work and further damaging AID's credibility in South Africa.

Mission management also made apparent use of racial criteria in its own hiring and personnel decisions. Several complaints were circulated among American officers in 1993 concerning AID's apparent Afro-centric hiring policy of summer interns. And, towards mid-1994, the mission's "colored," Indian, Asian and white Foreign Service nationals were quietly complaining of a perceived "African" bias in hiring decisions. And to prove just how effectively the new AID homeland was

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## SPEAKING OUT



running, management directed the collection of spending statistics along ethnic lines for an inquiring congressman.

Like South Africa's apartheid, the American version of apartheid could succeed only if its opponents were silenced. And, indeed, opponents of AID South Africa's policies were forced into an exile of sorts; over an 18-month period between January 1993 and June 1994, some 11 American and South African professionals — all white, including me — left the mission before their contracts or four-year assignments ended. Those who didn't leave voluntarily were pushed out.

As inordinate numbers of employees departed, a formerly creative, decentralized and client-based organization was overwhelmed. Suspicion and mistrust were rife in the mission, polarizing remaining staff along a racial and bureaucratic divide. Encouraged by AID's aggressive Afro-centric thrust, one black American employee suggested in a mission-wide meeting that officers should be seen lending their moral and professional support for the cause by having lunch with their South African black grantees, but not their white ones. Such remarks went unchallenged by AID management.

Many of the professional staff, like me, felt this was not the new South Africa that America was here to help build.

Indeed, American-style apartheid offered no vision at all. It was easily achievable by administrators using the same divide-and-conquer techniques so shamelessly used by South Africa's apartheid bureaucrats.

Ironically, the mission's policy was conceived at the very time South Africa was winning its fight to secure the promise of a transparent and non-racial system of

## SPEAKING OUT



governance. As South Africa opened its borders to all ideas, products and people so long denied it by sanctions and censure, its citizens — of all colors — were telling AID that they saw no value in the introduction of methods that I found manipulative, condescending and yes, even racist. Many remarks were overheard, such as, "Americans have underestimated and misjudged us. Who the bloody hell do they think they are?" Trading an apartheid gatekeeper for an American one, however politically correct, was unacceptable to South Africans.

Despite a senior-level management assessment in April 1994, at least four Inspector General (IG) investigations between April and September 1994, the arrival of five administrative experts during the same period, and reports in the *South African Sunday Times* and other publications, nothing appears to have changed at the South African AID mission. The management assessment report, characterized by one senior AID Washington manager as a "stinging indictment," remains tightly held. IG investigations reportedly found no lapses worthy of referral to the Department of Justice, but one investigator characterized what was found as "a number of management issues," requiring "management attention."

The moral, legal and policy implications of the AID mission's conduct in South Africa are dishonorable. Certain of its political cover, the AID mission has tragically abandoned its ethic, and is sending an unwitting message that certain American values, laws and national interests can be disregarded in the pursuit of U.S. racial politics. ■

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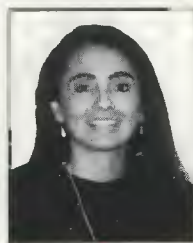
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By L. BRUCE LAINGEN

**N**ov. 4, 1979. Ask your average American to recall the significance of that date and you will probably get a blank stare. But 72 Americans and their families need little reminding of the event that would totally disrupt the lives of the 53 long-term hostages for the next 444 days. Nov. 4, 1979 is a day they will forever remember.

Nov. 4 is the 15th anniversary of that morning in Tehran when militant Iranian "students" breached the walls and gates of the American Embassy. Whatever the alleged purposes of their action may have been at the outset, today we know the larger consequences: A provisional government quickly toppled; a revolution turned in the radical direction in which it remains today; and in Washington, a crisis so burdensome for President Jimmy Carter that it became a major factor in his election defeat. And in the view of some, it was an action whose impact on Iran would encourage Saddam Hussein to launch the full-scale military assault that ended only after eight long years of war and bloodshed, unequalled anywhere in the post-World War II

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*L. Bruce Laingen, a retired Foreign Service officer, was chief of mission in Tehran in 1979. He is now president of the American Academy of Diplomacy in Washington, D.C.*

period. Even today, thousands of captives from Iran and Iraq languish in POW camps in both countries.

In these and other respects, this was an event of no small historic consequence. This year, on its 15th anniversary, there will be the usual editorials and commemorative TV programs that accompany anniversaries when the years reach 10, 15 and beyond. And thus reminded, many Americans will recall how much they identified emotionally and politically with 53 of their countrymen held hostage in a place and by a regime they regarded as beyond reason and humanity. It was, as the press labeled it, "America Held Hostage." But it was, as well, an event that brought Americans together in a remarkable display of community, symbolized by those yellow ribbons that are the symbol we now use, whatever the politics of the issue, to reach out to fellow Americans at risk. Witness the Gulf War.

But 15 years later, most Americans — albeit thus capable of remembering this painful time — will shrug their shoulders, as if to say the world has long since moved beyond all that. And of course it has. For most Americans what happens in or to Iran is of little or no consequence and of less interest. Most accept the characterization by Secretary of State Warren Christopher of "a rogue and outlaw state," one that needs to be "contained" and that richly deserves the isolation its regime seems to have chosen for itself, at least as far as the United States is concerned.



Today, President Hasemi Rafsanjani and his associates seem determined to see that Ayatollah Khomeini's legacy is still felt in Iran enough to ensure that western, or at least American, influences are held at bay. If press reports are to be believed, revolutionary watchdogs still roam the streets of Tehran and even the hiking trails above Shimran to keep "social deviants" under wraps. More substantively, the Great Satan — the United States — is still portrayed as the villain determined to undermine the revolution and with whom there can be no dialogue, without the return of allegedly massive frozen assets and acceptance of other preconditions. This position serves as a smoke screen to cover the political reality of a regime still only partially in control of its more radical elements.

As many have commented, the revolution is today a tired one, seemingly talking to itself, its leaders the emotional captives of their traumatic past — a regime out of step with larger post-Cold War trends, not least the Israeli/Palestinian/Arab peace process. But from all accounts, it is a regime in control — challenged only, if at all, by its own awareness that 15 years into its revolution, it has yet to produce any meaningful material benefits for the Iranian masses. To most outside observers, Iran and its people — including the many who live abroad — have themselves become hostage to the turmoil and uncertainty of not just 15, but nearly 50 troubled years of their national history.

To quote Shaul Bakash of George Mason University, writing in a recent *New York Review of Books*, "When an ossified state sits atop an energetic society, it can seldom maintain stability for very long." And as in all societies, much of that energy lies with Iran's future, the youth of Iran, the depth of whose commitment to the revolution is far from clear. What is clear is that their consciousness and natural restiveness are surely not impervious to events and cultural changes beyond their borders, communicated so powerfully in today's world by CNN, MTV, video cassettes and the satellite dishes that dot Tehran's skyline.

For those Americans who knew an earlier Iran and thus know the potential of its more than 50 million people, this 15th anniversary of a major turning point in its history will recall the trauma of that troubled time. This will assuredly be so for American diplomats, for whom the seizure and

use of an embassy and its personnel by militants supported by their government will remain one of the most egregious violations of their trade in the history of diplomacy. Even the most convinced of Iran's revolutionary leadership today must have difficulty striking a positive balance in weighing the long-term results of that act.

But it is a trauma that both sides need to put behind them. For all concerned, and particularly for policy-makers in both Iran and the United States, this anniversary should be a time for serious stocktaking and reflection. Above all, it should be a time for a renewed search for a dialogue that could begin to remove some of the emotional baggage that makes for rigidity on both sides.

Today, regrettably, there is no dialogue of any kind: The United States and Iran have not talked directly for these 15 years, a state of affairs I could not have imagined when the hostage crisis ended in 1981.

Only at The Hague's International Claims Tribunal, within the strict confines of the Algiers Accord, have American and Iranian representatives had contact — a tribunal process that is one of the few positive results of the crisis. Save for Quadafi, Iran and Iraq, the United States today has dialogue with all the world's governments, including some with whom it is in sharp disagreement on a range of issues.

However difficult, there is no reason why dialogue should not be possible with Tehran. The United States can and should talk, not because of any regard for the policies of that regime. The United States does and will disagree fundamentally in many respects, not least in areas of human rights, nuclear proliferation concerns, and in the importance this country attaches to the Middle East peace process. The United States should seek dialogue because it is inherently unnatural,

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and risks being counterproductive, not to have contact with a government that claims to speak for a country and people as large and consequential as Iran, in a region where larger U.S. interests are involved. Nor is it natural, or wise, for an Iranian government to continue under the illusion that American interests and culture can be kept indefinitely at arm's length.

Today, however, it is Tehran, not Washington, that refuses dialogue. Behind Secretary of State Warren Christopher's tough language, obviously reflecting in part his own personal experience in the hostage crisis, is official policy sustained now through three U.S. administrations: a declared readiness to talk with any authorized Iranian representative, without preconditions. It is time for Tehran to respond; it is time for the United States to quietly encourage a response.

A celebrated Israeli diplomat, Abba Eban, wrote recently in *The Washington Post* on the impressive array of former adversaries now engaged in diplomatic discourse, Israelis and Palestinians foremost among them. He put it this way, "The common feature is the acknowledgment of negotiation as an unconditional duty, not as an arbitrary option. Public opinion has no patience with the rejection of encounter. ... Mankind has never had a single vision of virtue, justice, truth or legitimate pride, but nations have often been able to unite around themes of converging interest. ... Much of it (diplomacy) is a holding action, designed to avoid explosion until the unifying forces of history take humanity into their embrace."

That strikes me as counsel worthy of regard by both Tehran and Washington after these 15 long years. ■

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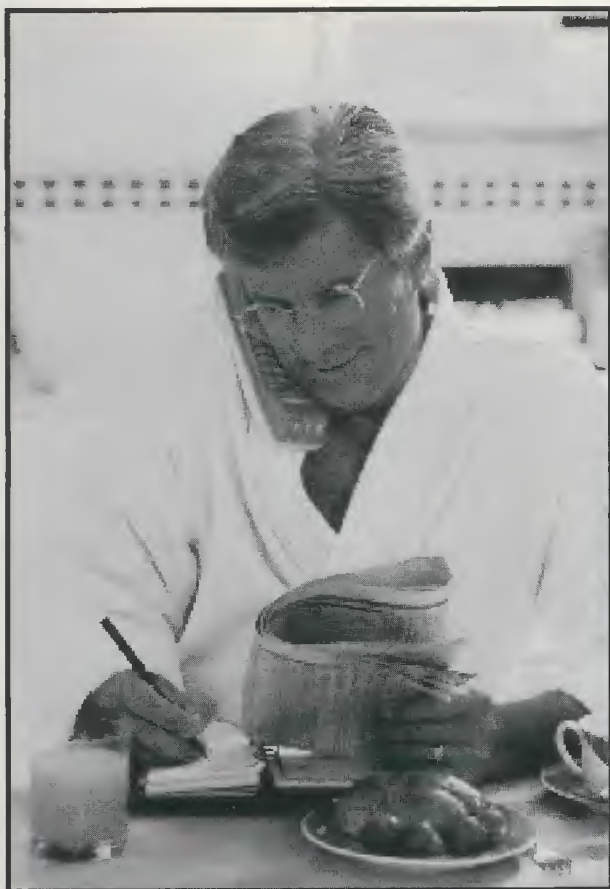
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# STUFFY, SERIOUS AND SUPERCILIOUS

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## THE FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER GOES TO THE MOVIES

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BY MICHAEL CANNING

**F**or some 90 years, Hollywood movies have covered every aspect of American life — at least superficially. And superficial is the word for its depiction of most American institutions. Hollywood's and America's primordial need for individual heroes and villains is found in symbols of good and evil, be they John Wayne or Boris Karloff. Large institutions, especially government bureaucracies like the State Department, hardly supply such figures, and the very nature of their work rarely offers the starker drama movieland requires. Unable to plumb the arcana of an outfit housed in Foggy Bottom, American moviemakers do what comes naturally: They display stereotypes.

In the isolationist environment of the early film days, most Americans had little sense of what diplomacy was about. Moreover, they didn't quite trust foreigners, and those who consorted with them — such as diplomats — were also not quite trusted. Diplomats, if they had any public personae at all, were likely seen as over-educated, elitist prigs with no connection to the *hoi polloi*.

Take a primitive example called "Ambassador Bill," (1931) starring Will Rogers as an Oklahoma hick named ambassador to the principality of

Sylvania. This movie not only crudely satirizes the proverbial political appointee, but mocks the world outside. Even more telling is how U.S. movies, even in this Neanderthal phase, viewed the professional Foreign Service. The embassy regulars, the secretary and his assistant, are prissy snobs who plot decent Bill's removal by trying to enlist the support of a sympathetic U.S. senator.

Ambassador Bill's country of Sylvania is in the spirit of — if hardly as funny as — the Marx Brothers' loopy land of Freedonia in the classic "Duck Soup" (1933). The diplomats of both films are the vaguely continental, inconsequential, over-dressed stereotypes that were a staple of Hollywood films for decades. Real Americans could hardly be professional diplomats: They just weren't stuffy enough.

Most 1930s movies were too frothy or too gritty to deal seriously with the complications or intrigues of foreign affairs. The war years certainly concentrated filmgoers' minds on events overseas, but these were manifest principally through the dering-do of the lone GI. In a multitude of war flicks, drama was again individualized, while the U.S. diplomatic service was simply not heroic enough for American filmmakers' tastes. Besides military men, those deemed truly intrepid were spies like Cary Grant in "Notorious" (1946) or journalists like Joel McCrea in "Foreign Correspondent" (1940).

In the post-World War II period, motion pictures that deigned to touch the diplomatic life gravitated to facile stereotypes of the popular culture.

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*Michael Canning is a retired Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Information Agency. His last post was as deputy public affairs officer in Brasilia.*

Typical was "Call Me Madam" (1953). Here we find another cute principality, Lichtenberg, standing in for Luxembourg, where the real "hostess with the mostes," Perle Mesta, served as President Harry Truman's representative. Perky Ambassador Sally Adams from Oklahoma was incarnated by leather-lunged Ethel Merman, who falls for a Lichtenbergian general. True to how the film industry saw career Foreign Service personnel, comedian Billy DeWolfe — all striped-pants uptightness — had the very Waspish, diplomatic name of Pemberton Maxwell.

Easy stereotypes of glamorous diplomatic life abound in "The Ambassador's Daughter," (1956) wherein heroine Olivia de Havilland becomes enamored of a wholesome GI after the two go out on the town. The town is at least Paris, rather than some imaginary kingdom, but the usual canards are present. The sweet young thing's father is another common ambassadorial stereotype to go along with the hayseed: the pompous stuffed shirt, played by veteran stuffed shirt Edward Arnold.

The films of the 1960s were hardly rife with the real business of foreign affairs, although there was an explosion of espionage and secret agent films. Typical of these was "Charade," (1964) a caper with Cary Grant and Audrey Hepburn. Here the embassy security officer, played by Walter Matthau, is the villain. The one look we get at embassy staffers is Stereotype City: two bespectacled, uptight white breads talking cattily in the elevator about "the boss," the ambassador.

Even in the 1960s, though, the dippiness of diplomacy stayed in vogue, as in "Romanoff and Juliet," (1961) in which Peter Ustinov wrote, directed and starred. Ustinov heads Concordia, yet another tiny state tucked in Europe, which is being wooed by the United States and the Soviet Union. The cutesy plot, a variation on the Shakespearean play, has the daughter of the American ambassador and the son of the Soviet ambassador falling in love, thus producing their own version of the thaw. The U.S. ambassador sports the usual ostentatious, super-Wasp name — Hooper Moulsworth: His character was described by *The New York Times* critic as "the British farce-writer's idea of the back-slapping, Bourbon-drinking, tooth-picking American." In other words, a return to Ambassador Bill.

A 1964 film, "Seven Days in May," in which a

harried president fends off a coup by a right-wing general, actually has an embassy officer who is a hero of sorts. In a tiny bit part, the U.S. consul in Madrid provides a crucial plot element when he discovers among the effects at a Spanish crash site a White House aide's cigarette case containing a vital message. In an even smaller bit in one of the decade's many spy spoofs, "Our Man Flint," (1966) an American diplomat in Rome is chewed out by the head of U.S. intelligence who, when the enemy's lair disappears, utters a threat to curdle the blood of any Foreign Service officer: "Great intelligence work! Your next post will be Peyton Place!"

One film built around an American ambassador, "The Ugly American," (1962) was wholly a Marlon Brando project, a vessel into which he could pour his liberal musings. Brando plays the very ambassadorially named Harrison Carter MacWhite, not a career man, but an intellectually arrogant publisher made envoy to the fictional Sarkham in Southeast Asia.

A well-meaning do-gooder, he hopes to revive a friendship with an old Sarkhamese comrade representing progressive forces in the troubled state.

Critically, Brando's performance has not worn well. His biographer Richard Schickel felt he portrayed MacWhite "as an Ivy League twit — all drawling nasality and condescension in his hearing room appearance, all false self-confidence when he arrives in Sarkham and attempts to shore up his weary and cynical diplomatic staff, all false bonhomie when he tries to reestablish his friendship." Such a catalog summarized how most moviegoers probably still viewed their representatives overseas.

"The Ugly American" did try, however laboriously, to deal with real issues of international politics and to feature American diplomats who were other than caricatures from some Ruritania romance. With growing U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia came at least a modicum of American awareness of the wider world, and some cognizance of the true complexity of foreign affairs. With crises and wars in Asia and Vietnam, Latin America and the Middle East, American's percep-

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tion of a world-wide diplomacy began to develop, even if the understanding of its practice could hardly be called sophisticated.

It took some years and a British production to come up with a movie in which Foreign Service personnel were at least competent if not well-rounded. In the obscure "Embassy," (1972) the Americans very much in charge of the troubled U.S. mission in Beirut were led by Richard Roundtree of "Shaft" fame. This was, given the times, hardly a tale of visas and GSO work orders. It is standard spy stuff, and the Foreign Service types are hardly authentic, but they dress better than most, especially Roundtree, who represents the first black diplomat in the movies.

Still, it wasn't too long before cartoons came back. In "The Wind and the Lion," (1975) the filmmakers resorted to proven types in telling the true story of a kidnapping of an American family by an Arab bandit in Morocco in 1904. The movie offered plenty of gun and sword play, some windy cross-cultural speculation, and lots of vulgar flaunting of America's "Big Stick" policy. The Foreign Service officers are a bald reversion to diplomatic type, made up of equal parts ambassadors Bill and Moulsworth. The consul general in Tangiers is seen overdressed in a morning coat, speaking in a yokel's gravelly voice, and appearing to be vaguely drunk. Even worse as an American representative is his vice consul, who, with pith helmet and Southern-fried accent, incarnates the bombastic "Big Stiek" policy. The movie's credo is delivered by Keith's Teddy Roosevelt: "The world will never love us, but it will respect us — may even grow to fear us. We have too much audacity." So do the dips in this movie.

In recent years, U.S. moviemakers have pictured the American diplomatic service more often and more realistically because their audience's knowledge of that service has changed. Many more Americans now have traveled or lived overseas, either as Peace Corps volunteers or students, as businesspeople or tourists, and have a sense of how actual embassies function and how they are staffed — often with people like themselves.

U.S. movies have also adapted to how the U.S. media treated diplomacy and its practitioners. Starting with former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger as a viable — if not exactly photogenic — national celebrity, the mass media, especially television news, began depicting a version of the State Department that filmmakers had to match or at least approximate for verisimilitude's sake.

Yet even as the U.S. diplomatic service acquired a more human face, Hollywood held its stance of the heroic individual, typically confronting the system, Big Government or bureaucrats of every (pin) stripe. Members of the Foreign Service, even if more realistically portrayed after the 1980s, are rarely central to the action. More significant, they are not only peripheral, they remain profoundly ineffectual.

Take the poor sap in "Midnight Express," (1978) a consular official who can do nothing to affect the drastic sentence passed on the hashish-carrying American Billy Hayes by a Turkish court. The film sets up the audience for a spineless State Department by showing Billy's father as a dutiful believer in the U.S. government. But the very presence of the consul — a skinny, balding, bespectacled weenie — gives the game away. Final evidence of the consul's — and symbolically the State Department's — impotence is when he tells Billy

the bad news that he has been sentenced to life for drug smuggling. What happens? Billy tries to strangle the dwccb! Isn't that the way all American citizens treat their hapless bureauerats?

A consular officer who gets no more respect has a bit part in the horror-comedy, "American Werewolf" (1981). Called into a British hospital to see a young American mysteriously mauled in the North England moors, the officer — skinny, balding and bespectacled — irritates the attending physician and is asked to leave. He at least gets a good parting shot in a line that legions of consular officers might think, if not actually utter: "These dumb-ass kids ... they never appreciate anything you do for 'em!"

The Foreign Service is no more effective in an espionage piece called "The Amateur" (1982). Terrorists take over the U.S. consulate in Munich, seize the consul general's office and murder a female hostage on television. The brooding U.S. ambassador in Bonn can only intone: "I cannot bargain with terrorists." The U.S. ambassador to Algeria is no more effective in the Chuck Norris macho vehicle, "Delta Force" (1986). Every time he appears, he is asked to leave so real work can be done by Commander Lee Marvin.

A Foreign Service type has a key role in a bonbon called "Protocol" (1984). In fact — gadzooks! — he's the love interest. Ransome (Chris Sarandon, former spouse of Susan) is State's "Middle East Desk Chief" assigned as minder to dippy Sunny Davis (Goldie Hawn), who saves an Arab dignitary from assassination and is rewarded with a job in State Protocol. When Davis is duped by the administration, she resigns, and Ransome, acting on principle, follows her lead. The smart ones know when to get out, you see. One earnest line from Davis sums up what honest American folk can expect from the regulars in the

bureaucracy: "Professionals, well, they don't always care, you know."

Perhaps the one major Hollywood film that represents regular State Department personnel most realistically was the one that also seemed to offer the greatest ealunny; the eontroverial "Missing" (1982). Based on the case of young Charles Horman, who was kidnapped and killed by Chilean authorities during the 1973 coup, it featured performances by Jack Lemmon as Horman's father, and Sissy Spaeck as Horman's wife. Its key message was to show just how dissembling U.S. officialdom can be, a message delivered through the growing disillusionment of Lemmon's character.

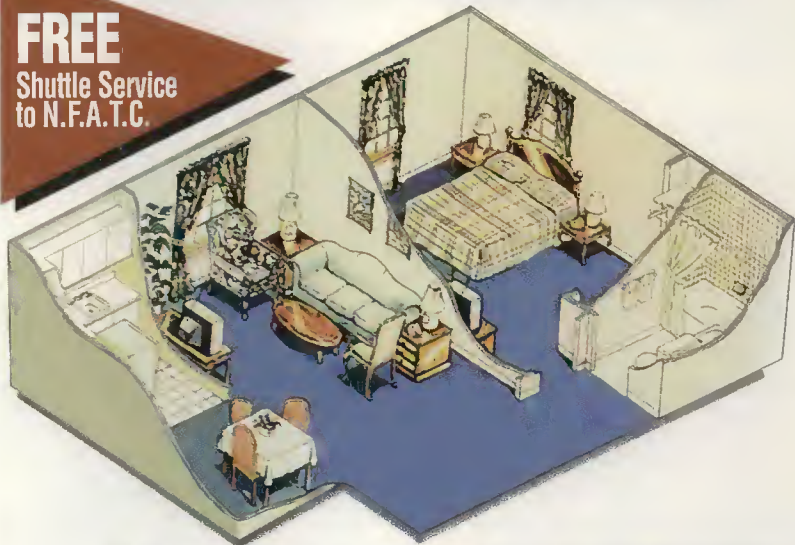
"Missing" proved a *cause célèbre*, and was strongly objected to by the State Department, which said it grossly distorted the facts of the case. Two Foreign Service officers, the ambassador and the eonsul at the time, along with the chief of the U.S. Naval Mission in Chile, filed suit for libel in U.S. District Court against the film and the book upon which it was based, eharging that their roles were "false, unfair, inaccurate and defamatory." The ease was finally settled in 1991 by a negotiated agreement that included a statement by the filmmakers that it was not their intention to suggest complicity by the plaintiffs in the death of Charles Horman.

The surprise is that the State officers depicted are quite believable on screen. The eonsul, an angular, studious sort, seems to really want to help the Hormans even though he appears to be in on an embassy cover-up. The vice eonsul is a young, nice fellow who accompanies the Hormans on their grimmest quests to find the young man. These are sincere officials doing the dirtiest kind of "American interests" jobs. But at the bottom, of course, no matter how personable or commit-

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ted these officers are, they remain fundamentally ineffectual.

The improbable plot of the Israeli-produced "The Ambassador," (1984) starring Robert Mitchum as the U.S. envoy to Israel, has the ambassador trying to serve as go-between in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict while his boozing wife is having an affair with a PLO activist. While "The Ambassador" doesn't exactly fit into this survey of Hollywood movies, it still tends to confirm filmdom's overall view of U.S. diplomats as fundamentally inept in resolving conflicts.

In "The Sheltering Sky" (1990) a consular officer journeys to an obscure Saharan outpost to retrieve the lost Catherine (Debra Winger) and shepherd her back to Tangiers. For a change, the officer is a woman (Carolyn de Fonseca), but parallels the look of her male counterparts in other movies: She is tall, matronly and wears a hat a couple of sizes too small, in other words, she's a fuddy duddy. She also proves no more capable with her charge and loses Catherine in a local cafe.

Which brings us to a final example of a Foreign Service type who, for once, is not ineffectual. In "White Nights" (1985) the intricate plot concerns a defected Russian ballet star Nikolai (Mikhail Baryshnikov) being held against his will by Soviet authorities. The dancer's agent goes for help to the U.S. ambassador, but the real bureaucratic heroics are provided by a prototype embassy staffer — lanky, nerdy and with horn-rimmed glasses — who proves to be a key insider in springing Nikolai.

The good guy is saved by the consul, who helps the ballet dancer escape to the consulate in Leningrad, where U.S. diplomats are able to slip Nikolai past surly KGB officials to safety. For once, the Foreign Service acts boldly and creatively to safeguard an individual American citizen. "White Nights" is hardly a great film, but it does put a reasonably competent, human visage

on the cinematic U.S. diplomat.

In the spirit of this review, mention should be made of network television's one attempt to portray an embassy: the TV movie pilot "Embassy," produced for ABC-TV in 1985 in Rome. Conceived as a drama with varied episodes occurring within an ongoing institutional context, "Embassy" was to be a diplomatic "Hill Street Blues." It was to feature, among the running characters, an ambassador, a press officer, a consular official and — of all things — a deputy chief of mission — a Frank Furillo-type around whom the stories and characters revolved. The producers, sure that the innards of a mission housed any number of great stories, went out of their way to consult with embassy officers, aiming to get the details right. Success would mean an exciting window on the yet-to-be-discovered world of international affairs — and a long-running money maker. So what happened? "Embassy" aired on ABC in late 1985, disappearing without a trace.

Which doesn't mean, of course, that there is no excitement in the life of an embassy; it just has to be marketed the right way. Think of the possibilities: an under-the-gun mission in a cool Mediterranean locale led by grizzled veteran ambassador Clint Eastwood, backed by the stolid, smooth careerist DCM Kevin Costner, who resents the hyper, plugged-in political officer Michael Keaton, stuck in a dying affair with the lovely personnel officer Julia Roberts, who has eyes for the new, extremely green consular officer Tom Cruise, who's worried about an AIDS infection after a one-nighter with a luscious immigrant visa applicant, Michelle Pfeiffer, who is carrying the baby of the phlegmatic, henpecked security officer Sly Stallone — all set against a ripe local government scandal which involves the sleazy local Mafia-type cabal who are running drugs and arms to ... Now all we need is a script. ■



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## GERGEN ADDRESSES COLEAD ON WORLD AFFAIRS

**D**avid Gergen, special adviser to the president and the secretary of state, spoke to a dozen representatives from foreign affairs non-profit groups of the Coalition for American Leadership Abroad (COLEAD) at the Foreign Service Club on Oct. 4. Gergen, in off-the-cuff remarks on American public support for U.S. foreign policy, noted that only 20 percent of the U.S. public consistently cares about foreign affairs and that his job was to maintain the interest of that segment of the population.

"You're never going to get the rest of the public, whose interest goes in and out on various foreign policy crises," said Gergen. "A Rwanda just doesn't have the kind of grip that a Gulf War has."

COLEAD includes representatives of more

than 20 organizations, including AFSA, the Foreign Policy Association, IREX, the National Peace Corps Association, Delphi International, the Overseas Development Council, Partners of the Americas, Union of Concerned Scientists and Physicians for Social Responsibility.

The coalition, formed in June to counter the growing criticism against American engagement abroad, conducts local and regional educational campaigns to promote understanding and discussion of America's role in world affairs.

Key areas requiring American leadership include funding for foreign affairs agencies, environmental protection, sustainable development, human rights, non-proliferation and arms control issues, and international violence and security issues.

## • AFSA Dateline •

● Five AID grievances alleging the agency violated regulations concerning Limited Career Extensions (LCEs) have been consolidated by the Foreign Service Grievance Board (FSGB) to decide the threshold issue of whether the agency erred in failing to present the grievants' performance records for LCE consideration by the 1992 C/Board. If the FSGB finds there was a violation, it must then decide whether grievants would have been recommended for and granted an LCE or LCE renewal.

● USIA Director Joseph Duffey has determined that Worldnet television should be in the Bureau of Broadcasting under a Broadcasting Board of Governors, in spite of the views of AFSA and many other individuals and groups, who lobbied for Worldnet to be under the director's authority.

● The AFSA USIA Standing Committee has appointed Bruce Byers to replace Capie Polk as acting USIA vice president while Razvigor Bazala is temporarily in Macedonia. Polk has been detailed to the White House to work on the Summit of the Americas in December.

● AFSA welcomes expansion of the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program (FEHBP) coverage in two areas of treatment. Starting immediately, all FEHBP plans are required to cover high dose chemotherapy with autologous bone marrow transplants (HDC) for treatment of breast and ovarian cancer and multiple myeloma. Also, beginning in 1995, lifetime limits on mental health benefits will be eliminated. AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Harris had written the Office of Personnel Management and Blue Cross to protest the lack of coverage of HDC by Blue Cross.

Continued on page 3

STATE DEPARTMENT  
**V.P. VOICE**  
• BY TODD STEWART •

## Preparing for the Year 2001

**T**ex Harris and I were invited to observe the inauguration of a process intended to "position the department for its leadership role in the 21st century." The occasion was a full-day meeting of virtually all the under and assistant secretaries held on Sept. 24 at the training center, NFATC. By the time you read this column, the department should have provided a summary of the discussions and an outline of future steps in the process, which is supposed to supply answers to the following strategic questions:

- How do we address emerging foreign policy priorities and redirect our current activities in a declining resource climate?
- What is the right structure for our overseas presence?
- What kind of domestic restructuring is desirable and possible?
- What are our investment needs? How do we fund them?

These are good questions, but I doubt that the department's presidential appointees will be able to provide definitive answers. There are two reasons for my doubts. First, the answers will rest on assumptions concerning the department's mission beyond the year 2000. That mission will be determined by the priorities of the American people as interpreted by their elected representatives - what overall role Americans want their country to play in the world, how much they want to spend on foreign relations, and how they want to divide this sum among specific objectives. It will also depend, however, on the division of responsibilities for those objectives among the many agencies involved.

We have no way of foretelling how the White House, Congress and other agencies will decide these questions. Faced with such externally determined imponderables, the presidential

appointees must base their work largely on State's current responsibilities. This neutral assumption is probably the safest available, but it may well provide an incorrect basis on which to redesign the department and the Foreign Service for the next century.

Second, State's leaders cannot insure that future presidential appointees will accept their answers to the "strategic questions" the current process will address. Following a change of administration in 1997 or 2001, it is doubtful that a gathering of presidential appointees would include more than two or three of the Sept. 24 participants. A new team might well cease to implement - or even reverse - the reforms adopted at the end of the current process.

These considerations suggest that more stakeholders must be directly involved in the development of a strategy designed to carry the department to 2001 and beyond. AFSA has already hosted meetings of foreign affairs practitioners, retirees and academics to discuss the establishment of a blue ribbon commission on the conduct of U.S. foreign relations in the post-Cold War era.

Reporting to the president and Congress, a properly constituted commission could produce recommendations on the roles of State and other agencies that would command the respect of Democrats and Republicans. A bipartisan consensus would allow the department to implement the structural changes necessary to carry out an agreed mission with the expectation that they would be respected by future administrations into the 21st Century.

The process launched on Sept. 24 is an important and overdue effort to fund the State Department's priorities. AFSA looks forward to participating as the representative of Foreign Service employees. To have a lasting impact, however, other major stakeholders must be included in the process.

## NOMINEES SOUGHT FOR AFSA AWARDS

**A** FSA is calling for nominations for the annual Herter, Rivkin and Harriman Awards, which recognize "extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and constructive dissent" with \$2,500 awards.

The awards are not for exceptional performance of assigned responsibilities but for courageous wave-makers willing to confront the system intelligently and tenaciously, without regard to potential adverse career impact. All Foreign Service officers in State, USAID, USIA, FCS and FAS are eligible.

The Christian A. Herter Award is for members of the Senior Foreign Service; the William R. Rivkin Award is for mid-career officers (FO 1-3); the W. Averell Harriman Award is for junior officers (FO 4-6).

Also, the \$2,500 Delavan Award goes to a Foreign Service secretary "who has made a significant contribution to effectiveness or morale beyond regular job responsibilities, which might include unusual initiative, leadership, intellectual courage or integrity, outstanding contributions to improving the morale and professionalism of the Foreign Service secretarial corps, or ... involvement in community activities."

The \$2,500 Avis Bohlen Award is given to a Foreign Service family member "whose relations with the American and foreign communities at a post abroad have done the most to advance the interests of the United States" in the tradition of the late Foreign Service spouse Avis Bohlen.

The \$1,000 Matilda W. Sinclair Awards recognize achievement in the study of hard languages. Nominations are submitted by the Foreign Service Institute (FSI), and are also welcome from the field. Nomination forms are available from the School of Language Study or AFSA.

Nominations for all awards may be submitted using the following format:

Part I: Biographic data: Name, grade, agency and position (or family relationship) of nominee.

Part II: Nominator information: Name, grade, agency and position of nominator, and description of association with the nominee (250 words).

Part III: Justification for nomination (500-700 words): The narrative should discuss the actions and qualities that qualify the nominee for the award, with specific

*Continued on page 4*

## AFSA DATALINE

Continued from page 1

- AID has agreed to suspend rules currently used to limit the participation of AID employees in the Career Transition Course while negotiations with AFSA are held.
- AFSA has sent a letter to National Performance Review Project Director Robert Stone expressing dismay that USIA did not participate fully in preparing the NPR Report on the State Department and USIA.
- AFSA will be sponsoring a lunch or dinner in late December for those who have served in Tunisia. Interested members are urged to call Joseph Kemper at AFSA (202)338-4045.
- AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Horris and the AFSA vice presidents were briefed by Bruce Sossor from the Office of Management and Budget Sept. 30 on the FY95 and FY96 budgets for State, AID and USIA and government-wide streamlining cuts.
- Negotiations began Oct. 3 over the AFSA/FAS framework agreement that governs the labor-management relationship. A key issue for negotiation is the amount of official time available to the AFSA representative for FAS.
- AFSA and FCS management are taking steps towards establishing a framework agreement, including provisions for AFSA's communication with its members, almost all of whom are posted overseas. The parties are also attempting to resolve differences regarding the composition of the bargaining unit.
- In letters to AFSA, USIA Director Joseph Duffey and USFCS Director General Lauri Fitz-Pegoda agreed that the Foreign Service Act of 1980 should not be reopened to facilitate the integration of the Civil Service and Foreign Service personnel systems.
- AFSA is assisting some 40 specialists and untenured officers of all agencies to recover unpaid Sunday premium pay dating back to 1987.



## Planning for the Future

Workforce planning is an essential component of "reinvented government" as envisaged by the National Performance Review (NPR), the body reshaping the public sector these days, to be one that is customer friendly and efficient. AID, signing on as an original laboratory for the NPR, is in the forefront of the reinvention scheme. In its reinventing role, AID is implementing many actions which affect its personnel, and most particularly its Foreign Service personnel.

The agency has launched new initiatives and policies for recruitment, post differentials, training, career extensions, senior management appointments, and post closings. While AID has a workforce planning office which has developed excellent tools to carry out planning, e.g., an advanced model for "replacement planning," the agency lacks a genuine vision for the future of its workforce. Perhaps the demands which constantly throw the agency into perpetual crisis management make it difficult to carry out long-term planning. Long-term plans to match human resources with program goals is not reconcilable with current responses to crises. In addition, AID struggles with traditional baggage which inhibits long-term planning - a one- or two-year congressional appropriation, continuing "directives," reduced budgets and a mandate to institute internal reforms.

The agency's internal rhetoric does not match reality on workforce planning. The stated goals of empowerment, decentralization and delegation of authority do not comport with the facts on the ground. Notwithstanding the talk about the unique value of AID's field missions and its competitive edge, the total direct-hire balance has shifted to Washington as a result of the much-vaulted reorganization. Sources tell us that more than 200 new positions are

required to satisfy the needs of the reconfigured Washington headquarters, not to mention the continuing need for other contract personnel.

It is essential that there be a definitive roadmap for AID's workforce which would define personnel and organizational needs based on the agency's mission. Such a plan should address the programmatic and strategic goals of the agency. So far we have seen several workforce initiatives, but without a unifying vision.

Essential to future workforce needs is the obtaining of the appropriate "mix" of officers, and then training them to carry out AID's mandates. The agency's recent recruitment efforts have been highly successful in terms of diversity. The agency needs to prepare these officers for the program and policy challenges ahead. Personnel requirements must be looked at in the context of current workforce resources. The skills of the large number of personal service contractors, persons on detail from other agencies and family dependents should be calculated in determining recruitment needs. New personnel should be in a position to assume responsible positions in a short time given the rapid reduction of the most senior ranks of the agency and the dearth of officers in the middle ranks. Retraining of officers to meet the agency's goals should also be a priority.

The administrator has clearly achieved success in transforming AID's image in much of the press and on the Hill. His interventions to reestablish AID's credibility on the outside have been significant indeed. It is now time to look inside to AID's most valuable resource, its human resource, to strengthen the agency for the long term and to prepare it for its post-Cold War role. The best way to start is for senior management to get serious about long-term workforce planning.

RETIREE  
**V.P. VOICE**  
BY DON NORLAND

## Using All Our Diplomatic Tools

For more than a year a recurring theme in this column has been the adverse impact of the tidal wave of budget cuts eroding the power and influence of the United States abroad. AFSA feared the net effect would be to sap the strength of the Foreign Service and weaken its ability to employ the full power of diplomatic tools in all their forms — public, coercive, economic, private — to protect and advance U.S. vital interests in the world.

Colleagues returning from abroad are confirming these fears and give a clear indication of the price we are paying. On the one hand, foreign governments still look to the United States for leadership. And without exception, our Foreign Service colleagues provide persuasive examples of how U.S. involvement has made the difference between violence and peaceful resolution of disputes, between hope and despair.

On the other hand, these same colleagues describe the effects of the decrease in resources available to our diplomatic "front line" troops, entailing an inevitable and (in the final analysis) costly decline in their capacity to seize opportunities and influence events. The net result is inaction in those very areas where U.S. vital interests can (and should) be advanced in this new turbulent, interdependent world.

Meanwhile, the incalculable benefits of diplomacy in minimizing human and resource losses have now been reaffirmed by the experience of Haiti. Whatever the final outcome, the entrance of U.S. forces on the scene

*The incalculable benefits of diplomacy in minimizing human and resource losses have now been reaffirmed by the experience of Haiti.*

without a single casualty gave the nation reason to heave a collective sigh of relief. This critical point should not be obscured or minimized in discussions about the overall wisdom of our involvement in that deeply divided country.

These recent events should inspire a heightened sense of pride in our profession — and (we hope) enhanced participation by retirees in the ongoing dialogue about the proper allocation of resources among competing priorities, interests and departments.

I would like to thank those retiree organizations who have organized groups and engaged in local community outreach. There are now over a dozen very active groups, reflecting retirees' interest in staying in touch with each other and following key foreign affairs issues. An enthusiastic group turned out for Ambassador Bill Edmondson's talk on South African developments at the September meeting of the Foreign Affairs Retirees of New England, and an all-day meeting, featuring AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Harris' luncheon talk on Foreign Service issues, is planned in November for the Foreign Service Retirees Association of Florida.

Thanks also to those individual retirees who have expressed their willingness to serve as local representatives in AFSA's "Legislative Action Network." As such, they receive mailings describing AFSA's positions on major issues. We also have them in mind as AFSA's point persons in local COLEAD (Coalition for American Leadership Abroad) groups as its initiatives evolve.

## Congressional Update

BY RICK WEISS  
Congressional Liaison

The November congressional elections will determine if the Democrats will lose control of the House and Senate, but many members of the legislative branch believe it is time to change the foreign policy teams in the White House, State and the Central Intelligence Agency. CIA has replaced State as the most criticized agency on the national security team, as perceived by Congress. Yet the CIA received almost all its requested FY 95 funding and State lost \$61 million.

State, AID and USIA face budget shortages for the new fiscal year, with even dimmer prospects in FY 96 and 97. Senior staff members on both House and Senate sides with whom AFSA consulted see dim budget prospects for foreign affairs agencies over the next few years. "It will probably alternate between cuts and hard freezes," said one.

Budget requests for FY 96 are due in the Office of Management and Budget as part of the negotiating process leading to the president's annual budget message to Congress. The Department of State is behind all other cabinet agencies in submitting its requests. A major hangup is the question of how to cover State's costs to support other agencies overseas.

How will all this affect the individual? Foreign Service officers stationed in Washington will receive a 3.3 percent increase (including a 1.3 percent boost in locality pay) while FSOs serving overseas will receive only a 2 percent hike. And finally, DS agents will not receive the "availability pay" available to other federal law enforcement officials.

## AWARD NOMINEES

*Continued from page 2*

examples of accomplishments that fulfill the criteria.

Return nominations by pouch or inter-office mail before Jan. 31 to Awards Committee, AFSA, Room 3644, New State, or mailed to AFSA, 2101 E St. NW, Washington, D.C., 20037. For information call Richard Thompson, coordinator for professional issues, at (202) 338-4045.



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# USIA V.P. VOICE • CAPIE POLK •

## State's Budget Impacts USIA

"When the elephant stumbles, all the animals in the jungle feel the earth tremble."

**A**t USIA we are in the enviable position of having dealt with budget cuts for fiscal year 1994 well before its Oct. 1 beginning. The process was not an easy one for USIA and the results were not always welcome, but at least we can go on with the business of public diplomacy without last minute scrambling to make ends meet. And, we can never start too soon to identify where best to take future cuts and how to do our work better with the resources we have.

Our colleagues at State are not so fortunate. They are facing the immediate task of identifying where the savings will come from to make up the \$61 million shortfall from State's funding request for fiscal year 1995. Whether this is a budget crisis or an opportunity for reinvention, or a little of both, the Department of State's predicament will affect the entire Foreign Service.

The department is considering reducing or eliminating many services which USIA Foreign Service officers rely on or which set the standard for USIA and other foreign affairs agencies. These include medical services overseas, hardship differentials, COLAs, educational allowances

*You can bet that whatever money-saving changes State implements, USIA management will soon follow suit, willingly or by force.*

and overseas local guard services. The department is also working on proposed reduction-in-force regulations for Foreign Service officers. You can bet that whatever money-saving changes State implements, USIA management will soon follow suit, willingly or by force.

The key in all this is that budget cutting must be done in an environment where priorities have been clearly set and overall goals for the future specifically defined through a process in which employers and employees have fully participated. Piecemeal cuts in programs or services that don't fit into such an overall plan can only weaken our abilities to fulfill our mandates. We have repeated this theme to management at USIA many times. Our State AFSA colleagues are doing their best to resist desperate "quick fixes" to meet their budget shortfall. Time is not on their side.

In the next few weeks, you will be asked for your opinions on some of these proposals which are sure to affect all of the Foreign Service. Please respond quickly and specifically. Your input allows AFSA to express USIA priorities and encourage sound financial planning at USIA and at all Foreign Service agencies.

## Quote/ Unquote

“Should the CIA's resources be channeled into open source collection and analysis when other expert and less expensive means are available?”

- AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Harris, in a letter to Les Aspin, chairman of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board.

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(signed) Karen Krebsbach, Editor.

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8:30 A.M. Walked 2 1/2 blocks to meeting at State Department.



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# STATE OPENS FOR BUSINESS



MICHAEL DAVID BROWN

AFTER 2 YEARS, U.S. TRADE  
FINALLY BECOMES A PRIORITY

By JIM ANDERSON

A kind of a revolution is under way at the State Department, a serious, determined effort to aggressively enter the gritty world of commerce. Foreign Service officers, for the first time as part of their normal diplomatic duties, are pushing American products to foreign customers.

It's somehow jarring to think of the pin-striped cream of the American educational and public service system assigned to pound sidewalks in Malaysia and Uganda — or at least making appointments for the sidewalk-pounders — pushing American products day after day with a smile and a shoe shine. But that is how a program, begun somewhat tentatively under the Reagan administration, and pushed exuberantly by the Clinton administration, has developed. The

## F O C U S

*The Queen of England and Prince Charles are really part of the UK's export-promotion team, showing up at trade shows around the world, gathering publicity for British products.*

Christopher State Department has channeled into the export program some of the energy — although not the personnel yet — that used to be reserved for Cold War diplomacy and “serious” projects like arms control.

Where once diplomats pondered how to activate NSD 68 — thwarting the Soviets — the Country Teams now gather in their embassies to consider the Strategic Commercial Plan: how to outsell the Japanese or the Europeans.

The key word is “jobs,” as in 13 million American to be created by \$1 trillion in U.S. merchandise exports, with service industries like tourism and insurance bringing in more. In the Clinton administration dogma, politics and philosophy are linked in the belief that economic well-being and national security are inextricably joined; you can't have one without the other.

Furthermore, if economic stability is good for the United States, it's also good for the countries with which it does business. Lauri Fitz-Pegado, assistant secretary of commerce and director-general of the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service, says: “It's job creation. We are there to talk about economic stability for the United States, but also for other countries' economic stability, which is the best kind of market for the United States. We're talking about global economic stability.”

Secretary of State Warren Christopher, the self-appointed American desk officer, proudly admits to pushing U.S. products when he meets with other countries' officials. So does President Clinton, who calls in the television cameras and the Saudi ambassador to announce the sale of \$6 billion worth of Boeing and McDonnell-Douglas civilian airliners to Saudi Arabia, a deal aided by timely telephone calls from the White House telephone calls and door-to-door salesmanship by Christopher himself.

---

*Jim Anderson, a correspondent for DPA, the German Press Agency, is a frequent contributor to the Foreign Service Journal.*

After all, U.S. officials point out, the Queen of England and Prince Charles are actually part of the UK's export-promotion team. They manage to show up at major trade shows around the world, gathering huge amounts of publicity for themselves and British products. According to one measure — the sum spent on promotion in proportion to export earnings — the British are the biggest export boosters of all.

The American export promotion operation can also be seen as a delayed reaction to the war in Southeast Asia when American corporations and politicians learned that the colossal U.S. investment in lives and dollars had the incidental effect of making Southeast Asia safe for the sale of Japanese cars, mopeds and rice tractors. In an economic sense, the real victor in the Vietnam War was Honda, not Ho Chi Minh.

But some of the American Foreign Service officers — called with some exasperation by the Christopher team's political appointees as “The Building” — have not gotten with the program. These establishmentarian dissidents question the emphasis and the wisdom — not to mention the seaminess — of diplomats who represent the Sole Remaining Super Power spending much of their time peddling chicken wings and soft drinks. More importantly, some of them see a major inconsistency in pushing products such as lethal arms, which may conflict with U.S. national security goals like regional arms control.

Although military sales to such customers as Saudi Arabia, Israel and Kuwait are part of the delicate balance that keeps the American economy ticking, they sometimes upset the equally complex equilibrium in the peace-making role the United States plays in the volatile parts of the world. Last year, total U.S. military sales were in excess of \$30 billion, greater than the combined arms sales of France, Russia, China, North Korea and Germany.

The United States may be the world's only political and military superpower, but when it comes to economic and business matters, it has a lot of competition. Chiefly that means Germany and Japan, who have been pounding sidewalks in remote capitals — not to mention greasing palms

— for a long time. The Japanese and the Germans and, to a more focused extent in francophone Africa, the French, have similar programs in which economic assistance is linked to specified purchases of their national products.

America's belated energized effort can be traced back to Lawrence Eagleburger, deputy secretary of state under James Baker in the Bush administration and a former ambassador to Yugoslavia. In 1989, he handed down the "Seven Commandments," which, like the original 10, are not universally observed but may percolate into the culture of the intended audience. Those commandments, also known as the Bill of Rights for American Business, basically state that business has a right to have its views heard on foreign policy issues and that the government has an obligation to give professional assistance in selling U.S. products overseas. Eagleburger invited corporate leaders to call him if they felt they were not being helped in their selling efforts abroad. They did.

Eagleburger's involvement was described by Paul Cleveland, former ambassador to New Zealand and Malaysia. "It began with [then Secretary of State] Shultz, who was very business oriented, but Larry gave it a lot more body and substance. He was personally very involved. Every time a businessman called, he would call somebody and tell them to do something."

Cleveland, who later became coordinator of the export support program in the State Department, recently retired from the Foreign Service in that post. The State Department's hope is to make the program defunct, making business such an integral part of diplomacy that a special bureau wouldn't be required.

As one who was out there pushing business deals, Paul Cleveland understands both the businessperson and the diplomat. He thinks more missionary work has to be done among his former colleagues. "I'm not criticizing, but not everybody is jumping up and down for joy about the program."

Fitz-Pegado believes educating U.S. diplomats to engage in a new kind of competition is a matter of consciousness raising. To this end, the doctrine of promoting exports has become an integral part of the Foreign Service Institute's curriculum.

Another problem in translating the program into action is the eternal federal question: Who is in charge? Something called the Trade Promotion Coordinating Committee sent a report to Congress one year ago called, "Toward a National Export Strategy." The congressionally mandated chairman of the committee is the Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown. Reading the document, it is clear that Commerce is in charge, except overseas. There, the ambassador, who works for the State Department, takes over as head of the Country Team.

The Commerce Department, meanwhile, has set up a series of "one-stop" regional centers in the United States, where local businesspeople, especially those representing smaller firms, can tap in to the designated helpers for sales abroad. Those smaller businesses are expected to provide 40 percent of the American economic expansion. At the regional centers, they can get the information needed to branch out overseas, including details about financing and insurance. This includes the "Golden Key" program, which enables them to ask the embassy in the host country to set up their appointments with local government and business figures.

Before going off to new posts abroad, ambassadors pay their calls at Commerce, where they receive a pep talk about

*Continued on page 36*

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## UP CLOSE WITH JOAN SPERO

*Joan Spero is the under secretary for economics and agricultural affairs at the State Department.*

**Q** HOW IS THIS EXPORT PROMOTION PROGRAM DIFFERENT FROM PAST ONES?

**A** The secretary said that this department has been known for having a Russian desk and a French desk and now we're going to have an American desk. He has clearly sent that message of supporting U.S. business, being an advocate for business, being a problem solver and reflecting business issues throughout the department. I like to think I sit right behind him at that American desk. That is something new and different.

**Q** WILL GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN TRADE LEAD TO POLITICAL QUID PRO QUO EXPECTATIONS BETWEEN FOREIGN AND U.S. GOVERNMENTS?

**A** I think it's a question of a competitive position. I think also there are many situations where our exporters really need guidance. Let me give you an example. The person who won the Cobb award, which is the outstanding supporter for U.S. sales and exporters, was [U.S.] Ambassador [to Malaysia John] Wolf, and he was able to advise the supplier, in this case, McDonnell-Douglas, about what it took to sell in Malaysia. It's what a lot of governments do.

**Q** WASN'T THIS DONE IN THE PAST BY U.S. COMMERCIAL ATTACHES?

**A** I think commercial attaches have been doing a lot of those things, but we have a lot of other skills and expertise we can bring to bear on the issue. I think in particular where there is government procurement, where it's going to be a high-level decision, very often the role of the ambassador is absolutely critical. We also have some places where we don't have commercial attaches. We can bring other resources to bear, like OPIC and Ex-Im.

One dimension is advocacy, the second is problem solving. The third area is bringing the business views into

the policy process: "What is the business perspective on this issue and as we formulate this policy how can we take that into account?"

**Q** HOW DOES STATE MESH WITH THE COMMERCE'S REGIONAL ONE-STOP CENTERS?

**A** We are working extremely closely with the Commerce Department on its strategy of business promotion and the Foreign Commercial promotion department. We're trying to have it very much a partnership. I think there was a little nervousness that the State Department wanted to take back the commercial service. That is not at all what we wanted to do. We wanted to complement and strengthen what we're doing.

**Q** HAS THERE BEEN RESISTANCE WITHIN THE FOREIGN SERVICE ABOUT PROMOTING U.S. BUSINESS?

**A** I wouldn't call it non-cooperation. I would say this building has a very deep, a very long and strong long-standing culture and that culture has not for the most part been oriented toward economic issues generally or business interests particularly. I think that culture is changing. The Foreign Service Institute training is changing because the message is getting out. It's rather, "Why is this important? Is this the core of what we do?" or, "I'm a political officer and I don't do economics or windows, thank you." I think the Foreign Service is composed of a lot of very smart people and I think they understand signals and policy and I'm personally thrilled to see what is going on in the embassies. That's where the action is. That's where the rubber meets the road, that's where the customer is.

**Q** CAN YOU QUANTIFY THE SUCCESS?

**A** Coming from business, as I do ... I have been pushing very hard. The best test is what I hear from the business community and we're getting raves for being "open for business." The biggest test is: Is the customer satisfied?

— J.A.

## F O C U S

*Continued from page 34*

the export program. Fitz-Pegado, one of those who briefs the departing envoys, says, "I am thrilled at the enthusiasm I find."

The energetic Brown keeps turning up all around the world, including in China, sometimes with platoons of American CEOs, to push for new operating arrangements. Since financing is an important part of such deals, the administration is beginning to tailor its deals to match the terms of its national rivals. That brings the Export-Import Bank into the equation, as well as other agencies. One is the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), which deals with the crucial problems of financing or insuring an American deal in the face of sometimes predatory foreign competition.

As an example of the coordinated nature of the operation, included among the 19 federal agencies in the export effort is a small agency tucked away in a State Department annex in Northern Virginia. Known as the U.S. Trade and Development Agency (USTDA), it funds feasibility studies to push American products in middle-income and develop-

ing countries. Its projects have ranged from an Indonesian airport to a Tatar Republic of Russia health care system, all of which have some interest for U.S. businesses.

The organization at the State Department is lean, with few people specifically assigned to the new task. One area where U.S. business advocates are not permitted to step or to push is the frequent practice of foreign competitors, mainly Europeans, of offering incentives otherwise known as bribes, which are sometimes actually tax-deductible under other countries' laws. In the wide-open market places of Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union or East Asia, Americans have been repeatedly hammered because of their failure to come up with the kinds of fancy deals that Europeans offered. The Christopher tactic is to prevail on other exporting nations to change their laws to match American regulations on illicit payments.

**W**hat is new and potentially revolutionary at the State Department is that businesspeople, with direct contact through the diplo-

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## F O C U S

matic/commercial system, can have an impact on U.S. foreign policy. Though business has had a voice through White House and congressional contacts, they have been individual or focused on special interests.

Diverse business interests could supply a point of view at the highest level that is different from the usual lobbying by individual business groups. They also give a countervailing impact than other interest groups, such as environmentalists, arms controllers or trade unions. As Paul Cleveland says, "If you make a decision on sanctions or embargoes on political and military grounds, it seems to me that there ought to be a commercial impact statement. Business doesn't have a real sense of being included." One example of how this might work would be eliminating some of the Cold War restrictions on U.S. technology exports regulated by the allied organization formerly known as COCOM. The Coalition for Export Control Reform, made up of 160 companies and associations, says \$20 billion worth of exports annually is being lost due to archaic regulations. A State Department team, headed by Under Secretary for Security

Affairs Lynne Davis, is trying to lower the barriers on technology exports; in the meantime, some super-computers are not being sold in the former Soviet Union because of stringent government review and approvals. Another area for business-government cooperation is intellectual property protection, where U.S. software companies are being undercut by pirate outfits, mainly in Asia. Little by little, that problem also is being addressed, with countries like Thailand and Taiwan beginning to crack down on the theft of copyright-protected works.

So, how is the program doing overall? At a recent business luncheon sponsored by the U.S. government's team, some Washington-based foreign embassy economic ministers showed signs of nervousness about the U.S. effort. The Europeans showed a special irritation about losing out on the Saudi airliner deal where their Airbus proposal was blown out of the sky by the American sale despite high-level visits by European officials to Riyadh. That irritation may not be a scientific measurement, but it is the highest compliment so far for the administration's export promotion program. ■

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GLOBE'S EMERGING MARKETS  
SEEN KEY FOR US EXPORTS

By JOHN SWEENEY

Within a decade, 10 developing countries together will be absorbing as many U.S. exports as either Japan or Europe. And by 2010, these countries are likely to exceed the total value of U.S. exports to both Japan and Europe combined. Dubbed by the U.S. Commerce Department as the Big Emerging Markets (BEMs), these countries are the world's most rapidly growing market, offering the greatest potential for U.S. exporters and investors in the near future.

BEMs include 10 nations on four continents: in Asia, the Chinese Economic Area — China, Taiwan and Hong Kong — as a single group, plus India, Indonesia, South Korea; in Africa, South Africa; in Central Europe, Poland



## F O C U S

*This "is the best strategy I've worked on in the more than 20 years I've been with the Foreign Commercial Service," said one senior executive.*

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and Turkey; and in Latin America, Mexico, Brazil and Argentina.

Identified out of 130 developing nations worldwide, the BEMS are the focus of a sustained push by the U.S. government to increase American exports and investment in the next two decades. As a group, the BEMs make up 49 percent of the world's population and 27 percent of the world's land mass. While nearly three quarters of all world trade growth in the next 20 years is expected to come from the developing countries, the BEMs are likely to account for more than half of that growth.

In 1992, U.S. exports to the BEMs totaled \$106 billion, accounting for about one quarter of all U.S. exports that year. However, during the period from 1990-2010, Commerce Department analysts estimate that the BEMs could account for \$1 trillion in incremental U.S. exports. Overall, the Commerce Department estimates that the drive to expand U.S. exports to the BEMs and other markets will increase total U.S. exports to over \$1 trillion a year by the year 2000, adding 6 million new jobs in the United States alone.

The State Department's staffing strategy to promote U.S. exports in these regions is still in the planning stages, according to State's Office of Commercial and Business Affairs. "There is no overall plan yet with regard to increasing staffing at the embassies in the BEMs," according to a spokesman for the office's Coordinator George Griffin. "However, I understand that Commerce is discussing the shift of some resources from other countries into the BEMs for the purpose of upgrading their facilities."

The leading BEM, of course, is China. The U.S.-  
*Jack Sweeney, publisher of Andes/Mexico Insight, a biweekly trade newsletter focusing on Mexico and the Andean region of South America, is also a Latin American affairs policy analyst at The Heritage Foundation.*

China Business Council estimates that China will need up to \$100 billion of power generation equipment over the next 25 years, \$440 billion of aerospace equipment in the next 20 years, \$29.7 billion of telecommunications equipment in the next five years, and \$18.2 billion of oil field and gas machinery over the next three years.

Jeffrey Garten, under secretary for international trade at the Commerce Department, told business leaders at the recent Chicago World Trade Conference that, "while the ratio of Big Emerging Markets' GDP to the industrialized world's GDP is 1 to 4 today, it will be 1 to 2 in less than 20 years. We expect that BEMs will more than double their share of world imports as well, rising to nearly 27 percent by 2010. No other category of market shows such dramatic growth potential."

**A**s a group, the BEMs share a number of important characteristics, as well as potential obstacles and pitfalls for U.S. exporters.

They have large territories. They have big and fast-growing populations that are expected to generate massive demand for consumer goods such as computers, refrigerators and washing machines; infrastructure such as automobiles and telecommunications; and for all types of commercial, financial and professional services. The BEMs have undertaken free market economic policies that already have promoted faster economic growth and expanding international trade and investment. All the BEMs aspire to be technological, economic and political leaders in their respective regions.

The potential obstacles are those found in any developing country: intellectual property rights violations, inadequate labor and environmental standards, human rights problems, military sales (in the case of China), nuclear non-proliferation treaties, limited access to key sectors such as energy and government, and the need to harmonize U.S. commercial strategies.

## F O C U S

Other problems include currency inconvertibility and financial illiquidity, high inflation and tariffs, lack of market information and inadequate infrastructure. Many developing countries also lack a functional business legal system, while commercial and ethical codes may be nonexistent.

However, the potential payoffs are huge. The Commerce Department's in-depth studies on Indonesia, China, Brazil and Argentina enabled trade analysts to identify a half-dozen clusters of industries where U.S. products are expected to dominate in competition with other industrialized countries. These clusters include:

- Information technology, including telecommunications, computers and software;
- Environmental technology, including pollution control equipment and consulting services;
- Transportation technology, including aviation, automotive trade, and the services and equipment needed to build modern rail systems and airports;
- Energy technology, particularly to supply rapidly growing demand for electric power;
- Health care technology, including advanced medical equipment, pharmaceuticals, biotechnology and hospital management services;
- Financial services, including banking, insurance and securities services.

In addition, the Commerce Department has identified advanced materials, chemicals and industrial machinery as sectors where U.S. exports and investments can be expected to attain a commanding lead in the BEMs.

Most importantly, U.S. Commerce Secretary Ron Brown and other U.S. trade officials note that manufacturers and consumers in these markets show a clear preference for U.S. equipment and machinery, consumer goods and technology.

"(The BEMs) are eager to be our partners, requiring only a commitment of resources and a sensitivity to cultural differences," Brown wrote in a recent *New York Times* op-ed piece. "Many emerging markets have significant resources — natural, human, entrepreneurial and technological — which make them excellent business partners. And they have many needs which American business is pre-eminently suited to fill."

Besides the economic gains for U.S. business, Brown said, "America's active involvement in emerging markets will help bring political and economic stability to these nations (and) such stability will make the United States more secure and prosperous."

**E**stablishing a dominant U.S. presence in the BEMs won't be an easy task. Commerce Department experts say these markets will be the competitive battlefields of the future, where U.S. goods and services will be locked in fierce rivalry with Japan, Europe and several developing countries. In Asia, particularly, Japanese companies are already ahead of the United States in some industrial products like automobiles.

Moreover, the BEMs are large and developed enough, and have sufficient political influence and ambition to challenge U.S. policies in multilateral forums such as the GATT, International Monetary Fund, World Bank and the United Nations.

U.S. exporters and investors are not alone in striving to penetrate the BEMs, however. The current administration, said a senior Commerce Department official, has done "more than any other government in the past 20 years in terms of working closely with U.S. business to promote U.S. exports and foreign investment."

Brown's repeated high-profile trips abroad are the most visible feature of what constitutes a new partnership between the U.S. government and the private sector to promote U.S. business interests abroad. Many of these trips, the most recent one being to China, have resulted in billions of dollars in contracts for U.S. goods and services. Frequently, say Commerce Department insiders, Brown's personal involvement in high-level meetings with foreign government officials has been instrumental in the outcome of fiercely contested international bidding wars in the BEMs.

As Garten remarked in his Sept. 20 speech in Chicago, the United States is "turning up the heat as never before" as America belatedly learns the intricacies of commercial trade policy as practiced by other industrialized countries. For decades, competing industrialized governments have worked closely with their private sectors to advance global trading inter-

*Continued on page 43*

## HOW NAFTA CHANGED AN EMBASSY

BY TED WILKINSON

**M**EXICO CITY — The impact of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on one of America's largest embassies abroad has been profound and positive.

Historical irritants between the neighbors paled beside the conclusion of an historical trade agreement that seemed to bring Mexico into the club of developed nations. The Mexican leadership appeared proud of the ties it had developed with President George Bush. After some fancy footwork in October 1992, however, Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari's team managed to position itself for an equally cordial relationship with the Clinton administration, for negotiation of side agreements on labor and the environment, and for an eventual push to gain U.S. congressional approval in November 1993.

In the preceding summer and fall, U.S. Embassy Mexico had become more active. With little concern for facts, opponents of NAFTA in Congress seized on anything derogatory about Mexico, whether or not it was affiliated with trade. Human rights shortcomings, narcotics trafficking, official corruption and the ruling Partido Revolucionario Institucional's (PRI) history of manipulating elections were thoroughly aired. Embassy personnel

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*Ted Wilkinson, a Foreign Service officer most recently political counselor at U.S. Embassy Mexico City, has been reassigned to the same position in U.S. Embassy Brasilia.*

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Embassy workers  
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edented access.*

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had a daily list of fact-finding tasks to set the record straight.

Legislators flocked to Mexico City, first in smaller groups, later in delegations of 15 to 20 members. By the end of 1993, up to one-fourth of both houses had visited. A number of undecided representatives came in several large bipartisan groups organized principally by congressman Bill Richardson (D-N.M.) and congressman Jim Kolbe (R-Ariz.). Nearly all of some 350 American personnel at the embassy had repeated opportunities to lobby legislators directly. Nearly all undecided visitors left supporting NAFTA. A coalition of Mexican business leaders also courted the wavering congressmen and their staffs, inviting

them to Mexico for intensive two- or three-day briefing sessions.

One of the first effects of NAFTA was to help forge a team among the large array of Foreign Service officers and employees of other government agencies, who normally function in parallel but often with little familiarity with each others' detailed agendas. Instilling a sense of common purpose into this unwieldy apparatus did not happen by itself; U.S. ambassador John Negroponte and his successor Jim Jones were critical in mobilizing and directing the joint effort that brought the legislative victory.

The embassy found many of its relationships with Mexicans transformed because of NAFTA. PRI's system of government resembles the steep pyramids

*Continued on page 42*

*Continued from page 41*

of Mexicans' Aztec and Mayan forbears. Few are allowed to see the rites in the temples at the top of the pyramids, but NAFTA gave embassy workers unprecedented access. No Mexican minister wanted to be the one whose issue soured the NAFTA atmosphere in Washington, even if it was as remote as sea turtle protection, Tijuana sewage or narcotics interdiction flights. Similarly, the upper echelons of Mexican business — normally a pretty rarified group with few embassy relationships — worked closely to marshal forces for NAFTA's ratification.

And American businesspeople flocked to the ample interior court of the embassy's Reforma office building, eager to take advantage of new trade opportunities, straining the growing Foreign Commercial Service office and overflowing into the offices of the economics section and others.

**N**AFTA has been law for less than a year, and it's still far too early to draw reliable conclusions about its impact, but the trend is becoming clear. U.S. Commerce Department figures show that U.S. companies are selling more high-value products — such as automobiles and computers — than anytime in U.S.-Mexican relations, up 17 percent from 1993 during the treaty's first six months. The United States is exporting more consumer goods, such as cosmetics and toiletries, household furnishings, semiconductors, television tubes and agricultural machinery. U.S. exports of apples have particularly benefitted. In the first five months of 1994 U.S. apple exports increased almost 90 percent over the previous year to \$58 million. Exports of fresh and frozen beef were also up 51 percent during that same period.

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Initial trade figures for the first six months of 1994 show that U.S. exports to Mexico reached a record \$24.5 billion, and imports from Mexico to the U.S. are also up 21 percent to \$23.4 billion.

The embassy is poised to help with other expected changes for Mexico in NAFTA's wake. In the newly opened financial sector, 17 U.S.-based banks, including three subsidiaries of European or Japanese banks, and a number of other financial institutions are ready to enter Mexico and compete in what has been a highly protected and inefficient market. But if Mexico can stand the growing pains, Salinas' statesmanlike calculation that NAFTA

will complete the economic modernization of his country should stand the test of time.

One thing is certain: U.S. Embassy Mexico's NAFTA work isn't over. Although the agreement by common consent doesn't deal with immigration, the number of business visitors in both directions continues to climb. Two new visa types are now available to Mexicans — the E Visa for treaty-country investors and traders and the TN Visa, which will allow some professionals to work in the United States. The numbers of Mexicans applying for visas for business/tourist reasons also continues to rise. Between October 1993 to March 1994, the embassy issued 217,604 B visas, compared to 211,205 business/tourist visas for the same period in 1992-93.

The 2,000-page NAFTA agreement is subject to many administrative interpretations by both the Mexican and U.S. governments. Just knowing what NAFTA means and doesn't mean is one of the challenges for all involved. One thing that it clearly means is that the U.S. Foreign Service at U.S. Embassy Mexico is working harder than ever to help U.S. business become more competitive in Mexico. ■

## F O C U S

*Continued from page 40*

ests. More than a subsidized or paternalist relationship, these governments have long recognized that the world's largest infrastructure projects, involving untold billions in potential sales of equipment and technology, are awarded or are heavily influenced in most instances by governments. In practice, this meant that U.S. companies were frequently at a disadvantage, despite the proven superiority of U.S. products and technologies, because contract awards were frequently decided in government-to-government interaction from which U.S. companies were excluded.

As a result, the U.S. government's support for American business interests abroad was infrequent before 1993. Export-Import Bank Chairman Ken Brody calls the government's new policy "aggressive defense." A senior executive of the Foreign Commercial Service, who asked to remain anonymous, says the new policy "is the best strategy I've worked on in the more than 20 years I've been with the Foreign Commercial Service. This administration is finally doing what field officers like myself have been urging continually for many years."

**T**he nerve center of this new policy is the advocacy "war room" which the Commerce Department has created to track the largest projects around the world, and to work closely with other agencies such as State, Treasury, Ex-Im Bank, OPIC and the Trade and Development Agency. The objective is to consolidate all the U.S. government's considerable commercial muscle to win large contracts for U.S. business.

"We will never be the first to provide below-market finance in violation of the OECD rules," Garten said, "but if we find other governments breaking those rules, we are willing to match the financing."

In addition to the "war room's" permanent project-tracking activities, the Commerce Department is also mobilizing high-level administration support for individual projects, including special trips abroad for the specific purpose of lobbying on behalf of U.S. interests, telephone calls and frequent personal contacts between administration officials and their counterparts in the foreign governments awarding the contracts.

Moreover, these activities are supported by the Commerce Department's just-published Country

Commercial Guide, a comprehensive new document that includes everything a potential U.S. exporter might want to know about every country in the world. More than a year of sustained effort went into compiling the data for the guide, which some Commerce insiders have described as the long-overdue commercial bible for U.S. exporters and international investors.

The BEM strategy is not homogeneous. Indeed, Commerce is working closely with other government agencies and U.S. business to formulate specific trade promotion strategies for each individual BEM. These strategies reflect both the unique characteristics of each BEM, as well as the accumulated knowledge of many U.S. companies that were already competing in those markets long before the current administration formulated its National Export Strategy, which is based on the proven premise that exports will be the No. 1 source of U.S. economic expansion and jobs creation during the next 20 years.

An effective, comprehensive National Export Strategy is in place and is already producing measurable results in terms of growing U.S. exports, international U.S. investment and many thousands of new jobs in the United States which owe their existence to the new emphasis on exports as the engine of U.S. economic growth.

However, the BEM strategy is not an isolated one, but rather part of a broader and more comprehensive policy that includes the GATT treaty, the eventual expansion of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) throughout the Americas, the consolidation of a Pacific Rim free trade agreement under the auspices of Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), and also the eventual linkage of NAFTA with the European Union in a Trans-Atlantic Free Trade Agreement.

The challenge in years to come will be to build on the foundations laid in the past two years by the Commerce Department and other U.S. government agencies that have worked long and hard to position the United States to succeed in the fiercely competitive battlefields of world trade. However, the task will not be an easy one. The forces of protectionism and managed trade are powerful and well organized. Moreover, too many members of Congress are indifferent to the importance of free trade. ■

# WHY MFN WON IN CHINA



**B**

## BUSINESS BLOC'S POWER FELT IN WASHINGTON POLICY-MAKING

By ANNE STEVENSON-YANG

BEIJING — In the six-month aftermath of President Clinton's decision not to link human rights with Most Favored Nation status for China, the two most important lessons learned were about politics: the enormous influence wielded by the U.S. business bloc in Washington and the subtle influence of U.S. companies in China in moving forward Clinton's agenda there.

In considering the wisdom of linking trade policy with foreign policy, it was important for U.S. policy-makers concerned about human rights and for U.S. businesspeople concerned about lost revenue to determine what could — and what could not — be achieved in China.

## F O C U S

*The United States wields tremendous influence in China  
— most notably through resident U.S. companies. Those  
who work here feel it every day.*

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The United States discovered it could not bring democracy to China; it could not prompt a comprehensive strengthening of individual rights in China; it could not prevent the arbitrary arrest, imprisonment, torture and scapegoating of individuals.

It was clear that by the time Clinton decided on May 29 to delink MFN and human rights, he had figured out all of this, largely due to heavy lobbying in Washington by pro-business factions anxious to keep open economic channels between the two countries. Lobbyists and administration officials had convinced Clinton that the human-rights-for-trade policy was not only unworkable, but it was bad business.

If MFN had been withdrawn, U.S.-China trade would have ended, since tariffs would have risen 10 to 70 percent over current levels.

When it comes to U.S.-China trade, we're not talking small numbers. Although the U.S. so far is running a \$29 billion deficit with China this year, U.S. exports to China totaled \$8.8 billion in 1993 and \$5.65 billion in the first half of 1994, heavily concentrated in high-tech areas that create jobs in the United States, such as aircraft. U.S. exports to China support roughly 180,000 American jobs, thousands in the high-tech field alone. Aerospace technology is the single largest category of U.S. exports to China, comprising 25 percent and forming the third-largest export market for U.S. aircraft and parts.

Each U.S. family would have had to spend \$190 more per year in increased costs for goods, as the estimated \$32 billion in China goods would have had to be sourced elsewhere, such as the Philippines, Mexico, India and other somewhat pricier markets, according to the Business Coalition for U.S.-China Trade and the International Business and Economic Research Corp.

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*Anne Stevenson-Yang heads the Beijing office of the U.S.-China Business Council, headquartered in Washington, D.C., an association of U.S. companies with interests in China.*

As the MFN decision came around each year, all else being equal, Chinese buyers would have favored European equipment over U.S. equipment, fearing that an unfavorable decision on MFN would have made the U.S. vendor unable to service the equipment.

China may have retaliated against an estimated \$10 billion in U.S. investment projects. Perhaps more important than the immediate effect would be the loss to U.S. competitiveness in the Chinese market, where U.S. companies have spent millions to position themselves.

The U.S.-China Business Council estimates that China will need up to \$100 billion of power generation equipment over the next 25 years, \$440 billion of aerospace equipment in the next 20 years, \$29.7 billion of telecommunications equipment in the next five years, and \$18.2 billion of oil field and gas machinery in the next three years. U.S. companies are well equipped to supply these needs, but not if they are not in China. AT&T, for example, has repeatedly said that its overall livelihood is dependent upon whether it succeeds in China.

**H**owever, the United States wields tremendous influence in China — most notably through resident U.S. companies. Those who work here feel it every day. Americans are consulted by government ministries on the wording of laws; American businesses' complaints receive hearings at the highest levels of government; American executives visit towns and cities in China's hinterlands as celebrities, representatives of the all-powerful Western capital. Any third-string manager from an American company can get a meeting with a city mayor in China, and the hint that a company may be considering an investment is considered a red alert that will draw officials away from other duties to listen to whatever criticisms the foreigner might have of the local investment environment. Americans are strong partly for cultural reasons, but mostly because of their happy and well-paid look. Americans carry the promise of prosperity.

## F O C U S

### *The end to the annual MFN battle does not mean that the dialogue on human rights has been silenced between China and the United States.*

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Therefore, the human rights community here and in the United States reasonably asked why Americans couldn't use their wealth to transfer their values along with their capital to China.

In the last 10 years, the influence of U.S. investment and trade has been overwhelmingly positive. Before 1979, when the policy of opening to the West began, urban laborers graduating from high school formed a sort of proletarian serf class, bound for life in the bureaucratic organization to which they were assigned. The "work unit" provided housing, medical care, food rations and schooling for workers' children and determined whether they could marry, travel or divorce. Work units kept extensive and secret files on each employee, chronicling their political records; these files determined everything from raises to housing to whether the employee could remain unjailed.

The entry of Sino-foreign joint ventures pressured these Chinese organizations to improve treatment of employees. Foreign-managed ventures also declined to control the details of their employees' personal lives, and this changed expectations in China. The requirements of foreign firms — which China wanted to accommodate for their capital and technology — sped up the creation of a real labor market, which has greatly expanded opportunities for Chinese to choose jobs, change jobs and weigh compensation against other benefits.

While urban housing was provided formerly by the work unit, foreign companies have been the most important instigators of a commercial housing market, allowing Chinese more personal choices of where and how to live. In 1992 IBM, for example, initiated a home ownership program for its Chinese employees, paying an extra 25 percent of employees' salaries into a fund workers can dip into to buy their own apartments. A decade ago, this was undreamed of in China.

In environmental protection and worker safety, U.S. companies bring standards to China far superior to those

of domestic firms. This is partly because U.S. companies have an interest in promoting sophisticated environmental technologies, but also because they are bound by an ethic that requires maintaining their domestic standards abroad. Xerox, Dupont, Phillips Petroleum and Northern Telecom are a few of the firms whose China-based facilities far exceed local requirements for environmental and worker safety standards.

Trade and investment do not always and everywhere promote pluralism, but right now, in China, they certainly do. Free association promotes independence. For decades, the Chinese were deprived of almost any form of lateral association, political or not. There were no non-official soccer clubs or stamp societies, let alone church groups or political parties. Economic development has enriched social structures, from trade associations, alternative financial institutions, chambers of commerce, to dating societies and adult education classes. Increased income, too, helps to empower: People are more likely to assert their rights when new income is taxed away than when they never see the fruits of their labor.

**T**he loud and vigorous public fight to link MFN with human rights had more to do with American values than American pocketbooks. Americans often confuse national interests with national values. Naturally, the two overlap, and interests should not be pursued if they trample on national values, but not all values are interests as well — and not all values are exportable. If the guiding principle for business, then, is first, do not harm, business would have to subvert or harm U.S. values to justify government-imposed impediments. Instead, the contrary is true. The United States does have a difference in values with eight countries, to whom it does not give MFN status: Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Cambodia, Cuba, Laos, North Korea, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.



## F O C U S

The end to the annual MFN battle does not mean that the dialogue on human rights is silenced. The United States continues to negotiate with China regularly on prison labor, political prisoners, Tibet and other sensitive political issues. Indeed, the MFN for human-rights policy did have limited benefits. During discussions, China released a few key political prisoners and felt pressured to enter into discussions with the International Red Cross about prison visits. Progress was made on labor and prisoners in Tibet.

Furthermore, China has never hesitated when forced to choose between its political and economic interests. The Soviet withdrawal from China in late 1958, the mass famine that followed the Great Leap Forward in 1960, and the devastation after the Tangshau earthquake of 1976 all provide examples of the great economic need in China, which could have been eased by readily offered foreign aid. China, however, preferred to withstand almost unimagin-

able hardships rather than surrender its ethic of independence.

China is a large and complicated country and its convulsive reform process has naturally led to mixed feelings about the benefits of allowing some people to accumulate vast wealth and others to struggle on fixed incomes, particularly as long-enjoyed social benefits are being withdrawn. China's reforms have led to conspicuous abuses of privilege. As a result, China's people and, as an extension of them, its leaders, periodically assert their national prerogative to go slower, choose their own fate, and determine exactly which aspects of China's historical tradition should be preserved. At these junctures, one of which came painfully during the visit of Secretary of State Warren Christopher to Beijing last spring, the United States must decide whether it will oppose or accept China's political maturation. Accepting it means subverting some U.S. diplomatic goals. Opposing it may mean subverting all of them. ■



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# FINALLY, ONE-STOP SHOPPING

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RUSSIA PROJECT TO AID GROCERS, ENTREPRENEURS, CONSUMERS

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BY JOHN NORRIS

**R**ussia has long been known for its rich tapestry of art, culture and peoples. It has not, however, been known as a great place to do your grocery shopping. Long lines, inefficient clerks and unpredictable supplies were virtual totems of the former Soviet grocery system. But with the historic transformation currently sweeping through Russia, grocery shopping, too, is changing.

The Seattle-based TPC Foods, working with the aid of a \$6 million U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) grant, will open the first "modern" grocery store in Russia on Dec. 10 in Vladivostok. A second store is scheduled to open in Nakhodka, in the Russian Far East, later next year.

TPC Foods, in a joint venture with Russian partners in the Giant Joint Venture Co., or GIANT/TPC, has launched an ambitious plan to establish the first fully integrated food distribution system in the region. The four-year plan envisions 20 stores in Russia serving 3 million people a week, with another 10 million being served on a wholesale basis. For both producers and consumers, the two large retail food complexes in Vladivostok and Nakhodka will change

the way many Russians do their food shopping in the next century.

Both facilities will create jobs. At the 91,000-square-foot Vladivostok facility, six newly hired Russian directors — chosen from the 400 who applied — and their staffs are now being trained in business management and retail service. Another 140 employees are being trained in equipment operation, and a computer training program will begin in December. New employment at the two complexes will eventually total more than 400 people.

Eventually, the Vladivostok store will offer more than 1,500 products for sale, at least half of Russian origin, including an array of Russian agricultural products such as potatoes, corn, tomatoes, beans, sausage, poultry and fish.

Getting this project off the ground has not been without its trials. Dick Schindler, a retired U.S. grocery executive from New York who is directing the Russian operation, became involved in the project after he grew restless with the comforts of a Florida retirement. Schindler was handpicked by TPC for the job, which he accepted because of its historic implications. Interviewed for a recent newspaper article, Schindler was quoted as saying, "Probably long after I'm dead, there will be 100 to 200 of these stores open across Russia, but the biggest challenge has been getting the first two up and running. Believe me, it hasn't been easy." To get to this point, the owners tackled the uncertainties

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*John Norris is a public affairs officer in the U.S. Agency for International Development's Bureau for Legislative and Public Affairs.*

of rapidly changing municipal and national regulations, sporadic heat and hot water services and the problems of shipping construction supplies from Siberia — 3,000 miles away.

Schindler will be assisted by a Cornell University graduate who speaks fluent Russian.

Bringing a new management style to Russia also posed some unique challenges. Schindler was faced with Russian managers used to consulting Soviet-style manuals to determine how many staff positions were required — regardless of need. For example, the manuals suggested hiring four times as many people as required to run a similar American store. Schindler has also worked hard to explain basic business concepts — like profit — to Russian employees long conditioned to oppose the concept. GIANT/TPC is training the Russian staff in demonstrating how profit can drive growth and expansion.

Jarlath Hume, the vice president of TPC Foods, notes that this innovative project involves a lot more than just stores. “Stores alone do not solve the problems of food supply and quality control. Our company will negotiate directly with farmers. ... We will impose quality standards and provide technical assistance in developing more efficient production methods, new equipment and more productive seed strains and feeds.” With AID’s help, GIANT has modernized 18 greenhouses and is building more. Local farmers were given assistance with planting, irrigation systems and pesticide use and with designing efficient systems to ensure year-round production that will play an important role in reducing the shortfalls that have long plagued Russian consumers in non-harvest seasons. Sweet corn, previously not grown in the region, has been in high demand by Russian consumers since it became available through new planting programs.

The joint venture has also helped in the revamping of a slaughterhouse and a dairy, using modern equipment and technical advice to increase the quality and quantity of both meat and milk products. Dick Schindler notes, “We had to enlarge our objectives. It starts at the farms and ends with the consumers.”

The can-do attitude of entrepreneurs like Dick Schindler plays an important role in AID’s assistance strategy for Russia and other New Independent States. The transfer of knowledge

and skills of U.S. technical experts, entrepreneurs, legal experts, financial specialists and public administrators will help ensure that the transformation to open markets and democracy in Russia and the New Independent States is a permanent one. President Bill Clinton recently noted that “private investment, not government assistance ... will provide the surest guarantee of the long-term prosperity for Russia and its people. Government support can only prime the pump, making it possible for companies like TPC foods to establish partnerships and provide the training and management experiences that are so vital to Russia’s efforts to transform its economy.” This is an approach well-grounded in the basic philosophy of sustainable development, which claims that development can only be achieved by building the local capacity of individuals and institutions.

In addition to the \$6 million provided by AID through an umbrella grant with the Citizens Network for Foreign Affairs, TPC Foods is investing \$11 million and the Russian partners are providing \$12.6 million in hard currency. The lead Russian partner is KRPS, a Russian food distribution cooperative with 6,000 employees and 20 stores, warehouses, sausage plants and bakeries in the Russian Far East. The second Russian partner, Dalryba, is a service organization for the Russian fishing fleet, which employs more than 65,000 fishermen and 1,000 ships.

“We are very excited about this program,” claimed AID Administrator J. Brian Atwood. “It will offer average Russians a very visible illustration, by generating employment and getting better goods on the shelves, that these programs work. It will demonstrate how basic market principles can help the New Independent States in their long-term goal of economic stability. Furthermore, this project demonstrates how development funds can be leveraged, and how new jobs will be created in the United States while providing more direct assistance overseas.” ■

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# BOOKS

## OUR NEIGHBORS' FOREIGN SERVICE

### Foreign Service

John G. Kneale, *Captus Press*, 1993,  
\$12, softcover, 223 pages.

BY JOHN EDDY

Someone said that tropical fruit tastes as though it has already been eaten once. Though latitudinally far from the papaya tree, Canada evokes the same sensory response in some Americans. Author and Canadian Foreign Service officer John G. Kneale has proved as a byproduct of this readable book that Americans who consider Canada merely bland are as ignorant as Europeans who relegate all Americans to the likes of Cousin Minnie Pearl.

The book is part personal history, part critique of personnel practices, and part an effective defense of the service to the Canadian public. Kneale drops the names of famous persons whose origin is Canadian: Alexander Graham Bell, Louis B. Mayer, Peter Jennings, Robert MacNeil, Morley Safer, Mort Zuckerman, Abe Rosenthal, Hume Cronyn and Christopher Plummer. He might have added many others, including John Kenneth Galbraith.

The least interesting sections are Kneale's reminiscences about his personal life during assignments as trade commissioner in Algiers, Mexico City, Tehran, Quito and New

York. Though obviously a hard worker, he may have fleetingly undermined his effort to strengthen the Canadian public's respect for the Foreign Service by such madness as recounting an effete dialogue with his spouse on choosing a restaurant in Mexico: "Suzanne and I would dither a long time some evenings over sherry and canapés before deciding ... 'I'm sorry, darling, I just don't feel like La Fonda tonight. The decor is just a shade too joyous after the day I've had.'"

On the other hand, Kneale unintentionally reminds the reader of the workmanlike way Canadian diplomats do their job. He himself was an active conspirator at Tehran's Canadian embassy when it hid six Americans from Iranian hostage-takers. One day Kneale went to the airport with Deputy Chief of Mission John Sheardown to receive a highly sensitive diplomatic pouch. As they placed the pouch in the trunk of the car, an increasingly noisy Pasadaran guard armed with a submachine gun insisted on inspecting the pouch. When the Iranian put his hand on the pouch, Sheardown slammed the lid down on his arm and drove away while the guard howled in pain.

The Canadian Foreign Service differs from its American counterpart. For example, it now provides in newly built embassies a large, attractively furnished entertainment area with a modern kitchen, built-in bar, china, reception salon and sometimes a film projection room. Staff reserve

the space as required. The Department of External Affairs and International Trade periodically pays for a set of evening wear for both employee and spouse. Three months before the move to a new country of assignment, the department funds a week-long house-hunting trip for both spouses, who have sufficient time to make school arrangements for their children. Given the subsequent avoidance of temporary lodging, the department has found the practice cost-effective.

The Canadian Service has yet to solve the problem of spousal employment. One formula under periodic consideration is to give the employee or the spouse a tax deduction or credit for the spouse's diplomatic work.

Kneale vigorously touts the Service as the "scouts and sentries of Canada," heaping scorn upon former Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's statement that the *New York Times* is an adequate substitute for Canadian posts abroad. Canadian diplomats don't seem to require assurance that commercial work is vital to Canada's national interests. Kneale is anything but defeatist about commercial competition. He dismisses the fear that the Canadian mouse can never cohabit with the U.S. elephant: "My friends, we are much, much larger than a mouse."

---

*John Eddy retired in September as a senior inspector in the Office of the Inspector General.*

## AN ISRAELI RECIPE OF MIDEAST PEACE

### The Israel-Syria Armistice Regime, 1949-1955

Aryeh Shalev, *The Jerusalem Post* and Westview Press, \$16, softcover, 1993, 255 pages.

### Israel and Syria: Peace and Security on the Golan

Aryeh Shalev, *The Jerusalem Post* and Westview Press, \$16, softcover, 1994, 228 pages.

BY KEITH MINES

A recent campaign in Israel has blanketed the country with bumper stickers and posters which read "Peace with the Golan." But as one observer recently remarked, such a campaign could as easily be mounted from Damascus as from Jerusalem. Aryeh Shalev's two recent books present a progressive Israeli view of how Israel and Syria might come to terms on the disposition of the Golan, advocating a complete but phased Israeli withdrawal from the Golan in return for a "tangible" peace involving normal relations between the countries and a security regime which would include an American presence on the Golan and a dramatic restructuring of the Syrian Armed Forces.

Shalev is eminently qualified to treat these issues, having served on and then led the Israeli delegation to the Israel-Syria Mixed Armistice Commission in the 1950s, and combining a long career in military intelligence with his current position on the staff of the influential Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University.

The two books are mutually supporting. In *The Israel-Syrian*

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BOOKS

*Armistice Regime, 1949-55*, Shalev draws on his first-hand experience as a negotiator with Syria to review this early negotiation and derive lessons for the current round. The book has an almost unbearable amount of technical detail on the workings of the Israel-Syria Armistice Regime and how the two countries worked through the post-1948 period when the status of the Golan was very much in question, and the demarcation of the border was hotly contested.

But in the detail, Shalev finds a number of pertinent lessons for the present. First, he proposes that a faulty or incomplete armistice increases rather than decreases the risk of war. Shalev even goes a step further, and believes that in the current context, any future armistice should be avoided and that the two sides must agree to a complete and permanent settlement, albeit one which will be carried out in phases. Second, there is a fairly robust historical precedent for face-to-face negotiations between Israel and Syria. Much of the book is totally irrelevant to the current debate, dealing with a period when Syrian sharpshooters could shoot at Israeli bulldozers working on the Hula Valley drainage project without initiating a full-scale conflict. But of importance to Shalev is that Israeli and Syrian teams, under very loose U.S. mediation, met together alternately at Rosh Pina in Israel, and the customs house in Syria for consistent face-to-face talks, something which is almost completely forgotten in today's climate of hostility. Shalev attempts to show that ultimately only such face-to-face negotiations will bear fruit in solving the question of the disposition of the Golan.

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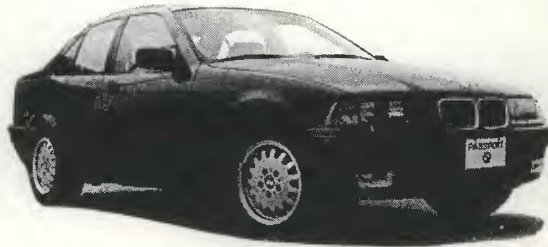
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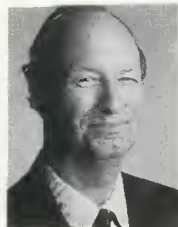


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## BOOKS

In *Israel and Syria: Security and Peace on the Golan*, Shalev focuses on the central challenge to any land-for-peace proposal — how to equate territory, which is tangible, to peace, which is not. Shalev's resolution of this dilemma is to search out components of peace that are palpable, then to structure a process whereby Syria makes increasing concessions on peace, while Israel, having recognized Syria's sovereignty on the Golan in principle, gradually withdraws from the Heights.

Shalev outlines four phases for this process. Each Israeli move is predictably conditioned by a previous Syrian concession. The first phase would be largely symbolic: Syria agreeing to a cessation of the state of war, an end to the economic boycott, and termination of anti-Israel propaganda, while Israel withdraws a token several hundred meters in the insignificant southern Golan. Phase II proposes the establishment of diplomatic relations (with embassies) and open borders, and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the high mounds in the eastern Golan to the second line of mounds, and the emplacement of a "division-size American force, or a multinational force with a dominant American component."

Phase III requires the Syrians to agree to trade relations, a joint regime on water, cooperation on tourism, agriculture and medicine, and the halving of the Syrian Army — or a significant relocation of those forces away from the border. Israel would then withdraw from the second line of mounds and other portions of the southern Golan, again being replaced by a U.S. or multinational force. The final phase has been described as "messianic." It calls for Western European-style relations between Israel and Syria,

final rehabilitation of Palestinian refugees in Arab states, the emergence of liberal democratic regimes among the Arab states and strategic cooperation between Israel and Syria. Israel would then withdraw fully to the new border, which would be adjusted three to four kilometers east of the currently accepted international border, so as to provide Israel a small toehold up to the critical mounds in case the agreement falls apart. It would include the full redeployment of the Israeli Defense Forces and the removal of Jewish settlements.

Shalev offers a significant contribution to the Golan debate in outlining in some detail why Israel feels the Golan is essential to its security. His proposal is disappointing in other key respects, however. Despite the road-map nature of his proposal, Shalev does not address the main sticking point in the Israeli-Syrian "you first" impasse, namely, who will be enticed to make the initial concession. It would be useful to have a more realistic reading of the Syrian position and to subjectively weave Syrian counter-moves into the proposal. Unless he feels Syria is bluffing, Shalev undoubtedly knows the Syrians have already rejected any temporizing over the return of the Golan and would reject out of hand his proposed token first phase. They would be even quicker to dismiss the proposed restructuring of their armed forces. Rather than searching for a way to bridge this gap, such as the stationing of an international observer force on the Golan earlier on, Shalev simply leaves the proposal as is, and expects Syria to come begging. ■

*Keith Mines is a political/consular officer at U.S. Embassy Tel Aviv.*





## IN MEMORY

**Marvin A. Derrick**, 96, died of a stroke on July 30 in Hurst, Tex.

Mr. Derrick retired from the Foreign Service in 1960 as consul general in Istanbul. During 36 years in the Foreign Service he also served in the Caribbean, Central and South America, Scandinavia, the Baltics, Germany, England, Spain, Portugal, Egypt, Mexico and Ecuador.

Mr. Derrick was born in Greer County, Oklahoma Territory, in 1897. He received a CPA degree in 1924. Before joining the Foreign Service, he worked in the correspondence division of the Interstate Commerce Commission, in Wichita Falls, Tex., and for the Irrigation System of the Imperial Valley, Va. He served in the U.S. Embassy in Finland during the Finnish-Soviet war in 1939.

Survivors include his wife of 57 years, Mary Cuchet Derrick, of Hurst, Tex.; three children, William Derrick of Missoula, Mont., Nancy Denslow of Gainesville, Fla., and Jane Samsel of Hurst, Tex.; a brother, Milton Derrick, of Los Osos, Calif.; three sisters, Ethel Hobbs of Arlington, Va., Joyce Bryson of Portland, Ore. and Ruby Peters, of Okanogan, Wash.; and eight grandchildren.

**Philbert Deyman**, 85, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of cardio-circulatory collapse in Breganze, Italy, on June 8.

Mr. Deyman was born in Goldfield, Nev., in 1908. He received a doctorate in economics and commercial science

from the University of Turin, and joined the Foreign Service in 1934. He was assigned to the department in 1941 and to consular and supervisory consular positions in Guayaquil, Ecuador, from 1943-47; in Milan from 1947-50; in Belgrade from 1950-53; in Athens from 1953-56; in Rabat from 1956-1961; in Palermo from 1961-65; and in the department from 1965-68. Subsequent to retirement in 1968, he lived in Virginia, Florida and Minnesota.

Survivors include his son, George; two grandsons, Philip and Colin, of Annandale, Va., and three sisters, Amelia and Aurelia Deyman and Josephine Sartori, all of Breganze, Italy.

**Frederick Edward Farnsworth**, 88, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of a heart attack on Aug. 10 at Sibley Memorial Hospital.

For much of his 34-year career, Mr. Farnsworth served as vice consul or first secretary in Mexico, Sicily, Indonesia, Singapore, Canada, Egypt and China. In Washington, he served on the Board of Examiners of the Foreign Service. He retired in 1966 as consul general at U.S. Embassy Hong Kong.

Mr. Farnsworth was a native of Colorado Springs and a graduate of Middlesex School and Harvard University. He served in the Massachusetts National Guard and was a member of DACOR.

He is survived by his wife, Ellen Wilson Farnsworth, of Chevy Chase,

Md.; three sons from his first marriage, Frederick Francis Farnsworth of Alameda, Calif., Charles Edward Farnsworth of Berkeley, Calif., and Robert Webb Farnsworth of Sacramento, Calif.; three daughters from his second marriage, Susan Mary Farnsworth of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, Catherine Eloise Farnsworth of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and Sarah Winslow Farnsworth of Washington; and six grandchildren.

**Gerard Bertrand Grunwald**, 70, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Aug. 26.

A descendant of early California settlers, Grunwald was born in Alameda and was a longtime resident of Oakland. He was a veteran of World War II and was a Purple Heart recipient.

He is survived by his wife of 43 years, Maud; a daughter, Anita-Louise; a son, Paul; and two brothers, Thompson and William, of Santa Cruz County, Calif.

**Paul M. Popple**, 74, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of cancer on July 4 at his home in Montagnana, Italy.

Mr. Popple was born in Chicago, Ill., and graduated from Northwestern University. During World War II, he served in the U.S. Army in Europe.

Before joining the Foreign Service in 1948, he served on President

## IN MEMORY



Lyndon Johnson's Senate staff. His Foreign Service assignments included Vietnam, Norway, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Laos and Washington. In 1964 and again in 1965, he was detailed to the White House. He was consul general in Milan, Italy, and retired in 1981 as consul general in Melbourne.

Survivors include his wife, Maria Letizia Durante, of Montagnana; two children, Alessandra Popple of Florence and Paul Popple Jr., of Montagnana; and three grandchildren.



**Donna Phelps Sherman, 51**, the U.S. consul general in Cairo, died of an aneurysm on Aug. 27 in Hurghada, a resort on the Egyptian shore of the Red Sea.

A State Department Foreign

Service officer and resident of Washington, Mrs. Sherman was born in San Francisco. She graduated from the University of California at Berkeley, earned a master's degree in education from Columbia University and attended law school at Fordham University.

In the late 1960s, she was a community service worker in Brooklyn, N.Y. In the 1970s, she lived in New York and commuted to Philadelphia to work in job training programs for the U.S. Department of Labor.

In 1977, Mrs. Sherman accompanied her husband on a Foreign Service assignment to New Delhi. In 1980, she entered the Foreign Service herself, beginning her career as a consular officer in New Delhi.

In 1984, she came to Washington as a desk officer for Saudi Arabia and

then a public affairs adviser in the Bureau of Consular Affairs in the State Department. She remained in that post until 1988, when she went to Jerusalem as consular chief. In 1993, she went to U.S. Embassy Cairo as consul general. Her husband was the U.S. Information Agency cultural affairs officer at the same embassy.

Mrs. Sherman was a recipient of the State Department's Superior Honor Award and its Meritorious Honor Award.

Survivors include her husband, Gilbert K., and twin daughters, Alexandra and Jennifer Sherman, all of Cairo and Washington, D.C.; her mother, Lena Phelps of Berkeley, Calif.; and two brothers, Roy Phelps of Albany, Calif., and Juan Phelps of San Pablo, Calif. ■

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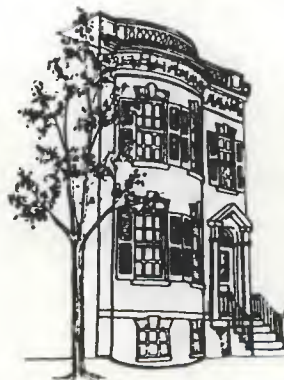
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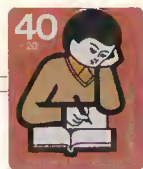
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# POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

*Through Letters, A Mother Rediscovered a Daughter — and Herself*

BY LOUISE BELANGER

My daughter turned 20 recently. She no longer lives with me in Germany but attends a U.S. university. Now that she lives across the Atlantic, she actually writes — regularly, no less. Through these letters we have become more than a mother and a daughter. We have become friends.

In her letters, Geneviève — Gen to her younger friends — writes about her life at the university. She tells me about her boyfriends. She even writes about sex. Never would it have occurred to me to talk openly to my mother about my fears, questions, attitudes regarding sex. I find Gen's letters astounding — and rewarding. I do realize that being so far apart helps the words and ideas to flow more freely. I learn that she has even volunteered to give information on safe sex to younger students on campus. My daughter, Dr. Ruth the Second.

She amazes me in many ways. For example, she was the teenager whose room was almost always a mess. Her bathtub needed a scraping rather than a scrubbing. There was enough hair on the bathroom floor to cover at least half my husband's bald spot. But nowadays she has her roommate adhere to a cleaning and cooking schedule, and she is the chief bathroom-cleaning inspector.

I write more freely to Gen also; being apart makes it "safer" in a sense. The reactions and responses are tem-

---

*Louise Belanger is a Foreign Service spouse living in Bonn. Stamp courtesy of AAFSW Bookfair.*

*We have become  
more than a mother  
and a daughter. We  
have become friends.*



pered by mail delivery time. Although a counselor by profession, I am getting my own fair share of advice now. Here in Germany, the glamour of living abroad is at times overshadowed by the difficulty of making friends, of starting over from scratch one more time, of speaking a new language. She empathizes, and her suggestions make a lot of sense. She is right; I do tend to keep all my friendship eggs in one basket, and I need to spread them out a bit. I take heed: This is not just my daughter talking, this is also a friend. She knows me very well, maybe too well.

For all the waves of sadness that still come over me when I think of how far away she is, there are also times when I can appreciate the distance and the shift it has caused in our relationship. Time and distance have created a very comforting rapport between us. We actually really like each other. We are lucky — and I am still surprised.

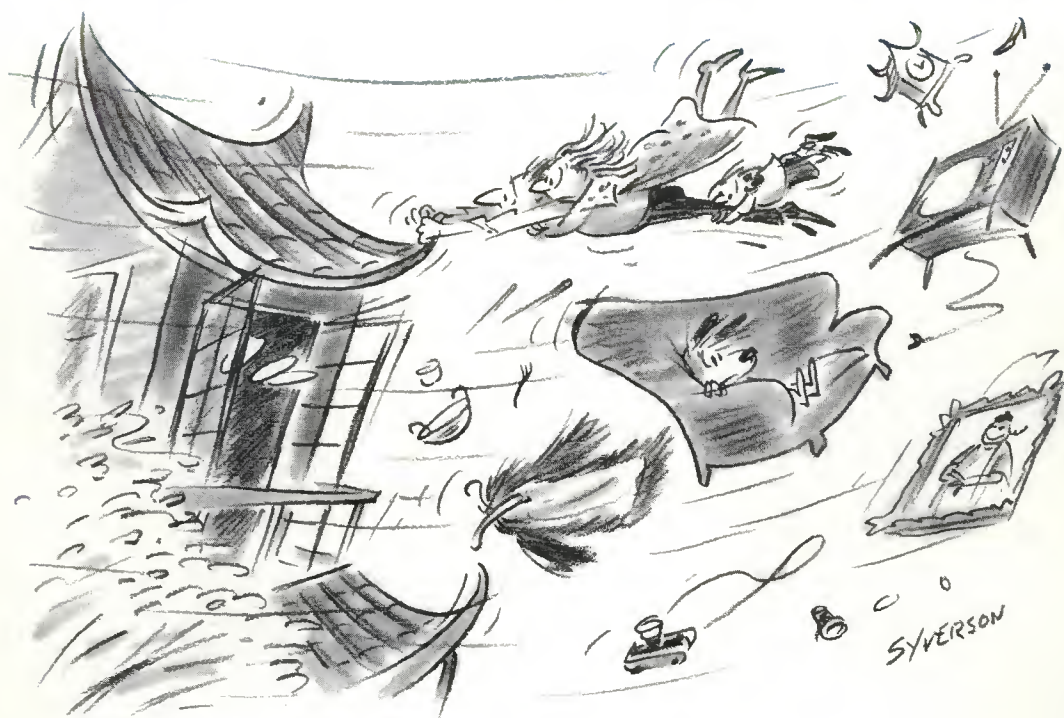
Why am I surprised? Well, I view myself as a strict parent. I expected a

lot. As a parent — and for many years a single one at that — I was trying to find the right balance of discipline and affection, of allowing and restricting, of enabling and protecting. My struggle as a mother was always a question of striking the right balance. There I was, praise oozing out of my mouth one minute, demands for compliance to rules and regulations the next. I drafted contracts to cover housework, curfews, privileges and expectations for us to negotiate and sign. I was short-fused and often lost my temper. In short, I was and am a very imperfect mother, and I often was afraid that my old-fashioned discipline might drive her away from me. I felt threatened by the possibility that she might leave me and prefer to live with her father. I admitted these fears to her.

Granted, the geographical distance between us now acts as a buffer of sorts. No more nights lying awake for the sound of the key in the front door. Gone is the compelling need to remind her that laundry goes in the hamper and dishes in the dishwasher. We have done away with reproachful looks, heavy sighs and hands-on-hips stances. I miss it all — I miss her.

At the same time, the openness and frankness of our letters is largely made possible through our separation. Something good had to come of being so far from our children. During her teen years, I remember wanting at times to wring her neck — and now I just want to hug her. These are the wonders of growing up and growing older. ■

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