

FOREIGN SERVICE

JOURNAL

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March 1990



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AFSA Views

Appropriations II: Our docudrama continues

We left you in January just after one thrilling episode in which our heroine (State's FY 1990 authorization bill) had survived shipwreck (the president's veto), found a lifeboat (revised bill passed by the House), but had yet to see land (Senate approval).

Now the Senate has acted, and the landing may even prove to be a smooth one if as expected the appropriations committees now remove encumbrances on our FY 1990 spending.

All of the same perils are still lurking out there for FY 1991, but none poses an immediate threat. President Bush's new, streamlined (down to six lbs.) budget message calls for \$20 billion for "Function 150" (international affairs), up from \$18.6 in the 1990 appropriation. Three quarters of this would go for aid, with \$1 billion in new spending authority largely for narcotics control and assistance to Eastern Europe and the Philippines. A supplemental FY 1990 appropriation will also be sought to cover reconstruction in Panama and Soviet refugee processing.

The remaining \$5 billion in the FY 1991 proposal is for 'diplomacy.' The major increments here are for rebuilding Embassy Moscow (\$270 million) and for repayments of dues arrearages to international organizations (\$620 million), with the actual spending in each case to be spread out over a period of years.

Testifying on February 1, Secretary Baker keyed the foreign affairs budget proposals to five central goals; democracy, free markets, peace, protecting against transnational dangers, and strengthening alliances.

No one could take issue with these priorities. The problem is paying for the *people* to implement them. The proposed "salaries and expenses" account for State would rise only 6.4 percent in 1990—not enough to cover both inflation and the costs of the pay raise. AID and USIA, with increases in their operating funds of 4.1 percent and 1.4 percent respectively, would be even worse off. Unless these figures are raised by Congress, as we've urged in letters to key committee members, attrition is inevitable.

At the same time, we are hearing that Under Secretary Selin hopes to cut down staffing gaps in State and reverse the deplorable decline in both functional and language training that was noted by the GAO in its July 1989 report to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Moreover, his task force to review staffing in Eastern Europe identified 138 new positions needed in the next two to three years. "Given our budget situation," he concludes, it is clear that these must come from reprogramming existing positions. He is about to launch an "activities value analysis" to find potential surplus positions, particularly in Washington. Where is all this leading? Although no one is saying it in so many words, the trend we see developing is toward a smaller FSO corps that spends relatively more time in overseas assignments.

Welcome news? Certainly not to AFSA. We think the Foreign Service already has about as high a teeth-to-tail ratio as can be squeezed out of it, and that the U.S. government gets maximum value out of the small investment it makes in FSOs.

Unfortunately, what we are up against right now is an increasingly ruthless struggle for shares of an austere federal budget. The critics notwithstanding, there is nothing obscure about Dick Darman's introduction to the FY 1991 request. The Pacmen are after us, and we're losing. The way to turn the tide against them is more resources, and (although Darman can't say it directly) that means more taxes. The decline in American investment has to be stopped. That includes boosting our woefully inadequate investment in the conduct of foreign relations.

Ted Wilkinson



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Cover painting by Miyuki Furtado, an AAFSW/AFSA Scholarship recipient. Miyuki, son of Gilbert (FSO, State) and Keiko Furtado, is a sophomore at the Maryland Institute of the Arts.

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Spouse concern

To the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

Elizabeth Lee's most interesting article on intercultural marriages (JOURNAL, December 1989) did not include a concern I have about spouses who maintain their foreign citizenship: They are prohibited from filling U.S. embassy part-time (PIT) positions because they are not American citizens. Nor can they be hired as third country nationals, as they are in-country and would have no repatriation agreement.

However, they can be hired as Foreign Service nationals (FSNs) on the FSN salary scale, assuming there are no work permit problems, but in many countries they would be earning less than American spouses in similar positions.

If foreign spouses accept work under those conditions, they can feel disadvantaged; if they choose not to take a position because of the disparity in salary, a small post with limited personnel resources is disadvantaged.

Ann Kelleran
Monterrey, Mexico

AID redux

To the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

Randal Joy Thompson's "Mandates for AID Reform" article and C. Stuart Callison's "Development and the National Interest" article (JOURNAL, January 1990) could have been written nine years ago when I retired from a career in AID. Mr. Callison's critique of the Woods Report did not address the questions that should be raised today, nor it seems did the authors of the 50 articles summarized in Ms. Thompson's article. These questions pertain to America's interests. Since the Callison article speaks of these interests let me go to his article to explain what I mean.

Callison, summarizing the Woods Report, lists three aspects of our national interest that serve, in his opinion, to justify continued aid to

the Third World. First, he says that Americans have always been interested in increased trade and mutual prosperity, and, therefore, since aid helps development and since development results in increased production and since increased production results in trade, foreign assistance is directly related to this aspect of our national interest. But Callison (or is it Woods?) is answering the wrong question. The correct question is: over the next half century or so where will increased trade for the United States most likely occur? The answer to this question I would think would have to be: Canada, following our recent trade treaty with Canada, Western Europe, following the formation of the countries of this region into a single economic unit, Eastern Europe and perhaps the Soviet Union, following the recent political events in that part of the world, probably China when the political situation there stabilizes, and lastly Japan as the Japanese begin to ease up on trade restrictions. Nine years ago it may have made sense to look to the Third World for increased trade, because none of these other opportunities existed then. When one takes them into account, however, one must conclude, it seems to me, that the importance of the Third World to us has dwindled to insignificance, and accordingly the justification for foreign aid to the Third World on economic grounds over the next half century or so has evaporated.

The second aspect of our national interest that foreign aid serves according to Callison (or is it Woods?) is the humanitarian aspect. Here, he writes, the American people want to see a steady reduction and eventual elimination of hunger, poverty, ignorance, and preventable disease, sustained by each country's efforts and resources, and an enhanced developing country ability to respond to contagious epidemics and natural disasters. Here again the wrong question has been addressed. The correct ques-

tion is, given all the things that the American people want, where does the elimination of all these things in the Third World fall on their list of priorities? If one reads the newspapers it seems clear that many domestic wants would precede any concern Americans have for the people in the Third World: the elimination of drugs, the repair of the nation's infrastructure, the improvement of our educational system, the improvement of our savings rate, the improvement of the environment, and on and on. Nine years ago it may have made sense to say that Americans wanted all these good things to happen in the Third World, because at that time not all of these domestic issues had come to our attention and those that had had not yet appeared to the American public to be in a crisis stage. But when one takes into account this surge of domestic issues on which Americans have strong feelings plus the probability that it will take many years to resolve these issues, one must again conclude that the importance of the Third World has dwindled to insignificance, and accordingly the justification for aid to the Third World on humanitarian grounds similarly has evaporated.

The third aspect of our national interest that foreign aid serves according to Callison has to do with our strategic concerns. Nine years ago our strategic interest in the Third World had to do with our containment policy toward the Soviet Union and with the wars of national liberation that the Soviets supported. I have not read anywhere that our policymakers have written a new policy to reflect the recent changes in Soviet behavior and military posture. One has to guess, however, that when this new policy is written it probably will reflect a considerably watered-down containment policy if it reflects a containment policy at all, and it will reflect the retreat of the Soviets from adventures in the Third World (though the Soviets still need to demonstrate

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that it is their intention to back away from their support of their Third World client states). What happens to our strategic interest in the Third World then? Once again we shall probably have to conclude that the importance of the Third World has dwindled to insignificance and that the justification for aid on strategic grounds has similarly evaporated.

Up to this point of the argument one must conclude that it would be timely for our policy people to begin to think about backing away from foreign aid as an instrument of foreign policy except for the time being in exceptional cases (such as, for example, Israel and perhaps the Philippines and Panama) and to abolish the Agency for International Development. (Probably under such a policy we would want to continue to provide aid monies through multilateral institutions on the grounds that we're a rich country and it would be embarrassing not to.)

There remains the interesting question: if we have no economic, humanitarian, or strategic interest in the Third World, what should be our attitude toward it? Do we, for example, want to police the Third World in order to maintain stability? If the answer to this question is, no, then the conclusions I proposed above would still stand. But if the answer is, yes, then the organization we now call AID might survive but probably with a much different mandate than it has today.

Let us assume that this is the case. Here are my thoughts on the new agency that would probably replace AID. First, it would be an operations agency. When for political reasons the State Department wanted Country X to be provided with disaster relief or famine relief the new agency would provide it; when the State Department wanted the local police to be trained or the local government propped up this agency would provide the necessary training, services, and supporting assistance; when the

State Department wanted to help a government with some development project this agency would provide the technical assistance, and so on.

Secondly, with an operations rather than a developmental mandate the new agency could eliminate almost all of AID's present programming, planning, and economic analysis functions and the personnel used for these purposes. Thirdly, the new agency probably would abolish the present AID overseas missions, as under an operational mandate foreign aid personnel would only be needed in foreign posts on an "as needed" basis.

It seems to me that some new agency like this or no foreign aid agency at all are the realistic options in today's political, economic, and military climate, certainly not a continuation of our present assistance structures and developmental mandate as proposed by Mr. Callison.

Robert M. Klein
Morrisville, VT

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FSJ, March 1980

A professional service is a living organism. Institutional loyalty should flow in both directions. An admirable ambassador may be expelled from his post as a result of an international crisis, and a worthy organization does not let such events become totally destructive. The Latin Americans sometimes use a particular Spanish word about people. They say a person is *quemado*—consumed, or burnt up. We have burned up a lot of diplomats in the past 30 years. We have forced the departure from the profession of a worrisome number of our best Foreign Service officers. Whenever such a person leaves the service of his country before his time, American diplomacy is weakened in substance and in reputation, quite apart from the millions of dollars spent on the individual's education and career development. Too often, the emotion of the managers has been simple relief that another vacancy has been created. We are profligate of precious things.

"The Foreign Service and Presidential Control of Foreign Policy,"
by Nathaniel Davis

FSJ, March 1965

The Foreign Service continues to follow a polite and dignified recruiting campaign, quite lacking in vigor. The student who weathers the written exam and appears for the oral will receive a friendly notice either advising him that he has passed and has 30 months from the date of the written examination to pick up his option (*if he can be reached by then on the rank register*); or advising him that he failed the oral but certainly will not be penalized if he would like to start the process over again. Contrast this rather antiseptic approach with that of the Office of the Secretary of Defense (for example), which sends its training officer to campus to find quality students and to encourage them to compete for appointments under the management intern examination—and then encourages its appointees, if they are so included, to take educational leave for the purpose of completing graduate study. It is almost redundant to ask which candidates are most likely to respond affirmatively in the first place—and to *continue to feel committed*—on the basis of the recruiting approach.

"Competing for Quality," by Dwight C. Smith, Jr.

FSJ, March 1940

In the last analysis, it is the readers of the JOURNAL who make the magazine. The Editors depend upon them for the kind of articles they would like to see in print, the kind of articles they—the readers—are best qualified to write. Besides fulfilling its fundamental purpose of binding the Service together, there is no reason why the JOURNAL should not develop into an authoritative and representative publication, of interest to many more persons concerned with the international picture than to the members of the Service family alone. That articles in the JOURNAL have been quoted and reprinted by outside writers with increasing frequency in the last few months indicates such a goal is attainable.

Time limitations in the midst of multifarious duties are only too well known above all to the Editors themselves. But without cooperation from their principal source of material the task of making the JOURNAL a more useful publication would prove impossible. The Editors are grateful for the support they are receiving and urge all who can do so by pen or camera to help them in writing the record of this changing world.

Editors' Column

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Clippings

Embassies' weapons

Associated Press, Jan. 18, 1990
by George Gedda

The White House complained loudly after recently finding weapons at the Nicaraguan ambassador's residence in Panama City and said the practice may violate international laws governing embassy activities. . . .

President Bush called the incident a "screw-up" but criticized the Nicaraguan ambassador . . . for having "weapons up to his eyeballs" at the residence. The remark angered an administration official who said the United States' own efforts to protect its diplomats sometimes include stashing large quantities of weapons at its missions. If a hostile group entered U.S. facilities in these countries, "don't you think they would find RPGs (rocket-propelled grenades)?" the official asked. "You don't think we have TOW (anti-tank) missiles in some compounds?" . . .

Over the last decade, the State Department has been working to enhance security at posts where U.S. policies are highly controversial. The potential vulnerability of diplomatic missions was underscored by the 1979 Iran hostage crisis and the 1983 attack on the U.S. embassy in Lebanon, which claimed 47 lives. The discovery of the weapons cache at the Nicaraguan embassy in Panama prompted an administration statement Jan. 8 questioning the legality of the Nicaraguan actions. . . .

But the union of career U.S. diplomats, the American Foreign Service Association, said the incident at the Nicaraguan embassy, and others at the Panamanian missions of the Vatican, Cuba, and Peru may pose threats for U.S. envoys. . . . The association has expressed its concerns in a letter to Defense Secretary Dick Cheney.

The State Department insists the United States subscribes fully to rules . . . covering the rights and privileges of embassies. On the other hand, the

department acknowledges that an "unusual situation" has prevailed in Panama.

In an effort to track down Panamanians who had served Noriega, American troops have been checking cars entering and leaving the Cuban mission. Some experts contend such vehicles apparently are exempt from such examination under international law. State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler has said the Cuban ambassador's car "has very dark, tinted windows which require troops guarding the mission to open the doors to identify the passengers."

But one State Department official who asked not to be named said the action "exposes every American ambassador to the possibility of an armed blockade. He would have to agree to be searched. This is appalling. This is the most appalling thing I've ever seen."

Two standards

Federal Times, Jan. 29, 1990

Foreign Service officers should be treated just like everyone else.

Through an ill-conceived regulation, Foreign Service officers have more employment rights than Civil Service or postal workers, amounting to an unfair double standard. In short, FSOs, once dismissed, can stay on the payroll until all avenues of appeal have been exhausted. Other government workers don't have that luxury, and the results of such a policy have proven ludicrous.

The policy flaw came to light recently when David Devin, an employee with the Agency for International Development, served a six-month jail term. He was implicated in a jewelry smuggling operation, and he pleaded guilty to misusing his diplomatic passport. A grievance board prevented his dismissal, and he continued to receive his \$1,250 weekly paycheck, even while behind bars.

Devin's case spurred enactment this

fall of a law that allows agencies to remove from the payroll a Foreign Service officer convicted of a job-related crime and sentenced to prison.

That's an improvement, but it's just not good enough. Of course anyone accused of a crime should have a chance to present a defense, and no one should lose a job without an avenue of appeal. But why should Foreign Service officers have more rights than other civil servants?

Agencies seeking to fire employees in the rest of government must give only a 30-day notice before dismissing them on grounds the conduct adversely affects "efficiency." An indictment—not necessarily a conviction—is cause for firing. And the separation comes immediately. The employee is off the payroll, and appeals to the Merit Systems Protection Board and the courts can take years.

There's no good reason for this double standard. Congress should bring the rights of Foreign Service employees in line with those of others in government.

More risks than rewards

Wall Street Journal, Jan. 16, 1990

Foreign assignments carry more risks than rewards, two studies conclude.

"There is a tremendous failure rate of American executives overseas," says Dale Hiestand of Columbia Business School. And he blames employers for failing to train managers or provide them and their families with the support needed to cope with challenges faced abroad. . . .

"American executives are understandably hesitant to take on overseas assignments," concurs Richard Reagan of recruiter Egon Zehnder International. Not the least of risks, he says, is the "loss of visibility from headquarters." And companies fail on the return home, too, Prof. Hiestand adds. At many international corporations, he says, reabsorbing the repatriated manager into the domestic cor-

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Clippings

porate culture is often only hit or miss.

Sikorski tells 'em

Letter from Rep. Gerry Sikorski (D-MN) to The Washington Times Dec. 29, 1989

I recently read Phyllis Schlafly's column [Dec. 1, 1989]. . . . Mrs. Schlafly states that "A businessman who built a business, met a payroll and was successful enough to be able to contribute \$100,000 to the party of his choice is a lot better qualified for dealing with foreigners than being a paper pusher in Foggy Bottom for 20 years." Although I take great issue with Mrs. Schlafly regarding her distorted assessment of the relevant qualifications for a U.S. ambassador, I take greater offense at her assessment of the quality, commitment, and worth of our nation's civil servants. . . .

Attacking the "paper pusher[s] in Foggy Bottom," Mrs. Schlafly libeled the 161 Americans whose names hang at the State Department on plaques known as the "Roll of Honor." These Americans whom Mrs. Schlafly contemptuously attacks gave their lives while serving the U.S. government abroad. Since 1965, more career and political "paper pushers" serving in the Foreign Service have died while serving America than in the preceding 185 years. Since the end of Korean War, more ambassadors have been killed than flag-rank military officers.

Ten years ago a group of "Foggy Bottom paper pushers" were held hostage at the U.S. embassy in Tehran for 444 days. In August, "paper pushers" perished in the airplane crash that took the life of my friend and colleague Mickey Leland while on a trip to Ethiopia to help end world hunger. During the past month our nation's "paper pushers" in the U.S. embassy at San Salvador have been extremely busy protecting the rights and attempting to ensure the safety

of U.S. citizens in El Salvador. . . .

Bucharest recognition

Congressional Record,
Jan. 25, 1990

Remarks of Frank R. Wolf (R-VA)

Mr. Speaker, I rise to commend the work of U.S. embassy personnel in Bucharest during the turbulent revolution which overthrew the oppressive, tyrannical rule of Nicolae Ceausescu. I traveled to Romania in early January just as the violence in the streets of Bucharest was beginning to subside, and the people in our Bucharest embassy were extremely courageous and a credit to the Foreign Service.

The embassy personnel, their dependents and other Americans in Bucharest faced the quickly unfolding revolution with great strength. Ambassador Alan "Punch" Green and his staff are to be commended for protecting the lives of American personnel while continuing the job of reporting critical information to our government as violence and firefighting filled the streets. Two Foreign Service officers even journeyed to Timisoara, where the revolution received its spark, before the outcome of the conflict was certain. . . .

Commerce demand

Washington Post, Feb. 1, 1990

Susan C. Schwab felt like a juggler this winter as countries throughout Eastern Europe shed their Communist governments and liberalized their economies, creating new market opportunities for American exporters.

Schwab, as head of the Commerce Department's Foreign and Commercial Service, which is supposed to help American business abroad, had to figure how to deploy her already thinly stretch officers around the world to meet the new opportunities. . . .

Some of Schwab's problems were

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on their way to being eased with the release of the new budget on Monday. It added \$10 million for the Foreign and Commercial Service, which would allow the Commerce Department to add posts in Prague and East Berlin as well as a person in Brussels to deal with the European Community. . . .

The United States already has its largest commercial operation with Japan, 10 people, but Japan maintains 70 commercial officers in New York. In Egypt, where the United States runs a \$3 billion aid program, Japan has 15 officers to help its companies win contracts. The United States has two. An additional American officer is likely to be put in Mexico, where American exports are rising, while posts in Italy, Hungary, and Poland will be strengthened with added local commercial officers. . . .

A democratic alternative to the pouch system

*Campaign & Elections magazine
December 1989*

If bureaucracy doesn't get in the way, some six million military and civilian voters stationed overseas may cast their next presidential votes by fax.

That high-tech forecast comes from Henry Valentino, director of the Defense Department's Federal Voting Assistance Program. He says that ultimately, the fax may be the only to ensure fair absentee voting. "There is court precedence for [accepting] digitized [faxed] signatures," he says. "It seems like the next logical step, but it may not happen until 1996. It took us four years to get ballots in embassies."

Currently, Valentino concedes, a combination of application deadlines and foreign postal service routinely conspires to subvert long-distance democracy. "There's a problem, primarily in the transit time needed for absentee ballots," Valentino says. . . .

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SIPC

Let's Stop Trying to Send All Those Signals!

ARMISTEAD M. LEE

Since the headlines and editorial pages have been full of denunciations of the administration for "kowtowing to Beijing", recently I asked some of my Foreign Service retiree friends whether they agreed with the complaint that the visit of Brent Scowcroft and Larry Eagleburger amounted to "sending the wrong signal" and "rewarding" the PRC leaders for their harsh treatment of the student protesters at Tienanmen Square last summer. I was pleased to discover a consensus that the White House initiative deserved praise rather than censure. Some of those speaking up volunteered the information that they, like me, were registered Democrats but shared my dismay at the rhetoric of many of our party's congressional leaders on this issue.

This experience has led me to ponder on the question of why it is that Foreign Service officers—at least those now retired and free to express themselves—are so out of phase with the dominant mood of the American public on the handling of domestic human rights abuses of foreign countries. Are we, as our critics have so often charged, the striped pants cookie-pushers, chronically afflicted by that occupational disease variously dubbed "countryitis" or "clientitis"? Have we been so obsessed with pleasing our host country that we have lost sight of the concerns of our own compatriots? Has a preoccupation with geopolitics caused us to lose all of that characteristically American concern for victims of oppression abroad? Have we no trace of that humanitarian sympathy and indignation now being voiced in a rising crescendo from church pulpits and congressional podiums? Or have our lives been so

insulated from official cruelties abroad and from domestic political pressures at home that we live in a fantasy world?

But possibly it is those eloquent committee chairmen on the Hill who are bemused by fantasies. They seem to see a world of nations, less favored than ours by the Almighty, whose capitals look anxiously to Washington to see what messages we are sending them, because they know that their civil rights score cards are not written in English but in symbolic gestures. Are Americans smiling or scowling at them? Has their domestic policy—

*It may be that
experience in the
real world has
taught us that
there are limits
to the extent
of U.S. leverage*

their treatment of their own citizens—earned carrots or sticks from those divinely appointed arbiters in Washington? The congressional leaders assure us that we must not leave these anxious foreigners in doubt. We must answer their questions with the correct signals.

And what about those op-ed columnists who joined in the chorus of vituperation over the Scowcroft-Eagleburger mission. Are they interpreting the real world when they insist that the very act of sending two high-ranking emissaries of the president to talk to the Chinese leaders constitutes a gesture of shameful obeisance (kowtowing)? Haynes Johnson declares that the Bush administration

has achieved the remarkable feat of uniting (in condemnation) "conservatives and liberals, Democrats and Republicans, cold warriors and peaceniks alike."

But even Mr. Johnson, who joins in the chorus, reminds us that "traditional U.S. policy toward dealing with foreign powers, tyrannical or not, has been to recognize them if they are clearly in control." This is what I was taught by my professor of international law a half century ago. Professor Borchard deplored Woodrow Wilson for having introduced the bizarre notion that diplomatic recognition implied U.S. approval of a regime. In recent years the Wilsonian heresy has expanded. Syndicated pundits now assure us that the mere act of conversing with foreign statesmen is to bestow on them some form of reward.

Are those of us who have made careers in foreign affairs hopelessly out of date if we continue to see merit in the tradition, so well enunciated by such distinguished secretaries of state as Thomas Jefferson and Henry Clay? If we continue to prefer quiet diplomacy and "constructive engagement" (to revive a once honorable phrase), it may not be a sign of indifference to the human rights of Chinese students or the nonwhites of South Africa. It may be that experience in the real world has taught us that there are limits to the extent of U.S. leverage, particularly on questions which sensitive foreign governments consider to be purely domestic. We realize that the determination of these governments to preserve their autonomy, to avoid giving any reason to believe that they are yielding to outside pressure, is a characteristic common to all regimes, whatever their ethnic, economic, or political coloration. This is why I have found

Armistead M. Lee is a retired Foreign Service officer who writes from Arlington, Virginia.

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a virtual unanimity among retired FSOs that the Jackson-Vanik amendment of 1972 was singularly unsuccessful in achieving its avowed purpose of persuading Moscow to issue more exit visas to Soviet Jews. And I have found a similar consensus among colleagues with South African experience that sanctions and disinvestment have been not merely ineffective but counterproductive as a means of speeding an end to apartheid.

The American press failed to record the pronouncement of a delegation of bishops of the Anglican Communion after a visit to Panama last March. The prelates reported that American sanctions "cause immense suffering on the poorest of the poor" and that "it is also apparent that the government of Panama uses the effect of these sanctions to rally nationalist support against the United States."

Among the signatories to this indictment was none other than Archbishop Desmond Tutu of Cape Town, that same cleric who has been urging our Congress to impose even harsher sanctions on his own country and has assured Americans that we could end apartheid tomorrow if we only cared enough.

In fairness to those congressmen and senators who persist in their determination to micromanage our foreign relations, they have been egged on by African archbishops, Chinese student activists, and refugees from Cuba, Iran, and a number of other unhappy countries, all encouraging us to believe that we Americans are indeed omnipotent and omniscient. All that is needed, we are told, is for the United States to become more confrontational and to tighten the screws against the benighted rulers

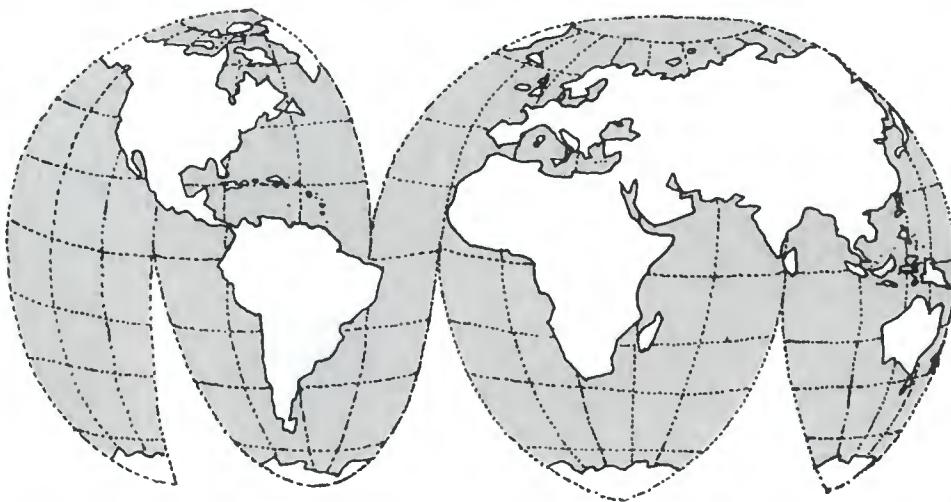
now in control of their homelands. We can console ourselves with the reflection that the other great power is under similar pressure from its dissatisfied former clients. Less than a year ago I heard a follower of the African National Congress express to a Soviet African expert his unhappiness at Moscow's turn toward moderation and its counsels of nonviolence. Has the USSR (he asked) altogether abandoned its commitment to aid wars of national liberation?

Before closing I must try to dispel the impression that I hold my fellow Democrats alone to blame for this reliance on coercive symbolism as a means of punishing sinners abroad. Republican administrations are partly responsible for the Congressional compulsion to impose sanctions on those who displease us. If Mr. Solarz persists in the belief that harsher sanc-

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tions against China will encourage more gentle treatment of student protesters it may be because the administration had already responded to the Tienanmen Square incident by applying moderate sanctions. If this treatment did not achieve a cure, he could argue, then we should double the dose. Similarly, the Democratic authors of the curiously named "Comprehensive Antiapartheid Act of 1986" were simply doubling the dose of the token sanctions adopted against South Africa by the Reagan administration in 1985. And if Howard Wolpe can rashly claim that recent South African gestures of moderation, including the agreement to leave Namibia, are the fruit of our 1986 sanctions, Republican presidents have provided him a role model by claiming that democratic gains elsewhere in the world are due to U.S. coercion and "standing

tall."

I am not suggesting that human rights should not be an objective of American policy. I say merely that experience in the real world has taught many of us that this objective can best be advanced by quiet diplomacy, by the type of conversations which I assume Larry Eagleburger and Brent Scowcroft held with the Chinese leaders, rather than acts of economic warfare or the public proclamation of ultimatums with fixed deadlines. Those primarily concerned to win the applause of domestic constituents will prefer gestures of Ramboism. Those more interested in gaining our objectives abroad will take care that our negotiating partners have room to withdraw without appearing to have yielded to external coercion.

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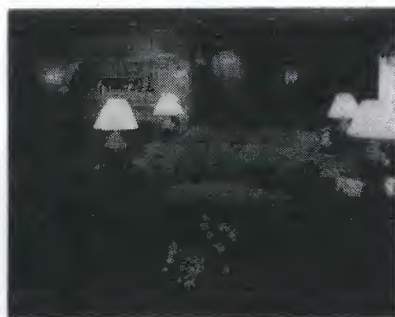
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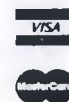
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“Caesar, beware the Ides of March!”

“Bush complained at a private meeting last week that a strict interpretation of policy requires the U.S. to notify foreign dictators of certain coup plots.”

—*Wall Street Journal*
Oct. 24, 1989

HENRY PRECHT

Reacting to pressure from Congress and the press, the Administration is said to be revising its guidelines for American involvement in the assassination of distasteful foreigners. I certainly hope they retain the complicating, yet sporting, requirement for advance notice to tyrants of their impending demise.

Albeit until now a deep secret, that provision exemplified the fine American sense of fair play which has always characterized our foreign relations. Like the fox hearing the hunting horn, the despot would be given a running chance.

The problem, as in all sport, is how to play fair and also win. What might

be the fair, but definitely not counter-productive, warning message? Let us imagine the competing Washington agencies making their bids for the budget increase that would accompany management of the delicate task of warning tyrants:

The State Department would surely seek the most diplomatic, the most classical, the best organized approach. Very quickly an assistant secretary for soothsaying would be established, complete with a staff of astrologers. For a truly despicable ruler, meriting the most elaborate attention, a tattered officer on the soothsayer's staff might be dispatched to croak while clutching at the tyrant's sleeve, “Caesar, beware the Ides of March.” (If que-

ried, he could explain on deep background the specifics of the plot.)

Alternatively, for a lesser despot, a simple black ink spot (with a date in lower left hand corner) on a white sheet of embossed diplomatic note paper with black border would suffice. For a loathsome ruler, a severed head could be forwarded by diplomatic pouch. In no event would the actual conduct of the plot be allowed to tarnish the subtle grace of the design for notification.

USIA and the Voice of America would use the ether to send an appropriate musical message. For minor, Noriega-style dictators, the playing of taps before the nightly news would suffice. For grander tyrants,



the Russian technique of playing somber funeral music hour after hour would drive the point home with both victim and subjects.

The problem with a musical signal is that many rough-hewn leaders, e.g., the recent Iranian regime, are out of tune with our tastes. USIA would naturally want to be sensitive to those feelings. Thus, a better approach for the developing world in general is the literary option. For many traditional societies words are more important than reality, style more activating than substance.

The Defense Department knows this and could be expected to issue in writing (15 copies) an explicit, but—to the great advantage of the plotters—totally unintelligible warning, “To: Caesar. From: OP-ASSPLOT. Be advised of a DEFCON-5 SITUATION. At 031511Z 90, a terminatory action against you will be initiated by subordinate elements. Advise immediately of receipt of this message and report ASAP on funds required and preventive measures taken.”

AID, naturally, would adhere to standard procedures. Notifying Caesar that he has been awarded a \$5 million grant for a study of measures to improve efficiency in the presiden-

tial palace, the agency would present a schedule of preliminary surveys, pre- and post-feasibility studies and other qualifying measures. It is most unlikely, however, that any administration would risk its human rights reputation by subjecting even the most hateful tyrant to this tortuous ordeal.

As a dealer in dashed dreams, DEA would propose sending a letter of commendation to Caesar for excellent cooperation in combating the drug trade. Even an illiterate despot would know that an indictment and invasion would soon follow.

An even subtler approach could come from Commerce, i.e., an assignment for Caesar to department headquarters in Washington or, for really tough types, to a district field office. That agency has been known to cut short the careers of dozens of officers with a simple personnel message carrying that import.

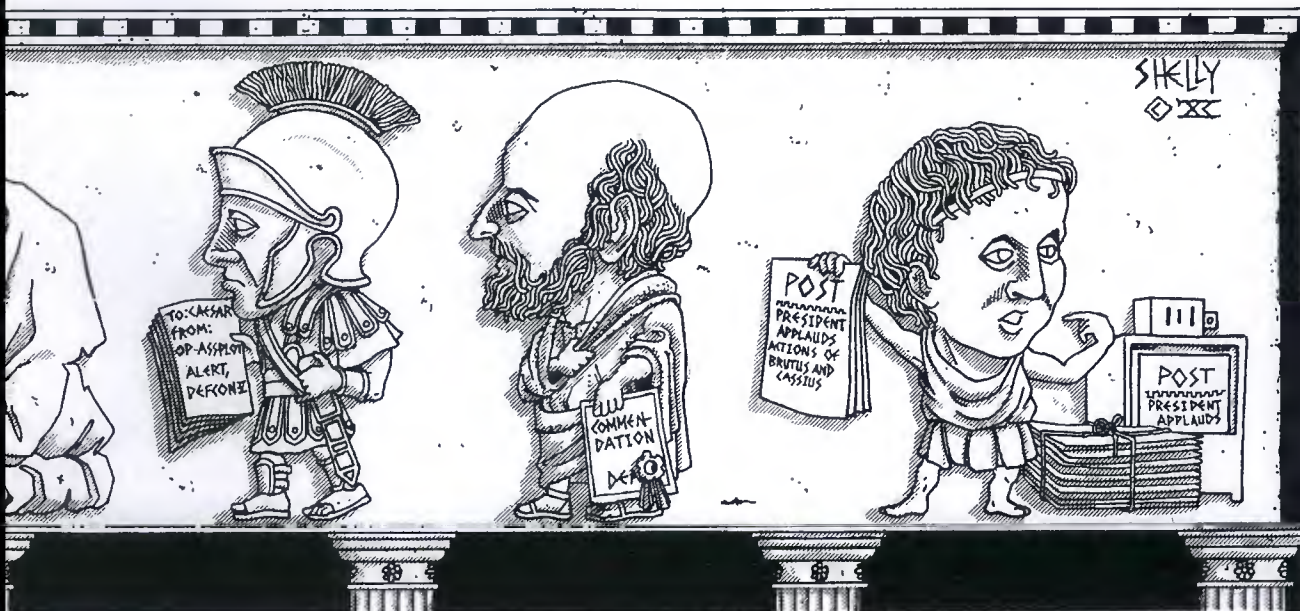
The CIA would be likely to go for guile, sending its most beautiful and seductive female agent disguised as a Gypsy fortuneteller to insinuate herself into the ruler's bedroom. At the magical moment, she would whisper into his ear a lilting Romany rhyme expressing the warning that would

conveniently provide plausible denial while protecting sources and methods.

IRS always offers a last chance, “To: Caesar. Our review shows you have failed to (appropriate box checked): Protect human rights, Pay debts, Respect market forces, Serve American interests. Unless you comply with steps required in our manual, effective remedial steps will be taken in 30 days.”

Perhaps it would be best simply to leave the job to the customary practices of the White House. A leak well in advance of assassination would be made to *The Washington Post* that the president had congratulated the successor to Caesar and was accepting an award from a midwestern ethnic community for restoring freedom to the old country. Any Caesar worth his salt would be aware of crisis management standards in the Executive Office and would interpret the news as yet another inept bungle, clearly an ill-coordinated, prematurely announced Washington operation. He would consider himself fully warned.

Henry Precht, a retired Foreign Service officer, is president of the Cleveland Council on World Affairs.



S&T

Agreements Hit the

TERESA C. JONES and DAVID T. JONES

Science and technology (S&T) issues are pushing to the front of the Bush administration's agenda. The post of White House science adviser was upgraded to a Cabinet-level position in September 1989. Discussions on American competitiveness in the world market place hinge on the nature and extent of the government's role in the S&T arena. Calls for government action on trade barriers or technology transfer have become so frequent and so pervasive that they are increasingly affecting how policymakers, the media, and the American public in general perceive every kind of S&T relationship with other countries.

But there has been a "ripple effect" driving U.S. trade policy (in this case policies to protect intellectual property rights) and U.S. technology transfer policy into conflict with American S&T international cooperation. Negotiated agreements devoted exclusively to science and technology cooperation between the United States and other countries are discrete and increasingly valuable foreign policy tools. In 1990, the United States can no longer afford to allow overall S&T policy to be hostage to other, equally important concerns about U.S. competitiveness and bilateral relations.

The United States has enjoyed science and technology leadership during our lifetime. But the rise of economic competition from East Asia and Europe has led to questions over whether the United States is

ensuring its future creative and innovative edge. On August 23, 1988, Congress passed the new Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act, Public Law 100-418 (referred to as "Super 301"), which among other provisions allows the United States to take punitive actions against countries that deny adequate and effective protection of intellectual property rights (IPR). Actions related to IPR protection under this portion of the law are commonly referred to as "special 301 actions." The act also set the stage for the executive branch to identify those countries which deny adequate or effective protection of U.S. intellectual property rights and force negotiations to improve IPR protection by wayward countries. The U.S. government is actively engaged in such negotiations to protect American IPR. If the negotiations fail, the United States can set tariffs on imports from a country, to compensate for damage to U.S. trade because of that country's IPR practices.

This effort has resulted in many continuing negotiations, as the Department of State, the U.S. Trade Representative, and the Department of Commerce try to improve IPR protection in the problem countries. And, under the Bush administration, it appears that long-needed steps will be taken to achieve better coordination among the U.S. government agencies concerned, to give the proper context and weight to S&T policymaking, and to prevent maladroit implementation of the general policy guidelines.

Intellectual Property Rock

Good Will Background

"Umbrella" science and technological S&T cooperation agreements have had something of a vogue over the past 20 years. To front-line negotiators, they have never had the appeal of an arms control agreement or a base rights renewal. But S&T issues, though lacking the glamor of START or other top negotiations, may have an equal overall effect on the United States. They are relatively easy to negotiate and often represent the first conciliatory agreement with former adversaries. They are generally a diplomatic plus and, if actually implemented by the U.S. government's S&T program agencies (such as the Department of Energy, NASA, and the National Science Foundation), frequently of scientific benefit.

S&T agreements have been particularly useful for newly industrializing, developing, or less developed states for which the United States has been the source of technological expertise. The story is quite different in dealing with modern states such as Western Europe or Japan, where S&T benefits are mutual and where normally there is an extensive network of existing contacts, relationships, and cooperative research and development projects over which an S&T "umbrella" can be erected.

S&T agreements are viewed as more heavyweight than educational and cultural exchanges, albeit often not by much. Thus for the standard S&T umbrella agreement with a developing state, the United States

has often viewed the agreement as a convenient "extra," which, due to peculiar local geographic or demographic circumstances, is useful for specific U.S. technical agencies. The United States has accepted that many of these agreements are inherently unequal, but a utilitarian part of our overall policy of forging a chain of "favorable" links between the interests of the two countries. We have also seen ourselves as fulfilling the *noblesse oblige* requirements of the science and technology "haves" to uplift the "have nots" to global scientific and technical levels.

Some S&T agreements have quietly languished, because of the recipients' puzzlement over what the agreements were intended to accomplish. Other recipients of our "largesse" do in fact consider our S&T agreements as an important benefit of good bilateral relations with the United States—one which should be insulated from political and economic bilateral differences.

For some states, the S&T agreement has been a bedrock in our relationship and accorded cabinet-level attention. These states have expected concrete results from S&T agreements as reflected in training their future technocrats, in planning their R&D infrastructure, and often in procuring U.S. equipment and technology. The U.S.-People's Republic of China umbrella S&T agreement is an illustration of this type of

Teresa C. Jones is a Foreign Service science officer in the Department of State; David T. Jones is a Foreign Service officer currently posted to the Pentagon.

*Unsurprisingly,
those most eager
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negotiate*

politically as well as technologically important agreement. This S&T cooperation agreement represents U.S. ties to China's moderate, technocratic community—from which, in the long term, China's future leaders may emerge. In any event, these participants in S&T cooperation will still be responsible for modernizing the country.

Even where the original umbrella agreement was purely a good will gesture, its lapse could still have a negative effect on bilateral relations and perceptions of U.S. interests. There is always room for growth. Who, in 1974, for example, could have expected Korea to have sophisticated micro-electronic research capabilities in 1990? So the one-time "cosmetic" agreement can become an important foundation for mutually beneficial, collaborative research. This is particularly true with state-of-the-art biotechnology and life sciences R&D, which do not require megabillion-dollar technology to produce important pharmacological and agricultural products.

Atmospheric Change

The congenial circumstances that made S&T agreements a zero loss, guaranteed gain changed in the last five years. The White House and Congress of the Reagan administration became, shall we say, preoccupied with the trade imbalance, loss of competitiveness, and slippage in U.S. leadership in science and technology. A substantial part of this problem was attributed to the theft of U.S. intellectual property.

Americans are most familiar with intellectual property when recalling copyright "piracy" (books, cassette tapes, and computer software) or trademark violations, epitomized by fake Guccis, Levis, or Rolexes. The real money, however, in intellectual property ripoffs has been in U.S. pharmaceutical patent violations which, to add injury to insult, compete with the authentic U.S. item in foreign markets and occasionally even in the United States.

Fortunately, the United States is not powerless in dealing with such piracy. U.S. laws provide for punitive measures against countries which indulge in unfair trade practices including intellectual property rights violations. The special 301 actions provided under the 8/23/88 Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act allow the United States to levy tariffs on imports from the offending country to compensate for the damage to

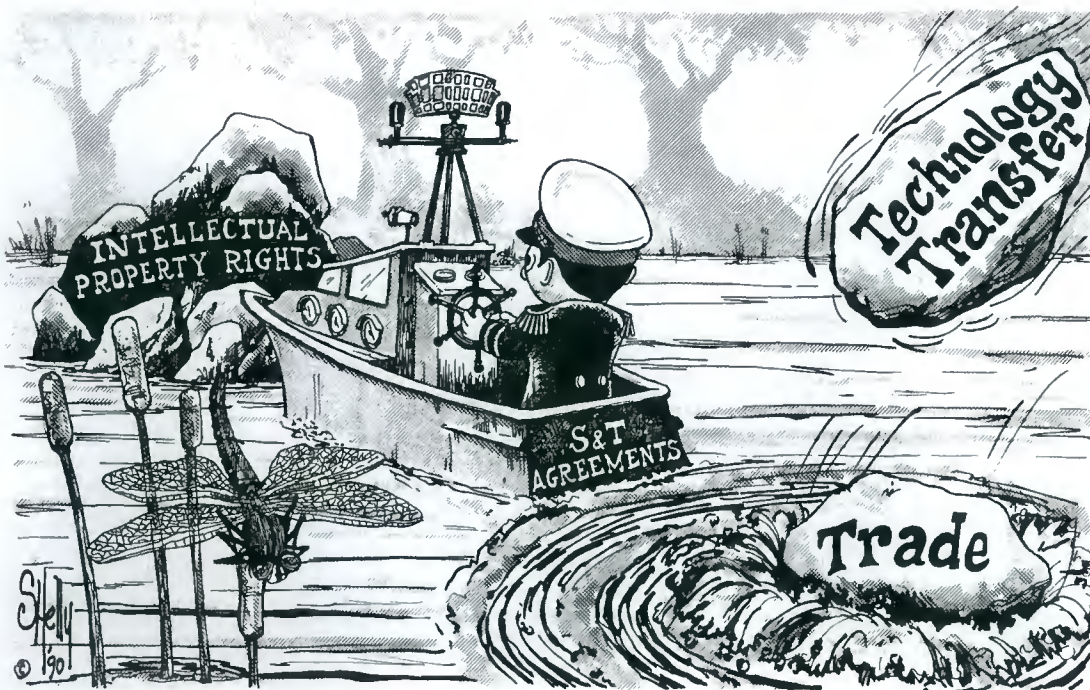
U.S. industry. Thus a less developed country that refuses U.S. pleas to improve its intellectual property regime can find its export earnings in the United States substantially reduced and could lose special tariff-free privileges granted by the U.S. to imports from many developing countries. Nor do U.S. counteractions have to be proportionate to the damage caused by the "pirate." For example, in January 1989, President Reagan decided that \$165 million of Thai imports into the United States would no longer benefit from tariff-free privileges because Thailand declined to act on U.S. complaints over IPR violations.

However, the bottom line in U.S. intellectual property counteraction was applied to Thailand in October 1989, when the U.S.-Thailand S&T agreement was allowed to expire, after a six-month interim extension lapsed. There are no current plans to negotiate amendment or renewal. The widespread concern over protecting intellectual property is similarly driving all aspects of U.S. S&T cooperation agreements with other states.

Traditionally, S&T agreements had fended for themselves in protecting intellectual property. The individual U.S. program agencies—Energy, NASA, etc.—implementing an umbrella agreement took responsibility for ensuring both intellectual property protection and equitable intellectual property allocation for any joint research. Since S&T cooperation usually focused on basic research, there were few patents, and, to our knowledge, no patent disputes. That was the big picture.

In April 1987, Executive Order 12591 mandated that the State Department, in consultation with the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, give consideration to active and effectual IPR protection in negotiating S&T cooperation agreements. But the 8/23/88 Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act then required that "federally supported international science and technology agreements should be negotiated to ensure that intellectual property rights are properly protected." With these few words, battle lines were drawn within the U.S. government as well as with those states with which we have S&T agreements.

For some in the U.S. government, proper intellectual property protection for the results of collaborative research could be variously achieved by adopting a flexible negotiating approach incorporating overall U.S. commercial, economic, political and security interests in each country. For others, the legalistic injunction to "ensure" IPR protec-



tion has become the equivalent to Holy Writ; a single, worldwide applicable IPR protection text, designed like Procrustes's bed, adherence to which is necessary for any further S&T cooperation—regardless of the effect on bilateral relations.

The ostensible reason for the S&T agreements, the actual scientific interests of the U.S. government, seemed to have been completely dropped. Nobody, from the White House to the Hill, considered allowing program agencies like NASA or Energy to ensure intellectual property protection, as they did domestically and internationally for decades. The scientific importance of the cooperation was also brushed aside—as was the fact that the research projects are not charity but must prove their worth, and integrity, by competing for funds with domestic projects.

Unsurprisingly, those agencies most eager for a global IPR annex to all umbrella S&T agreements are not those assigned to negotiate. Instead, during the negotiation or renegotiation of each S&T agreement, the State Department was directed to lead the IPR charge, overwhelm foreign opposition (after all “beggars can’t be choosers”) and plant the monocolor IPR flag on the summit of each S&T text.

Some Problems

Substantive S&T collaboration is an important part of good bilateral relations with potential for growth and for stimulating favorable perceptions of the United States. Such programs can enhance existing security relationships as well as expand trade and commercial ties. We need to consider the whole of the relationship rather than to permit S&T cooperation to be driven by the IPR issue.

The idea of linking closely, and indeed holding hostage, S&T agreements to U.S. concerns over IPR has clear disadvantages, all of which stem from a lack of recognition of the useful role of S&T cooperation in foreign relations and as a foreign policy tool.

To begin with, for many of our S&T partners, special IPR protection is irrelevant. These are countries where paradoxically our S&T cooperation is strong and meaningful (government agency to government agency in Western Europe/Japan) but where the need for IPR protection is trivial. By including parochial U.S. concerns in an S&T agreement, we will have set the precedent for future “hostage taking” against us. We may find country A linking S&T agreements to trade, country B to fishery rights, country C to a key UN vote, etc. And, if we argue that

*Permitting even
"unimportant"
agreements
to die can
poison bilateral
relations*

such linkages are irrelevant, they can say that the linkage is as relevant to them as IPR is to us. In short, we could be on the receiving end of linkages from other states to deny us useful data, e.g. global warming information, permanent biosphere changes, or ocean resources.

Additionally, S&T agreements are a very weak reed with which to attempt to lever the IPR mountain. There are those states which, when faced with giving up their "right" to IPR piracy or with losing official S&T agreements, will cheerfully let the S&T "hostage" be shot. And this is a profitable calculation to make, since one of the little secrets of S&T umbrella agreements is that their absence prevents very little. A country can participate in projects on an agency-to-agency basis or even an ad hoc contract basis without an S&T agreement. Under such circumstances, if a country must agree to specific IPR conditions, they are considerably less controversial because they have a specific benefit and the country can judge the specific IPR constraint, if any.

Absence of an umbrella S&T agreement will not prevent the citizens of a "pirate" state from working or studying in the United States, receiving university research grants (even if funded by the U.S. government), and probably even from doing research in our national labs. Unsurprisingly, the program agencies make their selections on scientific, not IPR merit. Thus, the United States loses important formal links to the host country's scientific community, which in turn still receives the informal scientific benefits. Most significantly, such action skews other critical foreign policy positions by linking them with trade-driven concerns.

Still less are we going to prevent, for example, AT&T from carrying out a joint research project with a national communications authority if AT&T decides it can live with the local IPR "risk." We only need look at Europe; as the European Community moves closer to its single market goal, the United States is being forced to deal with an S&T cooperative environment where we become the demandeurs for a share of their mutual S&T pool. It is no longer a case of vastly superior U.S. S&T facilities that can justify our imposing extraordinary conditions for access on less endowed countries and groups.

Moreover, the United States is not the sole acceptable source of S&T cooperation. If we go off in a huff, other states can pick up the slack and benefit from S&T coopera-

tion, enhancing friendly relations with future trading partners. Many states, such as Japan, use S&T cooperation as an adjunct of commercial policy to persuade the technocratic elite of developing countries of the superiority of Japanese goods. Western European countries and emerging players such as India are also not adverse to using S&T cooperation to enhance trade competitiveness.

A blind demand for agreement to a U.S. IPR formula is a triumph of form over substance. The IPR annex to the S&T agreement deals only with government-to-government cooperation. It provides absolutely no protection for U.S. companies conducting joint R&D in areas that may really have commercial potential. Thus an IPR annex could be a hollow victory, even if achieved.

Finally, we also stand to lose from cutting off S&T agreements. Permitting even "unimportant" agreements to die can poison bilateral relations. Political costs could be high and the substantive gain trivial, since no significant R&D, much less R&D with intellectual property content, would be done under the unimportant agreements. Substantive S&T agreements often give us more benefit than we provide, particularly in data not elsewhere available. Where we offer straightforward technical assistance (such as under AID programs), we are trying to achieve specific aid goals.

When IPR is a major bilateral issue, we have the draconian economic measures noted above to deal with it. But is there any need to risk S&T agreements when we gain little, could lose much, and could "ensure . . . proper" intellectual property protection at much less cost to overall bilateral relations?

Pragmatists and True Believers

Under the injunction of the 1988 Omnibus Trade Act, we have pressed hard to incorporate appropriate protection for IPR in those S&T cooperation agreements up for renewal. In each instance, we have advanced our standard IPR annex. Predictably, there have been problems ranging from reluctance to accept our stringencies to incompatibilities in legal systems. The "pragmatists" believe we have gotten significant concessions which will "ensure" IPR protection. They think the time has come to strike deals. The "true believers" remain convinced that such protection can only be ensured through word-by-

word adherence to the text, which should then serve our bilateral partners as a template for new national laws.

The issue has been somewhat in abeyance during the past year as the Bush administration sorts itself out in policy terms and puts new teams in place. But continuing the current impetus of emphasizing IPR at the expense of S&T agreements will likely lead to mixed results:

Continued agreement: For those states with no IPR problems, either because they accord IPR the same attention as we do or because they have yet to develop the capability for significant piracy, we can expect essential agreement to the U.S. IPR text. Even here, there are likely to be some bruising encounters as our true believers attack even trivial adjustments in the U.S. text as the equivalent of "satanic verses."

Dead agreements: States with little to gain from S&T umbrella agreements but with strong opposition to U.S. IPR objectives will just drop out—but not without fairly rancorous negotiations where they can play to their local nationalists by accusing us of infringing their sovereignty. Nevertheless they can still gain U.S. expertise on a project-by-project basis.

Bilateral crisis: Where both the United States and its S&T partner have a significant stake in the form and/or substance of the agreement, but differences on IPR are substantial, we have a recipe for crisis. Both sides are then free to escalate the disagreement to whatever level is necessary to resolve the problem.

Getting out of this bind will be harder than getting into it. Success, no matter how great, will still only protect the results of government agency-to-government agency S&T cooperation under an "umbrella" S&T agreement. Failure could hurt overall U.S. interests.

Fresh Start

The current IPR/S&T agreement policy is now a formless ectoplasm: a hodgepodge of individual compromises, personal convictions, and partial decisions stemming from inter-agency battles. If this lack of coherence is permitted to continue, it will clearly be at the sacrifice of the benefits of negotiated S&T cooperation. At least, if there is a requirement to jettison S&T agreements in pursuit of ironclad IPR annexes, it should

be a high-level decision sent down to the working level. Current policy direction appears to be the result of indifference to decisions made by mid-level ideologues who focus on minutiae.

The purpose of an S&T agreement should be to ensure the maximum IPR protection possible and then to focus on the S&T and associated foreign policy benefits of the cooperative relationship. The U.S. effort to get other countries to change their IPR laws and practices is alive and well, indeed going full blast, under the special 301 provisions of the 1988 Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act and in the GATT Uruguay round. S&T agreements need only be consistent with our overall policy, not lead it. Rhetoric that implies that an IPR victory in an S&T negotiation really counts in the overall IPR picture is deceptive at best. The big victories in IPR are to be won with the big guns of special 301 actions and trade sanctions.

Why sacrifice S&T agreements needlessly and lose their benefits when we are hardly inactive or short of really powerful tools to deal with the main problem? Everyone involved wants U.S. success in the appropriate IPR arena, but S&T agreements are not the right arena. Now is the time to review the entire S&T/IPR interlock to permit a comprehensive decision to be made at the Cabinet or perhaps even presidential level. Such a review should be country-specific, avoiding the vague generalities that drive implementors back to the original disagreements.

We need to look to the U.S. Trade Representative to put the S&T agreements in the overall IPR context.

We need the Department of Commerce to advise on intellectual property protection, but also on the role of S&T agreements in enhancing U.S. access to individual markets.

We need the White House science adviser to review the needs and roles of the U.S. government S&T agencies and to assess the S&T effect of our policies. IPR is not the only point at issue in S&T agreements. There are scientific questions of access, datasharing, etc., that are very important.

We need the Department of Defense to advise on the strategic technology concerns and security effects of S&T cooperation.

Finally, we need the Department of State to pull it all together so that our negotiating goals and policy for each country will best serve U.S. needs and interests. □

The big victories in IPR are to be won with the big guns of special 301 actions and trade sanctions

Come Canada, Come Mexico, Come All the World

*Suggestions for a North American, transnational,
provincial free trade area.*

DAVID B. TIMMINS

Some years ago, Robert Mundell wrote a thought-stimulating article on "optimum currency areas" in which he argued that in large, multi-regional countries such as the United States and the Soviet Union, it might be more efficient to introduce regional currencies. Monetary policy could then be more readily adapted to local needs. As it is, the anti-inflationary monetary policy determined in Washington necessarily is designed to fit the rapidly growing economies of Arizona and California rather than the needs of depressed areas such as Detroit and Houston. In short, Mundell's theory supports the concept of regional economic policy differentiation.

Theory exists, moreover, in support of integrating regions that extend beyond national boundaries, which are at best the artificial result of end-of-war battle lines or frontiers between roving ancient tribes or language groups. Following World War II, France, Belgium, and Germany created the European Iron and Coal Community, permit-

ting enormous economies in the three countries which contributed to their rapid recovery from wartime destruction. The free exchange of raw materials and product in this limited field provided the foundation for the European Economic Community (EC), extending to almost all industrial products and also including the free movement of workers and capital.

Theory also permits free trade areas for limited product lines. The United States and Canada have entered into a free trade agreement for automotive parts and products, more recently expanded into a generalized free trade area. It has been seriously proposed that Mexico join, expanding the Canada-U.S. pact into a North American free trade area—or even a North American common market. It is evident, however, that Mexico as a whole does not yet consider itself able to compete with the United States or Canada in industrial products; and it is doubtful if the United States would yet be willing to open its borders for the millions of low-paid Mexican workers who would besiege its borders in the event of a common market. But many are already convinced that the U.S. Immigration Law of 1986 is doomed

David B. Timmins, a retired FSO, is professor of finance and economics at the Instituto Tecnológico de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey in Hermosillo, Sonora, Mexico.

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to failure. Its major accomplishment to date is a new forged documents industry.

In recent weeks and months we've become faced with the problem of meeting the needs of the newly liberated countries of Eastern Europe. They are clearly not yet ready to participate in EC-92, nor can they be left to struggle on their own. Yet, sections of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Romania are part of other natural economic regions already struggling for reemergence within the context of the Alpe-Adria movement, and perhaps there would likewise be room to facilitate their restructuring under the theory discussed below.

A Radical New Proposal

There are alternatives to both the concept of an all-inclusive North American common market and exclusionary immigration laws. For example, the Mexican state of Sonora, which shares a 400-mile border with Arizona, already enjoys extraordinarily close relations with its neighbor to the north. Exempt from the Logan Act (which prohibits negotiations with foreign powers by other than those appointed by the president of the United States) by reason of a special indulgence, Arizona and Sonora have created the first, and only, province-level binational commission in the world (the somewhat similar arrangement between France and Quebec differs in that it is a nation-to-province relationship). Regular meetings are held between the governors of Sonora and Arizona and their technical staffs to discuss cross-border problems and policies; and a special development fund has been created financed by the federal government of Mexico, the states of Sonora and Arizona, and with a contribution of about 20 percent from the private sector of both states.

Beyond special state-to-state relations, however, a transnational natural resource region can be readily conceived for the American southwest and Mexican northwest. Baja California and California proper; Sonora and Arizona; Chihuahua, Nuevo Leon, and Texas could be authorized by acts of the two national Congresses to enter into negotiations to create a new regional free trade area. This proposal combines the Mundell concept of multiple regions within one state enjoying considerable autonomy in implementing independent monetary policies with the EC concept of extending such autonomy across national frontiers to include entire natural

resource regions.

Initially, this partial U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Zone (USMFTZ) could, as well as being limited to certain provinces of each nation, be restricted to certain agricultural and manufactured products, subject to periodic renegotiation, as is done on broader scale within the GATT.

At an appropriate moment, if not initially, free movement of labor could also be permitted across the regional borders (though such entry need not necessarily be extended to U.S. or Mexican states not participating in the USMFTZ. This would certainly be no harder to police than present immigration policies. Indeed, since most Mexican labor enters the United States for limited periods of time, and tends to settle in the U.S. southwest where it is most needed, leaving such decisions to regional decisionmakers would appear appropriate.)

Reciprocally, U.S. citizens could move to Baja California, helping to build up the under-developed beach front, hotel, and deep sea fishing facilities, attracting large numbers of tourists to the benefit of local residents and the local economy. The additional influx of Yankee capital could similarly advance the existing industrialization policies of Nuevo Leon and Sonora, where businessmen are often already more inclined to dealing with Tucson and Phoenix, four hours to the north, than with the *distrito federal* three days drive to the south.

As a result of the *maquiladora* industry now crowding the borders at El Paso/Juarez, Tijuana, Yuma/Rio Colorado, and Nogales, Sonora/Nogales, Arizona, the first steps toward such union have already been accomplished, almost unnoticed. Hundreds of US warehouse plants exist on the US side of the border, matched by hundreds of assembly plants on the Mexican side, wherein parts imported in bond are put together and reexported two miles across the border with duties payable only on labor value added. Tens of thousands of Mexicans hold "border crossing permits" which allow them access to the United States for shopping and family visits as readily as Europeans can now cross EC borders without passports for casual tourism or family visits.

The benefits of the more coherent policy outlined above would be to permit plants to be located nearer sources of supply, cheap transportation, and final markets—rather than upon such artificial considerations as the chance existence of adjacent border towns.

Alan Riding, in his insightful and provoca-

tive *Distant Neighbor*, writes that he sees emerging a new "third nation" on the borders of the United States and Mexico. He expresses doubt that the new nation will enjoy the status of an independent country, but that economically, linguistically, and socially, the growth of such a region enjoying substantial free trade and the free flow of populations is as sure as anything history can predict.

Perhaps economic theory has moved to a point where we *can* predict, perhaps even visualize in outline, the new polity: Under the scheme here proposed, residents of the Mexican states included in the treaty will have freedom to seek employment and to sell their products within the natural confines of the economic region within which they live. Americans can put their money and talents to work within the boundaries of the same natural economic region. The powerful forces of free movement of capital and manpower, plus the mighty engine of free exchange of goods and services within the region should release springs of economic development which would shortly result in new Tucsons and Phoenixes in Sonora, new San Diegos and Laguna Beaches in Baja. Plus new sources of labor for existing American farms and industries to help make them competitive with Japan, Korea, and Taiwan.

Come Canada, Come Mexico

In the early days of the United States, a far-seeing candidate for the U.S. presidency, viewing the US Constitution as a model for the entire world said, "Come Canada, come Mexico, come all the world, and let us be brothers together under the glorious Constitution."

Whether motivated by the "manifest destiny" persuasion of his day, or looking further into the depths of time, this vision of the future by Joseph Smith appears as capable of realization in our day as ever. Should the above proposal for a USMFTZ be achieved and prove feasible, the day will surely come when one or more Canadian provinces by reason of propinquity and industrial/commercial readiness may wish to approach their own government for authorization to enter into a similar regional partial free trade area with, perhaps, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana; or Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, or New York.

It is difficult to see why, with the passage of time and the increasing economic com-

patibility of such partially integrated regions and/or the nations of which they are part, they should not move toward fuller, even complete integration into more broadly based free trade areas or common markets. Indeed this may be a formula for the partial, and staged, relationship between the EC and the countries of Eastern (once more Central?) Europe. In time, one can even envision the merger of a complete North American common market with the European common market, Central American common market, or Latin American free trade area. Even eventually, perhaps, into the universal world of free trade envisioned in the UN Charter.

We are of course now talking in a purely idealistic framework, since such wholesale integration would at some point defeat Mundell's argument about the inefficiencies of too much central economic policy direction and the advantages of flexibility to accommodate local needs and differences. Nevertheless, the Benelux countries and the European Iron and Coal Community did progress towards the Common Market; and most of the members of the European free trade area have similarly moved into the European Community.

The point is, simply, that there is nothing in this examination of an even more disaggregate approach to regional cooperation, i.e., by adjoining states where entire nations are not yet ready to move, which should prevent or inhibit later, more universal integration. Nor is there anything in the concept of provincial free trade which should negatively affect the functioning of the national economies to which the provinces belong. Indeed, by releasing the springs of economic development, the growth of the respective regions should promote the overall prosperity of the parent nations.

As a result of its defeat in World War II, Japan reoriented its thinking from seeking a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere through conquering China and Southeast Asia militarily, into seeking a prosperous Japan through conquering the entire world market by peacefully producing the highest quality, best value goods it could. Similarly, the Soviet Union and China appear to be reorienting their thinking from the pursuit of meretricious Marxist goals based on fallacious economic analysis, into adopting, at least in part and in selected sectors, the discipline of the market. So voluntary cooperation and greater regional autonomy in North America may renew the U.S. economy. □

MEXICO

What Foreign Service scholarships give us

CRISTIN K. SPRINGET

It is said that your child's education is the largest single investment you will make in addition to your home. Since the establishment of the first American Foreign Service Association youth scholarship, the Oliver Harriman Scholarship, in 1926, thousands of Foreign Service families have received their association's help in their children's higher education.

There are now more than 95 merit or need-based grants awarded under the program each year. Some, like the first Harriman and the most recently established Francesca Bufano Lapinski scholarships, memorialize individuals who were in the Service or were a relative of a Service member. Others, such as Secretary of State and Mrs. George C. Shultz and Deputy Secretary John Whitehead, established a scholarship to express their appreciation of the Service.

The largest number of grantees receive their scholarships through the hard work and volunteer spirit of the members of the American Association of Foreign Service Women (AAFSW), who annually organize the AAFSW Book Fair in the Department of State; profits from the Book Fair are returned to the Foreign Service as AAFSW scholarships.

This winter, on behalf of AFSA's Committee on Education, I wrote the parents of recent grantees to find out what the Foreign Service scholarship program has meant to them and their children. I am delighted to share these views from Foreign Service people with all readers. Names have been withheld, but I think you'll find that each voice in this article speaks

Cristin K. Springet, the AFSA scholarship administrator, has been assigned to Paris with her FSO spouse, Bill Mooney.



Painting by Faith P. Freeman

for many other people. The Committee on Education also thanks all of you who wrote; your letters demonstrate the significance and uniqueness of the Foreign Service scholarship program.

It should be noted in addition that the cover of this month's FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL and the artwork for this article are the products of three of our grantees. It is thanks to all the supporters of the scholarship program that bright and hard-working students have the opportunity to develop their talents.

Why do Foreign Service families have financial need?

If you have two, three or more children, their college education represents, in the words of most parents, a big chunk of your Foreign Service salary. One parent writes:

"It might seem to some that Foreign Service families have little financial needs, but for most FSO families that I am acquainted with, providing the opportunity for their children to attend university presents a serious challenge. There are several reasons for this:

- Foreign Service families living

abroad are usually only single earner families. Rarely does a Foreign Service spouse find a job which pays anything near what he/she would earn in the United States. Moving abroad means foregoing one salary, and the allowances hardly offset that.

- Living abroad is expensive. The cost of living in major world urban centers is usually much higher than in the U.S. The cost of living allowance rarely offsets higher price levels and the depreciation of the dollar.

- Supporting college students from abroad is much more difficult than from home. True, the government provides one round-trip ticket per year. But most families would also like to be together for Christmas. If this is possible at all, it often adds, as it did this year for us, several thousand dollars to the cost of the year of college. And then there are the phone calls and other such items which add additional hundreds of dollars to the bill.

After tallying up the costs of everything, supporting college children is at least as much a sacrifice to Foreign Service families as to other Americans, and sometimes much more. We therefore greatly value AFSA's efforts to promote a scholarship and aid program for us and our Foreign Service colleagues."

Another parent concurs with the above, and adds another dimension, that of opportunities missed by living abroad: "We have three daughters aged 23, 21, and 18. All three are or will be attending college. My husband's annual income, prior to retiring was \$34,000. Because we have lived overseas all this time, I have not had the opportunity to supplement this income. You don't have to be a mathematician to see that sending three children to college on this would be extremely difficult. Also, when a family is living overseas, sometimes half-way around the world, it is very

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difficult to find out what kind of financial aid is available. If we are unable or unwilling to go to the expense of travelling back to the USA to talk with college financial aid personnel in person, we get the "short end of the stick." Grants and scholarships from community organizations are not available to children of Foreign Service people. Our youngest daughter graduated from a high school in Ottawa; there was no organization offering scholarships there. The two others both graduated from the Department of Defense high school in Frankfurt; scholarships are available there but, with one exception, only children of military personnel were eligible. So where does that leave us?"

There are other misperceptions about the income Foreign Service families earn. "There may be some in the Foreign Service who feel that the majority of Foreign Service personnel who have children in college are the high mid-level or senior foreign service officers who can afford college costs. It should be remembered that with many people joining the Service later in life, there are junior officers and lower ranking mid-level officers with children in college. There are also communicators and secretaries who have children of college age and are not making \$50,000 a year. In our case, I entered the Foreign Service at age 36 with a wife and three children. At this time I am an FS-4 with a yearly salary of \$37,400. I have one daughter in college at a cost of \$10,000 per year. My other two children are sophomores in high school with typical adolescent (i.e. expensive!) lifestyles. As it is we are having to acquire substantial debt, but with AFSA's help I am confident that we will meet our expenses. In the Foreign Service there is a sense of family and it is with a sense of gratitude to our family that we thank AFSA for the help."

"I am a single parent. During my



Painting by Andrea K. Freeman

married years, I spent approximately 10 years as a Foreign Service wife. During this time I did not work due to restrictions in the countries in which I resided and because I had young children. Subsequent to my return to the United States in 1981 I began a Ph.D. program in immunology of parasitic infections so that I would be able to obtain a good job in the future. . . . During this period of time I was divorced. . . . The year following my degree my oldest son began college. I had no savings to contribute to the boy's education. In order to defray college expenses I rented out a room in my house. Since the total amount of money needed to meet college expenses for one son was about \$12,000, I needed to set aside approximately 40 percent of my income. . . ."

"I am writing this letter to express my and my late husband's appreciation for your scholarship program. This program has helped two of our six children meet the financial obligations of a college education. I think that this scholarship program is a wonderful asset to every member of the Foreign Service community. Since many families do not qualify for federal and state aid and do not have the immense amount of money needed to provide a college education for their children, they often find it necessary to borrow money, which creates

a huge financial burden on both parent and student. In providing these wonderful scholarships, the American Foreign Service Association is reducing the financial burden and providing students an opportunity to begin their working careers without as large of a debt. I hope that these scholarships will always be available to students because there will always be a need for them."

Have scholarships made a difference to Foreign Service families?

The letters make clear that the difference the scholarships make is not only monetary—though the aid means a great deal. The scholarships also express a vote of confidence in the future of our children and give them a sense of a supportive community, which many Foreign Service youth do not have because they have moved so frequently in their lives.

"On a retiree's pension there is a slim chance my children could have completed college without all of us going heavily into debt before it was over. It certainly would have been impossible for us to have had two of them in school at the same time as we did for a year and a half. When we were overseas we frequently commented on how Foreign Service people took care of their own in "the little things" . . . now we know how they take care of their own in "the big things" as well. Someday we all hope to be able to repay AFSA in some way for the help they have given us these last few years, but in the meantime we are very, very grateful to the people who have made the girls' grants, and thus their education, possible."

"With the ever-increasing cost of higher level education, the AFSA scholarship awards for three of my four daughters to attend college have meant a great deal to my family. This additional resource has allowed us,

often with only one low income, to insure that our children would be permitted the opportunity to prepare themselves for a demanding and competitive future, an opportunity that might not otherwise have been available to them due to other financial responsibilities of our family. . . . My family extends its sincere appreciation . . . for the interest and support shown for the future of my children."

"Quite frankly, it has meant the difference in our daughter being able to attend college at all. With our youngest daughter's anticipated fall college enrollment and the fierce competition for financial aid, we feel privileged to be able to turn to AFSA; and we thank all of you for that privilege."

"My son's receipt of a need-based AFSA scholarship enabled him to

begin his university studies during a time in which his family was encumbered with medical bills for his younger brother's hospitalization. These bills amounted to nearly \$7,000 and, as of now, are only partially paid. Receiving this scholarship was a windfall to this family at a much needed time."

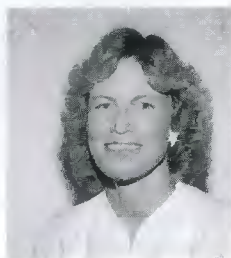
"My daughter . . . is now happily settled and well-adjusted in a northern California college. I can honestly say she is there primarily because of you folks at AFSA!! I am a single parent on a very limited budget living and working in Brussels. Not only are the everyday necessities of life expensive here, but because of the distance between Brussels and my daughter in California, I have special additional expenses (phone calls, letters, packages, etc.) Every little bit of extra

money helps tremendously. After living in Belgium for almost two years, my daughter is now adjusting to California and college life simultaneously. . . . Being a single parent living on a low salary, coupled with the expenses of living in Europe make putting a daughter through college a difficult challenge; but, with the assistance of AFSA my burden has been lightened. I know the great value of a good college education and with your help, the prognosis looks good for my daughter obtaining something that will last her a lifetime . . . a first-class education"

What is special about a Foreign Service scholarship?

"My first husband died quite unexpectedly. . . . At that point we'd only

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been married five years, had four children (four, three, and two years, and nine months old), and were en route to Indonesia after serving four years in Bolivia. Needless to say, losing a spouse is traumatic enough, but to be left with four young children is beyond words. . . . I married 10 years after my first husband died. My second husband was a widower with four children. Our eight children fall in a five-year span and trying to

get them through college has been a challenge. While they all worked (starting with paper routes) to put themselves through school with assistance from us, the money was still very tight. At the height of this period, we had seven in college at the same time. . . . I read an article in the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL indicating that our four children could qualify for a scholarship from the American For-

ign Service Association. When the mail arrived with a check addressed to the schools two sons were attending, the feeling was wonderful. It soon became an emotional moment as the boys felt that this was from their dad. To lose a father so early in life is not easy. To know that you may receive some very needed school assistance because of your father is a very special feeling indeed."

"After reading the names of scholarship award winners in the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL over the years, I always hoped to see the name of one of our children listed there. My husband and I were delighted to be informed that our daughter had won an AFSA scholarship made possible by AAFSW . . . ! Like many other Foreign Service families, we have lived overseas during most of the years our four children were growing up and attending school. There are numerous scholastic opportunities our children are not even aware of and miss out on. I am very pleased that the AFSA scholarship program is making an effort to fill that gap. . . . The achievement that the award of an AFSA scholarship recognizes must be a tremendous inspiration to any Foreign Service dependent student. It certainly increases their self-esteem, confidence, and pride in helping to represent their country overseas."

"As the benefits of being an FSO diminish over the years, it is important that there be some Foreign Service institutions and practices that give employees the sense that they belong to a family rather than to an essentially impersonal bureaucracy. Your program helps serve that need of promoting a sense of community and accordingly has an importance that transcends the dollars involved."

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gram is that it encourages among our youth our tradition of service to the nation. We are also buying into the purpose of the Foreign Service. Twenty-one percent of the students who received grants this year plan to major in international relations, political science, or languages.

"Of course it has eased the financial strains and more importantly it has shown [Foreign Service] community solidarity for a family, our family. The program has helped our oldest daughter who is a nurse at the National Institute of Health in Maryland; another daughter has just completed a master's degree in education and is working as a counselor for Prince William County with the foster family program; a third is a nurse at Fairfax Hospital in Virginia. Our oldest son will graduate from Virginia Tech with a degree in civil engineering in May; a daughter is there now as a freshman studying human resources. We also have a daughter with a degree in business from the University of Dayton, Ohio, and a son is there now working towards a degree in accounting. The scholarship program has helped make all this possible. In summary I would say our children are an asset to our family, community, and American society."

"When my husband died he left me with three teenage children; having them prepare for college within two years of each other was something I did not want to think about. When my daughter was preparing for college I became more worried about how I was going to be able to help her with her dream of becoming a marine biologist. . . . You have helped to shape her future as she sees it and because of you she will someday help save the wonders and the resources of the sea for others to enjoy."

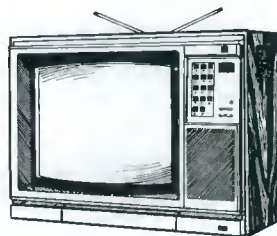
"My third 'AFSA baby' just graduated from Long Beach, California State University last December. She

marks the end of a long-lasting "lifeline" with AFSA scholarships, which began 12 years ago in Lima, Peru, when my eldest entered Yale University. He is now working in a consulting firm in Washington, D.C. His first assignment: in Spanish-speaking Mexico where, he reports, "my Spanish language and my background as a Foreign Service brat have worked to great advantage." [One daughter] has

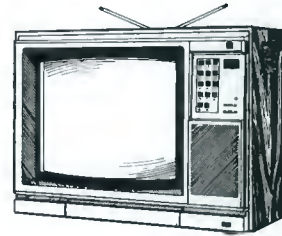
worked with the tigers and elephants in India as a volunteer for the World Wildlife Fund, and [another's] presentation on the Rasta "dreadlocks" in Jamaica for her anthropology class is still the talk of her alma mater. As you can see, my children's involvement with the world outside the United States is continuing. There is no doubt that their exposure to differ-

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Please refer to Department B

ent cultures has enriched their lives. . . I have often been asked how I could manage to raise such a brood on a single parent's salary. . . AFSA has been and will always be a part of the how and why of my children's successes."

"Because we have a large family (three sons and three daughters), giving our children the opportunity to go to college is a good deal more of a challenge than might be the case in most smaller families. Clearly, financing a college education is something of a strain for all families, particularly in the light of rapidly rising tuition rates and falling federal assistance levels. . . Having help from the Foreign Service has meant a great deal to us as a manifestation of the spirit of Service solidarity and community which we shared for 27 years and which will always be an

important part of our lives. It is good to know that, in our present circumstances, that spirit will be there to assist our daughters in completing their college education. . . It may be this spirit that has helped to influence [one daughter's] decision to join the Peace Corps after graduation, and [another's] plan to pursue a career in international affairs (possibly in the Foreign Service). Our oldest daughter . . . whom AFSA-AAFSW also helped, is actively considering employment with the State Department. There is no question about it; AFSA-AAFSW's help has been critical and will be even more so in the future."

"My husband was a Foreign Service officer from 1969 until his sudden death in 1980. At the time of his death, our daughter was 10 years old. It goes without saying that raising her by myself after such a devastating

event was not an easy task—emotionally or financially. The scholarships she has received from AFSA have lightened the burden of tuition costs, and she is now completing her junior year at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Her memories of life in the Foreign Service are fond ones, and she is majoring in international relations and history, with the hope of joining the Foreign Service or some other organization involved with international concerns."

"Both of my children have strong international interests so the scholarships have special meaning. [One] is a geography major—he specializes in West Africa, I'm sure in part due to the summers he spent in Abidjan with his father. While in high school, he received a summer scholarship from the American Cancer Society to study tuberculosis in camels at the National Zoo. He hopes to combine his interests in veterinary medicine, languages (he is bilingual in French), and developing countries in future studies/work but the combination is difficult to achieve. . . [The other] is a biology major and is also bilingual in French as well as moderately fluent in Spanish and everyday Arabic. He spent last semester working at a marine research center in Oman. He is taking courses also in human/economic geography in hopes of applying his interests and background in biology to developing countries. Thus, it seems very appropriate that scholarship money from AFSA is being used to facilitate the education of my sons who intend to apply this education to problems/issues in developing countries."

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FREDERIC L. CHAPIN, 60, died of cancer Sept. 8, 1989.

Mr. Chapin earned his bachelor's degree from Harvard University. He joined the Foreign Service in 1952. He was ambassador to Ethiopia from 1978 to 1980 and to Guatemala from 1981 to 1984. He was acting ambassador and interim chargé d'affaires in El Salvador in 1981. His career also included assignments in Austria, Nicaragua, Chad, and Brazil.

Mr. Chapin received a Distinguished Civilian Service Medal from the Department of Defense for his service as deputy assistant secretary of defense for inter-American affairs in 1980-81. He was a senior inspector upon his retirement in 1988.

He served as a member of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL Editorial Board from 1963 to 1966.

Survivors include his wife Cornelia of 3900-A Watson Place, NW, Washington, DC 20016; a son, John; and three daughters, Grace, Edith, and Anne.

ROBERT EDWIN FERRIS, 70, passed away on Nov. 24, 1989, from cancer.

Mr. Ferris was born on January 9, 1919 in Lewiston, Idaho. He received a bachelor's degree from the University of New Mexico. Mr. Ferris retired from the Foreign Service in 1976 after a 29-year career that included assignments in Aden, Germany, Spain, Honduras, Bolivia, Thailand, The Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Cyprus, and Iran. He is survived by his wife Robbie, of 61032 Parrell Road, Bend, Oregon 97702, brother Gale of Portland, Oregon, step-daughter Robin of San Diego, and son Aaron and daughter-in-law Connie of Virginia.

RENA M. HALE, 80, wife of retired Foreign Service officer Robert Fraser Hale, died in Bonita, California, on Nov. 11, 1989. Mrs. Hale, the former Rena E. Stonehouse, was a native of Vancouver, British Columbia. She and her husband were married in

1931 and had been together for 56 years.

Mrs. Hale accompanied her husband on three Washington assignments and foreign posts Vancouver, Ottawa, Veracruz, Mexico City, Port-of-Spain, Madrid, and Tijuana. In Madrid, where her husband was supervising consul general for Spain, Mrs. Hale contracted a heart ailment which necessitated her return to the United States for protracted medical treatment. They went to live in the San Diego area in 1956 and Mr. Hale became consul general at nearby Tijuana while living at Bonita. From 1960 to his retirement in 1962 they lived in Washington, returning to Bonita when he retired. At Bonita, Mrs. Hale was active in women's organizations and was a lifelong member of the local Congregational church. She is survived by her husband, of 3747 Putter Place, Bonita, CA 92002, by a son, Ronald Hale of Santa Fe, NM; a daughter, Judith Hale, of Elk, CA; and two grandsons, Jesse and Luke Hale.

HARALD W. JACOBSON, 79, died Oct. 15, 1989 at Alexandria Hospital in Virginia.

Dr. Jacobson was born in Norway in 1910. The son of missionary parents, he lived in China during his youth and devoted the greater part of his life to the study of that country. He earned a doctorate in Oriental history at the University of Chicago in 1938. A Lt. Commander in the U.S. Navy, he served as assistant naval attaché in Chungking and in Nanking during World War II.

He was director of the State Department's Office of Asian Communist Affairs from 1965-68 and deputy principal officer at the consulate general in Hong Kong from 1968-70. After retiring from the Foreign Service, Dr. Jacobson worked as a consultant in the China division of USIA's Office of Research, analyzing Chinese internal politics, mass communications, and foreign policy.

He is survived by a brother, Roland A. Jacobson of Northbrook, IL; a sister, Margaret J. Swanson of Indianapolis, IN; and several nieces and nephews.

KENNETH L. MAYALL, 75, internationally renowned economist and retired Foreign Service officer, passed away on the Monterey peninsula on Nov. 15, 1989, following a prolonged battle against cancer. He was long-time resident of Carmel, California.

Mr. Mayall's widely published work was *International Cartels*. He was an alternate member of the prestigious International Council for Post-World War II Economic Planning and was instrumental in the post-war reconstruction of the Japanese nation.

Born on November 4, 1914 in Multnomah, Oregon, Mr. Mayall spent his childhood and young adulthood enjoying the natural wonders of the Pacific Northwest, particularly mountain-climbing in the Olympic and Cascade Ranges. He completed undergraduate and graduate studies in engineering and economics at the University of Washington. He was a man of boundless curiosity and unceasing energy, with an ever-inquisitive mind, who traveled to all corners of the world during his lifetime. His ashes will be scattered on Mount Rainier next spring. He is survived by his only child, Pamela Ann Mayall of Alexandria, Virginia, and by two nephews, Mark Mayall of Vancouver, British Columbia, and Mike Mayall of Fort Worth, Texas.

ROBERT J. MONTGOMERY, JR., 55, died at home in Rockville, Maryland, on December 10, 1989, of cancer.

Mr. Montgomery was a native of Texas. He was a graduate of the University of Texas and received a master's degree from Georgetown University and a master's of public administration from Harvard University. After serving in the U.S. Navy, Mr. Montgomery joined the Foreign

In Memory

Service in 1962. He served as an economic officer in Santo Domingo, Mexico City, Canberra, and Prague, and as political counselor in Ottawa before retiring in September 1989.

Mr. Montgomery is survived by his wife, Kendall B. Montgomery, of 4915 Cloister Drive, Rockville, MD 20852; three children, Carolyn, Emily, and Robert, all of the home address; and three sisters.

GEORGE R. PHELAN JR., a retired Foreign Service officer, died at his home in Miami of cancer on July 12, 1989.

Mr. Phelan was a third generation Foreign Service officer. He served in the United States Army during World War II before joining the Department of State in 1946.

His overseas assignments included political and consular affairs in Brazil, England, Netherlands Antilles, Canada, Colombia, Guatemala, Venezuela, Spain, and Greece. He retired in 1979.

Mr. Phelan received the Meritorious Honor Award in 1964 and 1967. In 1971 he received the Superior Honor Award.

Mr. Phelan is survived by his wife Hope, of 2720 SW 22nd St., Miami, FL, 33165; five children, Nora, Hope Mary Johnson, George R. III, John, and Richard; and eight grandchildren.

ANNE C. POHL, 30, daughter of Foreign Service retirees Edward and Joy Pohl, died at home on Dec. 27, 1989, of malignant melanoma.

Anne was born in Palermo, Sicily, and resided with her parents in Germany, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Haiti, Switzerland, and Niger. She was graduated in May 1989 from the University of Northern Colorado with a degree of Bachelor of Arts in Vocational Business Education.

Anne is survived by her husband, Arthur P. Cunningham, two stepchildren, Chris and Catherine, and her special dog, Suemayla, of Greeley,

Colorado. Besides her parents in Estes Park, Colorado, she is also survived by a sister, Lyn, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and a brother, John, of Seattle, Washington.

EUGENE C. REICHARD, 90, a retired AID forester, died on December 11, 1989, in Atlanta, Georgia.

Born in Odessa, Russia, Mr. Reichard was graduated by the Imperial Military Academy at St. Petersburg (Russia). He fought in World War I as a Hussar officer of the Russian Imperial Cavalry, losing his right arm on the Austrian front. When the Russian Revolution broke out, he fought with the White Army against the Bolsheviks.

He immigrated to the United States in 1922. In 1926 received a degree in forestry from Syracuse University. He was naturalized as a U.S. citizen in 1928 and joined the Department of Agriculture the next year. He was a forest adviser to the U.S. military government in Korea (Seoul and Taegu, 1947-48) and for the occupation of Japan (Tokyo, 1948-51). Appointed to the Point IV Program (later ICA and AID) in the early 1950s, he served as a forester in Colombia, Bolivia, and Madagascar, before retiring in 1965. There are no immediate survivors.

ROBERT SIVARD, 75, died on Jan. 4, 1990 at his home in Washington, D.C. of a heart attack.

Mr. Sivard was well-known for his paintings of street scenes and of artists in their studios. His assignments with the U.S. Information Agency gave him the opportunity to paint the streets and people of Moscow, Havana, San Juan, Paris, Rome, New York and Washington, D.C.

Born in New York in 1914, Mr. Sivard studied at the Pratt Institute, the National Academy of Design, and the Academie Julien in Paris and worked for some years as a commercial artist and art director. He went

to Paris in 1949 as director of visual information at the American embassy for the Marshall Plan.

When Sivard returned to the United States as a Foreign Service officer, he served as exhibits director for the United States Information Agency. He retired in 1974. A man of great warmth and humor, he is survived by his wife, Ruth, a son, James and a daughter, Susan, as well as his brother, Walter.

VIRGINIA COOKE WOODWARD, 75, died at Georgetown University Hospital on Jan. 9, 1990 after a long illness and several strokes.

She was graduated from Bryn Mawr College in 1935 and lived in Washington until her marriage in 1943 to FSO Robert F. Woodward. Mr. Woodward was in the U.S. embassy in La Paz, Bolivia at that time, and Miss Cooke and he were married in Lima, Peru. Mrs. Woodward then accompanied her husband in assignments to Guatemala, Habana, Stockholm, Costa Rica, Uruguay, and Chile, where Mr. Woodward was ambassador for only two months. They were abruptly recalled to Washington where Mr. Woodward was assistant secretary of state for Inter-American Affairs after the Bay of Pigs debacle. They then were assigned to Spain where Mr. Woodward was ambassador from 1962 to 1965.

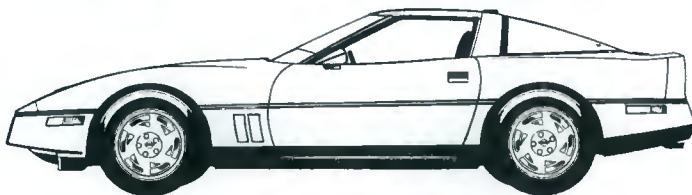
Throughout this varied Foreign Service, Mrs. Woodward was an active, adaptable, and effective representative American. Since her husband's retirement in Washington, she was involved in civic and social activities.

Survivors include her husband, a son, Robert Jr., and a daughter, Mary Woodward Truland, and five grandchildren. All now live in the Washington area.

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Books

Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies

Edited by Joseph V. Montville, Lexington Books, 1990.

Reviewed by Arnold Schifferdecker

With ethnic conflict and ethnic-based nationalism raging in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, there could be few more timely studies than this collection of erudite essays. Though its preparation took place before the current resurgence of nationalist/ethnic consciousness in the Soviet Union and its satellites, this book provides an opportune and welcome review of the causes of ethnic conflict and strategies to deal with it.

Retired FSO Joseph Montville, now a consultant on conflict resolution at the Foreign Service Institute's Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs, has organized a series of essays from 24 scholars. In addition to case studies of three currently "hot" ethnic-cum-religious conflicts in Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka and Sudan, the authors deal with ethnic conflict management in Belgium, Switzerland, Canada, South Tyrol, Malaysia, Pakistan, Assam, Nigeria, and Zimbabwe (problems in Lebanon, Ethiopia, Kenya, South Africa, and others are also treated by one or more authors).

To draw the interest of the foreign affairs practitioner, Montville has his experts explore in considerable detail the successes and failures of governments to accommodate ethnic demands.

Among the major points this compendium drives home, two stand out.

The persistence of ethnic conflict, even in the so-called developed societies, has discredited both Marxist and Western notions of political modernization. As the rekindling and rapid spread of ethnic consciousness in the Soviet Union demonstrated, the "modernist" view of ethnicity as socially parochial and politically regressive (i.e., as anti-modern) has been effectively refuted. Modernization, or "nation-building" processes, have not supplanted traditional ethnic solidarities, as Martin Esman points out in his essay. Instead, he states, ethnic solidarities have become modernized and transformed into efficient vehicles for mobilizing political demands. Political activism among ethnically co-

hesive groups is a way to articulate grievances and press demands. It is a means to an end, not an end in itself, expressed as often by democratic as by violent means.

The second main impression is that governments, both democratic and authoritarian, have largely failed to deal adequately with the phenomenon of ethnicity in politics. Governments frequently provide too little, too late to satisfy ethnic demands. Although often economic in nature, those demands are fundamentally political participation, and they can best be met, says Arend Lijphart, by various power-sharing means available to the policymaker (e.g. membership in the power elite, federation, partial autonomy, or possibly a veto over important decisions). Lijphart's and Donald Horowitz's essays on the variety and combination of power-sharing techniques, along with William Zartman's essay on negotiation,

make the book especially worthwhile.

Montville concludes with his views on the psychological dimension in political conflict resolution, which he terms "two track diplomacy," and on which he has elaborated elsewhere. In brief, he believes that conventional analysis of conflict resolution would be greatly aided by considering individual and group psychological needs, based on their status as "victims" or "aggressors" in past conflicts.

Rebellion and Repression in the Philippines

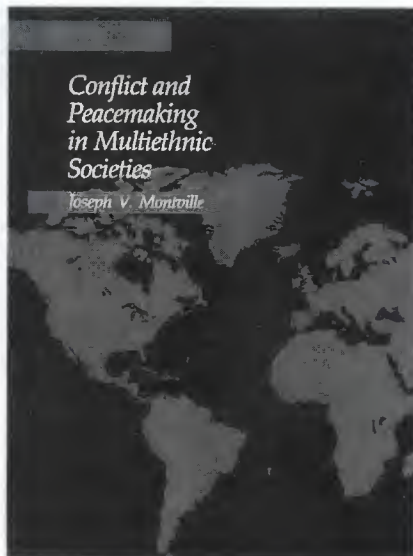
By Richard J. Kessler, Yale University Press, 1989.

Reviewed by Edward C. Ingraham

The Philippines is undeniably in a state of crisis. President Aquino remains personally popular but leads a weak, corrupt, tradition-bound government unwilling to tackle the country's horrendous socioeconomic problems. Hounding and harassing her is a substantial segment of the Philippine Armed Forces (AFP), driven by a group of ideologically macho young officers—the "Reform The AFP Movement" (RAM)—who are demanding for themselves the right to run the country while power-hungry opposition politicians goad them on. As the two grapple through one coup attempt after another, a third force in the countryside waits for the opportunity to destroy them both: the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and its combat arm, the New People's Army (NPA).

How in the world did the Philippines, the country we liberated from Spain and recreated in our own democratic image, reach this state of impending catastrophe? Richard Kessler, in his slim book, provides a concise, perceptive answer.

Kessler's book is an analytical study of the CPP and the AFP, seeking to answer two primary questions: How



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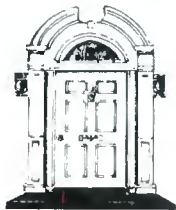
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Books

has the CPP been able to build a base of support strong enough to challenge the existing system in the Philippines? And how has the AFP evolved into such an uncontrolled, repressive force in Philippine society? In both cases, Kessler finds the answer primarily in the country's history. He sees a tradition of militant social revolution that goes back to the utopian, millenarian uprisings of the 19th century, mounted by peasants protesting their institutionalized repression. The reader is led from the Katipunan to the Huks and on to today's CPP, which turns out to be a fascinating blend of ideology, discipline, and pragmatism, reminding one of the early Viet Minh. No, they're not infallible—they miscalculated the outcome of Marcos's theft of the 1986 elections—but they're clearly a major force in the country.

The roots of the AFP's behavior similarly go back to the beginning of the U.S. occupation. Americans often forget that, while we beat the Spanish in an afternoon, it took years of hard fighting to overcome the Philippine nationalists. Among the institutions we created in the process was the Philippine Constabulary, our own colonial army. From the beginning, Kessler asserts, the Constabulary and, from 1935 when it was enfolded into the new AFP, the armed forces as a whole have been instruments of the ruling elites. Tripled in size and thoroughly corrupted under Marcos' martial law, the AFP spawned the internal reform movement, the RAM, that led to his overthrow and now demands the right to determine how the country should be ruled.

Kessler's prognosis is somber, perhaps a bit more than called for, although he winds up with some sensible suggestions as to how the United States might help rescue Philippine democracy. Would that we might follow them.

The New Image Makers: Soviet Propaganda and Disinformation Today.

Edited by Ladislav Bittman, Pergamon-Brassey, 1989.

Reviewed by Douglas Davidson

Mikhail Gorbachev is more popular abroad than in his own country. Soviet propagandists can certainly claim credit for part of this popularity. This collection of essays on "Soviet tactics of persuasion" reveals some of the secrets of their success.

The book is divided into three parts. The first is mainly an overview of propaganda and disinformation. One chapter points out that *glasnost* came about not by public pressure but by government decree, and thus is part of the Russian tradition of "modernizing by official order."

The middle section analyzes the Soviet propaganda apparatus. One of its more interesting chapters examines Radio Moscow's North American service and two of its better broadcasters, Joe Adamov and Vladimir Posner. Another examines how Soviet propagandists operate in India, concentrating not just on the elites but on the masses as well.

The third section covers propaganda techniques and includes a rare examination of the Soviets' use of religion and religious groups. Another essay illustrates how Soviet disinformers have adapted to the age of television, understanding very well how the Western media works.

The New Image Makers is probably more suitable for the generalist than for the specialist. Some of it also seems slightly out of date. *Glasnost* has gone farther than many contributors anticipated. Still, if one is looking for an introductory guide to the Soviet way of public persuasion, this is not a bad place to start.

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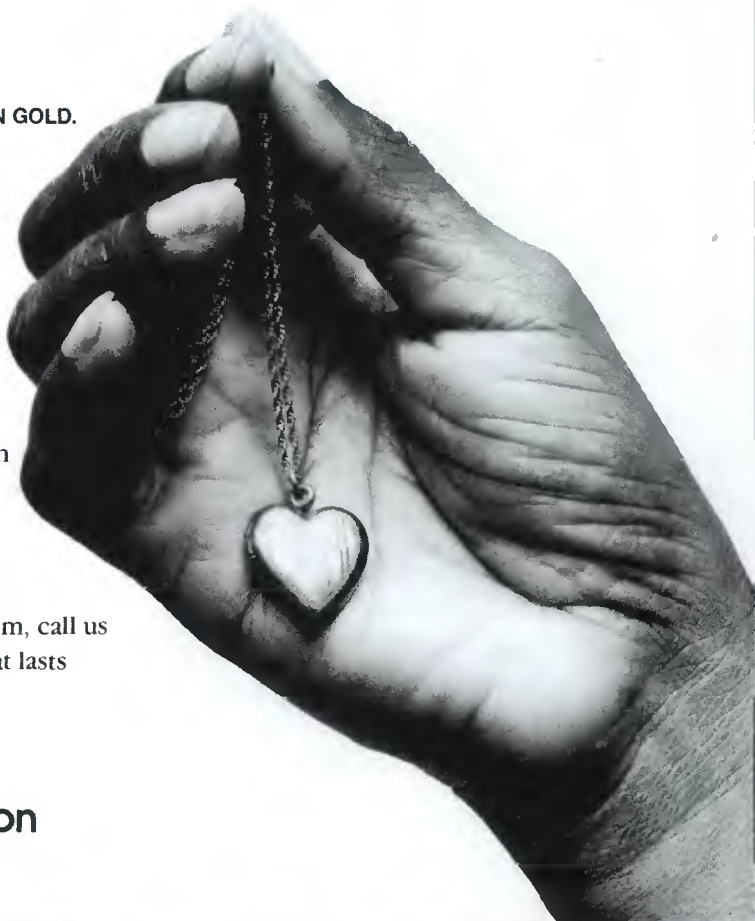
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Update on secretarial issues

AFSA is pleased to announce that Eileen Janus, a Foreign Service secretary currently posted to Washington, is now acting as AFSA's coordinator for secretarial issues. Eileen Heaphy, a State representative on the AFSA Governing Board, had been heading up AFSA's secretarial subcommittee since its inception last year, but both Ms. Heaphy and AFSA felt that the position should be held by a secretary. Any employees with comments on secretarial issues are invited to contact Ms. Janus directly, either by cable or through AFSA's labor-management office (Room 3644 N.S.).

AFSA also encourages Washington-based Foreign Service secretaries to attend the weekly meetings of the State and AID Standing Committees.

The possibility of an AFSA award for Foreign Service secretaries is being actively pursued by the secretarial subcommittee, which has prepared a proposal outlining plans for the award. This proposal will have to be approved by the AFSA Governing Board first, but there seems to be widespread support for the

concept if funding can be found.

In addition, AFSA President Ted Wilkinson has sent the director of the U.S. government's Office of Personnel Management, Constance Newman, a letter drafted by the subcommittee, thanking her for her public recognition of the importance of U.S. government secretaries, and asking her to push for better salaries and career opportunities.

AFSA will be sending similar letters to other federal employee unions, asking them to join us in this effort. AFSA has also been in contact with management on secretarial issues, most recently in a January 12 meeting with the Foreign Service Director General, Edward Perkins. It was clear from this discussion that the principal concerns raised by FS secretaries are being examined, although many details and the timetable for implementation remain sketchy. Ambassador Perkins noted that, among other issues, his office is wrestling with the "ladder diagram" (i.e., how high can the best career secretaries expect to rise in the Service, and what preparation, training, and quali-

fications should they have in order to reach each rung on the ladder).

Other issues under assessment are: how to give secretaries some idea of the numbers of promotions to expect each year at each class; how to compensate secretaries who have short-hand skills (even though this is no longer an entrance requirement); and the level at which new entrants should be hired.

AFSA has been in frequent contact with Basil Scarlis, the State Department's coordinator for secretarial issues. We have asked Mr. Scarlis and the director general's office to provide a briefing on the department's plans to improve secretarial working conditions. This was scheduled for February 26; we will report on the results of this meeting.

AFSA ends 1989 with good financial news

Despite widespread apprehensions about the financial difficulties confronting AFSA at the outset of 1989 because of a projected cash budget deficit of \$82,000, the year-end financial results were a source of general satisfaction. The cash deficit for 1989 was held to less than \$5,000.

Actual revenues exceeded projections by 11 percent, reflecting income from the November bicentennial conference (\$39,000), which covered the costs of the conference; membership dues (up \$36,000); and greater-than-anticipated advertising revenues (up \$15,000). On the expenditure side, the tight fiscal controls which narrowed the deficit will be continued in 1990. Returns from the 1989 dues increase will be used to replenish AFSA's depleted capital improvements fund and for overdue maintenance and repairs to building and equipment.

Foreign Service Day 1990

Representatives from the State Department, DACOR, and AFSA met recently to plan a special 25th anniversary for Foreign Service Day, which falls on May 4 this year.

On this occasion Foreign Service retirees and their spouses will receive off-the-record briefings on current developments and renew old friendships. Active duty personnel will join them for a mingling of old and new traditions of the Service at the awards ceremony and the plaque ceremony, which honors those who have died in their country's service. Awards to be conferred include the Director General's Cup and the

DACOR Cup for retired personnel, the prestigious AFSA Awards for active duty Foreign Service junior, mid-level, and senior officers, the Avis Bohlen award for volunteer service by a Foreign Service family member, and AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards for outstanding high school seniors. Those honored as recipients will join other Foreign Service Day participants for lunch in the State Department Diplomatic Reception Rooms, where retired members may also attend an evening reception. AFSA will host the traditional retiree homecoming brunch at the Foreign Service Club on May 5.

Longtime employee leaving AFSA

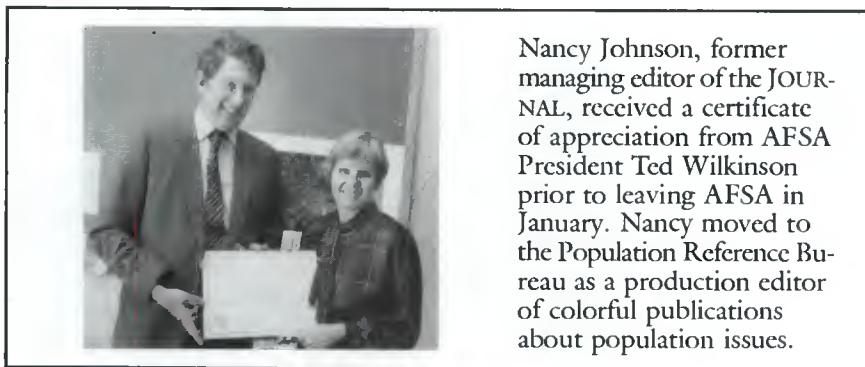
Susan Holik, the association's general counsel for the past 10 years, will be leaving us this month. Susan has accepted a position as the chief counsel for a member of the National Labor Relations Board. Although we are extremely pleased that Susan has been given the opportunity to serve in this distinguished position, her outstanding service to AFSA and its members will be sorely missed.

During her extended tenure with the association, Susan has provided expert legal guidance to Foreign Service employees involved in a variety of investigations, inquiries, and administrative hearings. She has also faithfully represented the interests of personnel in judicial and administrative proceedings, negotiations with management, and congressional hearings on the Hill.

The last decade has seen great change within AFSA and throughout the Foreign Service. From the implementation of the Foreign Serv-



ice Act of 1980 to the budget crises in the latter years of the decade, AFSA has worked vigilantly to protect the rights of Foreign Service personnel. Throughout this often turbulent period, Susan has played a leading role. She has left a lasting impression on the character of the association and her contributions will be long remembered. The Governing Board and staff of AFSA join in wishing Susan the best of luck in her new position and continued success in the future.



Nancy Johnson, former managing editor of the JOURNAL, received a certificate of appreciation from AFSA President Ted Wilkinson prior to leaving AFSA in January. Nancy moved to the Population Reference Bureau as a production editor of colorful publications about population issues.

Chapter Manuals updated

Janet Schoumacher Membership Coordinator

The membership department recently mailed the updated Chapter Manual to all posts with an AFSA Post Representative. The Chapter Manual contains information pertaining to the development, responsibilities and rights of AFSA chapters overseas.

Post Representatives are asked to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the AFSA Chapter Manual

and disseminate information as needed. Take special note of Appendix I which provides the guidelines for implementing Chapter 10 (Labor Management Relations) of the Foreign Service Act of 1980. Appendix I clarifies the rights of AFSA Post Representatives to negotiate post-specific policy with post management.

If you are interested in starting a chapter at your post, please request a copy of the updated AFSA Chapter Manual.

Travel voucher payments

While employees are sometimes required to wait several months before receiving reimbursement for travel and living allowance costs, the Department of State may charge employees interest if a voucher has not been submitted 31 days after the completion of travel. Once a voucher is submitted, 25 days is the suggested time frame for processing, but there is no regulation or statute that binds the department to this schedule.

AFSA is currently working on a proposal for legislation which would either make the 25-day period mandatory, or provide for reciprocal financial obligations (i.e., require that employees be given interest on any vouchers not been processed within 31 days).

The Prompt Pay Act and the Debt Collections Act of 1982 authorize the department to assess interest on delinquent accounts; however, the department has assured AFSA that interest will not be charged automatically on the 31st day. Rather, delinquent accounts will be audited to determine the cause of the delinquent status. Should the department determine that an effort had been made by the employee to comply with the regulations for submitting travel vouchers, no interest will be charged. But if the audit reveals that the employee did not make any effort to liquidate the account, the accrual of the interest will be retroactively applied going back to day 31.

AFSA's Member Services department is available to assist employees experiencing difficulties regarding their accounts with the department. We will report on our progress in the campaign to obtain legislation from Congress regarding interest reciprocity.

Smoking policy

The State-AFSA agreement on policy for State's Washington buildings expires in May, and AFSA has given notice that it wishes to renegotiate. Members' suggestions are welcome.

Legislative Issues

101st reconvenes

Rick Weiss
Congressional Liaison

Congress began the second session of the 101st Congress on January 23. It must wrestle with the deficit, tax proposals, assistance to Eastern Europe and Panama, and the transfer of limited resources from Defense to domestic priorities: education, environment, the "war on drugs," child care, the homeless, etc.

For the Foreign Service in 1990, there are added responsibilities and few resources. In the salaries and expenses account, the current year funding (FY 1990) is, in real terms, "no growth" over FY 89. Although OMB and President Bush requested additional funding for S&E in FY 91, allocations from the appropriations subcommittees will be limited. Moreover, the Function 150 account for international affairs is finite and Congress will attempt to scrape money out of the "operating budgets" of State and USIA to fund Eastern Europe and Panamanian programs.

AFSA, in its discussions with congressional committees (Budget, Appropriations, and Authorizations), has heard a frequent theme—the State Department must prioritize and present a cogent analysis to Congress on underfunded areas. The emphasis is that State management should not "fuzz over" the fact, either to Congress or its personnel, that a "changing world" means "belt tightening."

A second theme is that the Foreign Service and/or the State Department appear to present no innovative responses to the "changing substantive world." If the seventh floor is a "closed society," it does not mean that Foreign Service officers should not be active at their missions abroad or from the sixth floor on down. Hill staff ask if FSOs still use the "dissent channel" or why are there not more articles by FSOs in the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL on reformulation of policy.

A final theme common to all discussions on the Hill is that they want the Foreign Service to be a leader in foreign policy and international relations: in the inter-agency committees, in the substantive world, and in the management/administrative realm. Their concern is that if the Foreign Service does not show leadership or if the State Department appears only to be one of many in the foreign affairs arena, the result will be ultimately a department that provides administrative services to specialists from other departments and agencies who are assigned overseas to work on foreign policy issues.

As Congress left for the Lincoln-Washington recess February 8-19, one should note:

Secretary Baker was well-received by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on his "State of the World" overview, but Deputy Secretary Eagleburger was challenged in testimony, specifically on the administration's China policy.

Chairman Virginia Smith (R-

NE) of House Appropriations introduced H.J. Res. 471, the legislative device to recoup FY 90 funds for State and USIA.

Budget, Appropriations, and Authorizing committees commenced debate on the president's FY 91 budget with opening salvos on priorities, resources, deficits, taxes, and peace dividends. Senator Ernest Hollings (D-SC) in introducing his Tax Reform and Competitiveness Act provided an interesting analysis: "The crux of the problem is that our nation's fiscal affairs have become a legislative jambalaya—fragmented, self-defeating, partisanly motivated, and dangerously ad hoc. There is no method to our madness. So I say enough is enough. We have no shortage of excellent policy ideas floating around; there have been hearings and debates galore. The urgent task is to braid these disparate ideas into a single coherent legislative thrust with enough muscle and moxie to recharge the American economic dynamo."

Another tax bite on retirement annuities?

Partly as a by-product of the escalating federal budget/deficit/national debt crunch, more and more states and local jurisdictions seem to be encountering increasing budget shortages of their own. A growing number of states, counties, and cities are casting about for ways to "enhance" revenues, by jacking up property tax rates and assessments, raising state and local income taxes, and expanding the range of goods, articles, and services subject to sales tax.

One of the more imaginative "revenue enhancement" measures already being pursued by some states and under active consideration in others is the so-called "source" tax. This tax is targeted directly at retirees who, following their retirement, move from the state in which they had been employed, and establish a new legal residence elsewhere, most often in a state that does not levy an income tax.

The rationale behind the "source" tax is that retirees who earned their retirement benefits during their employment in a state that has an income tax owe that state a tax on their pension even though they are no longer resident there. Reportedly, the state which presently is most aggressive in pursuing the collection of source taxes is California, although 11 other states claim a tax liability from former residents who retired elsewhere.

Legislation is pending in Congress to prohibit a state from imposing income taxes upon the pensions of persons who are not residents of that state. This is an issue that primarily affects Foreign Service employees who are already retired or who are contemplating retirement in the near future and it will be discussed in detail in the March issue of AFSA's *Retiree Letter*.

State Standing Committee



George Jones
Vice President

From the number of queries we're getting, it's clear that many of you are increasingly impatient to find out exactly what the department is going to do to the personnel system. In some respects, for example, what will be done for secretaries, the multi-class TIC for seniors, or how the new multifunctional cone will work, we know no more now than we did when we sent out our ALDAC message last November (89 State 354546).

That isn't for lack of asking. Ted Wilkinson and I have met three times with the Director General's office on overall reforms, most recently with Ambassador Perkins himself on January 12. We've also met with Ambassador Pat Byrne, who is doing a study of the specialists similar to the Bremer report on generalists; with Robert Proctor, who is overseeing the Selin-inspired functional needs study; with Harmon Kirby on the tenuring process for specialists and generalists; and with Audrey Morton on her work on an affirmative action plan for the department. The DG is scheduled to brief AFSA's secretarial committee on secretarial reforms on February 26. We've also requested an early briefing on the Activities Value Analysis (AVA), which is supposed to determine what existing positions (not people) are excess to Service needs.

In many instances, such as the AVA, we were told that decisions have simply not yet been made, and until they are made, no details can be provided. In another major area, the timing of the EER/selection board/bidding/assignment cycle, negotiations between AFSA and the department are under way as this is written, and we don't know what will finally be agreed upon. With all these caveats, however, my crystal ball predicts the following:

— CDOs will be required to

write counseling letters in April to every employee due for transfer this year, advising him/her on the kind of bids for a next assignment which would be realistic and in the employee's career interest. Employees would reply by June with a general, pre-bid description and justification of his/her assignment preferences.

— A list of key upcoming vacancies, e.g. DCMs and principal officers, may be sent out as early as June, with bids on those jobs required by August. AFSA hopes to retain the present deadline of November 1 for submission of bids on all other positions, after key jobs have been filled, enabling employees to bid more realistically on those that remain. The department hopes that early bidding on key jobs will speed up the entire assignment process, and proposes to set a deadline of March 31 for completion of the process for all except hard-to-fill positions. AFSA supports the concept of a deadline and the completion of the assignments cycle as early as possible.

— AFSA is opposing any change in the timing of selection boards or promotion lists, on the sound ground argued by our chapters: If it ain't broke, don't fix it.

— The functional needs study: the department has given a letter contract to a Texas firm that specializes in computer analysis of job requirements. In April, the department hopes to send to all officers, FS-3 through MC, a questionnaire designed by the firm to elicit the tasks performed in the employee's job; what priority the employee attaches to each; the time spent on each; and the knowledge, skills and abilities necessary to perform those tasks. A department/computer firm team will also visit and interview employees in the department and at selected posts. The questionnaires would be returned in May and the firm would then do its analysis, hopefully helping the department to determine training needs, whether and how to restructure the new, interim five-cone system, whether

positions are correctly classified, etc.

— A Foreign Service written exam will be given late this year which will be very similar to the last one given in 1988. It will not be abolished or radically changed. It will, however, not be relied on as heavily in the final decision whether to offer an applicant an appointment to the Service.

— The normal period for new entrants before receiving tenure may be extended from four to five years in order to allow more time in different cones before they are assigned to a cone at tenure.

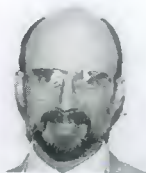
— The department is required to submit a five-year affirmative action plan to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission for its approval. A draft plan done in 1988 is now being completely revised; AFSA hopes to see and comment on it in another month or two. Indications are that it will assert that the department's workforce looks like that of the average U.S. employer, and therefore hard-and-fast numerical targets for minorities are not needed.

Deputy Assistant Secretary Larry Williamson told us that whereas 125 senior officers were unassigned at the beginning of last summer, only three are today. Not all have normal two or three-year assignments; many have short-term (three to six month) jobs in the department or nine-month training or diplomat-in-residence assignments. These count, nevertheless, as assignments, and the DG's office therefore prides itself on having eliminated the senior surplus. The DG is negotiating an exchange agreement with USIA, we are told, which if successful will help balance the half-dozen State senior jobs that have recently gone to USIA officers.

I of course have the same skepticism many of you must have concerning the utility and feasibility of several of the department's ideas. We'll do our best to ensure that your concerns are reflected in AFSA's negotiations with management this spring.

AID Standing Committee

Farewell letter



Charles Uphaus
Vice President

First and foremost, because of an overseas assignment and the consequent need to begin Foreign Service Institute language training, I am stepping down as AID vice president. Wendell Morse, who is already one of the AID representatives on the Governing Board, has consented to serve out the balance of my term, and Paula Bryan, ANE/TR/HPN, will fill the vacant AID representative position. These moves have been endorsed by the AID Standing Committee and the Governing Board. Wendell, as most of you know, has been active on the Standing Committee for over a year, and was elected to one of the two AID representative positions last summer. Paula has also been an active member of the AID Standing Committee for the past year. I am confident that both she and Wendell (along with Sam Scott, the other representative) will continue to effectively serve the interests of AFSA's AID membership.

I consider it a privilege to have served as chairman of the AID Standing Committee for the past 18 months, and as the elected vice president for the past six. It has been a memorable and rich learning experience, and I strongly encourage those with a real interest in this agency and how it works, and in the interests of the Foreign Service, to take advantage of their tours in AID/W to serve on the Standing Committee or Governing Board. We can always use more people. A regret of mine is that we have not been able to provide the services to members, primarily in the form of information flow, that I would have liked. Additional personnel resources can help us to discharge both our negotiating and communications responsibilities.

A major issue over the past year

has been protecting Foreign Service positions, in Washington and overseas. We were able to block an egregious attempt to circumvent normal assignment procedures and place a non-career officer in an overseas Foreign Service position. We have also achieved a degree of success in combating an agency proposal to double (from 10 to 20) the percentage of Foreign Service-designated positions in AID/W that may be filled by non-Foreign Service personnel. Although the actual percentage was not subject to negotiation (both fall within the general Obey guidelines), we did succeed in winning Agency agreement to give full consideration to the availability of FS personnel for the position, and to go beyond simply observing the basic position advertising procedures before determining that the position cannot be filled on a timely basis by a Foreign Service officer.

There will be a number of major issues to be dealt with over the next year—some of them conceivably in the next few months. One of these is the old issue of a full-time AID vice president. The agency is required by law to make available official time for employee representation activities. Heretofore this requirement has been basically ignored by management, which has left the provision of official time to pursue legitimate AFSA activities in the hands of elected representatives' supervisors—an unacceptable, ad hoc arrangement. We have raised this issue once again in a letter to the acting administrator and are now awaiting a response. We also plan to raise this with Administrator-Designate Roskins at the first opportunity.

Another important and imminent issue concerns the proposed restructuring and reclassification of positions throughout the agency. Many of you will by now have heard of plans to review and revise mission rankings and position classifications, which would have the effect (if implemented) of downgrading a large

number of positions. Effectively engaging the agency on this issue and representing your interests will be a major job.

On affirmative action, we are awaiting the agency's proposal for handling promotions for the remaining three years of the five-year affirmative action plan. (As you may recall, the Impasse Board ruled in favor of AFSA's position on preferential promotions, but only for a two-year trial period that has now expired.) Also, we continue to await agency action on a number of points negotiated and agreed to as part of the Affirmative Action Plan, among them the revival of the Equal Opportunity Oversight Board. In fact, we see zero interest on the part of the agency in substantively addressing equal opportunity and affirmative action now that the plan has been approved. Our point throughout the protracted negotiations of the plan was that the agency has lots of levers it can use to correct deficiencies in equal opportunity employment (recruitment, senior/executive level assignments, training, etc.). Unfortunately, in these critical areas the agency is long on rhetoric and short on compliance/follow-up. Simply stated, there is not very much happening on this front.

Finally, if you want to help your elected representatives do their job and represent your interests, **they need to hear from you.** And, they need the assistance of those now assigned to AID/Washington, if not to serve on the standing committee, at least to serve as a "key person" or point of contact in your office or bureau. The AID Standing Committee by itself cannot keep up with all the actions of this agency that affect Foreign Service personnel. Our agenda depends to a large degree on the information and questions we get from you, and our effectiveness depends on your participation. Please help the Standing Committee and your elected representatives to do their jobs.

Thank you.

Professional Issues

McCarthy discusses Lebanon

Richard S. Thompson
Coordinator for Professional Issues

Ambassador to Lebanon John T. McCarthy told a speaker luncheon at the Foreign Service Club January 25 that the intransigence of General Aoun, commander of the Lebanese Army and self-styled president, is blocking the path to a settlement of that nation's strife.

McCarthy recalled that a difficult political compromise among many factions had in 1943 established a power-sharing arrangement which permitted Lebanon 30 years of peace and prosperity. But behind this facade tensions were rising, as Muslims became a majority and new, more urbanized generations were no longer controlled by feudalistic politicians. External factors were also divisive: Nasser's pan-Arabism, Palestinian establishment of bases in Lebanon, and Syrian pretensions. The country blew up in 1975.

The Taif agreement of last October, brokered by the Saudis and backed by the Arab League, coupled political reform with a timetable for Syrian troop withdrawal and seemed to demonstrate a willingness by all factions to put Lebanon back together. Most of the Lebanese politi-

cal establishment, including the Maronite patriarch, has recognized Elias Hrawi, a Maronite Christian chosen in accord with that agreement, as the president of Lebanon.

However, General Aoun has blocked implementation of the agreement and has succeeded in remaining in the presidential palace, or at least in a bunker underneath it. He would prefer to remain leader of the Maronites, about 20 percent of the total population, rather than agree to any compromise. The problem for the Hrawi government and other political circles is to reduce his influence, but so far he has been remarkably successful in maintaining support among the Maronites. Time is running out, as the compromises reached at Taif are fraying. Even if the Taif arrangements can be carried out a large pacification task will remain, since much of Lebanon is run by local militias.

McCarthy described the experience of being an ambassador in such a war-torn country, before he was withdrawn in September 1989 when Aoun threatened to take the embassy hostage. He expressed admira-



Amb. John T. McCarthy

tion for the dedication and bravery of his staff in a situation where a high level of security awareness was a constant necessity. There would be many benefits from a re-established U.S. presence, but they are outweighed by the risks.

In reply to a question about Israeli involvement McCarthy said he believes that nation will be satisfied with any arrangement which protects it from attack from southern Lebanon.

With regard to the hostage situation, McCarthy asserted the least satisfying part of his stay in Lebanon was seeing the southern suburbs of Beirut from his residence, where the American hostages were presumably being held, but having no specific knowledge and no access to that area. The hostages are held by several Hezbollah groups over which Iran has varying degrees of influence.

The Syrian role in Lebanon was the focus of considerable interest. McCarthy felt that the Syrians realize they cannot seize Lebanese territory, in view of the expected opposition from the Arab League and the international community, including the USSR. Therefore, they now could accept an independent Lebanon, but would try to dominate it. Future Lebanese leaders must develop a cooperative but wary relationship with Syria. The ambassador suggested an aging Syrian President Assad at this point has as his main goals remaining in power and passing that power on to his son. McCarthy noted that U.S. policy has consistently opposed partition and supported the unity, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

AFSA'S 1990 Retiree Directory

AFSA's 1990 Retiree Directory is now available to active members who wish to stay in contact with their retired colleagues. The directory costs \$5.00, which includes postage and handling. Use of the directory for commercial purposes is strictly prohibited. To obtain your copy, please send a check or money order to AFSA, 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, DC 20037.

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