

FOREIGN SERVICE

JANUARY 1993

JOURNAL

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ELECTION



Women & Development

BY JODI JACOBSON

PLUS:

The Error of Selection-Out

An Interview with Susan Schwab

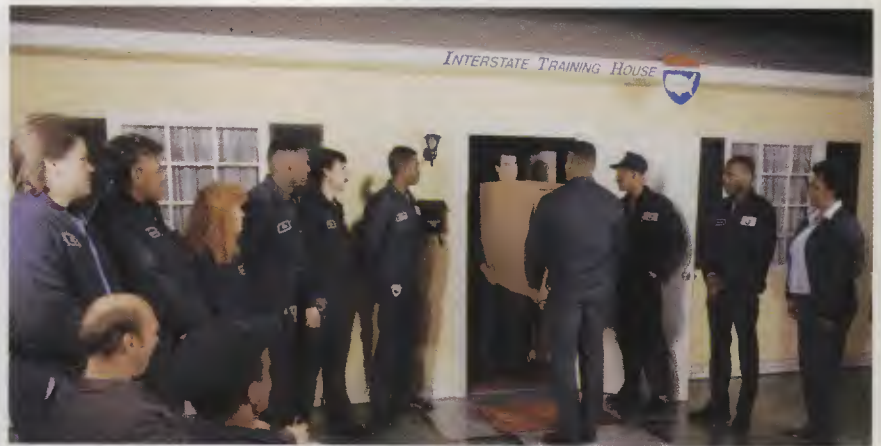
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and Jim Anderson writes The Accidental Secretary



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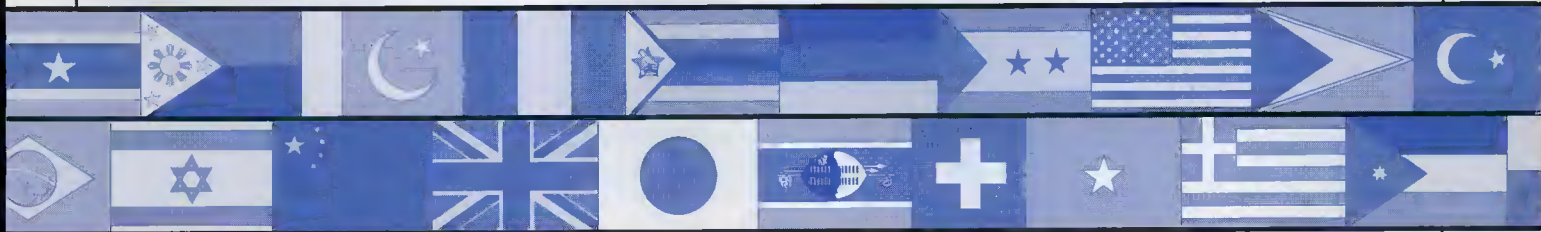
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AFFSA VIEWS

A Message to the President-elect

The following letter was sent to Governor Clinton immediately after his election.

The Foreign Service is well-positioned to serve the country in the post-Cold War era. As a nation we are moving internationally from military confrontation to economic competition and to the need to deal with a variety of global problems with serious domestic implications. Indeed, domestic and foreign policy are increasingly interconnected. In that context, the career professionals of the Foreign Service can provide policy recommendations based solely on the national interest and professional implementation of the policies you choose to pursue.

Challenges and Opportunities. As the first president elected since the end of the Cold War, you face unprecedented challenges and opportunities. The challenges arise from the need to redefine our nation's role in a changing world and to lead our people to understand that the domestic problems which they understandably are anxious to confront are inextricably linked to our success in retaining American leadership abroad. If this can be done, opportunities exist to use that American leadership to encourage democratic change, foster free-market forces and confront the many global ills that threaten to overwhelm us all.

The Role of the Foreign Service. In confronting these challenges and seizing these opportunities, you will find a unique resource in the Foreign Service. Negotiating expertise, language skills and familiarity with diverse societies around the globe will be increasingly important in this new era, as will proven experience in public diplomacy and economic cooperation. The foreign service offers all this, as well as the skills required to maintain over 250 posts abroad and keep them in constant contact with Washington. In addition, a new Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps, comprised of experienced foreign service retirees available for prompt deployment, provides a cost-efficient means of meeting emergencies.

Strengthening the Foreign Service. In order for the Foreign Service to serve the nation most effectively, it must be strengthened. In recent years, its numbers have not risen to keep pace with its increased responsibilities. We must recruit more of the best our nation has to offer and ensure that they accurately reflect the diversity of our population. We must provide them with the best possible training to prepare them for our new challenges, particularly in the economic and commercial areas. And we must ensure that service abroad remains attractive for employees and their families.

To do so requires resources. All government agencies face budgetary constraints at this time, especially in light of pressing domestic needs. But the strength of our nation is too closely tied to our diplomatic efforts to allow for reductions in the budgets of the foreign affairs agencies or failure to maintain adequate levels of foreign assistance. As military spending declines, the foreign affairs agencies should receive sufficient spending to enable them to maintain U.S. leadership abroad.

Political Appointees. The qualities required to be a successful ambassador abroad or to serve at senior levels in the foreign affairs agencies in Washington are to be found in career diplomats. These qualities are particularly important
(continued on pull-out page 4)



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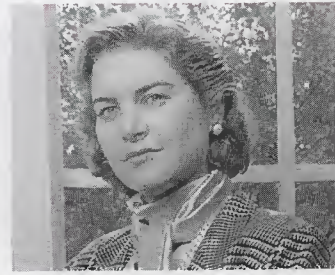
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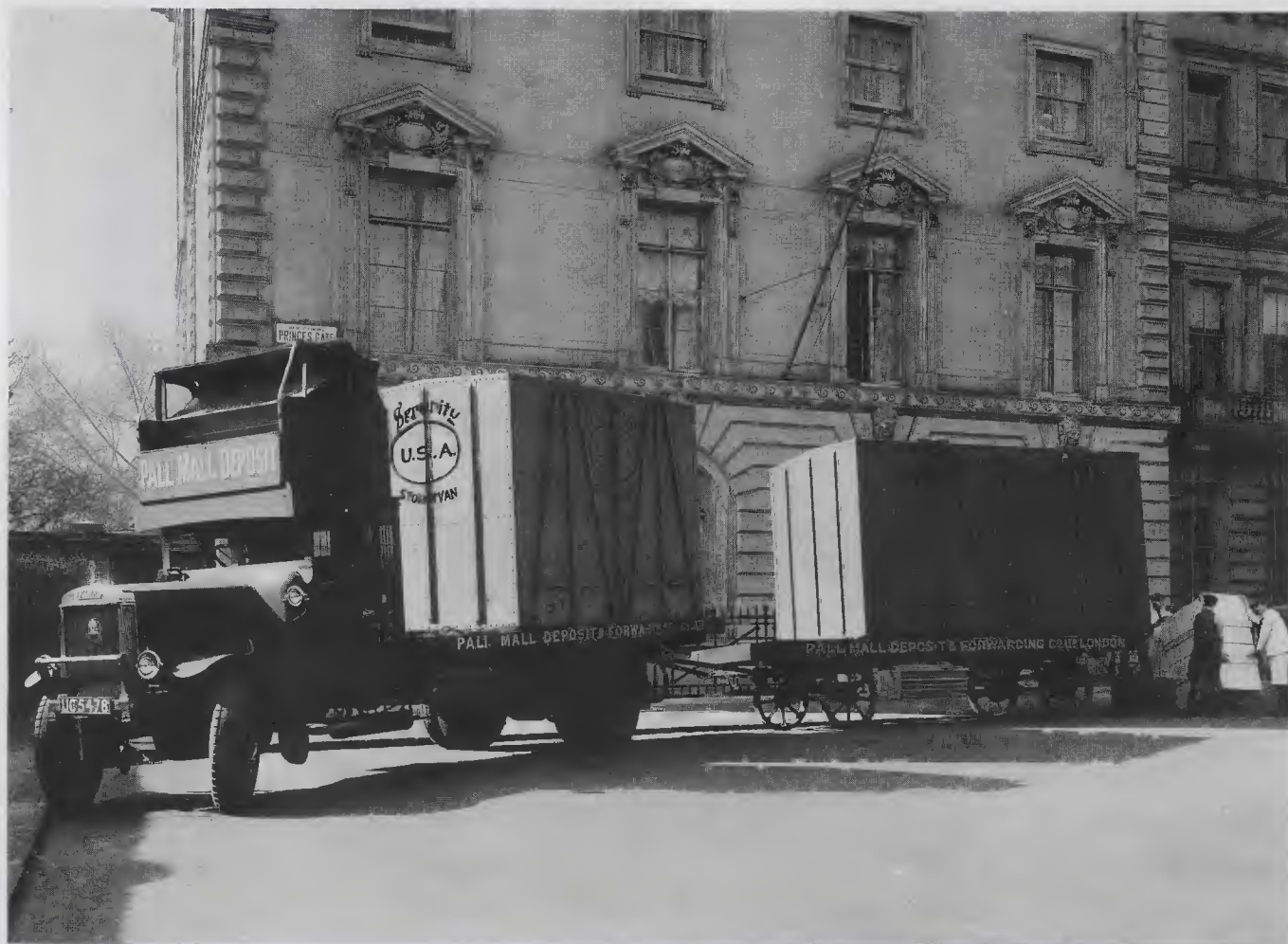
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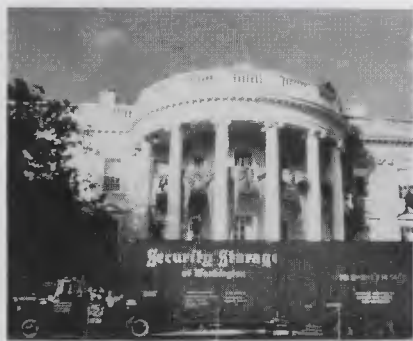
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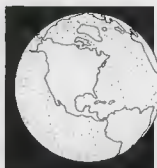


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LETTERS

KIDNAPPING AND SOVEREIGNTY

TO THE EDITOR:

Bravo to retired Ambassador Jack Binns for speaking out in the October Journal on the Supreme Court's decision this spring in the *Alvarez Machain* case!

Now that the Court has upheld U.S. jurisdiction, Dr. Alvarez's trial is scheduled to begin shortly in Los Angeles. Although the charges against the doctor are appalling (keeping DEA agent Enrique Camarena alive temporarily for questioning during his 1985 torture-murder by Mexican narcotics traffickers), lower courts had ruled that he could not be tried in the United States because he had been kidnapped from Mexico. The Supreme Court overturned these rulings.

The Supreme Court decision outraged Mexicans and has been at the top of the bilateral agenda since June. Mexico wants the doctor back to be dealt with under Mexican law and seeks an airtight legal pact that the United States will never allow this sort of thing to happen again. It has taken its case to the Organization of American States and is contemplating action at the UN.

As a more general matter, the *Alvarez* decision is only one example of U.S. extraterritorial applications that rub against that specially sensitive Mexican nerve called "sovereignty." Two end-of-session acts by Congress are also controversial in Mexico: the Cuba Democracy Act and the Dolphin Protection Act.

The former poses new restrictions on foreign subsidiaries of U.S. firms that trade with Cuba. Although the impact of the changes will not be great, Mexico has joined a chorus of indignation from those who find it improper for the United States to impose any regulations on businesses

that operate in their territory.

The Dolphin Protection Act would lift the current U.S. embargo on imports of tuna from Mexico and several other countries, but only if Mexico and the others agreed to stop purse-seine fishing for tuna (an important industry in Mexico) by 1994. The latest U.S. legislation is seen by Mexicans as a form of "eco-imperialism," and their government appears to have rejected the bargain.

*The Alvarez decision is only
one example of U.S.*

extraterritorial applications

that rub against that

specially sensitive Mexican

nerve called "sovereignty."

On the surface, it might appear that the *Alvarez* decision and our two new laws were independent acts of the U.S. judiciary on the one hand, and the Congress on the other, and that the executive branch could not have controlled them. Mexicans have noted, however, as did Ambassador Binns, that the Department of Justice argued vehemently before the Supreme Court for prosecution of Alvarez in the United States and may have swayed the Court to overturn the lower courts' decisions. The administration did oppose the subsidiaries clause in the Cuba Democracy Act, but President Bush signed the act with fanfare. And the Mexicans believe that Bush Administration representatives lobbied for the Dolphin Protection Act over a Senate alternative that would have sought a multilateral solution to the tuna/dolphin problem.

At the same time as Mexicans stew

about these perceived political breaches of their sovereignty, it is ironic that they are about to surrender an important measure of economic sovereignty in the North American Free Trade Agreement. The lesson here is that Mexico is probably not all that different from many other friendly nations. We can achieve a lot in negotiations with our southern neighbors, but using muscle to impose U.S. legal norms is likely to backfire.

*Theodore S. Wilkinson
Minister-Counselor for Political
Affairs
Mexico City*

GIFT-HORSE PROBLEMS

TO THE EDITOR:

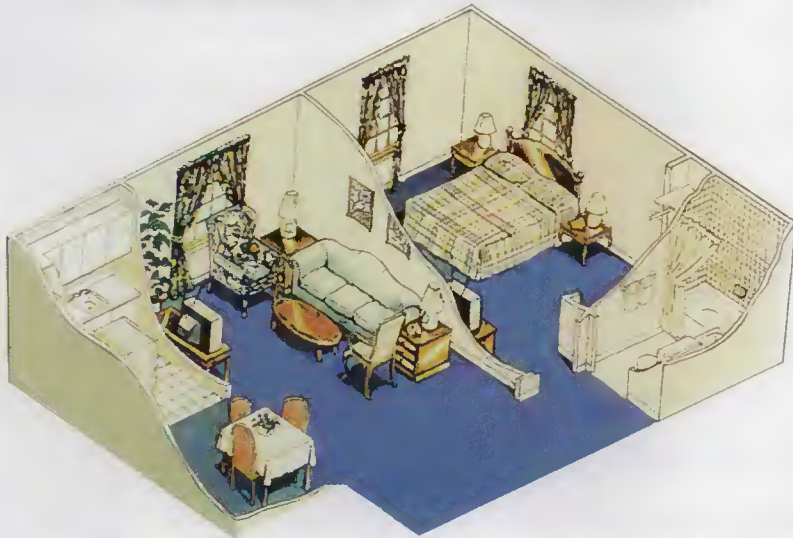
An office director should probably think twice before criticizing a proposal that would give him first pick of water-walking seniors and other high fliers in a process of forced assignments to his staff ("Speaking Out: Selection In and Promotion Up," November Journal). However, objectivity compels us to look this gift horse in the mouth.

Ed Peck's nag is too old to run. There may have been a time when the Office of Recruitment, Examination, and Employment (BEX) was expected to be a group of officers exercising seat-of-the-pants judgment about how best to "replicate" themselves—in which case Peck's call for an examination division made up exclusively of fast-track officers might make sense. But in the same issue, David and Teresa Jones's excellent descriptive piece on the oral exam shows how today's job- and performance-related examination really works, and, in passing, how quaintly anachronistic some of the usual assumptions about what examiners do and how they do it have become.

Peck's pony has another problem.

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It's at the wrong track. No one is saying the quality of officers coming into the service is less than first rate. The tough issue is getting a better spread of successful candidates across gender and minority lines. While progress is being made on that score, I cannot see how having examiners with better promotion records and corridor reputations could be germane. How will super-successful FSOs have better cachet as role models for the minorities and others we are trying to attract?

BEX today has a varied staff of grades and skill codes. Only about half are senior officers. BEX jobs are increasingly well bid. Of our seniors, there are an average number of recent promotees and recipients of performance pay. Seniors and others at BEX regard their work as interesting and worthwhile. They and I disagree with Peck on one final point implicit in his argument. We think service at BEX should lead to promotions and better onward assignments and not be a forced assignment for honors previously attained. We may not all be water-walkers, but we do represent the best of today's service. The way to continue keeping strong officers in BEX is to understand that cloning is not what we are about, to see change and variety as allies of excellence, and to have service as an examiner regarded as any other good career job—as a step into the future, and neither a sinecure nor a payback for success elsewhere.

*Perry Shankle
Director, BEX*

MORE ART THAN SCIENCE

TO THE EDITOR:

Edward Peck's article in the November Journal scored a valid point by insisting on greater attention being paid to those who serve on the Board of Examiners. But he prejudges the question of who those individuals should be by assuming there is one "best" type of Foreign Service officer. In fact, there is no one set of characteristics that guarantees success in diplomacy. Both scholars and firebrands

have done well at it, and as a consequence the intake process must be sufficiently sensitive in its operation to select individuals with certain broadly defined abilities, rather than focusing on "assertive managers" or whatever other set of personality indicators happens to be in fashion at the time. In short, the selection of new FSOs will always be more of an art than a science, and we should recognize the process as such.

John Lister
U.S. Embassy Sanaa

GOLD FROM STRAW

TO THE EDITOR:

Sewell and Johnston ("Redesigning Foreign Aid," November Journal) offer little more than another variation on reorganization, ignoring most of the deeper issues facing foreign aid. One of them is a lack of honesty in political discourse on the topic. Another is a regulatory environment which dooms USAID to failure almost from the start.

When was the last time anyone heard from a political figure, the media, or even USAID's own leadership that foreign aid makes only a tiny contribution to the U.S. budget deficit? Contrary to perceived wisdom, the United States is among the least generous of all Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development countries, ranking above only Ireland in terms of aid as a percentage of GNP and above only Greece, Ireland, and New Zealand in terms of aid contributions per capita.

Or when was the last time someone pointed out that automatically designating nearly 40 percent of our bilateral aid to just two countries distorts development priorities from the outset? Or that USAID country programs with budgets the size of small American towns are routinely asked to "transform" countries with populations numbering in the tens of millions—and, at the same time, respond to a contradictory collection of other imperatives driven almost entirely by our own domestic political agenda? Or that USAID-funded subsidies to American

shippers have little to do with foreign aid?

On the regulatory environment, when was the last time yet another management study took the trouble to catalogue the extraordinarily complex series of steps required to procure equipment, hire technical assistance, or execute a grant agreement? Or simply listed the collection of new requirements that are routinely added, year after year? More usually, such studies conclude with recommendations that essentially entail more regulation and additional requirements.

Here in South Africa, we noted with astonishment the latest requirement to guarantee "drug-free workplace" language in every grant agreement. . . . It is becoming increasingly difficult to explain the mandatory language included in the attachments to USAID grant agreements and still keep a straight face.

A colleague put it best when he noted that USAID is routinely ordered to "spin gold from straw." In the meantime, the debate on USAID's future has yet to move much beyond abuse from the sidelines about our seeming "inability" to make gold.

Jonathan Addleton
Program Officer
USAID South Africa

CUBA VS. USA

TO THE EDITOR:

Wayne S. Smith's review of *Foreign Relations of the United States, Cuba* (November Journal) is not only tendentious and a distortion of history, but it is factually inaccurate as well. . . . Smith writes, "On January 23 (1960) Ambassador Bonsal was recalled to show U.S. displeasure." But Ambassador Bonsal writes in his memoirs, "Mrs. Bonsal and I returned to Havana on March 20, 1960, after an absence of two months."

Smith charges the U.S. once again with bad faith, writing that a special Group on Cuba in Washington "had already concluded, on January 13, 1960, that the United States had to get rid of Castro." . . . However, simultaneous

contingency planning and renewed efforts to negotiate are not inconsistent.

Smith accurately characterizes Ambassador Bonsal as "an experienced diplomat." He could have added that Bonsal, fluent in Spanish, worked valiantly to no avail. Bonsal writes, "Castro's performance of October 26 (1959). . . spelled the end of my hope for rational relations between Cuba and the United States. . . . The United States government now [months earlier than Smith claims] was forced to recognize that normal or quiet diplomacy had proved worthless in dealing with the Cuban government."

A. Dane Bowen Jr.
Foreign Service officer, retired
Pennsylvania

DO FSOS LACK SOUL?

TO THE EDITOR:

What a shame that the Journal seldom uses poetry. Does the Editorial Board think we Foreign Service types are so lacking in soul that we do not appreciate rhythm of one word rubbing against another, giving off sparks, vowels gliding and consonants ca-reening?

We are not really so dry that our entirety as Foreign Service persons and related readers is satisfied by articles on arms control, whimsical Foreign Service remembrances, union news, and real estate advertising. Do not just make us think, make us tap our fingers and appreciate the race and rhyme of our gypsy lives.

A good part of your constituency were humanities majors, and not just artsy-craftsy USIA FSIOs. Even the political science majors—such as I—enjoyed a few pure sweet-language courses where writers, known and forgotten, shared the fruits of their souls. Frankly, the Journal without poetry is like well-done toast without the butter.

The Journal would be a better magazine for inclusion of quality poetry, which deals with the emotions and experience of our very peculiar way of getting from the cradle to the grave.

The Journal is our magazine and should deal with every aspect of our character that makes up Foreign Service types.

Robert Raymer
American Embassy Panama

WORTHY CHOICES

TO THE EDITOR:

I have read with interest and applause the December issue of the Journal, with its look at the ambassadorial selection and confirmation process.

Your readers might be interested in knowing that this process has also been very much the concern of the American Academy of Diplomacy since its founding in 1983. The Academy is a group of 100 Americans, of both political parties, who have served as ambassadors in major embassies abroad or in senior positions at home. . . . We have made it a practice of providing to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the Academy's views on the qualifications of those nominated to serve as ambassadors.

In an "Open Letter" to the three presidential candidates this year, the Academy's Board (co-chaired by Frank Carlucci and Rozanne Ridgway), noting that the bottom line in the appointment process, whether political or career, must always be quality, put forward the following considerations as critical to the effectiveness of our ambassadors abroad:

- A nominee must bear a reputation for personal integrity and public service, one that merits public respect.
- He or she must be able to articulate to a different culture what this country is all about—our history, our values, and beliefs, the intricacies of the American political process, our global interests.
- The nominee must have demonstrated an interest and preferably experience, in foreign affairs, with at least a running start in understanding the country concerned. . . .
- He or she must have a solid understanding of American economic interests and how they fit our policy objectives.

- The nominee must be able to interpret accurately the interests of both the United States and the host country, . . . providing Washington a clear analysis on which to base policy.
- The nominee must have manifest qualities of leadership, not only to inspire, motivate, and manage the diversity of agencies at our missions abroad, but that will command respect and attention in Washington.

The United States now lives in a period in which economics more and more drives the interests and well-being of nations. The Foreign Service must actively promote our economic interests by giving effective support to our business operations abroad.

- Personal wealth should never be a consideration. . . .

With Governor Clinton soon to assume the responsibility of leadership, including his role as America's No. 1 diplomat, the academy will continue to highlight the critical need for quality diplomacy. As we said in our letter, "In the conduct of foreign policy, a president's choice of those he asks to represent him and the United States as our ambassador can be of major consequence in the course of his presidency. The choices should be worthy of him and his country."

L. Bruce Laingen
President, American Academy of
Diplomacy

A MAN'S WORLD?

TO THE EDITOR:

I was very disappointed by the

cover of the December *Foreign Service Journal*. The illustration would lead one to believe that only men are ambassadors. As the list on page 32 notes, there are a number of women nominees caught in the "holding pattern."

Cover illustrations such as this only reinforce the idea that the Foreign Service, especially at the most senior levels, is still very much a man's world. I would have expected more forward thinking from AFSA and the Journal.

Ellen M. Conway
Washington

PROMOTING ECONOMIC INTERESTS

TO THE EDITOR:

Our State and Foreign Service complain that we lack the constituency to convince the Hill to provide necessary financial support. Let us be practical and realize that we must develop new methods to sell Congress on enabling the Foreign Service to do everything that should be done to serve our country in the manner it deserves.

The United States now lives in a period in which economics more and more drives the interests and well-being of nations. The Foreign Service must actively promote our economic interests by giving effective support to our business operations abroad.

A good way to garner the support of Congress is to win the solid support of U.S. companies involved in foreign business by assisting them in every way possible in opening markets for U.S. goods and services. . . . We need officers who will spend their time getting acquainted with business operations abroad and who will actively assist operations that favor U.S. interests. We need a Foreign Service that knows how to promote our economic interests and win the support of Congress for what we accomplish.

Adolf B. Horn Jr.
Foreign Service officer, retired
Guadalajara, Mexico ■

LET'S MAKE A DEAL

NEWSWEEK, NOVEMBER 23, 1992

By MARC LEVINSON

For two years American International Group had played by the rules. Eager to sell travel insurance at Tokyo's teeming Narita airport, AIG had courted Japanese officials over sake and sushi, worked the maze of government agencies, and filed mountains of forms. But when the company learned that the concession would go to a Japanese rival, it traded in that strategy for a new one: intervention by U.S. Ambassador Michael Armacost. After Armacost and his staff made some unpublicized phone calls, the Ministry of Transportation suggested that the Japanese company share one of its new booths with AIG.

George Kennan, meet Willy Loman. While weighty matters of war and peace, negotiation, and intelligence gathering still hold top priority in U.S. embassies, the diplomatic corps has new marching orders: sell. For ambassadors and consuls from Bonn to Bombay, brokering business deals has become a basic part of the job. Says



Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, "The world has changed. Today, activity to improve America's economic interests is as important as anything we do."

Eagleburger has pushed exports hard since he became deputy secretary of state in 1989. All new Foreign Service officers, chiefs of mission, and ambassadors now get a class on commerce as part of their basic training. Last year, for the first time, U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service chief Susan Schwab was invited to meetings of U.S. ambassadors to Europe and Asia. "This is a tremendous difference from 10 or 20 years ago. Its not easy for any of us to recycle ourselves," says Thomas Simons, U.S. ambassador to Poland. Simons should know: the 30-

year Foreign Service veteran spends almost a quarter of his time helping U.S. companies.

How real is the Foreign Service's transformation? Arthur Kobler, who recently left for the private sector after 25 years, says that while it pays lip service to its new commercial role, State's heart is still in traditional diplomacy. "There remains a clear bias in favor of political officers," he says. Eagleburger . . . says that success in promoting trade is now part of every diplomat's personnel file. With exports certain to be a front-burner issue in Washington for years to come, the most vital of the diplomatic arts may soon be the art of the deal.

IN FROM THE COLD

THE WASHINGTON POST, NOVEMBER 25, 1992

By JOHN M. GOSHKO

When James R. Cheek returns to the State Department as part of President-elect Clinton's transition team, he will be coming in from the cold after a 12-year exile caused by conservative sus-



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picion that he had not been tough enough in combatting the Communist threat in Central America.

In November 1980, Cheek was deputy assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs. . . . The Republicans' first move when they formally took over the State Department in January 1981 was to purge the bureau of everyone who they felt could not be trusted to implement a new get-tough policy that eventually led to the U.S.-supported war by Nicaraguan Contra guerrillas against the Sandinistas.

Within 24 hours of Reagan's inauguration, Cheek's boss, Assistant Secretary William G. Bowdler, was fired. In ensuing days, Bowdler's deputies and all of Carter's ambassadors in Central America were forced to retire or shunted into dead-end jobs. Of them all, it was Cheek who was sent into the most distant exile and thus became famous throughout the Foreign Service as the most vivid symbol of the purge. He was made deputy head of the U.S. embassy in Kathmandu, Nepal.

In ensuing years the unofficial blackball kept him confined to the backwaters of diplomacy. . . . Eventually, Cheek became rehabilitated and ended his career as an ambassador [to Sudan]. . . . And while the first two-thirds of his career had been spent in Latin America affairs, he was never allowed to have anything to do with that region during the Reagan and Bush years. . . . His return to Foggy Bottom after all these years is certain to be regarded as a bittersweet vindication.

STATE PHONE BUGS

THE WASHINGTON TIMES, NOVEMBER 14, 1992

BY MARTIN SIEFF

The State Department admitted bugging the phone calls of some of its employees without their knowledge, a practice that was banned in 1982 but somehow slipped back into use. . . . The FBI is investigating the monitoring of phone calls made through the Operations Center as a possible violation of the federal law on wiretapping. The law authorizes wiretapping only if at least one of the parties in a phone conversation agrees to it. . . . Only calls

placed through the Operations Center were subject to monitoring.

Department officials routinely call colleagues through the Operations Center, and center workers sometimes take notes on the conversations for later use by participants, Mr. Boucher said.

The practice of monitoring phone calls without the permission of either party came to light during the investigation into the Tamposi affair. Calls that Mrs. Tamposi made through the Operations Center were monitored and recorded without her knowledge, the spokesman said.

[When] Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger was told about the practice, [he] immediately ordered it stopped. "Under the new policy, the Operations Center monitors a phone call only when one party requests that the Operations Center stay on the line," Mr. Boucher said.

In 1982 Secretary of State Alexander Haig ordered the practice discontinued, but it came back into use. A State Department official said it was common knowledge among department officials that the Operations Center sometimes monitored calls and made records of them.

A POLITICIZED AGENCY?

DAYTONA BEACH NEWS JOURNAL, NOVEMBER 20, 1992

EDITORIAL

The dismaying story of how the State Department was employed to dig up dirt on president-elect Bill Clinton . . . will not end with the department's internal investigation. Nor should it.

Many, no doubt, will be tempted to wonder what the fuss is about. Some records were searched that might eventually have been searched anyway by appointees who were justifiably worried about keeping their jobs.

But . . . the State Department should never be turned into an investigative arm for any candidate or political party. It undermines faith in the objectivity of State Department staff and further politicizes their mission.

A key to effectively pursuing U.S. interests around the world is keeping foreign policy machinery insulated from the daily rough and tumble of partisan

political squabbling at home.

For the past 12 years Ronald Reagan and George Bush have failed to respect that separation. They have made wildly inappropriate ambassadorial appointments. They involved the State Department in disinformation campaigns and in covert actions such as the arms-for-hostages deal. And whenever possible, they tried to bypass the State Department altogether so political concerns could be even more paramount.

Before taking office, Clinton should work conscientiously to reverse that trend.

POLITICS SUBVERTS THE FOREIGN SERVICE

THE HARTFORD COURANT, NOVEMBER 23, 1992

EDITORIAL

Sherman M. Funk, the State Department's inspector general, blames partisanship among mid-level political appointees for the search of Bill Clinton's passport files. But his report should not be the final word.

Responsibility for using a supposedly neutral government agency in a disgracefully political way has not yet been firmly fixed. Yes, Mr. Funk called the snooping "heinous"—the work of junior appointees who were "salivating" to find damaging information about the Democratic presidential nominee. And yes, Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger let the blame fall on his ample frame even though he apparently took no part. "Our reputation has been tarnished," he said.

Mr. Eagleburger's remorse seems genuine and Mr. Funk's scolding of the actual snoopers was deserved. But it's hard to believe that mid-level appointees would, on their own, undertake a sensitive mission with such great potential for embarrassment.

Over the past 12 years, according to Foreign Service professionals, there has been a systematic effort to politicize the State Department. Perhaps the congressional investigation of the passport records searches will yield further information about who has helped to establish a culture so hospitable to abuses of power. ■

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SPEAKING OUT

BY RALPH DRURY MARTIN

Beware the Investigators

The government is now actively pursuing criminal indictments and other sanctions against Foreign Service employees by peering into their private financial affairs, friendships, family relationships, and sex lives. Until recently, this seldom happened. Except for occasional spy and Communist scares, Foreign Service personnel were usually supervised, investigated, judged, and, if necessary, disciplined by their peers.

In the last few years, all that has changed. The huge increases in power and personnel given to inspectors general and security offices in the foreign affairs agencies, along with prosecutors' increasing willingness to prosecute minor offenses, have created a new environment. Foreign Service employees are increasingly subject to intensive and intrusive investigation, disciplinary action, and criminal prosecution by eager law enforcement and security officers, often using confidential informers and aggressively sophisticated law-enforcement techniques.

To be sure, more bad guys are being caught and punished, leading, in theory, to more accountability. But the new order has its dark side. It has resulted in the criminalization of minor administrative wrongdoing, shrinking of the zone of privacy for Foreign Service personnel, and sometimes

Kafkaesque treatment of employees accused of straying from conventional financial or sexual attitudes.

Power creep

Although statutorily independent inspectors general were created in some agencies in 1978, the State Department IG did not receive either independence or a substantial budget until 1986. Since then, all the Foreign Service agency IGs have hired increasing numbers of special agents, auditors, and inspectors. For example, before 1985, the State Department's

has about 200 serious investigations pending (not counting inspections and audits). Each year approximately 100 administrative sanctions and 50 criminal indictments result.

In addition, the inspectors general have also increasingly sought new powers. Now they can investigate virtually any allegations of wrongdoing, inefficiency, waste, of "abuse" by Foreign Service employees at home and abroad. Under existing or soon to be implemented guidelines, agents conducting investigations, based on anonymous allegations, can examine

all of your personnel records, interview your friends, neighbors, bosses, and coworkers, secretly videotape your workplace, search your desk, and put you under surveillance. So long as their boss—the IG—concurs, they can subpoena your bank, business, work, medical records, request that you take a polygraph, and wire an informant to record your conversations. With

court orders or the help of other law enforcement agencies, they can examine your income tax returns, search your house, tap your phone, arrest you at gunpoint, and force you to take blood tests, appear in a lineup, or give handwriting samples.

Of course, most investigations are legitimate. But all these law-enforcement personnel have a mission, and success is measured by the results—the conviction and discipline of For-

Of course, most investigations are legitimate. But all these law-enforcement personnel have a mission, and success is measured by the results—the conviction and discipline of Foreign Service employees. No convictions, no promotions, and no appropriation.

IG had virtually no investigative capacity. In 1985, State's first Civil Service investigators were hired. That year the IG's office reached a staff level of 98 and a budget in the \$5 million range. Fewer than 70 investigations were initiated. Only five criminal cases and a few administrative sanctions resulted. Now the State Department OIG alone has about 270 positions and spends almost \$25 million a year. At any given time, State

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eign Service employees. No convictions, no promotions, and no appropriation. Sometimes zeal in pursuit of the mission causes agents to open investigations of perfectly legal "offenses" that feel "wrong" to them. Examples include investigations of employees accused of being paid to teach a course at a university, selling a car to another diplomat, and awarding a construction contract to a foreign corporation.

Also, recent prosecutorial attitudes encourage investigators to look for financial peccadillos. Allegations of minor travel-voucher irregularities, time-sheet errors, use of frequent-flyer miles, or misusing the government's telephones once might have warranted a brief look and, if verified, a reprimand. Now, as FBI Director William Sessions learned when he was recently investigated, a jealous colleague or other anonymous informer alleging such minor misconduct can expose an employee to a comprehensive investigation and the risk of unemployment, public humiliation, and months or years in prison. For the first time, these matters can create the good "stats" that further an investigator's career and bulk up the IG's report to Congress. Because of such concerns, earlier this year American Foreign Service Association Vice President Priscilla Del Bosque charged that IG agents at USAID were overzealous and that the manner in which they carried out investigations created a "serious loss of trust and confidence" among employees.

Security or Puritanism?

Largely because of real terrorist threats, the security offices in the Foreign Service agencies have been vastly beefed up. In the past, security agents have tended to attribute security risk to personal conduct of which they disapproved. In 1980, when I first joined the

State Department, the Office of Security stressed to entering employees that security demanded purging all homosexuals from the Foreign Service. Security pros say that they no longer single out gays. Nevertheless, without Soviet spies to worry about, their sometimes valuable professional paranoia seems to have focused again on conduct they dislike as much as on real security risks.

For example, a Foreign Service professional recently was suspended,

Security officers have confirmed that allegations of adultery and "promiscuity" still are grounds for full investigation. . . . One investigator recently said that he was alert to any romantic relationships between Foreign Service professionals and French nationals, since. . . . French industrial espionage is the most serious threat to American security.

investigated, and forcibly separated from his family for six months because unidentified informers accused him of such nefarious conduct as sitting in cafes with foreign female students and teachers. An additional mysterious allegation that he "encouraged prostitution" turned out to be based on his instruction to a drunk security officer, who was harassing a woman, to "go to X bar if you want to act that way."

Security officers have confirmed that allegations of adultery and "promiscuity" still are grounds for full investigation. Vindictive allegations in divorce proceedings trigger security investigations. One investigator recently said that he was alert to any romantic relationships between Foreign Service professionals and French nationals, since he personally believes that, after the Cold War, French industrial espionage is the most serious threat to American security.

A word to the wise

The lesson here is that any allegation of sexual or financial behavior offensive to a naive or moralistic agent—or even behavior that strikes the agent as vaguely different—can cause this vast new security and law-enforcement apparatus to focus on you. Even for a trustworthy employee, this is a terrible thing to have happen. Once the machinery is cranked up, it is likely to be fully used, and who is without some embarrassing skeleton in the closet? Even if you are vindicated—indeed, even if you have never done anything in private that would embarrass you if your supervisors read about it in vivid detail—the experience of being scrutinized can be lengthy, frightening, and degrading.

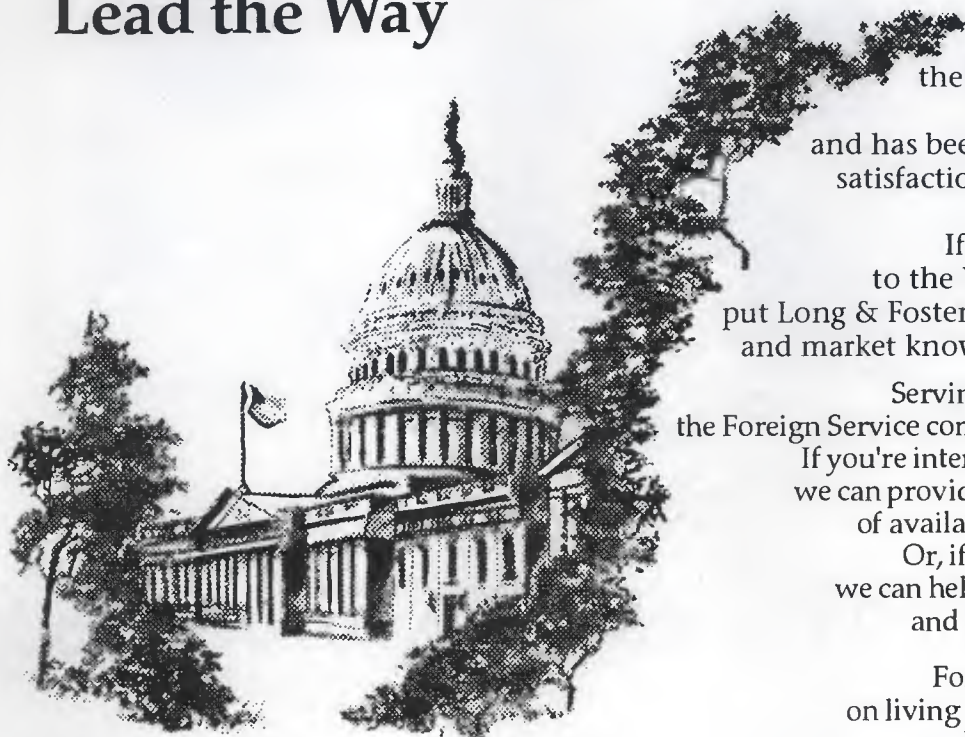
If such a microscope ever focuses on you, your instinctive reactions may be wrong. It might seem natural to seek advice from friends and colleagues, but this could be disastrous. Investigators can force coworkers, friends, and family members to divulge everything you say to them. Even the ancient privileges protecting private marital, priest-penitent, and doctor-patient communications are under siege by law enforcement today. The only person you can talk to without fear of having the conversation used against you is your lawyer.

You also might casually submit to an interview by the investigating agents. Unfortunately, most Foreign Service people do. Unfamiliar with the constantly changing regulatory mine fields they move through, members of the Foreign Service are often unaware of their administrative and criminal vulnerabilities. They think, "I did nothing wrong, so I have nothing to worry about." Like other highly intelligent and successful people, Foreign Service employees also tend to think—wrongly—that they can out talk and out think low-level investigators. Lately,

continued on page 19

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SPEAKING OUT

continued from page 16

Foreign Service employees are often trusted overachievers who abhor appearing guilty or uncooperative and think postponing an interview to request a lawyer will make them look bad.

In criminal investigations, it is usually disastrous for the employee to talk to the agents at all. Deliberate false statements, as well as honest mistakes, contradictions, and lapses of memory become land mines in the record, whether or not they are made under oath.

I cannot emphasize too strongly how foolish such thinking is. As such notables as Michael Deaver and Caspar Weinberger have discovered, many investigations result in prosecution or other severe sanction solely because the targeted employees did not seek legal advice before talking to investigators. In criminal investigations, it is usually disastrous for the employee to talk to the agents at all. Deliberate false statements, as well as honest mistakes, contradictions, and lapses of memory become land mines in the record, whether or not they are made under oath. Investigating agents want their quarry to talk—they are trained to make cases by securing statements—but they will respect your choice and play by the rules. You will not be hurt by consulting a lawyer. ■

Ralph Drury Martin is a Washington lawyer who has also served as a senior federal prosecutor, State Department deputy assistant legal adviser, and special counsel to the State Department inspector general.

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THE ACCIDENTAL SECRETARY

A

Once upon a time, in the month of January, there was a new administration voted into power with a promise of new policies, new programs, and old family values. The president, emphasizing the family-value theme, decided to choose a quintessentially wise, patient, and fatherly person to act as a caretaker secretary of state.

The real foreign policy decisions would be made not in the State Department but in the White House basement by the national security adviser.

In search of the ideal fatherly figure, it was decided that the perfect man for the job would be Jim Anderson, the lead character in the ancient TV tale, "Father Knows Best." The transition

Foggy Bottom Fable

search team, baby boomers all, had never watched old family TV tales, and did not realize that the actor who played the father-role had died. But they looked in their Rolodexes under "A" and saw the name Jim Anderson, a State Department reporter. (The same inexperienced search team recruited Bernard Shaw of CNN as the person

with the necessary literary credentials to be secretary of education.)

Reporter Anderson gladly accepted the unexpected job offer (anything for an inside scoop), and the minority members in congress were so delighted to have an opportunity to humiliate the administration that they gleefully went along with

BY JIM ANDERSON

"THE SWITCH FROM REPORTER TO DIPLOMAT WAS EASY.... I JUST HAD TO REMEMBER TO DEMAND DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY INSTEAD OF MY FIRST AMENDMENT RIGHTS."



the accidental nomination. The Foreign Relations Committee recommended confirmation despite an unusual week of hearings. The nominee answered most of the questions with questions of his own and then whipped out a reporter's notebook and took furious notes.

The secretary-designate responded to AFSA objections to his lack of formal credentials or Foreign Service experience by snapping, "After 23 years of covering foreign policy I have spent more time in the State cafeteria line than most ambassadors have spent in the Foreign Service."

The accidental secretary of state, as he came to be known, had a tumultuous and histrionic term in office that left the State Department permanently changed. A draft of the accidental secretary's memoirs, which begins with his initial staff meeting on the seventh floor, has been made available to the *Foreign Service Journal*.

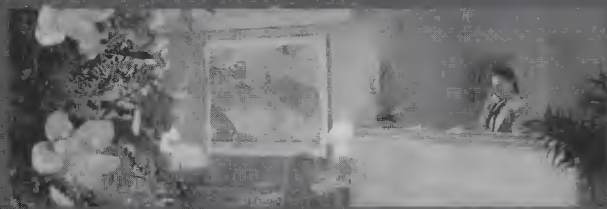
Meeting the "first team"

As I walked into the paneled conference room that first day at noon, I hesitated before setting my brown-bag lunch on the historic table where George Marshall and Dean Acheson had presided. But I had never before come to work without my sandwich and cookies, and I wasn't going to start now. This had been an emotional day for me—the swearing-in ceremony at the White House had been both solemn and humbling. Later, the national security adviser had joined the crowd congratulating me and then hissed into my ear, "Don't try anything funny over there." Only an Eastern European, I thought, could hiss a sentence without an s in it.

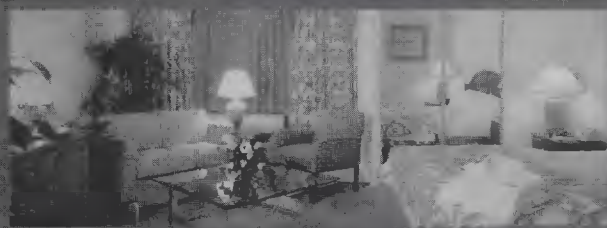
Around the conference room sat the cream of the State Department—public servants ready to fly around the globe in the name of American foreign policy. I had been prevented from making any appointments by the White House so my "first team," as they described themselves, were an unknown quantity to me, as I was a mystery to them. I could feel a certain tension in the air despite their professional demeanor of calm and authority. They all wore gray suits, the color of a moose molting. Their lidded eyes examined me, this upstart who had somehow short-circuited the universe they thought they had mastered. They were right to be wary. This meeting came to be known as "the coup."

After I had shaken hands with them all, the senior undersecretary broke the brief silence by clearing his throat and welcoming me formally with a witty little statement

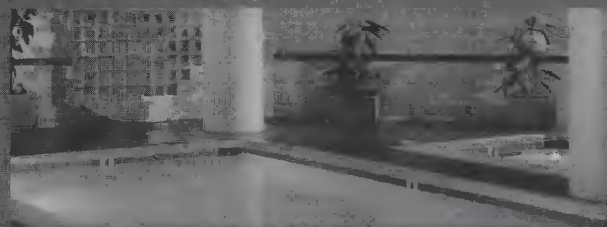
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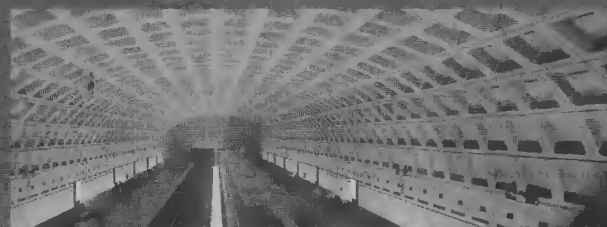
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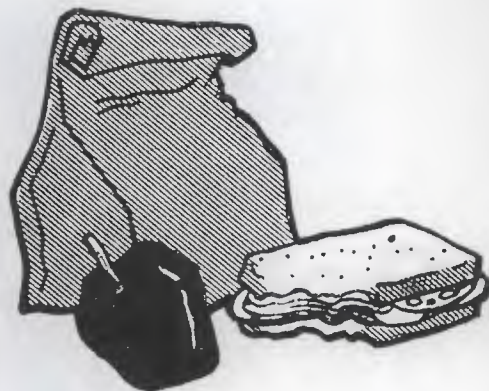
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I had never before come to work without my brown-bag lunch, and I wasn't about to start now.

about how "father knows best in the family of nations." He summarized the current world situation and made proposals on policy-paper flow, the National Security staff relationship, and the various responsibilities of those in the room.

I realized I was to be treated as an incipient dementia patient, much as the "first team" customarily treated outsiders at the department. The undersecretary had a deep, hypnotically voice which grew deeper as he went on about "consistent policy in conformity with continuing national priorities in consultation with Congress..."

I said, "Umm, excuse me."

He droned on as the faces around the table began to relax; they were soothed by the hypnotic familiar words, "...in further consultation with traditional and long-time allies, and taking into consideration this period of transition..."

I raised my voice, "You may STOP . . . NOW!"

Disbelieving, startled faces around the table looked in my direction. After years of competing in the unruly arena

of the State Department's noon briefing I knew the secret. Be overbearing. Keep on. Speak louder. Finally, like a snowplow running into a boulder, the undersecretary stopped.

Making a little inside joke of my own, I said, "I'm in control here." Nervous laughter. The rest is history.

Back to basics

My first step in returning foreign policy to its roots was to fire all of the personal security personnel, including my own "secretarial detail." All uniformed guards at the State Department were sent on permanent loan to the D.C. police force, where their numbers flooded the open-air drug markets. When the expanded force demanded identification from everybody on the street, the drug dealers were so annoyed they moved into suburban Maryland and Virginia. The governors protested to me, but I refused to accept the protests since we had no diplomatic relations with either of their states.

I didn't miss the customary secretarial limousine and the convoy of flashing lights—I was able to get a lot of reading done on the Metro. Getting rid of the secretary's Air Force plane was inconvenient at first, but traveling on commercial planes removed any temptation to conduct "shuttle diplomacy." That alone endeared me to all the overseas missions and gave me a great base of support within the Foreign Service.

Double trouble

I had been thinking a great deal about how the nation was shortchanging itself by not fully using the resources of spouses at our embassies. That was how I came up with my "super-tandem" idea, dubbed by my opponents as "double trouble."

Instead of an ambassador being appointed with the spouse serving as an unpaid adjunct, we would name a couple to represent the United States. Since many of those who had grappled their way to the top in the system—male or female—tended to be rather insensitive and assertive, the rule would be that the most competitive appointee could be the ambassador for the

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first year. For the second year, the spouse would be ambassador. The president was very pleased at how this encouraged family values—ambitious FSOs, formerly too busy to spend time socializing, now realized that married officers had a better chance to become ambassadors. The system profited from, some of these Type A personalities getting out of the building in search of mates.

It was only after I had retired as secretary of state that the first same-sex ambassadorial couple was confirmed, but the system seemed to have survived with few problems. I often wonder how John Foster Dulles would have reacted.



Because this rotation schedule involved a lot of moving, the amount of personal belongings shipped around the world was limited. Each ambassadorial family was allowed two large suitcases per person.

Since I had already dismissed most of the security details and the chauffeurs, I ruled that the ambassador be driven to his or her diplomatic appointments by the spouse, a system that came to be known as “kiss and demarche.” It is true that we lost a couple of ambassadors to traffic accidents, but we lost nobody to terrorism because the potential assassins couldn’t pick out the U.S. ambassador from the rest of the cars in the traffic jams. The high-precision assassination teams also got tired of waiting for the ambassadorial couple to arrive at their destination. Some suspected assassins later told police that it just didn’t seem

dignified or cost-effective to fire an expensive TOW missile at a three-year-old Chevrolet missing a front bumper.

The ambassadors and their partners meanwhile spent many hours of quality time in their cars with each other. Listening to local talk-radio shows on the car radio gave them many insights. I only remember one messy divorce when one envoy demanded custody of the embassy after his year was up.

Foiling a dastardly disease

I was worried about an endemic disease in the department, clientitis, in which ambassadors came to identify with the countries they were assigned

to. Foreign Service officers who had studied a country’s problems and empathized with the nation but not with our own budgetary problems were most likely to come down with this disease. I introduced the new rule, known informally as the Anderson Plan. It was later ridiculed as “Musical Chairs.” Under my new order, every super-tandem ambassador team would serve two years in one post and then be moved arbitrarily down the alphabet to the next country. Thus, the ambassador in Israel would move to Italy, while the ambassador in Italy would move to Jamaica.

That quickly rid State of political

appointees, who objected to being moved from Brunei to Bulgaria or from France to Gabon. Most of them were not truly comfortable with my super-tandem plan in the first place, even though many of them had been appointed ambassador because of their wealthy wives.

Because this rotation schedule involved a lot of moving, the amount of personal belongings shipped around the world was limited. Each ambassadorial family was allowed two large suitcases per person. Each embassy, rather than trying to impress the locals with expensive, opulent decor, would be furnished in the eclectic style of a typical American living room. By departmental order, that included two tweed recliners, two neo-colonial coffee tables, and one Scandinavian dining table with 10 chairs purchased from IKEA. This last order, incidentally, repaired the sometimes strained relations between Washington and Stockholm. The wall posters, part of the new populist decor, were cheaper and better looking than most of the embassy art, and the colorful football and basketball themes were more representative of our nation.

Administrative reforms

Frankly, I thought that my order abolishing all computers would have met with more resistance. But a large, invisible underground within the department had come to the same conclusion as the new secretary: most cables were junk, too easy to turn out, impossible to read, and meant to be a matter of incomprehensible record rather than an analytical tool.

The existing State Department computer system was destroyed by the simple device of bribing a covert agent at PEPCO to send successive massive voltage surges down the line, something he had a lot of practice doing. As replacements, all offices and embassies were issued typewriters and carbon paper. Those who could not find electric typewriters were supplied from the treasure trove of abandoned antique manual machines in the State Department press room. State Department people who sent messages were forced to think instead of dredging up

some boiler-plate language from old cables or computer discs. It was actually fun to read the results. At least two senior officials left to become professional writers, and it was clear, from the clarity of the dispatches, that others were inspired to move in that direction. Others left because the disappearance of word-processors had made it painfully clear they didn't have a clue about how to write a simple, declarative sentence in the English language.

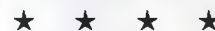
The president was very pleased. The national security adviser, on the other hand, was not, since some of the State Department traffic coming into the White House began to make a certain amount of sense, competing with his own Grand Strategy.

Looking back at those changes, I often reflect on that meeting in that seventh floor conference room, (which is now a "Passports-R-Us" franchise outlet, one of our most successful). On that first day I had planned to talk about my new world vision—a plan that would lead to an end to starvation and disease and to the removal of the weapons of mass destruction that threatened us all.

But before I got to that, I wanted to deal with one last administrative matter: parking privileges in the State Department basement garage. I announced that I intended to start charging New York commercial parking rates, plus 10 percent for the convenience and security, in order to help the president balance his budget.

With my announcement, I heard an angry visceral gasp, a low roar of outrage and revolt; several assistant secretaries forgot their Foreign Service training and shook their fists in my direction. It was a shocking sight to see men in three-piece gray suits leaning across a mahogany polished table threatening a member of the president's cabinet over the loss of their parking privileges. I sensed that this was not the moment to present the first stage of my imaginative plan for world peace: how to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict in two easy steps. ■

The real Jim Anderson is a correspondent for DPA, the German Press Agency.



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Women's



The women of Sikandernagar, a village in the Indian state of Andhra Pradesh, work three shifts per day. Waking at 4 a.m., they light fires, milk buffaloes, sweep floors, fetch water, and feed their families. From 8 a.m. until 5 p.m. they weed crops for a meager wage. In the evening they forage for branches, twigs, and leaves to fuel their cooking fires, wild vegetables to nourish their children, and grass to feed the buffalo. Finally, they return home to cook dinner and do evening chores. These women spend twice as many hours per week working to support their families as do the men in their village. But they do not own the land on which they labor, and every year, for all their effort, they find themselves poorer and less able to provide what their families need to survive.

BY JODI L. JACOBSON

Work

Why "development" isn't always good news for the second sex

As the 20th century draws to a close, some 3 billion people—more than half the earth's population—live in the subsistence economies of the developing world. Most of these subsistence producers find themselves trapped in the same downward spiral as the women of Sikandernagar. Because they have cash incomes insufficient to meet their most basic needs, they must rely heavily on their own labor to secure whatever food, fuel, and water they can from the surrounding environment.

Women perform the lion's share of work in subsistence economies, toiling longer hours and often contributing more to real family income than their male relatives, but their work is not given monetary value and they are viewed as unproductive by many government statisticians, economists, development experts—even their husbands. A huge proportion of the world's real production, therefore, remains officially undervalued, and the essential contributions women make to the welfare of families and nations remain unrecognized. So, while the growing scarcity of resources within subsistence economies increases the burden on women and erodes their productivity, little is being done to reverse the cycle.

Ironically, by failing to address the pervasive gender bias that discounts the contributions of women, many development policies and programs intended to alleviate impoverishment actually are making the problem worse. There are development groups in both the private and public sector that focus on the role of women, but the flaws inherent in current development practices cannot be fixed by relatively minor allocations of funds to women. Fundamental changes are needed in mainstream policies and approaches.

18-hour days

Gender bias is especially pernicious in less-developed nations, where most of women's activity takes place in the non-wage economy. Women's work is essential to survival, but because little or no money changes hands, it is not counted as economically productive. United Nations data indicate that on average, women work longer hours than men in every country except Australia, Canada, and the United States. Hours worked producing subsistence goods are rarely offset by a reduction of duties at home. Moreover, gender disparities in total hours worked are greatest among the poor: in developing countries, women work an average of 12 to 18 hours per day, producing food, managing and

harvesting resources, and working at a variety of paid and unpaid activities, compared to 8 to 12 hours for men.

Since the cultivation or collection of food directly for the family is not considered a "business," the women who engage in such work usually are not granted access to land, credit, or other resources. While men are more likely both to have access to resources and to earn cash wages for their work, they are less likely than women to spend it on family maintenance—food, clothes, health care, and the like. Such patterns are disturbingly prevalent across countries and cultures.

Gender bias is thus a fundamental cause of poverty, because in its various forms it prevents hundreds of millions of women from obtaining the education, training, health services, child care, and legal status needed to escape from poverty. It is what prevents women from transforming their increasingly unstable subsistence economy into one that is not forced to cannibalize its own declining assets.

Gender bias is also the single most important cause of high birth rates. Where women have little access to productive resources, and little control over family income, they depend on children for social status and economic security. A necessary step in reducing births voluntarily, then, is to increase women's productivity and their control over resources.

Reinforcing gender bias

Conventional approaches to development not only fail to accomplish this goal, but by ignoring the obstacles faced by women they actually formalize and reinforce gender bias in several devastating ways.

First, many current development strategies do not benefit men and women equally. Although women are the main producers and procurers of household food supplies in subsistence economies, conventional agricultural development and strategies to promote cash crops have actually shifted resources *away* from female farmers. Environmental policies likewise discount the value of resources used in subsistence economies and thus work against environmental sustainability. Women, depending on croplands, forests, and other natural resources for food and fuel have a greater interest in guarding the long-term productivity of these resources, whereas men are more often concerned with converting these resources into immediate cash. Development programs that vest control over natural resources solely in the hands of men, or profitmaking enterprises in general,



Economic growth is not gender blind. As economies develop, existing gender gaps in the distribution of wealth and in access to resources usually persist, and in many cases grow worse.

are in effect explicitly supporting short-term consumption at the expense of long-term sustainability.

Second, women rarely are involved in designing or carrying out development programs. Consequently, these programs do not address women's needs or utilize their practical knowledge. For example, in rural Africa, 60 to 80 percent of all domestic fuel supplies are gathered from forests by women and girls. Yet, countless programs to reverse deforestation have failed because their planners did not consult village women who are the primary harvesters of forest products in their communities.

Third, conventional economic policies often contribute to increasing poverty within subsistence economies, which in turn increases the relative burden on women. In Sikandernagar, for example, the green revolution and other agricultural development schemes promised economic advancement but brought subsistence producers only greater impoverishment by further reducing their access to cropland and forest resources. With government and private interests controlling much of the once commonly owned land where subsistence families collected fuel and fodder, women were forced to go farther afield to meet their families' needs. At the same time, the replacement of human labor by tractors increased competition for, and lowered the wages of the much smaller number of jobs available. So women who do work for wages now work longer for less money.

A family of myths

Implicit in the theory and practice of conventional economic development are three assumptions that are influenced by gender differences and that reinforce the biases. One assumption is that within a society, economic growth is gender-blind, and both men and women will benefit equally from it. The second is that the traditional

Western model of a "household," in which a father, mother, and children share common interests and work toward common goals, is applicable to all societies. The third is that within households, the burdens and benefits of poverty and wealth will be distributed equally regardless of gender. Unfortunately, none of these assumptions holds true.

First, economic growth is not gender blind. As economies develop, existing gender gaps in the distribution of wealth

and in access to resources usually persist, and in many cases grow worse. From the 1950s through the early 1980s, for example, worldwide standards of living as measured by widely used basic indicators, including life expectancy, per capita income, and primary school enrollment, rose dramatically. Yet women never achieved parity with men, even in the so-called developed countries. According to the Human Development Index, a measure created by the United Nations Development Program to gauge the degree to which people have available to them the resources needed to attain a decent standard of living, women lagged behind men in every country for which data were available. Gender differences were least pronounced in Finland, where measures of women's level of access as a share of men's reached 94 percent. They were most pronounced in South Korea and Kenya, where the index of women's access to resources did not even reach 70 percent of that for men.

Not only do women not automatically benefit from economic growth; they may even fall further behind. Unless specific steps are taken to redress inequity, gender gaps often increase over time, especially where access to resources is already highly skewed. This has happened with literacy. In 1985, 40 percent of the adult population worldwide was unable to read, compared to about 54 percent in 1970, clearly a significant improvement. The gender gap in literacy actually widened during these 15 years, however, as

the number of women unable to read rose by 54 million (to 597 million), while that of men increased by only 4 million (to 352 million).

Second, individuals within poor families do not necessarily have common interests or work toward common goals. Development programs have been built on the premise that what is good for men is good for the family, but in many areas, this is patently not the case, because women effectively provide the largest share of the family's basic needs, and the incomes of men often are siphoned off by the purchase of alcohol, tobacco, or other consumer products. While a woman labors to produce food for her family, her husband may focus his energies on developing a business or pursuing cash interests that may not benefit his wife and children.

In much of sub-Saharan Africa, for example, both men and women plant crops, but they do so with different goals. Husbands and wives maintain separate managerial and financial control over the production, storage, and sale of their respective crops. Men grow cash crops, the income from the sale of which they retain, even though their wives still do the weeding and hoeing. Women, by contrast, use their land primarily for subsistence crops. They also are the ones expected to provide shelter, clothing, school fees, and medical care for themselves and their children. Given adequate acreage, high yields, or both, women do plant and market surplus crops to earn cash, but when land is scarce, or the soil poor, they put more time into other income-producing activities, or sell their labor for needed cash.

An increase in the income of a male within a household may not mean an increase in total consumption by family members. In Africa, according to a 1992 World Bank report, children's nutrition may actually deteriorate even while men in the household acquire wristwatches, radios, and bicycles. The connection between malnutrition and the diversion of income by males to personal consumption also has been found to be a problem in Belize, Guatemala, Mexico, and throughout the Indian subcontinent. In Guatemala, for example, the children of women earning independent incomes had better diets than those of women who were not earning their own money and had little control over how their husbands' earnings were spent.

Finally, resources within poor households often are skewed toward the males. When household income rises, men and boys throughout the developing world fare far better than do women and girls. In parts of India, for example, male children consistently receive more and better food and health care than their sisters. Consequently, far more girls than boys die in the critical period between infancy and age five. And with the exception of girls aged 10 to 14, who are clearly economically productive, Indian females die from preventable causes at far higher rates than males through age 35. This pattern is contrary to that found wherever females have equal access to food and health care. Evidence of similar patterns of discrimination in the allocation of household resources has been found in Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan, throughout the Middle East and North Africa, and in parts of sub-Saharan Africa.

Globally, much of the discrimination against females in families and societies stems from another form of gender gap: the huge disparity that prevails between the actual economic and social benefits derived from women's work, and the social perception of women as unproductive.

Studies in every region of the Third World confirm that it is the mother's ability to grow or purchase food rather than the father's food production or cash income—and the degree of control she maintains over her production and income—that determines the relative nutrition of children. However, women's work that does not produce cash directly is heavily discounted. The low valuation of women's work is reinforced by women's lack of control over physical resources. In most subsistence economies, for example, females have few legal rights regarding land tenure, marital relations, income, or social security.

But ignoring the full value of women's economic contributions cripples efforts to achieve broad development goals. Lack of investment results in lower female productivity. Coupled with persistent occupational and wage discrimination, this prevents women from achieving parity with men in terms of jobs and income, and leads to further devaluation of their work. The omnipresence of this bias is a sign that virtually every country is operating below its economic potential.

Conserving the land

In the not-so-distant past, subsistence farmers and forest dwellers were models of ecologically sustainable living, their numbers not threatening available resources. Today, however, as the subsistence producers' circumstances grow more and more tenuous, pressures on forests and croplands grow increasingly acute. Yet in an era when "sustainable development" has become a global rallying cry, most governments and international development agencies pay scant attention to this dilemma.

To provide for their families, women depend heavily on community-owned croplands, grasslands, and forests. Research shows women to be more effective at protecting and regenerating the environment than is either the state or private landowners. The reasons are obvious: community resources are as indispensable to land-poor women in subsistence economies as these women are to the maintenance of the resources.

Given access to appropriate land, traditional farmers employ "managed" fallowing, crop rotation, intercropping, mulching, and a variety of other soil conservation and enrichment techniques. Women farmers, who have a great deal of unacknowledged skill in these areas, also play a leading role in maintaining crop diversity.

Women in subsistence economies also are active managers of forest resources, and traditionally play the leading role in their conservation. Forests are a major source of fuel for home consumption as well as of plant fibers, medicinal plants and herbs, seeds, oils, resins, and a host of other materials used to produce goods or income for families.

Unfortunately, the widespread depletion and degradation of resources leads to equally widespread impoverish-

continued on page 31

W MODEL Women

BY PEGGY CURLIN

While much is yet to be done, model programs empowering women as policy advocates, managers, and leaders exist throughout the world. These programs seek to equalize the benefits and responsibilities of development for both men and women.

Non-governmental groups such as the Centre for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA), the Global Fund for Women, and Women World Banking, as well as USAID's Women in Development office and UNDP's UNIFEM program, have taken the lead in working with women in many less developed countries. The following are four types of programs that have been especially effective in addressing women's issues.

Credit and Loan Programs. Programs in India have organized women not only as borrowers, but as a strong lobby for day laborers. Other programs have made lenders responsible for giving equal access for credit to women and provide thousands of small loans to women who would not be eligible for credit through existing institutions.

Women's Advocacy Groups. Literally thousands of women's groups have been formed in both the public and the private sectors to work on policy reform, housing, health, violence against women and most recently, environment. Organizations such as the Greenbelt Movement in Kenya have been controversial but effective in organizing women around special interests.

Providing Essential Services to Women. Women's leadership in Bangladesh has been essential in developing a household model of family planning and maternal and child health. Through this model, women workers have gained employment and opportunities to expand their recipient role to one of designers and managers. In Mexico, the FEMAP program has reached women in urban slums and remote rural areas in ways most accessible to them. Those women

are in the forefront of lobbying for and providing quality care in reproductive health.

Leadership Development. CEDPA has provided leadership training for 15 years to over 4,000 women. These women often come to the training programs unaware of their own potential and unable to break through the "glass ceiling" of organizations and governments who stereotype women as "assistants." Many of the CEDPA alumnae have become leaders of organizations, elected officials and, in three cases, government ministers. Women's leadership at all levels in development is important. Village councils as well as ministries benefit from women's perspectives; development agencies cannot be effective with a male-oriented view when women's participation is vital to successful development efforts.

Empowerment is not given to women, but developed by them. Women's programs can serve as a catalyst for women's empowerment and ultimately, for national development. ■

Peggy Curlin is the president of the Centre for Development and Population Activities.



USAID assisted sewing training facility in Costa Rica.

The American Foreign Service Association: 1992

The past year has been one of growth in every aspect of AFSA's activities, highlighted by the fact that our membership passed the 10,000 mark for the first time. This has come about despite the loss of some key people from our leadership, including President Hume Horan, who was confirmed in mid-year as our Ambassador to Cote d'Ivoire. AFSA, however, is today too strong to be adversely affected by the occasional personnel changes which are inevitable in any organization rooted in the Foreign Service. This is due in large measure to the high quality and dedication of our permanent staff, who are truly the unsung heroes of the association.

Labor-Management Relations: The most significant event of 1992 was AFSA's successful challenge of AFGE for the right to be the exclusive representative for our Foreign Service colleagues at USIA. This brings all career professionals at the three major foreign affairs agencies under the AFSA wing--and this is as it should be. We have also acquired a full-time USAID vice president. This is a first, and it enables AFSA, through Carey Coulter, to provide USAID personnel the attention they deserve as that agency goes through troubled times. The addition of a second staff attorney and a third counselor in our Member Services Department should ensure prompt and efficient attention to whatever union matters may arise.

A fuller picture of our labor-management activities is contained elsewhere in this report. Suffice it to say here that much of our attention has been devoted to issues affecting specialists and junior officers, as well as to housing and the employment of spouses. These will continue to be areas of particular focus.

Outreach Activities: AFSA expanded its outreach considerably this past year with the initiation of three new programs, all of which utilize the skills and experience of our retired members. First, as part of our commitment to a more representative service, we have begun to identify retirees to serve as mentors for minority summer interns, in the hope that those interns will eventually join the Foreign Service themselves. Second, the AFSA Speakers Bureau began operation in the early fall and has already provided speakers to dozens of localities throughout the country, telling audiences about the Foreign Service and augmenting the department's recruitment effort. Finally, by year's end State had instituted the Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps (FARC), providing retirees the opportunity for continued service and the department a pool of experienced personnel ready for cost-efficient deployment in emergency situations. We hope to be able to include USAID and USIA retirees in this program during the coming year.

Meanwhile, in addition to two successful business-oriented conferences during the year, AFSA on November 24 co-sponsored an all-day symposium exploring the requirements of American foreign policy in the post-Cold War era. We issued at the same time a paper examining the role of the Foreign Service in the new diplomacy--highlights were published in the December Journal. We firmly believe that these outreach activities, which are funded for the most part by donations rather than member

dues, create a synergy between the two faces of AFSA--labor union and professional association--by broadening the base of support for the Foreign Service and thus enabling us to do more for our members.

Administrative Matters: AFSA remains financially sound and the Board is committed to maintaining that situation. We have been able to enhance considerably the capability of our Member Services and Legal Departments, not only by hiring additional personnel but by upgrading the equipment in those offices. This will enable us to maintain our responsiveness to the needs of our constituents even as our membership continues to increase.

William A. Kirby
AFSA President

State Department Issues

Although 1992 was another year of transition for AFSA, we are confident that the several personnel changes in the Labor Management Office, including the establishment of a second full-time attorney position, will enable us to respond to our members' concerns and to take a proactive role in both the labor management and legislative areas.

In late summer, we ventured into a new area, that of providing a mechanism for our employees to assist their fellow employees affected by Hurricane Andrew. As soon as it became apparent that AFSA could meet a need which the department was not able to fulfill, we acted. Within 36 hours, our legal staff, with the assistance of the State Department Federal Credit Union, had established a tax-exempt fund and filed the necessary paperwork with the Internal Revenue Service to allow contributions to the fund to be tax-deductible. As of this writing, we have provided assistance to 30 employees and their families totalling more than \$19,500. The response of our membership in the form of contributions has been gratifying. The experience gained from this undertaking has convinced us that we will be able to respond even more quickly should similar situations occur in the future.

The advent of a new administration will present new challenges, but the bulk of our work will remain focused in three areas: first, we are now in a position to vigorously pursue a dialogue with congressional staff; second, we will continue our efforts, through negotiation and consultation with management, to preserve and ensure favorable conditions of employment for all Foreign Service employees in the face of an ever-shrinking budget; and third, we will provide basic advice and assistance to those who wish to file grievances and to those who face IG or DS investigations.

Our legislative efforts have already shown results by raising the level of awareness in Congress of the special problems faced by Foreign Service dependents seeking employment overseas. Our efforts to re-establish voluntary contributions for those covered by the old retirement plan appear to be close to fruition--our goal in this undertaking has been to give Foreign Service employees the same options as their Civil Service counterparts.

Our consultations with the department in recent months have focused on housing and specialist career paths, and we await with interest the opportunity to negotiate the precepts and regulations governing the "coning" process. We remain concerned that the future of the Foreign Service has been jeopardized by the lack of foresight shown in the implementation of various personnel policies. The most important resource of the State Department is its personnel; the personnel policies being followed must be equitable, understandable, and capable of attracting employees with the needed skills to serve in the department.

We recently undertook an effort to provide overseas chapters with a set of basic information on a number of topics in the labor management area. The first two notices dealing with employee rights in IG, DS, and criminal investigations have already been distributed. Post responses to our request for information on housing seemed to demonstrate that a number of the problems originated at the post-implementation level rather than the Washington policy level; therefore, the next in this series will deal with the rights and responsibilities of overseas chapters vis-a-vis post management. Our desire in promulgating the first two notices was to have basic information available at post should individuals be notified that they are being investigated. Our current effort seeks to inform post chapters of their responsibilities in the labor-management arena.

With a fortified staff and an aggressive approach to the current problems, AFSA is confident of its ability to meet the challenges that lie ahead in the labor-management arena.

Joseph H. Melrose Jr.
State Vice President

USAID

"Many serious issues faced USAID during the year. The gravest issue—the future survival of the agency—will continue to imperil USAID's operations and the effectiveness of its Foreign Service." These were Priscilla Del Bosque's opening lines for last year's annual report, and they are as true now as they were then. AFSA has taken a proactive, two-pronged approach on this issue.

Unfair attacks. First, we have been vigorous defenders of the agency and its career service in the face of unfair and inaccurate attacks by the media and others, and from the unfounded defamatory statements and distorted use of statistics by USAID's Office of the Inspector General (OIG). This has been of particular importance given the unwillingness or inability of USAID's most senior management to effectively defend the agency, especially (but not exclusively) against the calumnies of the OIG. Also, there are numerous reports to us by USAID's career Foreign Service of abuse by the OIG of the audit process and a "yellow journalism" approach to reporting its results; and reports of selective, malicious, and arbitrary prosecution or threat of prosecution against those who incur the disfavor of the OIG. The volume of such reports has reached a sufficient mass for AFSA to conclude that much of USAID questions whether the integrity and efficiency of the OIG are adequate to perform its vital tasks for the agency.

AFSA has taken the lead on this crucial issue. Early in the year AFSA called on the administrator to initiate an independent, objective investigation of the operations of the OIG, and undertook

discussions with appropriate congressional committees toward that end. In May, AFSA vice president for USAID, Priscilla Del Bosque, presented powerful testimony to the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs on these matters, and subsequently two investigations of the OIG were authorized: one by the GAO, of the OIG's conduct of its audit and investigative functions, and one by the President's Commission on Integrity and Efficiency in Government (CPIE) on alleged OIG investigative abuses. AFSA has established a positive, cooperative relationship with the GAO, and passed on much information provided us by the career service. We look forward to a similar relationship with the CPIE. I will repeat, as Del Bosque often has, that AFSA fully supports the legitimate role of the OIG. True criminals ought to be discovered and prosecuted. Mismanagement ought to be exposed and corrected. But the OIG appears to many to have gone well beyond these legitimate functions, in ways that both seriously damage USAID's ability to undertake its important functions, and in ways that have severely and unfairly damaged the lives and careers of individual USAID officers, including some within the OIG itself. In the words of a former senior OIG staffer, the OIG "appears to have lost its compass." This is a matter so important to the future success of USAID's contribution to the achievement of U.S. foreign policy objectives and to fair treatment of individual officers that AFSA will continue to pursue it as a top priority in the coming year. Support of USAID's Foreign Service, especially including provision of relevant information to the investigations of the OIG, will be crucial to success in this effort.

Positive change. The second, and equally important aspect of AFSA's efforts to ensure that the vital contributions of USAID's economic assistance programs are not lost, is our active agenda to participate in the movement for positive change in how we conduct our affairs. As noted in the December Journal, USAID and AFSA recognize that changes in U.S. policy and its instruments, including USAID, are necessary to adapt to changing international realities. Change is at the heart of our business, and we welcome rather than fear it. AFSA, as the voice of USAID's career Foreign Service, has been actively engaged over the past year with agency management, OMB, executive branch commissions, and Congress on the questions of how USAID can best fulfill its mandates, and how those mandates themselves can best be reformulated to focus on key U.S. interests. More progress on this has taken place than is generally recognized. We look forward to collaborating with the new administration, Congress, and other interested parties on these matters, bringing to bear the literally thousands of years of hands-on experience of USAID's development professionals. This effort will have AFSA's highest priority.

Labor management. AFSA has been very active on this front. We have achieved success in obtaining revisions in the EER, in obtaining approval for a full-time AFSA USAID vice president, and in negotiations for a framework agreement governing relations between AFSA and USAID management. There is an exceptionally full agenda for negotiations in the coming year, including continuing negotiations on audit representation letters, incentives, precepts for promotion and assignment, and senior Foreign Service issues.

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AFSA's and USAID's success in the coming year depends on all of us. Your support through membership is essential to give us the resources to serve you well. Your personal success stories are important to our ability to give balance to the agency's public image. Your information on OIG audits and investigations are the key to full and objective investigations of those functions. In closing, Bill McKinney and Jim Dempsey, your AID/AFSA representatives and I salute you for the impressive efforts so many of you have made in support of our agency, often at some personal risk. For the future of our country, our agency, and our colleagues in USAID's Foreign Service, it is crucial that we do not falter now. We need your continuing support, and in return we pledge our own efforts without restraint.

Carey Coulter

USAID Vice President

USIA

After a full year of preparatory work, AFSA, in an election challenge to the American Federation of Government Employees, won its bid to represent USIA's Foreign Service bargaining unit. Last year, under USIA Vice President Bud Hensgen and Representative Lauren Hale, AFSA/USIA built a standing committee of more than 30 members, who launched a petition drive to call the election and conducted a winning campaign. The group's initiatives included:

- A strong stand against further cuts in the Agency's foreign operations, which have declined over the past 10 years in relation to domestic activities.
- Work toward revision of inter-agency housing standards.
- Promotion of USIA's role in democracy-building abroad through a widely distributed paper and contacts with congressional staffers.
- Public stances on international broadcasting (against creation of a Radio Free Asia and against TV Marti).
- Opposition to Schedule C and Civil Service encroachment on Foreign Service positions in Washington and calls for better career tracks for USIA's Foreign Service specialists.

The work paid off when the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board counted ballots on November 24. Of 648 votes cast—representing 69 percent of the USIA bargaining unit—AFSA had 358 votes, against 267 for AFGE.

Bernard Hensgen

USIA Vice President

Member Services Department

During 1992, two new faces joined the Member Services Department. Julie Smithline replaced Warren Tryon as a member services representative and grievance counselor in February, and in August James Yorke replaced Chris Perine as director. As the year draws to a close, we are excited at the opportunity to represent our new constituency in USIA, and we welcome our third member services representative, Derek Terrell. Deborah Leahy, one of our most experienced staff members, will be setting up our office at USIA Headquarters as soon as possible.

Specialists: Negotiations on the new career path proposals for facilities maintenance and information management specialist

skill codes reached a conclusion during the first three months of the year. In the facilities maintenance skill code, AFSA's efforts ensured that building maintenance officers had the right to be considered for grade 2 and 3 supervisory positions in the new skill code and were able to choose to continue their careers in either the GSO or the FMS skill codes.

AFSA's main objective in the negotiations on the information management skill code was to ensure that current employees, both systems managers and support communicators alike, were not disadvantaged by the creation of the new skill code. This was achieved, but we are now receiving questions from CEOs on the career patterns and promotion opportunities available to members of this related skill code.

Housing: Concerns about the provisions of Airgram 171, Inter-agency Housing Policy and Standards, have continued throughout 1992, and we received many helpful comments and suggestions in response to our worldwide poll. Drawing on this input, we recently wrote to the department enumerating the four aspects of the program which most worried members. The regulations as presently written allow less space for singles than for childless married couples, do not cater for the special needs of single parents, do not give enough space to families with children away at school, and take no account of length of service. Our letter addresses these concerns and suggests remedies.

USAID EERs: Negotiations on USAID EER forms and regulations were successfully completed in April. The most significant achievement was the removal of Selection Board letters of criticism from the files of EER review panel members. Other aspects negotiated included the elimination of Memoranda of Performance and their replacement by an abbreviated EER form covering periods between 60 and 149 days, the compression of skill areas from seven to five, and the reviewing of all career candidates' EERs by either the mission director, the principal officer, or the deputy mission director.

Coning: AFSA is awaiting the precepts and regulations for the first coning exercise for career candidates, which is planned to take place at the end of 1993. We have been canvassing unconed junior officers over the past several months in order to determine their main areas of concern. Above all, they feel that the uncertain status in which they serve the 44 months before they are coned adversely affects both their morale and their dedication.

Secretaries: In June, a 5 percent differential was established in negotiations on pay for all secretaries who are employed as back-up communicators.

Household Effects Shipments: On November 1 the department introduced new procedures for shipping household effects. First, a moving company will be assigned instead of having a range of options to choose from. Second, for a limited period and for 50 percent of shipments to a list of 19 countries (primarily those with a sizeable U.S. military presence), the International Through Government Bill of Lading (ITGBL) system will be employed. AFSA will be monitoring the operation of the ITGBL system, and all new arrivals at posts in the 19 countries will be asked to fill out a questionnaire so that we can compare experiences under both the old system and the new ITGBL system.

Grievances: AFSA assisted approximately 200 grievants this year, with no apparent change from last year in the flow of in-

quiries. Since the D.C. Court of Appeals ruled against the State Department on the matter of prescriptive relief for untenured officers, the department has been less eager to resist or delay the implementation of Grievance Board decisions with which it disagrees.

James Yorke
Member Services Director

Legal Services

In 1992, AFSA saw significant changes in both our legal staff and the organization of our legal department. In an effort to better meet our members' needs and to give AFSA the capability to interact more frequently with Capitol Hill, we took the opportunity afforded by the departure of Legal Assistant Mark Smith to upgrade the position to that of a second attorney. Colleen Fallon, who had worked for AFSA on a part-time basis since April, was selected to fill this position. In October, our reorganized Legal Department began operations with Colleen joining Sharon Papp, who arrived in September as AFSA's Legal Counsel. We believe that in addition to the aforementioned advantages, AFSA will now be capable of taking a proactive stance on legislative issues.

Legal Issues

OIG and DS Investigations: The Legal Department continues to represent employees who become involved in Inspector General (IG) and Diplomatic Security (DS) investigations at the administrative level and recently issued general guidance to Foreign Service employees both domestically and abroad regarding their specific rights in these investigations.

Prescriptive relief: AFSA filed an amicus brief jointly with the Thomas Legal Defense Fund last February, urging the United States Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit to review the District Court's decision in *Miller v. Baker*. The District Court had held that the Foreign Service Grievance Board did not have unlimited authority under the Foreign Service Act of 1980, as amended, to grant prescriptive relief to nontenured employees. The D.C. Circuit overturned this decision, agreeing with the arguments AFSA presented in its amicus brief and preserving the Foreign Service Grievance Board's authority to order prescriptive relief to nontenured employees who are likely to prevail on the merits of their grievances.

USIA election: AFSA has become the exclusive representative for the USIA Foreign Service bargaining unit after defeating the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) in an election completed on November 24. AFSA's expertise concerning Foreign Service issues will enable it to be a more effective voice on behalf of USIA Foreign Service employees.

USAID framework agreement negotiations: As a result of the Foreign Service Impasse Disputes Panel's favorable decision in July, AFSA now has a full-time USAID vice president for a one-year period. While negotiating a framework agreement last year, the parties reached impasse on the need for a full-time USAID AFSA vice president and the right to bargain on issues not addressed in the framework agreement during the life of the agreement (midterm collective bargaining). AFSA and the agency then submitted briefs to the panel in June seeking resolution of these issues. The panel's decision that AFSA should have a full-time

vice president brings USAID in line with the Department of State, which provides two full-time positions. The panel's decision favoring midterm bargaining will allow negotiations on issues arising after the agreement was promulgated that were not specifically mentioned in the framework agreement. AFSA and USAID are currently winding up negotiations on the framework agreement and will negotiate during the six-month period following the expiration of the new vice president's term on the need for a permanent full-time vice president.

USAID Office of Inspector General: Last May, then-AFSA Vice President for USAID Priscilla Del Bosque testified before the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs concerning alleged incidents of misconduct by investigators in the OIG. As a result of this testimony, the General Accounting Office began an investigation into both the IG's audit and investigative practices in September. AFSA has collected information from employees concerning incidents of IG misconduct throughout the year and provided this information to the GAO for use in its investigation. The investigation is expected to be completed this spring and AFSA hopes that it will result in much-needed reforms within the USAID IG.

USAID audit representation letters: Negotiations are currently under way with USAID management concerning management's unilateral implementation of audit representation letters before negotiating with AFSA. These letters are used by the IG in performance audits and require individuals to sign a statement that they are responsible for all of the information presented in the audit. After AFSA filed an unfair labor practice against the agency, management agreed to negotiations on this issue. Because of vague language contained in the letters, AFSA is concerned that employees who sign the letters may be subjected to civil or criminal liability. AFSA intends to negotiate for clarification of liability, the right to attorney representation, and other procedural safeguards.

Legislative Issues

Rockefeller amendment: AFSA was pleased to learn that an amendment that may limit employment opportunities for Foreign Service dependents was not introduced in the last session of Congress. AFSA's concern was that the proposed legislation addressing employment for U.S. residents abroad would place Foreign Service dependents at a disadvantage in competing for these jobs. After learning of the contemplated legislation, AFSA submitted alternative language to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Voluntary contributions plan: AFSA hopes to have its proposed legislation for reinstatement of the Voluntary Contributions Plan by Foreign Service Personnel introduced in the next session of Congress. This plan was abolished by the Foreign Relations Authorization Act of 1977. Because of renewed interest in the plan and higher yields for employees, AFSA began investigating the feasibility of pursuing an amendment earlier this year. The plan will allow employees to invest up to 10 percent of their lifetime earnings and currently yields a return of over 8 percent per year. AFSA has been working with a member of Senator Robb's staff on a draft bill and will keep you informed.

Garnishment legislation: AFSA submitted testimony to the House Subcommittee on the Civil Service to voice its opposition

to proposed legislation that would allow creditors, pursuant to a court judgment, to garnish the salaries of federal employees. AFSA believes that the proposed legislation poses an unacceptable risk of financial hardship for Foreign Service employees stationed overseas because of difficulties they face in responding to legal actions. In its testimony, AFSA proposed an exemption from garnishment for Foreign Service employees similar to the exemption presently enjoyed by the military. The proposed legislation was not introduced this term.

Sharon Papp
Legal Counsel

Scholarship Programs

The AFSA Scholarship Programs provide financial assistance to dependent children of career Foreign Service personnel (active, retired with pension, or deceased) who have served or are currently serving abroad in foreign affairs agencies of the U.S. government. The annual report covers the academic year in which awards were made, that is, the Fall 1991 and Spring 1992 financial aid grants and the Spring 1992 merit awards. This year, AFSA Scholarship Programs funded \$113,825 to 107 students.

Financial aid programs. The financial aid program was established by AFSA's Governing Board in 1932, providing grants for full-time undergraduate students. Grants ranging from \$500 to \$2,500 are awarded based on need and the amount allowed by individual schools. During academic year 1991-92, \$97,825 was given to 77 eligible students.

Merit awards. The merit awards, created by AFSA and the Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW) in 1976, provided a total of \$16,000 for 20 merit award winners and 10 honorable mentions. Merit award winners are high school seniors from schools in the United States and abroad who are recognized for their outstanding academic records, leadership qualities, and extra-curricular activities. Of the \$16,000 distributed in merit awards, equal amounts were contributed by AAFSW and AFSA.

Merit Awards are determined by review panelists consisting of 24 volunteers from AAFSW, USAID, State, USIA, and members of the retired community. This year's merit awards were given in memory of the late Ambassador Carol Laise Bunker.

Scholarship Fund. The AFSA Scholarship Programs enjoyed another strong year of giving. For the corresponding academic year beginning in June 1991 until May 1992, the AFSA Scholarship Fund received gifts totaling \$123,675. Contributions from individuals totalling \$50,150 came from memorial donations, contributions with dues, bequests, the Combined Federal Campaign, royalties, honoraria and in response to our annual drive. In addition, the continuing commitment of AAFSW provided \$30,550 for 24 students and the renewed commitment of DACOR Bacon House funded a second year of the Heyward G. Hill Scholarship Program. DACOR provided \$34,750 in grant aid for 16 college juniors and seniors whose studies are in the field of foreign affairs.

We have been encouraged that some members have responded to a proposed planned giving program and we will continue to pursue this as a potential source of funds.

A new perpetual award was established this year in honor of the generosity of those who won the lawsuit against the makers

of the movie "Missing", the residual funds of which were transmitted to the Scholarship Fund by Ambassador Nathaniel Davis. Perpetual awards are established when donations total \$10,000 or more. This year's annual awards were named for William and Melinda Itoh, James L. Holmes, Jack W. Lydman, Robert L. Yost and the Public Members Association. Annual awards are given when contributions total \$1,000.

Ambassador Robert H. Miller was chairman of the AFSA Committee during this period. Members of the committee included Jeanne Teare, AAFSW; Douglas Kinney, State; Sandra Muench, State; Herman W. Henning, USIA; and David Fredrick, USAID.

Gail Volk
Director of Scholarships and Development

Retirement Issues

Our growing retiree membership topped 3,500 in 1992. The vice president for retirees is now assisted by a staff member working exclusively on retiree matters—helping alumni with annuity or benefits problems, interacting with local retiree associations, and publishing AFSA's bimonthly letter for retired members. This work is guided by AFSA's Retiree Standing Committee, consisting of 20 retired AFSA members from State, USAID, and USIA.

Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps. Alumni received good news in December 1991 when the State Department agreed to AFSA's proposal to establish a Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps (FARC). Announced on Foreign Service Day last May, the FARC was ready to begin operations by the end of 1992, when processing was completed on more than 100 of the first reservists. Progress has been slow, and the FARC is not yet everything AFSA asked for—but it has promising potential and AFSA continues to find that department officials are receptive to our suggestions for its speedy and effective implementation. AFSA is working to have the FARC expanded to cover retirees of USAID and USIA and other foreign affairs agencies.

By the end of 1992, 500 State retirees had applied. Following security and personnel processing, the applications were to be certified for the FARC register, a pool from which all department bureaus could draw. Reservists must be readily available for employment at short notice, enabling State to quickly meet urgent special needs for foreign affairs experts, a resource which—AFSA has long pointed out—Foreign Service alumni are eminently qualified to provide. The central register and the four-year Reserve appointment are decided improvements over State's existing arrangements for reemploying annuitants. And for new retirees, who the department expects will provide the central element of the FARC, the Reserve offers not only a chance to use skills and experience but also to maintain a current Foreign Service identity during the important transition to life after the Foreign Service.

Speakers Bureau. Another AFSA initiative featuring alumni expertise is our new Speakers Bureau. Retired members form the mainstay of the program launched this fall to make foreign affairs experts available to educational and civic groups around the country. AFSA looks both to individual alumni and to local retiree associations both for speakers and for support of arrangements.

Minority intern mentoring. Interaction with local Foreign Service retiree associations also gets a boost from another new program, minority intern mentoring. In cooperation with State,

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AFSA selected 30 summer interns and paired them with alumni who would provide counsel and guidance after the interns returned to college and began to consider career choices. By providing this contact for interns, AFSA seeks to maintain their interest in foreign affairs careers, in accordance with our goal of a more representative Foreign Service.

AFSA is keenly aware of the importance our alumni place in staying in touch with foreign affairs developments, as evidenced by the enthusiastic turnout for Foreign Service Day, including the annual AFSA brunch in which the director general again participated. The new AFSA programs provide opportunities richer than ever for strengthening ties between alumni and the foreign affairs agencies.

Charles A. Schmitz
Vice President for Retirees

Membership Department

AFSA's membership has increased by 481 members since last year—a 4.8 percent increase in a year when most federal and private associations are experiencing membership decline. Retirees are once again the fastest growing constituency with 282 new members, and State is not far behind with 154 new members. Membership broken down by constituency is as follows:

State	4,819
USAID	1,143
USIA	207
Commerce	58
Agriculture	8
Associate	376
Retired	3,567
Life	190
Jubilee	37
Total	10,405

After a year-long campaign to represent the Foreign Service employees in USIA, AFSA received favorable election results on November 24, 1992. Once AFSA becomes certified as the official bargaining unit for USIA Foreign Service employees we hope to see a rapid increase in our USIA constituency. Our goal is to gain 100 new USIA members in 1993.

The AFSA Membership Committee, chaired by Governing Board member Catherine Barry, is focused on increasing member awareness of AFSA's efforts and activities on their behalf. The committee will pay particular attention to the needs of specialists and junior officers. Members of the committee include: Paula Boyd, State; Jon Farrar, State; David Queen, USIA; Bill McKinney, USAID; Joe Melrose, State, John Harter, retired.

There are currently 147 active Post Reps overseas. Post Reps have four main areas of responsibility: negotiating with post management on post specific problems, disseminating AFSA advisories on developments affecting conditions of employment, forwarding complaints and/or proposals to AFSA Washington, and building AFSA's membership at post.

AFSA's effectiveness depends on its members, and your active participation will increase our impact as the voice of the foreign

affairs community. Become involved and encourage your non-member colleagues to join AFSA and support the Foreign Service.

Janet L. Hedrick
Director for Membership

Communications

Editorial Board Chairman Howard Schaffer left the *Foreign Service Journal* in 1992 to accompany his wife, Teresita, to Sri Lanka, where she is serving as ambassador. Ambassador Brandon Grove Jr., who recently finished a three-year term as director of FSI, took Ambassador Schaffer's place as chair. Other new Editorial Board members are Eastern Europe expert Eric Rubin; USAID development specialist Robert Maushammer; retired Ambassador Donald Norland; Steven Aoki, an expert on nuclear proliferation; and Los Angeles Times journalist Robert Toth.

On the magazine staff, Advertising Manager Julia Schieken left after three years with the Journal and was replaced by Tina M. Dreyfus, who came to the magazine after internships in both marketing and foreign affairs.

In the focus articles each month, the magazine continued to explore the purposes and means of U.S. foreign policy in this new era and how these will affect the Foreign Service. Issue themes have included the U.S. intelligence community, the policy planning function at the State Department, the function of the National Security Council, and environmental issues in diplomacy.

Advertising revenues continued to grow, with \$294,551 in receipts, or about \$10,000 more income than was projected. Expenditures came in \$20,000 below projections. Therefore the actual cost of a yearly magazine subscription to association members was \$3.50 in 1992—well below the standard for associations, which is in the \$25 range.

The Communications Department increased somewhat its press activities in 1992 in an effort to cultivate broader awareness of the Foreign Service and its activities in the public at large.

Anne Stevenson-Yang
Communications Director

Administration

In 1992 we worked to support many new and continuing AFSA activities including the new Speaker's Bureau, the USIA election, conferences, and another successful July Fourth party.

We have continued to invest in maintaining the AFSA building and upgrading old equipment. Improvements in the Foreign Service Club and our meeting rooms were completed. Computer systems were upgraded in the State Department offices and Membership and Scholarship departments. All processing of our membership records has been brought in-house.

The year ended with a major transition as our executive director, Sabine Sisk departed and our new executive director, Susan Reardon, joined the AFSA staff. Everyone has worked very hard to make this a smooth transition.

Susan Reardon
Executive Director

Professional Issues

The Professional Issues Department was an exciting place this year as it worked with other elements of AFSA to establish the new Speakers Bureau and minority programs now being implemented by other departments.

Luncheon Speakers: The major theme for speakers has continued to be the adaptation of U.S. foreign policy to the post-Cold War era. Among the presentations were Warren Zimmermann on Yugoslavia, Richard Murphy on the Middle East, Jack Matlock on the collapse of the Soviet Union, and Tom Pickering on multilateral diplomacy.

AFSA Awards: The 1992 winners were honored at a ceremony in the Dean Acheson Auditorium on Foreign Service Day, May 1. Of particular note this year was the conferral of the Christian A. Herter Award for senior officers on Robert L. Earle of USIA. Winners and their families thereafter attended the Foreign Service Day luncheon in the Diplomatic Reception Rooms. The Awards Committee is chaired by Ambassador Bruce Laingen.

Foreign Service Day: AFSA's traditional sponsorship of Foreign Service Day this year included an author's corner of books by Foreign Service authors, organized jointly with DACOR.

Memorial Plaque: Since fortunately there were no new names to be added to the Memorial Plaque, this year, in place of the traditional ceremony at the Diplomatic Entrance a military color guard opened the Foreign Service Day program in the Dean Acheson Auditorium, and a moment of silence commemorated our fallen colleagues.

Richard S. Thompson

Coordinator for Professional Issues

Speakers Bureau

After nearly two years of planning and fund raising, the AFSA speakers bureau opened for business in September. Our objectives for the bureau are threefold: to promote serious discussion of and education about foreign-policy issues among grassroots groups around the United States, especially outside Washington; to foster understanding and appreciation of the role and achievements of the Foreign Service; and to encourage young people, especially from minority groups, to consider Foreign Service careers.

About 150 people, primarily retired FSO's and active-duty Foreign Service personnel assigned to universities, military commands, and other U.S. posts outside of Washington, have so far volunteered to serve as speakers, and the numbers are growing. Their expertise covers the full spectrum of foreign-policy issues. Our speakers' availability has been publicized among a broad range of world-affairs, civic, educational, and religious groups, with more than 30 expressions of interest to date.

As of late November the bureau has sent out 10 speakers, who have addressed more than 20 groups from Boston to Phoenix and Milwaukee to Orlando. At least another 10 engagements are pending and we expect to reach more than 75 groups in our first year. Such an outreach effort will provide unprecedented exposure and publicity for the Foreign Service at a time when the nation is critically re-evaluating its foreign policy under a new administration in a rapidly changing international order.

Operating funds for the speakers bureau's first year come from grants of \$25,000 each from the Ford and Una Chapman Cox Foundation, with smaller gifts from the Dillon Fund and the Delavan Foundation. In the future we are seeking to augment these sources with gifts from individual benefactors who have served as ambassadors or senior foreign-affairs officials.

Gilbert D. Kulick

Speakers Bureau

International Associates

The International Associates (IA) program was inaugurated in early 1990 as an effort to institutionalize on a year-round basis the Foreign Service-business dialogue initiated with our business conference series in 1989. The IA's are a core group of internationally minded businesses who both contribute to AFSA's work financially and participate in a series of events designed to deepen mutual appreciation between business and the Foreign Service and to sensitize each to the other's needs and perspectives. In the process, we seek to build a constituency for AFSA in the business community which could go to bat for us, when needed.

IA events take two forms: gratis participation in our public conferences on international business topics, and bimonthly off-the-record lunches, exclusively for IA's, with senior State Department and other foreign-affairs-agency officials. Speakers at the latter events this year included Richard Solomon, assistant secretary of state for East Asia and the Pacific; Robert Barry, coordinator of assistance to Eastern Europe; Julius Katz, deputy USTR; Thomas Niles, assistant secretary for Europe and Canada; and David Mack, DAS for the Near East. IA's also avail themselves of our advice in dealing with the foreign-affairs bureaucracy.

The International Associates roster currently numbers about 45 companies, including many Fortune 500 companies and several smaller, aggressively internationalist firms. IA membership numbers have remained more or less flat over the last year, due in large measure to the extremely difficult economic conditions which U.S. business is enduring. Active recruitment efforts this year have gained us about 10 new members. Due to straitened circumstances and cost-cutting measures by companies, we have unfortunately lost an equal number.

As business conditions improve, the IA program is bound to expand, provided we keep its activities in place, including the conference program, and continue a dynamic recruiting effort. The conferences and, in particular, the off-the-record lunches have produced vigorous, mutually beneficial dialogue between a small but influential segment of the business community and the Foreign Service. While difficult to quantify in the short run, these activities undoubtedly contribute long-term vitality to our public image and to public appreciation of our work.

Gilbert D. Kulick

International Associates

Development

In recent years AFSA has expanded its programs in several ways--conferences with business, publications on the Foreign Service, establishment of a Speakers Bureau--by soliciting donations, thus giving AFSA a capacity for action beyond the resources

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provided by members' dues. A Development Committee was established by the Governing Board in February 1991, for the purpose of developing a more organized approach to AFSA's fund raising activities and the use of those funds. The committee has focused on programs and related fund-raising strategies which qualify for tax-exempt status under the rubric of education. Such programs may educate members of the Foreign Service and improve their professional qualifications, or may aim at increasing public support for the Foreign Service by educating the public regarding foreign affairs issues and the contributions of the Foreign Service.

The committee has successfully guided fund-raising from outside AFSA for two specific projects. An illustrated booklet, "The U.S. Foreign Service: A Global Mission," published jointly with DACOR last April, was funded with \$25,000 in donations. Four foundations--the Ford Foundation, the Una Chapman Cox Foundation, the Delavan Foundation, and The Dillon Fund--contributed a total of \$60,000 for the new Speakers Bureau announced May 1, 1992. The committee oversees the annual Scholarship/AFSA Fund drive to AFSA members. It is also following closely AFSA efforts to attract highly qualified minorities into the Foreign Service, a program that may require outside funding in the near future.

The committee is currently engaged in fund-raising for the second year of the Speakers Bureau, and is exploring the pros and cons of establishing a foundation which would expand AFSA fund-raising and related programs and put them on a more enduring basis.

Richard S. Thompson
Acting Director of Development

Conferences

The AFSA Conference Program, entering its fourth year, continues to foster constructive dialogue between corporation executives and government officials on key international economic issues. AFSA mounted two major business-oriented conferences at the Department of State in 1992:

A February Symposium on **Export Promotion** centered attention on the critical importance to the United States of expanding foreign markets for U.S. goods and services, steps that have recently been taken to strengthen U.S. export performance, and additional measures that could further stimulate American participation in world trade. Senator Jay Rockefeller, the featured luncheon speaker, subsequently chaired a congressional hearing on issues addressed at the conference.

An October Symposium on **Targeting R&D for Competitive Advantage** featured presentations by D. Allan Bromley and Roger Porter of the White House and top R&D executives at several leading technology-intensive U.S. corporations. AFSA expects to publish a highlights report in January on actions the U.S. president might take in 1993 to strengthen the contribution of R&D to the competitiveness of the American economy, based on views expressed at the conference.

In addition, AFSA co-sponsored (with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace) a conference on **America's Foreign Policy Priorities in a New World** on November 24 and

(with Government Executive Magazine) a conference on **International Security Systems** on November 16.

AFSA conferences in 1992 entailed no drain on the AFSA budget, thanks to generous financial contributions from a number of Fortune 500 companies.

John J. Harter
Conference Affairs Officer

Insurance Programs

Personal Property Insurance: Protection of personal property while AFSA members are overseas is a key element in the success of an assignment abroad. AFSA's personal property insurance plan continues to be the most appropriate and most popular vehicle for protecting household effects that go with you to post, that remain in storage, or that are in transit. This plan is hassle free and provides full replacement coverage for losses. Over 600 AFSA members are covered by this policy, and the number continues to grow every year. Contact AFSA's Membership Department for more information.

Long term health care: AFSA members over the age of 55 are looking at the growing cost of long term health care which is not covered by MEDICARE or any of the government health insurance programs. AFSA's Long-Term Health Care program underwritten by AMEX is now completing its first year. The AMEX plan recently received high marks in a competitive analysis performed by a leading consumer magazine. Underwriting for eligibility is done at the beginning of membership rather than when benefits are payable as in most plans. In addition, the full daily benefits are paid regardless of the actual cost of services purchased. The Hirshorn Company is administering this program for AFSA in addition to a number of other insurance plans.

In-hospital income plan: The maximum daily benefit for this popular plan has been increased from \$100 to \$300 purchasable in \$10 increments. AFSA members are taking this policy to protect against the extra costs of hospitalization not covered by the standard health insurance programs.

Disability insurance: Over 200 AFSA members have signed up for this protection against loss of income due to disability. This policy is needed most by younger employees who have not yet built up sufficient equity in their retirement plans to take care of job interruption and exhaustion of sick leave because of disability. The Albert H. Wohlers Insurance Company administers this program for AFSA.

Accidental death insurance: AFSA's accidental death and dismemberment insurance plan now has a maximum benefit of \$500,000 at the same premium as before.

If you have insurance problems or questions please get in touch with the insurance committee by writing to: AFSA Insurance Committee, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037. The committee would be glad to provide individual assistance to members experiencing difficulties. Or, if one of AFSA's insurance programs cannot be helpful for your particular need, we will try to steer you to other appropriate programs. Your expressions of interest will also help us to develop new programs.

Herman J. Cohen
Acting Chairman, Board of Trustees for Insurance Programs

afsa news

AFSA victorious in USIA challenge

by *Lauren Hale*
USIA Representative

USIA Foreign Service members have voted that AFSA should be the union which represents them. They will join their State and USAID Foreign Service colleagues, who are already represented by AFSA, and the Foreign Service will speak with one voice.

The months-long campaign to determine who would be the exclusive bargaining agent of the USIA Foreign Service ended on November 24 when ballots were counted at the National Labor Relations Authority—358 members of the USIA Foreign Service bargaining unit voted for AFSA, 267 voted for AFGE. Twenty-one checked the box for no union. Representatives of both AFGE and AFSA witnessed the ballot count.

The vote ended a year in which members of the AFSA/USIA Standing Committee had established positions on a variety of issues ranging from overseas housing policy and travel regulations to USIA's role in supporting democratic initiatives abroad and the future of U.S. government international broadcasting. After certification of the election results, we will finally be able to discuss these issues with management.

Bud Hensgen, AFSA vice president for USIA, remarked, "Last year's efforts have helped to set our agenda for the



AFSA/USIA Standing Committee celebrates victory in the home of USIA Vice President Bud Hensgen. (L-R) Greg Fitzgerald, Bob Callahan, Debbie Leahy, Lauren Hale, Greg Lagana, Bud Hensgen, Carol Meirs-Osterling, Joe Johnson.

coming year: renegotiating a framework agreement with USIA management, taking on the new responsibilities of a labor representative, and—most important—remaining close to our constituents and getting USIA officers more involved in professional issues."

Once the election is certified, AFSA will take on all of the duties of the exclusive bargaining agent for Foreign Service employees in USIA, including assisting members with grievances, fielding employee inquiries regarding regulations, and negotiating all future regulatory changes. Although AFSA has assisted USIA employees with grievances and inquiries in the past, we will now have an AFSA office at USIA to facilitate this.

An immediate task will be negotiating the framework agreement which

defines the rights and responsibilities of the union and the agency. All negotiated regulations, such as precepts for promotions and open assignment procedures remain in effect through the end of the period for which they were negotiated.

Other work continues. David Queen heads up the AFSA membership effort within USIA. Kathy Brion represents USIA on the AFSA Awards Committee. Herman Henning serves on the AFSA Education Committee. Joe Johnson and Hans Tuch are on the Editorial Board of the *Foreign Service Journal*.

Heartfelt thanks

AFSA received the following letter from Jamiss Sebert of the Miami Passport Agency:

"All of us in the Miami Passport Agency were deeply touched by the contributions shared with us from colleagues from all around the world.

Hurricane Andrew may have been a two-day marvel in international news, but it was a traumatic experience that continues as a significant challenge to many of us now and for months to come. For all of our colleagues however far or near who have some realization of the devastation and its impact so that you thought to send aid, we send our heartfelt thanks . . ."

Middle-income families eligible for financial aid

by Gail Volk

Scholarship Director

Once again it is the time of year when high school students wait for college replies and parents ask themselves, "Just how am I going to finance my child's college education?" This task usually begins with filling out omnibus forms, which are used to determine eligibility for federal, college-based, and AFSA financial aid. You think you finally know the rules of the game, but guess again. This year, those rules have just been completely changed . . . well, almost.

Why the change? In July the Higher Education Amendments of 1992 were signed, resulting in changes of both federal financial-aid formulas and programs. These formulas take into account assets and liabilities that determine a family's ability to support a child through college. One significant change is the elimination of home equity from the federal financial-aid formula, allowing middle- and higher-income families to borrow under advantageous federal loan programs. Although the availability of federally funded financial aid will increase substantially, it is unlikely that college-funded aid or AFSA scholarship aid will increase, since AFSA and, we speculate, most colleges will continue to use home equity in awarding financial aid.

There are inconveniences, however, resulting from the new amendments: applicants for AFSA and college-funded aid will need to file two financial-aid forms for the 1993-94 academic year. Both forms will be a part of the College Scholarship Service's "FAF packet," which will be distributed later than usual because of delays caused by the changes to the formulas. Late applications may delay the awarding of financial aid and, since AFSA financial-aid grants are coordinated with college financial aid, AFSA Scholarships. Please note that Merit Awards will not be affected by changes in the Higher Education Amendments.

Also, with the incoming administra-

Annual Meeting

All members are invited to AFSA's annual meeting, to be held on January 26 at 4:30 p.m. at the Foreign Service Club's second floor meeting room. Wine and cheese will be provided.

Come and give us your ideas, criticisms, hopes, and complaints. Set the agenda for 1993. All are welcome.

tion, all of these new regulations could be changed once again in the near future. President-elect Clinton has his own ideas on what should be done with financial aid at higher education institutions.

In sum, we urge you to inquire at your child's financial-aid office about what new options you may have to help finance your child's education. The good news is that there may be aid for your child that you never had available in the past, and the AFSA Scholarship Programs are ready to provide help to Foreign Service youth as they have for over 60 years.

AFSA holds "town meeting" on foreign policy priorities

More than 600 participants gathered in the State Department on November 24 for a day-long conference designed to launch a thorough reexamination of post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy. Sponsored by AFSA with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the conference included talks by former National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski; former U.S. Ambassador to China Winston Lord; Professor Paul Kennedy; Under Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz; Jessica Matthews, vice president of the World Resources Institute, and many others.

USIA officials who served as panelists included Paula Dobriansky, associate director for Policy and Programs, who chaired the panel on human rights, humanitarian affairs, international law and democracy-building and Leonard Baldyga, director of the Office of European Affairs, who was a member of that panel. Bob Gosende, who is spending this year at the Georgetown Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, took part in a panel "Organizing the U.S. Government for the New World," which was chaired by Richard Holbrooke.

Conference participants debated ideas put forth in *Changing Our Ways*, an agenda-setting paper issued by the Carnegie National Commission on America and the New World. The



AFSA president visits Florida Retiree

Association
AFSA President William Kirby addressed more than 180 members of the Foreign Service Retirees Association of Florida in November. Kirby (center) visited the meeting in St. Augustine, Florida in conjunction with a visit to the Miami Passport Office to deliver AFSA hurricane relief checks.

study examines international relations in the context of a less ideologically divided world and concludes that policy must be demilitarized, with the healthy growth of the U.S. economy made a top priority in foreign policy. It also recommends overhauling the international system of trade and finance; raising energy taxes, particularly on gasoline; universalizing access to family planning services by the year 2000, and cutting global expenditures on defense in half.

A conference report will soon be available from AFSA.

1993-1994 Scholarship Applications Available
Deadline: February 15

Eligibility: Dependent students of all Foreign Service personnel in State, USAID, USIA, Commerce, or Agriculture who have served abroad.

Merit Awards: For graduating high school students in 1993 only, based on academic merit.

Special Foreign Affairs Study Awards: For full-time rising junior or senior college students with a major in the field of foreign affairs.

Financial Aid Awards: For full-time undergraduate students in the United States, based on need.

Contact: For more information contact AFSA Scholarship Department, 2101 E St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. FAX: (202) 338-6820.

Views

continued from page 2

in the post-Cold War era when effective American diplomacy is likely to depend on a knowledge of local conditions and issues. This is not to say that prominent Americans from other walks of life cannot be effective proponents of U.S. interests. Indeed, numerous examples come to mind. The key consideration is competence; appointments should be judged on that basis.

Recommendations. In light of the above considerations, the American Foreign Service Association makes the following recommendations:

- That a strong Foreign Service be considered essential for promoting the national interest;
- That the assurance of adequate funding for the foreign affairs agencies be afforded a high priority in budgetary considerations; and
- That a mechanism be established to ensure quality in the appointment of ambassadors and senior officials in the foreign affairs agencies. We would be willing to help create and to participate in such a mechanism.

The American Foreign Service Association speaks for more than 10,000 active and retired foreign service career professionals representing the various foreign affairs agencies. We look forward to serving your administration.

Respectfully,
William A. Kirby
President

Since this letter was sent, AFSA has met with key members of the Clinton-Gore Transition Team to expand on our views. It appears that a committee to advise on ambassadorial appointments will be formed and AFSA has been asked to provide suggestions on its composition and operation, together with the Council of American Ambassadors and the American Academy of Diplomacy.

We have also stressed (1) the need to assure that political appointments are based on qualifications for the position and not just partisan loyalty in the hope of avoiding incidents such as "passportgate;" (2) the value of placing career Foreign Service personnel with on-the-ground experience in key operational and management positions; (3) the importance of providing adequate funding, particularly for recruitment and training; and (4) the need to transfer resources from Washington to the field.

We have been reminded that President-elect Clinton himself once considered a Foreign Service career and have been told that the new administration intends to strengthen the Service. AFSA will continue to suggest ways to do so.

newsbriefs

Volunteer assistance: Three members, Andrew Winter, Sidney Kaplan, and Thomas Bebout gave valuable advice and assistance in the evaluation of audit proposals submitted to AFSA. We would like to express our appreciation for a job well done and we look forward to their continued support.

Check your PAR: A recent IG audit report identified numerous inaccuracies in Personnel Action Reports (PARs). Specifically, more than 90 percent of full-time Foreign Service employees have one or more errors in at least one of 12 critical data elements that are contained in the PAR. Several changes in procedure were suggested by the IG, including review of personnel files by employees every three to four years. In the meantime, the department will be sending PARs out for checking by employees annually in February, rather than during the employee's birthday month. When you receive your PAR, check it carefully. OIG is looking for feedback on their report, which is available from OIG/PPM/PRA, telephone 663-1965.

Election Call

The February *AFSA News* will carry the 1993 Election Call for nominations of AFSA officers and constituency representatives. All AFSA members have the opportunity to participate in the nominations and elections of a new governing board. Look for details next month.

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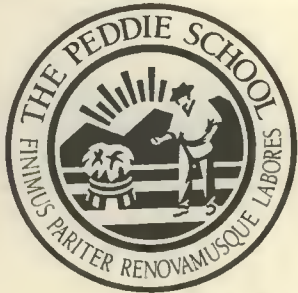
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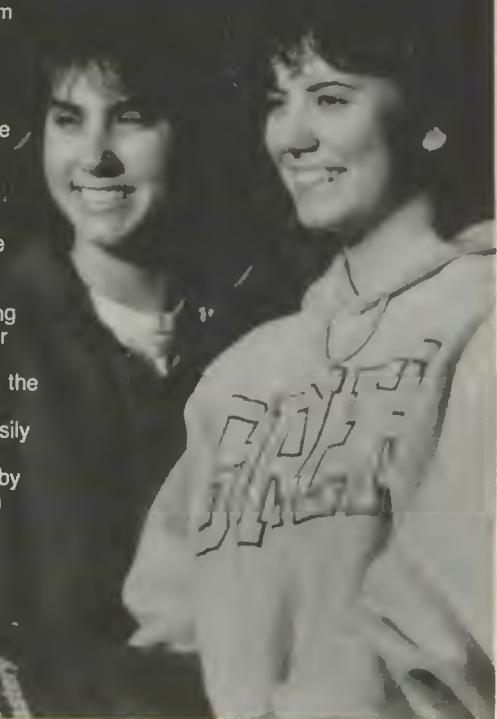
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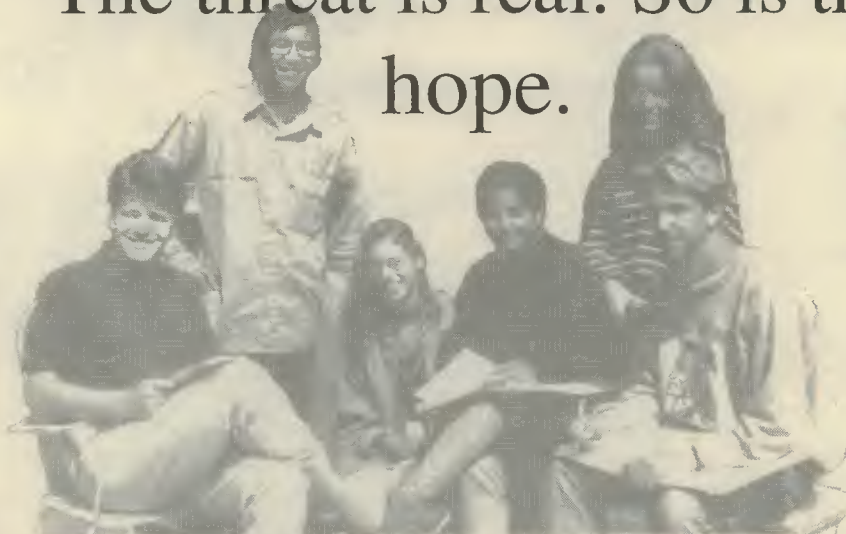
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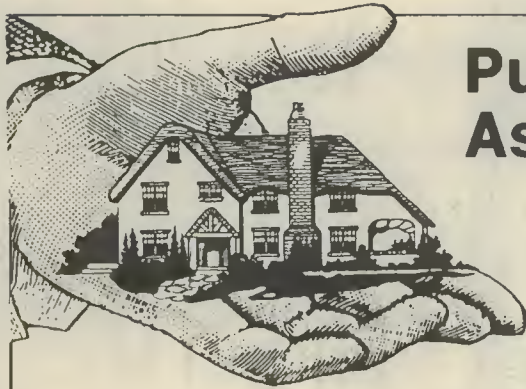
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continued from page 29

ment of subsistence families. Women's access to farm lands and the goods they yield is fast diminishing. The results are already evident in the declining food security among subsistence households. Under strategies to promote cash crops in southern Ghana, for example, commonly owned village land traditionally available to women to grow food for their families is being "privatized" and shifted increasingly into the hands of male farmers who are not responsible for domestic food supplies. Left with smaller holdings, on poorer soil, Ghanaian women can no longer practice crop rotation and must farm the same plots year after year. As a result, soil becomes eroded and less fertile. Food production declines, and malnutrition deepens.

Misdirected development

On balance, conventional agricultural development strategies have marginalized women farmers. Instead of increasing the productivity of food crops and domestic food production, which are controlled by women, governments and international agencies have promoted cash crops, which are generally controlled by men.

Four major—and interrelated—trends, all set in motion or perpetuated by the agricultural strategies of low-income countries since the 1950s, have been particularly damaging to the ability of rural women to produce or procure adequate supplies of food. All four are a product of the increasing emphasis on cash crops.

First, large amounts of land once jointly owned and controlled by villagers, and accessible to women, have shifted into the hands of government agencies and private landowners. Second, the distribution of resources on which cash crop agriculture is heavily dependent, including land, fertilizers, pesticides, irrigation, and hybrid seeds, has reflected persistent gender bias. Third, the mechanization of agriculture has reduced or replaced the labor traditionally done by men but increased that done by women without increasing their income. And, finally, the labor available to subsistence households in many countries has become increasingly scarce, largely as a result of the shift of male workers away from subsistence production into cash crops and urban-based industries.

The shifting of land out of the hands of those who are most responsible for producing food for domestic consumption has been hastened by development strategies that make false assumptions about who benefits from gross economic gains. Governments throughout the less-developed world since the end of the colonial era have privatized land in favor of male land-holders. As a result, the amount and quality of land available to women food producers in large parts of the developing world is declining. Legal and cultural obstacles prevent women from obtaining title to land and, therefore, from participating in cash crop schemes.

Agricultural development schemes encourage expansion of cash crop operations by offering market incentives,

improved agricultural technologies, credit, seeds, and the like, with access to these resources dependent mainly on the use of land as collateral. But without ownership and control over land, women are further disadvantaged because they cannot compete in cash crop schemes and have fewer resources with which to produce food crops.

In Africa, men have responded to cash crop farming incentives by reserving the better land—and their own labor—for their crops. This has two damaging effects: it raises women's workloads, and it increases environmental degradation by forcing women to produce food crops on already exhausted fields. A woman's production is undercut when she spends more time working on her husband's land, and less tending the crops she needs to feed her family or sell in the market. Her personal income—an important source of community respect and economic independence—declines, and her labor is increasingly spent on activities for which she receives no remuneration. She is drawn into a cycle of more labor for lower gains, which only deepens her impoverishment and dependence.

Green revolution technologies also are skewed in favor of men. In India, investments in agriculture consistently bypass women even though most of the rural female population is engaged in agriculture. An International Labor Organization study of how rural women spend their time indicates that up to 90 percent of rural women in central India participate in agriculture. Nevertheless, the distribution of irrigation outlets favored large land-holders at the expense of the small family farms on which women work and produce food for domestic consumption.

And the credit needed to enhance productivity remains out of reach of women, again largely because they lack ownership of land as collateral.

The focus of agricultural research and development, too, has often favored cash crops over food crops, to the detriment of women and of family nutrition. This has not only led to diminished production but increased the perception that cash crops are more "valuable."

The loss of jobs

Mechanization has replaced millions of agricultural jobs, throwing large numbers of men out of their traditional occupations. Meanwhile, the privatization of commons lands has made large numbers of land-poor and landless female subsistence producers even more reliant on wage income. An increased number of both men and women were forced to compete for traditional jobs. For example, in many regions of India, the increased competition for agricultural work has further driven down wages and led to increasing pauperization among subsistence producers, and especially among women.

As wages fall and productivity declines, more and more men from the land-poor and landless households of the developing world migrate to towns and cities in search of work. Subsistence households may or may not benefit from

A woman's production is undercut when she spends more time working on her husband's land, and less tending the crops she needs to feed her family or sell in the market. . . She is drawn into a cycle of more labor for lower gains.

male migration, however, depending on whether or not husbands or sons send back to their families the money they earn. Indeed, studies show that female-headed households are among the poorest in large part because the money sent back by male relatives tends to dwindle over time.

The growing number of female-headed households is one indication of how widespread these conditions are. Some estimates indicate that women are the sole breadwinners in one-fourth to one-third of the world's households. And at least one-fourth of all other households rely on female earnings for more than 50 percent of total income.

Prospering together

Improving the status of women, and thereby the prospects for humanity, will require a complete reorientation of development efforts toward establishing an environment in which women and men can prosper together. This means creating mainstream development programs that increase women's control over income and household resources, improve their productivity, establish their legal and social rights, and increase the social and economic choices they are able to make.

The first step toward achieving these goals—a step that is consistently overlooked—is to ask women themselves what needs should be accorded top priority. Some answers were provided in a forum on international health held in June 1991. Among the key needs identified by participants from Africa, Asia, and Latin America were investments in the development and dissemination of appropriate technology to reduce women's work burden, and access for women to credit and training programs.

The second step is to act immediately to increase the productivity of subsistence producers, whether in rural or urban areas. Immediate gains can be realized by increasing women's access to land, credit, and the tools and appropriate technologies with which they can increase their own and their families' welfare. Enforcement of laws guaranteeing gender equity in the distribution of land resources, for example, needs to be assigned high priority. Given the intimate connections between women's lack of access to land, their increasing work burden, and their dependence on children as a force of labor, land distribution and allocation policies should be at the top of the agenda for groups concerned about the environment, human rights, hunger, and population issues.

The third step is to change the definitions and assumptions made by conventional development policies, in order to collect information that creates a realistic picture of subsistence economies. A redefinition of the concepts of "productivity," "value," and "work" is needed in many places to include activities that are indeed productive—

such as those that yield family income in goods rather than in cash or that support people without degrading the environment—which would dramatically alter the base of relevant information sought by those who are truly interested in improving human prospects. This recognition, in essence, is a necessary precondition to environmentally sound economic systems.

The collection of this type of data on a small scale already has helped policymakers to recognize the different effects on men and women of conventional gender-blind development practices. But for many areas of the economy in which women play important but officially ignored roles, there are still too little data available to truly inform public policy. Such data need to be incorporated into all relevant areas of economics, health, and environment.

Research and development in the sciences and in appropriate technologies need to be far more gender sensitive, not only to benefit women but to benefit from them, especially in areas of crop production and biodiversity.

Focusing research on the needs of women in subsistence economies could dramatically boost food crop and forest production within a decade.

But these objectives cannot be met unless women enjoy the same degree of independence and freedom of choice as men. Governments and international agencies also need to be pushed to recognize the effects of their policies on how men and women interact, and on how such resources as money, food, and opportunities for learning are allocated within the household. Development should encourage more cooperation

between the sexes with the goal of ending poverty, reducing fertility, and securing the environment.

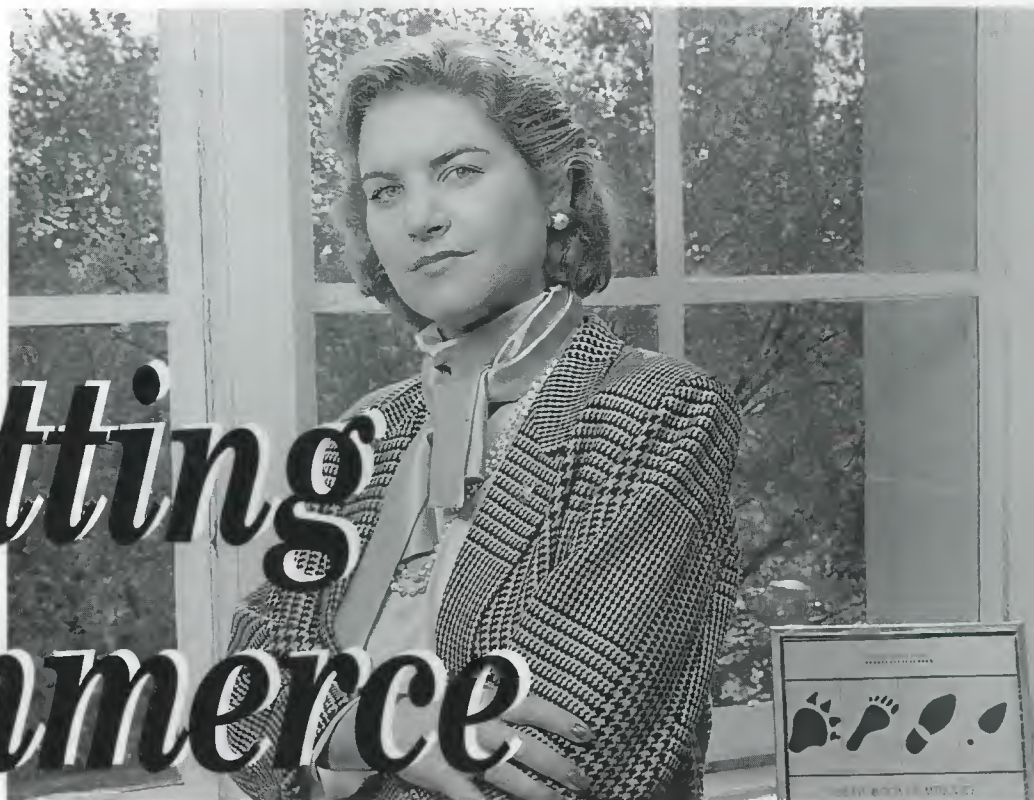
These ends can most easily be achieved by directing resources into the education of young girls and the training of women, and by establishing policies that increase women's access to credit and opportunities to establish businesses, earn income, and create jobs.

Experience suggests that these reforms will not be easily accomplished. Gender bias dies hard. Much of the information regarding women's roles in agriculture and forestry, for example, has been available to governments and development planners for two decades and has yet to provoke real changes in policy. Yet it is in the interest of every person, from the poor farmers of Sikandernagar to the chiefs of industry, and from grassroots activists to heads of state, to combat gender bias. Nothing could be more important to human development than the reform of policies that suppress the productive potential of half the earth's people. ■

Improving the status of women, and thereby the prospects for humanity, will require a complete reorientation of development efforts toward establishing an environment in which women and men can prosper together.

Jodi L. Jacobson is a senior researcher at the Worldwatch Institute in Washington. The research for this article was done for the Worldwatch study, Gender Bias: Roadblock to Sustainable Development.

Putting Commerce First



RICK BLOOM

Susan Schwab talks about four years as director of the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service

For the last four years, Susan C. Schwab has served as director general of the U.S. & Foreign Commercial Service, bringing to the organization wider public recognition than ever before in its 12-year history.

Since the Foreign Commercial Service left the State Department and was established under Commerce's aegis in 1980, a debate has wracked the Foreign Service over who is best equipped to promote U.S. trade and commercial interests. The State Department argues that its generalist officer corps is best trained and best situated to provide economic and political analysis of the circumstances affecting U.S. trade. Advocates of merging the Foreign Commercial Service back into the State Department say that, before the Second World War, it was a core responsibility of Foreign Service officers to promote U.S. commercial interests; the World War and the Cold War deflected Foreign Service attention to security issues. But supporters of a separate Foreign Com-

mercial Service say that State never appreciated the importance of commercial and trade issues, which are best handled by specialists in the Department of Commerce. Schwab, who is the daughter of a Foreign Service family and herself served as a Foreign Service officer in the State Department, speaks here about her view of the commercial function.

A graduate of Williams College and Stanford University, Schwab entered the Foreign Service in 1977 in the U.S. Trade Representative's office, where for two years she worked on the Tokyo Round of negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. She then did a tour as an economic officer in Tokyo before leaving the Foreign Service to work in the office of Senator John C. Danforth (R-MO) on international trade questions. She was appointed director general of the USEFCS in 1989.

Nearing the end of her term at the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service, Schwab talked with Foreign Service Journal Editor Anne Stevenson-Yang about her life in the Foreign Service and international trade.

Following is an edited transcript of the interview.

Journal: *Would you talk about growing up in the Foreign Service?*

Schwab: Growing up in a Foreign Service family had a profound effect on my outlook. My father served in both State and USAID before he retired, and our first overseas assignment took place six weeks after I was born. Until the time I was 17 and came back to college, I'd spent a grand total of four years in the United States. We lived on three continents, in West Africa, North Africa, Europe, and East Asia. I learned to be adaptable. When every two years of your life you pick up and move, you learn how to make friends, you also learn how to leave friends, you learn how to adjust to different cultures.

You get an enhanced appreciation of the United States of America. I think that, growing up overseas, I was substantially more American than a lot of my counterparts in college. They didn't have the frame of reference I had, and living overseas, primarily in developing countries, one developed a very strong sense of how lucky one was to be an American. In the Foreign Service, one spouse may be employed by the U.S. government, but the U.S. government gets the whole family; they get the package. In my experience, the children, the dependents in the package, are as happy and as well adjusted as their parents are happy and well adjusted in the Foreign Service.

Journal: *Why did you decide to leave the Foreign Service?*

Schwab: I got a better offer. I had always wanted to follow in my father's footsteps. My training was in economics, my love is international economics and international trade, and, quite frankly, it was not a field that was necessarily appreciated at State at the time. I watched some phenomenal economic-cone officers sort of top out in terms of assignments. *Maybe* they'd get to be deputy chief of mission (DCM). I saw some top-notch economic officers getting selected out for time-in-class. And it didn't take me long to figure out that the part of U.S. foreign policy and international relations that I consider to be most important was not that highly valued at State.

I was very happy with my assignments as a Foreign Service officer. The year that I left, though, I think State lost five or six officers who had some Japan economics experience. That should have been a hint.

Journal: *Was this just before the spin-off of the Foreign Commercial Service?*

Schwab: Yes, in fact, I was sitting in Tokyo, in the Economics Section, at the point when the Foreign Commercial Service formed, and it was not a happy split in Tokyo. I had a wonderful time in Tokyo. I had, by the point where I left, spent four years doing U.S.-Japan trade issues,

The U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service is very, very different from the Foreign Commercial Service that left the State Department 12 years ago. It has an entirely different corporate culture than State does. It has a very different kind of staff. We are very decentralized.

and I had a DCM who decided it was time for me to stamp visas. Now, I know everyone has to pay their dues, but I also knew that I had something of value to contribute to the Foreign Service in the way of U.S.-Japan trade experience. The people who were making the decisions did not consider that as valuable as I did.

Around the time I would have moved, I got a call from the old-boy trade network in Washington, saying that Senator John Danforth was going to be taking over the International Trade Subcommittee of the Senate Finance Committee. They

knew I'd been interested in going up to the Hill, because I didn't think I could be able to do well in trade policy in the executive branch if I didn't understand Congress. For someone interested in international trade and U.S.-Japan trade, at that time being in the State Department was not the place to be.

Journal: *You hit on a sensitive nerve for State people, many of whom feel that trade issues and international economics are the wave of the future in foreign affairs. How successful do you think it's been to have a separate Foreign Commercial Service, and how committed are you to keeping the services distinct?*

Schwab: I think that the Foreign Commercial Service, which became the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service when it linked up with the U.S. domestic operation, is a truly unique entity that could not ever go back into the Department of State, and that should not. I think that most of the senior officials I know at the State Department recognize that. The U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service is very, very different from the Foreign Commercial Service that left the State Department 12 years ago. It has an entirely different corporate culture than State does. It has a very different kind of staff. We are very decentralized. We like to think we give a great deal of autonomy to our senior officers in the field. About half of our officers have private-sector experience before they come to work for us. They like the sense of independence. They are entrepreneurial thinkers. They have a bottom-line mentality. They have an ability to measure their successes in terms of clients making sales, and they have a lot of administrative responsibilities that their State Department colleagues don't have. They like to run their own operations.

Just as important is that the Foreign Service officers in the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service are judged solely on the basis of how they do commercial work. When the commercial operation was at State, not only did State not place a terribly high priority on the economic function, but it placed no priority on the commercial function, and those Foreign Service officers who liked commercial work were doomed not to advance in the system. And, let's face it, some officers who were not of the highest caliber ended

up getting stuck doing commercial work. So you had this odd mix of people who were real good at what they did and ended up not getting rewarded, and people who just weren't good at what they did. None of them were judged on the basis of how they did commercial work.

I think that, politically, it's pretty safe to assume that the services will never be put back together again. We can talk about policy—I just gave you a substantive explanation of why they shouldn't. Politically, it's not in the cards.

That said, the State Department has an important role to play in U.S. foreign economic relations. It has an important role to play in improving the U.S. economic position abroad, starting with the ambassadors. I think what [Secretary] Eagleburger and some of the people who work with him have accomplished in terms of sensitizing the Department of State to the importance of the economic and commercial portfolio has been remarkable. I will point out that Larry Eagleburger seized upon this as a priority long before the Berlin Wall came down. So, it isn't as though the world had to change and the Cold War had to end before really smart people at the Department of State figured out that U.S. national security is inextricably linked with the U.S. economic situation, that you cannot separate the two.

I have gotten positive feedback both personally, from U.S. ambassadors, and from the business community, and I can tell you for a fact that Eagleburger's investment is paying off. I must say, we in the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service appreciate having been invited to participate in this evolution. We do have something to contribute. We bring an expertise on trade and investment issues that an ambassador would be crazy not to draw on. There are distinct roles, distinct functions and activities that the Department of State can and should be engaged in that can complement what the US & FCS does in the way of business development and advocacy. There are still some problems with turf consciousness, but they're minor compared to what they were five or 10 years ago.

Journal: *But, whether the bureaucratic troubles were ameliorated or exacerbated by the spinoff of the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service, trade policy still lies in pockets all over the U.S. government. There's an economic function at State, there's the Foreign Commercial Service, there's the Small Business Administration, there's the Agriculture Department, etc. Various attempts have been made to coordinate this without huge success. What should be done?*

Schwab: There are two issues: trade policy and trade promotion. Unfortunately, both involve a disparate number of agencies, but for U.S. trade policy, there is an established interagency system chaired by the U.S. Trade Representative's Office, where agencies that have a legitimate interest in U.S. trade policy—State does, Commerce does, Treasury does, Agriculture does—get coordinated. It isn't perfect; doing anything by committee is painful, to be sure, but these are legitimate interests.

In trade promotion, we have the Trade Promotion Coordinating Committee, which, by the way, has now been made statutory. The purpose of the TPCC is to

enhance U.S. government trade promotion activities, to reduce redundancies, to fill in gaps in service. It has a particular mandate with respect to new and emerging markets.

If you're going to create an interagency structure, it takes a lot of time to settle in. The TPCC has accomplished a great deal in only two and a half years, considering its fairly nebulous mandate. Obviously, it will only be as effective as the president of the United States wants it to be, and is willing to give responsibility and authority to the chairman, who, in this case, is the secretary of commerce.

Journal: *What do you think about the idea, advanced, I believe, by the Institute for International Economics, of putting competitiveness issues under a new bureaucratic structure?*

Schwab: I have to tell you, I'm not into artificially compartmentalizing when it comes to linkages between domestic competitiveness and international economic competitiveness, or trade matters, whether policy or promotion. I think that there is sufficient empirical evidence to show that the best thing the government can do for business is to create an environment where competitiveness can flourish, but that is not an issue of necessarily throwing money at it. It may be that tax policy and antitrust policy are as important components of this mix as programs to commercialize technology or enforce unfair trade practice law. I think competitiveness will never be a single agency function, because it has so many components.

Obviously, there is a very strong relationship between trade and competitiveness, to the extent that you have to be competitive to export successfully, and by exporting, you can enhance competitiveness.

Journal: *And where are the major challenges for U.S. exports in the coming decade?*

Schwab: I think that the American people would be surprised to learn the amazing variety of products that U.S. firms are able to sell in foreign markets. I mean, you can go with the obvious, high technology or chemicals. But we also can and should be successful exporters of other heavy and light industry, and services—and you have sectors like telecommunications where you often cannot differentiate between the product and the service, the hardware and the software.

In our experience at the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service, any company with a competitive product, whose management is motivated to export, is capable of exporting. One of our showcase small business clients is Bee Hat Company out of St. Louis, Missouri. Who would have thought that an American producer of something as low-tech and labor-intensive as hats could be a successful exporter? They're exporting to thirty-some countries now—from zero to 30 in three years, from zero to several hundred thousand dollars in exports. So, while there are obviously sectors that are bigger ticket than others—more viable, more internationally competitive—you don't have to write off anybody.

To go back to U.S. foreign policy interests and the U.S.

Department of State, one of the things that long-time Foreign Service officers I would hope are discovering is that the difference between the Cold War and the challenge today in terms of international economics is that, in the Cold War, you were dealing with a zero-sum game or even a negative-sum game. You would almost always have a winner and a loser, and if you weren't careful, you could end up with all losers. The truly exciting thing about international economic issues is that the economic pie can grow, and you can pursue an aggressive and successful international economic agenda, and it is still a positive-sum game, where everyone can benefit.

Journal: *Tell me what you're proudest of during your tenure here.*

Schwab: Taking an organization that really had been troubled before we got here and helping it meet its potential. Recognize that virtually all the people who were here when this management team came in are still here, but I think they have a better sense of direction. I like to think they get more support from management, and they're finally getting the recognition that they deserve for the wonderful and important job they do.

Employees are generally satisfied and fulfilled only to the extent that managers provide them with a flexible and fulfilling structure in which to work. Coming US&FCS, I found that I was drawing very heavily on experiences quite apart from my trade-policy training. I found myself drawing on two things: one, my experience as a Foreign Service brat, and two, my experience as a Foreign Service officer. As a Foreign Service officer, I had, for example, been subject to the Foreign Service personnel system. I know what it's like to try and schedule the packers, to get the paperwork done for a move, and to submit six bids and not get a single one of them, but to end up in a good job still.

Because the US&FCS is not a grant agency, and because virtually all of our money goes into paying people and paying benefits, our principal asset, as in the State Department, is our people. Therefore the organization is only as good as the people who work for it. We are only as good as we have a sense of direction, as well as the training and the tools and the flexibility to deliver on that mission.

If I've learned nothing else in the US&FCS in terms of management, it's that form has to follow function, and that unless and until you have a well-defined mission, the management aspects can't be defined or determined. Why does this organization exist? What is it that this organization can and should be doing? Without mission and goals you don't know what type of people you're looking for, you don't know where they should be, you don't know what their career development program should look like.

The single hardest challenge for a manager, I think, is morale, because you can't measure it, there's nothing you can do directly to affect it. Morale comes from the inside of every individual employee, and I have the sense that morale has improved, but it's improved because I think everyone has a better sense of what they can contribute, and that alone contributes to morale. We've put this organization on the map.

Journal: *Are there any particular challenges involved with being a woman in such a high-level government position?*

Schwab: I'll be honest, I don't think being a woman has had an impact on the job I've been able to do. There are a handful, and only a handful out of 1,300 of the officers who, I suspect, will never get over the fact that they're working for a woman, but that's a dying breed. I will say, that being a woman in a high-level position is a challenge, ironically, because of things like affirmative action. When you get a job like this, there are an awful lot of people who immediately assume that you got the job because you were female and not because you were talented or necessarily deserved it or were better than any of the other candidates. One thing that one does find as a woman in this kind of job is you have to work your butt off right from the beginning to show that you got the job because you were qualified for the job. But once you've gotten over that hurdle, it's not an issue any more.

Journal: *Do you have any of the common difficulties balancing your personal life with your professional one?*

Schwab: What personal life? I think supermom is a myth. I think it is very, very difficult to have a job, particularly this job—this job has entailed long hours and a great deal of travel—and a full personal life too. One would have to have a very understanding spouse, male or female, to be successful in this job, and it would be very difficult to have children. It's a pretty high burnout job. I guess, the good news is, you meet interesting people. The bad news is, you don't have the time to get to know them. I have a lot of outside interests, though. I can't say I regret not having a more active personal life. I still manage to do things that are important to me.

Journal: *How about your current plans?*

Schwab: That won't take long. I agonized over the decision to go from a career service into a political position. My decision was made when I left the State Department and went to the Hill. I do not regret that decision for a moment. I think one of the things that men in the workforce recognized long before women in the workforce is that one has to be a risk-taker, and being in a political rather than a career capacity is an example of risk-taking. The potential up-side is tremendous. If I had stayed with the U.S. Department of State I would not have been the director general of the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service.

On the other hand, you know the down-side risk, and the down side risk is that if the political person you are supporting and are associated with loses his or her election, then you have to find another position. I am very comfortable with that. This is not the way I would like to have left. On the other hand, this is the way our government works, and I'm a strong believer in change, moving around, having new experiences, and bureaucracies' getting new blood.

What am I going to do next? I don't know. I'm having some conversations. What I will not do is jump at the first job opportunity I have, because being fulfilled professionally is very, very important to me. I'll see what's out there. ■

The Error of Selection Out

How the Foreign Service is jettisoning its best professional diplomats

BY JOHN J. HARTER

Since at least the early 1970s, the Foreign Service has been plagued by the notion that it should be a pyramid, growing ever narrower in the upper ranks. Coupled with systemic discrimination against relatively mature U.S. diplomats, this presumption has doomed too many outstanding Foreign Service officers to the limbo of premature retirement.

Meanwhile, the Department of State's responsibility and authority have been continuously diminished, as other government agencies have come to exercise greater influence on U.S. foreign policy. This may not be coincidence. It's time to reexamine the premises, assumptions, and foreign policy implications of Foreign Service personnel practices. We may find, at the end of the Cold War, that the relative career security that characterized the pre-World War II Foreign Service made a lot of sense, especially if we wish to restore the Department of State as the vital center of the U.S. foreign affairs structure. That is, if a professional diplomat is to speak and act candidly in the behind-the-scenes give-and-take that determines government positions on controversial and sensitive issues, he needs a degree of assurance that his chosen vocation will not be arbitrarily short-circuited as a consequence of his boldness.

The "up or out" principle was implanted into the personnel system in 1946 by Ambassador Selden Chapin. An Annapolis graduate, he envisaged an intensely competitive professional corps in which those who failed to win rapid promotion at any level would automatically "retire." He assumed that a progressive winnowing process would ensure sustained achievement and the ultimate survival of only the most gifted and dedicated officers. Chapin was among those who had the prescience to discern during World War II that the United States would be more dominant in world affairs after the cessation of hostilities than it had been prior to World War II and that this implied a substantial expansion of U.S. diplomacy. Furthermore, he had the pluck to press his own version of reform against vigorous opposition. He pointed the way in the *Foreign Service Journal* during the war. "If we really want to make our Foreign Ser-

vice the best in the world," he wrote in the July 1944 issue, we should recruit "nearly twice as many . . . officers as we expect to retain." A more extended analysis followed in June 1945: "[W]e should be prepared . . . to eliminate ruthlessly not only the unsatisfactory but the mediocre. There can be no compromise with quality."

Critics within the Foreign Service denounced Chapin's Darwinian presumptions from the beginning. They said the survivors may not be the "fittest" but merely the lucky ones who happened to work for generous rating officers. They argued that those who choose diplomacy as a profession, having passed tough qualifying examinations and later demonstrated the essential qualities of integrity and dedication, should follow their calling as long as they render honorable and worthy service.

"Wristonizing" the service

In practice, selection-out was not

an issue in the Foreign Service in the late 1940s and early 1950s. During that period, many FSOs (who increasingly

were urgently needed to fill expanding overseas slots. My first supervisor, for example, by 1954 had been in the

The famous Wriston Commission confronted that issue in 1953: Should Foreign Service officers dedicate their lives and careers almost exclusively to overseas service, leaving their management in Washington to Civil Service personnel?

served only overseas) became accustomed to receiving frequent promotions. Foreign Service recruitment had virtually ceased during World War II, and after the war, as Department of State responsibilities in Washington and overseas mushroomed, virtually all available Foreign Service officers

service for some 30 years without ever having served in Washington.

As Foreign Service recruitment fell ever further behind, the department necessarily employed Civil Service personnel to fill Washington positions previously reserved for FSOs. Complaints grew in Congress and elsewhere that Civil Service practices were singularly ill-suited to the management of foreign affairs because of a presumably inherent tendency of Civil Service personnel toward "clientitis." Highly qualified, specialized Civil Service personnel are recruited to fill specific posts, the argument went, and such experts tend to continue in those posts, developing stable relationships with congressional and private-sector interests concerned with the same special interests. The Foreign Service mission, in contrast, requires flexibility and generalists with multiple skills, adjustability, and no fixed identity with the interests of a particular foreign country. The famous Wriston Commission confronted that issue in 1953: Should Foreign Service officers dedicate their lives and careers almost exclusively to overseas service, leaving their management in Washington to Civil Service personnel? Or should the same broad reservoir of talent be drawn upon interchangeably to serve in both on-the-front-lines diplomatic positions *and* policy and managerial positions in the Department of State? The commission's conclusion was

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Ambassador Selden Chapin crafted the "up or out" system in the 1940s.

simple, explicit, and emphatic: the two personnel systems in the Department of State must be merged. Officers who previously occupied key positions in the department must be rapidly "integrated" into the professional diplomatic corps and compelled immediately to accept assignments in U.S. embassies overseas, regardless of any personal preference, inconvenience, or hardship.

Vigorous implementation of the Wriston recommendations followed, and the Foreign Service quadrupled in size almost overnight. Its upper ranks suddenly absorbed many former Civil Service careerists who lacked the practical grasp of foreign affairs that normally derives from many years of diplomatic service abroad. Foreign Service discipline and respect for diplomatic traditions, such as a willingness to serve wherever needed, were thus eroded, if not eliminated, as a consequence of Wristonization. The reciprocal up and down flow of loyalty may also have been a casualty of Wristonization.

In the ensuing years, many young officers, complaining that "deadwood" at the top was blocking the channels that would otherwise be open to their rapid promotion, urged heavy resort to Chapin's long dormant concept of selection-out. They argued that the arteries of the Foreign Service had

become clogged, that older officers were excessively encumbered with personal problems, weakened by flagging energies, and tempted to arrogance.

Independent thinkers

Ambassador Loy Henderson was entrusted with administering Wristonization when he became the department's top management official in 1955. Although he had initially opposed the concept of "diluting" the Foreign Service with massive infusions of Civil Service personnel in the middle and upper ranks, he became fully convinced that a unified and internally consistent personnel system in the Department of State was essential. At the same time, he resolutely stood fast against the Draconian resort to large-scale selection-out urged by younger officers. Henderson understood that the up-or-out principle was rational in combat forces, whose very mission requires iron control exercised through a chain of officers of steadily descending rank. However, he insisted that a command and obey system was not sufficient in the world of foreign affairs: rather, he believed, diplomats should place a high premium on honest and independent evaluation of the complex and sometimes ambiguous political dilemmas that characteristically define their profession. Henderson

also contended that the perspective a Foreign Service officer gains in the lower and middle ranks is indispensable to his later effective performance at a senior level.

"Reign of Terror"

Circumstances and public attitudes toward professional diplomacy shifted abruptly during the war in Vietnam, especially after 1968, as American public opinion came to decry the failure of the U.S. government and its "foreign affairs community" to avoid the quagmire of a prolonged, brutal, and intensely debated war. After more than 20 years of expansion, the size of the Foreign Service stabilized during that same period and the relative influence of other agencies in the conduct of foreign affairs (especially the CIA and the Department of Defense) ballooned.

Also in the late 1960s, a group of "Young Turks" gained control of AFSA and lobbied vigorously for the implementation of selection out, on the indisputable ground that more younger officers could be promoted more rapidly if more senior officers were removed from the payroll. Their views prevailed, and an extraordinary number of career diplomats were forced to "retire" between 1968 and 1972. Officers who raised questions about the war in Vietnam during that period were among those who risked seeing critical comments regarding their "judgment" in their next efficiency reports—and such comments, given the intense competitive pressure could be lethal.

The Federal Times called this period a "Reign of Terror" for the Foreign Service. A backlash, reflected in a crescendo of inquiries from Congress and muckraking press accounts, led to a moratorium on selection-out in the summer of 1972 that lasted for some years. However, "involuntary retirement for time-in-class" was gradually resumed during the late 1970s and early 1980s, especially after many positions traditionally held by senior officers were downgraded, substantially reducing the number of jobs

open to senior officers.

Following the enactment of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, hundreds of dedicated senior officers with virtually unblemished records have been forced to retire in their prime, no matter how well documented their abilities, recent achievements, and potential, solely because they were not promoted during a specified number of years.

Spiting its face

The costs have been both personal and institutional. The Department of State annually loses the considerable skills acquired by retiring officers that translate into special proficiencies. Meanwhile, taxpayers are required to pay the annuities of retirees over a ridiculously prolonged period that may even exceed the retiree's years of active service. Meanwhile, active officers still on the payroll but threatened by impending selection-out—and desperately seeking to avoid it—tend to acquire super-cautious attitudes. Such officers, who are often deputy office directors in Washington or deputy section chiefs overseas, tend to be most reluctant to argue with the supervisors who prepare their efficiency reports, even when the supervisors espouse demonstrably erroneous propositions, for fear of jeopardizing their own fragile careers. FSOs are intensely conscious of the opacity of the process that may lead either to their advancement or forced retirement; and this inevitably casts a pall on their initiative and critical judgment, especially at senior levels.

Heavy selection-out sharply reduces the pool of potential career diplomats at senior levels. Whereas Loy Henderson never favored the assignment of a career officer under 50 to a top-level position, today any officer over 50 has little career security, whether or not he has already acquired senior rank. We may, thus, be eliminating our best potential ambassadors before they have a chance to demonstrate their potential.

There may, then, be substantial merit, in the post-Cold War world, in reconsidering the Henderson vision of

The Department of State annually loses the considerable skills acquired by retiring officers that translate into special proficiencies. Meanwhile, taxpayers are required to pay the annuities of retirees over a ridiculously prolonged period that may even exceed the retiree's years of active service.

the Foreign Service. A U.S. foreign affairs community with increased responsibilities in economic and technical areas will require many more senior Foreign Service officers familiar with perennial issues and established precedents and fewer junior officers to clip newspaper articles and maintain biographic files.

During World War I, World War II, and the war in Vietnam, professional diplomats actively debated changes in the Foreign Service personnel system that might best meet the requirements of a peaceful world. Their discussions led, respectively, to congressional enactment of the Rogers Act of 1924, the Foreign Service Act of 1946, and the Foreign Service Act of 1980, which provided the statutory bases for administering the professional diplomatic service during the ensuing periods.

The agony and trauma of a major war inevitably, in a democratic society, reflect strong pressures to readjust the very nature of a country's interactions with other countries. After all, in the public view, it was the diplomats at the interface between nation-states who, after war broke out, could be retrospectively blamed for having failed to safeguard peace. In a democracy, accountable and representative political institutions naturally will be eager to institute reforms designed to prevent a replication of the "errors" that led to war. They may even want a stronger diplomatic establishment.

Unfortunately, there has been no determined effort during—or after—the Cold War to rethink the changes in

Foreign Service personnel policies that might better equip the United States as a country to respond effectively to the international challenges it will face in the new era now dawning. It does seem clear that there is less need for a military orientation of the professional diplomatic service, both in terms of its preoccupation with an external military "threat" and its need for a hierarchy particularly sensitive to commands from above. Imagination, integrity, and judgment will be the prized qualities in the post-Cold War era; and those qualities are not sufficiently valued or credited in the traditional Foreign Service "efficiency" report.

In short, there is an urgent need for the Foreign Service to begin a profound and systematic review of its own strengths and weaknesses. If there is to be a Foreign Service Act of 1990-something, looking toward a new diplomacy for the new age, it should mandate improved methods of grading the performance and apparent potential of individual Foreign Service officers and curtail the mania for selection-out that has wrought great damage to the Department of State by squandering the acquired skills and insights of so many seasoned diplomats and abruptly ending their distinguished service to the nation without cause. ■

John J. Harter served as a Foreign Service officer from 1954 to 1983 in South Africa, Chile, Thailand, Geneva, and Washington, D.C. He is currently AFSA's conference affairs officer.

First African-American *Diplomat*

By Horace G. Dawson Jr.

A man with the improbable name of William Alexander Leidesdorff was appointed United States vice consul in Yerba Buena, Mexico—better known today as San Francisco—on October 29, 1845. This area of California did not become officially part of the United States until well after the “Bear Flag” incident, an event that gave Leidesdorff his finest moment.

Many publications identify Ebenezer Don Carlos Bassett, minister to Haiti from 1869-1877, as “America’s first black diplomat.” However, Leidesdorff preceded Bassett by almost a quarter of a century. That Leidesdorff’s role has not been previously recognized, nor definitively established, is perhaps due to the man himself. From his arrival on the west coast in 1840 until his death in 1848, he seems to have concealed the fact of his ancestry or at least to have made no reference to it. Colleagues recognized him as “dark in appearance” but made nothing of it.

Furthermore, Leidesdorff’s diplomatic appointment came as a result of his success in business, not the other way around. One of the true pioneers in California history, he was a prosperous businessman and civic leader. He built the first hotel in San Francisco and was one of three prominent citizens who established that city’s first public school.

Past experience also may have taught the young adventurer not to reveal the fact that he was of mixed racial background, born in St. Croix, Danish West Indies, in 1812 to Alexander Leidesdorff, a planter from Denmark, and Anna Maria Sparks, a native of the island. She also was of mixed blood. He was sent to Flensburg, Denmark, for his early education, and at age 12, he migrated to the United States, settling in New Orleans.

He achieved success as a merchant seaman, sailing to New York, the West

Indies, and Europe, and became in his mid-30s a captain in charge of vessels for major companies. Granted American citizenship on February 25, 1834 in Louisiana, Leidesdorff appears also to



William Leidesdorff

have been prominent in New Orleans society.

Flight to California

His flight to California, according to press accounts, was the result of his confiding in his bride-to-be the facts of his ancestry. A member of a proud old French family, she passed the story on to her parents, who investigated, discovered the truth of it, and promptly broke off the engagement.

As Louisiana was a slave state, it was necessary for Leidesdorff, not only broken-hearted but also in danger of enslavement, to leave the state hurriedly. He did so, setting sail for New York and later the west coast on the schooner, *Julia Annor Julietan* in 1840, arriving on the west coast in June 1841, seven months after his departure from New York. For three years, Leidesdorff continued as master of the ship, sailing up

and down the California coast with a cargo of hides and tallow to be traded at each port. These products were normally exchanged for knives, thread, and meat, as well as produce such as beans, wheat, and vegetables.

Mexico was governing authority of the territory. However, France, Great Britain, and Russia, in addition to the United States, were very active in the area—the fur trade attracted widespread interest.

In 1842, Leidesdorff purchased his first property in Yerba Buena. He built a warehouse in the town the following year and soon became prominent in commerce and civic affairs, operating a provisions store, arranging shipping for other merchants, and opening a hotel, which catered to sailors. In 1847, he was elected to the City Council.

Leidesdorff was appointed vice consul by Thomas O. Larkin, United States consul at Monterey, and one of the great and controversial figures in California history. Beyond representing U. S. diplomatic and commercial interests in the territory, Larkin’s larger mission was to win California for the United States and, in the words of historian Hubert Howe Bancroft, “to defeat the schemes, real or imaginary, of European nations supposed to be intriguing for the same prize.”

“In addition to your consular function,” read Larkin’s instructions from the secretary of state, “the president has thought proper to appoint you a confidential agent in California; you may consider the present dispatch as your authority for acting in this character. The confidence which he reposes in your patriotism and discretion is evinced by conferring upon you this delicate and important trust. You will take care not to awaken the jealousy of the French and English agents there by assuming any other than your consular character.”

PHOTO COURTESY OF THE BOARD OF LIBRARY UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Field appointment

It was against this background as the most powerful U.S. representative in the area that Thomas Larkin reached out to one of the most prominent citizens in Yerba Buena. In his letter of October 28, 1845, Larkin wrote, "Believing it of sufficient importance to the American commercial interest to have an Agent for the Government of the United States, I wish to appoint you as my Vice Consul for this post." He asked that Leidesdorff "inform me if you are willing to accept this appointment and enter up its duties immediately."

The young businessman wasted no time. His favorable response is dated October 29: "In answer to your official note which I had the honour to receive this morning," he wrote, "I have to say that I accept the appointment and hope that I shall be able to fulfill the duties of the office to the satisfaction of my government."

What amounts to a "field appointment" for Leidesdorff was not unusual for the times and circumstance. Especially in distant posts, consuls often appointed deputies on their own authority and sought concurrence from Washington after the fact. Larkin was, however, careful to cite his authority for the action, basing it on his own presidential appointment and on the power granted him in section seven of his Book of Instructions.

In dispatch 33 dated January 6, 1846, the consul reported his action to the secretary of State and provided justification:

The undersigned, from the increase of whale ships arriving at the Port of San Francisco, has appointed William Leidesdorff, Merchant of that place, Vice Consul for the Port of San Francisco. . . The undersigned has the further object in this appointment in having an Agent at San Francisco to advise and attend to our many countrymen continually entering California, Via, the Rocky Mountains, and to grant them passports.

Evidence of specific Washington approval of Leidesdorff's appointment has not been found, but it is well known that he acted as vice consul and that he

was recognized as such in the territory. Various symbols of office, including a flag, the official seal, passports, and a uniform were sent to him by Larkin, who assured Leidesdorff of full support.

Larkin requested that California authorities grant temporary recognition of the appointment pending Washington and Mexican government approval. Commander General Jose Castro acknowledged Leidesdorff immediately. However, Governor Pio Pico insisted upon first receiving authority from his superiors in the Government of Mexico. There is no evidence that it arrived.

Among colleagues in the resident diplomatic corps, the British consul, as Leidesdorff predicted, had trouble acknowledging his official status. The French one did not. To Larkin, these were secondary, if not minor, concerns. Leidesdorff had his full confidence, and he instructed him to conduct himself as the fully accredited and competent American vice consul.

Indeed, in a letter written in April, 1846, Larkin is very specific in his advice to his appointee:

You must use every care as an officer to guard your words and passions. Make it your business, for the name of the honor of the country in whose employ you are, not to enlist yourself in any petty affairs of the town you reside in, but do your utmost to pacify and keep in good faith and humor the natives around you. Keep on the best possible terms with those of the country in office.

In response, Leidesdorff assured his mentor:

About my being on good terms with persons in office, you may depend I shall do so, and hope that I shall always have it in my power to fill my office in such a manner as to be an honour and not a dishonour to the country of which I have the honour of representing.

Leidesdorff established an office to house his consular operation in Yerba Buena. As maritime affairs were his chief interest, he boarded and did necessary processing for practically all U.S. ships docking there, and the captains of these vessels called in at his office. In addition, members of the rapidly growing American community sought his

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assistance as the official U.S. representative in Yerba Buena.

Trade issues, in which he himself was frequently involved, arose often. Problems of disabled seamen were numerous also. Any sailor who was sick on arrival could apply for assistance to the U.S. consular officer, who would take charge of the sailor at the expense of the ship's captain. Upon recovery, the sailor would be sent to Monterey to await the return of his ship, once again at the captain's expense. Assistance and moral support, but no money, were also available to American civilians.

The extensive correspondence between Leidesdorff and Larkin reveals two men working in close harmony. If, as is well known, Larkin was advancing the United States interest in California as a secret agent, Leidesdorff was working in tandem with him. His reports on the local scene, especially his evaluations, suspicions, and recommendations regarding residents and visitors, clearly

were helpful to his mentor. So also were his services rendered under instructions to visitors, including such known agents as Lt. Archibald Gillespie. Activities such as these, minor client services, and commercial transactions constituted the bulk of the vice consul's official duties.

A flag of independence

Most noteworthy in Leidesdorff's career in diplomatic service was his role in connection with the Bear Flag incident of June 14, 1846. Among several "provocations" leading up to the war with Mexico, which resulted ultimately in California's annexation by the United States, the Yankee takeover of Sonoma and the hoisting there of a flag of independence stand out as defining moments.

By the mid-1840s, tensions ran high in the California territory with different factions among the native population favoring continued Mexican rule or United States annexation. The almost

daily arrival of more and more "overlanders" from the United States, pointedly including military personnel headed by such figures as Captain John C. Fremont, Commodore John D. Sloat, Lt. Archibald Gillespie, Commander William B. Ide, and Captain John Montgomery, gave the Americans an upper hand. The weak and overly committed government in Mexico City was clearly in no position to protect its interest militarily.

President Polk's policy, faithfully advocated by Consul Larkin at Monterey and as eagerly by Vice Consul Leidesdorff at Yerba Buena, was annexation by peaceful means, if possible, or by force, if necessary. Assured of the outcome, many Americans felt that matters could be accelerated by provoking Mexican authorities—hence, the June 14 takeover of the town of Sonoma by 40 American troops led by Commander Ide. After arresting the three local officials, the invaders raised a homemade

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flag featuring a grizzly bear and declared Sonoma an "independent" republic.

Leidesdorff's accounts of these events were the first to reach Larkin and, therefore, the first official American accounts of the Bear Flag incident. The dispatch of June 17 delayed by the vice consul's inability to engage a courier,

The vice consul reported the takeover of Sonoma, and the arrest and humane incarceration of town leaders...

was largely tentative, referring to "about forty men, said to be Americans."

Two days later, however, Leidesdorff fills in all the gaps with definitive information "from the only authentic sources." He had talked with several people, including eyewitnesses and other visitors. The vice consul reported the takeover of Sonoma, the arrest and humane incarceration of town leaders, and the assurance given them and the townspeople by Commander Ide of protection and good treatment. According to Leidesdorff, the Mexican lieutenant invited to inspect the scene "found all quiet, the place in the most perfect order; under strict Military discipline." The men in charge of Sonoma were described as of a "Chivalric spirit," which would prevent their committing "any act of violence, or injury upon any one." Perhaps for security reasons, Leidesdorff seemed reluctant to relate the actual size of the garrison; however, he did cite the number of weapons "and plenty of ammunition."

The vice consul then gave his mentor the first description of the banner raised by Americans at Sonoma—"a white field, with a red border, a large Star and a Grisly Bear!" With obvious enthusiasm, the diplomat adds, "Such is the flag of Young California." With his dispatch, he enclosed a copy of Ide's historic proclamation, which was designed to calm the populace and to assure them of a better future under an American oriented "independent" republic. All the

information supplied by Leidesdorff, including the proclamation, was promptly sent by Larkin to Secretary of State Buchanan in Washington.

Patriotism and profits

The precise date of Leidesdorff's separation from diplomatic service is not known. What is known is that at some point prior to California's actually becoming a state, he had returned to full-time business and was somewhat estranged from his erstwhile mentor and friend, Thomas Larkin. In all probability, the issue between them was money. Business transactions appear to have brought them together in the first place; and neither appeared to draw a line between official and personal dealings. Indeed, a biographic evaluation of Larkin may apply equally to Leidesdorff; "He saw no inconsistency in patriotism and profits."

In order to obtain land (some 35,000 acres in the Sacramento Valley), Leidesdorff in 1844 took out Mexican citizenship without, of course, giving up his American citizenship. This was common practice among many of the pioneers who, nonetheless, kept quiet about it. In Leidesdorff's case, the matter came to light following his death of "brain fever" (probably typhus) on May 18, 1848. Although his estate at this point was encumbered by debt, his vast land holdings became extremely valuable after the 1849 Gold Rush and the subject of some of the most intricate and protracted litigation in California history.

It is this accumulation of wealth and property and involvement in business, all unusual for an African American of his time, that have attracted past scholarly attention. Too long overlooked, however, is yet another distinction achieved by William Alexander Leidesdorff—that of having been the first diplomat of African descent in the history of the United States. ■

Horace G. Dawson Jr. is the director of the Patricia Roberts Harris Public Affairs Program and adjunct professor of communications at Howard University.

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BOOKS

Old-Time Washington

I'VE SEEN THE BEST OF IT

by Joseph W. Alsop with Adam Platt,
W.W. Norton, 1992; 480 pages, \$29.95
hardback

Reviewed by Robert A. Pastor

Joseph Alsop's memoir opens a door to another age. Theodore Roosevelt was Alsop's great-uncle. Among his cousins were Eleanor Roosevelt and Alice Longworth. Family influence secured him a job with the *New York Herald Tribune*, and his connections provided him unique access to the corridors of power. With wit, Alsop escorts us through those corridors and into society dinners, describing the etiquette and the politics with equal dexterity, lucidity, and gusto.

Alsop's first assignment in Washington in 1936 was to cover the famous "neutrality" hearings chaired by Senator Gerald Nye, a Republican from North Dakota. Alsop admits to knowing little of the issues or of Washington, but he found himself in a profession where few had university education—he had just graduated from Harvard—and none had relatives in high places. He worked hard, learned fast, and wrote with verve. He enjoyed the colorful personalities of Congress and etched them with the skill of a Rockwell painting.

He describes a Washington in the 1930s that seems closer to the Founding Fathers than to today's world. One morning, for example, he would decide to interview Secretary of State Cordell Hull in his office in the old Executive Office Building. There were no guards then. He merely waved to the doorman, and walked straight to Hull's office, where he stuck his head in the door and asked Hull's secretary for an interview.

"It's a busy day, Joe," she said, "but he likes talking to you, so if you come back in an hour, I think I can fit you in." He used the one hour to talk with assistant secretaries in the department, and then, returned for a meeting with Hull.

At this time, Roosevelt proposed to expand the Supreme Court to undermine opposition to the New Deal. In a series of articles, Alsop described how FDR's proposal lost in Congress but cowed the court into voting differently. Based on those stories, the *Herald Tribune* asked him to become a columnist. From 1940, with an interruption during World War II and a change of partners and later of newspapers, Alsop wrote a column for almost 40 years.

During the war, he served as an aide to Colonel Claire Chennault, who organized the air defense of China. Alsop found himself on the 50-yard-line where he used all of his reporting skills to follow the multiple struggles raging in China. The toughest fight seemed to be the bureaucratic one between "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell, the blunt commander of allied forces in China, and Chiang Kai-shek, who was unwilling to cede power in his country to an American. Stilwell did not conceal his disgust for the corruption and incompetence of Chiang's government, and he tried to get President Roosevelt to give him complete power to run the war against the Japanese. After numerous skirmishes, Roosevelt persuaded Chiang to delegate power to another U.S. general, and reassigned Stilwell.

Alsop's Asian experience shaped the rest of his career. On the positive side, Alsop defended Stilwell's Foreign Service advisers, John Paton Davies, John Service, and John Carter Vincent against the outrageous charges made by Senator Joseph McCarthy. Alsop had disagreed with these men about whether Chiang's government was capable of

winning the struggle against the Communists and whether Mao was co-optable. Because these disagreements were publicly known and Alsop had a reputation as a tough anti-Communist, his defense of these men—unfortunately unsuccessful—and his efforts to stop McCarthy probably represented his finest moments in public life.

To his credit, Alsop admits in his memoirs that the recommendations of the State Department's China-hands "contained a good deal more foresight than I had realized" at the time, in part because they "knew one thing that I did not: Mao and his Communists had developed their party and their policy in isolation from—and sometimes in defiance of—the Kremlin." Davies and the others had suggested trying to encourage Mao to behave as Tito eventually did. In the 1940s, Alsop thought the strategy was foolish and infeasible; in the 1980s, his views had changed, and he saw it as wise and possible.

The Kennedy years were "the most enjoyable period" of his life. The high point for him was when Kennedy arrived at his home for a nightcap after the inaugural ball, and the low point in his life came with Kennedy's assassination. The book trails off after this.

For Alsop and many other journalists, the line separating the observer from the actor, the journalist from the advocate, is rarely clear cut. Throughout his career, he reported on Washington's politics and sought to influence its policies. He describes how he urged an influential senator to vote against the Neutrality Acts in the 1930s, how he and Philip Graham, the publisher of the *Washington Post* and *Newsweek*, recommended to Kennedy that he name Lyndon Johnson as vice president, how he refused to write about covert actions, although he knew about most of them before they occurred. Few journalists today would acknowledge trying to influence policy,

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BOOKS

but by his rules, Alsop was proud of that.

Given the extent that his career became identified with his defense of the war in Vietnam, the book's biggest surprise is that he hardly touched the subject. The insightful epilogue written by Alsop's colleague, Adam Platt, developed this subject and placed the man and his memoir in a useful context.

Alsop knew that he was dying of cancer while writing the book, and he had a choice. He could have used his memoirs to reveal himself, but instead, he followed the 19th-century rules that frown on such introspection, and he used his last statement to reconcile himself with many of those who had suffered his verbal daggers. "You belong to the past," his brother once told him, and the book proves it, particularly in the way that he traded the "gloom and bile" of his columns for a kinder, gentler, moderately detached, and largely

optimistic tone in his memoirs.

It is left for the reader to decide whether Alsop "saw the best of it" or just thought it sounded right to say that. There is no question, however, that his memoirs help us to understand how much has changed in Washington and how much has remained the same.

Formerly director of Latin American Affairs on the National Security Council, Robert A. Pastor's most recent book is Whirlpool: U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Latin America and the Caribbean.

Academic Conflicts

INTERMEDIARIES IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

By Thomas Princen, Princeton University Press, 1992, \$29.95

Reviewed by Andrew L. Steigman

In recent years, scholars have been paying increasing attention to the ways in which third parties can help to mitigate or resolve confrontations in the international arena. With the spread of ethnic and nationalist conflicts in the post-Cold War world, this growing body of literature has taken on a new immediacy. Especially since the task of intermediaries is not always an easy one (as we have seen most recently in Yugoslavia), it is essential that policymakers understand what intermediaries can and cannot do.

This latest contribution to the literature from Thomas Princen, an alumnus of the Harvard Negotiation Project and currently a professor at the University of Michigan, combines hypothesis-building with four case studies—two successful interventions by American presidents (Teddy Roosevelt in 1905 between Japan and Russia, and Jimmy Carter at Camp David),

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one by the Vatican (Argentina and Chile over the Beagle Channel), and the unsuccessful intervention of several would-be mediators in the Nigerian Civil War of 1968-70.

Since Princen's avowed purpose is "to generate analytically useful questions and propositions from which further testing and refinement can occur," this book is more appropriate for academics than for practitioners. In light of this declared objective, it is therefore surprising that Princen tends to minimize or ignore much previous work in this field. He alleges, for example, that "little attention has been paid to third parties as intermediaries" in the existing literature—an odd characterization since his own bibliography includes several books which have dealt with the topic.

Given the specialized nature of Princen's work, those new to the scholarly discussion of intermediary roles would do better to begin with *Interna-*

tional Mediation in Theory and in Practice, edited by Saadia Touval and William Zartman, *New Approaches to International Mediation*, edited by C.R. Mitchell and K. Webb. Either of these excellent collections will offer a more digestible introduction, allowing Princen's book to be read more profitably thereafter.

Andrew Steigman is assistant dean of the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University.

A Political Primer

INSIDE AN EMBASSY: THE POLITICAL ROLE OF DIPLOMATS ABROAD

By Ed. Robert W. Miller, *Congressional Quarterly Press, 1992, 93 pages*

Reviewed by Donald R. Norland

The title of this slim volume offers the

intriguing prospect of giving readers an insider's perspective on "The Political Role of Diplomats Abroad."

High expectations are justified; the authors are all "insiders" with distinguished Foreign Service credentials, who are able to describe and demystify the subject of embassy political reporting and analysis. In addition, the appearance of this book early in the post-Cold War era also suggested a new openness and perhaps even the possibility of a reappraisal of the old political practices that date from our earlier preoccupation with countering communism.

In reality, these useful but unpretentious essays constitute a basic primer describing a function familiar to most readers of this Journal, not an advanced text on political reporting and analysis appropriate to the post-Cold War world. And as a primer it falls short of expectations on three counts.

First, it adds little to what almost any



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interested observer, outsiders included, knows about political sections and functions. The eight chapters are brief and the substance conventional; for instance, there are six pages on "Gathering Political Information," six pages on "Reporting and Analysis," three pages on "Negotiation." The examples that follow are designed to illustrate the principles, but they are of uneven relevance and quality. The story "Keeping In with the Outs," about Romania in 1988, is riveting and pertinent, and the examples of political reporting in the appendix often reveal new insights; however, serious gaps also appeared. One is the absence of any mention of the ambassador's entrenched authority to provide "overall direction, coordination and supervision" of U.S. government activities (excluding military units) overseas.

Second, although the book's publication date is 1992, its focus on "classical

diplomacy" seems strangely out of date. How many readers today would agree, for example, with the assertion that "politics is the basis for governing and therefore the basis of relations between sovereign governments." By 1989 the economic function had already acquired new prominence, reflected *inter alia* in Acting Secretary Eagleburger's pronouncements on assisting business and challenging the traditional preeminence of politics.

Third, the chapter on "Clandestine Collection," which offered the greatest potential for demystifying political reporting, and especially its Cold War proliferation, regrettably falls short of doing either. The reason is no doubt due to the usual circumspection surrounding these subjects. The chapter begins with a forthright justification for clandestine collection, i.e. to counter "closed societies" and gain deeper insights into the inner workings of actual

or potential adversaries. There follows the comment; "It is sometimes necessary to corroborate...what the political officer is told particularly since some openly gathered information is occasionally incomplete or misleading."

The suggestion that clandestine collection serves as a reliability check will strike most insiders as somewhat imaginative. Two pages later even the author appears to contradict the earlier assertion by noting: "Foreigners may reserve their most sensitive information for the CIA representative—information that may or may not be accurate."

The net effect is not to demystify or clarify, nor does it raise any of the questions that might be asked about why clandestine collection is still essential in the post-Cold War era, including how long we must pay the cost of separate political sections, communications units, administrative and other regulations reminiscent of the Cold War.

In short, this interesting primer does not always fulfill its promise to throw an insider's light into the obscure corners of the political function or reexamine it in post-Cold War perspective. Its most important contribution may be to pave the way for later texts looking anew at all reporting and analysis in the wake of the communications revolution and the changing nature of diplomacy.

Donald R. Norland, a former ambassador to several African countries, had a 29-year career with the Foreign Service.

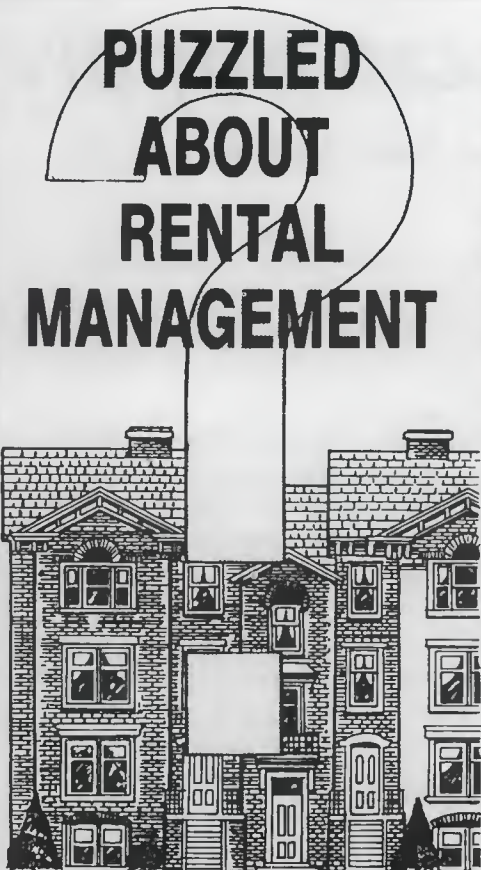
The Power of the Word

LINCOLN AT GETTYSBURG: THE WORDS THAT REMADE AMERICA

by Garry Wills. Simon & Schuster, 1992, 317 pages, \$23

Reviewed by Craig Stevaux

In his prologue to *Lincoln at Gettysburg*, Garry Wills sketches the landscape of hell. By 1863, advances in military tactics had not kept pace with the technological advances in weaponry. Scattered about a small Pennsyl-




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vania town, thousands of bodies—horses, men and pieces of men—lie decaying in the July heat. The stench of burning horseflesh fills the air. As time passes, bodies are buried, often inadequately, and then exhumed and reburied as people go about a grisly search for relatives. It was said hogs rooted at the corpses.

On November 19, as the president rose to speak at the dedication ceremony for the new cemetery, a crowd of 10,000 to 20,000 had gathered. The cemetery was still unfinished. Stacks of coffins awaited reburial. Other writers have told us the Civil War completed the American Revolution, cemented the experiment in democracy. So, too, does Wills, but he goes farther, revealing that what Lincoln accomplished that day in a brief, three-minute speech was to perform a feat of legerdemain, a verbal coup of such proportions that it resulted in nothing less than a rebirth of the nation.

In the president's remarks, the savage Gettysburg fighting became "that" battle waged "here." Lincoln used no proper nouns, made no reference to officers or enlisted, nor even a reference to north or south. There was no mention of slavery or even the Union. The president leapfrogged the Constitution and drew on the Declaration of Independence, which declared all men equal. Harkening back to the Declaration, Lincoln employed Biblical vocabulary to express consecration, suffering, and resurrection and drew on imagery of romantic nature also familiar to his audience. The work begun by the Founding Fathers in the Declaration of Independence was not yet accomplished, Lincoln told his audience. Political equality was not yet a reality. Slavery was not ended. The Declaration was an ideal, a goal to be pursued endlessly.

The Civil War came to mean what Lincoln *said* it meant, and, so too, did the Constitution. Lincoln succeeded in altering the working law of the land. In 272 prophetic words, he transcended the three days of butchery, lifting the battle above the dead and torn bodies

and blood-soaked ground to a higher abstraction, an act that did not go unnoticed at the time. *The Chicago Times*, for one, excoriated the president for liberalizing the Constitution (which not only permitted slavery, but made no mention of equality). Modern conservatives like Ed Meese would love to turn this interpretation on its head, Wills says, but they're unable to do so for the simple reason that since Lincoln's Gettysburg Address we, as Americans, have come to *believe*.

The work begun by the Founding Fathers in the Declaration of Independence was not yet accomplished, Lincoln told his audience. Political equality was not yet a reality. Slavery was not ended. The Declaration was an ideal, a goal to be pursued endlessly.

Wills guides the reader through both the historical terrain and cultural milieu of nineteenth-century America to elucidate Lincoln's brief three minutes on the speaker's platform. Explaining the deep divisions over slavery, Wills reminds the reader of fateful events like the Dred Scott decision, the Compromise of 1850, and the much maligned Emancipation Proclamation which was issued in January 1863.

As Lincoln's Gettysburg speech was revolutionary in thought, so it was in literary style. Wills shows us how Lincoln accomplished this while retaining themes in the classical Greek funeral tradition. Wills traces the evolution of Lincoln's writing style from his early bad poetry to later speeches and even telegrams, Wills makes it clear that the plain, literary style of Gettysburg was not as simple as it appears; Lincoln had been working on it for years.

This well-documented book contains two slightly differing versions of Lincoln's speech as well as the text of Edward Everett, the principal speaker at the dedication. Also included are the funeral orations by Pericles and Gorgias and useful indexes.

But this is not to suggest the work is only fit for Lincoln scholars or academicians. Wills traces the president's movements in the days leading up to the now famous remarks and explores Lincoln's motives in attending the cemetery dedication. (He was still in mourning over the loss of one son, and another was ill.) The author provides telling comments by John Hay, the president's personal secretary and others, and, along the way, debunks several myths, including the one that has Lincoln penning his remarks on the back of an envelope; indeed, we learn, this would have been most out of character for the former lawyer who was said to be a slow writer. Also exposed is the very misconception that what has come to be known as the Gettysburg Address was an address at all. The only address that day, as the program makes clear, belonged to Edward Everett, and, we're told, his two-hour oration, contrary to popular thought, was not overly lengthy, but rather expected by the audience of the time.

Americans should read Wills's book. Lincoln's intellect eclipsed that of many of his contemporaries. Perhaps the sadness in his eyes reflected not only the pain and suffering of his countrymen, but the loneliness of the visionary. After Lincoln's three minutes at Gettysburg, the *United States* became a singular noun whereas previously it had been plural, a collection of states. We ought to know why and how our country changed and why most of us believe what we now do about the underpinnings of our nation. *Lincoln at Gettysburg* is a lesson in the power of the word. Whether we know it or not, we are living out Lincoln's vision of the future. Wills illuminates a message we mistakenly thought we knew; after all, we'd memorized those 272 words in elementary school. Now, at last, Garry Wills shows us what we missed. ■

Craig Stevaux is a former Peace Corps volunteer and a freelance writer living in Hawaii.

Garret G. Ackerson, Jr., 88, a retired Foreign Service officer, died September 14 in Lexington, Massachusetts after a long illness.

Born in Hackensack, New Jersey, Ackerson attended the University of Virginia before graduating from Harvard in 1927. He joined the Foreign Service in 1928 and was posted to Cape Town.

In 1940, he was the last American diplomat to leave Budapest, where he and his first wife had used the diplomatic immunity of their home to hide refugees fleeing Poland. Other postings included Peru, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Argentina.

In 1949, Ackerson was removed as head of Southeast European Affairs after refusing to fire people Senator Joseph McCarthy had targeted for dismissal.

After his retirement, Ackerson was named European director of the International Rescue Committee where he coordinated resettlement of refugees from the Soviet Union, East Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East.

Ackerson is survived by his second wife, Suzanne Addor Ackerson; three children, Garrett G. Ackerson III of Grand Rapids, Michigan; Edmund E. Ackerson of Belmont, Massachusetts; Rhoda A. Weyr of New York City; 12 grandchildren; and 8 great grandchildren. His first wife, Rhodita Edwards, died in 1971.

Mary T. Brewin, 66, a retired Foreign Service secretary and wife of retired Foreign Service officer, Roger Brewin, died September 21 in Washington of respiratory failure following a spinal cord injury in August.

Born in Phoenix, Mrs. Brewin graduated from Colorado Women's College in 1945 and worked for Trans World Airlines before joining the State Department in 1949. She was assigned to Turkey and later India where she met her husband. Their posts included Bolivia, Paraguay, Iran, and Washington.

Survivors include her husband, Roger, of Washington; a daughter, Barbara, of Jeddah, Saudi Arabia; a son, Roger, of Seattle; and a sister, Helen Carson, of Scottsdale, Arizona.

Louis A. Cohen, 69, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of a heart condition in Washington, D.C. on October 4.

A native of San Antonio, Texas, he

IN MEMORY

received a degree in civil engineering from Purdue University and did post-graduate work in international relations at American University.

Cohen joined what became USAID in 1959 and during his career served as mission director in Somalia and Botswana, and director of the Regional Economic Services Office for East and Southern Africa in Kenya. His other overseas assignments included Vietnam, Burma, and Thailand. From 1970-72 he was on loan to the United Nations in Bangkok.

After retirement he worked with Afghan refugees in Pakistan and taught at the University of Wyoming and numerous articles on travel in Asia.

He is survived by his wife of 44 years, the former Barbara Zucrow, of Washington, D.C.; a son, Marc Cohen, of Falls Church, Virginia; and one grandchild.

Richard Lee Hughs, 64, died of lung cancer at his home in Alexandria, Virginia on July 30.

Born in Illinois, he graduated from the University of Wyoming, and served in Italy during World War II. He joined USAID in 1958 and served in Bolivia, Peru, and Honduras. In 1972 he transferred to Saigon and won the Civilian Medal of Honor for his service in Vietnam. After a tour as rural development officer in Nicaragua, he was reassigned to Washington in the Asia Bureau and Office of Science and Technology.

Upon retiring in 1984, he continued to do consulting work in his last overseas posts, Honduras and Guatemala.

Survivors include his wife, Hilda, and daughter, Nancy, of Alexandria, Virginia; his son, Richard, of Pennsylvania; and two sisters in Illinois.

Leslie L. Lewis, Sr., a former USIS officer, died after a long illness in Rockford, Illinois on October 18.

He served with USIS in Calcutta, Triboli, and Tunis in the late 1940s and early 1950s. He also was an editor in the

Department of State and also edited many medical journals.

Survivors include his wife of 67 years, Elizabeth C. Lewis; one son, seven grandchildren, and five great-grandchildren.

C. Robert Moore, 77, a retired Foreign Service officer, died November 24 in Washington of pulmonary fibrosis.

Born in Galena, Illinois, Moore attended Robert College in Istanbul and graduated from Harvard University. He received a master's degree in economics from New York University.

In 1943, he worked for Lend Lease, a World War II foreign assistance program before joining the Foreign Service in 1946. From 1946-1962, Moore was posted in Ankara, Washington, Paris, and attended the National War College, before returning to Ankara as economic counselor and deputy director of the USAID mission. He also served as DCM in Cambodia and Syria. In 1965, Moore was named ambassador to Mali and then returned to Washington to serve as deputy assistant secretary of state for African Affairs. Before retiring in 1975, he served as ambassador to Cameroon and Guinea.

For many years he served as the chairman of AFSA's Elections Committee, and in retirement volunteered in the mediation program of D.C. Superior Court and as a tax counselor with the American Association of Retired Persons.

Survivors include his wife of 45 years, Joanna D. Moore of Washington; three daughters, Caroline Garber and Letitia Moore, of Madison, Wisconsin, and Cynthia Moore of Gainesville, Florida; and four grandchildren.

Dr. David T. Mowry, husband of retired Foreign Service officer Dr. Dorothy Robins, died of cancer at Easton, Maryland on September 19.

Born in Pyenyang, Korea, Mowry served in the Department of Commerce and was a former director of Planning and Development of Monsanto Japan, Ltd. During his career he received numerous recognitions including the Department of Commerce's Silver Medal Award.

In addition to his wife, of St. Michaels, survivors include two daughters, Carol Lynn Cox of Excelsior, Minnesota, and Sarah Lois Mowry of Dayton, Ohio; a son, Thomas Cassel Mowry, of Cincinnati, Ohio; two sisters; and six grandchildren. ■

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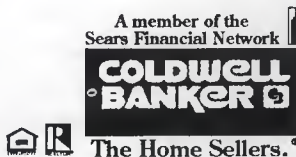
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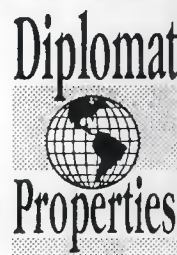
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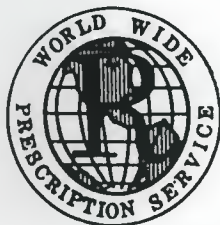
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Learning the Ropes in Washington

January 1943

Scarcely observed among fast-moving events in the business of winning the war, an important change has taken place in the department. This change, precipitated by the present emergency, is of very great significance to the Foreign Service and quite possibly would not have occurred for years in a normal course of affairs. It is the appearance in [Washington], on permanent or temporary assignment, of a far larger number of Foreign Service officers than ever before.

Prior to the emergency only a relatively small proportion of our members had seen service in the department. A few officers, on the other hand, were assigned to [Washington] repeatedly, presumably because on their original assignments they were able to demonstrate their particular

usefulness to the department and thus create a continuing demand for their services.

This situation was not satisfactory for the department or for the field as a whole. The department was denied the fullest use of the field's expert knowledge and experience, and the Foreign Service was threatened with division into two groups. Circumstances have so far altered this that it is now the smaller group of officers who have not had assignments in the department.

We hope that this whole beneficial change will endure after the war is won and that for the sake of a more complete understanding of national aims and methods, and of unity of effort, the continuous indoctrination of the whole service will remain a permanent feature of the administration of the department and its Foreign Service. ■

FOREIGN SERVICE QUIZ

"A River Runs Through It"

- Name the rivers that run through (or past) the following American cities. a. Atlanta b. Charleston, WV c. Dallas d. Little Rock e. Kansas City f. Philadelphia g. Richmond h. Springfield, MA
- Which of the following pairs of states do not share common borders? a. Arkansas-Kentucky b. Colorado-Texas c. Iowa-Kansas d. Iowa-Wisconsin e. Kentucky-North Carolina f. Maine-Vermont g. Michigan-Wisconsin h. Missouri-Tennessee i. Nevada-Oregon j. North Dakota-Wyoming
- Name the states (lower 48) that share common borders with: a. two states or fewer (there are 6) and b. eight states (total 3).
- What is the largest state in area east of the Mississippi and the smallest state west of the Mississippi? (Hint: It's not Arkansas!)

ANSWERS
1. a. Chattahoochee b. Kanawha c. Trinity d. Arkansas
e. Missouri f. Delaware (or Schuylkill) g. James h. Connecticut 2. a. b, c, e, f, i,
3. a. DE, FL, ME, RI, SC, WA; b. KY, MO, TN 4. Georgia, Louisiana

Contributed by Gil Kulick, Quiz Master

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