FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

NOVEMBER 1993

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Discuss Dissent in the Foreign Service

PLUS:

Don Oberdorfer interviews Richard Moose

John Eddy examines the British Foreign Service

Mohammed Khalil on Liberal Islam in Today's World

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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

THE NEW DEAL
"REINVENTING GOVERNMENT" AND YOU

Here's the Clinton-Gore deal: the federal government will be reinvented (i.e., downsized and, once again, reorganized); federal employees and their unions will cooperate, but, for a change, they will be given meaningful participation in the process. The bargain was declared by the president in an executive order on October 1 and celebrated five days later at the gala White House signing ceremony of the Hatch Act Reform Amendments.

Effectuating the Clinton-Gore plan to the benefit of the Foreign Service employees of the State Department, USAID, USIA, Commerce, and Agriculture is AFSA's greatest current challenge. If we meet the challenge, this could be the opening of a new era in labor-management relations. Unfortunately, it comes to us in very tough times, with State planning to cut 3,000 jobs worldwide, USAID closing 20-22 missions, and everyone facing major budget cuts. We are reminded of civil-rights efforts in the 1960's to organize farm workers, even as they were being displaced by mechanization.

The top managers of the foreign affairs agencies are already embarked on their part of the bargain—planning major restructuring and downsizing of their agencies. The chief complaint voiced in AFSA's open meetings on reorganization has been the absence of any meaningful collaboration between the new top managers and the career services, both FS and GS. The president apparently agrees, telling his cabinet, in effect, that from now on they're running Saturn plants, not Oldsmobile works.

The USAID administrator, for his part, noted that satisfactory consultations, like beauty, lie in the eye of the beholder. We agree. But the president's executive order has now defined the form and content of labor-management consultations, giving employees the opportunity to help shape the process from the outset. The order not only mandates the creation of a "labor-management partnership" in each federal agency, but also sets out what that link should consist of and even what kind of training should be undertaken to make it work. (*See Executive Order text in "AFSA News"*).

AFSA will insist that substantive "partnerships" be established in all five foreign affairs agencies. To this end, we are launching long-planned drives to establish AFSA as the employee representative (bargaining agent) for members of the Foreign Agricultural and Foreign Commercial Services. We also need to revitalize labor-management relations in State, USAID, and USIA by getting agency leadership to level with employees on the choices and pressures they face, and to engage in real bargaining. We need a partnership with a new board of the Foreign Service, which has been dormant for over a year. We need to use these strengthened relationships as well to support Foreign Service retirees in key efforts like the Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps.

Effective two-way linkages between top agency managers and their career employees are key to reinventing government. We must bring the ideas, enthusiasm, experience, realism, and commitment of the career service into the process. Without these critical contributions, reinventing government will fail, agency by agency.

—TEX HARRIS

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

NOVEMBER 1993 VOL. 70, NO.11

"The Independent Voice of the Foreign Service"

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL (ISSN 0015-7279), 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990, is published monthly by the American Foreign Service Association, a private, non-profit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the views of AFSA or the JOURNAL. Writer queries are invited.

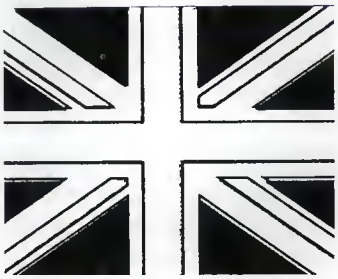
JOURNAL subscription: AFSA Members -$9.50 included in annual dues; others - $40. Overseas subscription (except Canada) - $50 per year. Airmail not available.

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990.

Microfilm copies: University Microfilm Library Services, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 (October 1967 to present). Indexed by Public Affairs Information Service (PAIS). Advertising inquiries invited. The appearance of advertisements herein does not imply the endorsement of the services or goods offered. FAX: 202/338-6820 or 202/338-8244 • TELEPHONE: 202/338-4045 or 338-4054.

Send address changes for the *Foreign Service Journal* to AFSA, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037-2990

The Cover:
Photo by Liz Allan



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LETTERS

IG History

The Despatch column (June *Journal*) contained a reference to the inspector general, which I think should be clarified. The column on "Participatory Journalism" asks, "has the establishment of an inspector general been healthy in fighting waste and fraud?"

Actually, there has been an inspector general of the Foreign Service, appointed by the secretary of state, since 1906. The Rogers Act of 1924 and the later Foreign Service Act of 1946 affirmed the need for and further defined the role of the inspector general: the inspection of embassies and consulates.

The 1980 Foreign Service Act provided for an outside inspector general of the department (not just the Foreign Service) appointed by the president and subject to Senate confirmation. The inspector general's deputy has consistently been a former ambassador.

Edward S. Little
Alexandria, Virginia

Terrorism Threat

Ambassador Lukens' article in the September *Journal* makes a valid and important point. In the blind rush to slice budgets "now that the Cold War has ended," no one in the decision-making strata seems to realize that, because we are no longer dealing with a polarized world, the threat of international terrorism is greater than ever. Terrorism is the most effective and least expensive tool for indulging in "politics by other means."

The end of the Cold War has not put us closer to any new world order. Instead we are faced by a multitude of small hot wars in which terrorism is playing a major role. The more we try to hold the fragmenting bits of the globe together, the more deadly enemies we make. Americans have a hard time recognizing the psychology and power of hate, but the State Department—of all government organizations—should understand the phenomenon. Instead of being cut, crisis management should be strengthened and adapted to new realities.

Howard R. Simpson
Kinsale, Ireland

A Squeeze-out

When *The Washington Post* carried a statement that the U.S. representation in Hanoi "pulled out" in 1954 following the defeat of French colonial forces there, it clearly cited its source as "Vietnamese officials." Considering the source I thought no correction was worthwhile. When the *Foreign Service Journal* (Clippings, September) reports that an American mission pulled out in 1954, historical accuracy requires a correction.

The U.S. consulate in Hanoi did not "pull out" in 1954. The consulate was closed, by me, and its buildings turned over to the British consul general on December 12, 1955, about 19 months after Dien Bien Phu, 14 months after the DRV authorities refused to "recognize" it and denied it permission to send official mail, and two months after they ordered it to cease radio communication. This was more of a squeeze-out than a pull-out.

Thomas J. Corcoran
Washington, D.C.

Not an Entrance Permit

During the last few months, I have read with a growing sense of dismay the attacks on consular officers and the Foreign Service in connection with the presence of Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman in the United States. The visa system [operation] has been described as an Abbott and Costello comedy routine.

I have worked as a consular officer at three overseas posts, none of which had the automated lookout system. In making the decision whether or not to issue a visa, I used the microfiche lookout cards (dated, but better than nothing); FAX, cable, and phone to neighboring posts and the department; and my gut

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feeling about an applicant. None of these are infallible and I, like many others, have on occasion "had someone get by me."

There is a need to provide automation to more consular sections. This would be a massive financial undertaking, and an automated system that is inoperative because of outages or surges (common in many countries) would be no better than the outdated microfiche.

There is one issue that I have not seen discussed. The issuance of a visa at a post abroad is not a permit to "enter" the United States. That authority is reserved for the immigration inspector at the port of entry. I do not mean to shift blame—or even to lay blame, for that matter. I do feel, however, that this should be addressed in terms of actual procedures and responsibilities.

When an alien with a U.S. visa appears before an immigration officer, that official should have access to relevant information from all interested agencies. At an automated consular post, the consular officer should also have such access. This will not solve the problem for posts in the "dark side of nowhere," but it would help to lessen the chance of future cases such as the sheik's.

Charles A. Ray
Deputy Chief of Mission
Freetown

The Environment includes People

The article, "The Road from Rio" (September *Journal*) ducked the biggest issue about Rio, just as the UNCED did: population. The debate about whether Rio helped or hurt the cause of environment is about how it treated or did not treat the population issue.

Many environmental problems—some would say most of them—are fueled by excessive population growth. UNCED swept that issue under the rug. Why? Some said population was too sensitive and divisive. To make progress on other fronts it had to be side-stepped. A UN conference on population is to take place in Cairo and it would deal with that issue. Thus, population was safely de-linked from environment at UNCED.

Unfortunately, there is another side. Since Rio left population out (or even worse, only treated in a watered down form), everything that flows from Rio is weakened. To those who believe excessive population growth is a large part of the environmental problem, Rio was a disaster that will have monumental negative repercussions for years to come. The question is: how will that damage be repaired in the environmental context? Will population ever be treated seriously in the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) or did Rio succeed in keeping it off the CSD agenda, too?

Arthur M. Fell
Boulogne, France

UNESCO Update

Your correction on UNESCO in the September *Journal* was hardly a correction. In fact, the Clinton White House. has made *no decision* on a U.S. reentry into UNESCO. While there is consideraable support for rejoining UNESCO both within and outside the administration, no action has been taken to date.

Neil Boyer
Washington, D.C.

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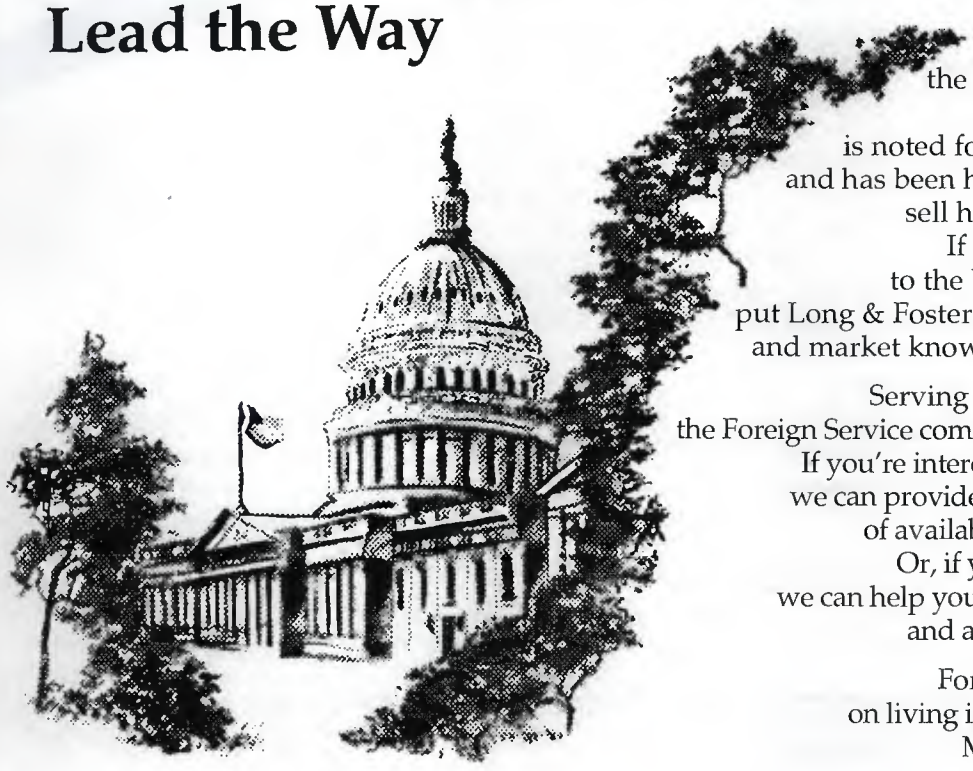

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clippings and comment

Smoothing the way

"Chief of protocol. It sounds like a fussy veneer on top of the real business of international affairs, concerned with seating and titles and who shakes whose hand . . . until handshakes make history.

"The job is more than window dressing, less than real power," says Roxanne Roberts (*The Washington Post*, September 16) in reporting on the new chief of protocol, **Molly Raiser**, and her first big "diplomatic minefield," the signing ceremony of the Israel/PLO pact, "an event of historic proportions and unprecedented complications. And Raiser—obsessive organizer, double-checker, half an hour early for everything—had to pull it together in 72 hours."

Raiser, confirmed only six weeks ago, defined protocol as the framework of foreign policy—basic politeness, creating an atmosphere of civility. Roberts reports that "if ever there was a time for civility, it was [at the ceremony], when former enemies stood side-by-side on the South Lawn.

"After meeting the Israeli delegation [at 3 am], Raiser arrived at the White House at 6 am to greet the foreign minister, check the seating arrangements, double-check the order of limousines and make sure every ambassador was admitted. Protocol dictated the meeting in the Blue Room before the ceremony: foreign ministers were the first to enter, then the Palestinians, and lastly the Israelis. 'The state arrives last,' says Raiser.

"There were no gifts exchanged during the visit. The menu at Christopher's State Department luncheon for all the foreign ministers offered two or three different meals to please every guest. Everything . . . went off without a hitch." ✂

Out of the closet

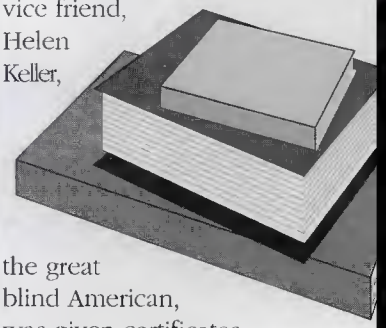
The State Department has quietly adopted an official written policy of not discriminating against gay job applicants, according to a story by Ransdell Pierson in the *New York Post* (September 9).

The non-discrimination clause that appears on the Foreign Service exam promises "fair and equitable treatment" to applicants without regard to race, color, sex, or national origin—and now, sexual orientation.

Donna Gigliotti, a State Department spokeswoman, said the agency has also revised the language of its policy on security clearances to leave no doubt that gays are eligible for clearances. According to the *Post*, Gigliotti insisted that State has welcomed gays and given them clearances for at least a decade. But as a result of some complaints about overzealous security investigators, Gigliotti said investigators had been warned that unfair treatment of gays would not be tolerated. ✂

Winning with the Foreign Affairs Manual

When I was vice consul in Bombay in the early 1950s, writes a Foreign Service friend, Helen Keller,



the great blind American, was given certificates, awards, and mementos from admiring citizens and organizations. A very junior Consul General staffer was asked by Miss Keller's secretary if he would send the sheaf home. The distraught staffer asked the consul how he should deal with the matter.

"My friend," said the consul, "look in the Foreign Affairs Manual under K. If you find an entry that says, 'Keller, Helen don't send certificates home,' don't send them. Otherwise, have them in this afternoon's pouch." ✂

A familiar story

An editorial in *The Spectator* (June 12) talks about the changing British Foreign Service. Replace "British" with "American" and you could be debating the future of diplomats in Foggy Bottom.

"Once diplomats were urbane people who spoke several Oriental and African languages, knew which forks to use during 12-course meals, and were conversant in the obscure politics of far-flung tribes. In the days before instant communication, such diplomats fulfilled a function:

they were on the ground to make decisions, involving everything from troops to trade to espionage, on behalf of a distant British government. Diplomats were generalists because they had to be.

"These days when the British prime minister wants to communicate with the Indonesian prime minister, he uses a telephone, not a diplomat. If an important decision has to be made regarding the Gulf or Yugoslavia, it is taken in London. . . . Diplomats, of the sort who attend cocktail parties in Bonn and Rome, are no longer vital to the making of foreign policy.

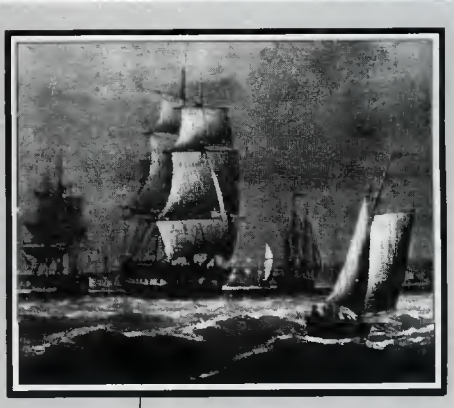
"Classic diplomacy is dead—but commerce is not. For while the need for well rounded generalists is shrinking, the need for trained people who can promote British business abroad is growing. . . . Britain, in other words, needs diplomats who understand 'British interests" primarily as "British business interests," and act accordingly.

". . . There is much discussion of stringency measures. . . . Instead of focusing on small cost-cutting measures and minor embassies, the Foreign Office should consider shifting money away from countries with traditionally large embassies—and toward countries where diplomats can make a difference.

"Big, soft bureaucracies are notorious for their ability to resist change, however, and the Foreign Office, judging from the reports it produces, prefers worthy ideas about cheaper stationery and air tickets to real reforms." We wonder if the British would like to try city-pair air tickets? ✂

50 years ago

Diplomatic ties with Russia



In the November 1943 issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* Harry Van Demark writes, "The current association of the United States with Russia lends ironical flavor to a story buried in the revolutionary archives of the young republic. It concerns the difficulty this country experienced in gaining recognition of Russia under imperial rule." At a time when Russian-American relations are again in flux, the beginnings of our diplomatic ties with Russia are worth recalling.

The 1943 *Journal* says that on December 9, 1780, Francis Dana was appointed for the daring and expensive ($7,500 a year) venture in Russia of engaging "Her Imperial Majesty [Catherine] to favor and support the sovereignty and independence of the United States." But Dana never had the opportunity to follow these instructions and was forced to keep secret his commission as public minister.

However, in March 1783 the proper Russian authority finally received the American application for recognition. But there were difficulties. Dana's credentials bore a date prior to the acknowledgement of American independence by Great Britain's ruler.

A time-consuming correspondence followed. Dana finally wrote to Congress: "I do not think the advantage of being a Minister at this court will compensate for the expense of it." Dana was recalled. Finally, in 1798 Russia seemed ready to grant recognition, but more delays followed.

When Jefferson became president he made Levett Harris consul to St. Petersburg. Alexander I, now czar of Russia, had a kingly weakness for the Constitution of the United States and struck up a system of compliments and pedagogics with Jefferson, using Harris as a go-between.

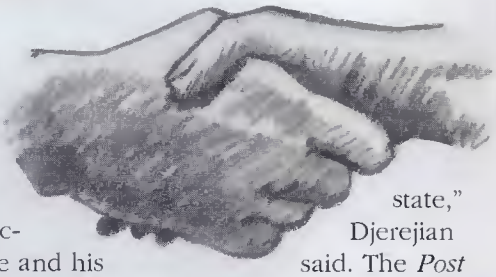
Meanwhile the United States and Russia were becoming more conscious of each other. Ships from the United States were carrying on a kind of clandestine trade with the savages of Russian Northwestern America. Otter skins paid for ammunition; a Russian fort was attacked and destroyed. It was time to have a representative in Russia.

Two days after James Madison was inaugurated in 1809, John Quincy Adams was summoned to the presidential chamber to learn that he had been chosen to represent the United States in Russia. Madison's first effort to appoint him was defeated by the Senate. But a second effort succeeded. Adams had a clear commission—to secure Russia's protection of America's commerce.

The diary of John Quincy Adams for Saturday, August 5, 1809, reads: "At noon this day I left my house at the corner of Boylston & Nassau Sts, in Boston... to embark on a voyage to Russia." He was accompanied by his wife, his youngest child, his wife's sister, a chambermaid, a black man-servant, and his nephew, who served as his private secretary. They boarded the ship *Horace* for a voyage to St. Petersburg direct. At the close of that day Adams implored Providence to be good to his country, his family and to himself . . . In the morning he read 15 chapters of the Bible.

He arrived safely in St. Petersburg and on November 5, 1809, he saw the emperor alone. As Alexander advanced to meet him he said in royal French: "*Monsieur, je suis charm' d'avoir le plaisir de vous voir ici.*" After nearly three decades Russia had at last recognized the United States of America. ✂

An FSO on the tarmac



As **Edward P. Djerejian** prepared to meet Yasser Arafat at the airport, he practiced his stance and his handshake. *The Washington Post* (September 15) reported that the image that flashed around the world could not be of a bear-hug greeting. "I was," Djerejian confirmed, "well rehearsed."

The *Post* reported that Djerejian found out over the weekend that he would be the one welcoming Arafat. "We thought it was exactly the right level, given that he was . . . not a head of state," Djerejian said. The *Post* continued, "Djerejian was an appropriate choice for many reasons. A Foreign Service lifer, he's a Mideast expert. . . . He's been a point man in the peace process for years, having served in Jordan and the Soviet Union, and as Bush's ambassador to Syria, where he was credited with persuading the Syrians to be flexible in negotiations with Israel. He's the only assistant secretary President Clinton held over."

"I was seized with the historic implications of meeting the PLO after all these years of, indeed, a very troubled relationship," he says. Djerejian will be off to Israel in January to help implement the agreement. ✂

Other eras, other dissenters

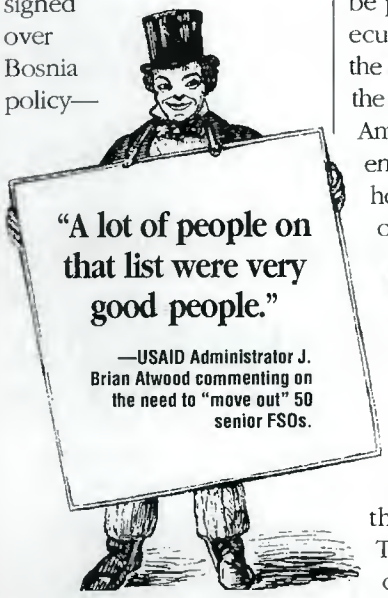
"To get out and speak out is a rare thing in the postwar history of U.S. foreign affairs." says James Thomson Jr., a former State Department official writing in *The Los Angeles Times* (August 31).

Thomson, who quietly left the NSC staff in 1966, says that the Vietnam era provides examples of the choices made by officials who opposed U.S. involvement in French Indochina. He cites the departures of Paul Kattenburg, George Ball, Robert McNamara, and Bill Moyers from the Johnson administration and Anthony Lake and others who resigned over the invasion of Cambodia during Nixon's presidency.

In the 1940s, those who urged a realistic policy of accommodation with the Communists were subjected to "kangaroo courts . . . and endless denunciations on Capitol Hill and in the press," says Thomson. "Results were wholesale firings, forced resignations or banishments to obscure posts—and the loss of a generation of China expertise."

"But this is another era,"

And public resignation in protest against policy is a good deal less suicidal than it was in the case of Vietnam," Thomson believes. "So the State Department dissenters who have resigned over Bosnia policy—and the many others who have elected to stay in and try to win the policy debate—are operating in a region and time of history far different from Vietnam. . . . they will not, so it seems, be persecuted by the executive branch, Congress or the media. . . . Perhaps, in the post-Cold War era, we Americans are mature enough to tolerate and honor such manifestations of conscience." ✂



More out than up

The Agency for International Development, which faces deep budget cuts on Capitol Hill, has told 50 senior FSOs that they will be let go. This news, much discussed in the corridors of the embattled agency, was reported in the *Washington Post* on September 20. The Post suggested that the "up or out" rules are being taken more seriously under new administrator, J. Brian Atwood. "Two [employees] were age 42 and 43, and they were punished by this system because they were promoted early as fast risers," Atwood said. "That I think is terribly unfortunate, but I didn't have a lot of choice... I don't believe the [personnel] system is working very well. I think a lot of the people on that list were very good people . . . but we just had to move them out so that we could move other, younger people through the system." ✂

Warning to all embassies

Don't mess with Jesse Helms. The no-nonsense senator from North Carolina has warned diplomats to pay their parking tickets or else. Now he has made his threat part of the 1994 foreign-aid bill.

An amendment proposed by the Republicans passed the Senate without debate this week. It says that the amount of parking fines owed to the District will be subtracted from any U.S. aid package.

The amendment says the money will be withheld until the secretary of state certifies that "such fines and penalties are fully paid," reports the *Washington Times* (September 24). ✂

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7:30 A.M. *Woke up in a luxurious 1 Bedroom Apartment, turned on Cable TV for the weather.*

7:45 A.M. *Nice day. Took breakfast and the Washington Post onto the balcony.*

8:20 A.M. *Tossed linens in washer and dryer. Left note for maid to set dinner table. Petted the cat.*

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

5:00 P.M. *Picked up dessert at Watergate Pastry Shop and walked home.*

5:45 P.M. *Buzzed in guests at front door.*

7:30 P.M. *Decided to stay another month!*

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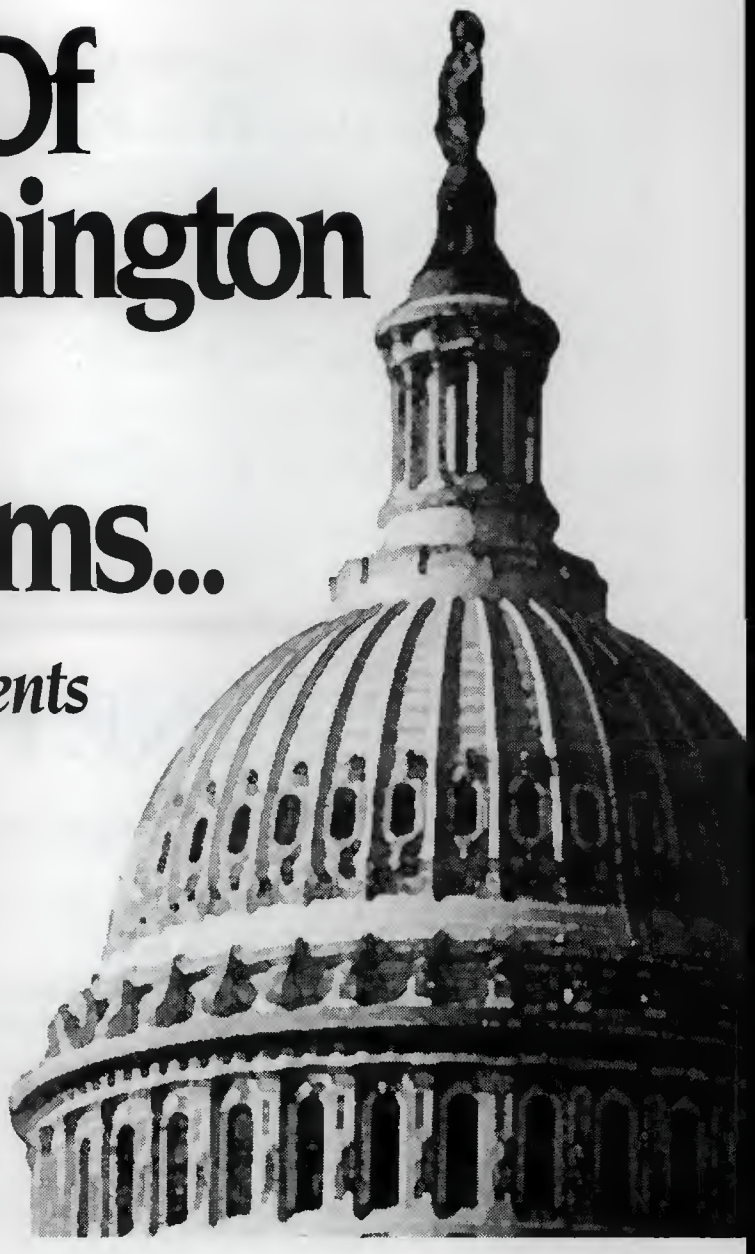

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SPEAKING OUT

By Jim Anderson

The Messenger and the Message

Are FSOs indistinguishable from the ideas they defend?

In the past months, four mid-level State Department employees have resigned because of their disagreement with the administration's policy on the former Yugoslavia. This is a newsworthy development since such a noisy resignation is not usually thought of as a good career move.

The "Bosnian Four" raise a larger question that comes up in every field, but more pointedly in the Foreign Service: Should professionals simply be good soldiers carrying out the policies of the administration *du jour*? Or, by advancing those policies, are they properly seen as advocates, indistinguishable from the ideas they defend?

The center arena

Some politicized areas are known to be career launching pads, albeit political minefields—Vietnam, Central America in the Reagan administration, South Africa, Angola during the Cold War, and now the former Yugoslavia. All sentient FSOs realize these require an allegiance to a certain political direction and an emotional commitment involving long hours and stress. FSOs are not commanded to accept assignments in those areas. But there is, I am told, a brisk competition for these jobs, precisely because they are in the center of the political arena, promising more than the usual ration of excitement.

Short of getting a powerful mentor, there is no better way of getting ahead in the increasingly competitive world of the Foreign Service. This principle applies in other career fields, whether it be law, journalism, or science. When you are high on the flag-pole, you become identified with the flag, but when it comes down, so do you.

The same test would not apply to less "glamorous" State jobs. It may be an issue of great economic importance to negotiate with the Japanese government on whether Northwest Airlines has two, instead of three, stops per week in Osaka; textile quotas with China may help determine, one day, whether China hews to the Communist or free-market path. However, these issues are not something that will attract the fast-trackers.

The journalistic equivalent is the difference between covering the Department of Agriculture or the White House. Both are important, but most correspondents would kill to get the White House job, even if it meant the job might disappear when a new occupant shows up in the Oval Office.

Attacks on high-profile FSOs, whether from Congress or the press, should be anticipated as part of the territory, just as getting shot at is part of the often boring and sometimes exciting life of being a soldier or a reporter. Nothing is so exhilarating, as Winston Churchill said after his South African experience, "as being shot at without effect." That does not, of course, justify personal attacks on any Foreign Service officer or harassing his family.

More than letter carriers

Foreign Service officers are presumed by the outside world to be more than empty vessels or blank tablets. They are thought to have a point of view. By their style, sincerity, and assiduity, and sometimes by their rank and dignity—both abroad and in Washington—they add context and heft to the words they convey. The reverse—that they are simply letter carriers with no opinions—would be insulting.

There is a difference between kinds of messengers. When the U.S. Postal Service delivers an unpleasant postcard to my mailbox, I don't hold it against the carrier. But, if I were the foreign minister of Freedonia, a nascent democratic regime, and I had just been informed by the American ambassador that my U.S. assistance had been suspended because of an unfortunate incident involving 8,000 pounds of hemp at Miami International Airport, I would assume that the messenger had something to do with the message. The ambassador could be presumed to be associating himself with the idea that fighting drug trafficking is more important, in the current U.S. priorities, than building multi-party democracy, as enunciated in the past.

That same assumption works on this side of the ocean, in Congress, with the press, and with foreign embassies and lobbyists in Washington. It is logical for them to think that State Department (and USAID and USIA) employees in politically sensitive areas understand and generally support and help form the policies they publicly defend. If they didn't, they wouldn't be there.

A hypothetical example: An Angola desk officer, in talks to African diplomats and congressional staff members before the November elections in the United States, praises Jonas Savimbi and cites his Jeffersonian qualities. Then when the Democrats take over in Washington, the same desk officer plays down Savimbi's anti-communism and populist tendencies and criticizes him as a corrupt and power-hungry usurper.

It may well be that Savimbi's char-

acter and behavior magically changed with the shift in administrations in Washington. But it is more likely they did not. A certain cynicism about that State Department desk officer's credibility would be understandable next time he came before a congressional committee or met the press.

The silence of assent

Silence is often interpreted by others as assent, sometimes correctly. That's what the recent resignations of the mid-level officers from the Yugoslavia Task Force are about. That is also what the resignation of FSO Anthony Lake from the National Security Council staff was about when he quit in the 1960s over his disagreement with the Nixon administration's Cambodia policy. Lake's current resurrection as national security adviser to the president suggests that there is life after resignation.

In sensitive posts, whether in business or in government, officials who are not enthusiastic and efficient about pushing internal policies are replaced by those who are. That is true, whether it is the State Department or the National Institutes of Health, or *The Washington Post*, or IBM. Agreement with the prevailing policy is not a condition of employment, but it is generally a requirement for advancement.

This may seem unjust and it may be true that FSOs simply implement policies laid down by other, more exalted officials. But the FSOs are the personification of those ideas to others. Their efficiency in implementing them is something that affects those policies and will be attached to their names, for better or for worse.

Foreign relations are more than policy, something more delicate than

the ideas that are written down. Those policies are a complex of arguments and historical and personal experience. The relations—and that is a precisely chosen word—are colored and embellished by the people who carry them out.

A Foreign Service officer is not a hired gun like the lawyers prowling the courthouse corridors, willing and able to argue either side of a law suit with equal conviction. This is particularly true given the present world situation, in which U.S. ideas fill the partial vacuum left by the disappearance of the Soviet Union.

One reason why the Japanese press swarms when it's time for a new American ambassador to arrive in Tokyo is that the relationship between the two countries depends partly on the style of the new envoy. Will Walter Mondale be in the tough-love fatherly image of Mike Mansfield or the hard-edged professional style of Mike Armacost? It makes a difference.

Professional hari-kari

I happen to disagree with the policy recommendations of the FSOs who resigned publicly. They all seem to ignore the ratchet effect of military escalation which leads to Vietnam-style involvement without the support of the American voters. I don't think they have taken into consideration the global effects of acting without NATO or the United Nations. Nevertheless, I believe they did the right thing in stepping down, with dignity and with a public airing of their views.

I decidedly didn't admire the State Department spokesman's original response to one of the resignations, saying in effect that Foreign Service people resign all the time for a lot of different reasons, so what's the big deal here? The big deal is a professional officer in an elite service firing off his last cartridge and then committing professional hari-kari to underline a point of principle.

To his credit, the department spokesman later took a more respectful view of the resignation of Stephen Walker, State's Croatia desk officer, recognizing that it was an honest and honorable way to register disagreement about the "terrible, frustrating" problem that the secretary of state also agonized about.

The argument that is heard against resignation on principle usually comes from older professionals. They have eaten their allotted peck of dirt working with policies or under political appointees they despised. But they felt a duty to remain at their posts to moderate those policies and keep the political appointee madmen from doing permanent damage to the United States.

FSOs who remain in their jobs raise the obvious point: Not objecting is a choice. It implies assent to a policy or support for their superiors, as seen from both within and outside the system.

When you win in the Foreign Service, you win big. Being an ambassador is still the closest that most mortals come to commanding a battleship or running a good-sized corporation. Despite the foreign hazards, there are many compensations, including the prestige of representing the last super-power. The Foreign Service is, by its nature, a professionally risky career option. It is especially chancy in politically sensitive posts; to reach its pinnacle is a kind of lottery, in which individuals can actually make a visible difference.

One of the most effective tools at a diplomat's disposal in that career is the threat of public resignation. It is a reminder to the policy-makers that the Foreign Service is made up of loyal employees who have minds of their own and consciences.

Jim Anderson is a correspondent for DPA, the German Press Agency. He was formerly diplomatic correspondent for UPI and has covered the State Department for more than 20 years.

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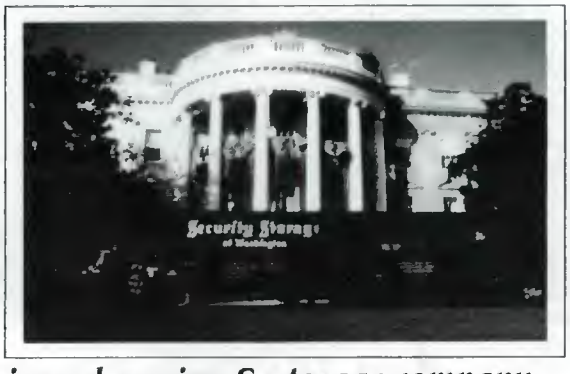

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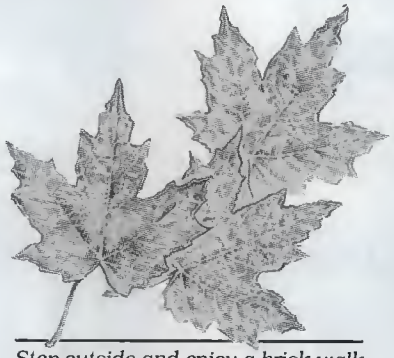

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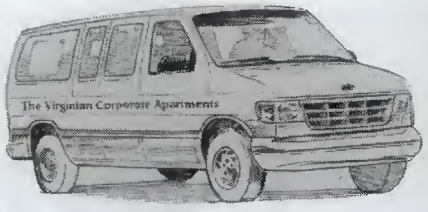

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How Dallas recruited a retired FSO to help it beat the recession by courting foreign investment and trade

The World Comes to Texas

In 1990, Philippines President Corazon Aquino is welcomed to Dallas by Mayor Annette Strauss and International Affairs Director, Jim Bullington.

Local economies are profoundly changed by foreign economic and political events. Revolutions in telecommunications, aviation, information-processing, and other technologies have brought the world to everyone's doorstep.

Shadowing this accelerating internationalization of our lives has been a trend toward decentralization of organizational structures and localization of decision-making. In particular, state and local governments have gained increased power and responsibilities relative to the federal government. Greater federal activism under President Clinton is likely to slow, but not reverse, this devolution of effective power away from Washington. In most other countries, similar processes are at work.

These trends were clearly identified in 1982 by John Naisbitt in *Megatrends*, and they surely continue today, driven on one hand by the ongoing global redistribution of production, growing economic interdependence, and burgeoning immigration and cultural diversity, and on the other hand by the "new federalism," increased political assertiveness of state and local governments, and the contemporary doctrine of management and politics, which advocates making decisions at the lowest reasonable level.

SOVEREIGN STATES

The convergence of these powerful forces—globalization and localization—has important implications for governments. Once the nearly exclusive domain of national government, foreign affairs now intrude on a daily basis at the state and local levels. James Goldsborough describes the situation well in the spring 1993 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, where he writes, "Like an independent nation, California must depend on its own wits to manage its future." Citing examples of how the state is acting independently on international matters, particularly trade, he calls for California "to pursue aggressively its own foreign policy."

Among the new city responsibilities are:

- following major international trends and events and assessing their implications for the city;
- handling an increasing flow of VIP foreign visitors who need to see the mayor and other top officials;
- creating a local point of contact for the growing number of internationally involved citizens, businesses, and organizations who have busi-

BY J.R. BULLINGTON

ness with the city government;
- assessing and strengthening the city's global economic competitiveness;
- establishing a local point of contact for resident and visiting representatives of foreign governments;
- handling foreign correspondence and framing city responses to international inquiries and opportunities;
- addressing the special needs of foreign investment prospects and trade missions;
- crafting a plan for "internationalizing" the city;
- proposing, prioritizing, and organizing the international travel of the mayor and other city leaders.

Few sub-national governments have systematically assessed their new responsibilities and opportunities in the current era of globalism. Even fewer have developed a corresponding organizational infrastructure.

COSMOPOLITAN DALLAS

Among the few cities that have responded to increasing globalization is Dallas.

Few people would include Dallas, home of the Cowboys and J.R. Ewing, on a list of cities that have an international character. Until recently, international cities were either national capitals, the focal points of international politics, or seaports, the focal points of international commerce and culture.

Today, however, great airports, such as Dallas-Fort Worth International—currently the world's largest and second busiest, after Chicago's O'Hare—internationalize a city as great seaports did in an earlier era, directing the world's commerce and people to the cities that possess them.

The Dallas-Fort Worth "metroplex," of which Dallas is the largest city, now ranks ninth among all cities as a headquarters location for the largest multinational corporations. Consequently, Dallas has become a command-and-control center for the global economy; decisions made in its corporate boardrooms have worldwide implications. Moreover, many of Dallas' smaller firms have developed international operations and some 600 foreign companies have opened plants and offices in the Dallas area. Dallas also has a growing number of consulates and foreign trade offices.

COURTING FOREIGN TRADE

Much of this internationalization of Dallas was inevitable, the result of global economic and social forces affecting all cities. But the economic troubles of the mid-1980s awakened the city's political and business leadership to the need to promote internationalization, in order to make Dallas a more effective international competitor.

Several public and private initiatives were launched, especially under the leadership of former Mayor Annette Strauss. The most important of these was the 1987-88 Mayor's Commission on International Development, headed by Ross Perot's principal deputy, Mort Myerson. It resulted in a number of new private-sector bodies: the International Trade Resource Center, for example, helps small and medium-sized companies launch international operations, and the Dallas International Sports Commission is working to make Dallas an international sports center.

In the public sector, the principal accomplishment of the Meyerson Commission was broadening the scope of the city's Office of International Affairs (OIA), which I directed from 1989 to 1993. The office had been established in 1981, as the Office of Protocol, to meet the city's responsibilities in hosting foreign dignitaries. With a mandate from the Meyerson Commission to add international business development and other functions, OIA began rapidly to evolve into a municipal "foreign ministry."

OIA is charged with:
- promoting expansion of international trade, foreign investment into Dallas, the development of the city's international economic infrastructure, and international air service;
- supporting cultural, educational, scientific, and other international exchanges, including sister-city programs, and relating them to opportunities for new business ties and economic growth;
- marketing Dallas internationally through programs and hospitality for distinguished foreign visitors and through foreign travel to promote the city's economic and other international interests;
- helping attract international exhibi-

tions, sports events, conventions, and tourism;

- serving as the city's focal point for contacts with foreign government representatives, international organizations and immigrant communities.

The present OIA staff works out of City Hall and consists of a director, three other professionals (for protocol, business, and special events), and two secretaries. The staff is supplemented by a corps of 50 volunteers, who assist with protocol functions. OIA's entire operating budget ($135,000 in 1992-93) comes from private funds raised by the annual Dallas Ambassadors Forum, an affair that brings 40-50 foreign ambassadors to Dallas for a weekend of social events and presentations on Dallas's business climate. The event raises about $500,000 yearly.

Because its operating budget comes entirely from these private funds, OIA enjoys considerably greater flexibility than do typical city government offices. For example, in Dallas it would not long be politically possible, even if funds were available in the regular city budget, to use the taxpayers' money to entertain foreign dignitaries and pay for the mayor's foreign travel.

The record of OIA shows that a deliberate effort to promote internationalization can pay dividends. Since 1989, OIA has launched an initiative to position Dallas as the economic hub of the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA). It has enhanced Dallas' image as an international business center by promoting the establishment of the French-supported International School of Dallas (which made the city more competitive in attracting European investment). Foreign-owned firms now employ more than 40,000 people in Dallas.

OIA has facilitated the opening of 11 new consular, trade, and other foreign government offices and two new international air routes. Under the "Ambassadors of Dallas" program, Dallasites living abroad are recruited to promote the city on a voluntary basis, while Dallas has also established new sister-city relationships with Riga, Latvia; Brno, Czech Republic; Monterrey, Mexico; and Sendai, Japan. The OIA organized the visits of six chiefs of state, including Queen Elizabeth, and 55 visits by foreign cabinet-level officials. The office also supported cultural activities, such as the staging of international exhibits and the city's successful bid for the 1994 World Cup. These activities, as well as a knowledgeable response to specific inquiries, have enhanced connections with potential foreign customers, investors, and business partners.

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

The concept of international affairs as an integral, important function of municipal government is a paradigm shift which is by no means universally accepted, particularly by City Hall career professionals whose concerns have always been local matters such as fire and police protection, zoning ordinances, street repair, etc. Moreover, at a time of severe pressure on a city budget that has been shrinking in real terms, it has not been easy to find even limited city funding ($265,000 for salaries and benefits of the OIA staff in 1992-93) for an office perceived by many as peripheral to core municipal responsibilities.

Such problems are certainly not unique to Dallas. That Dallas has been able to address them with relative success is because its Office of International Affairs has enjoyed strong support from much of the city's political, business, and civic leadership. This support, in turn, has resulted from OIA's constant, sustained involvement in meeting real private-sector needs, along with the private sector's direct involvement in raising money for OIA's operating budget and providing it with other types of material and moral assistance. It is a true public-private partnership.

Sooner or later, all major city and state governments will have to reassess how they handle their increased international responsibilities. Those that do so sooner and more successfully will gain a competitive edge on the others. The case of Dallas should provide some useful insights and ideas.

James R. Bullington retired in 1989 after 26 years in the Foreign Service. After four years as director of international affairs for Dallas, in July 1993 he became director of the Center for Global Business and professor at Old Dominion University's College of Business and Public Administration.

THE BRITISH FOREIGN SERVICE

RED TAPE & COMPUTER DISKS

BY JOHN J. EDDY

For five years ending June 27, 1991, Sir Patrick Wright served as head of Her Majesty's Diplomatic Service and as permanent under secretary, in effect the official head of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO). During a three-hour lunch in London's Oxford and Cambridge Club, Wright discussed the British Foreign Service.

During coffee, a prominent British politician crossed the floor, picking his way among the winged, leather chairs. "Patrick, I must say you're looking very relaxed."

"I'm supposed to look relaxed, I'm retired," Wright growled, not entirely content with his enforced pasture.

Wright enjoyed relating the story of an early speech after retirement. He received an invitation to speak in Riyadh on "Modern Diplomacy and Technology." The Saudis liked the speech so much that they asked him to take out all of the British humor and make the speech twice as long for publication. Wright tried but touched the wrong button on his word processor and lost everything, including the original speech. "So much for the modern diplomat and technology," he pronounced.

Sir Patrick Wright

French Foreign Minister Maurice Couve de Murville once publicly described his own Foreign Service as the second best in the world after the British. On the other hand, Sir Patrick Wright noted, the Japanese may have been less easily impressed since they once allegedly translated his own title, permanent under secretary, as "immortal junior typist."

It is painful for those who love the British and their sense of perspective to conclude that, with the decline of Britain's world prominence, once-fabled British diplomacy no longer inspires universal emulation to the extent it once did. At one time British example set the standard even at the dining table table. It was an 18th-century British diplomatic manual, after all, that explained placement as the science of seating guests so as to avoid enraging them.

The British Foreign Service today is trying hard to defossilize, but in progressiveness it seems in many respects outstripped by the U.S. Foreign Service, which is more diverse, more management-oriented, and, believe it or not, more mechanized. The British are struggling with modernization, treading a path which, for the most part, their American counterparts have already gone down.

A source at Britain's embassy on Massachusetts Avenue in Washington thinks that to achieve a thorough change in Britain's Foreign Service will take 25 years. At the same time, even if the British Service is not a cauldron of innovation, its successes have been notable, and it would be extremely foolish to think the American Foreign Service has nothing to learn from the British.

POLITICS AND PROFESSIONALS: THE "COBALT LINE"

Sir Patrick Wright said that on paper the dividing line between the politicians and the career diplomatic service is "as thick and black a line as you can possibly draw." As the permanent under secretary, Wright could and did refuse to use the resources at his command for anything he deemed partisan. He claimed, however, that in general, ministers well understood the requirement for political neutrality by the Foreign Service.

Nor is the permanent under secretary dependent on the political

leadership for resources. In financial matters, this official is the accounting officer for the diplomatic service and is answerable to the Public Accounts Committee of the House of Commons as well as to the Foreign Affairs Committee. Both committees regularly cross-examine the permanent under secretary on the administration and finance of the department.

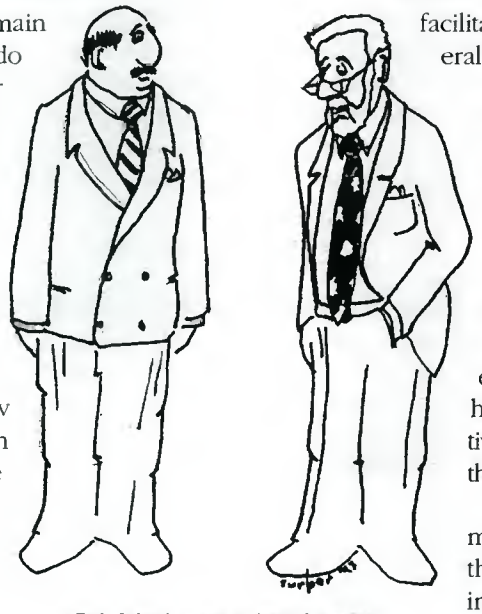
The permanent under secretary also chairs the committee which recommends promotions and appointments at the senior grades to the foreign secretary, who is constitutionally responsible for recommending ambassadorships to the queen. Though Wright did not say so, outsiders believe that the selection of ambassadors is essentially the work of the permanent under secretary and advisers.

Wright mentioned that, during his entire five years at the helm of the FCO, 100 percent of British missions abroad were headed by career officers.

Apart from the handful of political appointments—some of them outstandingly effective—during Wright's lifetime, he could not think of more than three or four transfers of career personnel that could plausibly be attributed to a change of administration. A source currently at the Foreign Office confirmed that the weight of tradition and the public attitude was against non-career ambassadors. Wright pointed out that Mrs. Thatcher and her ministers inherited all public-service appointments, including ambassadors abroad, from the Callaghan Government.

OPEN TO ALL

The British Foreign Service has no "cones" but two "streams": a fast stream and a main stream, the latter including those who do not place high enough on the exam roster to qualify for the fast stream. In theory, entry into the diplomatic service is open to all British citizens, but in the past, reality was otherwise. Few fast streamers had gone anywhere but "Oxbridge." Not many years ago Laborite George Brown, then foreign secretary, demanded to know the precise number of Foreign Service officers who had gone to Eton. The head of the diplomat service drew himself up stiffly and refused to give it. Brown was somewhat reassured later when he discovered that one of his brightest under secretaries was the son of a coal miner from his own constituency.



But, I don't want to be reinvented.

Schools and universities attended by officers are not recorded in official data, but it is clear that social and educational backgrounds have expanded. As has been the case for many years, the Foreign Service does not select its own entrants. There is one Civil Service-wide written and oral examination, lasting two days; candidates specify if they are applying for the diplomatic service.

The FCO does have a role in foraging for recruits: It sends speakers to universities to encourage citizens of all backgrounds to take the examination, and it furnishes officers to sit on the selection panels that assess candidates. Applicants for the diplomatic service who pass the two-day examination go before a five-to-seven-member final selection panel. Membership of this panel is drawn from the Civil Service as a whole, as well as a spectrum of the British public.

Typically, Wright said, a final selection panel is divided into three "questioners" and three or four "listeners." The panel does not rule by a strict majority, but by consensus. All sources were firm in defending the objectivity of the process.

After the work of the final selection panel is done, Recruitment and Assessment Services passes details of successful candidates in order of merit to the FCO. Personnel draws a line under the number of candidates needed. No one, including the permanent under secretary, may change this fixed order of merit. The annual intake for the fast stream typically has been between 18 and 25. The candidate learns of his/her success or failure within two weeks of sitting before the final selection panel, but actual employment may be delayed for months while security vetting and health inquiries take place. Most new fast-stream officers join the diplomatic service as a group in September or October each year.

In 1991, 4,000 aspirants asked for the application form to take the fast-stream examination; 2,000 returned it; 700 took the written examination; 250 sat for the oral interviews; and 20 were accepted into the diplomatic service.

TWO STREAMS

The Foreign Service fast stream numbers about 745; the main stream, about 2,475, for a total of 3,220 in the diplomatic service. The purpose of the fast stream is to facilitate promotions for highly qualified generalists, particularly in their early years.

In theory, the British fast stream cuts across all U.S. cones. Anyone in the British fast stream is deemed capable of doing any job, although the Foreign Service also employs specialist economists from the government Civil Service. In practice, what the U.S. calls administrative and consular officers tend to fall into the British main stream, though not exclusively. Some British officers who have emphasized consular and administrative work reach the top by crossing over to the fast stream from the main stream.

In addition to the combined 3,220 members of the fast and main streams, there are 3,000 FCO employees belonging to the Home (Civil) Service. These tend to be lower-ranking clerical staff, typists, messengers, and drivers.

Migration among these groups is decidedly encouraged these days, in part to overcome the FCO's elitist image. It would be incorrect to think, however, that the fast steam was ever wholly exclusionary. There are specific competitions to allow main-stream officers to move into the fast stream. There is no concession in the written examinations, but knowing one's way around the FCO helps.

A source at the British Embassy in Washington said that in the past main-stream officers were normally "non-university

persons." Since the mid-1980s, however, virtually all who have entered the main stream have had university degrees. The quality of the main stream is improving to such an extent that at any one moment between 20-25 percent of officers in each main-stream grade are holding down jobs whose content is predominantly "policy".

There seems to be, in general, a developing sense of one corps—and, including the Home Service, one team. A political officer at the British Embassy in Washington acknowledged that in the past there have been tensions between the fast stream and the main stream and between secretaries and supervisors, but such problems are these days repeatedly and earnestly addressed in management directives.

ABOUT ONE-THIRD OF BRITISH DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OFFICERS ARE WOMEN.

Several sources confirmed that all members of the fast stream with rare exceptions can expect to achieve chief-of-mission status. One source felt there was a concomitant tendency to promote British officers "over the top of their competence." One observable result, the source said, was that the management incompetence of such officers had occasionally wreaked misery upon their staffs.

Wright insisted that one of his objectives was to ensure that all members of the Foreign service, but particularly heads of mission, were aware of their management responsibilities. He informed members that their performances would be increasingly judged, and their promotion prospects affected by their management abilities and not just by their political skills.

JUST A JOB

Wright made another point regarding British ambassadors. The post of ambassador (or high commissioner in commonwealth countries) is treated as a job in the British Foreign Service, not a rank. Unlike in the United States or France, the fact that one has been an ambassador does not carry with it a lifelong title of "Ambassador" or even "Honorable." Further, there is nothing unusual for a junior ambassador to take the position of number two or even number three in a much larger embassy.

The British are further along than Americans in implementing the regional embassy concept. Furthermore, at very small embassies, British ambassadors often roll up their sleeves and share such tasks as issuing visas, meeting the courier, and typing.

FEW WOMEN AND MINORITIES

There are five women who hold ambassadorial rank in the British Service. The small number of women ambassadors reflects partly the small proportion of mid-level women recruited some 20-30 years ago, partly the fact that until 1972 women officers were required to resign on marriage, and partly the difficulty of combining marriage and a mobile career.

The overall presence of women in the workforce is nonetheless growing. Thirty-four percent of the diplomatic service are women. In the upper grades only 3.5 percent are women, while in the lower grades including support grades, more than half are women. The percentage of women in the fast stream is 13.8. British assignment boards are now sympathetic to officers who want joint assignments. Rules are not set in concrete, though the British try to avoid subordinating one spouse to another by encouraging them to apply for larger posts.

More women than men, in proportion to their numbers, pass the main stream written and oral examinations. Even more women would take the examination were there not such a widespread view among the public that the diplomatic service is stacked against women.

Only 2.6 percent of the diplomatic service are from ethnic minorities. The British public periodically demands a more representative Foreign Service, though it has lately been quiescent. The FCO has responded by searching out minorities and encouraging them to take the examination. Three representatives of Britain's ethnic communities out of a total intake of 21 will be joining the fast stream in 1993.

One obstacle facing minorities is that to enter the FCO, citizenship must be at least second-generation; that is, at least one of the candidate's parents must have been a commonwealth citizen or citizen of the Irish Republic for 30 years prior to the appointment. An additional problem is a more time consuming security check.

The British Service employs a number of disabled but, there are no blind employees in the FCO (compared with 11 at State), in part because of the "mobility obligation" of the Foreign Service. Each employee must sign a statement of willingness to serve anywhere. In practical terms, the FCO is intent on employing more of the disabled. One might summarize its program as advancing but not truly bold. There is, however, a full-time equal-opportunities slot to ensure the FCO conforms to legislation and to help advance the cause of minorities and disabled.

THE INS AND OUTS OF COMPENSATION

Though comparisons of overall compensation received by the British and the American services are risky and best lend themselves to generalized comment, the British equivalent of an FS-01 (first secretary) receives about 12 percent more in basic pay that his/her American counterpart. For overseas service anywhere (at any one time, about 60 percent of the British diplomatic service is posted abroad compared with 55 percent of the U.S. Foreign Service), employees receive a 15 percent premium. A differential for hardship posts can add a significant amount to compensation; so might a cost-of-living allowance; lodging and utilities are free; language bonuses are liberal. Proficiency in the language of the country of assignment (including French, which is almost taken for granted), brings a bonus proportional to the difficulty of the language. Knowledge of the language of countries in which officers have served, even if the language is not that of the country of current assignment, brings half the bonus—even if the current assignment is London. Languages can add significantly to annual compensation. The employee must, however, requalify in a language every five years to continue to receive the relevant allowance.

With all expenses calculated (including transportation and housing), the assignment of a counselor to Washington can cost $288,000 a year. There is quite a bit of unhappiness in the British Service over pay right now, with concern expressed particularly for employees with families because of London's high cost of living. The lower grades are especially hard hit because of the difficult that the mobility obligation puts in the way of both partners working.

FLOW-THROUGH

The retirement age for the British Service is 60, the lowest of any service in Europe, Wright said. He explained that the retirement ages of most other European Services range from 63 to 68, the highest being the Portuguese, at 70. There are few exceptions to retirement by 60. Wright himself had to retire at 60 and thinks that a mandatory retirement age of 60 makes more sense than 65, in part because, as he put it, "Retiring at 60 allows for a second career. Nobody will want you at 65."

The maximum pension is 49.8 percent of the last year of salary. In addition, there is a lump-sum payment equal to half of one year's salary. The lump sum, unlike the pension itself, is not taxable.

For officers near retirement who are unproductive, the preferred solution is that they retire voluntarily. The British Service tries to avoid induced early retirements as demoralizing and, as Wright pointed out, expensive. At the end of an assignments cycle, it is rare for a senior officer to be without work. The FCO, in order to comply with government guidelines, must also ensure that the number of senior officers remains below an agreed maximum.

RECOGNITION FROM THE QUEEN

After retirement from a major embassy or mission abroad, a British ambassador is received with his/her spouse by the queen at Buckingham Palace, usually in the company of several of the ambassador's colleagues. Prior to retirement, senior ambassadors may expect to receive knighthoods reflecting the importance of their post as much as the performance of the individual recipient. The number of such honors has significantly declined in recent years. All retiring heads of mission receive a highly personal, "chatty" message from the foreign secretary. Employees of lesser station receive recognition to scale. The queen's birthday and New Year honor-lists may also provide honors for a number of employees, sometimes but not necessarily related to retirement.

MANAGEMENT AND MORALE

Since about 1982, the FCO has been seized with developing a management-by-objective regimen. Each year posts abroad, departments in London, and under secretaries draw up objectives for their work in the forthcoming year. Each year posts, departments, and under secretaries are also consulted by the administration on the resources for which they are responsible. This enables all levels of the organization to have an input into the resource-allocation process. Their distilled inputs are then considered by the FCO's board of management, which makes recommendations on how the next year's money should be spent, as well as recommendations on funding bids for future years.

A 1990 report by Coopers and Lybrand, commissioned by the FCO, raised alarming questions about the FCO's management and morale. A large majority of the responses to the questionnaire were highly critical of management, both for not defining the FCO's mission and for its deficit of "people skills." Secretaries who had left the FCO to enter private organizations listed "validation," or being made to feel valued as a main reason for leaving.

As a result of the study, numerous remedial steps have been taken, particularly in the area of openness and people skills. Since 1990 employees have seen their evaluation reports. The FCO has instituted a system of upward reporting, in which the employee evaluates the boss as a supervisor. Abroad, even before the consultants report, the deputy head of mission (equivalent to the American DCM) was expected to play a much stronger pastoral role in welfare and morale.

Training has improved. There is now in place an experimental system for dividing entering classes into two groups: one group goes immediately to on-the-job training on a desk with a side regimen of formal area and management training outside the office. For this group, the supervisor must strictly justify in writing any occasion on which the supervisor causes the employee to miss a training session. The other group of members are given six months' induction training at the beginning of their careers. The FCO is still assessing which procedure gets better results.

THE POSITION OF AMBASSADOR IS TREATED AS A JOB, NOT A RANK.

In general, the Coopers and Lybrand review did away with the old FCO concept of personnel assignments as merely, in one source's phrase, "putting bottoms on seats." It introduced an element of explicit competition into the assignments and promotion system and made the management of careers and the development of individual officers the primary function of personnel management. It gave a powerful impetus to the notion that management skills should be a criterion for advancement beyond the first-secretary level.

Political judgment still significantly overshadows management ability as the key qualifier for appointment as an ambassador. As one source put it, "Political judgment is what justifies an ambassador's being out there in the first place."

Until recently, the main burden for management at a British embassy fell on the head of chancery. The position had no parallel in the U.S. Foreign Service—its responsibilities included both the logistical and the substantive. The combination came about because in the old days the head of chancery was in effect special assistant to the ambassador.

Wright said that the position of head of chancery exists today only in the largest posts, such as Washington, Paris, and Bonn. Its administrative oversight has shifted to the management officer, and the position's broader management respon-

sibilities are being progressively passed to the deputy head of mission (DHM)—not without misgivings on the part of Wright and others. Will the management officer, who at the largest posts is a fast-streamer of counsellor rank, be able to spare the DHM from the purely administrative tasks? Wright obviously preferred that the energies of the ambassador and the DHM should remain focused as much as possible on substance.

COMMERCIAL WORK LOOMS LARGER

With the approach of an expanded Euro-Community, the importance of commercial work looms larger than ever in the minds of British officers. Wright said that the prospect of commercial work drove the interest of a sizable number of applicants to the Foreign Service.

He added that many British fast-streamers seem to have found commercial work career-enhancing. A political officer at the embassy in Washington confirmed that two British commercial ministers in Washington had gone directly to Vienna and Rome respectively as ambassadors. The current commercial minister in Washington was previously ambassador in Costa Rica. Wright said that "about five" of the officers considered to have the greatest potential for positions at the absolute top of the FCO are known for their particular effectiveness in commercial work.

THE OLD WORLD MEETS THE NEW

The British Foreign Service includes many practices that deserve admiration. Partisan political intervention is held firmly in check. One should not exaggerate, but for a British society that is supposedly class-ridden, there is remarkable collegiality at all levels within the British Service. There is relatively little invidiousness evident, for example, between generalists and what the Americans call specialists. There are no cones. The division between the British fast stream and the main stream is surprisingly porous. Aided by a retirement age of 60 and a virtual absence of non-career appointments, the British Foreign Service has almost no senior employees in over-complement status. Effective commercial work can lead to an important ambassadorship.

A lingering problem is that the British still tend to think of the ambassador as the chief political analyst rather than as a manager, though that too is changing. On balance, the British deserve much more credit than they have received for evolving from a legendary stodginess to adaptation in a new world. British diplomats may still tie their mail with red tape, but that quaint custom is well removed from the Foreign Office's solemnity of the 18th century. A foreign secretary of that epoch, Lord Chesterfield, was known to have laughed out loud only once in his life, whereupon he promptly apologized.

John Eddy works in the Office of the Inspector General. This article is based partly on official research conducted while the author was special assistant to the director general. The opinions expressed are the author's own and not necessarily those of the department.

BUSINESS UP FRONT

AN INTERVIEW WITH *Paul Cleveland*

Editor's Note: *Ambassador Paul Cleveland was named Coordinator for Business Affairs at the Department of State in October. The increasing importance of international trade and commercial affairs as an element of U.S. foreign policy led Secretary of State Warren Christopher to establish this new position. Cleveland, a political officer for the last 15 years, started his Foreign Service career as an economic officer. He was in Indonesia from 1965 to 1968, when the embassy there introduced American business back into Indonesia after the Sukarno period. As ambassador to Malaysia from 1989 to 1992, he had many opportunities to promote U.S. commercial and economic interests overseas. The interview, conducted by John J. Harter, has been edited.*

HARTER: *Just what is your new job?*

CLEVELAND: My new position will provide a focal point within the Department of State to ensure that commercial interests are carefully considered.

We will be concerned with three basic functions: first, bringing business interests of the United States closer to the foreign decision-making process; second, improving the operational responses of the Department of State to businessmen's needs—ensuring that the desk officers do the best they can to provide assistance to them; and third, aiding and abetting the cultural change that's going on within the U. S. foreign affairs community to develop better commercially oriented Foreign Service officers.

For some time, we have seen the need to sharpen our economic/commercial focus. We made substantial strides under secretaries Shultz and Eagleburger, and Secretary Christopher has renewed and underscored the importance of emphasizing commercial matters. He has declared that *he* will be "America's desk." My appointment is a manifestation of his interest in improving our effort to expand exports. I hope we'll be able to help connect American business and the U.S. Foreign Service. I'm not here to reinvent the wheel or to create something that really isn't there, but I'll try to represent the interests of the business community in inter-agency and intra-department discussions and help shift things in the direction of commercial concerns, which are of growing importance to us.

HARTER: *What questions should American business people consult you about?*

CLEVELAND: I'll accept any questions they may wish to raise at the Department of State, and if I don't have the answers, my office will provide guidance as to where they should go. We will deal with policy questions where commercial interests appear to conflict with U.S. political/military/strategic interests. But we also want to be responsive to the myriad of operational questions or requests for assistance.

HARTER: *Is the creation of your job related to the announcement by Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown on a new government emphasis on export promotion?*

CLEVELAND: This position is obviously compatible with Secretary Brown's effort to upgrade inter-agency assistance to American business people. I've already been very much involved in the work of the inter-agency Trade Promotion Coordinating Committee (TPCC) that Ron Brown heads. We hope to upgrade the time, attention, and effectiveness of our overseas trade promotion efforts, to streamline them, to better coordinate them in the context of the TPCC work. We want to ensure that the U.S. Export-Import Bank, for example, works

closely with other government agencies to provide useful assistance to our exporters. The objective is to blend all Washington agencies together into a coherent, strong effort that will include our overseas missions under the direction of our ambassadors.

HARTER: *Is there danger that the Department of State could encroach upon the turf of the Department of Commerce?*

CLEVELAND: Let me make it perfectly clear: the Department of Commerce is the lead agency in providing commercial services, aid, support, and assistance to the U. S. business community. But the Department of State also plays a very critical role in supplementing the work of Commerce. First of all, our ambassadors take the lead in commercial work overseas. Most are making outstanding contributions. The overall contribution of State to U.S. business includes broad analysis, assessments, and understanding of U. S. foreign policy interests. But specific commercial interests are now clearly emerging at the very top of the foreign affairs agenda. The question is, how can we, as general foreign policy practitioners, help in framing, fostering, and shaping our national response to U.S. commercial needs?

HARTER: *Some people debate whether government export promotion programs really matter that much, contending that it's the price and the quality of the product—and salesmanship and servicing—that are the principal factors that determine exports.*

CLEVELAND: I think it's up to the U.S. business community to do the great majority of the work. It's the inventiveness and aggressive pursuit of opportunity by them that will basically determine whether or not they succeed. Nevertheless, the government can do a great deal to stimulate interest and to aid and abet our business interests overseas. U.S. government intervention is not only desirable, but often required.

The Foreign Service negotiates tax treaties, friendship, commerce, and navigation treaties, and many other agreements that help U.S. businesses to prosper overseas. All these are part of export promotion. I can't tell you what percentage the American government contributes, but it is a terribly important percentage. U.S. Foreign Service advocacy on behalf of our U.S. companies often makes all the difference. The government also can be particularly helpful to medium and smaller businesses, which face increasing competition here in the United States from foreign firms. Many of them realize that they must expand their own horizons overseas to get the economies of scale they need to be competitive domestically. But they need help and guidance getting started. General Motors and IBM are quite capable of operating overseas—they've been there a long time; but a small company in North Carolina or Georgia—even a one-to-two-billion-dollar corporation—may need the help and guidance that the government can furnish.

HARTER: *If the United States is going to improve its competitiveness, don't we really require a broader understanding on the part of the American people that the economic dimension of foreign affairs is increasingly critical?*

CLEVELAND: That's right! We definitely need greater public recognition that the American economy is interrelated with the world economy. And that's not easy to accomplish, because a man in Beltville, Illinois will be far more concerned about the fracas on the corner down the street or the wedding of his neighbor's daughter than about economic developments in Country X. So we have to find ways to bring these more distant things, which may have a great impact on his future, to his attention.

HARTER: *Now that the Cold War is over, do you think there may be a need and scope for restructuring the way the U. S. foreign affairs community tackles international economic issues?*

CLEVELAND: There's no question about it. That's what the last three secretaries of state and the last few presidents have been saying, very clearly! Economic factors now rank with political and military factors in our foreign policy considerations. As a corollary we need to focus more of our Foreign Service reporting, analysis, and representation on economic and commercial issues. And we need to be sure we're not just putting messages in bottles and tossing them into a sea of Washington disinterest. We need to have messages coming back to Washington that zero-in on real problems, and real challenges, and real needs. If we want to promote trade and investment in all of their variations, our economic reports should directly enhance those efforts.

Our political sections should not just talk about the Muslim problem in the Northeast of the country in some abstract, academic way; rather they should analyze how money flows and how government organizations work with local business. Who are the real movers and shakers? How important is corruption? How does it work? They should focus on the critical knowledge and intelligence that will help to guide our government and, through our government, our businesspeople, who need a better understanding of the milieus in which they are working overseas.

The change from East-West confrontation to a far more complex and variegated world situation has enabled us to refocus. I don't think I altogether agree with Calvin Coolidge's statement that the real business of America is business. We have major political, military, humanitarian and other global interests as well. But the day of the FSO who thinks commercial matters are beneath him are over.

That leads me to a final comment on the need for a coordinated approach to upgrading interest in business affairs in the Department of State. Training is important here, from the A-100 course all the way up to the ambassadors' charm school. And so are promotion policies, inspection, and funding. We've got to get our people oriented to the high priority commercial affairs warrant; and we've got to provide them with appropriate incentives, right up to the day they retire.

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AFSA news

Reinventing government through partnerships

It is now time for the U.S. government to change. The process of cultural and institutional change is both a multi-year and a bottom-up effort. Vice President Gore's National Performance Review Task Force has identified the bureaucracy as the major obstacle to long-term change, and the federal employee as the catalyst for reinventing government.

This is a formidable, consequential challenge. Employees have helped to remake private industries throughout the world. The president and vice president have committed the reinvention of your agency to the **partnership** of you and agency management.

Downsizing and restructuring are real; what is unsure is whether sufficient trust can be established to form working partnerships between employees and top agency managers as mandated by the president. The test as Labor Secretary Reich set forth, is whether "we" can replace "they" as the operative language in the federal workplace.

AFSA is taking the president and the vice president most seriously in seeking to implement this dramatic new partnership relationship in all five foreign affairs agencies.

AFSA has written the leadership of State, USAID, USIA, Agriculture, and Commerce seeking to establish labor-management partnerships as directed by the president in his Executive Order of October 1. These partnerships are specifically directed by the president:

- to help reform government;
- to involve employees and their union reps as full partners with management to identify problems and craft solutions;
- to provide training in consensual methods of dispute resolution and interest-based bargaining; and
- to negotiate (not just consult) over major workforce organizational issues (*see box on page 2*).

This unprecedented trust by White House leaders is reflected in revision of the Hatch Act, which allows federal employees to participate broadly in electoral politics, other than at the workplace. The key question is whether the U.S. government and its agency managers can stay the course. AFSA will, and needs your membership and active participation to make our side of the partnership work. The president has issued a challenge and given Foreign Service employees a historic opportunity.

Political freedom: Hatch Act reform

Hatch Act reforms recently signed by President Clinton will loosen restrictions which have prevented federal employees from active political participation for the past 50 years. Most federal employees, including members of the Foreign Service, may now lawfully engage in off-duty partisan political activities.

While employees will be able to enjoy new political freedoms, important restrictions are still in place. Employees, in their personal capacity, may now actively participate in or even manage a political campaign. Off-duty employees may endorse or solicit votes on behalf of candidates from the general public. Employees may hold office within a political party or organization (e.g. convention delegate) but may not run for a partisan elective office (e.g. a state legislator).

Foreign Service employees should also note an unrelated provision in the Hatch Act will permit garnishment of a federal employee's salary for settlement of court judgments. Currently, a federal employee's salary may be garnished only for payment of alimony and child support.

AFSA welcomes this opportunity for FS employees to more fully participate in the political process.

Calendar

Mon., Nov. 15, 6-7:30 pm
• Reception at the Foreign Service Club to mark the publication of *Assassination in Khartoum* by David Korn, cosponsored by AFSA, the Institute for Diplomatic Studies and the Indiana University Press.
Wed., Nov. 17, 12:00 pm
• AFSA Governing Board Meeting.
Wed., Dec. 8, 12:00 pm
• AFSA Governing Board Meeting.
Fri., Dec. 10
• "Diversity Day" Conference sponsored by the State Department's EEO Advisory Council and AFSA.

AFSA on the Mall

AFSA and Smithsonian Associates to reveal the diplomatic mystique

Among the glitzy array of courses in the arts, humanities, sciences, and international affairs being offered for the 1994 winter quarter by the Smithsonian Associates' "Campus on the Mall" will be an AFSA-sponsored course intriguingly entitled "Unveiling the Diplomatic Mystique: The Whos, Whats, and Hows of the Foreign Service". Organized by Don Norland, Raz Bazala, and Dan Newberry, the eight-session course will reveal how the Foreign Service pursues such missions as opening markets for U.S. business, promoting democracy and human rights, managing bilateral relations, and organizing international peacekeeping. To elucidate these issues, we have recruited a stellar lineup of current and retired Foreign Service personalities, including Ambassadors Genta Hawkins Holmes, Samuel Lewis, Jack Matlock, Rozanne Ridgway, Angier Biddle Duke, and Shirley Temple Black. The series begins January 27 and ends March 17, 1994. Here is a rare opportunity for all your friends and relatives who have wondered about this curious profession of yours to get the inside story. *For more details and to register, call Smithsonian Associates at (202) 357-3030.*

Ambitious new AFSA programs: participation needed

The AFSA Governing Board recently approved an ambitious work program for 1993-95 to address major issues facing the Foreign Service. Highlights include:

Enhancing the role of the Foreign Service

- Projecting an image of competence, relevance, indispensability.
- Reinforcing this image with Congress, the media, and the public.
- Expanding the Foreign Service's role within the Executive Branch.
- Promoting foreign relations, including foreign assistance, as a national priority backed by adequate resources.

Reforming the FS personnel system

- Rethinking the classification, assignment, and promotion processes.
- Promoting diversity and fairness in the Foreign Service.
- Creating a Foreign Service Associate Corps for spouses working in participating agencies.

Pursuing members' interests

- Establishing daycare facilities at agency headquarters and NFATC.
- Insuring quality health care, abroad and in the U.S.

To realize these objectives, the AFSA Governing Board needs your help on an AFSA committee:

Congressional Action Committee: The board has decided to double the resources devoted to representing AFSA's interests in Congress. Members with Hill experience are needed to participate in this effort.

Medical Committee: MED has agreed to institutionalize contacts with AFSA on issues of concern to the membership. The board is seeking members interested in conducting this relationship on the Association's behalf and dealing with national health reform.

Daycare Task Group: Adequate daycare is overdue at agency headquarters and NFATC. Volunteers are needed to review current plans, press for early completion of quality daycare centers, and consider AFSA's role in their operation.

Spouse Employment Task Group: There is widespread interest in forming a Foreign Service Associate Corps and seeking to provide career status to working spouses. The board is looking for task-group members to consolidate this interest in a proposal responsive to working spouses' needs and to expand spouses' employment opportunities.

Congressional Action Committee/Legislative Alert Network: As you are aware, the substance and direction of American foreign policy (and hence the role and responsibilities of the Foreign Service) depend upon understanding and approval by Congress–and ultimately by the American people. We hope that our retired members will contribute their unique, hard-earned experience in AFSA's emerging Congressional Action Committee/Legislative Alert Network.

If you are able to contribute to these efforts, please write Retiree VP Don Norland, State VP Todd Stewart, USAID VP Pat Patterson or USIA VP Raz Bazala at AFSA, 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, DC 20037.

Presidential Executive Order of October 1, 1993: Labor Management Partnerships

The head of each agency [will]. . .

a) create labor-management partnerships by forming labor-management committees or councils at appropriate levels, or adapting existing councils or committees if such groups exist, to help reform government;

b) involve employees and their union representatives as full partners with management representatives to identify problems and craft solutions to better serve the agency's customers and mission;

c) provide systematic training of appropriate agency employees (including line managers, first line supervisors, and union representatives who are federal employees) in consensual methods of dispute resolution, such as alternative dispute resolution techniques and interest-based bargaining approaches;

d) negotiate over (the numbers, types, and classes of employees or positions assigned to any organizational subdivision, work project, or tour of duty [and] on the technology, methods and means of performing work . . .

e) evaluate progress and improvements in organizational performance resulting from the labor-management partnerships.

A Helping Hand

AFSA recently protested the arbitrary breaking of two Foreign Service officers' assignments, one in State and one in USAID. In both cases it appears that the agencies violated their respective assignment procedures, which were negotiated with AFSA. The due process contained in these procedures is fundamental to the credibility of the Foreign Service personnel system. AFSA is urgently seeking assurances that such arbitrary actions will not recur, plus if the assignments are not restored, an equivalent alternative posting for the employee, and reimbursement of expenses incurred in preparation for the broken assignment. As we go to press, the USAID assignment may be back on track.

Clinton health-care package and FS retirees

As of this writing it remains uncertain exactly how the Clinton Administration's health-care reform will impact Foreign Service retirees. We are likely to be treated much as other federal retired personnel. Certain exceptions, however, have already been made for Post Office personnel and veterans. There is still a long way to go from the initial proposal, which talks of eliminating the FEHBP, to the final legislation which probably will not pass until 1994.

Health benefits are likely to be not less than we already enjoy under present plans. But, it is possible that there may be higher costs to retirees in the future and some shifting of benefits. For example, the Clinton plan includes limited dental benefits, prescription drugs, and mental health coverage which some federal plans may not offer or cover as fully. The plan also provides some long-term care benefits. The proposed system is not too unlike the existing federal benefits program in that it uses "managed competition" as its key tool for cost and quality.

Any federal system is unlikely to be fully implemented for several years, and will be phased in. The AFSA Board has created a committee to assess and monitor the Clinton plan for both current employees and retired members. Harry Blaney has been appointed a member of the health care reform committee, representing retiree concerns, and will be reporting developments, as appropriate, in the future.

AFSA explores FAS union interest

In September AFSA approached Department of Agriculture Foreign Service employees to explore their interest in AFSA becoming their exclusive bargaining agent. President Tex Harris, FAS Representative Maggie Dowling, and State Vice President Todd Stewart met with FAS employees to discuss the advantages of having a union on their side. As the bargaining agent for Foreign Service employees in the Department of State, USAID and USIA, AFSA has an outstanding record of representing Foreign Service issues. Over 30 of the 90 Washington FAS employees attended this lively luncheon discussion.

FAS and Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service (APHIS) employees are asked to send written confirmation of their interest in exploring an AFSA relationship. Once 30 percent of members reply, the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board will conduct a secret ballot election to determine whether AFSA will become their exclusive bargaining agent.

All Foreign Service agricultural employees who want further information, please call AFSA at 202-944-5510.

Agribusiness Co

Former Congressman E. Thomas Coleman, American Corngrowers Association Representative David Senter, and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Joanna Shelton debated the issue of "NAFTA and the Heartland: Peril or Prosperity" on September 28 at the Foreign Service Club. The lively debate before a capacity audience was cosponsored by the Agribusiness Council.

Noble Traits

Excerpt from swearing-in of Ambassador Jeff Davidow as U.S. ambassador to Venezuela.

"Let me say a few words about what I have learned from you as a collectivity–my co-workers.

"For all the cynicism that our work can breed, for all of the daily compromises that our lives demand; I am continually impressed by how many of you are possessed with great integrity and a clear sense of right and wrong–truth and falsehood.

"Of course, it is helpful if integrity is accompanied by other attributes: intelligence, compassion, knowledge, skill, humor–even humility. This room is full of all these noble traits–with the possible exception of humility."

from the State vice president

Personnel Reform

by Todd Stewart

"Ill-advised" is the kindest adjective I can find for the department's 1989 decision to hire junior officer career candidates without conal designations and without agreement on the coning procedures which would eventually determine their career specializations. Hundreds of career candidates have endured years of uncertainty as various coning rules were considered and discarded. The department and AFSA are finally engaged in negotiations to determine the coning procedures, but the best we can hope for is a "least bad" solution.

The origins of the department's 1989 decision are instructive in two respects. First, the decision was prompted by the department's inability to "validate" completely the portions of the Foreign Service written exam used to assign candidates to cones–e.g., to demonstrate that a high score in the political coning portion correlated with success as a political officer. This inability opened the examination to legal attack on EEO grounds, and, unable to find a quick fix for the coning portion, the department decided to scrap coning on entry altogether in favor of a (still) undetermined alternative.

Second, this decision was not negotiated with AFSA, as the department pointed out that aspiring entrants were not part of the Foreign Service bargaining unit. In other words, the decision was inspired by the public administration equivalent of "defensive medicine," and its ramifications were inadequately explored, in part because of senior managers' antipathy toward a collaborative relationship with AFSA.

Happily, there are now grounds for optimism in both these respects. First, the department has told the plaintiffs in the Women's Class Action Suit and a parallel action brought by minority employees that it wishes to engage in discussions leading to a "global settlement" of both suits.

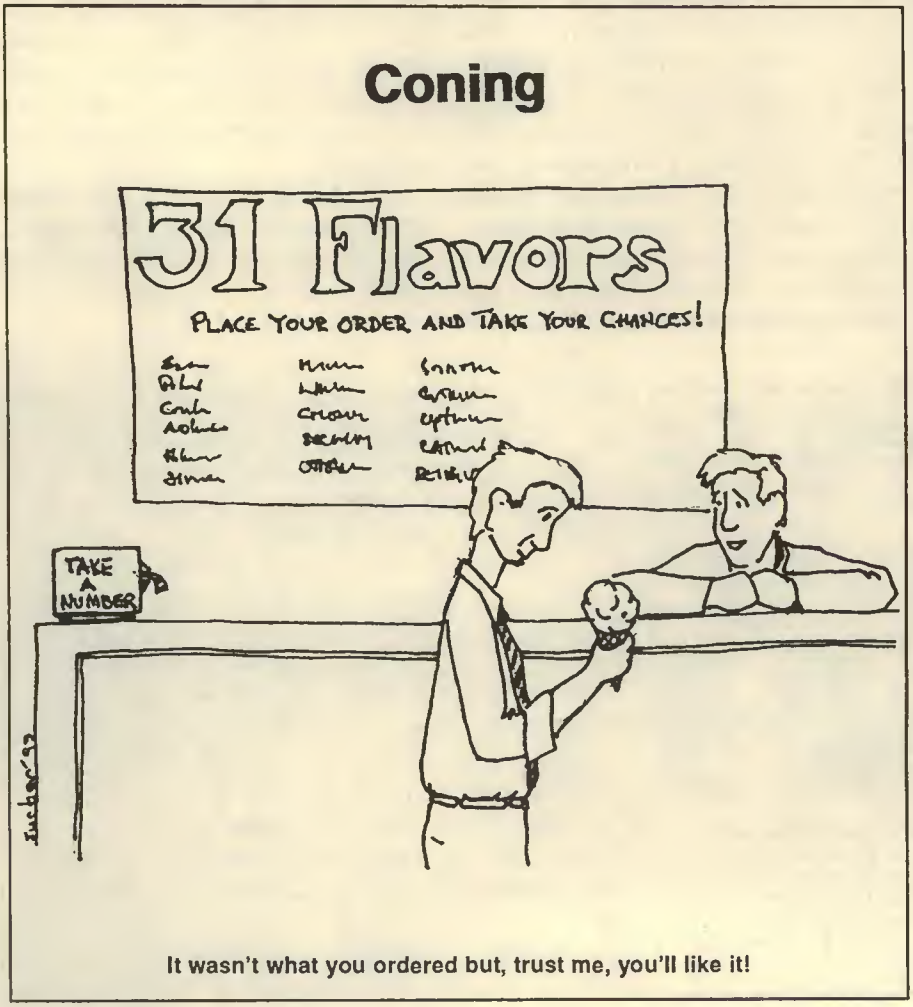
AFSA has notified the department that it wishes to exercise its right under the Foreign Service Act to be present at these negotiations in the interest of safeguarding the rights of all Foreign Service employees and promoting solutions which will further the long-term interests of the Service.

Second, the president made clear in his October 1 executive order [see page 2] that he favors a partnership between management and labor in the Executive Branch. AFSA hopes that establishment of a labor-management committee in the department will enable AFSA and department representatives to address our mutual concerns before the management position is set in quick-drying concrete.

The new Governing Board believes this collaboration should start with a review and reform of the Foreign Service personnel system. AFSA has already advised the department:

"In the spirit of labor-management partnership endorsed by the National Performance Review, AFSA proposes the early initiation of discussions with the department on a general reform, which would incorporate [a return to coning on entry], of the specialization, assignment and promotion processes. We are convinced that such a synoptic approach is required to avoid unforeseen undesirable consequences resulting from piecemeal changes, such as the decision to end coning on entry."

If you are interested in working with the State Standing Committee on this project, please send me a note in care of the AFSA Office, Room 3644, Main State or call (202) 647-8261.



It wasn't what you ordered but, trust me, you'll like it!

from the USIA vice president

The Conundrum of Reinvention

by Raz Bazala

Last month, AFSA welcomed ideas voiced by USIA Director Duffey on reinventing USIA. We believed in his commitment to openness and transparency in implementing what would be an enormously difficult evolution of the agency. We did so knowing virtually nothing about specifics.

Several fora have been recently established in USIA–in the context of the National Performance Review (NPR) exercise–that will allow AFSA to present its members' views on agency reform. Both AFSA and AFGE have been invited to join the agency's NPR Task Force. AFSA will be represented on the three NPR "response teams" concerned with streamlining the bureaucracy, eliminating half the internal regulations, and setting customer-service standards. President Clinton directed all agencies to prepare streamlining plans by December 1 of this year.

In addition, Deputy Director Penn Kemble has been designated by the director to oversee our re-invention. He agreed early on to meet with the unions following the establishment of labor-management partnership councils. The administration sees such councils as additional evidence of its commitment to involving government employees in the process of achieving NPR reform objectives.

This is all well and good. However, I am not convinced that the NPR Task Force or the Partnership Council will provide agency employees an opportunity to move beyond the airing of ideas to real participation in the formulation of plans on reorganization. In reality, the huge budget cuts demanded for FY95 by OMB have already forced reform on the agency and are, in fact, driving the process.

The train, it appears, has already left the station. The budget juggernaut threatens to overwhelm any orderly USIA reform. The agency still lacks a clear restatement of its mission. It needs a strong articulation of the skills, talents, and capabilities this agency can contribute to the administration's yet vague programs for democratization and the development of open-market economies. In the interim, those best prepared to reform USIA have little choice but to look on as management scrambles to cope with the budget figures passed down to them.

USIA stands to lose much of what has made it unique as it attempts to grapple with a budget process over which it has no control. Already the justification for overseas libraries has been severely undermined by a recommendation in the NPR report to close libraries in developed nations to save costs. By extension, this leaves the very existence of the library function elsewhere vulnerable in the next round of budget cutting.

FY95 OMB numbers have also raised the prospect of across-the-board elimination of agency publications. Our exhibits program has withered away and agency cultural presentations abroad are soon to be a thing of the past. Finally, who knows what role will remain for the agency in whatever emerges out of the U.S. government's plans for broadcast consolidation?

In the absence of a clearly articulated mission statement as a basis for marshalling resources in support of our programs, what will remain to justify USIA's continued integrity as an independent agency? We may see the revival of recommendations made by several past presidential commissions to merge USIA with another USG agency or agencies.

I simply fear the reinvention or disinvention of USIA may not be the product of rational calculation among agency employees and its leaders, and that the Foreign Service may be weakened in the process. Those who understand the agency's strengths, shortcomings, and capabilities to address new foreign policy challenges may find the game is over before their game plan is ready. AFSA's efforts must be to guard diligently against unanticipated declines in the U.S.'s public diplomacy capability and moves to dilute the role of the Foreign Service in implementing public diplomacy programs.

Don't touch him, Doc, we don't have a fund cite from MED!

But now, because of AFSA, there's good news . . .

MED, at AFSA's urging, has amended its new regulation to permit the use of a post-generated fund cite whenever the post believes that immediate hospitalization is required.

from the USAID vice president

A new beginning or falling back on old ways?

by Pat Patterson

The American public usually knows what it wants and what it will or will not support. Humanitarian programs have always been high on the list even when times have been tough. Whether responding to disasters or supporting child survival programs, Americans are unstinting in their willingness to support such activities. Furthermore, such programs have always brought out the best in our Private and Voluntary Organizations (PVOs) and others in the development community.

A major problem in years past has been the confusion caused by USAID's many goals and objectives, and the mix of political, economic, and security-related activities. The "barnacles" tacked on to respond to various needs and constituencies have only made matters worse and eroded our support. With the new administration we have an opportunity for a new beginning based on lessons learned from our difficult past.

Last year, AFSA stimulated the creation of a working group to consider reorganization and revising the foreign assistance legislation. AFSA members will recall the *AID 2001* report with its vision for the future. The report led to a number of recommendations that were adopted by the agency. Now, we have an opportunity to take the next step and codify the principles of *AID 2001* in new legislation. A reconstituted "2001" group is at work and will carry out discussions with employees and the administration.

Major issues need our urgent attention. The early drafts of revised USAID legislation show a dispersion of objectives and a lack of focus. In addition, in its attempt to make a case for "rapid response" mechanisms, the agency is falling back on old ways in its efforts to develop a rationale for what is being called "crisis and transition management" (CTM).

There is a need to fill the gap between the impressive existing emergency/disaster- response capabilities and the usual way we go about developing projects. But, our time might be better spent cooperating and coordinating with other donors than duplicating activities and entering arenas such as police training, which undercut USAID's support in years gone by.

Is it possible that the CTM mandate, *even* where there are existing USAID field offices and programs (e.g., Haiti, Panama, Ethiopia, Mozambique, and certain NIS countries) will prevail and have priority? It will have the authority to "leverage resources from the mission's portfolio and regional accounts." Could it be that the administration wants to use CTM as a way to cut corners rather than tackling the real, deep-rooted changes needed? We are all for cutting red tape. Nevertheless, to do so in the name of a crisis strikes us as only delaying the day of reckoning when real reform will be upon us.

We support all reasonable efforts to clarify USAID's objectives and ease the way the agency does business. We do not agree, however, that falling back on old ways through questionable political, security-related and controversial activities, is the way to go about it. USAID has always had a clear humanitarian mandate, albeit one confused at times by the political and security issues of the Cold War. In this new era, we should present that humanitarian mandate to Congress and the American public and not muddy the waters once again.

Let us hear from you on this topic. Please contact Pat Patterson, Jim Washington, or Lee Ann Ross via Email or AFSA's FAX (202-647-0265).

1994-95 scholarship applications available

Who Is Eligible? Dependent students of all Foreign Service personnel in State, USAID, USIA, Commerce, or Agriculture, or retired who have served abroad.

Merit Awards: 1994 graduating high school students only, based on academic merit and activities.

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

Foreign Affairs Awards: Full-time junior or senior college students with a major in the field of foreign affairs.

Deadline: Applications become available in October and must be completed and returned to AFSA before February 15, 1994.

Past scholarship recipients must reapply every year.

For applications and further information, contact
AFSA Scholarship Programs
2101 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20037
FAX: (202) 338-6820
Direct dial: (202) 944-5504

Nominations sought for AFSA Awards

The Herter, Rivkin, and Harriman awards: Recognition for "intellectual courage and constructive dissent"

AFSA's Herter, Rivkin, and Harriman Awards are unique. They are not for performance, however exceptional, of assigned responsibilities or related activities. They recognize "extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage, and constructive dissent."

They are for wave-makers, to encourage officers to challenge the system from within and reward those who have the courage to do so. The issue need not be major; the key is willingness to confront intelligently and tenaciously, without regard to resistance or adverse career impact. All Foreign Service officers in State, USAID, USIA, FCS and FAS are eligible. Nominations may be submitted by anyone familiar with the circumstances. Working with the donors, AFSA is undertaking a major effort to give greater significance and meaning to the principles underlying the concept of the awards.

The Christian A. Herter Award, for members of the Senior Foreign Service, includes a $1,000 prize.

The William R. Rivkin Award, for mid-career officers (FO 1-3), includes a $1,000 prize.

The W. Averell Harriman Award, for junior officers (FO 4-6), includes a $2,500 prize.

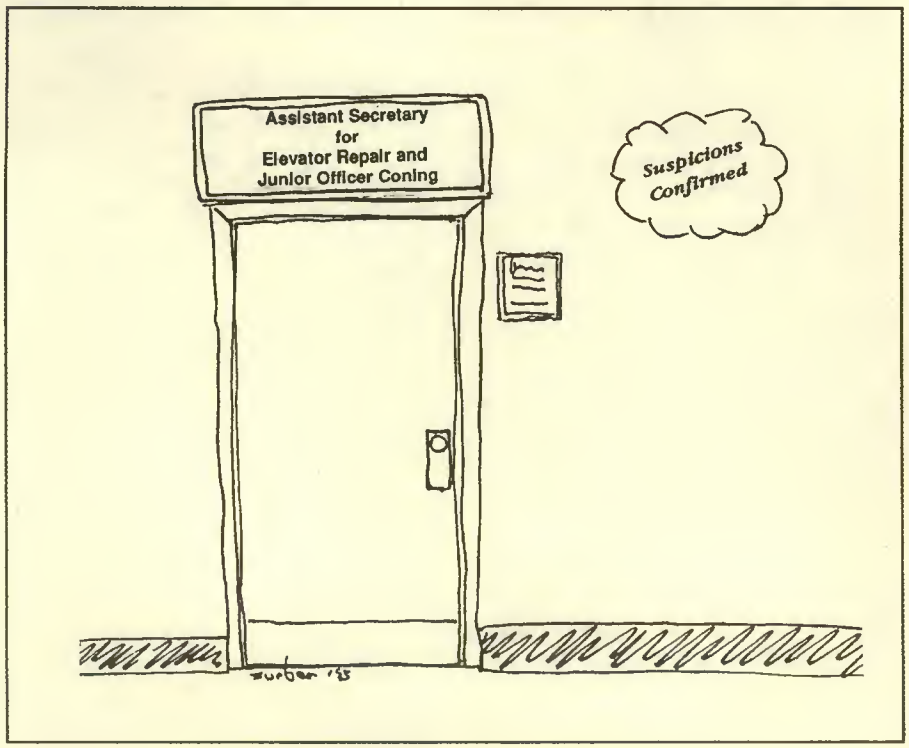
The Delavan, Bohlen, and Sinclaire awards: Recognition for outstanding contributions by secretaries, family members, and language students

The Delavan Award for an individual or group of Foreign Service secretaries who have made a significant contribution to effectiveness and morale beyond their job responsibilities, includes a $2,500 prize. Such a contribution might include:

- Unusual initiative and leadership in contributing to improved management and morale.
- Intellectual courage or integrity.
- Outstanding contributions to improving the morale and professionalism of the FS secretarial corps.
- A positive and helpful attitude on and off the job, which improves post or office efficiency and morale.
- Serving as a role model for other secretaries.
- Contributions to the American community through involvement in community activities.
- Contributions to better relations with the local community, the host government, other embassies, or the private American sector.

The Avis Bohlen Award, for a Foreign Service family member whose relations with the American and foreign communities at a post abroad have done the most to advance the interests of the United States, includes a $2,500 prize.

The Matilda W. Sinclaire Awards, for achievement in the study of hard languages, include a $1,000 prize. Most nominations are submitted by FSI, but nominations from the field are also encouraged. Further information and nomination forms are available from the School of Language Study or AFSA's coordinator for professional issues.



Format for Award Nominations

Part i: Biographic Data: name, grade, agency, and position (or family relationship) of nominee.

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

Part iii: Justification for Nomination (500-700 words). The narrative should discuss the actions and qualities which qualify the nominee for the award, with specific examples of accomplishments that fulfill the criteria.

Nominations may be submitted on the form being mailed to all AFSA active duty members, or typed following the format above. They should be returned by pouch or interoffice mail to Awards Committee, AFSA, Room 3644 NS, Department of State or mailed to AFSA, 2101 E Street NW, Washington DC 20037, no later than January 31, 1994. *Questions should be directed to Richard Thompson, Coordinator for Professional Issues, tel: 202-338-4045.*

from the retiree vice president

By Don Norland

We at AFSA have two ways of communicating with retirees: AFSA News in the *Foreign Service Journal* and the bimonthly AFSA Letter. We welcome ideas and comments and plan to use them for future columns.

Legislative Alert Network

One of the new AFSA Governing Board's priorities is to enhance the image and role of the Foreign Service. One step is to participate in bipartisan legislative coalitions in which we can get to know the major players in Congress and become acquainted with skilled lobbying organizations.

This, in brief, is the background to AFSA's participation in the coalition of some 90 organizations working for the passage of the Freedom Support Acts of 1992 and 1993. Because of the continuing importance of the legislation, we made it the subject of our first "Legislative Alert" noting with concern the anti-foreign aid mood of the country.

In fact, the unforeseen events in Moscow changed the atmosphere overnight and the Senate voted to approve funding for Russia and other new independent states by the overwhelming margin of 87 to 10.

We learned several things from the above experience. First, because of publication deadlines and delays, we have to choose subjects for "Legislative Alerts" that are not time-sensitive–issues of principle or policy where we, with our Foreign Service experience can inject an appropriate note of realism in discussions and deliberations.

We especially invite readers to give us examples of difficulties experienced by colleagues who have served under primitive and dangerous conditions so that we can lay the groundwork with potential coalition partners to support us on Foreign Service issues.

Alumni support broad legislative agenda

This year's Legislative Action Fund appeal generated an enthusiastic response from retired colleagues–generous donations and valued input on what AFSA should be doing with these resources. The first 150 replies to the survey card sent with the appeal, asking alumni to prioritize objectives for a legislative agenda, endorsed an active AFSA legislative program on a variety of issues.

First survey results

AFSA's retired members gave high priority, on a 6:4:3 ratio, to:

- protection of retirement benefits (including health insurance under any reform),
- strengthening State Department in foreign policy deliberations, and
- countering neo-isolationism.

Members also endorsed encouraging greater U.S. participation in the UN and said that resources should also go to building support for USAID and USIA programs.

These priorities are mutually reinforcing–by speaking out for Congressional and public support on key foreign policy issues, we build understanding and respect for the Foreign Service and its members–helpful, indeed indispensable, when it comes to defending retirement benefits.

AFSA's new Congressional Action Committee is using the survey input in shaping an agenda responsive to the interests of all alumni, as well as to our active-duty membership. Alumni are urged to respond to AFSA Legislative Alerts on current issues of concern, where participation by retired professionals in the public foreign policy debate will contribute to the goal of enhancing the role of diplomacy.

As to benefits, the current high profile item is health care, which is being closely monitored. *(See article on page 3.)*

AFSA says "Butt Out"

Since the State Department implemented the no smoking policy on August 1, 1993, the exterior of the building has deteriorated in appearance. There are, according to AFSA-member reports, cigarette butts on the ground, and the ashtrays by the entrances are overflowing.

AFSA proposed the implementation of a more diligent "butt patrol" at all entrances of the department. Such efforts would include a more effective removal team to rid the entrances and surrounding areas of smoking debris that may have been irresponsibly discarded by the exiled smokers.

In response to our request, the Facilities Management and Support Services Department has informed AFSA of the implementation of a full-time utility worker to police and maintain the areas around the entrances and to ensure that they are free of all related waste. Coupled with the new receptacles, these recent measures should be effective in combating the recent outburst of smoker's debris.

Club engages new management team

HMC Hospitality Services, Ltd. has been selected to manage the Foreign Service Club. The new general manager, Terry S. Corle brings to AFSA over 20 years of food-service management experience in fine dining and catering, including management of Culinary Delights by Feist Catering.

Executive Chef John Feist and Chef/Catering Director Marion Ochoa are planning many exciting things for the arrival of the first guest. New menu selections, daily specials, international days, cooking classes, decor changes and improved service are just some of the things you'll notice on your return to the club.

Special event catering will be offered to all members. Call now to reserve a date and watch for the grand opening in November.

News Briefs

Bosnia working group

To explore the ramifications for the Foreign Service of significant dissent from current U.S. policy regarding Bosnia, including the resignation in protest of four officers intimately involved with the issue, AFSA and the Open Forum convened a pair of informal after-hours meetings with concerned members. The discussions dealt equally with matters of substance and process, and resulted, in part, in the lead editorial, "Beyond Bosnia", in last month's *Foreign Service Journal*. At the second meeting, the discussion was joined by Policy Planning Director Sam Lewis.

Separation issues

AFSA has received queries regarding the involuntary separation of employees whose 6-year window for promotion to the Senior Foreign Service closes this year. Concern had arisen over what payroll retention period before separation the department intended for these employees.

Past practice has been for an employee to be separated not later than the end of the fiscal year in which notification of intent to separate was issued. William E. Struck, chief labor Management Negotiator, responding to an AFSA inquiry, said that this matter had recently been considered by management and no changes would be made at this time.

AFSA departments merge

In the interests of serving our individual members more directly, and in order to insure that employees can enjoy greater privacy when consulting our grievance counselors, we are consolidating our membership and Member Services Departments. The new department will be called the Member Services Department, more accurately reflecting its full function.

From Monday October 18th, the Member Services Department will deal with all questions and problems from individual members. Grievance counselors Derek Terrell and Jenny Noyes will relocate to 2101 E Street, above the Foreign Service Club, and together with the staff of the existing Membership Department, will provide improved service for inquiries.

Our Labor Management Department, together with our legal staff, will remain in Room 3644 of Main State and continue their work on behalf of the association and employees on broader issues.

The grievance counselors will temporarily be available on (202) 338-4045, or by FAX (202) 338-6820. Legal and labor management staff remain on (202) 647-8160, FAX (202) 647-0265.

Child care

The planned State/AID/ACDA child care facility at Columbia Plaza is on track for completion in mid-1995, according to Buddy Respass, deputy assistant secretary of state for Operations. Funding is still uncertain for the sister facility at NFATC, but AFSA is stressing its importance to senior management.

In a meeting with Respass in late September, AFSA discussed the association's possible involvement in setting policies for child care facilities and hiring a contractor to conduct their operations. The Governing Board has established a Child Care Task Group headed by Christine Fulena to explore this possibility in more detail. If you are interested in participating, please contact Christine Fulena or Julie Smithline, AFSA, Main State, Room 3644.

Discrimination

On October 21, AFSA and the Secretary's Open Forum sponsored a discussion "Gender Discrimination in the Foreign Service: Its Impact on People and the System." Presenters were Monica Wagner, the plaintiffs' lawyer in the women's class action lawsuit, WAO and AFSA. Responding to past discrimination is perhaps the single largest factor in making personnel policies today.

Secretaries speak out

Secretaries who recently attended the Class IV training seminar suggested to AFSA that the role of secretary "needs to be reinvented" to keep pace with the new technology of the 21st century.

Secretaries, who came from the department and from posts abroad, saw the training seminar as a "real chance for personal development." One remarked, "this is the first time in my government service that the U.S. government has devoted time and energy to developing its resources–its secretarial corps." Others expressed the need for more job responsibilities and challenges and more input from secretaries.

Premium pay

AFSA has received inquiries from Foreign Service Specialists posted overseas regarding overtime compensation at post.

Premium compensation for overtime, night, holiday, and Sunday work is available for FS Specialists posted overseas under Title 5 of the US Code. Overtime work is that in excess of 8 hours per day or 40 hours per week. However, this extra work must either be part of the employee's regularly scheduled workweek (an example is an employee who is scheduled to work ten hours a day, five days a week) or it must be ordered or approved in writing by an authorizing official. If one of these criteria is not met, the overtime is not compensable.

Note, however, that there may be a violation of Title 5 if management fails to schedule employees in a way that realistically reflects the actual work requirements of their job. For example, if a FS specialist is scheduled to work eight hours a day, but the employee's supervisor consistently requires him or her to put in an extra hour or two each day, there may be a violation of Title 5.

Questions regarding overtime compensation, both at post and in the U.S. should be directed to AFSA's Labor Management Department.

Congressional Action

In letters to Senate Foreign Relations Committee members, AFSA registered the following positions on provisions of the authorization bill:

• opposed caps on number of FSOs, especially senior officers.

• supported expansion of number of posts eligible for child-care facilities.

• supported delay of imposition of consular officer accountability for failure to check look-out lists until AVLOS is installed at all posts.

• supported waiver of limitation for personal property damage/loss claims following evacuations.

• supported expansion of away-from-post education allowance to cover travel between school and home of relative or family friend when travel to post is not feasible.

• oppose one-year limit on prescriptive (interim) relief by Foreign Service Grievance Board.

• opposed mandatory hiring "to maximum extent possible" of surplus DOD women and minorities as FSOs.

Hatch Act: AFSA has sent letters supporting Hatch Act reform but requesting that overseas Foreign Service members, like military personnel, be exempted from the provision permitting garnishment of federal wages. Unfortunately, the final bill does not include the exemption proposed by AFSA.

Rockefeller Amendment: Senator Rockefeller may introduce legislation requiring overseas posts to open FSN positions to U.S. citizens at local salary scales but providing a hiring preference for family members of government employees assigned abroad. AFSA is participating in the negotiations between the foreign affairs agencies and the Senator's staff on this proposal but has not yet taken a final position pending resolution of many details.

On the Hill

by Rick Weiss
Legislative Liason

While USAID received its FY94 appropriations by September 30, neither State nor USIA had its authorization legislation passed at the beginning of the new fiscal year.

AFSA is focusing its attention on the following:

• The Clinton Administration plans for health insurance for federal employees and retirees to replace the FEHBP.

• Qualifications of ambassadorial nominees made by the White House.

• Rescission proposals ("legislation enacted by Congress that cancels the availability of budgetary resources previously provided by law"): congressional rescission proposals will look at "locality pay," annual leave accumulation by the SFS and SES.

• USAID reorganization including draft executive branch legislation to redo the Foreign Assistance Act.

• The $25,000 buyout retirement proposal for federal employees.

• Vice President Gore's recommendations on "reinventing government" as they impact the Foreign Service.

• Senate and conference action on the State Department's authorization bill, which currently includes a mix of beneficial and harmful provisions.

Ask AFSA

Q: I just arrived at a post that has no AFSA representative. How does my post select an AFSA post rep?

A: Procedures for selecting a post rep vary depending on the size of the post. In big posts, votes are by ballot of the AFSA membership. The post can obtain a member roster from AFSA Washington. At smaller posts a volunteer may be designated to be the rep. Once a new post rep is chosen, AFSA Washington should be notified.

Post reps should be State, USIA, or USAID Foreign Service employees. The only employees excluded from serving as reps are management officials and/or confidential employees. *Questions should be directed to the Membership Department, (202)944-5510.*

Give AFSA Your Support!

In the October and November issues of the *Foreign Service Journal* (p. 30), Fort America and AFSA feature specialty products for sale.

These items make great holiday, birthday, retirement, and going away gifts. Whether you're buying for others or for yourself, each purchase goes toward strengthening the Foreign Service. Show your support for the association that fights for your interests.

All items can be ordered with either an AFSA or State Department logo and additional items with just the State Department logo are also available. For more information call (202) 338-4045.

Military retirement homes welcome AFSA members

As a service to our alumni, AFSA is canvassing military retirement homes to ask if their constitutions allow them to accept members of the Foreign Service community. The replies have been favorable from homes and communities around the country, that are often located on or near military bases and operated by firms such as Marriott or by non-profit organizations. Cluster areas appear to be in California, Florida, the Carolinas, Pennsylvania and Texas; in the Washington, DC area.

AFSA Retiree Standing Committee member Joseph Kemper keeps a list of these homes and welcomes inquiries, from members, to AFSA or to (703)370-0210.

AFSA at Work

Membership
- Hosted the 68th junior officer recruitment luncheon.
- Luncheon meeting for Foreign Agricultural Service.
- Informed members of new dental plan.
- Mailed awards nominations.
- Hosted State Specialist recruitment luncheon.

Journal
- Arranged "Dissent Roundtable" *(see page 36)*.
- Interviewed Under Secretary Moose *(see page 31)*.
- Negotiated with Fort America for a *Journal* advertising supplement..

Professional Issues
- Organized AFSA awards publicity campaign.
- Researched issue of unqualified non-career ambassadors.
- Established a new Awards Committee.
- Held a debate on NAFTA.

International Associates
- Hosted a Strobe Talbott luncheon.
- Hosted a luncheon with Joan Spero.
- Introduced lecture series at George Mason University, "Diplomacy for the 21st Century," cosponsored by the AFSA World Issues Forum and GMU.
- Hosted a luncheon with Timothy Wirth, under secretary of state for global issues.

Retiree Issues
- Don Norland and Sam Hart visited several State Department bureau executive directors to encourage them to draw on the Reserve Corps for all temporary staffing needs that can be filled by reemployed annuitants.
- Organized AFSA president's trip to address a NorthCarolina foreign affairs retired group.

SFSA proposal: senior surplus needs carrots and sticks

The Senior Foreign Service Association (SFSA) recently polled all senior officers to gauge which factors influenced individuals in their career and retirement decisions. More than 450 seniors responded. Their responses indicate that in the next three years very few face mandatory retirement for age and almost as few intend to retire voluntarily. Monetary incentives to retire are important, but non-monetary factors such as assignment prospects or the development of a Reserve Corps also loom large in senior thinking. Although most seniors find their jobs challenging, over 20 percent felt their duties were not in keeping with their talents.

The results of this informal survey indicate the "senior surplus" is unlikely to resolve itself without the direct application of additional "carrots" (such as retirement incentives) or "sticks" (fewer promotions, shortened TICs). The SFSA believes there is no single approach likely to prove effective in achieving a balance between the number of senior officers and the number of jobs open to them. Instead, what is needed is a comprehensive program, which includes the following:

- Assessment of the actual needs of the Service.
- Increased Service discipline.
- Development of realistic incentives for retirement.
- A program for officers to continue to serve in a reserve capacity.

Such a program, developed through AFSA and implemented by management, could ensure we have both balance in numbers and excellence in caliber in our Senior Service.

Poll Highlights

Would your decision to retire voluntarily be influenced by:	Yes	No	Maybe
$25,000 bonus for voluntary retirement	28	115	90
Your assignment prospects	44	176	33
Outside employment prospects	58	184	33
Availability of meaningful TDYs	92	86	39

How do you view increased use of Section 813 requiring mandatory retirement for ambassador	Favor	Oppose
unassigned after 90 days?	260	147

Is your career preference to:	
Develop a second career ASAP	121
Re-evaluate after next assignments	192
Remain in FS until age 65	79

How do you view your present job in relation to your abilities and grade?	
A stretch	9
A good match	262
Well below	79
Make Work	17
Unemployed	1

Are you now or have you been an ambassador?	Yes	No
	99	325

AFSA Forum

Under Secretary Moose responds to AFSA Views

"I don't know where you got it, but the quote you attribute to me [September Journal, "President's Views"] is seriously inaccurate in respect to the matter of most interest to you. I have enough problems with what I do say; I don't need any imaginary dialogue to contend with.

Also, is the sentence [about the role of the CIA expanding its reporting role] simply a *non sequitur*, or is the reader meant to assume that I am encouraging the CIA to expand its reporting role? If so, that is wrong as well.

I agree with your main point, i.e., that State does not have enough money–but that is far from the only problem we have. For starters, we need to think, in a disciplined way, about what we can do in a greatly changed world to implement the president's foreign policy agenda, which includes the "core function" of the Foreign Service, which you cite. We need to establish policy priorities, eliminate low priority activities, and reallocate resources accordingly. While all that is going on we must attend to the many needs of the total workforce.

Richard M Moose
Under Secretary of State

The quote used was found by AFSA's legislative staff in the prepared written testimony for Mr. Moose's SFRC confirmation hearing. AFSA is very pleased with the thrust of Mr. Moose's statement.

Fickle Pickle Award

I see the vice president's report is out on how we can reinvent government by eliminating excess paperwork and redundancy in general. I wish him luck, but the bureaucratic dragon has swallowed whole other well armed knights. . . Bureaucracies are invulnerable, almost, to frontal assault. But dragons have their weak spot and ridicule is our anti-bureaucrat's magic sword.

So why doesn't AFSA announce a new feature: **A Cable of the Month?** This would quickly become known for what it is: The (worst, most useless, most frivolous) cable of the month.

Even unfair criticism would do the system good. You'd get reaction, and the department might become more careful about some of the toxic waste it exports to the field.

Among (UNCLASSIFIED) entries I'd suggest could be:

- State 253808: asked all posts about their local government's views on whaling; it even went to Switzerland and the Vatican!
- State 244189 and 186080: the 83 paragraphs of these Human Rights Report instructions weren't enough. Every post in the world also got a five-part cable of *supplementary* instructions (State 268947)! These shaggy, monstrous taskings have gone to every post in the world, even those with only one or two reporting officers! A group award?
- State 265208: Asks every diplomatic and consular post to search all agency records for evidence related to the World Trade Center bombing. the cable said: "Each post . . . has been identified as a potential repository of documents responsive to the request. . ." I imagine our staffs in Port Moresby, Victoria, etc., were skeptical–as they prepared their responses–about how carefully considered the request had been. I see AFSA's announcement now: "Following up on the vice president's efforts to reinvent government, AFSA establishes its **Fickle Pickle** award. This award will go each month to the most outrageously unnecessary–unclassified–cable seen by AFSA."

Ambassador Hume Horan, Abidjan

How about it? Send "AFSA News" your nominations. We promise to find an appropriate pickle to give to the one who sends us the most senseless cable each month. Judgments will be final and arbitrary. This is fun, but it is also serious business.

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IT STARTS WITH PEOPLE

Don Oberdorfer interviews Richard Moose

RICHARD M. MOOSE WAS CONFIRMED BY THE SENATE TO SERVE AS UNDER SECRETARY FOR MANAGEMENT ON JULY 30.

MOOSE JOINED THE FOREIGN SERVICE IN 1956 AND WAS POSTED TO MEXICO CITY, YAOUNDE, AND WASHINGTON BEFORE JOINING THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AS SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO WALT ROSTOW AND LATER, TO HENRY KISSINGER. HE ALSO SERVED ON THE STAFF OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE, BECOMING STAFF DIRECTOR OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON FOREIGN ASSISTANCE IN 1974.

IN 1977 MOOSE WAS APPOINTED DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY FOR MANAGEMENT AND FROM 1978-81 HE WAS ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS.

IN 1981 HE JOINED THE INTERNATIONAL BANKING DIVISION OF LEHMAN BROTHERS AND SUBSEQUENTLY WAS A MANAGING DIRECTOR OF SHEARSON LEHMAN BROTHERS. IN 1988 HE WAS APPOINTED SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN EXPRESS COMPANY. THE INTERVIEW, CONDUCTED BY FORMER *WASHINGTON POST* DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT DON OBERDORFER, HAS BEEN EDITED.

Q: *I always had the feeling that the management job is like flailing around in a barrel of molasses. You're encumbered by so many different forces—forces within the department, rules and regulations. Is it like that?*

Richard Moose

MOOSE: It is like that. In any large bureaucracy, there is an aggressive tendency toward inertia. Having been in the private sector, I see that we're dealing with a condition that is endemic in large bureaucratic organizations, whether public or private. They all have rules, and they all have precedents, and they all resist change. They all stifle creativity.

The one thing I keep saying over and over again is that in order to bring about change in the department, we first have to get people to understand that change is possible. You've got to make people really believe that there's some point in coming forward with ideas and making suggestions. We began to try to get at that at the very outset of this "reinventing government" when we asked for volunteers to come forward with ideas about what should be done to make things better. We got 10,000 suggestions. So people said, "What are you going to do with them?"

I said, "We ought to publish them." Some of them will be inconvenient, and some critics will use them against us, but the important thing is that people are willing to come forward and say, "Here's something that doesn't work well." Some of these things are very small, little ideas. Some of them are great big ones, but they're all important.

So, yes, it's a barrel of molasses, but if people really believe that they'll be listened to, then they'll come forward and they'll help you change things.

Q: *When you took the job, did Christopher or the president or anybody else give you a charter of things to do?*

MOOSE: Not a particular charter. When I talked to Secretary Christopher, I had an agenda. It started with people. The department's resources are mainly people. Over half of our money just goes for people. The tools that you give them to work with and the attitude that

we have toward them, that's [what's important and] where I began with Christopher, and he very strongly agreed with that. Then I said, "We've just got some major infrastructure problems that we have to deal with. It's going to take money. [This place] has been squeezed and squeezed, and we can't go on." He committed to support me there. He didn't have a long agenda of his own, but I think we understood each other.

Q: *What do you mean by infrastructure problems?*

MOOSE: We are hideously inefficient in processing and distributing information. For example, we do not have a worldwide unclassified E-mail system. Our personnel system does not have modern information management support. Our financial management people are unable to manage the allocations of the money in the manner in which they should. The department has been written up by the GAO [General Accounting Office], by our own inspectors, because of the absence of adequate financial management systems. We are now embarked on a serious program to correct those deficiencies. We're involved in a open-system migration where we will have PCs linked in local area networks. But it will take two or three more years to get there, and it will cost us maybe as much as 300 million dollars. That's a huge problem.

Q: *Will you have to take this upgrading out of your operating funds?*

MOOSE: Unfortunately, we're going to have to scrimp it out of our operating funds at the time our operating funds are being cut, and we're having new demands placed on us to open new posts. The net increase in requirements for resources is considerable, yet we'll be operating this coming fiscal year on about 3.5 percent less available funds than we had the year before. Fortunately, the investment will be recouped quickly in the form of greater operating efficiency.

Q: *Let's talk about this. You have this severe resources problem. Are the resources available sufficient to do the job?*

MOOSE: Well, the secretary, the deputy secretary, the under secretaries have given a great deal of thought to the resource problem in recent weeks—probably more sustained high-level attention to the question of resources than I have known in this building before. Now I think we have a leadership that understands the very close relationship there is between policy and resources, this realization sharpened by the fact that the resources are shrinking.

We spend a lot of time thinking together about the implications of the president's foreign policy objectives, and about a definition of security that really looks at foreign issues and domestic issues as being closely interrelated. A strong case can be made for the additional resources required to carry out adequately the president's policy. I expect the secretary and the deputy secretary will articulate that to the president, to OMB [Office of Management and Budget], and eventually to the Congress.

Q: *Every year, it seems that the basic operating accounts of the State Department, have been cut by Congress below what the administration has asked for. Why would it be any different now?*

MOOSE: One of President Clinton's early executive orders directed a further reduction in administrative overhead. One of the problems is that the base of our administrative overhead has been eroded over the years by inflation, and the department has failed to invest in infrastructure—information management—over the years as it shoud have.

We've got something like 12,000 offices, buildings and residences, and things overseas. We don't own all of them, but we haven't made the investment in maintaining those the way that we should.

We hope we'll be able to make a case that the cost\benefit ratio in investing in activities in the department contributes to a continually expanding American economy. For example, to the extent that the State Department is successful in removing barriers to expanding U.S. export trade, we will have contributed to the domestic economy. The department has not made that sort of investment-related argument to Congress and to the Executive Branch before. I think Warren Christopher can do so effectively.

One can make the same kind of argument with regard to national security. We are prepared to spend hundreds of billions of dollars to maintain a defense establishment. We need to make an investment in peace, in the prevention of regional conflicts, the prevention of the kind of proliferation that makes the world a dangerous place. So we're interested in investments that contribute to the avoidance of war, which is vastly more costly than conducting diplomacy.

Q: *You said there has been more attention to resources in recent weeks. How has this attention come about?*

MOOSE: As our diplomacy unrolled in dealing with the former Soviet Union, it was quite obvious that there was an important investment to be made there in promoting and encouraging democratic and free-market forces. This costs a lot of money. Now we have an opportunity in the Middle East, as unparalleled as the one we have with Russia. These activities have to be supported but, we're trying to finance all of these investments in peace out of a budget that wasn't really designed for that.

There are many other problems that come along, for example, terrorism. We need to greatly improve our ability to keep track of people who for example, should not be given visas to come to the United States. There are border security and other consular operation investments that need to be made and which will pay dividends in safety from illegal immigration.

There have been recurrent episodes in just the three or four months that I've been here, in which there have been important opportunities in the diplomatic area that required some money to be realized. We go scrambling around trying to find the money. These scramblings have contributed to a greater awareness on the part of the secretary and the other senior officers that we have to look closely at the resource implications of our policy. We must prioritize what we are doing. We must choose: we cannot have all of the above.

In a sense, I think this is a positive development. I have always thought that our policy thinkers needed to think much more about resources, and now we don't have any choice. As we pre-

pare the 1995 budget submissions, we're trying to go at this in a much more systematic way than we have in the past, in utilizing a program that we call Mission Program Planning—that is, a disciplined effort to link foreign policy priorities to resources.

Winston Lord, assistant secretary for East Asia and Pacific, for example, has held an off-site gathering of his principal people, to talk about policy and resources. Now, that's a great breakthrough, a great step forward.

Q: *Let me get back to people. You mentioned that's your number-one priority. In your swearing-in ceremony text, you say, "People are the State Department's greatest resource, but we neglect them." What is happening in this field?*

MOOSE: The personnel system has been the subject of constant anguish, complaint, dissatisfaction, and agitation in the department ever since I can remember. And yet, curiously enough, the Foreign Service *is* the personnel system. They run the personnel system. We're talking about ourselves when we complain about the personnel system.

The personnel system has been studied and studied and studied. The other day, somebody sent me the first edition of *The Sum Causes of Organizational Ineffectiveness within the Department of State*, by Chris Argyris. This is well known to Foreign Service officers of my generation.

I looked at the introduction, and it speaks of the reluctance and the resistance of the department to reorganization. It says, "[T]he living system of the State Department . . . is so constructed that it predisposes the State Department to managerial ineffectiveness."

I don't think of anything that I could have read at the beginning of my tenure that would have been more useful than to be reminded of what Mr. Argyris said in 1966. It's as true today as it was then.

Since he wrote that there has been a succession of studies of the personnel system. They all point to a common series of shortcomings and failings. The assignments process, for example, is under tremendous strain because of the changing nature of our work force and culture, with new demands on it from single parents, tandem couples, and a growing reluctance of people to serve overseas, and a series of new posts with great adversity

We're not going to have a new major inquiry into the nature of the personnel system. The areas which need work are identified. The director general, her staff, and an outreach group are preparing specific ideas and recommendations for both the Civil Service and the Foreign Service, and we expect to address these in consultation with a broad range of people in the department and with AFSA, as we're obliged to do.

I don't want to say we're going to solve these problems, because there have been too many promises made in the past about what was going to be done about the personnel system. I think we'll see some changes, and I think they'll be for the good.

Q: *You joined the Foreign Service almost 40 years ago, served in it for a number of years. How different is it today from 40 years ago?*

MOOSE: I came in just as the Wriston Report on personnel was being implemented. Prior to that time, there had been a departmental service and the Foreign Service. My first assignment was to the Foreign Service Institute to the mid-career course, which was designed to take promising officers out of the departmental service and some Foreign Service officers to try to give them some common basis for relating to each other in a new Foreign Service—the "integrated" Foreign Service. This was much resisted, and for years after that, people were still tagged as being "Wristonees." They weren't "real" Foreign Service officers, in that they didn't take the examination. I passed the "old exam," the three-day exam, and I used to hold that as a badge of honor.

Now we're at a very different stage in what is required of us. The problems are different. The president has given us a new set of priorities. We can't just load the new priorities on top of the other things that we were already doing. We may need to think through our overseas structures—how we deploy ourselves, what we report, who reports what, how we disseminate it.

I think we ought to think about a more inclusive Foreign Service, or a new definition of what is the Foreign Service. We need many kinds of specialties. So how do we reach out and bring the skills in?

If you look at the careers of many senior officials, you see people who have been in the Foreign Service, gone out, done various other things and have come back in, bringing with them experience that they've had in the private sector and other agencies. We need to take account of this. We need to assess what its implications are for the Foreign Service. I'm a great traditionalist, but I want to encourage people to think of new ways of doing their work and new ways of preparing themselves for the problems we have to cope with.

Q: *Do you think we need a Foreign Service as constructed now?*

MOOSE: Yes, I do, but I think it needs to reexamine its concept of itself. I'm terribly proud of our Foreign Service and our Civil Service. But I think we need to examine what our role is.

You take the whole new range of global issues that the president has emphasized and we've organized around here in the department—environmental questions, labor questions, democracy, human rights, crime, narcotics, proliferation. There's a whole array of subject matter that gives new dimensions to the traditional notion of foreign relations. Diplomacy meant maintaining things on an even keel or containing the Soviets. Now, it's like playing on the Radio City Music Hall organ—there are many more stops to pull. Maybe we need more generalists. I don't think we can grow all of the specialists that we need. We need people of diverse skill who are able to cover a lot of ground.

Earlier this year I had an opportunity to go with the chairman of one of our appropriating committees, Neal Smith of Iowa, to a number of posts in the newly independent states. Our chiefs of mission there have a very challenging task to coordinate a wide range of activities—they must handle many different types of issues.

Q: *What surprised you about that trip? What lesson do you draw from it?*

MOOSE: We need energetic, creative people to represent our country and to promote its programs and pursue

its objectives in a changing international environment. I got a tremendous lift out of seeing our wonderful people out there, under real hardships, living in unhealthy, dangerous, ill-equipped, bad places, with an exciting foreign policy challenge—they were just terrific. We are fortunate to have people who have experience and skills—real professionals out doing a job.

Q: *In the last year, we've had four resignations on policy grounds. What do you make of it?*

MOOSE: I've thought a lot about it. It troubled me a great deal. Inevitably, of course, I related to the controversy and the anguish that many of us went through during the Vietnam era.

I very much respect these people for acting on their principles. I believe they had a fair opportunity to say what they wanted to say, to express themselves, and the reason they resigned was that they saw that the policy was not going to change. Apparently, they felt that the only thing that they could do at that point was to remove themselves from it. This was sad, but honorable

I don't think dissent is stifled in the department today. I think that the senior officers of the department had demonstrated a willingness to meet with, talk, exchange ideas with these people We must make sure that the senior levels have an opportunity to hear what people are thinking. And we must encourage creativity.

Q: *One of the biggest sets of "people" questions has been emphasized by this administration, and that is diversity. Is this creating a management problem?*

MOOSE: We have no choice but to give added attention to these questions. The president has enjoined us to do so. Many of us, in any event, believe that we must address these questions in a more systematic way. But I would like to see it subsumed in a broader, approach on the part of the managers of the department to the question of how they deal with people.

We should want, for our own reasons, for the effectiveness of the service, to have a diverse work force. We should recognize that this may take a special effort, but we've got lots of people in this department who need more attention than they're getting, and not only on the basis of gender or ethnicity.

For example, we lack an adequate career counseling program. We go to a lot of trouble to recruit some of the best people in America to come in at the entry level. Then we tend to throw them in the crab basket for ten years, and hope that the best ones and the most clever ones are going to climb out and make useful FSOs. But we don't work with our people enough. The same is true of our Civil Service. We need excursion tours and stretch tours for people in the Civil Service to do Foreign Service-type jobs, or jobs that have been reserved or traditionally filled by the Foreign Service.

There must be new opportunities for people who haven't had opportunities before. In the process of doing that, we will be addressing some questions that might otherwise have been labeled as diversity questions. A lot of the Civil Service work force needs a career ladder, much more opportunity, and we need those people.

Yesterday I spent some time going through the information management areas of this department. We have really bright, very motivated people with substantial minority representation there, and we need to ensure that those people will rise through those levels. We need to get them out to some of our posts, because we need the modern information management skills they possess.

We don't just have a diversity and gender problem here: we have a general need to pay much more attention to our work force. That's the reason why I keep coming back to people.

Q: *What's the greatest surprise to you since you've been in the job?*

MOOSE: I think it is the degree to which management is constrained and circumscribed by law and regulation and concern over litigation and grievance. There are far more constraints and controls and fetters than I remember. We have almost twice as many lawyers in the State Department now as we did when I was last here, and in large part that's because the foreign affairs legislation has become infinitely more complex. Am I saying that the Congress is mingling too much in the management of foreign affairs? Only a fool in my position would make such a statement!

One of the challenges is to be a manager and a monitor all at the same time. It's hard to give good service to people when they feel that you're also applying some complex set of rules to them at the same time.

As I have said, the key to changing the things here in the department that we need changed—the way we can loosen up the molasses—is to give people the feeling that they can change things. We cannot change the whole system at once but, if I improve my relationship with the people right above me, and the ones right below me, the ones off to the side, and if everybody starts doing that, then we can move the mountain. My challenge is to try to move people to do that.

Q: *How will you know if you've succeeded or failed?*

MOOSE: There are many tasks, but I must establish some specific goals, and then manage against those goals. If I make my goals explicit and I put them out there for everybody to see, then my colleagues and my superiors and everyone else will know whether I've succeeded or not.

Q: *Are you ready to say what they are?*

MOOSE: I don't think I've got them yet to the point where they can be quantified. I would like to accomplish, while I'm here, the completion of the open-systems migration and overall upgrading our information managements system. This will pay enormous dividends: efficiency in our financial and personnel operations and the speed and flexibility with which we can exchange ideas and information.

On the human side, I would like for people to say, after I've left, that Dick paid attention to people.

The third thing, has to do with the M Bureaus' responsibility to provide service to the other part of the department, I want the M Bureaus to treat the rest of the department as their customers. I want us to get in the habit of listening to what our customers are saying, and responding to them.

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THE AGONY OF DISSENT

IN THE PAST MONTHS, FOUR STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEES HAVE RESIGNED FROM THE FOREIGN SERVICE AND CHALLENGED THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY IN BOSNIA. DISSENT IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE IS NOT NEW, AND PUBLIC RESIGNATIONS HAVE HAPPENED BEFORE, BUT NOT SINCE THE VIETNAM WAR HAS SUCH A DEBATE OVER FOREIGN POLICY ENSUED.

GEORGE KENNEY, THEN ACTING YUGOSLAVIA DESK OFFICER, WAS THE FIRST TO RESIGN, MORE THAN A YEAR AGO. A MEMBER OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE SINCE 1988, HE IS NOW A CONSULTANT AT THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

MARSHALL HARRIS AND STEPHEN WALKER, BOSNIA DESK OFFICERS, RESIGNED THIS SUMMER OVER THE SAME ISSUES KENNEY WRESTLED WITH A YEAR EARLIER. BOTH HARRIS AND WALKER JOINED THE SERVICE IN 1985. HARRIS IS NOW A FOREIGN POLICY AIDE TO CONGRESSMAN FRANK MCCLOSKEY (D.-IN). WALKER LIVES IN NORWALK, CONNECTICUT, WHERE HE'S DOING CONSULTING AND JOB-SEARCHING. JON WESTERN, AN ANALYST IN INR, AND NOW AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, ALSO RESIGNED OVER THE BOSNIA ISSUE.

KENNEY, HARRIS, AND WALKER MET RECENTLY WITH BRANDON GROVE, CHAIRMAN OF THE *JOURNAL* EDITORIAL BOARD, TO DISCUSS THEIR RESIGNATIONS AND WHAT THEIR VERY PUBLIC DISSENT HAD ACCOMPLISHED. THE FOLLOWING DISCUSSION HAS BEEN EDITED.

Q: *Let's go back to the time you came into the Foreign Service. Why did you decide on a Foreign Service career? What were you looking for?*

KENNEY: Because my father had been in the Foreign Service for 35 years, I knew more or less what the Foreign Service involved. My family had a spirit of civic service and worked in foreign affairs, so it was an easy career choice. It was more difficult, in that sense, for me to think of leaving to do something else, than it was for me originally to have thought about the choice of becoming a Foreign Service officer.

HARRIS: In my case, I was looking for something, or not looking for something. I had finished law school and I decided I didn't want to practice law, but I wanted to live abroad. I knew very little about the Service, but a friend of mine had taken the Foreign Service exam and it sounded like a good idea to me. I did, and off I went.

WALKER: I had been an intern at the department in college, and was a Soviet studies major in college and graduate school. It was suggested when I was an

ALL PHOTOS BY LIZ ALLAN

Walker, Harris, Kenny

intern that I should take the exam, which I did, and, fortunately, passed. After a year in graduate school at Columbia University, the department offered me a position. I saw the Foreign Service as sort of a dream come true—an opportunity to get to Moscow eventually, which I did, and serve overseas. It was an exciting opportunity for a young 22-year-old grad student.

KENNEY: If I might say, Brandon, I think that the right answer to that question is, I joined the Foreign Service because I wanted to help produce good foreign policy for the United States. I think back on the examination process, and I remember that nobody ever asked you, "Why do you want to join the Foreign Service?" But they should have—it certainly is a relevant question.

Q: *Before working on Bosnia, did you have any doubts about your career choice?*

WALKER: I'd say from time to time I took an appraisal of where I was going. I never wanted to feel like I was roped into anything, and I was very happy throughout with the progress of my career. I got the assignments that I wanted, Moscow and this assignment in the Office of Eastern European Affairs—I thought this was a very exciting opportunity.

KENNEY: I was reasonably satisfied. I had, relative to my own cohort, a fast-track career, and intended to continue with the Foreign Service as long as I continued to advance at a relatively rapid rate, and I expected that that would continue. So who knows? The Foreign Service has perhaps lost an ambassador somewhere along the way.

HARRIS: No, I don't think I had any serious doubts. I didn't necessarily sign up for 20 or 30 years. Like Steve, I was constantly reassessing things, but I was particularly pleased to have gotten the assignment on the Bosnia desk.

KENNEY: I think our generation has a little different view of a Foreign Service career than my father's generation, where people would come into the Service and treat it as a vocation, with a definite commitment to stay in for 30, 35 years, or as long as possible. I think all of us understood that we had other opportunities, which included work in the State Department but could also include other things.

WALKER: There's still, I think, a very strong sense of commitment in the Foreign Service—the Foreign Service culture molds you to a certain extent. Resigning was very difficult, in large part because you felt like you were leaving your life, not just a job—your life. Particularly overseas, your extended family is the Foreign Service.

Q: *As you worked on the issues of the former Yugoslavia, when did you realize you were so deeply involved that you might resign if our policies didn't change?*

WALKER: On July 21, Secretary [Warren] Christopher held a press conference in which he said repeatedly that the United States was doing everything it could, consistent with its national interests. For most, if not all of us working on Bosnia, it was a very disappointing and disillusioning press conference, and it was difficult to go to work the next day. That certainly began a month-long process of considering what my options were and whether resignation on principle was the only option I had.

HARRIS: I think throughout 1993, I thought there would come a time when the Clinton administration would wash its hands of Bosnia. I thought if they did that, I would have to do the same thing of the Foreign Service—I wouldn't be able to work for these people any more.

I had exactly the same reaction that Steve did on the twenty-first of July. I thought if Christopher would not respond to what was taking place at that very moment in Sarajevo, there was nothing that this administration would respond to, and it was best for me to disassociate myself from that.

KENNEY: My moment of truth came about a year before. In June or July, I realized that I wouldn't be able to change the policy within the system, and I started to think about whether changing the policy was more important to me than my career. I decided it was, so then I spent about a month wondering what would be the best time to resign, and I chose the London conference in August of 1992. It did open up the public debate, although I have to say, I've been very disappointed that ultimately I haven't been able to really help to change the policy.

Q: *In this process, two of you were reacting to what had happened on July 21. Was that something you did not expect when you woke up that morning? Did it add up to a point where you said "This is enough. I've had it"?*

HARRIS: Our Bosnia policy has not evolved in a very clear fashion. Those of us who worked on the policy were on a roller coaster ride, and one of the biggest falls was on the twenty-first of July. But only a week or ten days later, Warren Christopher threatened the Serbs with air strikes. There were constant dips, constant turns, but for me, the last straw came when I realized that we were actually pressuring the Bosnian

government to accept the dismemberment of the Bosnian state. That's what I couldn't take any more.

WALKER: The roller-coaster effect was definitely there. The week after the initial disclosure of the threat of air strikes, it became clear that we weren't serious about it, and that was very disheartening. That was the week that Marshall resigned and that Jon Western submitted his resignation letter. I was on leave and did my first draft, unbeknownst to them and not knowing that they were going to resign.


Kenney

I took the two weeks of leave to think it over very seriously, and then when I returned to work, I still found that I couldn't do it; I couldn't resign. But by the end of that week, my last straw came. Secretary Christopher sent a letter to [President Alija] Izetbegovic, strongly urging him to sign on to the partition plan. We were looking at implementation of a potential partition plan at that point, and I just couldn't be a part of it. I came in that Monday and, first thing in the morning, resigned.

KENNEY: These fellows did something first, which I and others had not done—they used the dissent channel within the system. When I was in the department, maybe one or two people in the prior year had sent in dissent cables from Belgrade, but to the best of my knowledge, no one within the department had been using the dissent channel to write memos. I had thought about it several times, but ultimately decided—in retrospect, wrongly—that the dissent channel was moribund. But I think that the officers who sent in a series of dissent memos did exactly the right thing. I should have done that and gone farther, as well, to seek high-level meetings all the time, keeping pressure on the seventh floor. In any case, I tried to do what I could before I resigned, and I know that others did more before they resigned.

Q: *Let's talk about the process of dissent. Do you think that the bureaucratic process in the State Department allowed your views to be heard?*

KENNEY: The short answer is, no, not even within the bureau.

HARRIS: We were heard. I have no gripes about access or making my views known. In fact, I think one of the most difficult things for outsiders to accept has been that in spite of State being hierarchical within the office, within the bureau, within the whole department, we were constantly talking about policy, dissenting openly every five minutes, not to mention the formal dissents that we made. I was heard constantly, but I don't know that I was listened to, if I may make that distinction.

Q: *How far up the line do you think your voice went?*

HARRIS: I know at least on one occasion it went to Secretary Christopher, in person—and in writing many times. I think that what I had to say fell on deaf ears.

WALKER: My feeling is the same. It seems to me that when Secretary Christopher came in, he made a big point of trying to make the higher levels of the department—the seventh floor—more open to the working level. They've tried to give the appearance of being very open to dissent and giving people a chance to voice their opinions. Senior officials offered opportunities for dissent to be heard, but, again, as Marshall said, they're not listening.

It appears that they are not intending to provide a forum for the secretary and other senior officials to get differing opinions and options than those they might get through normal channels. It seems to be meant as an opportunity to give working-level people a chance to vent and get things off their chests and then go back and do the work and implement the policy that they still very strongly disagree with. That, to me, just increases your level of frustration. It just adds to your frustration, rather than appeases it.

KENNEY: My impression, at least in the time I was there, was that the internal discussion had become so pathologic that we really couldn't talk in serious terms about the crisis. In early July [1992], press reports of concentration camps in Bosnia had just started to appear. So the department reacted to that. At one point, I had to write a night note for the president—the evening reading item. So I wrote this thing up—that the Serbs were perpetrating most of the terrible abuses on prisoners, although others were also abusing the prisoners. By the time that memo got cleared and out of the building to the president, the discussion was damped down to support the kinds of policy positions that the seventh floor wanted to take. I think that's wrong.

Q: *Did any of you consider asking for another assignment, to get away from the anguish of the Bosnia problem?*

KENNEY: When I had left, but not yet given my formal letter of resignation, the department was terribly anxious to contact me and offer me another assignment, but I refused it. The whole point of my resignation I felt was to take the argument to the public. So that wouldn't have been an answer for me—to switch jobs.

WALKER: When I resigned, I was offered the opportunity for reassignment, and I declined. I felt by the time I resigned, that that was my only choice, my only course of action. My frustrations and anger and opposition to our policy toward Bosnia was not going to be relieved by taking another assignment. My frustrations would only have risen, had I been reassigned. It was very difficult for me, because I felt so much a part of the Foreign Service family, but I just could not be a part of it anymore.

HARRIS: I share Steve's views. I don't mean this in any sort of disparaging or *ad hominem* way, but I had, and have, no confidence in the seventh-floor principals' ability to carry out and implement and develop the foreign policy of the United States. If they cannot handle a simple and straightforward case of Serb aggression in Bosnia, there's no reason to think that they are going to be able to handle the more difficult problems that we're facing today.

Q: *What were your emotions after resigning? How did you feel when you'd written the letter and handed it in?*

KENNEY: I really didn't know what

would happen. I had a sense that I would be able to make my case publicly and get the attention of the press and be able to speak—but there was no guarantee. My family, my colleagues, my friends all told me, "George, you're nuts. Nobody's going to listen to you. You're a mid-level officer. You're not an ambassador or anything. Why should anybody pay attention?" So anyway, I went out and did manage to speak to the press and get the message out, and I've been doing so for over a year. It was all a process of discovery. It was kind of a giant experiment, which seems to have worked, at least in a qualified way.

HARRIS: My first fear, I suppose, about resigning publicly was that I would be misunderstood, because I was resigning at a time when the administration was very keen to hype its new policy of threatening air strikes against the Serbs. So I was afraid that people would say, "Why is he resigning at this moment just when the United States is on the verge of actually finally doing something militarily in Bosnia?" Well, as it turns out, there was no tougher policy, other than a few remarks.

I felt vindicated within 24 hours of resigning, in the sense that there was enormous interest in what I had to say, and, clearly, a great deal of sympathy with my point of view that the United States was not responding to Serb aggression in a way that was appropriate.

WALKER: I handed in my letter—it was very difficult. But as soon as I did it, literally from that moment on, I felt like I had done the right thing, and the only thing, to do. There have certainly been moments of grieving periods for my career and having left the Service, but I've been confident that when I handed in my letter, that I did the right thing, the only thing that was right for me. The support that I received within the department and outside of the department has been overwhelming and very gratifying and has reinforced my confidence that I did the right thing.

KENNEY: I'd like to add to that. When I resigned, I got calls from a number of former ambassadors saying, "Good job. We're proud of you. You've done the right thing—a morally courageous thing." As Steve says, that support is tremendously helpful. Indeed, I think all of us find now that we still have excellent relations with our former colleagues. We continue to work together.

Q: *What do you think your resignations accomplished?*

KENNEY: We've definitely opened up the public debate. I'm quite certain that there would not be as great a public debate as there is now without these resignations. The media has no way of knowing what's going on inside the mind of the administration, unless somebody from the administration steps outside and says, "Here's what people are thinking. Here's what's behind the policy."

WALKER: I think that, hopefully, at least, we've kept the tension on the policy and what's wrong with it, and focused it at critical times. Particularly now that the Bosnian government is being pushed to sign on to this partition plan, I think we've raised some important questions as to why we are supporting a diplomatic process that rewards genocide, and why we're thinking about sending 25,000 troops to enforce that type of an agreement. It hasn't had an impact that we can see in terms of our overall policies, but we have to hold out some hope that we, in concert with others, might be able to cause the administration to actually look at this policy and come up with a policy that's more reasonable and rational.


Walker

HARRIS: Throughout this administration, Secretary Christopher and others have manipulated public opinion and tried to convince the American people that Bosnia is a potential quagmire, that all three sides are guilty in this war, that it's a problem from hell, and it's an ancient ethnic feud. I agree that we have influenced the public debate by trying to come out from the inside and say to the American people, "What you hear Secretary Christopher and others saying is not true. What you see on your television screens is what's happening in Bosnia."

Second, the administration was on the verge of misleading the American public by saying that peace is at hand in Bosnia, and it's okay if Bosnia is carved up, because the Bosnian government will accept the partition of the country freely. We who have worked on the Bosnia policy know that's not the case. I think we've definitely influenced the debate on that, to point out that what's happening in Geneva is a grave and dangerous mistake.

Q: *Did the prospect of publicity play a large role in your decision to leave?*

WALKER: It made it more difficult for me. I was very intimidated by the prospect of a public resignation, and did some very serious thinking about whether I could go through with it, if it was going to be so public. But you want people to understand why you resigned. I'm grateful, in fact, that I didn't get a chance to resign before Marshall, because it forced me to think much more seriously about what I was doing, so that I would be fully prepared for it.

HARRIS: When I talked with a few colleagues outside of the office about the possibility of resigning, and resigning publicly, I said repeatedly, "I'm not going to appear on television."

KENNEY: That lasted about half a day.

HARRIS: That lasted half a day. My new boss, Congressman [Frank] McCloskey (D, IN.), and some television producers convinced me that if I were willing to talk to other media, I shouldn't discriminate against what is perhaps the most effective medium. And having taken this unusual step, I had a responsibility to try to get my view across as best I could. I think all of us in the Service, even at the very highest levels, are reluctant to talk to the press. Having spent eight years in the back rooms of the State Department and inside embassies, I looked at those discussions as sort of an invasion of privacy. But I think all of us have recognized that if we want to influence the public debate and change the policy, we have a responsibility to speak out, and to speak as we can.

KENNEY: It's certainly true that the department does not prepare us for dealing with reporters; it's something you have to learn for yourself. Among

many other reasons, I was delighted to be joined by these guys because I felt kind of lonely out there. You have to walk a very fine line in being able to get your message across effectively, and not turn the thing into a circus. I think we've all done that, with great success.

WALKER: An hour or so after I handed in my letter, the phone started ringing in the office, but at first I wouldn't talk to anybody. After eight years of being told that press inquiries go through PA [Bureau of Public Affairs], I found it very difficult to accept a phone call from a reporter. Finally, I started returning the phone calls. But it was very difficult at first. I still have moments where I feel ill at ease because of my training in the Foreign Service with respect to the media.

Harris

Q: *You have wives and families. They must have weighed heavily in your choice. Was your decision to resign made jointly with them?*

WALKER: Absolutely, yes. Throughout the time on the desk, my wife was very aware of my frustrations. I talked to her early on about resigning, then resigning on principle, and doing it publicly—the pros and cons. She was convinced before I was that this was the only choice I had, the right thing to do, and she was very supportive. It was definitely something we discussed together, and a decision we made together.

HARRIS: Every couple in the Foreign Service is a tandem couple. Every family is a joint family in the Service, so I can't imagine a decision like this being made without being made jointly.

KENNEY: I'm single, so it wasn't an issue.

Q: *How do you feel now about your decision to resign? Any regrets? Would you do it again?*

ALL THREE: Absolutely. No regrets.

Q: *What have you learned from this experience?*

KENNEY: Speaking personally, I'm having the time of my life. I've learned to deal with public issues on a level that I could not have done within the Foreign Service, short of being at the very highest level. I think I've developed a much higher sophistication for American political processes. So this has been a tremendous experience for me. Of course, when you leave the Foreign Service, you sacrifice the stability of a long-term career. In the outside world, there are no guarantees, but I think that I will be able to contribute in a lot of ways that I wouldn't have otherwise. I hope some day that I could go back.

HARRIS: First of all, I've learned that foreign policy does not end or begin with the Foreign Service or with the department. There is a life in foreign policy outside of the Service, even though it's easier for us to stay within the warm bosom of the State department.

Second, I think that since I've gone, I've focused on and tried to think about professionalism. I think that the Foreign Service corps is a very professional one, and should demand professionalism of the people who are superimposed on top at a political level.

Foreign policy must not be treated as a footnote to a president's domestic political agenda. When we interpret Bosnia through the prism of a president's tax program or health care program, we do so at our peril in the world, and we do so to the great detriment to the Foreign Service. I think that the Service has to demand more, of the people that it serves, and we can do that from the inside as well as from the outside.

WALKER: This has been an incredible learning process for me, a lot of it as a result of the careful thought that went into making the decision to resign. It's caused me to think a lot more deeply about U.S. foreign policy needs and interests, the making of foreign policy, the department and its role. It's caused me to think a lot about myself, obviously, in terms of what makes me tick and what my values are. Now it's causing me to look ahead in terms of what I want to do in my post-Foreign Service life. I haven't had a chance to catch my breath yet. I need to start doing that now.

Q: *We began by discussing your decision to make the Foreign Service your career. After what you've been through, do you have any advice, particularly for junior officers?*

KENNEY: I have a lot of advice, but in a short sentence or two, I'd say that junior officers should not hesitate to challenge the system, and that they will probably advance faster and farther if they do than if they don't.

WALKER: Don't be afraid to express your opinions, your thoughts, whether it's on a visa case or on a broader foreign policy issue, and do it strongly and convincingly. Be prepared for the fact that even if your opinion is heard, it might not be adopted, but do it, and do it aggressively. The Foreign Service needs people who are willing to question policy, to question assumptions, and to bring new ideas to light. The Foreign Service will only survive and will only be a living organism in the government if people are willing to question assumptions and policies. Don't be afraid to do it.

The Foreign Service culture sometimes makes us conformists. When you come in, you're told you're part of an elite group that is a very small, cohesive unit. That's good. You do want to pull together, and the esprit de corps is something that I value tremendously. But you should remember that you're an individual with individual perspectives and values, and that's what makes you valuable to the Foreign Service.

HARRIS: I would say serve, and serve well, but at the same time be true to your own convictions. You join the Service, knowing the difference between right and wrong. Don't let careerism and the short-term political interests of political appointees get in the way of that self-knowledge. The people whom you serve will demand that you be professional, but you should also demand of them that they be equally, if not more, professional.

KENNEY: Take the truth, hold it up to the light, and follow it.

HOLY TERROR

BY BRUCE HOFFMAN

Religion and terrorism share a long history. Indeed, many of the words we use in the English language to describe terrorists and their acts are derived from the names of religious groups active several centuries ago. The etymology of "zealot," for example, can be traced to between 66-73 A.D. The Zealots waged a ruthless campaign of both individual assassination and wholesale slaughter, employing a primitive form of chemical warfare: poisoning wells and granaries used by Romans and even sabotaging Jerusalem's water supply.

The word "assassin" is similarly derived from a religious terrorist group, in this case a radical offshoot of the Muslim Shi'a who, between 1090-1272 A.D., fought the Christian Crusaders attempting to conquer present-day Syria and Iran. Literally "hashish-eater," the assassin would ritualistically imbibe hashish before committing murder: an act regarded as a sacramental or divine duty designed to hasten the new millennium. An additional—perhaps even more compelling—motivation was the promise that, should the assassin perish in the course of his act, he would immediately ascend to a glorious heaven, thus fostering an ethos of self-sacrifice and suicidal martyrdom that is apparent in some Muslim terrorist groups today.

Finally, the appellation "thug" comes from an Indian religious association of professional robbers and murderers who, from the 7th century until their suppression in the mid-19th century, systematically strangled wayward travelers as sacrificial offerings to Kali, the Hindu goddess of terror and destruction.

In fact, as David C. Rapoport points out in his seminal study, *Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions*, until the 19th century and the advent of nationalism, anarchism, and Marxist ideology, "religion provided the only acceptable justifications for terror." Thus, while the relationship between terrorism and religion is not new, in recent decades this form of terrorism has largely been overshadowed by ethnic- and nationalist-separatist or ideologically motivated terrorism.

None of the 11 identifiable terrorist groups active in 1968 (the year credited with marking the advent of modern international terrorism) could be classified as "religious." Today, however at least 20 percent of the approximately 50 known terrorist groups active throughout the world can be described as having a dominant religious component or motivation. Admittedly, many contemporary terrorist groups—the Provisional Irish Republic Army, their Protestant counterparts in Northern Ireland, the Palestine Liberation Organization, various Armenian terrorist movements, and both the Tamil Tigers and J.V.P. in Sri Lanka—have a strong religious element. But the political aspect is the dominant characteristic of these groups, as evidenced by the preeminence of their nationalist or irredentist aims.

DIVINE DUTY

What is particularly striking about "holy terror" compared to purely "secular terror," however, is the radically different value systems, mechanisms of legitimization and justification, concepts of morality, and Manichaean world view that the "holy terrorist" embraces. For the religious terrorist, violence first and foremost is a sacramental act or divine duty executed in direct response to some theological demand or imperative. Terrorism assumes a transcendental dimension, and its perpetrators are thereby unconstrained by the political, moral, or practical constraints that seem to affect other terrorists.

Whereas secular terrorists generally

FOR THE RELIGIOUS TERRORIST, VIOLENCE IS A SACRAMENTAL ACT OR DIVINE DUTY, UNCONSTRAINED BY THE RESTRAINTS THAT AFFECT OTHER TERRORISTS.

consider indiscriminate violence immoral and counterproductive, religious terrorists regard such violence not only as morally justified, but as a necessary expedient for the attainment of their goals. Thus, religion serves as a legitimizing force—conveyed by sacred text or imparted via clerical authorities claiming to speak for the divine.

THEIR OWN AUDIENCE

Religious and secular terrorists also differ in their constituencies. Whereas secular terrorists attempt to appeal to a constituency variously composed of actual and potential sympathizers, members of the communities they purport to "defend," or the aggrieved people they claim to speak for; religious terrorists are at once activists and constituents engaged in what they regard as a "total war." They execute their terrorist acts for no audience but themselves. Thus the restraints on violence that are imposed on secular terrorists are not relevant to the religious terrorist.

This absence of a constituency in the secular-terrorist sense leads to a sanctioning of almost limitless violence against a virtually open-ended category of targets—that is, anyone who is not a member of the terrorists' religion or religious sect. This explains the rhetoric common to "holy terror" manifestos describing persons outside the terrorists' religious community in denigrating and dehumanizing terms such as, "infidels," "non-believers," "children of Satan," and "mud people." The deliberate use of such adjectives to condone and justify terrorism is significant in that it further erodes the constraints on violence and bloodshed by portraying the terrorists' victims as either "sub-human" or "unworthy" of living.

AN END IN ITSELF

In addition, where the aims of the "secular political" terrorists can be described as utilitarian—seeking to bring about changes to achieve the greatest benefits for the greatest number—the aims of "religious-political" terrorists are more accurately defined as the attainment of the greatest possible benefits for themselves and their co-religionists only. This further engenders a tremendous disparity between ends and means. Where the secular terrorist sees violence primarily as a means to an end, the religious terrorist tends to view violence as an end in itself.

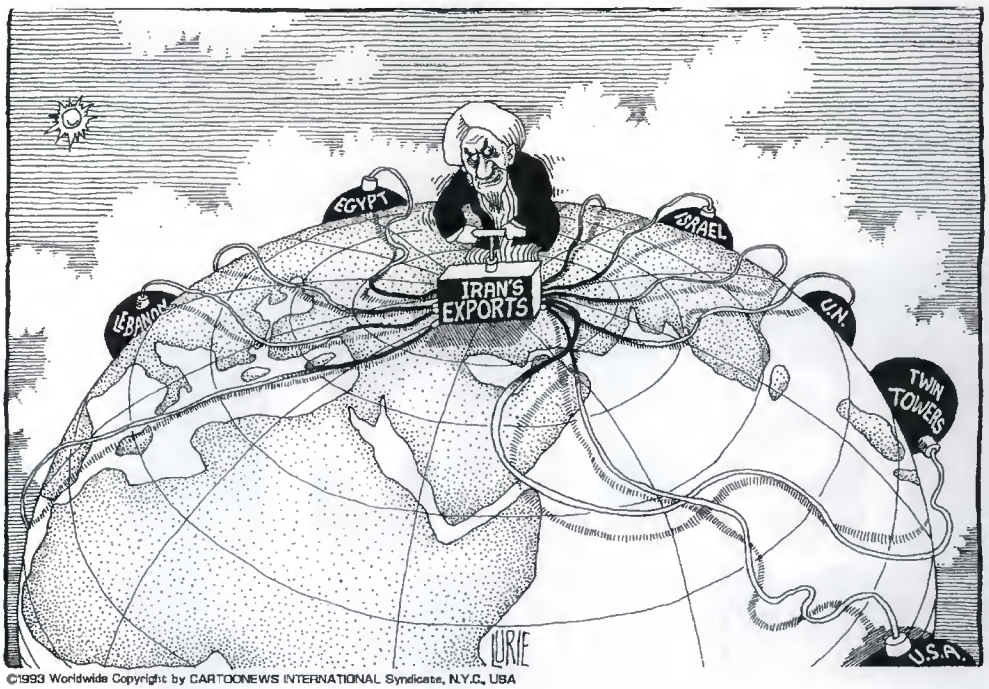
Finally, religious and secular terrorists have starkly different perceptions of themselves and their violent acts. Secular terrorists regard violence as a way of instigating the correction of a flaw in a system that is basically good or as a means to foment the creation of a new system. On the other hand, religious terrorists see themselves not as components of a system worth preserving, but as "outsiders," and seek vast changes in the existing order.

Indeed, at the root of the decade-long Islamic terrorist campaign backed by Iran has been the desire to extend throughout the world the fundamentalist interpretation of Islamic law in Iran and, indeed, to export the revolution that established the Iranian Islamic Republic to other Muslim countries.

A LETHAL COMBINATION

The volatile combination of religion and terrorism has been cited as one of the main reasons for terrorism's increasing lethality. The fact that for the religious terrorist violence inevitably assumes a transcendent purpose and therefore becomes a sacramental or divine duty arguably results in a significant loosening of the constraints on the commission of mass murder. Religion, moreover, functions as a legitimizing force, sanctioning if not encouraging wide-scale violence against an almost open-ended category of opponents. Thus religious terrorist violence becomes almost an end in itself—a morally justified, divinely instigated expedient toward the attainment of the terrorists' ultimate ends.

The sense of alienation from a society that he both abhors and rejects enables him to contemplate—and undertake—far more destructive and bloodier types of terrorist operations than his secular counterpart.



Bruce Hoffman is the director of the Strategy and Doctrine Program at RAND. This article is excerpted from a luncheon speech given at AFSA on September 9.

THERE ARE TWO FACETS OF ISLAM IN THE MODERN WORLD, AND THE LIBERAL SIDE HAS OFTEN ELUDED THE WEST.

ISLAM IN THE NEW WORLD ORDER

BY MOHAMED IBRAHIM KHALIL

Since the February bombing of the World Trade Center and the discovery of an apparent plot to blow up the UN headquarters, the United States has been deeply concerned with what is commonly referred to as Islamic fundamentalism, a feature of Islamic, and particularly Middle Eastern, society since World War II. It is only recently,however, that fundamentalism has come to be regarded as dangerous and destabilizing.

Present-day fundamentalist movements expound values that are almost antithetical to those of the "new world order." To fundamentalists, democracy is a false Western creed that trespasses on God's sovereignty by vesting man with legislative competence, and, at the same time, opens the door for dissension by enabling opposition parties to compete for power. Liberal reformists, on the other hand, are convinced that Muslims can, without renouncing any essential part of their religious belief, establish a modern democratic society—a society in which people are equal, regardless of sex or religion, and where freedom of belief is guaranteed, and a punishment of fine and imprisonment is substituted for that of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

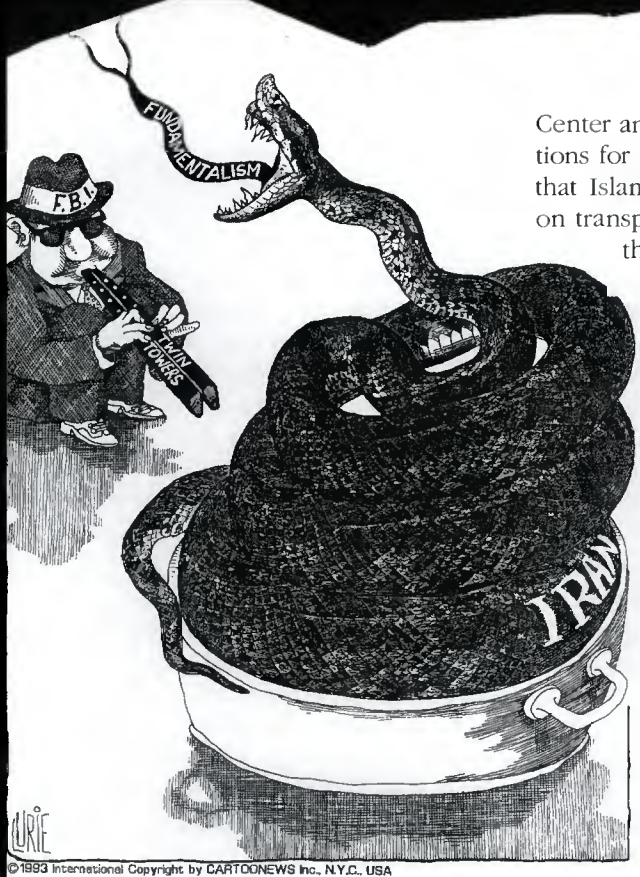
These are the two irreconcilable facets of Islam in the modern world, the two facets of its truth. It is somewhat ironic that the liberal side of Islam has, more often than not, eluded the West, and that in the eyes of most Western scholars, liberal Islam is a mere fancy of the so-called Muslim apologists.

THE GROWTH OF FUNDAMENTALISM

The current phase of Islamic fundamentalism was ushered in when, in 1928, Hassan al-Banna, a school teacher in the Egyptian Red Sea port of Ismailiya, formed a society with the name *Ikhwan al-Muslimeen*, or Muslim Brothers. Although his sermons, reproduced in widely circulated tracts, smacked of a longing for the establishment of an Islamic form of government, al-Banna dedicated the greater part of his effort to social welfare work. Accordingly the Brotherhood was viewed as an ideological, idealist minority party, which did not pose a threat to the government. However, after the spectacular performance of its volunteer force in the first Arab-Israeli war and its impassioned condemnation of the Arab governments of the day, the brotherhood became feared as a potential contender for political power. Since the brotherhood's agenda clashed with his secular pan-Arabism, Jamal Abd al-Nassir ruthlessly crushed the movement. Recreated two decades later, the brotherhood emerged as a party committed to functioning within the democratic process.

In the meantime, repeated defeats in war with Israel, the Palestinian diaspora, rampant poverty, and continued political frustration led to a mild but pervasive fundamentalist disposition in the Muslim world. The Muslim Brotherhood engendered radical splinter groups; among these is the Islamic Group of the Egyptian Sheikh Omar Abd al-Rahman, who is accused of complicity in the World Trade Center bombing and the subsequent terrorist plot. Despite these disturbing developments, however, fundamentalism was not, until very recently, regarded as a real threat to established regimes.

But, the success of the Khomeini revolution in Iran has brought about a drastic change in the Islamic world's social and political complexion. The established government of Lebanon finds itself pitiably unable to control the Iran-sponsored *Hezbollah*, whose activities have led to Israeli incursion into Lebanese territory. *Hamas*, its ally in the Gaza and the West Banks and a fierce opponent of Yassir Arafat's PLO leadership, has spared no effort to balk the peace process. While polls indicate that about 60 percent of the Palestinans in the occupied territories support the Declaration of Principles signed by Israel and the PLO in Washington last month, most of the opposition comes from



Hamas and other Islamic fundamentalist groups determined to hinder the peace process by all means, including the use of violence.

In the Sudan, the National Islamic Front (NIF), a minority party that for three decades professed commitment to operating within the constitution, seized power by coup d'etat in June 1989. Finally, Sheikh Omar Abd al-Rahman's Islamic Group in Egypt is scaring off tourists, continually harassing the indigenous Copts, and menacing the established order.

EXPORTING REVOLUTION

Indeed, recent events indicate that the movement aspires to extend its operations beyond the Middle East. Just over a year ago, Iranian President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani was reported to have agreed with the Sudan's fundamentalist government on a plan for exporting the "Islamic revolution" to the heart of Africa. Since that time evidence has come to light justifying suspicion that the Sudan is harboring and providing training facilities for a number of terrorist fundamentalist organizations such as that of Abu Nidals, *Hezbollah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad*, and Sheikh Omar's Islamic Group. Indeed, the recent bombing of the World Trade Center and the unraveling of preparations for further terrorist attacks show that Islamic fundamentalism is bent on transporting its operations across the Atlantic.

At this important historical juncture, when the international community is slowly but surely evolving a new world order based on liberalism and respect for human rights, a religiously based, transnational movement is a retrograde step. Acts like Khomeini's death sentence on Salman Rushdie, and the assassination of Egyptian Muslim secularist writer Farag Foda, challenge the very foundation of international diplomacy. Trade relations, too, cannot go unscathed in the face of developments such as the recent ruling by Pakistan's Shari'a Appeal Court declaring void all laws and transactions involving the payment of interest.

In the face of this fundamentalist challenge, Western legislators and policy-makers must address such questions as: Is this phenomenon a passing phase? Are terrorism, violations of human rights, anti-liberalism, and anti-Western xenophobia all intrinsic parts of Islam or merely misguided offshoots of the mainstream? What is the appropriate diplomatic reaction?

First, a word about terminology. Of the plethora of terms in current use, "fundamentalism" seems to be the least objectionable and "Islamists" or "Islam" the most misleading. Nothing plays into the hands of the fundamentalists more than viewing them as Islamists par excellence. But "fundamentalism" alone can be misleading: it may refer to movements that foster terrorism as well as to governments and organizations that shun the use of violence but otherwise apply a literal version of Islam. This article deals with the former.

SOCIAL REFORM IN THE ISLAMIC TRADITION

The idea of social reform or *tajdid*, literally renovation, is deeply rooted in Islamic tradition. From the outset, social reform was associated with legal reform, and the mantle of *mujaddid* (reformer) was vested sometimes on rulers, but more often on jurists.

After the Mongol conquest and ransacking of Baghdad, Tagi-idin Ahmad Ibn Taymiya, an eminent 13th-century *Hanbali* jurist, argued that Muslims were in decline because they had become lax in their religious practices. Restoring the glory of the past would require literal compliance with the law and a return to the pristine institutions of the time of the Prophet and his four caliphs. He held that later generations were bound by no authority other than the Quran and the Sunna (the authenticated sayings and practices of the Prophet), which together constitute the divine Islamic scriptures. Ibn Taymiya brushed aside the consensus of intervening generations and reopened the gate of *ijtihad* (legal reform), thus paving the way for fresh reinterpretation of the holy scriptures.

THE LIBERAL TIDE

Muslim jurists were inclined to keep their legal and social reform within the bounds of Ibn Taymiya's literal interpretation of divine scriptures. This complacency lingered well after the decline of Muslim fortunes. Thus the traditional *ulema* strongly opposed the Western-style reform of the army, civil service, and legal system introduced by the Ottoman sultans in the 19th century. However, a growing class of intellectuals argued that modernization was compatible with Islam, and that Turkey could introduce Western-style reform without compromising any essential part of Islam. This trend was growing in strength when it was nipped by Kemal Ataturk. Ataturk imposed a firm secularism that ill-suited the Islamic world.

Almost contemporaneously, a similar state of affairs was unfolding on the Indian sub-continent. As in Turkey, the challenge of reform created two opposed ideological trends: the reactionaries, who advocated a return to the purer law and mores of the past, and the progressives, who wanted a more liberal interpretation of the original law.

In the second part of the 19th century, visiting a number of Islamic countries from Turkey to India, Jamal al-Din

al-Afghani ignited a spirited craving for social reform throughout the Islamic world. His companion Muhammad Abduh, the renowned Egyptian jurist, launched an exegetical movement, which produced a stupendous volume of literature depicting the liberal face of Islam and written in a modern, attractive style. The principal object of that movement was to emphasize the natural-law aspects of the Quran and Sunna rather than the positive legal rules and institutions of past ages. Indeed, it appeared at one time as though the liberal trend had triumphed. That optimism, however, was soon reversed.

DIVIDED ISLAM

Neither independence nor oil revenues have led to any appreciable improvement in the standard of living in the Arab world. Liberalism was associated in the mind of the people with the failed governments of the immediate post-World War II period. When it became clear that neither liberal democracy nor pan-Arabism would solve the problems of the Arab world, the stage was set for an ideology at once more aggressive and more patently religious in orientation. This climate nurtured militant offshoots from the Muslim Brotherhood in the post-Nasir period.

The denial of democratic rights and ruthlessness in dealing with fundamentalist movements are often blamed for the rise of these groups. But, in fact, Sudan's NIF, the only fundamentalist movement other than Khomeini's to win government power, did so as a result of a coup plotted while it was the opposition in a freely elected parliament, enjoying all the privileges of an opposition party in a democratic system. Perhaps more important is the wide availability to fundamentalist groups of money and arms.

While Iran knew what it was doing, namely, sponsoring its own militant version of Islam, religiously oriented individuals and groups in the Arab Gulf unwittingly thought that they were furthering the cause of Islam as a religion. It was only after Sudan's NIF turned hostile to all governments in the region (except Libya and Iran) and later, along with other fundamentalist organizations, sided with Iraq in its wanton invasion of Kuwait, that it began to dawn on its former benefactors that militant fundamentalism is not a desirable version of Islam.

Be that as it may, irrespective of the circumstances that contributed to its strength, present Islamic fundamentalism is, in the last analysis, a function of frustration and, it is hoped, a passing phase—not the end of Islamic history.

Liberalism, meanwhile, is by no means defunct. Rather, it is the Ataturk-style of rejectionist secularism that is obsolete. Present-day Muslims do not face the choice that Western publics often imagine they do, namely a return to or rejection of Islam. On the contrary, no political reform is likely to be acceptable today unless it appears to be in harmony with Islamic doctrines, liberally reinterpreted where necessary.

The British orientalist, Sir Hamilton Gibb, draws the following distinction between the modernists and the secularists. The former, he says, "have preserved enough of that Islamic solidarity in their thinking to see that, if Islamic society is to be reformed, reform must come through the Islamic channel and not independently of religion or even in opposition to it."

VISIONS OF HEAVEN ON EARTH

It is fair to conclude that Muslims' role in the furtherance or obstruction of the establishment of a new world order depends on which version of Islam they adopt. While the decision lies, in the last analysis, with the Muslims themselves, it is perhaps pertinent to hazard some suggestions about what, in my view, the proper Western responses should be.

First, it is important to realize that while Islam is not inconsistent with the norms of the nascent new world order, fundamentalist Islam *is*. The tendency to gloss over Islamic fundamentalist ideologies and depict them as compatible with the new world order may be well intentioned, but it is surely misguided. Likewise the view, as much condescending as it is retrogressive, that new-world norms are valid for the West only, and that it is unfair to expect Muslim and other oriental societies to live up to them, should be reexamined.

Second, for an understanding of the potential of Islam, it is necessary to appreciate the so-called liberal facet of the truth of Islam. Nothing serves the designs of militant fundamentalists better than regarding them as the true Islamists and dismissing Islamic liberalism as Western-style secularism.

Third, while disapproving of oppressive methods to check fundamentalist terrorist activities, it should be noted that the governments of some Muslim countries face the real problem of whether it is morally permissible, in some situations, to limit toleration of the intolerant. The lesson of the Sudan suggests that it may well be. In Algeria, the conflicting statements of Ali Abbas al-Medani and his deputy, Ali Belhadj make one wonder whether the assumption of government by the FIS (Islamic Front for Salvation) would not have constituted a final check to the march, albeit slow and laborious, towards pluralistic democracy. While the January 1992 army abrogation of the elections in which FIS defeated all the other parties is inexcusable, a search for a solution is imperative.

Perhaps a possible way out of the dilemma is for Middle Eastern governments, while preserving law and order, to endeavor to commit all political forces, including fundamentalist parties, to a document enshrining pluralistic democracy, liberalism, basic human rights, equality between men and women and Muslims and non-Muslims, and respect for international conventions. With such commitment they could proceed towards democratic government.

Finally, it might be useful to remember that Cold War policy of expediency, which condoned the use of Islamic fundamentalism as an antidote against communism and other organizations regarded as even more dangerous to the cause of peaceful co-existence. Admitting the naivete of that policy amounts to hindsight, which is indispensable at this present crucial juncture.

Mohamed Ibrahim Khalil is a consultant on development and institution building in the Third World. A former speaker of the Sudan Parliament and dean of the Faculty of Law in Khartoum, he researched Islamic law while a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center and the U.S. Institute of Peace.

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BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Foreign Policy and Bureaucratic Politics

TURMOIL AND TRIUMPH: MY YEARS AS SECRETARY OF STATE

by George P. Shultz, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993, $30.00 hardcover, 1180 pages

Reviewed by Melvin A. Goodman

George P. Shultz was the steward of U.S. foreign policy for more than six years, but his challenges at home were far greater than those he faced abroad. While Soviet leaders were looking for ways to end the Cold War, Shultz's rivals within the U.S. foreign policy establishment fought to prevent a constructive U.S. response. In reconstructing these events, Shultz has produced a memoir that equals the policy chronicles of Dean Acheson (*Present at the Creation*) and Henry A. Kissinger (*Years of Upheaval*) and that is unparalleled in its commentary on bureaucratic politics.

Shultz's predecessors had to contend with the growing power of the National Security Council in the post-World War II era, but Shultz encountered opposition from the CIA and the Pentagon as well.

He had to stand up to unworthy rivals at the NSC (William Clark, Robert McFarlane, and John Poindexter), ideological zealots at the Central Intelligence Agency (William Casey and Robert Gates), and a formidable opponent at the Pentagon (Caspar Weinberger). Bill Clark wanted Shultz fired for disloyalty and Bill Casey, in 1986, only several weeks before he was hospitalized and forced to resign as director, suggested to President Reagan that he get a "new pitcher . . . and get the Carterite bureaucracy in State under your control."

Much of the bureaucratic hostility grew out of different perceptions of the world. Shultz was a pragmatist who recognized that the signals from Moscow reflected

major changes in the Kremlin. Nearly all of the major players in the Reagan administration were unreconstructed Cold Warriors, who believed that the Soviet Union must be confronted on every front. As a result, the secretary's efforts to develop a strategy for a new start with the Soviet Union encountered "powerful opposition... from Bill Clark and the NSC staff, from Cap Weinberger and others at the Defense Department, and from Bill Casey and his soul mates at the CIA." These hard-liners saw no point in negotiating with Communists and opposed any changes in U.S. negotiating positions once they had been established.

Whenever Shultz described a positive development in Soviet policy and suggested U.S. steps in response, Casey or Gates would argue that CIA intelligence revealed that Gorbachev had done nothing new. As late as November 1988, only several months before the collapse of the Soviet empire in East Europe, Gates described Gorbachev as a Leninist who was seeking a "period of dampened tensions with the West" in order to gather strength for another era of conflict.

Shultz argues in his memoir that the ideological fervor of Casey and Gates had produced politicized intelligence on the Soviet Union, and that he had been "misled, lied to, cut out" by the Central Intelligence Agency. Aware that the CIA had missed the changes that were taking place in the Soviet Union in the mid-1980s, the secretary warned the president about the politicization of intelligence. He told Frank Carlucci, the successor to John Poindexter as national security advisor, that CIA analysis was "distorted by strong views about policy." In an acrimonious exchange between the secretary of state and the acting

director of the CIA, Shultz told Gates that the CIA was making an effort to "manipulate me by the selection of material you send my way."

Shultz suggested that he was more comfortable dealing with his Soviet counterparts than with his U.S. rivals, realizing that Mikhail Gorbachev and Eduard Shevardnadze were part of a new generation that wanted to end the isolation of the Soviet Union and the pervasiveness of the cold war. He termed Gorbachev a "man to watch" even before his accession to power in 1985 and, in an interview in Palo Alto in September of this year, he told this writer that he took a liking to Shevardnadze even before he met him.

Despite opposition from the Pentagon and the CIA, Shultz eventually moved the president toward an INF treaty and persuaded him to meet with Gorbachev and Shevardnadze. In his memoir, *An American Life*, Reagan credited Shultz with formulating the policy of "quiet diplomacy" towards Moscow and described the NSC staff as "too hard line" and unwilling to "think any approach should be made to the Soviets." Several months before Gorbachev's accession to power, Reagan acknowledged that the dispute between Shultz, on the one hand, and Weinberger and Casey, on the other, was "out of hand" and that he would meet with "Cap and Bill and lay it out to them."

Various political biographies of Reagan by Lou Cannon, Haynes Johnson, and others have not identified the reasons for the president's sudden shift on negotiating with the Soviets, but Shultz's role certainly was crucial. His success with the president derived from his credibility as a negotiator and his impressive academic and government credentials. No secretary of state in recent memory brought such a diverse resume to the Department of State.

Shultz's memoir also tracks the opposition of Casey and Poindexter to negotiations to resolve disputes in the Third World, particularly in Africa

and Central America. Again, Casey's underlying assumption was that the Soviet Union was promoting these disputes and had to be confronted. The secretary's memoir complements former Assistant Secretary of State Chester A. Crocker's *High Noon in Southern Africa: Making Peace in a Rough Neighborhood*, which traced the multifront warfare waged in Washington by the CIA, and the NSC to block settlements in Angola and Namibia. U.S. military support for UNITA and the delay in arranging a cease-fire in Angola contributed to the desperate situation that exists there today.

Crocker believed that his efforts were undercut by Casey's ties to South African intelligence, and Shultz noted Casey's distrust of negotiations with Soviet-sponsored regimes in Angola and Mozambique. Casey not only encouraged the actions of South Africa's surrogate force, RENAMO, against the Mozambique government but CIA briefers, according to Shultz's account, used false maps in congressional testimony to exaggerate the extent of RENAMO's control of the countryside.

The accounts of Shultz and Crocker make a strong case for a regional policy that favors negotiations sponsored by the State Department over a strategy based on CIA covert action to resolve disputes. Shultz warned that Casey improperly used the CIA to justify clandestine operations in Southwest Asia and Central America. Admiral Poindexter improperly used the power of the White House in the Iran-Contra disaster, sending "back-channel" messages to the U.S. ambassador in Lebanon in order to keep the secretary of state ignorant of policy toward Iran. Shultz outlasted every one of his opponents and, in doing so, left behind a legacy of opposition to Iran-Contra and a policy foundation with the Soviet Union for ending the Cold War.

Shultz's *Turmoil and Triumph* does not contain the colorful and

eloquent descriptions of foreign leaders that can be found in Kissinger's *Years of Upheaval* or the analytical detail of Acheson's *Present at the Creation*, but it carries stronger warnings about the dangers of institutional misuse of power. The first warning involves the temptation to use the NSC in an operational role for policy, particularly the chairing of interagency and cabinet-level meetings. The Iran-Contra affair demonstrated the danger of NSC involvement in covert operations. Throughout his stewardship of U.S. foreign policy, Shultz kept his ear to the ground and fought every NSC private diplomatic channel that was designed to keep the secretary of state in the dark. His successors should do no less.

Shultz's most important warning is the need to make sure that the Central Intelligence Agency does not use intelligence to justify covert operations as it did in the 1980s in Central America, Southern Africa, Iran, and Afghanistan. In some of his bluntest language, Shultz referred to the CIA as a "big, powerful machine not under good control" that was providing the president with "bum dope."

In reminding his readers of the misuse of the NSC and the CIA in the 1980s, Shultz makes an effective case for a stronger role for the State Department in the 1990s. The Reagan Doctrine, designed to oust Communist regimes and to move authoritarian regimes in a democratic direction, placed too much emphasis on military instruments of policy and tended to ignore the traditional role of diplomacy in resolving disputes. Recent events in Somalia are a reminder that the military instrument is a blunt one that often produces unpredictable and unwanted results; meanwhile, the current situation in Cambodia suggests that diplomatic and political strategies can produce favorable results with far less risk.

Mel Goodman teaches at the National War College.

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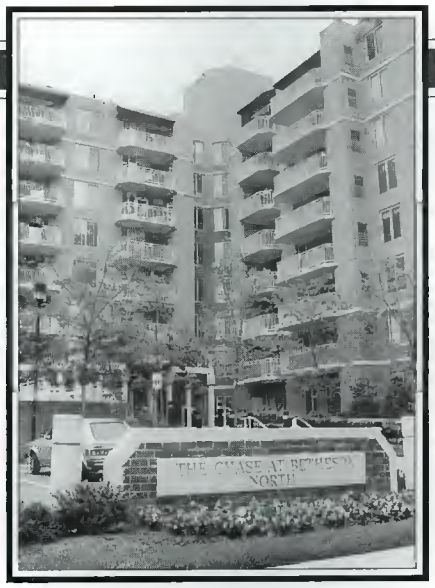

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Shultz, Schultze, and Schulz

by Hans N. Tuch

What under another secretary of state would very likely have been an abrupt career-ending blunder for a public affairs officer, showed George Shultz in a humane and very forgiving mode. It was Shultz's first visit to Bonn after becoming secretary of state, and he had cabled strict instructions to his close 78-year-old friend and mentor, Ambassador Arthur Burns, *not* to meet him at the airport inasmuch as he was arriving at 2 am. Other embassy officers were, of course, on hand that cold December night to meet him and to perform the usual functions, including distributing press packets to the accompanying traveling journalists.

It was not until the press party had arrived at the hotel that one of the reporters glanced at the press packet and found his lead story right on the cover: it announced in bold letters "Visit of U.S. Secretary of State Charles P. Shultz." (see photo)

It was a slow news day. The cover of the press packet, therefore, found itself displayed on evening network news shows and in newspapers with the comment that the Bonn Embassy didn't even know the secretary's correct name!

The secretary treated this gaffe unexpectedly lightly, recalling that it was not the first time this had happened to him. When he was president of the Bechtel Company, he related, his secretary interrupted a board of directors meeting one day with an urgent message that President Carter was phoning him.

He took the call and after some friendly chit-chat, President Carter said, "Well, you know, George, my staff here sometimes doesn't understand me. I wanted to speak with Charles Schultze, and they connected me with you—so I thought I'd just say hello."

As the thoroughly embarrassed PAO, I made a the-buck-stops-here attempt to tell Ambassador Burns, a stickler for accuracy, about the blooper perpetrated by his USIS section. He merely smiled and said, "You know, I gave George Shultz and Charles Schultze their first government jobs. Both fine economists." I reminded the ambassador that most people associated the name Charles Schulz with the "Peanuts" cartoonist. He didn't react: "Never heard of him," and that ended the conversation.

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Albania

Vignettes from a new-market economy

By William Weech

The transition from a Communist economic system to a free-market system is confusing to everyone who is living through the chaos that is today's Albania. I see this on a daily basis as the embassy's purchasing officer. When I ask Albanians what they charge for their services, they are genuinely bewildered; no one had ever asked them such a question before. In the absence of an established market, prices for some items fluctuate wildly from person to person and from day to day. I pay a skilled electrician $5 for a week's work, and I pay unskilled laborers $6 for one day. I once paid $130 to rent a two-ton winch for an afternoon; days later I rented a 16-ton construction crane for $2.

Not all business transactions in Tirana are conducted for cash. After the embassy's lawnmower met an early demise, tall grass and wildflowers threatened to take over the compound. It became necessary to hire two men with scythes to defend us against Mother Nature. When I asked one man how much he would charge to cut the grass, he said: "No money, just let me take all the grass I can cut." It was a deal! But it wasn't the only such deal I made. Through a friend I also exchanged freshly cut grass for fresh manure for the embassy garden. Some folks might have thought it strange to see a horse-drawn cart exit the American embassy loaded down with grass, but that summer we had the best vegetables in town!

Window on the west

One day, I mention to Agron, a friend and security guard at the embassy, that perhaps I can take him with me to Thessaloniki, Greece. Agron is enthralled by the idea. A few days later, after finishing his shift as a guard at the embassy, Agron asks me if he can wash my car. I leave the car with Agron and return a half hour later to find Agron on his knees, furiously scrubbing dirt out of little nooks and crannies in the hubcaps. "Agron," I protest, "that really isn't necessary!"

"But it is," he responds. "This is the most beautiful car in the world. This is the car that is going to carry me to Greece."

Thessaloniki is a prosperous, modern city of over 1 million inhabitants. It has everything from daily traffic jams to punk rockers to fast-food joints, all of which is new for Agron. When we entered the center of Thessaloniki, Agron looked around him in wonder. "You know," he said to me, "I have seen places like this on television, but I thought they were all make-believe."

Agron is astonished by countless things in Greece: smooth roads, fruits and vegetables out of season, hot water on demand in the hotel, women drivers, ethnic restaurants, parking problems, high prices, the freedom to make countless choices. I can't help but wonder if it is a mistake to show Agron how people live in Western countries. A few days after we returned from Thessaloniki, he told me that although he had enjoyed the trip, he wished to forget it. "Knowing that all that is out there makes it hard to sleep at night," he told me.

The guest is king

As my wife and I meet more and more Albanians, we receive an increasing number of invitations to eat in Albanian homes. Inevitably the family serves us an enormous banquet, with heaping platters of meats, vegetables, and pastries. At each meal we are awkwardly aware that the family may have spent a month's salary or more to entertain us.

How is such abundance possible in a land of crushing poverty? The answer lies buried somewhere in the Law of Leke, the code of behavior that has influenced Albanian customs for countless decades. Albanian hospitality means that a host must sacrifice everything for the comfort of his guest. The family may go into debt, but the guest must have every amenity the host can possibly offer. The worst thing a guest can do is finish everything on his plate, for that means that the guest is still hungry and the plate will be filled again.

I sometimes wonder if we will ever get close enough to an Albanian family so that they will not feel obligated to fete us every time we knock on the door. Frankly, I'm not sure it will ever happen; it goes against the Albanian character.

William Weech was GSO and vice consul in Tirana from 1991-1992. Reports are that life in Albania is getting better. He is presently at FSI in the Administrative Training Division. The views are the author's alone and not those of the Department of State.

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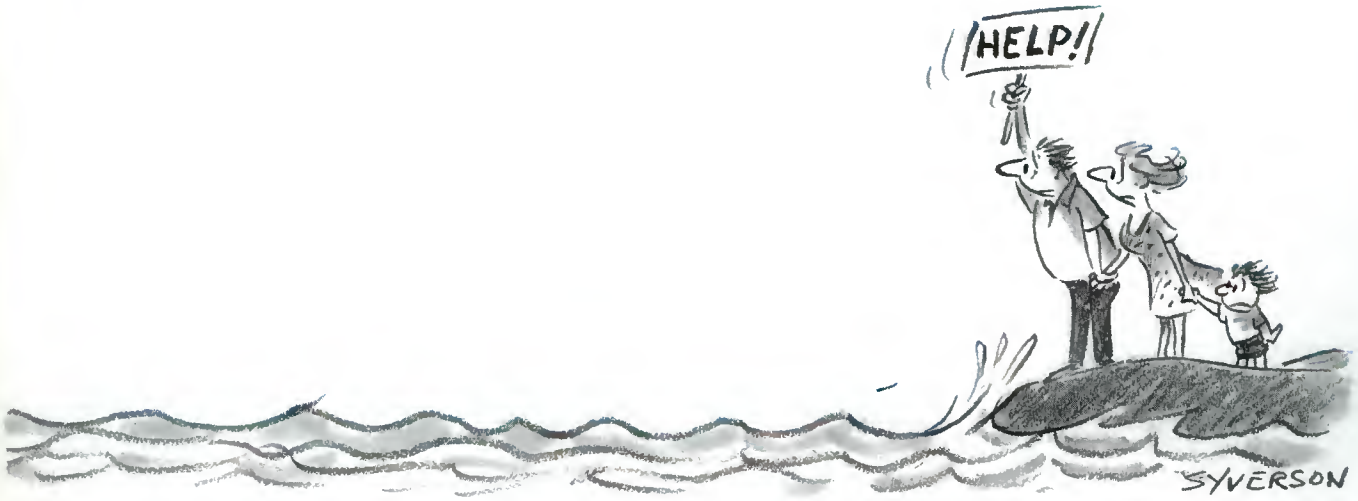

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