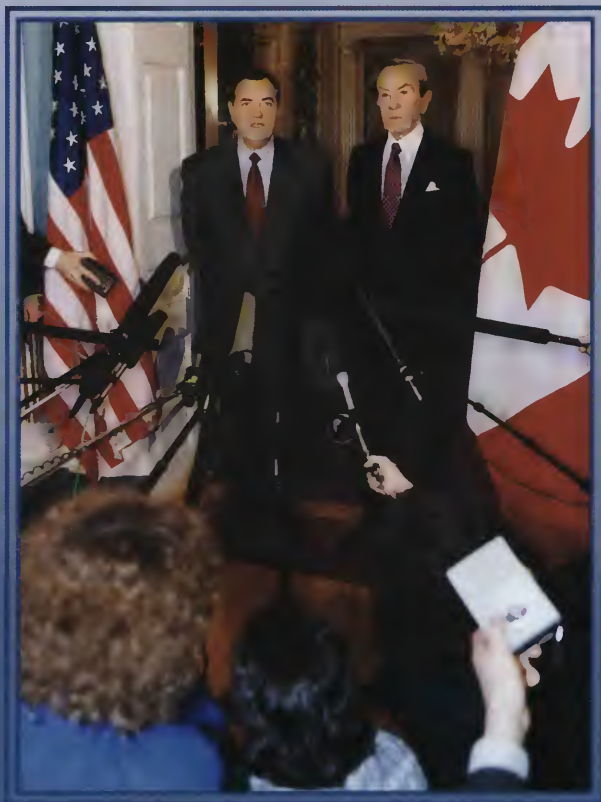


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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## Responding to the Challenges Ahead

Teams of active and retired AFSA members are already engaged in efforts to improve the Foreign Service. The good news is that President Clinton's commitment to employee management partnership gives us unprecedented opportunities to shape the process; the bad news is that, whatever we do, major cuts in budgets and staff numbers and levels are coming. We must organize for the hard times ahead not only to protect our careers, but – and this is no exaggeration – to ensure that the Foreign Service itself survives. The president and vice president have given federal employees the opportunity to have a leadership role in meeting the tough challenges ahead. It is up to us. AFSA needs *your* participation; it's *your* Foreign Service. Here is what I see as AFSA's agenda:

- Implement partnership and the new "good government standard" (See box, page 4, "AFSA News") as the basis of full employee participation in the reorganizations of all the foreign affairs agencies.
- Win the upcoming elections in FAS and FCS to represent our Foreign Service colleagues in Agriculture and Commerce and to insure their participation in Partnership Council efforts at reorganizing and downsizing.
- Examine critically the impact of the current proposals in AID, FCS, and FAS to integrate the Foreign Service and the Civil Service.
- Work with Congress on a wide range of issues, including locality pay for overseas duty, preserving retirement and health benefits, opposing Radio Free Asia, monitoring the competence of ambassadorial nominations, testifying before the House and Senate Appropriations committees on the consequences for the Foreign Service of long-term underfunding, and monitoring the State and USIA Authorization Bill and the new Foreign Assistance Act.
- Establish open, transparent, and consensual diversity programs in all agencies.
- Develop AFSA leadership in each bureau and overseas mission to engage in partnership discussions and insure effective employee inputs to improving how we do our business. This will entail major partnership training for all employees and managers.
- Engage and welcome Foreign Service specialists into active AFSA participation on the upcoming reductions and reorganizations.
- And finally, but very importantly, fight growing isolationism by establishing a coalition of U.S. international non-governmental organizations to advocate continuing American engagement in the world.

– Tex Harris



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# LETTERS

## Be Fair to White Males

To the Editor:

Lewis Anselm's cable on Foreign Service bias (AFSA News, January 1994) hits the mark so well there is little to add but this: He is not alone in having been told that his gender and race stand in the way of a job. I've been told the same thing, by three different assistant secretaries. Their hiring is guided by what they perceive as a quota system that allows few exceptions. Deputy assistant secretary slots have been kept open many months as a result.

At the recent town meeting, Director General Holmes declined to deny that this system exists. Legal Adviser Harper, while denying the existence of quotas, declared "white males" over-represented and suggested urgent action to correct the percentage. The implication that the State Department requires ethnic rearranging was hard to miss.

The only virtue I can see in this system is that some of us are experiencing first hand how demeaning and infuriating sexual and racial discrimination are. Many of us might have thought it sufficient that our parents and grandparents had already learned the lesson. To see the sons and grandsons of immigrants—as so many of the department's "white males" are—as part of a uniform and privileged class, rather than part of the diversity we all seek (created by intense competition based on merit) is simply astonishing.

I wholeheartedly support the search for qualified women and minorities, a search I have contributed to on many occasions. But there is a decisive difference between that affirmative action program and a quota system, which is what we've got. Any attempt to impose diversity or fairness without regard to merit will fail on all accounts. A truly meritocratic system is fair, no matter what statistics result. It is also likely to be diverse, though the percentages may

not align themselves precisely with those of the broader society.

It is time to say "no" to gender and racial discrimination of all sorts, including against white males. If the department and the White House persist in imposing quotas, are there no legal remedies available?

Daniel Serwer  
Washington, D.C.

## Leveling the Playing Field

To the Editor:

I read with interest the article by Ford Cooper entitled "Speaking Out" (February 1994). I have known and respected Ford Cooper for a number of years. Much of what he said about the system of appointments of ambassadors made sense, but I feel compelled to refute some of the points he made.

He stated in his article that, "Increasingly as we reach the final years of our careers, many of us feel victimized by the department. Instead of being considered as assets after our long, step-by-step rise through the ranks of a highly competitive Foreign Service, we suddenly seem to be an embarrassment to the department: too male or too white."

I do not believe that statement represents the views of others in Ford's generation of FSOs, including myself. Like Ford, I am a "pale male" with over 30 years in the Service. I am currently serving as DCM in Caracas, a tour which I believe will be my last because, in 1996, I will have served for 14 years in the Senior Foreign Service without achieving the rank of career minister. Like Ford, I had a shot at an ambassadorship. My name

was put forward on several occasions, but the famous (or infamous) D Committee chose someone else. I was unhappy with that outcome, of course.

But no one ever said the system owed anyone an ambassadorship regardless of how many years an individual has put in or how hard he or she has worked during those years. I am sorry that Ford feels that he had become an embarrassment to the department. But I must confess, I don't feel the same way. I am especially sorry that he seems to feel disadvantaged by the present emphasis on diversity in the Foreign Service.

I personally have benefitted from an earlier effort to introduce diversity into the Foreign Service. Thirty years ago, the Service was accused of elitism because, it was charged, its ranks included a disproportionate number of people from a few select Ivy League schools. As a result, the department adopted a policy





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## LETTERS

of actively recruiting people from other schools, and I, as a graduate of a small, Midwestern college, benefitted from that shift in policy. I believe the Service is stronger now because of that effort, many years ago, to insure diversity.

The current emphasis on diversity focuses on the need for more women and minorities in the Service, including at the highest levels. This policy makes sense not only in terms of fairness to groups who have been traditionally disadvantaged, but will strengthen the Service. The Service should promote the best people available, regardless of sex or ethnic background. We should not deny ourselves the opportunity to strengthen the Foreign Service as an institution by overlooking a pool of talent that should be allowed to compete on the basis of a level playing field.

We are making substantial progress on this score. Last June, I participated in the DCM course offered to those about to undertake one of the toughest jobs in the Service. Over half of the participants in that course were women or representatives of ethnic minorities. They had come up through the ranks the hard way, had encountered discrimination en route, but had made it, at least this far. Without exception, they impressed me as hard working, intelligent, ambitious and a credit to the Service. I was proud to be in such company.

I know people who shouldn't be in the Senior Service, who shouldn't be assigned as DCMs. We all do. But I wouldn't include any of the people I met last June in that category.

But we haven't come far enough. The last time I was assigned to Washington, I had the opportunity to participate in many ARA and other staff meetings. Most of the participants, after years of efforts to introduce diversity, were still "pale males." We need to work hard to assure equal opportunity for all members of the Foreign Service. This makes sense because it will enable the Service to exploit the talents of groups of people who have heretofore been disadvantaged.

The only criticism I have of the diversity policy is that department offi-

cial, including those in the highest ranks, have not worked hard enough to implement it.

Robert B. Morley  
DCM Caracas

## Ethnic Cleansing is Genocide

To the Editor:

Jack Binns misdefined genocide in his letter claiming that ethnic cleansing in Bosnia is not genocide. The Genocide Convention defines genocide as "any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such: (a) killing members of the group; (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part." Binns leaves out "or in part." All of these genocidal acts have been committed in Bosnia. Genocidal acts against members of a group constitute genocide when committed because the victims belong to a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. Misdefining genocide will not make the Bosnian genocide magically disappear. Those who have committed acts of genocide in Bosnia should be tried before an international tribunal.

Gregory H. Stanton  
Bangkok

## Personnel Issues Are Timeless

To the Editor:

I was startled by the tone of the letters printed in the February issue. Seldom, if ever, have I read expressions so full of bitterness and resentment. I retired 14 years ago and I confess that I have not kept contact with the department in recent years, but the letters printed must cause concern for anyone who has an interest in the Department of State.

Much of the correspondence seems to have been generated by Lannon Walker's "Speaking Out" article (December 1993). One interesting aspect of that piece is that it could have been written 10, 20, 30 or perhaps even 40 years ago. Most of the issues that Walker raises—as well as many of the solutions

—have been repeatedly discussed for at least two generations. I have read many foreign affairs histories and have been struck by the frequency with which certain personnel issues are mentioned, both in answer to specific questions and as voluntary comments. Selection out, minority representation, the assignment process, political appointees and generalists vs. specialists all appear as contentious issues over and over again.

A personnel system, acceptable to a vast majority of its customers, cannot be developed until the more basic question of the role of the department is more firmly determined. The dissatisfactions have become increasingly acute since the beginning of the Kennedy administration. Some of the oral histories suggest that at least two factors have been major catalysts in changing the role of the department. First is technological innovation, which enables the political leadership to conduct its own negotiations directly with its foreign counterparts and which enables congressional and public views on foreign policy to be molded through visual reporting. Second is the White House's mistrust of the department and the Foreign Service, which began with Kennedy and which has since risen and fallen depending on the predilections of the incumbent of the Oval Office. It is worth noting that as many issues become of vital interest to the nation — disarmament, commercial relations, economic assistance — responsibility is assigned to agencies outside the department.

Yet it is also clear that the department has never redefined its role since the end of World War II, despite drastic changes in the climate within which it operates. It is true that some functional bureaus have been added to the organization chart, but that apparently does not address the fundamental question: What is expected from the Department of State? One school of thought suggests that the department concentrate on reporting and analysis of political issues and on political negotiations. The other extreme insists that the department should have a voice, if not control, in all international

matters. No personnel system can adequately serve both objectives.

An effective personnel system can only be devised if it is outcome oriented. It must know how the resources that it recruits, develops, assigns and promotes will be used — as specifically as possible. It has to have quantitative targets to meet, extended out for 20 years at least and hopefully even 30. Mid-course corrections will, of course, be necessary, but that need not nullify the need for a system. Other career services have managed to develop such systems; it cannot be beyond human capability to do so for the Foreign Service, once the fundamental question of the role of the Department of State has been resolved. Those who continue to be skeptical of this possibility are doomed to suffer with unresolvable personnel problems.

*Thomas Stern, retired FSO  
Falls Church, Va.*

## With Malice Toward None

*To the Editor:*

I enjoyed the two generous reviews of my book, "The Arabists," by Charles Hill and Jim Anderson in the February issue. I would like to raise two points, though:

Firstly, I regret Hill's use of the word "slandered." Like every writer, I make mistakes, for which I deeply apologize in advance. In no case, however, was any mistake I have — or may have — committed driven by malice. As Hill and Anderson will, I'm sure, agree, many characters in "The Arabists" emerge as likeable, decent people. As I stated in my prologue, "I could sleep a lot easier had I been able to make everyone in this book appear a hero. Unfortunately, that has not been possible since it would have involved a complete suspension of judgement on my part."

Secondly, the matter of former Ambassador to Iraq April Glaspie is the one issue where my distinguished reviewers and I have wide differences. Those curious about my view on this matter can read my book. Thank you.

*Robert D. Kaplan  
Potomac, Md.*

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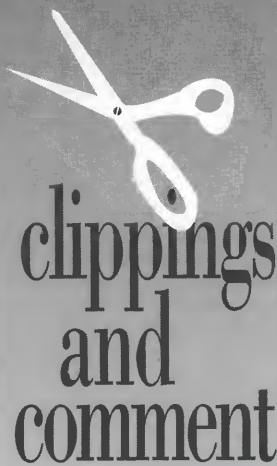
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## My Home Sweet Home

The living quarters of 165 ambassadorial houses around the globe are furnished with a virtual flea market of treasures. Contents include furnishings, chipped Formica tables, an antique console once belonging to Claus von Bulow, rare Roman statues, mosquito netting and motel-quality bedspreads, writes Jura Koncius in the Feb. 17 Home section of the *Washington Post*. The houses range from bungalows, barricaded compounds and neoclassical manses to former Communist VIP villas, she notes.

Koncius points out that although both Ambassador Pamela Harriman and Ambassador Darryl Johnson are living in furnished government housing in their respective Paris and Vilnius posts, they have little in common besides their official crested State Department china. Ambassadors' homes, the sites of functions big and small, can be architectural gems, such as those in Prague, Moscow, Paris and London — often furnished with the help of private money.



But Koncius notes that some are architectural disasters. When Ambassador Johnson, a career diplomat and his wife, Kathleen, moved into the former Communist villa in Vilnius, Lithuania, it still had spartan Soviet-era upholstery and its own massage room, but not a single shelf or cupboard and no kitchen

appliances. The first winter, they had no heat or hot water and had to wash the crested china in the bathtub, not having a sink big enough to hold the plates. They are still waiting for a cabinet for the non-functioning dishwasher. Says Kathleen Johnson: "There are plenty of ambassadors and their spouses living in crummy hotel rooms."

Whether it's a villa in Rome or rattan in a brick box in Windhoek, Namibia, diplomats are stuck with the State Department's budget. Those ambassadors who don't have outside funds, which includes most ca-

reer Foreign Service ambassadors, make do with sometimes shabby gentility, writes Koncius. In 1994, the State Department budgeted \$4.2 million for replacement furnishings and maintenance of 382 U.S. residences of ambassadors and other high-ranking diplomats abroad. Eleven State Department staff designers administer the money and try to stretch the dollars. The State Department says that the demand to replace damaged furnishings between decorating cycles is five times more than what the department can supply.

Koncius makes it clear that Congress isn't apt to appropriate large amounts of money for decorating, prompting some ambassadors to spend their own money or even fund raise to upgrade the residence. An ambassador's house is a symbol of America and, as a State Department official says, "enables ambassadors to reach out to people other than across the desk. It's an extension of their offices, another setting in which to do business." <



**"In retrospect, when I heard he was CIA [and not State Department], I wasn't so surprised. He wasn't as stuffy as some of the Foreign Service people I've met."**

— William Rhoads, commenting on his neighbor, alleged spy Aldrich Ames  
*USA Today*, Feb. 23

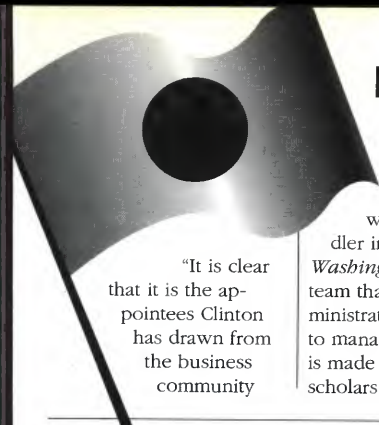
## Business Advisers Being Tough on Japan

who are driving his tough-as-nails trade policy toward Japan," writes Clay Chandler in the Feb. 22 *Washington Post*. The team that the Clinton administration has assigned to manage its Japan policy is made up of neither scholars nor diplomats —

top officials at the State Department have remarkably little input, says Chandler. Instead, most are business professionals like Deputy Treasury Secretary Roger Altman and National Economic Council Chairman Robert Rubin and his deputy, W. Bowman Cutler, who gained their knowledge of Japan trying

to help U.S. companies open markets there.

However, Chandler notes that Clinton's Japan team is quick to deny that members' personal clashes with Japan have contributed to the failure of trade talks. They say tough trade policies are the only way to get results with Japan. ☞



"It is clear that it is the appointees Clinton has drawn from the business community

## Policy Planning Falls on Hard Times

Al Kamen in the March 2 *Washington Post* writes that "at a time when the Clinton administration is struggling to define a post-Cold War foreign policy, it seems curious ... that the State Department's once-esteemed policy planning shop has fallen on hard times.

"The policy planning operation was founded after World War II by George F. Kennan, the architect of the Truman administration's containment policy toward the former Soviet Union. It was supposed to be the place where top thinkers would focus on big-picture, futuristic matters for the secretary. The office's influence has waxed and waned over the years, depending on the secretary and the head of the office. These days, it has definitely waned, sources say, in part because Secretary of State Warren Christopher is not sure what he wants it to do and because no one is running it.

"Former director Samuel Lewis left several weeks ago and has yet to be replaced. . . . Other senior staff have left or are in the process of leaving

the operation, which had a core staff of about 20 or so and another half-dozen temporarily assigned people rotating in and out.

Not only is policy planning rudderless, but a couple of its slots are being taken by a new office headed by L. Craig Johnstone, called Resources, Plans and Policy."

Kamen recounts that with much of the "hot foreign policy action being taken over by people like U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor, Commerce Secretary Ronald H. Brown and Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen, there is concern that State is in danger of becoming less of a player on foreign matters. Even more curious is that the policy planning office seems to be floundering when former top members are sprinkled throughout the administration."

Kamen points out that Anthony Lake, "Sandy" Berger, Winston Lord and Dennis B. Ross, who all hold top positions in Clinton's administration, previously served under other administrations in the Policy Planning department. ☞

## 50 years ago

### State Needs Bigger Budget

A *Washington Post* columnist commented on the new responsibilities of the Department of State and its need for more appropriations in a piece reprinted in the April 1944 *Foreign Service Journal*.

"The House Appropriations Committee has cut the appropriations requested for the State Department for the next fiscal year. . . . Incredible as it may seem, the State Department is the smallest of all the regular departments of the government.

"The State Department is just at the beginning of a period of expanding responsibilities. These include responsibilities directly connected with the conduct of the war, as well as with the organization of the peace and advancement of American interests in the peace setting. For example, the State Department has been given the job of coordinating abroad for field operations of various government agencies. To do this job it must have more good men. . . . A long-standing deficit in the State Department and its Foreign Service has been a low salary scale, together with inadequate allowances for expenses.

"The State Department itself is to blame in the first instance, for its inadequate financing. It has been myopic about its needs. The recent reorganization was only a small first step toward putting it into shape to perform its responsibilities. It will have to expand. It will have to employ more first-class talent. . . . The losses which the nation may suffer through failure to make the State Department as strong as good administration and plenty of money can make it are beyond calculation." ☞

— Ernest Lindley  
*Washington Post*  
Feb. 18, 1944

## Taking Care of Business

In a Feb. 20 *New York Times* column, Christopher Chapin proposes a radical revamp of the Foreign Commercial Service (FCS). He says expanding exports to shrink the nearly \$60 billion U.S. trade deficit is key to implementing new trade agreements and suggests that the understaffed, underfunded Service could do a better job of helping exporters penetrate specific markets if the FCS were put on a commercial footing. He points out that making government agencies more enterprising is a key part of Vice President Gore's effort to reinvent government.

Acting more like a private company, the agency would develop more of the services needed by American exporters. And, Chapin says, the exporters would pay market rates for these services. Companies would be genuinely served and still receive an incredible value, often less than the travel cost to send an employee abroad to accomplish the same goal, Chaplin suggested. Just like a business, the agency should be allowed to collect the fees and be required to rely on them to balance its budget. Besides saving taxes, this weaning

## Flynn Frustrated in Rome

Raymond "Ray" Flynn's status as politician on sabbatical makes career diplomats wary of him, reports Peter S. Canellos in the Feb. 22 *Boston Globe*.

The State Department, under Christopher, is as "devoted to quiet negotiating and inter-government protocol as its boss, and often times pushes back, trying to keep Flynn in his subordinate ambassador's role," writes Canellos.

Flynn's frustration has been his inability to translate his diplomatic work to his "constituents" in Boston. "It's taken me a long time to figure this out," Flynn says, seeking to explain why his work has not been recognized in Boston.

"In politics . . . you do little things and give it a lot of attention and make it seem as if you've done a lot. That's the nature of government. But in the Vatican, the Vatican does big things and doesn't look for credit. They [diplomats] don't talk about their accomplishments." ☞

would give busy commercial sections more money to do the job and

induce them to treat companies like clients, not supplicants. ☞

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# SPEAKING OUT

By DOUGLAS J. HARWOOD

## Do More With Less: Revamp US Posts Abroad

**T**he current organization of the Department of State reflects the ever greater importance of regional and global issues in the conduct of foreign relations in our interdependent world. Yet the division of our representation abroad into 170 autonomous posts still reflects the 19th century, when each sovereign state could largely do as it pleased. We are dealing with the world of jet planes and computer networks with an embassy model from the days of sailing ships and Morse code.

The number of U.S. diplomatic missions has tripled in the past half century, from about 60 before World War II, to about 175 today. This number had remained more or less the same rising from 48 in 1914 to 62 in 1939. Only a third of these missions were headed by an ambassador; the remainder were legations with a minister in charge. Today almost all missions are embassies headed by an ambassador.

Under the Vienna Conventions, which have governed diplomatic relations for almost two centuries, an

ambassador is the personal representative of the head of state. The proliferation of ambassadors has debased the coinage to the point that some foreign heads of state will deal only with a "political" U.S. ambassador, under the mistaken assumption that only "political" voices are heard at the White House.

The growth of specialized economic and scientific foreign relations and of modern technology has already led us to depend on regional specialists for many aspects of foreign relations and embassy support.

## Managing in the Real World of Tomorrow's Budget

By SHELDON J. KRYS

**W**e need to redefine—not reinvent—our missions abroad. This should be done on a post-by-post basis and not through a worldwide formula. The redefinition must be based on what is needed — if anything — to further U.S. interests in each country or specific area within a region. We should maintain posts only where there are defined and sufficient policy considerations. The acquisition of information about the inner workings of a country with which we have only the slightest interaction and which is not a factor of any import, even in its own part of the world, is simply not a place for us to send our people and money. The defined policy objectives have to be tightly drawn and not serve as a catch-all to justify ongoing operations and current staffing levels. ... We must place a price on what we do which gives far, far greater weight to policy needs and less to all other considerations.

It is time to throw out old concepts of what

components constitute a typical mission; the structure of an embassy should be based on the product expected of it. Domestic inter-agency wars over staffing the field should be fought on the grounds of demonstrated need in the furtherance of defined and approved U.S. objectives. There are a number of countries where our diplomatic mission should consist of two or three people and a visiting multi-accredited ambassador. In some countries, just the latter might suffice. In determining the size and composition of our representation abroad, the key question that must repeatedly be asked is not "who and how many" but "who and to serve what national interest?"

Posts staffing must reflect new expertise — global competitiveness, the environment, and intellectual property rights. Quite frankly, the Foreign Service has a way to go before it can be said that we have the best people to accomplish many of the key tasks of the fu-

ture. We have a big job ahead to recruit FSOs in a very different way and to retrain people already in the service if we are to remain our government's principal advisors in foreign policy in these areas. Chiefs of mission increasingly will require that their staffs be made up of people with specific experience and professional credentials to match the reporting and representation requirements levied on their posts. It is a certainty that proportionately larger percentages of the staff will come from agencies other than State, unless, from the top down, we define what is the unique mission of this organization and until the secretary of state and his key deputies are committed to personal involvement in ensuring that responsibilities and resources are appropriately assigned to State.

*This is an excerpt of remarks made at a Jan. 27 Secretary's Open Forum by Sheldon Kryz, a former assistant secretary of state for administration, who recently retired.*

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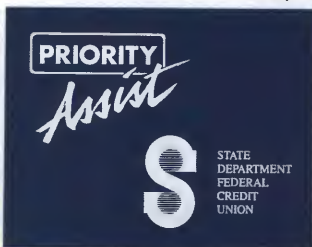
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## SPEAKING OUT

Yet ambassadors in smaller posts remain responsible for the totality of relations with their host nations and for support of their posts, while they no longer control the resources to carry out these responsibilities.

Inadequate regional support is becoming a regular refrain in embassy inspection and audit reports. How can we organize U.S. diplomatic missions to deal more effectively with our interdependent world?


Each U.S. diplomatic mission should be responsible for a region, reflecting the regional focus of foreign relations in an interdependent world. Most regional missions would cover several nations, dividing continents into eight to 15 regions, similar to the way that the Department of State regional bureaus are divided into regional offices. This would reduce the number of U.S. ambassadors to a number that the White

House could realistically deal with. Each ambassador would be accredited to as many as 10 nations, with a few exceptions for the missions covering a single large country or major ally, such as Canada, Mexico, Brazil, Germany, Japan, China, etc.

The coordination of relations within the region would be decentralized from far-away Washington; each section and agency in the regional mission would be responsible for its facet of foreign relations throughout the region. Each section and agency head would supervise all such offices throughout the region. For example, political, economic and defense chiefs would supervise reporting from all posts in the region; consular, commercial, agricultural, USAID, USIS and Peace Corps heads would be in charge of all regional budgets and programs; the administrative officer would be

responsible for supporting all posts and all specialists and their budgets in the region.

With more effective regional support and centralization of budget and program direction at the regional mission, the other embassies, consulates general and consulates in each region would need only a handful of employees each. Major budget and staff savings and "doing more with less" become more feasible.

Downsizing of U.S. diplomatic missions is being forced on us. The challenge is to reduce staff by reorganizing missions to deal more effectively with our technological and interdependent planet, rather than by defending the status quo, and being left with emasculated 19th-century-model missions. 

*Douglas Harwood is a retired Foreign Service officer.*

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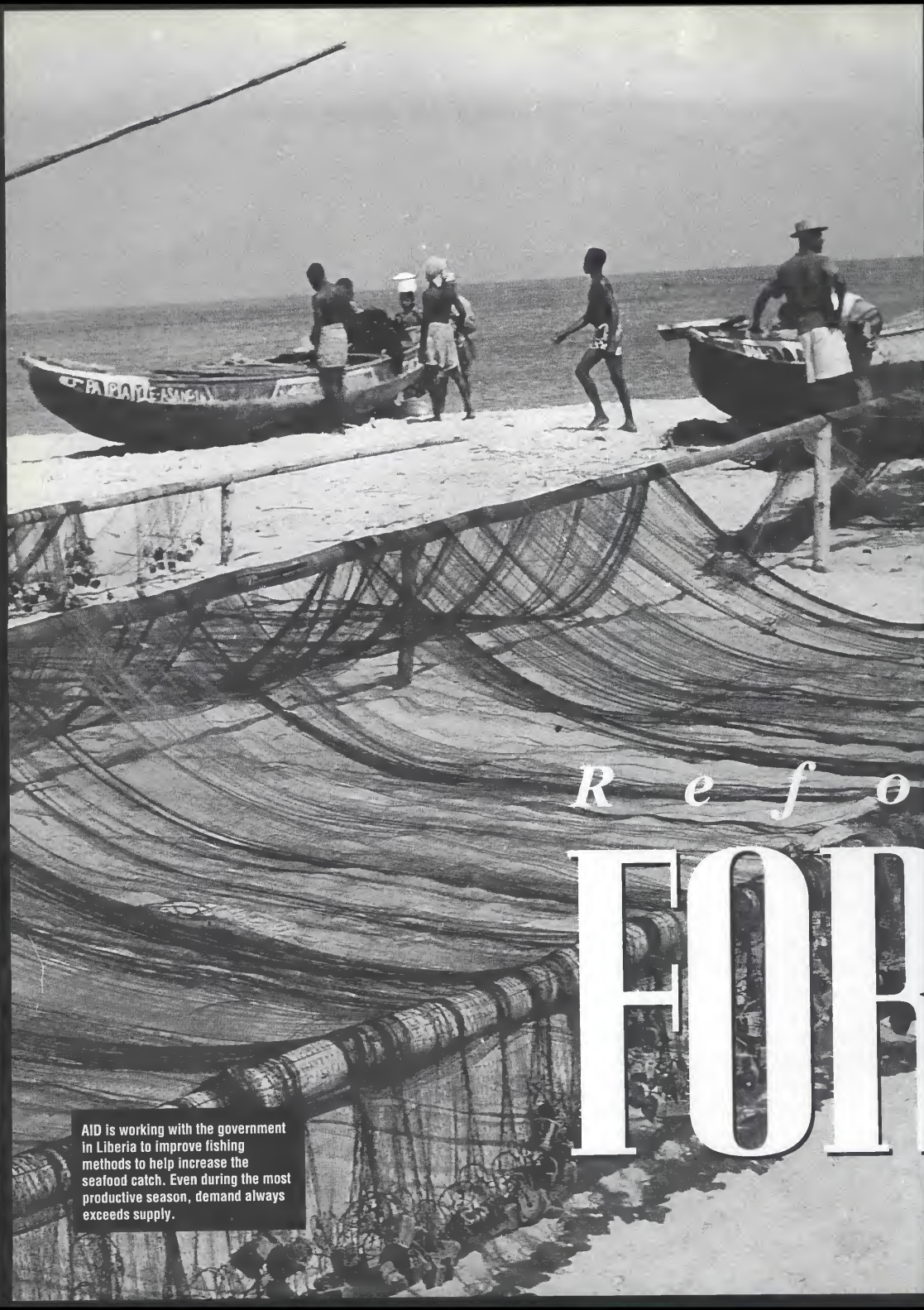
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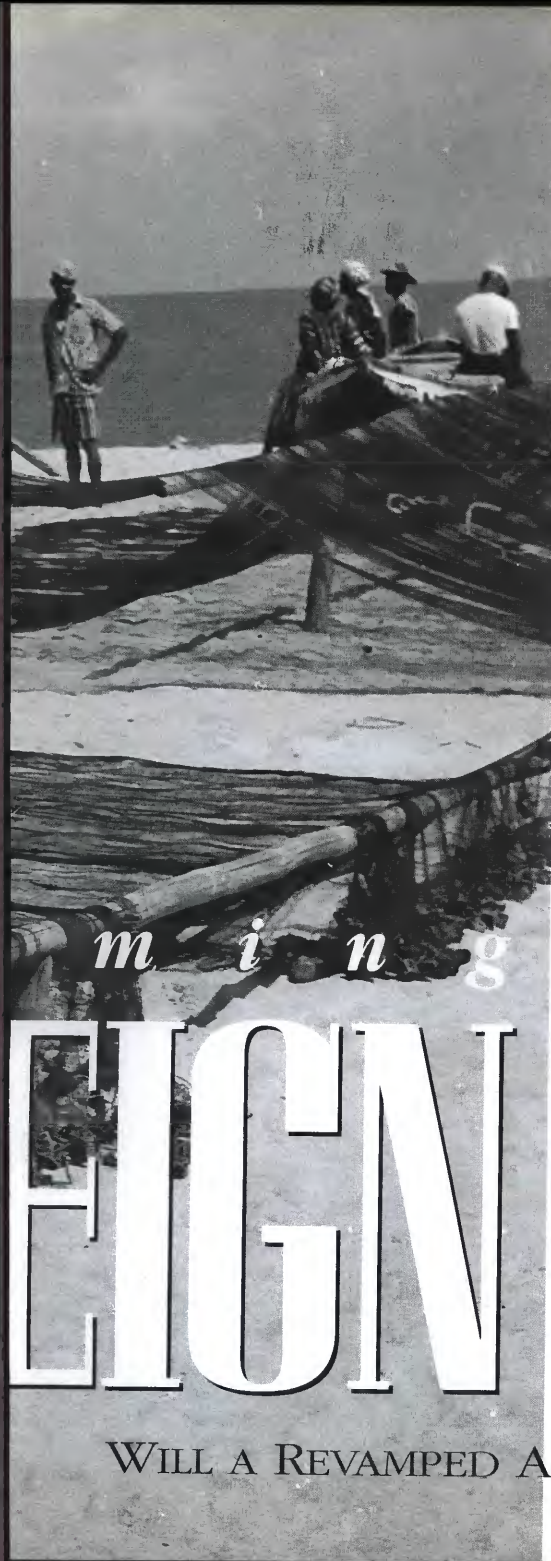
R e f o

# FOR

AID is working with the government in Liberia to improve fishing methods to help increase the seafood catch. Even during the most productive season, demand always exceeds supply.

BY DAVID CALLAHAN

If the Clinton administration has its way, 1994 will be remembered by historians as the year of reform, with Congress enacting sweeping overhauls of health care and welfare policy. Amid the excitement surrounding these initiatives, little attention has been paid to another important reform effort under way: the long overdue revamping of U.S. foreign assistance programs. For the last year, the foreign aid world has been in a state of upheaval. The U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), widely seen as one of the most troubled agencies in Washington, is going through the biggest shakeup since its creation in 1961, with Administrator Brian Atwood engaged in a far-reaching salvage mission. On Capitol Hill, new legislation to revise the Foreign Assistance Act is being considered this spring by both houses of Congress, with passage considered likely for a bill that strives to create a more focused and less cumbersome foreign aid program. Finally, as new aid commitments are made to the states of the former communist bloc, a fierce debate is under way over how best to reslice the foreign aid pie to fund America's post-Cold War foreign policy.



*m i n g*

# FOREIGN

# AID

WILL A REVAMPED AID BE RECOGNIZABLE?

At the center of this process of change is a complex relationship between the executive branch and Congress. When the Clinton administration came into office, it was widely hoped that a Democratic administration and a Democratic Congress could work hand-in-hand to break the logjam over foreign aid reform. To some degree, these hopes have been realized; the past year has seen more cooperation on foreign aid between the two branches of government than at any time since the 1970s. Yet despite substantial progress in overhauling one of the least popular of all government enterprises, conflict endures between the Clinton administration and Congress over how foreign aid programs should be managed and how assistance funds should be appropriated.

To the executive branch, true re-

form will be elusive as long as legislators insist on micromanaging the foreign aid program. Few issues in the current debate have been as hotly contested as "earmarking," the process by which Congress specifies exactly where and how foreign aid funds should be spent. Over the last year Congressional leaders have acknowledged that excessive earmarking and other kinds of intervention inhibit an effective foreign aid program. At the same time, Congress will allow itself to be pushed only so far on this issue, arguing that foreign aid should be handled like any other government enterprise, with the legislature using its appropriations power to engage in wide-ranging oversight.

The struggle over foreign aid reform, an uneasy tango between Congress and the Clinton administration,

is being played out this spring in two key areas: the ongoing reorganization of AID and the negotiations over the new foreign assistance act. On some points, the Clinton administration has managed to seize and hold the initiative, while on others an assertive Congress has set the agenda.

When Secretary of State Warren Christopher began his tenure at the State Department, no reform goal in the foreign aid arena was more pressing than that of remaking AID. One of Christopher's first moves was to give his deputy, Clifton R. Wharton Jr., the task of undertaking a 90-day review of AID and foreign aid in general. This

**Since 1986, AID's health programs have helped more than 130,000 women and children in the Dominican Republic. Under those programs, infant mortality has been cut in half in the last eight years, according to AID officials.**



action was applauded on Capitol Hill, but legislators and staff members of key committees were not heavily involved in suggesting how reform should be undertaken. Instead, the process unfolded in the shadow of an implied threat: Either the administration proved that it could overhaul AID and effectively manage foreign aid or Congress would increase its activism

in this area. Even the abolition of AID seemed within the realm of possibility. As of early February 1989, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs had released a report on foreign aid that called for replacing AID with a new Economic Cooperation Agency. At the beginning of 1993, the idea of abolishing the agency remained popular in some quarters of Congress and was widely advocated by nongovernment experts such as John Sewell, president of the Overseas Development Council.

A review of the "operations and mandate of AID" was at the core of Christopher's directive to Wharton, and a Presidential Review Directive, PRD-20, issued last March 8, also called for a reassessment of all international government programs. Some 35 officials from 18 agencies participated in Wharton's task force, which also consulted periodically with legislators and staff members on Capitol Hill. Because of the delay in the confirmation of Atwood, the 90-day timetable was soon abandoned. The review stretched into the summer.

In examining the problems at AID, the task force was hardly starting from scratch. In 1992, the President's Com-

**T**HE STRUGGLE  
OVER FOREIGN AID  
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AREAS:  
THE ONGOING  
REORGANIZATION OF  
AID AND THE  
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mission on the Management of AID had issued three separate reports on the problems of reforming the agency. The commission painted a critical portrait of an agency it called poorly organized, badly managed and extremely politicized. Its last report, issued after Clinton's election, called for streamlining of AID's structure and folding it into that of the State Department.

Wharton's task force, in a draft report circulated by June 1993, rejected this suggestion and rebuffed calls for the complete abolition of AID. This conclusion had support on Capitol Hill, where some influential legislators such as Senators Paul Sarbanes (D-Md.) and Nancy Kassebaum (R-Kans.) were apprehensive about ambitious efforts to overhaul the agency. "I have this concern," said Sarbanes in May, "that the tree may be so diseased that the only thing to do is to cut it down, but then if you cut it down, there will always be the problem of whether you will be able to grow anything in its place." Sarbanes, who chairs the subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that oversees foreign aid, also indicated that he saw little reason for merging AID into State. On the House side, Congressman Lee Hamilton (D-Ind.), chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee, had long pushed for drastic measures to reorganize or abolish AID. But he felt uncomfortable getting out in front of the administration on the reform issue and didn't heavily press his views.

In briefing Congress last July, Wharton said that the "overwhelming consensus of the task force was that

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AID, as an agency, remains strongly viable and that its problems stemmed less from where its functions are located than from an unfocused mandate, overregulation, and poor management." Thus the administration would seek to keep AID alive and semi-autonomous, while reorganizing its operations. The sense at the State Department was that if this goal could be achieved, Congress would not propose any of its own plans for dealing with the agency. Atwood's strong reputation on Capitol Hill was an important factor in keeping AID critics there at bay.

The Wharton report attracted only limited attention. With Christopher and top aides like Under Secretary Peter Tamoff preoccupied by overseas crises, the job of restructuring foreign aid was given low priority and Wharton was allowed to drift outside Christopher's inner circle, finally resigning on Nov. 8. At AID, however,

Atwood has moved vigorously to enact internal reforms and to take the lead on foreign aid issues more generally.

### Trying To Do Too Much

A major finding of the Wharton task force was that AID was stretched too thin. As of mid-1993, with a staff of 3,000 permanent employees, AID had a field presence in 99 different countries and operated programs in 26 others. It had a portfolio of 2,226 active projects, many of which were administered through a complex system of contracts and subject to a maze of federal regulations. Atwood has estimated that with AID's budget declining in real terms, it may not be able to operate effectively in more than 50 countries during the 1990s. While acknowledging that downsizing to this level is not politically possible, Atwood has made some gains in trying to focus AID's resources more tightly, announcing the closing of 21 overseas offices

during the next three fiscal years. In addition to pulling AID out of numerous countries in sub-Saharan Africa, Atwood's move will shut down once-bustling posts in Pakistan, Thailand and Chile.

In Washington, Atwood has begun what many believe will be a slow process of changing AID's institutional culture. Following his confirmation, he initiated a top-to-bottom review of the agency. As part of this process, he formed a Quality Council of AID employees and used focus groups to analyze each part of the agency, with participants being asked what it did well, what it did poorly, and what obstacles hindered employees from doing their jobs better.

It remains too early to gauge the results of Atwood's efforts. However, in the eyes of many employees, the reorganization appears stalled. And while Congress remains willing to give him the benefit of the doubt, it



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has also signalled that its patience is limited. The fiscal 1994 foreign operations appropriations bill passed by the House last year contained two stipulations regarding AID. One demanded progress toward the goal of shutting down overseas missions; the other required AID to prove it was heeding the recommendations of the commission on "Reinventing Government" chaired by Vice President Gore. Neither of these stipulations limited Atwood's freedom of action, since both were consistent with his own agenda. However, they did make clear that the threat of greater congressional meddling in AID's management is very real, and Atwood seems keenly aware of his agency's probationary status.

### Legislating Change

Closely intertwined with the reform of AID has been the consideration of a new foreign assistance act, now being massaged into final form on

Capitol Hill. For years, observers have agreed that a big part of AID's problem was that its mandate was too unfocused. In the three decades since passage of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, amendments and changes to the act have created a morass of 33 statutory objectives and 75 different priority areas the agency needs to address in designing its assistance programs. Atwood has noted that beyond generating conceptual chaos, these myriad objectives have 56 reporting requirements and that producing AID's congressional presentation document costs \$9 million in staff time and runs so many thousands of pages that it would stand four feet tall if all the pages are piled on top of each other.

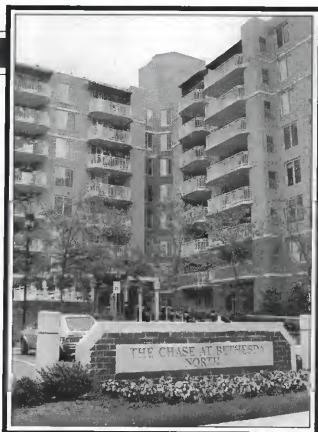
The proposed foreign assistance act, now titled the Peace, Prosperity, and Democracy Act, aims to drain AID's red-tape swamp and to revise U.S. foreign aid goals for the post-Cold War era, consolidating them in a

handful of compelling categories. Formally introduced in the House on Feb. 2, the act's path to consideration has been slow and tortuous. Five years ago, the House Foreign Affairs Committee report stated that any effort to reform foreign aid must begin from scratch, noting that the "current 500 pages of foreign assistance legislation, developed over the past 28 years, are strewn with obsolete, ambiguous and contradictory policy restrictions and conditions." However, over the next four years, efforts to put a new act in place were unsuccessful. In the House, Hamilton played a leading role in authoring and pushing for new legislation, but enthusiasm in the Senate was never high for this enterprise and the Bush administration did not treat it as a priority.

With Clinton's election, foreign aid reformers saw a new window of opportunity. In May, Atwood encouraged such hopes when he told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that

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the work of the Wharton task force would lead to proposed legislation to abolish the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and establish "a new framework for U.S. foreign assistance in the post-Cold War era." Atwood suggested that proposed legislation would be forthcoming by July, but it was not until late November that a discussion draft arrived on Capitol Hill.

The bill proposes six objectives for U.S. foreign aid: sustainable development, building democracy, promoting peace, providing humanitarian assistance, promoting growth through trade and advancing diplomacy. These categories parallel almost exactly the foreign policy themes that the administration had outlined since taking office. The intent is to clearly relate foreign aid to U.S. objectives abroad, a link that many felt had become frayed as amendments to the 1961 act proliferated. The bill's language also stresses the importance of foreign aid spending in dealing with global threats like environmental degradation and population growth, which polls show are increasingly worrisome to the American public.

Because the administration drew heavily from the 1989 House task force report and subsequent work by Hamilton, its draft bill contained few surprises and was favorably received. In particular, strong agreement between Congress and the administration exists on the primacy of the bill gives to sustainable development and promoting democracy. Disagreements still linger, however, and since December administration officials have worked with legislators and Hill staffers to revise a number of points. With the staff of Hamilton's committee taking the lead, the bill has been changed to incorporate the concerns of non-government organizations (NGOs). The original draft was by no means repugnant to the NGO community—Atwood and other officials such as State Department Counselor Tim Wirth have vigorously advocated a greater role for NGOs since their first days in office — but representatives of NGOs

called for numerous changes in the bill, raising both substantive policy issues and procedural points about how NGOs could be guaranteed a greater role in implementing U.S. foreign aid programs. The administration has proven willing to accommodate many of these concerns.

Far more contentious has been the issue of how foreign aid monies will be appropriated under the new act. Well before it submitted its November draft, the administration was arguing that foreign aid had to become a more flexible and responsive instrument in the hands of the executive branch. In July 1993, Wharton said that this would require the "cooperation of Congress in freeing AID from earmarked programs and unnecessary and restrictive oversight procedures" and the creation of a "clear, simplified and unencumbered statutory framework for development assistance." Wharton pointed out that in fiscal 1993, the majority of foreign aid funds appropriated had been earmarked by Congress. In calling for an end to this practice, the administration argued that it needs greater freedom to modify foreign aid funds, having the leeway to initiate and cancel programs without congressional interference and, perhaps more importantly, to shift around resources rapidly to address crises. "We feel that in drafting this act, we are trying to establish some greater flexibility to enable the executive branch to respond in new and uncertain situations," Atwood said in his Feb. 3 testimony to Congress.

To this end, the bill gives the executive branch wide-ranging control over the foreign aid budget. Under current

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**HE PROPOSED  
FOREIGN ASSISTANCE  
ACT AIMS TO DRAIN  
USAID'S RED-TAPE  
SWAMP AND TO REVISE  
U.S. FOREIGN AID  
GOALS FOR THE POST-  
COLD WAR ERA,  
CONSOLIDATING THEM  
IN A HANDFUL OF  
COMPELLING  
CATEGORIES.**

law, Congress appropriates aid funds for numerous programs within Budget Function 150 accounts, and it is largely for this reason that the foreign aid program has so many oversight requirements. Under the proposed legislation, Congress would dole out funds at a much broader level, appropriating large chunks of money for each of the six categories specified in the act.

Within these categories, the executive branch would be allowed to choose how to spend appropriated monies, having the freedom to transfer between accounts. Instead of holding the executive branch accountable for how each dollar of the foreign aid budget is spent, Congress would hold it accountable in achieving results toward accomplishing each of the six major objectives.

### **Splitting the Difference**

Administration officials argue that the proposed budgeting system reflects a consensus on the need for greater flexibility in deploying foreign aid funds to defend U.S. interests. Yet to some in Congress, this approach takes a good idea too far. Critics of the change make two points: First, that the earmarking of foreign aid funds is already declining; and second, that the foreign aid budget shouldn't be exempt from normal appropriation procedures.

When Republicans controlled the executive branch, earmarking was a means by which the Democratic Congress insured that its priorities were addressed in each year's foreign aid bill. But since Clinton's election, there has been far less disagreement over how foreign aid dollars should be

spent. As a result, "Congress has been moving away from earmarking," notes one key committee staff member. "Last year was the first time that the House proposed no earmarking of the foreign operations bill." While the Senate proposed more than two dozen earmarks, it was agreed in conference that there would be only four, with appropriations for Israel, Egypt, Cyprus and refugee assistance singled out for special protection. If the trend away from earmarking continues, with the two branches of government seeing eye-to-eye on foreign aid priorities, the urgency of the Clinton administration's case for legislating new flexibility in appropriations may be overstated. And down the road, under a Republican president, Democratic legislators could come to regret voting away their current level of influence over foreign aid.

More philosophically, some wonder

whether it is appropriate to give the executive branch so much budgetary freedom in the foreign aid arena. "Somehow this foreign aid budget is seen differently than most other budgets that we do around here," commented Sarbanes during a hearing last year in which Wharton and Atwood made a preliminary pitch for more flexible budgeting. Sarbanes observed that appropriations for all other departments was handled on a program-by-program basis, a point he has repeated in recent weeks. He wonders whether Congress should give preferential treatment to the foreign aid budget and perhaps end up spending money on things that it doesn't support. "There are many things in this foreign aid budget for which, if you were not using it for a particular purpose, you would not get the money," Sarbanes told Wharton and Atwood.

As legislation for the new foreign

assistance act winds through both houses of Congress, the administration is sure to see a chipping away of its position. Already the bill's critics have forced the administration to reluctantly accept restrictions that link aid to nuclear nonproliferation. There is also talk of ensuring that the bill contains more explicit protection of aid to Israel and Egypt, and the Congressional Black Caucus wants to see a clearer commitment to aiding sub-Saharan Africa. The result of this haggling is likely to be a compromise embracing the concept of large-category budgeting while also granting Congress more oversight powers than the administration wants. If such a deal can be struck, the Peace, Prosperity, and Democracy Act will likely be enacted into law this year. ■

*David Callahan is a freelance writer based in Princeton, New Jersey.*

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- 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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A Survivor's Tale:



# 12 years in the CULLAGS

**I**t had been nearly 30 years since I last saw him, but I recognized him at once. When I left Savannakhet in southern Laos in late 1961, Bancha Southivong was a young man of 24. During our recent reunion at his modest apartment in Silver Spring, Md., I recalled the same slender, short figure - he was barely five feet tall. Except for a touch of gray in his hair and some lines in his face, his appearance had changed little.

His first letter since our separation had reached me in 1987 from a jail at the Lao-Thai border; he had been seeking a sponsor to help him and his family immigrate to the United States. I had responded at once. Why not? He had been one of the proven stalwarts in my office at the U.S. Information Service in Savannakhet in those troubled, war-torn years. He had written a second time, later in 1987, from a refugee camp along the same border. But I would not hear from him again until 1989, when he had successfully immigrated to the United States, settling in Maryland.

Today, the personal history of Bancha Southivong is a mirror that reflects three decades in the Kingdom of a Million Elephants, during a period that included the Pathet Lao communist takeover in 1975.

When we finally saw each other, we had some reminiscing to do. His story unfolded from the point at which we separated in 1961 in Savannakhet:

"In 1962 I enlisted in the Lao Army where my knowledge of English was good enough to earn me an assignment as an aide and interpreter to General Thong Phan, commanding general of the First Regiment of the Artillery corps," he began.



# OF LAOS

"Laos was undergoing great political change during this period," he reminded me. "You will remember the three-way split between rightists, neutralists and leftists produced by the Kong Le revolt in 1960 when you were there. From 1962 until 1970 I remained an aide to General Thong Phan. Then my luck changed.

"I faced something I had long worried about — combat. For the next five years I was in constant combat. Cease-fires were made and broken constantly. The American military advisers continued to support the anti-communist forces. The Pathet Lao communist forces, of course, also jockeyed for position on the ground.

"The Americans decided I would be more useful in the air, and beginning in 1971, I began flying as a 'back seater' behind the U.S. reconnaissance pilots. I now found myself in a much more dangerous position."

We looked at each other in silence for a few moments. I could see a drama coming.

"Our mission was to identify enemy targets on the ground. We coordinated and communicated with Royal Lao ground batteries and units in locating our targets. I was shot down four times. Each time we were hit, I parachuted out of our observer aircraft."

He appeared to be reliving the life-and-death experiences again. His face reflected a mixture of fear and excitement, tinged with pride: He had been proud of working for the Americans.

"I assisted in rescue operations several times. We were not always successful."

He took a sip of his tea before continuing.

BY  
J. D.  
MC HALE

"At Saravane, in southern Laos, in early 1974, our rescue unit fought a six-hour firefight to reach a downed U.S. plane. But the enemy got there first. We lost nine dead to 'rescue' two corpses!" He paused, reflecting for a long moment.

"There is another man who is engraved in my memory, an American pilot who was shot down behind enemy lines, also near Saravane. I was once again with the rescue company. When we approached the downed pilot, who was not hurt, he ordered us to halt and drew his revolver. He appeared confused and nervous and did not seem to know whether we were friend or foe.

"It was only when I told him I was a 'back seater' for American observer pilots and gave him my call sign that he was finally convinced."

He seemed reflective for a moment, sighed deeply, and then continued.

"But by May 1975 it was over and all the Royal Lao forces were rounded up. The Pathet Lao Communists had taken over and Saigon and Phnom

Penh had just fallen. The dominoes had all toppled and we were destined for the reeducation camps. You can call them the 'gulags of Laos' if you prefer. I was among the prisoners sent to Attopeu in southern Laos. In my camp, we were 120 officers with the rank of first and second lieutenant.

"The Pathet Lao used a 'divide-and-rule' strategy. They set up the officers against each other by offering 'special treatment' to those who reported on their colleagues. Those who accepted then became spies on the others. Those targeted as 'unreliables' were taken away for interrogation. Some did not return. We were always given the same answer on their fates. They had escaped. I counted 30 who disappeared in this fashion from my company. There was one prisoner besides me from USIS Savannakhet — Sivilay."

I remembered him, a youthful rebel. I had had my own hands full with him. Nevertheless, he was an intelligent, courageous and creative young Lao — and one of my best men in the field.

I had an uneasy premonition as he continued his story.

"He would not accept communism and totally rejected the controls over his life as demanded in the reeducation process. It was a few months after we had been forced into the camp. Each morning the camp leader asked the same question, 'Who doesn't like communism? Who doesn't like the reeducation camp?' We always gave them the answer they wanted, 'Yes, we like it.' That was an automatic. To answer 'no' would have been suicidal. Well, that is exactly what Sivilay did one morning. When the question was asked, he raised his hand and said 'I don't like your communism. I want to go back to my family in my own village. I'm leaving. Go ahead and shoot me if you want.' And they shot him."

We were both silent as I drank in the full import of his words. How could he have survived so brutal a system? I raised the question.

"I turned myself into a Communist. I told my family we had to accept the

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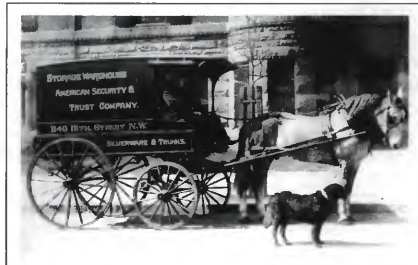
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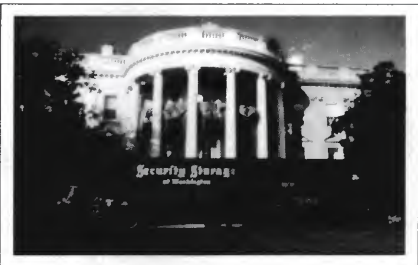
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new masters of our land. We had to learn their ideas and do what we were told. We had no other choice. It was either that or death.

"But I had learned what I had to learn of their system and ideas to survive. By 1981 I had concluded there was no escape from the Pathet Lao system. I became so deeply depressed I began to think about suicide. At exactly that moment, my luck changed. I had done some carpentry work for their cadres including the governor of Attopeu. He came to know me. This proved very useful. I had won their confidence and was now rewarded. I was assigned to the postal system. Although I was still treated as a prisoner with little real freedom, my living conditions improved.

"In 1987 my request for a transfer to Khammounane [Thakhek], the village of my birth, was approved by the governor. I simply stated I wanted to return to my family roots. Instead I went to Vientiane.

"I could now move about the coun-

try with that transfer. I had worked out my escape route by now. Together with my son Souksavan, we traveled to Savannakhet. There I paid a Lao boatman a large price in Thai currency to take us across the Mekong to Mukdaharn in Thailand. We made it! I was finally out of Laos after 12 years as a prisoner! Two months later, my wife Syka and my daughter Malivone joined me. They crossed the river the same way. It was then May 1987."

He anticipated my unspoken question: How had he and his family escaped so easily after his own escape?

"They worried less about the women. No, they had no trouble escaping. My next problem was with the Thai border police. They beat me and locked me up for four months with other prisoners." He paused, recalling what transpired next.

"I wrote a letter and mailed it to the U.S. Embassy in Bangkok. In the letter I spoke of my service with the U.S. government in Laos as well as my military liaison and work with the American military in Laos and asked

for help to emigrate to the United States.

"In three weeks I had a visitor from the refugee office of the U.S. Embassy in Bangkok. He worked out a transfer for me to the refugee camp at Nakhon Phanom, Thailand. Later I was transferred to the refugee center at Bataan in the Philippines. After about a year of processing from the time of my original request, I qualified. In July 1989, I reached the United States with my wife and my two children."

I remembered my own efforts to contact him since the day in 1987 when I had received his letter from the Thai jail. He gazed at me with a far-away expression on his face.

"You know, sometimes I look at myself and wonder how it is that I am still alive."

I smiled. "My friend, I have been wondering the same thing," I said.

*J.D. McHale is a retired Foreign Service officer who served nearly 20 years in southeast Asia, including two years in Laos.*

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# AFSA news

## AFSA Engages the Hill: A Report Back

AFSA has engaged in two recent skirmishes on the Hill. In opposing the nomination of major campaign contributor M. Larry Lawrence as ambassador to Switzerland, AFSA gained an initial success in the tie vote in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The nominee and his supporters then rolled out some heavyweight supporters. The White House intervened directly with Democrats and Lawrence got big league Republican fund-raisers to lean on GOP Senators. The result: Lawrence passed 79-16 in a floor vote after the Republicans failed to produce the votes to block a quorum call by the Democratic leadership.

Our own post-mortem analysis: With an inexperienced nominee like Lawrence, AFSA can put together an effective combination at the committee level. However, we lack the political clout to match an administration's full court press on the floor of the Senate unless we have some key Senators willing to make the fight their own.

On the plus side, we were gratified by the very positive response of most Foreign Service people, especially our 27 AID "hostages," and the active support by retirees with their Senators. We received nationwide media coverage on CBS News and in front page and op-ed stories. Reform of the ambassadorial process is now an issue. On the negative side, the loss has cost AFSA some credibility with Hill staffers whose sole criterion

is whether you win or lose. Our action also was hardly pleasing to the State and White House congressional teams who, as a result of the AFSA campaign, had to expend considerable energy to salvage the Lawrence nomination. Unfortunately, some of the values we stand for are not easy winners, like choosing competence over political generosity. Nevertheless, we shall carry on.

Time will be the test of whether the plus or minus factors are more enduring. For now, we are taking some advice we received from Senator Pat Moynihan who was with AFSA against Lawrence: "You bleed a while on the floor and then get up and fight another day."

### Radio Free Asia

In another difference with an administration position, AFSA's opposition to Radio Free Asia (RFA) has failed its first hurdle and RFA almost certainly will survive in the State-USA authorization bill. The appropriations bill may be less kind. This proposal is underfunded and conceptually flawed. It is still not certain that RFA will get on the air and, if it does, have any listeners. AFSA's issue is that a lot of resources will be spent, and USIA jobs easily could be lost in trying to make a bad program work. We'll keep stating our defense of USIA and its people.

### AID Legislation

Hearings are under way on the first complete rewrite of AID's basic legis-

lation since 1961. HFAC Chairman Lee Hamilton (D-IN) said it would be an arduous task and asked Secretary Christopher's active participation in working through problems as they arise. AFSA is helping identify both the problems and solutions. AID Vice President Pat Patterson met with key Hill staffers to discuss AID employee perspectives on the legislation. Next, AFSA testifies on appropriations

## AFSA Plans FAS and FCS Elections

*By Julie Smithline  
FAS and FCS Staffer*

AFSA has submitted a petition to obtain exclusive representational rights for the Foreign Commercial Service. In order to submit the petition, AFSA needed 30 percent of the bargaining unit's signatures. Once the Federal Labor Relations Authority (FLRA), the body which oversees an election, validates the signatures, a date will be set for the election.

Ballots for our FAS election will be mailed out on April 11 and are due back by May 23. By bringing FAS and FCS on board, we will truly be the "Voice of the Foreign Service," representing all five foreign affairs agencies. If you wish to assist AFSA in these elections, please contact your AFSA representative, FAS - Weyland Beeghly at 720-2690 or FCS - Barry Friedman at 482-2902.

## from the State vice president

### Extend Locality Pay

By Todd Stewart

The inauguration of locality pay in January has opened a disparity between the salaries of U.S.-based Foreign Service employees and their counterparts stationed abroad. AFSA strongly believes that Washington locality pay should be extended to our colleagues serving outside the United States, but I have received several letters disputing this position. In response, let me explain our reasoning.

The 1990 Federal Employees Pay Comparability Act (FEPCA) provides for two principal methods to close by 2002 the gap between public and private sector salaries: annual general pay increases for all federal civilian employees and annual locality-specific increases. The latter increases, informally known as "locality pay," were intended to equalize the public and private sector pay levels in high salary regions of the continental United States where the general pay increases would not close the gap.

FEPCA implementation led to quite different results, however. In 1993 Congress and the administration decided against granting a general pay increase in 1994, but instead, all federal civilian employees in the continental United States, except those already receiving "special

rate" pay supplements (e.g. law enforcement officers and CS secretaries in Washington, D.C.), were given 1994 locality pay increases ranging from 6.52 percent in Houston to 4.23 percent in Washington-Baltimore to 3.09 percent in areas not designated to receive a higher rate. In other words, the entire civilian federal work force received a pay increase except for "special rate" and overseas employees.

This result is manifestly unfair to Foreign Service employees stationed abroad. The unfairness is compounded by the fact that post, hardship and danger allowances will no longer be based on the real Washington pay levels, but on a lower artificial base scale which does not reflect the salaries actually paid anywhere in the continental United States. Moreover, if future annual locality pay increases are funded on the FEPCA schedule in lieu of general pay raises, the salary differential between Washington and the field will grow to 21.17 percent in 2002.

In addition to their unfairness, these circumstances are bound to have a serious effect on Foreign Service operations. Even with housing allowances, employees will be increasingly discouraged from serving abroad since Washington will offer them higher salaries in addition to the

greater employment opportunities already existing for their spouses. Shrinking differential rates vis-a-vis Washington salaries will reduce the incentive to serve at high-cost, hardship and danger posts. The attraction of Washington will be compounded for employees nearing retirement, for locality pay is included in the "high three" base for pension computation.

We believe the solution to this problem lies in legislation extending Washington-area locality pay to Foreign Service employees abroad. Washington is our home base, where we spend much of our careers and frequently own housing. Maryland, Virginia and the District typically tax our incomes when we are assigned abroad. FEPCA's purpose is to attract quality individuals for federal employment with competitive salaries, and in the case of the Foreign Service the competitiveness of those salaries can only be judged by the standards of our Washington home.

AFSA recognizes, however, the chances for a legislative remedy are nil without active support from the department. We are now exploring the issue with senior officials at State.

### AFSA Seeks Back Pay for Sunday Hours

New Sunday premium pay regulations provide for the payment of premium pay for employees who were scheduled to work on a Sunday, but had paid leave (e.g., annual, sick, jury/witness service, military, home and shore, and funeral). The new rule applies to employees under the FP pay plan, i.e., untenured junior officers, Foreign Service specialists, and support personnel.

AFSA believes that employees who had regularly scheduled work on Sunday, but had taken the type of paid leave mentioned above, are eligible for back pay for the period of

Mar. 1986 through May 1993. In early February, AFSA issued a Redtop and cable asking affected employees to submit data (dates & estimated dollar amounts) in support of their request for back pay. In response to our request, 35 employees submitted data for period mentioned above, totaling approximately \$14,000 in back pay.

AFSA will seek back pay for the Sunday differentials from the Foreign Service agencies. If they refuse our request, AFSA will file a cohort grievance in support of the 35 employees who responded to the survey.

### Foreign Service Day

The traditional AFSA Brunch for all Foreign Service retirees will be on Saturday, May 7 at 10 a.m. in the Foreign Service Club. You may reserve now for the Brunch by sending AFSA a check for \$22 per person, made out to AFSA. Please note that the AFSA award ceremony will be held this year on June 28.

**AID Retirees:** The annual AID Retiree Lunch on Foreign Service Day will not be held this year. Retirees are invited to attend the next lunch meeting of the new AFSA Chapter for Northern Virginia to be held in May or June at the Ft. Myer Officers Club.

# from the AID vice president

## Partnership: A New Era?

By Pat Patterson

On January 19, 1994, AID, AFGE, and AFSA signed a partnership agreement, creating an opportunity and platform for the betterment of the agency. It's now up to the parties to bring it about. Will management pursue traditional ways of operating? Will the president's challenge to the public sector to empower employees and change organizational culture throughout the federal government be accepted?

Changing or transforming AID and its established culture, as this administration is doing, is extremely difficult. If cultural change is to succeed, it must be modeled by the daily behavior, not just the pronouncements, of AID's leaders. In other words, actions must speak louder than words for an organization to be successfully transformed.

Transformation begins with a thorough understanding of all the components of an organization. That's why political appointees, especially at a time of changing administrations, will not be successful in bringing about long-lasting change unless they take into account the existing organizational culture. This has been a significant problem for the present administration. Most will readily acknowledge the real success the administrator has had externally with Congress, within the administration, with our clients and with the American public. The very survival of the agency may well have been, in no small measure, due to the efforts of Brian Atwood.

On the internal front, however, the administration has not had similar successes. To transform AID, the administrator and his senior team must have the trust and respect of all employees. They need to take more time to work in a collaborative way, as partners, to deal with the employees and their unions so that a common vision for the future and the changes needed can be developed and carried out in an effective and

equitable manner. This cannot be done by directive or by management's traditional request for reactions from employees *after* positions have been set or decisions taken. We've passed employees' concerns on this score to senior AID managers, but, regrettably, either they aren't listening or we've not been clear in making the case.

When the present administration took over it made a case that the agency was in deep trouble; indeed, it was. Unfortunately, in that process, the leadership also criticized various components of our organizational culture both in Washington and overseas. This was followed by a series of negative events: the announcement of posts to be closed, assignments were frozen, selection outs surged, training was curtailed, RIF letters were sent to selected SES members, larger-than-ever numbers of LCE's were denied. In this process, there has been, until recently, little communication, especially to the field, as to what's going on.

### A Respected Culture

More seriously, the administration has made a mistake in discrediting AID's corporate culture while effecting change. That culture is one that has been respected by our peers. Long before this administration took office we were, and are still, considered leaders in our field. And we should never forget that millions of people around the globe are alive, healthy and self-sufficient because of our efforts.

### USIA Partnership Council

AFSA, AFGE and USIA management concluded a Partnership Principles Agreement to formally establish a USIA Partnership Council on Mar. 4. AFSA members of the council will be Michael Houlahan, Renee Earle and Herman Henning. AFGE will have three members on the council and management will have four reps. We await the director's approval to get the council up and running.

AID's managers and its employees face a distinct challenge when effecting change in light of AID's distinct culture. The unique and worthwhile work that we do, the decentralized nature of our far-flung posts, the remote regions in which we serve and our comradery have led to a culture that is very different. There is much to commend AID and, of course, there are things that do need to be changed. But no matter what, employees want a clear role in developing the future vision and programs of this agency. Reinventing government efforts and the new partnership mandate set out by the president and vice president offer us all an opportunity to jointly set and accomplish the agency's goals.

### Leaders need to change attitude

If AID's leaders, in the end, show no change of attitude and behavior, carrying on with business as usual, in which the character of relationships between employees, their unions and management will be strained, difficult and adversarial; we all lose.

AFSA entered into the new partnership on January 19th with the expectation that change will be faithfully carried out with full employee participation as partners. We, for our part, will utilize the new Partnership Council as a forum for participatory constructive change. AFSA trusts that AID managers will accept the Clinton-Gore challenge and do the same.

Employees through E-mail, faxes and letters, both here and abroad, are voicing discontent and demoralization, bitterness, hurt and even anger regarding the manner in which change is being carried out. Hopefully, with increased active participation from employees regarding the way the agency is to be changed, we can move towards a new meaningful partnership.

*Send your views to Deputy Administrator Carol Lancaster, Assistant Administrator for Management Larry Byrne, and/or AFSA Vice President John "Pat" Patterson.*

## from the retiree vice president

### **AFSA to Testify on Budget**

*By Don Norland*

For most people, budgets are an unpleasant necessity. And U.S. government budgeting has the reputation of being especially tedious and time consuming. Yet as anyone with government experience knows, last year's budget underwrites this year's programs, personnel, travel and allowances.

The FY95 budget, the Clinton Administration's first budget and the first budget of the post-Cold War era, is now under consideration by Congress. This proposed allocation of resources for international affairs, the so-called "150 Account," tells us a great deal about the direction of U.S. foreign policy over the coming years. Concealed in the budget figures (as finally agreed with Congress) will be the answers to such key questions as: Who will fund

peacekeeping operations? Will the Department of State have adequate resources to staff and maintain its posts abroad? What will AID's new focus be? What will USIA's new role be in the wake of threatened budget cuts?

The AFSA Governing Board has decided that these questions are of core importance, not just for the Foreign Service but for the country, and that our voice should be heard on these issues. As a result, President Tex Harris has sent letters to the chairmen of the House and Senate appropriations subcommittees asking to testify on the State Department's and USIA's 1995 budgets.

To prepare for these hearings, we have arranged for briefings by key department officials, to which we are inviting officials from other organizations with active foreign affairs inter-

ests. Our objective is to develop a consensus among like-minded groups to ensure that U.S. foreign policy is firmly founded on global realities and reflects the perspective of people on the ground.

The second stage will be to activate the "Legislative Alert Network" which is being expanded and strengthened. Readers of this section of "AFSA News," and especially the leaders of various retiree organizations around the country, are aware of the central importance of retirees in this "alert network." This report will serve as advance notice of our current planning and our efforts to inform you of the results of the briefings we get on the 1995 budget and of Tex Harris' testimony.

We welcome your reactions and look forward to your continued assistance in highlighting foreign policy issues at this historic time of transition.

## **The People and Foreign Policy: David Gergen Speaks Out**

**The following exchange took place at USIA's 40th anniversary dinner on Feb. 23, 1994.**

### **Tex Harris, AFSA president:**

"Counselor, Chairman Lee Hamilton talks about a gap in American views between "main street and Washington on what the U.S. place in the world ought to be. ... How [can we make the] American public understand that American policies and American presence abroad are in fact related to American jobs and the quality of life here in the U.S.?"

### **David Gergen, counselor to President Clinton:**

"Your premise is correct... The attentive public [and the opinion shapers are] much more internationalist in character. Much less protectionist, much more willing to commit American resources overseas, much more in favor of foreign aid, you can go down the list of obvious subjects.

"[At a recent dinner at the White House,] Michael Mandelbaum. . . made the argument that the single most important question in American

foreign policy today is how do we convince the American people to remain engaged because there are an awful lot of people who do want to come home and say forget it. ...

"I think only through domestic reform and renewal will we remain engaged... if we turn, as I think we are in danger of doing, to class antagonism, race antagonism and ethnical antagonism then... we will withdraw from the world. That's when we are going to turn more paranoid, xenophobic and our foreign policy is going to be extremely difficult to sustain on an internationalist basis. ... Domestic reform is terribly important to the success of our foreign policy,

to be able to sustain public support for foreign policy. ... It seems to me that we have to engage people about questions [about] how they live and what we can learn and how we can work with other nations. One of the ways we do that is through international conferences. ...

"A conference is coming up with the G7 ministers. ... There are a lot of lessons that we can learn from other cultures. ... We have the chance now to talk with other nations in ways we have not spoken before because we've been so engaged in Cold War issues. I think we can really open this up now in a very productive way and I think our people will be engaged."

### **Partnership Means Working Together in Good Faith**

**An excerpt from the National Partnership Council Report to the President on the Good Government Standard:**

"An agency and a labor organization are obligated to bargain collectively in good faith. They shall pursue solutions that promote increased quality and productivity, customer service, mission accomplishment, efficiency, quality of work life, employee empowerment, organizational performance, and, in the case of the Department of Defense, military readiness, while considering the legitimate interests of both parties."

## Congressional update

By Rick Weiss

Secretary Christopher has commenced his presentation of the FY95 Foreign Affairs Budget before Congress, pledging to meet our national security and policy objectives with the resources requested.

AFSA is carefully following the Health Care Reform bills as they inch their way through the legislative committee processes. If the employer mandate is eliminated, the Congress will have to find another funding source. If health alliances are not enacted, legislators are reviewing the state regulatory commission concept as an alternative to establishing another "large bureaucracy."

As the Budget Committees begin their mark-ups, revised Penny-Kasich and Kerrey-Brown amendments which include a mix of raising retirement ages, reducing government contributions to employee pen-

sions, diet COLA for retirees under 65, means tests for pensions (any USG employee with a pension of \$30,000 or more would receive no annual cost of living increase or a diet COLA). Moreover, the Bipartisan Commission on Entitlement Reform, chaired by Senators Kerrey (D-NE) and Danforth (R-MO) will report to the president by August 1.

Reduction in force, with or without "buyout legislation," is most likely over the next few years as departments and agencies implement legislation passed last year.

The economic plight of the FSO and GS employee is reflected in the administration FY95 budget request; the administration requested less than half the funds required for the estimated COLA and locality pay increases due on January 1.

## Freeman: Consider National Interests in Use of Force

By Richard Thompson

Professional Issues Coordinator

Chas. W. Freeman, a career FSO and formerly Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, currently Assistant Secretary of Defense for Regional Security Affairs, offered some thought-provoking ideas on the post-Cold War era to a February 23 luncheon at the Foreign Service Club. He noted that the use of military force must be considered rationally, and be directed at achieving some specified results in some range of specified time.

We must also distinguish carefully which interests are really vital, strategic or important, and consider what resources, including American lives, we are willing to expend to maintain order or to promote our values in distant regions not of direct importance to the United States.

Freeman suggested that the Foreign Service could learn from the systematic framework of analysis of

## Thank You

*Perry Shankle's wife Jo Anne and family wish to thank all of his friends and colleagues for their support during this most difficult time. Your phone calls, cards, letters and donations to the AFSA Scholarship Fund and DACOR are greatly appreciated.*

*Many of you have taken the time to share with us your memories of Perry and how he touched your lives. This has been a source of pride and comfort for all of us.*

*Thank you again for your thoughtfulness.*

the U.S. military. He also expressed concern that we are forgetting how we won the Cold War, through an enormous investment of money and energy, as we rapidly reduce the resources devoted to maintaining our international influence, such as for training of foreign military personnel.

## Insurance Offered

By Hank Coben

Insurance Committee, Chairman

As a member benefit, AFSA offers disability insurance through Albert H. Wohlers & Co. The plan offers up to \$1,500 a month to members and/or their spouses who suffer a disabling accident or illness. The benefits can be paid in addition to any other disability plan, worker's compensation, and other insurance.

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For further information, write to Albert H. Wohlers & Co., AFSA Group Insurance Plans, 1440 N. Northwest Highway, Park Ridge, IL 60068-1400 or call toll free 1-800-323-2106.

## 1994 Scholarship Juries To Meet

Juries made up of representatives from State, USIA, AAFSW and AID are meeting in March and April to choose 20 merit award winners and 12 "honorable mentions" for scholarships. Those selected for this honor will be notified in April. Winners will be invited to attend a coffee reception in their honor, after which they will be recognized at the Foreign Service Day Awards Ceremony on May 6, 1994, held at the Department of State.

## 1994 Merit Award Honoree

Each year, Merit Awards are given in honor of an individual who has made a notable contribution to the Foreign Service community. The Committee on Education has chosen Arthur Perry Shankle posthumously for this honor. Perry was a past president of AFSA (1987-89) and an originator of many current AFSA professional programs.

## AFSA Post Representatives & State Keypersons

Number of Post Reps: 157  
 Number of Posts: 272  
 Posts Represented: 58%

### Post Representatives

Abidjan - David Robinson  
 Abu Dhabi - Kerry Brougham  
 Accra - Barbara Coskuo  
 Adana -  
 Addis Ababa - Anemarie  
     Brooks & Patti Hagopian  
 AIT Taipei -  
 Alexandria -  
 Algiers - Helen Lawiog  
 Almaty -  
 Amman - P.E. Balakrishnan  
 Amsterdam -  
 Ankara - Lucy Uocu  
 Antananarivo - Frank Martin  
 Apia -  
 Ashgabat -  
 Asmara -  
 Asuncion - Jeffrey Hovenier  
 Athens - Rex Himes  
 Auckland - Sarah Eskandar  
 Baghdad -  
 Baku - Lioda Price  
 Bamako - Kirk Dahlgren  
 Bandar Seri Begawan - Mary  
     Martinez  
 Bangkok - Alexander Arvizu  
 Bangui -  
 Banjul -  
 Barcelona -  
 Barranquilla -  
 Beijing - Aooa Marie  
     Bustamante & Stella Lutter  
 Beirut -  
 Belfast -  
 Belgrade - M. Seidenstricker  
 Belize City -  
 Berlin - Bill Wanluod  
 Bem - Ann Lang Irvine  
 Bilbao -  
 Bishkek -  
 Bissau - K. Deonis Baker  
 Bogota - Jerome Gaines  
 Bombay - Peter Hancox  
 Bonn - Geri Rock & Joan  
     Odean  
 Bordeaux -  
 Brasilia - Diana Page  
 Bratislava - Chris Sandrolini  
 Brazzaville -  
 Bridgetown - Matthew Horween  
 Brisbane -  
 Brussels Emb/ESEC -  
 Brussels/USNATO - B. Turner  
 Bucharest - A. Kolankiewicz  
 Budapest - David Patterson

Buenos Aires - Tom McCudde  
 Bujumbura - Richard Newberg  
 Cairo - Stephen Klaus & Martin  
     Myers  
 Calcutta -  
 Calgary -  
 Canberra - Andrew Wiener  
 Cape Town -  
 Caracas - Benjamio Dille  
 Casablanca -  
 Cebu - Mary Amaral  
 Chengdu - Joho Brennan  
 Chiang Mai - James Gearhart  
 Chisinau -  
 Ciudad Juarez -  
 Colombo - Bill Dawsoo  
 Coookay - Kathi Osbome  
 Copenhagen -  
 Cotonou - Roger Moran  
 Curacao - Bernard Woertz  
 Dakar - John Williams &  
     Claudette Cowey  
 Damascus - Judith Chidester  
 Dar Es Salaam - Dana Vogel  
 Dhahran - Bridget Burkart  
 Dhaka - Alan Foose (temp.)  
 Djibouti - Pat Heller  
 Doha - Bruce Peters  
 Douala -  
 Dubai -  
 Dublin - Suzanne Lawrence  
 Dushanbe - Kurt Amcood  
 Edinburgh -  
 Florence -  
 Frankfurt - Jennifer Thompson  
 Freetown - Wanda Kennicott  
 Fukuoka -  
 Gaborone - Leticia Macapinlac  
 Geneva - Gerald Majewski  
 Genoa -  
 Georgetown - W. Schmonsees  
 Grenada -  
 Guadalajara -  
 Guangzhou -  
 Guatemala City - Jeffrey Miotke  
 Guayaquil - John Alston  
 Halifax -  
 Hamburg - Llewilyn Hedgbeth  
 Hamilton -  
 Harare -  
 Havana - Christopher Sibilla  
 Helsinki -  
 Hermosillo -  
 Hong Kong - Clyde Jones  
 Islamabad - Curt Wolters  
 Istanbul -  
 Izmir -  
 Jakarta - Cathy Blank  
 Jeddah - Jeannette Davis

Jerusalem -  
 Johannesburg - Dorothy Shea  
 Kaduna -  
 Kampala - C. Andersoo (temp.)  
 Karachi - David Ranz  
 Kathmandu - Neal Coeho  
 Khartoum - Stephen Liston  
 Kiev - Stephen Miller  
 Kigali - Dirk Dijkerman  
 Kioqston - William Roebuck  
 Kinshasa - James Tuten  
 Kolonia -  
 Koror -  
 Krakow -  
 Kuala Lumpur - Warren Gardner  
 Kuwait - Diana Elliott  
 La Paz - Steve Allen  
 Lagos - Mark Mayfield  
 Lahore - Williams Martin  
 Leipzig -  
 Libreville -  
 Lilongwe - Karl Rockeman  
 Lima - Gregory Tyson  
 Lisbon - Apar Sidhu  
 Ljubljana -  
 Lome - Grenville Day  
 Londoo - Gail Rogers  
 Luanda -  
 Lubumbashi -  
 Lusaka - Jacqueline dePerez  
 Luxembourg - J. Michalec  
 Lyon -  
 Madras - James Huskey  
 Madrid - Arlen Wilson  
 Majuro - Donald Ahern  
 Malabo -  
 Managua - Tom McAndrews  
 Manama - Lisa Allyo  
 Manila - Lawrence Garred  
 Maputo - Cheryl McCarthy  
 Maracaibo -  
 Marseille -  
 Maseru - Beverly Krause  
 Matamoros - William Duncan  
 Mazatlan -  
 Mbabane - Josepb Anderson  
 Medan -  
 Melbourne - Jo Ane Kosh  
 Merida -  
 Mexico City - Xenia Wilkinsoo  
 Milan - Thomas Delare  
 Minsk -  
 Mogadishu -  
 Mombasa -  
 Monrovia -  
 Monterrey - William Shea  
 Montevideo - Chris Bonsteel  
 Montreal -  
 Moroni -  
 Moscow - Jason Horowitz

Munich -  
 Muscat - Manish Mishra  
 N'Djamena - Richard Chelune  
 Naha -  
 Nairobi - Lois Aroian  
 Naples -  
 Nassau - Dennis Imwold  
 New Delhi - Phyllis Finkelstein  
 Niamey -  
 Nicosia -  
 Nouakchott - Wayne Reed  
 Nuevo Laredo -  
 Oran -  
 Osaka-Kobe - Linda Mathews  
 Oslo -  
 Ottawa - Gordon Gray  
 Ougadougou - Jatinder Cheema  
 Palermo -  
 Panama City - Michael Gayle  
 Paramaribo -  
 Paris/USOEDC - J. Paul Reid  
 Paris/EMB - Anne S. Barbaro  
 Paris/UNESCO -  
 Perth -  
 Peshawar -  
 Phnom Penh -  
 Ponta Delgada -  
 Port Moresby -  
 Port Louis -  
 Port-au-Prince - Howard Sparks  
     & Steevo Toy  
 Port-of-Spaio -  
 Porto Alegre -  
 Poznan -  
 Prague -  
 Praia -  
 Pretoria - Philip Goldberg  
 Pusan -  
 Quebec -  
 Quito - Jim Beeson  
 Rabat - Michael Oreste  
 Rangoon -  
 Recife -  
 Reyjavik - Ann Key (unofficial)  
 Riga - Jeffrey Rathke  
 Rio De Janeiro - John Fernandez  
 Riyadh -  
 Rome -  
 Salzburg -  
 San Jose -  
 San Salvador - H. Miller,  
     A. Tidball & S. McInturf  
 Sanaa - Larry Dominney  
 Santiago - Joseph McLean  
 Santo Domingo - Janice Elmore  
     & Wayne Butler  
 Sao Paulo -  
 Sapporo -  
 Sarajevo -  
 Seoul - Peter Roe

Shanghai - Jonathan Mudge  
 Shenyang -  
 Sinai/MFO -  
 Singapore - Robert Pollard  
 Sofia - Evan Dewire  
 St. George's -  
 St. John's -  
 St. Petersburg - Sheila Gwaltney  
 Stockholm - Hugh Neighbour  
 Strasbourg -  
 Stuttgart -  
 Surabaya -  
 Suva - Aotoinette Ferrara  
 Sydney - Michael Goldschmidt  
 Tallinn - Deborah Klepp  
 Tashkent - Andrew Craft  
 Tbilisi -  
 Tegucigalpa - Emily Leonard  
 Tel Aviv - Ken Audroue  
 The Hague - Cynthia Buntoo  
 Thessaloiki -  
 Tijuana - Michael Hoff  
 Tirana - Mary Draper  
 Tokyo - Karen Faye  
 Toronto -  
 Tunis - Dana Alexander  
 Udorn -  
 Ulaanbaatar -  
 USUN - William Grant  
 Valletta -  
     Vancouver - Lisa Gamble  
 Vancouver City -  
 Victoria - Andrew Ericksoo  
 Vienna - Roy Page  
 Vientiane -  
 Vilnius -  
 Vladivostok -  
 Warsaw - Sharon O'Neal  
 Wellington - Stephen Snow  
 Windhoek - Carl Troy  
 Wionipeg -  
 Yaounde -  
 Yerevan - Matt Weiller  
 Zagreb - Richard Holtzapple  
 Zurich -

### Keypersons

Houston Field Officer - Rebecca  
 Dockery  
 Inter-American Affairs - Irwin  
 Rubenstein  
 International Narcotics Matters -  
 Luis Moreno  
 Intelligence & Research - Sue  
 Saarnio  
 Oceans & Fisheries Affairs -  
 Pam Fisher  
 Dept. of Commerce - Edward  
 Stumpf

In the March issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*, AFSA acknowledged the 1993 establishment of the "John B. Steeves" scholarship, however, the correct name of the scholarship is "Jean B. Steeves." We apologize for this error.

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# MESSA



In 1987, at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, George Washington, the presiding officer, found that one of the members had carelessly mislaid a copy of the notes of the closed proceedings. In a cold rage, Washington said, "I must entreat gentlemen to be more careful, lest our transactions get into the newspapers and disturb the public repose by premature speculations."

This same touching concern to protect the public from unnecessary aggravation has been shown by every subsequent American president and his Cabinet members. As government has grown in size, so has this trend to conceal information or to slant facts to win national support.

In the days before World War II, in an ugly incident, President Franklin D. Roosevelt "awarded" the Iron Cross in the Oval Office to a New York *Daily News* reporter before his colleagues because he had been insufficiently supportive of Roosevelt's war policies. In the American Civil War, correspondents who reported the bad news were drummed out of camp and threatened with worse. We all know about Vietnam and how

President Kennedy tried to get a *New York Times* correspondent who didn't believe the body counts fired or transferred by his publisher. President Eisenhower did succeed in having one *Times* reporter taken off his assignment in 1954 after the correspondent began to look into the preparations by the CIA to overthrow the elected government of Guatemala.

It is not big news that governments play with the truth. That is the way they work and how they try to stay in power. It's written into the federal budget under "public affairs." The difference between how a democracy and a totalitarian government work in terms of giving out information is not, despite our ideals, an absolute contrast. It is a difference of degree, admittedly sometimes a vast difference.

Absolutist governments have no credibility, even with their own faithful; thus, efficient, underground networks—*samizdats*—spring up, which become the trusted and preferred source of information, even

when wrong. A democratic government, to the extent it occasionally admits its faults and appears to be levelling with an open press, even in the guise of anonymous "officials," is much more efficient in putting out its message. Every administration in the United States has used the press as an arm to advance its policies, including foreign policy.

Gen. Washington and his 18th- and 19th-century successors could be described as passive manipulators; they concealed things that they arbitrarily thought unwise or dangerous to make public. There is nothing intrinsically wrong with that. It would have been insane for Gen. Eisenhower to announce the date and place of his D-Day landing in 1944. Similarly, a diplomat who was negotiating in private and then revealed his own strategy and details in mid-course would not remain a diplomat for long, although there are some exceptions to that, as well.



## The Press as an Instrument of Diplomacy

BY JIM ANDERSON



President Theodore Roosevelt was probably the first modern president in the way he dealt with the press, and not only because he was the first to have a telephone on his desk. He

actively understood that having reporters huddled out on the sidewalk interviewing departing White House visitors was more dangerous than inviting the correspondents into the Oval Office and doling out information straight from the top, with, of course, the desired spin.

The Vietnam War can be seen as a kind of watershed. During that troubled period, the government's tendency to manipulate facts slipped into the swampy morass of creating "facts" that supported policies decided in Washington. That had been done before, especially during wartime. In more innocent days it was called propaganda. In the Vietnam era, the method was adopted as an acceptable, even primary, strategy of information management.

It also became a permanent ele-

ment of U.S. foreign policy. The government moved from traditional secret diplomacy to the use of a cooperative press corps as part of the process. Reporters — at least those who prospered — became kind of a Greek chorus, part cheerleader and part "bad cop," designed to scare the wits out of adversaries by transmitting anonymous threats. Thus we come to the pioneering techniques of Henry A. Kissinger.

Kissinger didn't invent the idea of using the press as an instrument in the diplomatic toolbox. Neither did Johann Sebastian Bach invent the fugue. But they mastered the techniques, which will always be associated with their names.

As national security advisor, Kissinger nearly drove President Nixon (not to mention the luckless secretary of state, William Rogers) crazy with his calculated leaks to favored columnists. He then authorized telephone taps on some of his own advisers, including the current assistant secretary for East Asia and the Pacific, Winston Lord, and National Security Adviser Tony Lake, in order to transfer suspicion and to convince Nixon that Kissinger also abhorred press leaks.

Having moved over to the State Department, Kissinger, in the 1974-75 Middle East shuttles, tuned the

technique to perfection. Accompanied by 14 journalists, he would drop out of the sky onto the dusty airports of the Middle East like some modern Zeus, casting either thunderbolts or dispensing gold, in the form of economic assistance or arms sales.

He was a star in his own right, surrounded by a choir of respected reporters who had a vested interest in enhancing his image — since that helped get them on the front page or the evening news. One could ask, why did we reporters play along? One could also ask what would happen to the reporter from, say, UPI who got scooped every day by the AP on choice news emerging from the Kissinger plane. The press knew very well that they were being played like violins, but they also knew that their continued presence on the biggest foreign policy story of the year depended on matching the competition in covering the superstar secretary of state.

Kissinger was, in effect, president of the United States in terms of foreign policy, especially in his dealing with the Egyptians and the Israelis. His way of communicating with his negotiating partners was intriguing, often saying one thing to the Israelis, another to the Egyptians.

But, in a way, the most important things he said were to the journalists

aboard the airplane, even when he was dissembling. He told them what he wanted to happen. Amplified by the wire services, the television networks, the major news magazines and the newspapers that landed on the doorsteps of the world's opinion and policy makers, his statements — sometimes attributed to a thinly disguised "senior official" — became an important element in his negotiating tactics.

It was a poignant experience, being met at the airports by local U.S. diplomats who eagerly questioned reporters about the latest twists of U.S. Middle East policy, as enunciated by the "senior official" they had just talked to. In addition to enhancing his stature as a world-class statesman, Kissinger's use of the press to further his diplomatic tactics enabled him to utter threats, which he could later shrug off in private to his negotiating partners as the unfortunate result of the fevered imaginations of those pesky reporters.

**C**ontrast Kissinger's success in his Middle East shuttles with the total failure of Secretary of State Alexander Haig in his 1981 shuttle across the Atlantic to head off the Falklands War between Britain and Argentina. Haig did not take any reporters aboard his plane. Thus there was no resonance to his threat to break off negotiations — which he finally did when the Argentine military repeatedly reneged on agreements.

One can only imagine the operatic tirade that Kissinger would have staged aboard his airplane, playing to his entourage of reporters, who could be depended upon to flash the word around the world, especially back to the faithless Argentine generals.

While Kissinger presents the most dramatic example of the use of the press as a negotiating tool in diplomacy, this is not limited to jet planes. It is standard practice on the ground, following a well-worn trail, with clearly defined stages:

*The Calculated Leak:* Word is passed by anonymous "officials" to a few chosen reporters of a coming

initiative that the president or secretary of state will be announcing. Those reporters, suitably gratified to have an advance tip, know that if they don't carry the story they will not be in the select inner circle for the next big

announcement. The advance story serves to pre-empt opponents of the planned move, facing them with a *fait accompli*. It also keeps the story alive for at least two news cycles, as well as alerting the rest of the Ameri-

## The Lebanon Shuttle

BY JIM ANDERSON

A diplomatic shuttle for a State Department correspondent is the equivalent of a sports reporter's Super Bowl: It may not be the best game of the season, but it is guaranteed a certain amount of space and time in the newspapers and on the networks.

Thus, it was with a certain anticipation that 14 reporters accompanied Secretary of State George Shultz and his entourage in May 1983 to the Mideast. Shultz believed he had a chance to settle the problems including a public perception of American loss of nerve — created by the Israeli invasion and occupation of southern Lebanon nine months earlier and terrorists' destruction of the U.S. Embassy in Beirut.

As the heavily loaded plane headed over the Chesapeake Bay, the reporters gathered in clusters at the back of the plane, chatting with each other and officials like Nick Veliotis, assistant secretary of state for the Near East and South Asia, about the chances for success of this trip to Lebanon and Israel. Are we going to Damascus? Veliotis shrugged.

By tradition and common assent, everything said in these casual encounters at the back of the plane had to be treated as "off the record" — not usable for publication — but these brushes supplied the background for reporters' stories during the trip. The substance of the news would have to come from Shultz, who worked in the front part of the plane, where he had his own small bedroom and a conference room with a kidney-shaped table, around which the reporters would gather on every leg of the trip.

As the plane headed out over the Atlantic, spokesman John Hughes summoned the reporters forward for a first encounter with the secretary.

Greg Nokes of the Associated Press opened with the generic question and Shultz gave a basic answer.

"Mr. Secretary, can you give us some idea of what you hope to accomplish in the troop withdrawal talks in Lebanon?"

"I hope we can first arrive at an agreement between Israel and Lebanon that will provide for the withdrawal of the Israeli forces and obviously then we have to go to work with the Syrians, and Lebanon with the PLO, so their (the

Syrian) withdrawal is consistent with the Israeli withdrawal schedule."

Nokes: "Are you optimistic about getting such an agreement with the Israelis?"

Shultz: "I, uh, think that it is a, uh, a very do-able thing."

That seemingly bland exchange revealed an important thing to the reporters reaching for a story to write: Shultz was not going to include the Syrians in the negotiations, which the Palestine Liberation Organization would be part of indirectly through the Lebanese, until after the Israelis and the Lebanese had reached an agreement. In addition, Shultz implied that he would travel back and forth until he had an agreement — or had failed. Officially it was going to be a shuttle, a convenient label for the reporters to use in their stories.

In fact, the seeds of the destruction of the Shultz mission could be found in his first answers to the first questions from reporters. The Americans had no plan to deal with the Syrians, who occupied about a third of the country and had the power to crush any agreement they didn't like. If the Americans had no plan to deal with the Syrians, neither did the Israelis, apart from trying to isolate them from the process. The Israelis also wanted to have a peace treaty, or something like it, with Lebanon to imply diplomatic recognition from another important Arab state — after Egypt — as the price for the withdrawal from an operation which was to cost more than 600 Israeli lives.

For their part, the Lebanese, with an almost mystical belief in the abilities of a superpower like the United States to change the world, naturally wanted both the Israelis and the Syrians off their territory. Shultz wanted a trophy for the Reagan administration's vacant foreign affairs showcase.

The forces were aligned. The only wild card was the press at the back of the plane, who wanted a good story. The Americans, the Israelis and the Lebanese all intended to use the reporters as an instrument of persuasion and communication.

On the tarmac at Ben-Gurion airport near Tel Aviv, old friends were waiting, including Avi Pazner, former spokesman for the Israeli

can and foreign press corps, so they are primed and ready when the actual announcement comes.

*The Announcement:* The formal declaration, with pictures of the president or other top official uttering the

expected words, makes it into a television story. The correspondents add a few authoritative facts, thoughtfully supplied by the administration in another background briefing. The newspapers that carried the advance

story feel obliged to carry the follow-up, if only to show their readers how clever and well-informed their reporters are.

*The Inside Dope:* Selected reporters are summoned for a backgrounder with a senior official, usually inaccessible to most of them most of the time. They get a few more fillips of information. They also get one-on-one time with the official, who might be more inclined to answer their telephone calls in the future.

*The Follow-up:* Officials appear on the usual Sunday talk shows, or McNeil-Lehrer, as well as before the foreign press at the USIA's Foreign Press Centers in the National Press Building or in New York. Some reporters choose to question opponents of the administration's action, but the avalanche of publicity surrounding the government's announcement makes the opponents sound like voices in the wilderness, sore losers in the game of Spin the News.

*Wiping off the Fingerprints:* This is an optional further step, a favorite tactic in the Reagan administration. It consisted of the president or his chief advisers — including Secretary of State George Shultz — complaining about the maddening habit of officials leaking information to the press. "Find 'em and fire 'em," was Shultz's advice. When Reagan raised this complaint, his leaker-in-chief James Baker, and deputy-leaker, David Gergen, would sometimes be standing there, listening with perfectly straight faces before going back to work the telephone, setting the stage as anonymous officials for the next presidential triumph or White House bloodletting.

So what's to be done? Start from the point that it is inherent for governments to try to shape the news. As governments get better at the practice, it is important that the public understand what is going on so they can adjust their skepticism filters accordingly.

Everyone should also know there is a kind of Gresham's Law of Information at work. If the airwaves

## le: A Case Study

Embassy in Washington. Now spokesman for foreign minister Yitzhak Shamir, he invited all 14 correspondents to a foreign ministry dinner at the King David Hotel in Jerusalem in honor of Shultz. That was a sign the Israelis had a message they wanted to deliver.

As the Israelis told it, a Syrian military buildup had been the major topic of the first day's talks with Shultz. The Israelis, in planting this story with the American reporters, did three things: They took some of the spotlight off the issue of Israeli troop withdrawals from Lebanon as a subject of negotiations; they gave a further justification for those troops to be stationed north of the Israeli international border, and they improved their public bargaining position by emphasizing the kind of regional threat that prompted Israel to move its troops into Lebanon in the first place. The first day's stories about the Shultz trip on NBC, the Associated Press and the Hearst newspapers all led with the revelations about the Syrian military buildup; they all but ignored the diplomatic substance of the Shultz mission.

During the 40-minute flight from Tel Aviv to Beirut, the reporters had a quick session with Shultz. He brusquely shrugged off the Syrian build-up issue and told them, "The issue is Israeli troops, not Syrians."

The exchanges set the pattern for the rest of the trip: The reporters getting a rumor from one of the three sides, bouncing it off the other sides, and deriving an immediate feel for some of the debate that was going on behind closed doors, but also magnifying some issues in their own pursuit of them.

As soon as Shultz arrived at the Baabda palace of the Lebanese president in Beirut, the reporters and those local journalists who made it through the heavy rings of security were sequestered in a space in the presidential building which became the backdrop for an almost non-stop series of briefings, plants and sales pitches by the various Lebanese factions and the Americans. Suddenly, the reporters found themselves in the ironic and unusual position of suffering from information overload on a story that was already slipping off the front pages and TV news

lineups in the United States. Barrie Dunsmore of ABC phoned his desk in New York with what he thought was an interesting development, but was told to call back "when there is a breakthrough or a breakdown."

The reporters had just settled down in their press room when the first Lebanese official came through. Ghassan Tuani, a Greek Orthodox Christian of great charm and learning, had served at the United Nations and knew most of the American reporters by name. After some social chit-chat he came to the point, making certain it was understood he was on "background" as a "Lebanese official."

The Israeli insistence on "joint supervisory teams" in southern Lebanon would be, he said, an intolerable violation of Lebanese sovereignty. The additional Israeli demand that Lebanon turn over command of its troops in the south to Maj. Sa'ad Haddad, widely seen in Lebanon as an Israeli stooge, was an outrage of historic proportions. "Never, never before between two countries has there been a negotiation on the fate of one national of one of those countries," he said.

Tuani, in what apparently was a replica of the Lebanese bargaining tactic with Shultz, said that not only would these Israeli demands be unacceptable to Lebanon; more importantly, they would not be acceptable to the Syrians "and what is the point of signing an agreement with the Israelis and not getting their withdrawal because the Syrians won't pull out?" That was a vital argument.

Tuani left and, as if on cue in a bedroom farce, Lebanese Foreign Minister Elie Salem came in to explain the next issue the Lebanese were raising in the negotiations with Shultz: "Lebanon is not signing a peace treaty with Israel, and therefore it cannot be said that Lebanon is recognizing the state of Israel."

Recognition, or quasi-recognition, by Lebanon, of course, was an Israeli aspiration. To recognize Israel, Salem told reporters, would be suicidal for a country that can be overrun in hours by a Syrian army, and could be quickly driven into economic isolation if it were to lose its commerce with the Arab world.

In Jerusalem the next day, the non-stop series of briefings continued with Israeli Am-

and the newspapers are increasingly filled with government-created "news" from the sprawling, tax-supported public relations machine, then there is less room and less incentive for reporters to dig out their own facts. Unchecked, the process would result in the nation's news resembling one long government press release, published in various editorial styles, illustrated with splendid graphics and charts, possibly punctuated with occasional interviews with Michael Jackson and Madonna on their opinions about the GATT negotiations or Most Favored Nation status for China.

It may be that there is no real corrective, other than replacing the

U.S. government every 20 years by means of a violent revolution, as Thomas Jefferson suggested. Since that is probably not realistic or desirable, and since government habits are probably incorrigible, we should look to the other side of the equation, the press and its responsibilities.

It is incumbent on reporters to fulfill their professional obligations, that is, to return to more reporting. That does not mean telephoning more officials around Washington since, on most issues, government officials are reading from the same script. It means reporters delving for more facts on their own, or with the help of non-governmental ex-

perts, if necessary. And since the Cold War is ended, this process of circumventing the government public affairs juggernaut could be safely advanced if Congress insisted that the government loosen up its classification procedures. This would make more of the context of government decisions available for the press to give voters a better opportunity to judge the facts for themselves. It would be a start. ■

*Jim Anderson, who has covered the State Department for 25 years, is a former correspondent for UPI and is now a correspondent for DPA, the German Press Agency.*

bassador to Washington Moshe Arens, on background as a "senior Israeli official," repeating the earlier concerns about a Syrian build-up. He then indirectly attacked Shultz for "playing less than a positive role" by suggesting that an increase in the American military presence could help Lebanon avoid the necessity of cooperating with Israel on military arrangements in southern Lebanon. Of course, Shultz had not suggested it. The Lebanese had brought it up, and it had become a favored theme among the reporters, who kept asking about it at every opportunity. The three governments, by using the reporters as a sounding board, had made them the tail of the negotiations. The tail was beginning to wag the dog.

Word about Arens' briefing in Jerusalem quickly reached John Hughes, Shultz's spokesman. He summoned the reporters to another briefing, this one on the record, only 90 minutes later. This was apparently the new speed record for the time required for an idea planted by one side to be countered by another side.

Hughes denied the assertion by the "senior Israeli official" that the United States was being unhelpful. He tried once again to kill the idea that the United States was pushing the idea of U.S. troops being involved in the situation. But acting under Shultz's instructions, he did it so gingerly — "no serious discussion" — that the issue remained in the minds of the reporters, partly because it seemed to be both logical and newsworthy to them.

Because of the unconvincing U.S. denials, the idea was brought up the next day in Beirut when Wadi Haddad, the thin, elegant Lebanese national security adviser, walked into the temporary press room.

Asked about a possible U.S. military role, Haddad said, "We would like to see an evolving role of the multinational force and the

United States being part of the MNF."

Under intense questioning from the galvanized reporters, who began to feel they had been misled by the Americans, Haddad — without permitting any direct attribution — said Shultz had offered nothing explicit, "but there was a discussion of the feasibility of expanding the presence of the MNF in the south (of Lebanon) in the same manner as in Beirut."

"Without the Americans?" asked Bill Beecher of *The Boston Globe*. Responded Haddad: "No, with the Americans." Pandemonium sprung up among the reporters. So much for Hughes and Shultz and their denials that the idea had been suggested or seriously discussed.

Haddad, startled at the reaction he had provoked, scurried out of the room. He returned in 10 minutes, accompanied by John Hughes, who stopped the clatter of the portable typewriters by repeating, on the record, that the use of U.S. troops in southern Lebanon "has never been discussed or raised and there are no plans."

Haddad, apologetic after Hughes left, nevertheless revived the battered idea one more time by saying the Lebanese government would accept U.S. troops "if this could help on a breakthrough." My UPI story, in a theme that was found in other correspondents' reports, read: "The Lebanese government would be prepared to see American troops join an expanded multinational force in southern Lebanon, a senior Lebanese official said today."

Thus, a Lebanese idea, not seriously entertained by either the Americans or the Israelis in the talks, was inserted into the negotiating process, forcing Shultz to deal with it. The idea was planted through a series of suggestions by Lebanese officials, without direct attribution, into the fertile minds of reporters on the Shultz plane, who had a certain credibility by virtue of their access. Meanwhile, the real issues involving Israeli security while

preserving Lebanese sovereignty were slighted.

Shultz and Habib kept plugging away at the Israelis and the Lebanese, finally getting ostensible agreement after three shuttle circuits between Beirut and Jerusalem.

It was only then that Shultz presented the Israeli-Lebanese troop withdrawal agreement to President Hafez Assad, who had been kept in the dark about the negotiations. He almost contemptuously swept it off the table.

The mission, largely on Shultz' assurance, was reported generally in the United States as a success for American diplomacy, despite Syrian opposition. In fact, it quickly became apparent there was no agreement at all.

It is possible that no amount of genius or skill could have created a workable agreement in May 1983 in Lebanon. But one clear flaw in the Shultz shuttle was that the three parties were so involved in their closed world, communicating with each other directly and through the correspondents, that they neglected the political, military and religious realities on the ground in the Middle East.

By becoming so much a part of the story, the correspondents moved from reporting to something akin to participating. With a vested interest in promoting a story, they trumpeted every minor development and viewed the result in terms of the success or failure of Shultz's hopes.

It was a "good agreement," as Shultz said, only in the small universe of the bargaining room, the press room and Shultz's airplane. It had no relevance in the real world, where the Syrians, the Lebanese militia, the Israeli army and the religious zealots on all sides lived and continued to fight out their differences. ■

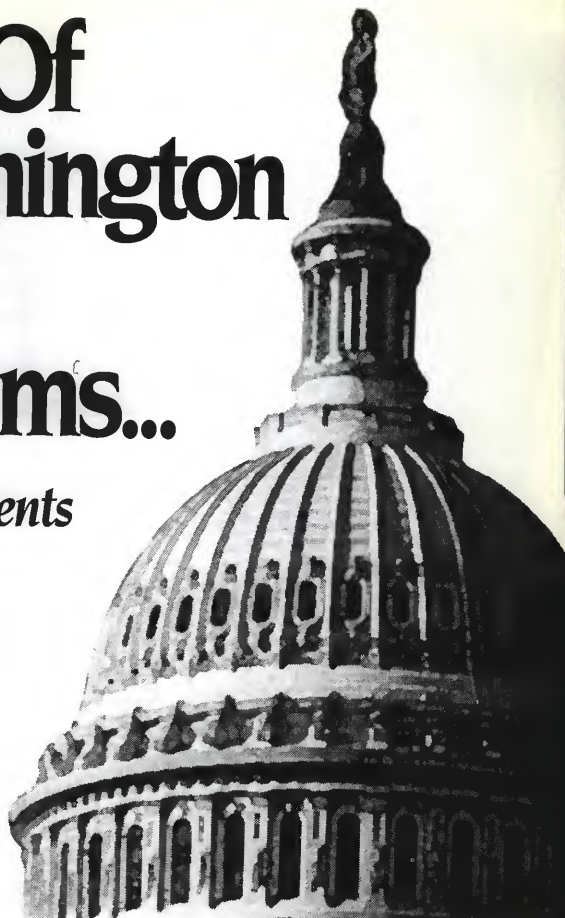
*This is an excerpt of an upcoming book, "Hand in Glove: How the Press Became an Arm of the Government."*

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**F**ormer Secretary of State James A. Baker III paid scrupulous attention to materials prepared for his congressional testimony. The word in the bureaucracy was that he had a rule of thumb dubbed The Five P's: Poor Preparation Equals Piss-Poor Performance. Bureaucratic apocrypha or not, the Five P's are a darn good rule, one any diplomat would do well to adapt in preparing for a meeting with a reporter.

Whether for a briefing in the embassy or a gauntlet of local journalists after a meeting with the foreign minister, prudent diplomats will take a few minutes before any contact to anticipate questions and consider answers. They will think about the story the reporters are likely to go away with and what its headline will be. Time and again experienced diplomatic practitioners reiterated the importance of planning ahead and having a message. "This is not a hard thing to do," said Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs Alexander Watson, "but people tend to forget to do it. You come out of the minister's office, you're asked what you talked about, and you can get flustered."

Similarly, Phyllis Oakley, spokeswoman for former Secretary of State George Shultz, said, "The principal thing that makes

people good is that they have a clear idea of what they want to accomplish. They have a purpose and they believe in a policy they want to promote. This is the clue to dealing with the press. You answer some of their questions, but you're also there to get a message out."

Having a message means being prepared. To prepare properly, the diplomat must have a clear sense of what he wants to achieve in a meeting. To be sure, articulation of U.S. policy should be one objective. As government officials, diplomats have an ethical responsibility to present as persuasively as possible the views of the administration they serve. Whether they agree with them or not is beside the point. The situation is not unlike that of a lawyer. "The question might be raised," one ambassador told me, "how a lawyer can advocate the innocence of a person he knows to be guilty. You must think of it as a legitimate part of a legitimate process. You are the agent of that person, regardless of your views."

The heart of the diplomatic profession is advocacy. But to be coherent, the business of explaining the policy must start with its formulation, not as a public relations afterthought. Simple message programming is not enough. Officials must also make a serious effort to inform. Journalists will not be satisfied with a flat statement of policy,





## Dealing With Reporters Means Watching Your P's and P's

BY DAVID D. PEARCE

or by having the official guidance read to them. They will be looking not only for facts, but for a sense of purpose. They will want to know not only what the objectives are, but what the choices were and why they were made the way they were.

**T**he high end of the spectrum of press contacts is when a diplomat has the opportunity to appear regularly and in a significant way as a spokesman for U.S. foreign policy, as Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering did while serving as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations during the Gulf War. His walks back and forth across the road from the U.S. mission to the U.N. headquarters building became a daily press stakeout. I asked Pickering what sort of mental checklist he would run down in preparing for a meeting or a press appearance. He addressed two different situations: the set-piece appearance and the walk-past.

For a set-piece appearance, "I would ask myself what's going on that will provide the reporters with a news peg, and that will give me an opportunity, as well as a challenge. My style is to prepare fairly thoroughly and use the resources of the people I have. A favorite technique of mine is to get them to ask me the hard questions. I make a point of not asking for the

answers — I want the toughest questions in any format. Then we would review the session and I'd get their input. I'd ask what they thought the reaction would be, whether there would be any backlash to what I had said, whether there were any additional facts I needed to have, and so forth."

On a walk-past, "I always thought to myself, 'What is it that the American people want to know about what we are trying to do?' I'd either focus directly on our objectives, or indirectly try to give a sense of our objectives. Generally, I find it's much better to underpromise and overdeliver. For example, I would say, 'This is the flow of events and stay tuned,' rather than, 'Tomorrow we will pass a resolution 10 to 3.'

"It's important to think through what it is that an audience may know about a question. I would try to find a way to capsize what I wanted to say, and to state it clearly.

"My instinct is always to go back to first principles. What is the policy? How have we explained it? How have we dealt with the issue at hand? What can we say now? If you're doing your job, it's rare that the press comes up with an issue that can't be dealt with."

Many of these same principles can be applied in routine media contacts like embassy briefings. The format and purpose of an embassy briefing will

differ somewhat, however, because the information flow overseas is more often two-way than it is domestically. Embassy briefers therefore should have an additional objective: To consider not only what they should convey, but what useful information they might be able to obtain. "Sometimes," Ambassador April Glaspie observed, "we may not be able to see the minister. Or, if we do, it may not be diplomatic for us to ask the question. But journalists can."

When Philip Habib was ambassador to South Korea, he had an ironclad rule that he always wanted to be the first to see American journalists who came to town. He wanted to tell reporters what to look for, and then meet them again before they left to see what they found out. Recalled Stan Zuckerman, his press attache, "He wanted to be the first because he wanted to give them questions to ask others. He didn't want them coming in to him doing other people's work." Zuckerman added, "Habib liked and respected journalists and they understood this. He also understood that they could turn an issue upside down."

Don Oberdorfer said he went to Korea about 25 times during his three-year stint as *The Washington Post* correspondent in Tokyo in the 1970s, when Habib was ambassador. Oberdorfer had known him when he was political counselor in Saigon for

Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge. "The first time I went, I called him up and went to see him. Habib said, 'Look, I'd like you to do something, I'd appreciate it if, whenever you're here, before you go back to Tokyo, you just stop in and visit. Well, I respected Habib and I did it. I'd sit there, and he'd say, 'What do you think about the situation?' and we'd talk, and he'd rarely tell me anything I didn't know. He was very cautious like that.

"One day, it was a Friday and Habib

"Hooterville," the predominantly Shia neighborhoods west of the Marine encampment at Beirut Airport.

"The Marines went out, and kids would wave at them and smile and shout." When the patrol went back for debriefing, Salhani said, he stood against the back wall, listening. The officers asked the men what they saw, and they reported that everything was fine. "People were real nice. They were waving and everything."

After the briefing, Salhani went up

ten sweep up information that the embassy doesn't have. In addition, there are frequently situations where they have access that diplomats don't for example, contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization. In 1977 when April Gaspie was a political officer in Egypt, the Palestinian parliament-in-exile, the Palestine National Council (PNC), held a meeting in Cairo. It was the first PNC session since 1974, that is, since before the start of the war in Lebanon, and discussions at the

conference were expected to be an important indicator of how Palestinian attitudes toward the peace process were developing. Because of a ban on contacts with the PLO, however,

U.S. diplomats could neither attend the meeting as observers, nor talk directly to PLO officials. "It was terribly important for us to know what the PLO was thinking," Gaspie said, "and the American Embassy was able to file three cables a day on that conference. Why? Because the U.S. reporters elected someone — on their own, not at our prompting — to come brief us three times a day. Then we'd meet at the end of the day and discuss what it all meant. We really could help each other."

Similarly, Edmund Hull, a former political counselor at Embassy Tunis, had extensive contact with journalists while working with Ambassador Chris Ross to cover a 1988 PNC meeting in Algiers. "The PLO was struggling to come to terms with our terms for discussions," he said. "There was a lot of contact with reporters and it was used to educate journalists that what was at stake was not the simple question of the PLO accepting Resolution 242 and automatically having a dialogue commence. The PLO was likely to say things that could be read in different ways. The idea was to avoid suggesting they had met conditions, but not ignore the real progress that was being made." When the PLO did finally meet U.S. terms for dialogue,

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said, 'When are you going back to Tokyo?' I said, 'I'm going tomorrow.' He said, 'Well, don't.' I said, 'Why?' and he said, 'Well, goddammit, I'm not going to spell it out for you, just don't!' Habib was very profane like that sometimes. He said, 'I'm just telling you, don't. Take my advice.' So I took his advice and canceled my flight. The next day, the president fired the director of the KCIA (the Korean intelligence service). Now, the head of the KCIA was the second most powerful man in the country. It was a very big story and I was the only correspondent there.

"I always felt it was part of Phil Habib's way of paying me back, his way of showing his appreciation that we kept those lines open."

Claude Salhani is one of the premier photographers of the war in Lebanon, providing pictures since the outbreak of civil strife in 1975 to the Beirut daily, *An Nabar*, the French photo agencies, Sygma and Sipa Press, United Press International and Reuters. A Beirut native, Salhani speaks Arabic, French, Italian, Spanish and English. He is experienced and attuned to the many dangers of operating in the city. In 1983 he accompanied some U.S. Marines on foot patrols through an area they called

to the Marine officers and said, "I know it's none of my business, but you guys really ought to get some Arabic speakers out there. Just because those people are waving doesn't mean they're being friendly. The men didn't understand what they were saying. They may have looked friendly, but they didn't sound friendly."

Behind those smiles and waves, the photographer told the officers, the residents of Hooterville were actually cursing the Marines. "They were saying, 'By the (private parts) of your sister, you bastard, I'm going to stab you in the back some day.' This is not exactly a Valentine card."

**T**he point is, journalists can be valuable sources of information, not only for Marines but for diplomats, not only overseas but in Washington. "I can't tell you how many times reporters have come in and given me information and views that I wouldn't otherwise have gotten," former Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern Affairs Edward Djerejian remarked. "This helps foreign policymakers a great deal. But it is something that is dimly — and I stress the word dimly — perceived here."

On breaking stories, journalists of-

Ambassador Robert Pelletreau conducted the discussions with PLO officials in Tunis and Hull continued background sessions with the reporters who visited the Tunisian capital.

Before meeting a reporter, Hull said, he would try to determine what the journalist wanted to talk about, for example, the PLO or Tunisian politics. "If the journalist asked, I would have a good sense of the U.S. policy position. I would have the recent guidance and know what the State Department had been saying. But reporters mostly did not just want the official line. They wanted a reading of the significance of something they would have heard and would ask if there was anything new there. They would want to compare what they'd heard from other sources. So I would listen, and give them an honest opinion. For example, I might point out that so and so is in the DFLP (the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a Marxist-Leninist group) and is not a mainstream person. Or I might note that another person is a self-promoter and doesn't always reflect accurately what the institution is thinking." In addition, Hull would be keyed to what he wanted to find out from the reporter. "Perhaps I wanted to check out something a British diplomat had told me. Or, I might be trying to get a feel for the in-fighting or dynamics in the PLO, what Abu Mazin was pushing as opposed to Abu Iyad."

VOA correspondent Doug Roberts noted two different approaches by reporters to embassy briefings: "In one, you go in on a specific subject, and you have a set of questions you want to follow up on — for example, what's the situation with the PLO? What's the government of Tunisia doing on one issue or another? "Then there is the more general briefing, where you have just gone from Cairo to Sudan and you're looking to find out what the story in the country is. You try out various ideas and comments and you look for elaboration from the diplomat. Maybe you're even looking for directions and this is an opportunity for the diplomat. If you're in Kuwait, and you're thinking of doing a story on the emir's 140th wife, and the diplomat gives you quotes on how a recent pro-

democracy meeting was the most representative gathering since the foundation of the state, then you've got a better story and you're off in a different direction."

The briefing, then, is laden with opportunity — opportunity to provide the reporter with facts and context; opportunity to enunciate and explain U.S. policy; opportunity to get the firsthand observations of an active and skilled observer; and opportunity to suggest lines of inquiry that may not have occurred to the reporter.

Even if newly arrived in the country, reporters usually will have a few specific story ideas when they come to an embassy briefing. If they have been in the country for some time, they may have gaps to fill and analysis to cross-check. In either case, the embassy public affairs officer, when setting up meetings, should try to get a sense of what the journalists are working on, and collect for potential briefers any items already filed.

Just as the reporters come prepared to the meeting, so too should the diplomats — by having clearly in mind what kind of story they would like to have come out of the briefing. This is particularly important in a group session where officials may get buffeted by questions from different directions. In this situation, they need to understand both what the message is and what it isn't. The briefers are there to convey a point of view, not just answer questions. "When I walk down the hall to that briefing room," former spokesman Richard Boucher said, "I try to tell myself what it is I want to say. If you're clear about what you want to say, you'll find five different ways to do it."

In a background briefing for an individual reporter, there may or may not be a specific policy message to convey, but it's always best to have a few clear-cut ideas to get across, keyed to the story the reporter will be working on. When preparing for a meeting with the reporter of a major U.S. news organization, the diplomat should set aside a few minutes before the session to think about what he or she wants to say. The main items to review are

background, key points to make, and quotes. A thumbnail outline may be useful as a general road map for the meeting.

The diplomat should first consider whether the basic background needed is at hand, such as texts of relevant policy statements, figures on population or recent voting results. If not, it should be gathered. Most posts have considerable unclassified background information and analysis a reporter would find useful. The more background the official can hand the journalist up front, the better both sides can use their limited time in the meeting.

If the reporter is new to the area or the issues, it is useful to offer a brief presentation at the outset, and then take questions. Unless the reporter is coming in on a very narrow issue, he or she will very often appreciate this. This not only gives both sides a common baseline, but provides the journalist with a quick snapshot of how the diplomat sizes up the situation. No matter how brilliant the non-resident journalist, the diplomat in country should have an edge over the circuit-rider in understanding the interplay of various issues. "An intelligent man can make up the lack of everything," Metternich observed, "except experience."

Having reviewed U.S. policy and general background, the diplomat should then consider how to benefit from the reporter's presence. Ambassador Samuel Lewis said of his media contacts in Israel, "I tried to be as responsive as possible, but I made it a rule that the name of the game is exchange of information and my goal — I would tell people this in conversation — is to learn more than you do. As long as it works that way, everything will be fine." Similarly, another ambassador remarked, "We are usually pretty busy. I won't waste my time if the journalist is not professional, that is, if there is nothing there for me, if it is only one-way. There has to be some promise there."

Most experienced correspondents know a briefing works best when it is a two-way street. Often, in fact, they will be looking for ways to help, both to encourage some sense of reciprocal

obligation on the diplomat's part and to provide an incentive for future meetings. A mental checklist should be made. Perhaps the correspondent toured a border area the diplomat hasn't visited for months and the official wants to ask about that. Perhaps the diplomat knows the journalist has an appointment with a leading politician and can help with background and questions — with a view to a readout later. Perhaps the envoy just wants to remember to anchor his or her discussion in a central theme. To illustrate: Peace talks between government

his own thoughts in the diplomat's mouth by getting agreement, or at least drawing no objection, to the reporter's own analysis. The diplomat should therefore listen carefully when a correspondent offers his or her thoughts, because if the official nods agreement, or doesn't disagree, the analysis could conceivably appear in a story under the rubric of "diplomatic sources."


Since the journalist faces the tough task of translating a complex foreign reality into an American cultural reference, it also helps to think of as many "bridging" concepts

hammer: they should have a few ideas in mind, and look for a logical moment to get them across.

Diplomats should also be mindful of their own limitations. The U.S. embassy is not the only game in town. Reporters will measure what they hear at the embassy against their own observations, the words of other diplomats and local politicians, and common sense. If there are holes, they are likely to find them. Therefore, it is unwise to suppose that one is either smarter than reporters or that one can put something over on them.

"I always assumed that the reporter was smarter than I was," said Edmund Hull. "And when I was with Judy Miller of the *New York Times* or someone of her caliber, I knew I was with someone a hell of a lot smarter than I was. If you fool yourself into thinking that you're intellectually superior

and that you can control the reporter, you're letting yourself in for a fall."

Diplomats should always have something to say, and forgo no opportunity to say it. But it is important to remember the Five P's. There is no substitute for thorough preparation, and knowing one's message is the first and most important step in any contact with the press. "Grasp the subject," Cato the Elder said. "The words will follow." 

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*David D. Pearce, a Foreign Service officer scheduled to become consul general this summer in Dubai, U.A.E., is a former United Press International reporter, Washington Post copy editor and writer-editor in the National Geographic Society book service. This excerpt is from a forthcoming book, "Diplomatic Sources," to be published in 1995 under the auspices of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University. The book was researched and written in 1992-93 under the Una Chapman Cox sabbatical leave program.*

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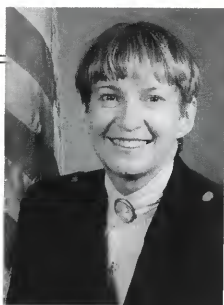
and rebels have their ups and downs, but the important thing is that they're still talking and progress has been made, for example, in delivery of relief supplies.

The conventions of newswriting are such that correspondents normally must attribute, not assert, information and analysis. The diplomat therefore has sourcing value to a journalist. The use of the words "observers" or "analysts," in journalistic code, is frequently understood to mean that the reporter himself is making the observation. However keen the correspondent's insights or dubious the diplomat's, in the unwritten hierarchy of attribution solidity, editors tend to prefer attribution to "Western diplomats" over "Western observers." If a cynical editor sees "observers" or "analysts" too often, he or she may entertain the notion that the reporter has not done enough legwork and is simply pulling analysis out of his hat.

Thus, even if the reporter thinks he knows better than the diplomat what's happening and why, the official still can be of value if the journalist can put

as possible. This might be a simple matter, such as saying that Country X is the size of New Jersey or that its capital city has the same population as Buffalo. It might mean saying the governor runs his political organization like a Chicago ward boss, or that the country produces enough chromium every year to supply U.S. needs for a decade. Or it might be a more complicated matter, like explaining how the old Kuwaiti custom of setting aside a room to greet guests developed from merchants and dhow captains talking tides and pearl prices in hundreds of mini-town forums.

The point is not to manipulate, but to be prepared. It doesn't help reporters if their briefers are piles of jello. Journalists can scent uncertainty, and it stimulates the predatory instinct. If diplomats don't have a clear idea in their own mind what they want to convey, chances are they won't convey anything clearly. It is far better to have a sense of purpose and direction, even against the wind, than no mental moorings. But the message should be used by briefers as a compass, not a jack-



# A Visit to Consular Affairs

*Mary A. Ryan, Assistant Secretary for Consular Affairs (CA) since May, was formerly Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary at the bureau from January to October 1990. This recent interview was conducted by William D. Morgan, a retired Foreign Service officer who has served in various consular posts in Paris, Montreal and Washington.*

**MORGAN:** *Is there a new awareness that Consular Affairs is playing more of a major role in the State Department?*

**RYAN:** I didn't have that sense in 1990, but I do have it now, that Consular Affairs is an important part of the department, and obviously they recognize the kinds of things that we're doing.

**MORGAN:** *The new administration gave Vice President Gore the task of "reinventing government," and he singled out the Consular Bureau. Would you comment on this?*

**RYAN:** Well, it was interesting, because the reinvention of government task force coincided with my own arrival in CA, and the secretary said that at the Cabinet meeting where it was first discussed, they were looking for "laboratories," as they called them, in various departments of the government. He and the president thought of CA simultaneously as the "laboratory" here in State. I must say I wasn't sure I liked the idea of all that high-level attention when I was coming in new to the bureau, but actually it worked out very well. I got terrific input from people in the bureau. I have a book which has numerous suggestions and recommendations and ideas about how we might do things differently, better, more efficiently, and we're in the process of implementing a number of those. The first part of the "laboratory" that we're experimenting in is Overseas Citizens Services, where there's a major reorganization taking place, which I expect to be finished soon. We will then look at other parts of the bureau — fraud prevention programs office, the visa office. Passports is an ongoing process, a constant process where [Deputy Secretary for Passport Services] Barry Kefauver and [Associate Director] Bill Camp and their staffs are constantly evaluating and re-evaluating the work there. Then finally we'll end up with our executive office. We've already reinvented, if you will, the public affairs and policy coordination shop.



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**MORGAN:** *Since your return, what kind of guidance have you been receiving from the leaders in your department?*

**RYAN:** Right after I was named to this job, the secretary asked to see me and told me that he would always be accessible to me. Any time I needed to talk to him, his door would always be open, which was quite a change from the most recent past. He has a meeting with the assistant secretaries every week, where we have the opportunity to exchange views very freely. It's not an inhibiting meeting at all. He's very open and receptive to anything that you want to say. He spends a great deal of time with us in that meeting. I'm also delighted to be working directly for Dick Moose, the under secretary for management. I knew Dick before when he was in AF as assistant secretary. ... He's very interested in Consular Affairs. I think it's part of his empire that he likes a lot. It's a great joy to be working for these people.

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**MORGAN:** *Have any major changes occurred or been proposed for the Overseas Citizens Services?*

**RYAN:** We are combining work previously done in the Emergency Center (EMR) and Citizens Consular Services (CCS) into geographic divisions which mimic the regional bureaus. We think it makes sense to streamline the process for our citizens and to improve the cross-training of our officers. I think the customer service aspect of our work will be enhanced by the reorganization and that, of course, is the fundamental objective of the entire reinvention of government effort. We will also create a division devoted to children's issues: international adoption, abduction and custody. We found that the workload here is growing tremendously. While we have an extremely hard-working and committed staff now, led by Linda Donahue, we realized that we need to devote additional resources to these highly charged and emotional issues. We will have a

staff of 10 with the additional positions coming from re-programmed slots within CA. The third pillar of the new OCS will be an Interagency Liaison and Policy Review [division]. This division will adjudicate citizenship issues and will be the point of contact for us with all the other agencies having interest in citizens overseas.

**MORGAN:** *Your objectives sound as though you may need more resources. How is CA facing the drastic cuts in personnel required by the Clinton administration?*

**RYAN:** CA works closely with the under secretary for management and other department bureaus to identify efficiencies. For example, we will continue to streamline the immigrant visa processing function and will open the National Visa Center in Portsmouth, New Hampshire this spring. The center will continue to relieve large immigrant visa-issuing posts of correspondence and files maintenance responsibilities, thereby allowing posts to either reprogram or reduce staffing. CA is revising the consular package to make it a better tool for allocating consular personnel resources. This will help CA work with regional bureaus to ensure that staffing cuts do not threaten critical consular services.

**MORGAN:** *What have you and your colleagues learned from the events of November 1992, when bureau personnel were accused of searching State Department passport files for politically damaging information on then-presidential candidate Bill Clinton?*

**RYAN:** I think it is important to remind everyone that the people within the Bureau of Consular Affairs have and always have had integrity. It was the leadership that failed. The problems of last fall. ... point to the absolute necessity of appointing people to lead bureaus and/or departments who have the basic qualifications of integrity and commitment to the ideals upon which the nation was founded. What was com-

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pletely lacking was any sense of the public trust. There was plenty of evidence long before the Clinton files search that there was something fundamentally wrong with the way CA was being led. Unfortunately, people in positions to correct that chose to do nothing until forced to take action. That I personally find particularly deplorable.

**MORGAN:** *You speak of "public trust." Can you give some examples of the American public's response to the CA's more open, service-oriented approach?*

**RYAN:** The public response to our service-oriented approach has been very positive. Letters commending consular officers' service are received on a regular basis. A family whose brother was missing in Saudi Arabia recently wrote, "The helpful supportive and responsive service [of the consular section was handled] professionally, yet the consular officers didn't forget to be human."

**MORGAN:** *Going back to the things you listed as major functions of the Consular Bureau, let's start with the protection of Americans abroad. The American public and Congress continue to press for more services. Where do you think the bureau is and will be going in such areas as notification of dangerspots, protection against terrorism, and reactions of the bureau to crises or tragedies like the Pan Am 103?*

**RYAN:** The bureau's primary responsibility is the protection of our citizens overseas. Every consular officer I've ever met has this commitment and this work ethic. That, of course, is not to say that we can't do things better. We are constantly exploring methods to improve our service, particularly in crisis situations. CA's handling of the events resulting from invasion of Kuwait and then the Gulf War in 1990-91 was nothing short of heroic. I was in the perfect position to observe that work as director of the Kuwait Task Force. At one time during that

crisis, we had seven consular task forces operating on a 24-hour, seven-day-a-week basis, all of them devoting every minute to the Americans caught up in that situation: finding them, advising their families, repatriating them. It is the consular officer's greatest boast that no American who wanted to leave the area was left behind, and no consular officer left before the last American private citizen was out. That's the commitment we build on. We have on-going crisis management training. We teach listening skills and how to work with the emotionally distraught. We teach how to recognize emotional burnout in oneself and what to do to recover from it, among other things. We have a microlog system and an electronic bulletin board to get information on danger spots to the traveling public as quickly as possible. We recently revamped consular information for every country in the world, advising not just on political unrest, but crime and other issues Americans should know about before they go abroad. We welcome recommendations and suggestions on how we might improve.

**MORGAN:** *Perhaps out of your difficult experience on the Hill, some good has come in the sense of increased focus on terrorism and the need for increased resources. For example, your colleagues in the department, especially those who control resources, are more alert to the need to improve technological and computer systems.*

**RYAN:** Absolutely right. The Congress recognized this problem in the aftermath of the [1993] World Trade Center bombing. The State Department Authorization Bill has language in it which would allow us to put a \$20 processing surcharge at machine-readable visa (MRV) posts. The House version permits us to keep that money, and we are hopeful that this will emerge from the conference between the House and Senate on our authorization. That money

would let us put every post on line far faster than would be possible using funds in CA's budget. I think my colleagues in FMP [Bureau of Finance and Management Policy] always recognized the importance of automating the world. The problem isn't a lack of good will. It's a lack of resources. The department is chronically underfunded. That makes very tough choices inevitable. The State Department simply doesn't have the money we need to do everything we have to do, to say nothing of what we'd like to do.

The department needs to provide all posts with automated name-check capability on a priority basis. To this end, we expect to install automated name checking worldwide within the next 18 to 24 months, and with sufficient funding, to install the machine-readable visa worldwide within three years.

**MORGAN:** *Speaking more generally about migration to this country, the administration recently put migration policy under the Refugee Bureau in the State Department. Do you have any comment on this?*

**RYAN:** That the policy was taken from CA is another unfortunate result of the kind of leadership the bureau had in the recent past. While I do lament that the decision was made, and we are doing our best to get our ideas across to the bureau that now has the responsibility, we work very closely and I think very well with RP [Refugee Bureau].

**MORGAN:** *There has been talk of moving the visa function out of the department. Do you think that may happen?*

**RYAN:** No — and I would oppose that. I think State Department Foreign Service officers in the consular cone are the ones best suited to deal with the foreign policy aspects of visa work. I believe no other agency, existing or future, would do as well. I told the bureau when I came back last year

that I didn't return to CA to preside over the dissolution of one of our most critical functions.

**MORGAN:** *INS (Immigration and Nationalization Service) officers serve overseas in their own function, as well as pre-clearance in certain countries. Is the relationship between INS and CA changing?*

**RYAN:** We have an excellent working relationship with our colleagues at INS. Doris Meissner was a brilliant choice for commissioner. I like and respect her enormously, and I expect that CA-INS relations will be better than ever before with the two of us in our jobs. INS handles its responsibilities very well, and they are confronted with the similar challenges of inadequate funding and staffing resources just as we are. I hope to see a formal exchange of consular officers and INS officers doing each other's work during my tenure so that we can each better understand and appreciate the constraints under which we both labor.

**MORGAN:** *How do you assess the present morale of the bureau and are there ways it can be improved?*

**RYAN:** I just hope the bureau's morale is as high as my own. I love being back in CA. I'm having the time of my life. I work on endlessly interesting issues with the best people in the department and overseas. Who could ask for more? I think it's safe for me to say that CA staff is happier than they were under my predecessor, but that's not saying much. I am working very hard at letting them all know how highly I regard them and how much respect I have for them. People all over CA are killing themselves to make me look good. I know this, and I am really humbled by it. They work tirelessly on behalf of our fellow citizens and others, and I want, during my tenure here, to ensure they get the recognition they deserve as professionals for that effort. 🧢

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# BOOKS

## Calming the New World Disorder

NATION AGAINST STATE: A NEW APPROACH TO ETHNIC CONFLICTS AND THE DECLINE OF SOVEREIGNTY

By *Gidon Gottlieb, Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993, \$14.95, paperback, 148 pages.*

Reviewed by **Daniel O. Newberry**

All in one week three recent publications intersected on the reviewer's desk. From one direction, Robert D. Kaplan's doomsday article in the February 1994 issue of *Atlantic Monthly* entitled, "The Coming Anarchy," promised to show the reader how crime, overpopulation, tribalism and disease are rapidly destroying the social fabric


of our planet. Alongside the Kaplan article lay a flier for a Cato Institute book, "Apocalypse Not," setting out to debunk the alleged global threats to mankind and appealing for respect for calm, objective science.

In this atmosphere, a calm, objective look at foreign policy options might supply a welcome antidote to the dismaying preoccupation with the pathology of the "new world disorder." Gottlieb's book, "Nation Against State," carrying the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) imprimatur, does not quite dispel all intimations of schizophrenia, but it is comforting, in its way, for the Foreign Service reader who clings stubbornly to the proverbial optimism of the professional diplomatist.

Gottlieb's book, like most CFR

titles, emerged from a discussion group, this one participated in by such worthies as Henry Kissinger, Pat Moynihan and Tom Pickering. The manuscript went to the publisher in February 1993. Its characterizations of ethnic conflicts and signs of the "decline of sovereignty" are inevitably out-of-date, but only on specifics. What makes this book timely is that the author and the participants in the CFR discussion group bring forward some innovative approaches for contending with today's actual and prospective conflicts that are waged in the name of nationhood.

Gottlieb has chosen Ireland, Cyprus, the former Yugoslavia, the Kurds, Armenia and Azerbaijan for attention in the necessarily small



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frame of his book. He briefly parses the well-known difficulties in each conflict and proceeds to offer a suggestion for a new approach in each situation. None of his suggestions will evoke a cry of "eureka!" from the weary veteran of efforts at conflict resolution. Gottlieb acknowledges that innovative approaches can come into consideration only when the political will has been embraced by the parties to a conflict. The recent experience of the Israel-PLO peace process is sufficient reminder that the political will can be nourished and brought into play. Getting to that point, in the case of the Arabs and the Israelis, took over 40 years and a great deal of ferment elsewhere in the world. The burden of Gottlieb's contemplation is that we need not

give up trying to resolve the conflicts.

*Daniel O. Newberry, a retired FSO, is a member of the Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board.*

## Just Like Dear Old Dad

### THE DIPLOMAT'S DAUGHTER

*By William Kinsolving, Nan A. Talese/Doubleday, 1993, \$22.50, paperback, 406 pages.*

### Reviewed by Anne Stevenson-Yang

The diplo-thriller, pioneered by W.T. Tyler and with notable contributions by Philip Gould and Paul Theroux, is fast becoming a crowded genre, but William Kinsolving's latest novel stands with the best of them.

The action orbits two strong central characters, Lily McCann, daughter of a Foreign Service officer of the old school, brilliant, beautiful and military in her diplomatic discipline and dedication to service, and the charismatically dastardly Worth Deloit, whom she marries and divorces, a climber whose ambition would make Eliott Abrams seem retiring. McCann is pursued from her youth by a mysterious terrorist group, which murders her father as part of its campaign to destroy Israel. Her affinities attract her to both a zealous Arab nationalist and an Israeli spy. She survives a bombing, is kidnapped by terrorists, clashes with a turf-mad CIA agent and a chauvinistic political ambassador, and does astute political reporting, but this quick-



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## BOOKS

clip action simply creates engaging scenery around the real action: Lily's coming of age in the Foreign Service.

Lily is delineated against the contrasting character of her university professor and later hierarchical superior, Worth, who applies the same fierce concentration to diplomacy and dinner parties alike. Worth's career trajectory requires a bit of suspension of disbelief, because it is premised on the thoroughly discredited October Surprise theory. But the type he represents is familiar: talented and ingratiating, he has an unflinching instinct for placing himself where he will be noticed by political lights, and he makes sure they become indebted to him. On the strength of his personal winningness spiced with implicit blackmail, Worth vaults to an assistant secretaryship while Lily is still laboring in the trenches.

Lily, on the other hand, is the Foreign Service beast itself, and there is a whiff of the dying breed about her. Born in Cairo to an earnest and erudite Arabist and a French woman-about-town, she grows up bilingual, hyperintellectual, and a little bit lonely. Her decision to enter the Foreign Service is portrayed as partly a vindication of her father's straight-arrow loyalty to a diplomatic service that pushed him aside when area and language expertise became quaint. Lily's honesty, patriotism and unflinching willingness to sublimate her ego to the tasks at hand are vindicated in the end when a kindly Bush stand-in bestows an ambassadorship upon her. It is hardly worth saying that Worth does not fare as well.

Although he has diplomats in the family, Kinsolving is neither a Foreign Service officer nor a Foreign Service brat, but the dexterity with which he writes about the American diplomatic life belies his inexperience. This is an enjoyable book for anyone; for a member of a Foreign Service family, reading it is like seeing friends as extras in movies; you're

in on the secret, and that makes the book all the more fun.

*Anne Stevenson-Yang works for the U.S. China Business Council in Beijing. She served as the Foreign Service Journal editor from 1990-1993.*

## Uniting, the Deutsche Way

### BEYOND THE WALL: GERMANY'S ROAD TO UNIFICATION

By Elizabeth Pond, *Brookings Institution*, 1993, \$28.95, hardcover, 350 pages.

Reviewed by Bowman Miller

For 45 years, the division of Europe bifurcated Germany and brought about a massive divergence in the attitudes and histories of what became two very different German peoples. For fully 30 of those years, successive West German governments pursued a complex, constricted, and at times contradictory policy designed to make life under communism more bearable for the eastern Germans. Bonn's ultimate challenge was to not abandon all hope for eventual German unification even as West German policies clearly were aiding in the further entrenchment of the one-party dictatorship of the East German Socialist Unity Party (SED).

This, then, is the amazing story of a mix of policies and factors which led to the sudden collapse of what had been viewed as the most stalwart and economically viable eastern communist system—a history of an unprecedented, very courageous public rejection of its superimposed regime.

In 1982, after 13 years of carping from the opposition benches against Social Democratic Party (SPD) inner-German policy (*Deutschlandpolitik* and *Ostpolitik*), Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats and Franz Josef Strauss' Bavarian conservative Christian Social Union took over in Bonn only to continue that same policy without skipping a beat. Indeed, much to his personal discomfort, it

was Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl who finally hosted Erich Honecker with full tribute in his first and only official visit to West Germany.

Unity came quickly to the Germans, too quickly in some respects. It came literally out of the blue, with little forewarning and no German preparation. Frequent speculations that Germany had a secret plan or that West Germans would trade unity for neutrality proved to be the claptrap most Germany analysts had long labelled them. First-time East German visitors to the United States since 1990 routinely want to know one thing: When did U.S. analysts become convinced that German unity was coming? The honest answer lies somewhere between the Tiananmen Square massacre in China in June 1989 and the Nov. 9, 1989 opening of the Berlin Wall.

The even more honest answer, except for U.S. Ambassador Vernon Walters, is that few analysts were poised for German unification, at least until Gorbachev's stiff attendance at the early October 1989 commemoration of the GDR's 40th birthday.

The cruel irony of the GDR's collapse and of unification as it proceeds today is that artful GDR manipulation of its economic performance data convinced West German leaders of two great untruths: That revolution and unification remained virtually unthinkable in East Germany and, later, when unity was foreordained, that the GDR's economic wherewithal would make unification less costly and time-consuming than it is. Kohl himself first came to be convinced of unification's inevitability when he visited Dresden to a hero's welcome well after the Wall opened.

Elizabeth Pond, one of this country's most experienced and insightful analysts of German and European affairs, has produced a seminal history, and informative pre-history, of German unification. It is a masterful recounting of the intricate web of relationships, diplomatic and

political maneuvers, and negotiations which culminated in the formal completion of the external unification of Germany. That process, a nine-month pre-unification pregnancy, also is a hallmark of American diplomacy, which itself should interest foreign affairs specialists. When histories of the 20th century are written, American leadership in conceiving and managing the Two-plus-Four German unification negotiation process will prove to be a major U.S. political achievement — having simultaneously dealt masterfully with a Soviet Union in its own dying, potentially desperate days.

Pond, a journalist, starts her story with a bang and retains a brisk tempo. The account is properly fast-paced. She focuses major attention on the real but all too quickly forgotten heroes of German unification — the hundreds of thousands of everyday East Germans who took to the streets in 1989 in protest, with no reason not to fear for their lives. Her history gives all the actors in this drama their appropriate due: courageous East German dissidents and normal citizens; the confused and gradually acquiescent post-Honecker GDR leadership; thoroughly outgunned post-communist East German leaders in the German-German negotiations to end the GDR's existence; Presidents Bush, Gorbachev, Kohl, Mitterrand and Prime Minister Thatcher; and second only to the East German citizenry, the authors of U.S. diplomacy.

She lets us know throughout her highly readable narrative where to distinguish among reports, recollections, and the sometimes biased reflections. And she is quick to correct any of the actors' attempts to alter the record or embellish their own roles or contributions.

The one area of her work that leaves one not than satisfied, however, is her last chapter, "Agenda for America," that now seemingly obligatory close for so many modern works on history and politics. While one can debate the merits of her indi-

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## BOOKS

vidual arguments, this reader is left with a fully confident, almost irrepressibly optimistic perspective on the future of united Germany. Most of the facts, in my view, support her optimism — as do everyone's hopes for Germany. But there are limits and a few hints which warrant our focus and perhaps even some concern.

Some lie in the fading European idealism and permissive consensus behind European integration among the post-Kohl generation of Germans. Others have to do with continued German fretting and whining over the singular burdens and vulnerabilities they face; Germans are still feeling overexposed on Europe's front lines — now more political and economic, less military or ideological, but newly porous as well. Some voices and causes represented on the fringes in contemporary German politics and society also give one some pause as migrants are attacked, abuses are hurled, and stereotypes proliferate.

Germany, in a word, has much going for it, and Pond tells us precisely how it came to pass that Germany obtained its third chance in this century to "get it right." Her readers will find it hard not to recognize and acknowledge how crucial the U.S. role was in affording Germany that opportunity. It is, however, not enough now simply to hope that Germany finds and stays on the proper course. It is, rather, a U.S. policy responsibility — to ourselves, to Germany, and to Europe — to ensure that Germany and the Germans do precisely that. And in so doing, we should remind ourselves of one overarching fact of unification: The Germans may be deeply grateful for American support in unification and for our overall role since 1945, but they do not for a moment believe that their gratitude involves any debt to the United States that will or should come in the form of German policies. 

*Bowman H. Miller is the director of analysis for Western Europe and Canada (INR).*

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# IN MEMORY

**Henry A. Byroade**, 80, a retired Army general and Foreign Service officer, died of cardiopulmonary arrest on Dec. 31. He had cancer.

In 1952, he resigned from the Army when President Truman named him assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs.

The first of his six ambassadorial assignments was to Cairo. He took the post in 1955.

He subsequently served as the U.S. chief envoy in South Africa, Afghanistan, Burma, the Philippines and Pakistan. He also did a tour of duty with the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1977.

He is survived by his wife, Jitka Donda Byroade, of Potomac, and their daughter, Linda B. Griffin; three sons from his first marriage, Gene R., Alan M. and Jon D. Byroade; two stepsons, John D. and Mark D. Henson; and two grandchildren.

**Raymond Hare**, 92, a career ambassador, died of pneumonia Feb. 9 at his home in Washington.

During 39 years in the Foreign Service, he was ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Turkey and Egypt. He succeeded Henry A. Byroade as ambassador to Egypt. He was the U.S. representative in Cairo during negotiations about the waterway, the subsequent Anglo-French invasion of Suez and the Israeli invasion of the Sinai.

Hare also served as director general of the Foreign Service and deputy undersecretary of state for political affairs. He retired in 1966 as assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs. Until 1969, he was president of the Middle East Institute. Hare began his career as an embassy clerk in Istanbul and was later posted to Paris, Cairo, Beirut, Tehran, Jidda and London.

In 1934, he was a member of the delegation that established diplomatic relations with Afghanistan. In the mid-1940s, he participated in the Dumbarton

Oaks Conference, was a delegate to the first United Nations General Assembly as well as the London and Paris peace conferences, and served on the delegation to establish diplomatic relations with Nepal. He also attended the National War College.

He is survived by two children, Paul and Raymond Hare; a sister, Ethel Lien; and six grandchildren.

**Arthur Hopkins Hudson**, 84, retired Foreign Service officer, died Dec. 28 in Black Mountain, N.C. He was buried with full military honors at Arlington National Cemetery on Jan. 6.

After graduating from the University of Nebraska, he worked as a journalist. He served as a lieutenant commander in the Navy during World War II from 1943-1945. In 1946, Hudson was named head of the journalism department at Beloit College in Wisconsin.

Joining the State Department as a Foreign Service officer in 1951, he was subsequently posted to Israel, the Philippines, India and Washington, DC. He retired in 1967 and relocated to Israel.

Survivors include his two sons, Charles and Edward Hudson, and three grandchildren.

**David J.S. Manbey**, 75, retired Foreign Service officer, died following a stroke on Feb. 9 in Chichester, West Sussex, England where he had lived since his retirement in 1975.

He received undergraduate and graduate degrees from the University of California—Berkley. Manbey's first Foreign Service post was Frankfurt, followed by tours of duty in Port-au-Prince, Bremen, Duesseldorf and Vienna. Subsequent Washington assignments included the National War College, the opening of the first U.S. post in Kigali, Rwanda and again in Frankfurt as economic officer and deputy consul-general. Final assignments were to Ottawa, and prior to his retirement, consul-general in Halifax.

Manbey is survived by a sister, Sylvia London, of Auburn, Calif.

**Myron Henderson Schraud**, 96, died Feb. 8 of pneumonia in Chula Vista, Calif.

During a 37-year career as a Foreign Service officer, he served in the consular service in Honduras, Mexico, Germany and Bolivia.


Schraud served in the U.S. Navy from 1917-1919, assigned to forces defending the Panama Canal Zone during World War I. He was employed by the San Antonio and Aransas Pass Railway Company for eight years before entering the U.S. Foreign Service in 1926. From 1951-1953 he served as consul at the consulate general in Stuttgart, Germany and was then assigned to the U.S. Embassy in La Paz. In 1956 he became Consul in Tijuana, where he remained until his retirement in 1963.

Schraud is survived by his wife, Mae Richards Schraud; two daughters, Katherine Louise Schraud and Susan Schraud Matheson; and four grandchildren.

**Ralph R. Seward**, 86, a long time member of the Foreign Service Grievance Board, died of congestive heart failure in Washington, D.C. on Jan. 19.

Seward was appointed to the interim grievance board in the mid-1970s. When Congress included grievance procedures in the Foreign Service Act of 1980, he was appointed to the statutory board and served until 1991, when he retired for health reasons.

His great-great grandfather was Secretary of State William Seward, who arranged the purchase of Alaska in 1867 for slightly more than \$7 million. Despite the price of about 2 cents an acre, the purchase was ridiculed as "Seward's Folly."

He is survived by his wife, Clayton Cranwell Seward of Washington, D.C.; two sons from his first marriage to Norma North, Timothy and Paul Seward; a stepson, H.C. Bowen Smith; and a stepdaughter, Hildreth Becker. 



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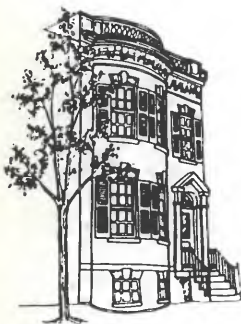
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## A Holland Ice Escapade

BY DAVID RABADAN

In 1986, we lived in Maassluis, a small town about 20 miles west of Rotterdam. During our two winters in The Netherlands, my daughters and I skated on the lakes and canals near our home. On some days the feeling was of being part of a Dutch masters painting, with all manner of traffic on the ice and sellers of hot chocolate along the canal sides.

Late in February, I decided it was time to join a *toertocht* or skating tour. What better way to begin the closing chapter of our two years in Holland than with a truly Dutch activity?

The starting point of the 30-kilometer tour was a tavern in Maasland. I successfully communicated my desire to skate the *toertocht* to the two officials and they gave me a map and checkpoint card. They entered the first stamp of the six I would need to prove I had completed the course. This was not a race, but an at-your-own-speed recreational skate.

I entered the flat, frozen marsh that comprised almost the entire course. The wind was stiffer than I had thought; about five kilometers out I turned south for the first checkpoint. With the wind at my back, I glided to the checkpoint and got the stamp.

It took but a few strides into the first northward leg to tell me that the fun was over. That helpful tailwind, colder now it seemed, blew straight in my face. The canals were crammed with skaters, only a few of whom seemed to be on the *toertocht*. Kids were learning to skate, horsedrawn sleighs moved at a brisk pace, entrepreneurs sold *erwtensoep* (green pea soup), candy bars, tea and

hot chocolate. I passed a windmill or two and settled into something of a rhythm nudging myself into the north wind.

Eventually, I sighted what had to be the Schipluiden checkpoint — Cafe Sport — and it was just as smoke-filled and raucous as the one in Maasland. I passed the card to the stamper. Now



there were three marks on the card — only three more to go. I headed south on the return leg to the skating club in Vlaardingen. It was a breeze, literally; I wish I had timed it. I presented the card for the stamp, then set out on the next northward leg.

Again the wind hit me full in the face. Was it worth it to try to get back up to that tavern for the fifth stamp? Head down and ski cap pulled over my ears, I set my course. By this point the willing spirit was challenged by two suddenly heavier legs. My strides were shorter and the wind seemed to pick up speed. It was harder to breathe. At last the

tavern came into sight. For the last time I crossed the carpeted ground, checked in, decided to skip the beer and headed back to the final, tailwind-assisted stretch.

Although the battle was not yet won, it was downhill from here. At the final crossing I took a right turn heading west into the sun and the last stamp at the tavern in Maasland.

The crosswind was of little consequence as I drove on toward the final rendezvous. For sure there would be a ceremony of some type, an award, a recognition of the solitary battle waged against the elements.

At the canal bank I took off my skates, then unsteadily walked to the tavern. It was as smoky as before, and the two men who put the first stamp on my card were still there. The fellow on my left reached into a small box and in one smooth motion picked out a small bronze medal with a blue, white and red ribbon and tossed it across the table in my direction. The other man hit the card with the final stamp. "*Dank U wel, Mineer!*" I said, put the medal into my pocket and headed for the door.

The great skate was over. I drove home and proudly displayed the medal to my wife and kids, who were only slightly impressed. On Monday morning the wind came out of the south and the final winter thaw was under way. But, I didn't care. I had my medal — and the satisfaction of having skated 30 kilometers of canals at the tail end of a tough Dutch winter. ■

*David Rabadan works in the Consulate General's office in Toronto.*

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