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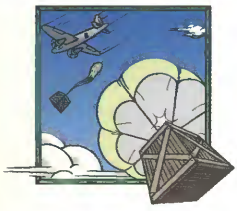

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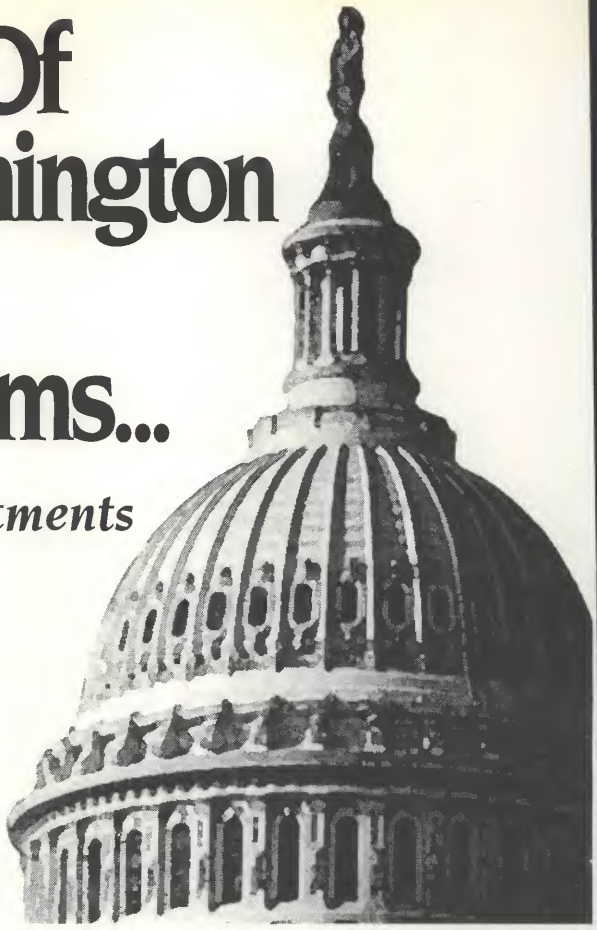

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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Public Support Needed To Meet Congressional Challenge

BY F. A. "TEX" HARRIS

From the Foreign Service's perspective, perhaps the most striking feature of the 1994 congressional election campaign was the almost total absence of any foreign affairs content. Even though the election was seen by many pundits as an efficiency report on the Clinton administration's first tour, not a single candidate made a campaign issue of any international issue. As far as the American electorate was concerned, the rest of the world simply didn't matter.

This should not surprise us. Since the end of the Cold War, America's drift toward global disengagement has been reflected in public-opinion polls and in the steady erosion of resources for foreign affairs. Witness the diminution of the State Department budget by nearly 7 percent during a period in which the United States opened two dozen new embassies.

With the election of 1994 and the ascendence of Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) to the chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that trend just became much worse. The day after the election, Sen. Helms held a press conference at which he laid out his far-reaching agenda as SFRC chairman. It includes drastic cuts in foreign aid program, possible abolition of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and a "complete reevaluation" of relations with the United Nations.

Most ominously, Sen. Helms put you and me squarely in his crosshairs, promising that the committee would "evaluate ... why the Foreign Service should operate under different personnel rules from all other of our government's civilian personnel."

Sen. Helms put you and me squarely in his crosshairs.

Clearly, the Foreign Service and its programs are going to be scrutinized and challenged across the board. We will have to justify not only our activities, but our very existence as a distinct service. This inquisition can prove a blessing if it empowers us to break the conceptual gridlock that has thwarted all reengineering efforts so far. Meeting the congressional challenge means that those tasks that are truly important must be done with excellence. Those that are least important must be abandoned. This is called "foreign affairs management." It is not an oxymoron.

But the challenge is much deeper. The shift in Congress reflects the introspective — not to say isolationist — mood of the American people. Unless that mindset can be reversed, unless a convincing case can be made for active American leadership in a disorderly and turbulent world, the struggle to preserve a healthy, dynamic Foreign Service will ultimately prove irrelevant. While the professional energies of the Foreign Service are properly concentrated on securing America's interests abroad, we must work to secure our domestic base if we are to compete successfully for resources to do our job well.

In the past few years, AFSA has developed an array of outreach programs to help build that essential domestic constituency: the World Issues Forum, through which Foreign Service actives and retirees speak to domestic audiences on foreign policy issues; a corporate affiliates group and a public conference series to strengthen ties with the business community; a budding Legislative Action Network, which mobilizes appeals to Congress on Foreign Service issues; a computer-based dialogue program — Diplomats Online, and the Coalition for American Leadership Abroad to strengthen the outreach efforts of dozens of like-minded organizations.

Obviously, AFSA hasn't done enough, and realistically, these programs can only make a small dent in the problem. But given the stakes, they are more than worth the effort. Every member of the Foreign Service has a valuable contribution to make, whether by speaking to a hometown civic group, sharing real-life experience online with a high school current-events class, or mentoring a talented minority-group aspirant to the Foreign Service.

You owe it to yourselves and to your profession. ■

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

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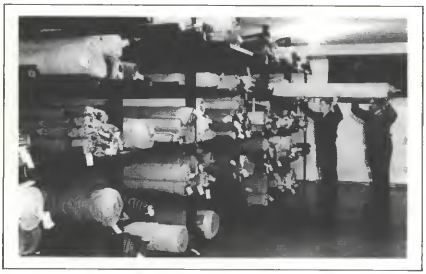

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LETTERS

To the Editor:

I opted for early retirement because I am appalled by the way that our most qualified senior officers are being forced out, regardless of merit or of the needs of the Foreign Service. Reliance on time-in-class as the primary egress mechanism is entirely wrong in that it removes first those officers with the best promotion records and retains those who are less competitive. But to compound this fundamental error and force officers who would retire under time-in-class next year to depart this year, is shameful.

I refer to the decision to use Section 813 of the amended Foreign Service Act of 1980 to dismiss, without regard to the quality of performance, senior officers who are returning from ambassadorial assignments. Section 813 states that a Foreign Service officer can be retired from the Service if, within 90 days following the termination of the presidential appointment, he or she has not been assigned to another Senior Foreign Service position. The intent of Section 813 was to give management a tool to use to selectively retire individuals whose performance was considered substandard. Section 813 was not meant to be a device for thinning the ranks of senior officers. And, indeed, it has rarely been used at all.

Management's decision to ensnare five returning chiefs of mission in the 813 net this year can be defended neither in terms of budget savings, nor as a means of meeting reduced Senior Foreign Service staff ceilings. I suspect that management considers it important to establish the principle so that 813 can be employed more massively and routinely for ambassadors returning in future years. It is also a good ploy for convincing Congress that the State Department is serious about curing the illusive senior glut with or without reference to merit principles.

I would argue that the use of Section 813 at this time is inequitable. It is a fact that only at the end of June 1994 were the five officers informed of their fate. Not only did the personnel system fail to inform these officers in a timely manner, it also failed to respond to their communications from the field seeking information on onward assignment possibilities. These officers were effectively blocked from bidding on assignments which would have protected them from early retirement.

What options do we have for dealing with the challenges presented by arbitrary use of Section 813 of the Foreign Service Act? First, move to have Section 813 stricken from the Act in order to protect officers from arbitrary management decisions. Better still, return to the assumptions of the 1946 Act in which officers accepting political-level jobs were considered to have resigned from the Service. Under this latter option, chiefs of mission would be subject to separation if they refused to accept another political appointment or assignment to a regular Foreign Service posting at home or overseas. This would reassert Service discipline while removing any appearance of arbitrary action on the part of department leadership and go a long way toward restoring flagging confidence in the personnel system.

Leonard G. Shurtleff
Retired Ambassador
Washington, D.C.

To the Editor:

I write this letter as the department prepares to hand out buyouts of up to $25,000 to help compress the Foreign Service to affordable limits. Meanwhile, with the other hand, the department is busy dishing out Senior Foreign Service Presidential Awards of $20,000 and $10,000 to (undoubtedly) worthy recipients. Not to mention the host of $5,000 performance awards. Methinks Alice-in-Foreign Serviceland would surely remark that "things are getting curiouser and curiouser."

I don't think it's a case of sour grapes on my part, but I find such large cash awards quite out of keeping with the motives for high achievement in the Foreign Service.

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FSOs, I know, feel a great sense of pride in representing the United States and, in most cases, are driven to excellence on that account alone. I would like to think that rewarding distinguished service by FSOs with citations, certificates, medals and other non-cash awards would be sufficient. But then, I am old-fashioned. Incidentally, I have no problems with monetary rewards for our outstanding Foreign Service nationals.

I suppose my point is simply, that even if large cash rewards are seen by the majority of my colleagues as entirely fitting, would not most officers agree that, in these tight budgetary times, the department could save much money by withholding the cash part of these awards?

Liam J. Humphreys
Political/Economic/
Commercial Officer
U.S. Embassy Ouagadougou

To the Editor:

You deserve much applause for printing "The U.S. Family Overseas" (September *Journal*). Norma McCaig's article, "Growing Up with a World View" strikes to the core of what makes global nomads different. I have never read an article so inclusive of the traits, skills and outlooks of global nomads. I found myself nodding in agreement with all the points Ms. McCaig made, especially the traits of never really unpacking and of getting "itchy feet" to move every few years, as well as taking a global perspective of foreign policy. After reading Ms. McCaig's article, I felt as though a veil of confusion had been lifted. Yes, we are different, and we don't have to conceal or hesitate in sharing one's experiences.

As nomads, we walk an interesting path, and we speak a different tale that few understand. In a group of friends who have never traveled outside the United States or even their hometown, I find myself editing my life experiences because they are so extraordinarily out of the realm of their reality. This explains why global nomads seek each other out to form their own horizontally rooted community.

My father was in the Foreign Service and I grew up in Poland, India, Lebanon, Greece and West Berlin. I see myself as a different type of American — an ideological one. Viewing America as though a foreigner, I can appreciate the qualities that America represents and wish that all Americans could appreciate the greatness that this country offers. Being a global nomad presents an opportunity to go beyond one's inclination to project one's perspective onto others when trying to understand them. I can appreciate many cultures, religions and beliefs, which in the U.S. culture creates a color-blind individual who enjoys and thrives on diversities.

The global nomad lifestyle has pros and cons. Yet, I would never trade it in! It has helped me celebrate the true spirit that moves America — freedom!

Thank you for printing Ms. McCaig's article. You have done an admirable service for all the children of Foreign Service officers.

Keri Douglas
Arlington, Va.

To the Editor:

My gosh, where did you folks find that early-Jurassic vintage TV picture of Junie Cleaver and fami-

ly on the cover of the September issue? I thought that the Smithsonian had filed all of those under five feet of Alaskan tundra years ago.

But never mind. If this bit of nostalgic persiflage was aimed at illustrating the "Growing Up with a World View" article, all is forgiven. Norma McCaig has penned the best, the most valuable, the most practical article I have ever read in your estimable magazine. It is outstanding; it is true. The State Department ought to bind Ms. McCaig's sterling effort and include it in every Post Report for anywhere.

Arthur V. Diggle
Retired FSO
Mexico City

To the Editor:

My wife and I read with interest attorney Ralph Drury Martin's letter regarding pesticide exposure in the Foreign Service. Nancy Ferebee's death was indeed tragic, and the department's response unacceptable.

We had a similar experience regarding the department's indifference to environmental hazards facing employees and families abroad. Both our daughters contracted endocrine system cancers. We strongly believe that their conditions related to heavy exposure to DDT during their childhood years in Baghdad and Port-au-Prince. Our younger daughter has recovered from her thyroid cancer, but our older daughter was unable to overcome adrenal-cortical cancer. She died on Aug. 8, 1993.

I hope that other Foreign Service families do not have to suffer the effects of pesticide exposure in the future.

Robert W. Maule
Retired FSO
Sooke, Canada

To the Editor:

In reading the article "How a Mother Copes with Separation" (September *Journal*), I was in awe as to how a well-educated judge could fail to understand the benefits of diplomatic children living in Moscow and growing up in the Foreign Service.

If conditions were unsafe, unhealthy or lacked proper education facilities, the State Department would have restricted children living in Moscow. From my own experience assigned to Moscow in 1992-94 with two asthmatic sons aged 4 and 8, there were no unusual health, safety or education problems. The Housing Board made every effort to put children in the New Embassy Compound (NEC) where they had many friends and a safe place to play. The NEC is much safer than living in Frederick County, Md.

As far as education goes, one cannot put a price on the extraordinary experiences Ms. Rood's children would have encountered. The Anglo-American school is excellent, with teachers from Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, and the United States. The student-teacher ratio is much less than in the United States. Parent involvement is also greater than in the United States. Students as early as kindergarten learned either French or Russian. Does Frederick County provide these classes for this age group? My boys

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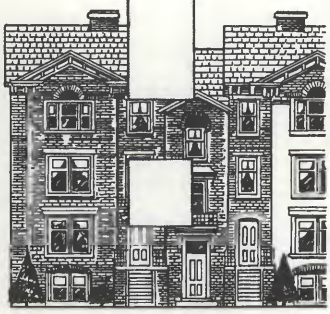

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encountered children from many cultures and had best friends from Canada, the United Kingdom, Korea and Australia. After school classes and activities included swimming, ballet, riding, ice skating, hockey, chess, computer, cooking, soccer, T-ball, baseball and much more. Do first-graders in Frederick County have these activities? Do they have day trips to Red Square, the Kremlin or Gorki Park? Life in Moscow could be one of the greatest experiences Ms. Rood's children could ever encounter.

During the hearing did the judge consult the community liaison officer? Did the judge poll embassy parents? I would not have been in Moscow with my children if I thought it was unsafe, unhealthy, or lacked proper education facilities. I wonder at the amount of input the American Foreign Service Association and the State Department provided during the hearing. The department spends millions to provide safe, healthy and quality education at overseas posts. Could more support have been provided to show that Moscow was a decent place to raise children? The judge should have relied on the State Department for guidance concerning children living overseas.

It's interesting to note attorney Blair's comments on moving, which hits to the heart of the Foreign Service. There have been thousands of children who grew up overseas, moving every two or three years, and they have reached great heights in both their professional and personal lives. Much has been written about growing up and coping in the Foreign Service, such as "Growing Up with a World View" in the same *Journal* issue.

Footnote: While on the Moscow embassy housing board, we planned to place Ms. Rood and her children in the New Embassy Compound. One day we heard that we were not to consider her children as part of the housing assignment. Now we know the rest of the sad story.

James L. Tucker II
Administrative Officer
U.S. Embassy Kuwait

To the Editor:

The "Views" column in the October *Journal* was a welcome message. The inability to cut Washington expenses is the major problem we have with budgets. When I hear that the overseas posts will be hit again, I get very uncomfortable — I do not agree that cutting back on overseas presence should be an option open to a great power.

When I was last in the building, I saw the bureaus running as usual, some overworked and charged with activity but others chugging along, overstaffed and underworked. Today, I have been on the phone trying to chase my last travel voucher, and I am told that because the system is down and has been down since yesterday, nothing can be done. So apparently a lot of people are sitting around with nothing to do. Meanwhile, our overseas posts, especially the smaller embassies and consulates, are hard-pressed to accomplish their basic mission. Regional embassies make little sense. Posts such as Kuwait and Dhahran would not survive a regionalization nor even another budget cut.

I suggest one place to start saving money is to buy a personal computer and modem for every officer in the department and fire half the clerical staff. Throw the Wangs out — now.

Next, abolish separate maintenance. We need to promote a traditional family presence abroad. Why subsidize two-earner families, creating an incentive for family breakups and penalizing those who choose to keep the traditional family together? Our family members are our best advertisement for America.

We cannot go on with chipping away at the Foreign Service. Keep up the good work.

Ken Stammerman
Retired FSO
Louisville, Ky.

To the Editor:

I am looking for anyone who knew my father, Louis Joseph Gonzalez in Italy during World War II, where he was a U.S. Army sergeant attached to the Research and Analysis Branch, Office of the Secret Service, Caserta, Italy. He worked for the Department of State from 1946-78. Please contact me at (415) 826-0527.

Ronald Gonzalez
San Francisco, Calif.

CORRECTION

Due to an author's error, the location of U.S. Consul Thomas Barclay's farmstead, "Summerseat," ("The Forgotten Patriot," October *Journal*) was incorrectly listed. It is in Morrisville, Bucks County, Pa., and is the headquarters of the Historic Morrisville Society. ■

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REPORTER DICK KIRSCHTEN'S ASSESSMENT OF SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER'S RECORD, NATIONAL JOURNAL, OCT. 29

CHRISTOPHER DEFENDS CLINTON'S RECORD

In an Oct. 24 interview in *USA Today*, Secretary of State Warren Christopher said that he believes that President Clinton's recent foreign policy successes are not circumstantial.

Instead, he termed them a "reflection of the long-term effort of trying to use the right tools at the right time. Using diplomacy. Using economic sanctions and, in appropriate cases, being able to threaten the use of force and then sometimes actually using it. This requires a combination of both firmness and restraint; a combination of U.S. leadership but also coalition building."

HOLBROOKE PORTRAYED AS AMBITIOUS CLIMBER

"[Assistant Secretary of State for Europe] Richard Holbrooke's forte is knowing the right people and pulling the right levers," observed writer Marjorie Williams in the October *Vanity Fair*. But knowing which levers to pull took some time. In 1962, after being turned down for a *New York Times* reporting job, he was accepted into the Foreign Service.

But the Foreign Service was no place for a man who aimed for the top, according to Williams, so Holbrooke cooled his heels as Peace Corps director in Morocco, and as managing editor of *Foreign Policy* magazine until he was appointed assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific Affairs in 1976. He was only 35, or as he liked to boast, the youngest assistant secretary in at least 40 years. Holbrooke then was known for dominating policy in his area as few assistant secretaries have done and was effective in winning most of his bureaucratic battles. But he also began to earn his reputation as an overeager combatant. Williams concedes that though there's no question Holbrooke is smart, he makes "dopey naked moves for power."

But when Clinton was elected in 1992, Holbrooke says he was begged to return to Washington, first making a short detour as ambassador to Germany. By all accounts, Holbrooke did a very good job in Germany, but his arrogance and attention-getting ploys during President Clinton's visit to Bonn earned him the nickname "the velcro ambassador."

"During his stay," a White House aide was quoted as saying, "he literally twice rushed the president's limo — dove into the limo so he could ride with him." In fairness, this is a common occurrence when a president travels abroad [with ambassadors], Williams conceded.

Williams opined that any vacuum as complete as Secretary of State Christopher's State Department offers great opportunities to those bold enough to seize them and perhaps Holbrooke, an ambitious realist, may be a healthy catalyst in Clinton's foreign policy circle.

WARREN CHRISTOPHER: MARTYR OR MISFIT?

The Oct. 29 *National Journal* conceded that Secretary of State Warren Christopher "has been relentlessly pil-

loried by the press." But reporter Dick Kirschten asks pointedly, "Is he a martyr, suffering for the sins of an erratic and unfocused president? Or is he simply a misfit who lacks the voltage to spark confidence in U.S. global leadership?"

The balance of opinion among Washington's foreign policy heavies has been punishing to President Clinton and Christopher, according to Kirschten. However, "whoever's at fault, the Capital's conventional wisdom holds that Christopher will pay the price," he wrote. John Yochelson, a former Christopher colleague at State and now a vice president at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, summed up Washington opinion this way: "Warren Christopher has always been an inside guy who has tried to accomplish things principally outside the spotlight. ... And we have seen in this town that people who try to operate an inside game without having strong and receptive media attention eventually get picked on."

In any case, Kirschten believes that the "expectation that there will soon be a new secretary of state is far higher than the expectation that there will soon be a new Clinton foreign policy."

Practicing the Art of Diplomatic Delivery

"My government has the honor to inform you that effective this date we are now in a state of war." This example of a *demarche*, a formal paper conveying the U.S. government's views to a host government, was recently cited by Edward Peck, former career ambassador to Mauritania, in an Oct. 11 *Washington Post* piece. When delivering a *demarche*, says Peck, one follows "old world rules. It's very formalized and very stylized."

Reporter Guy Gugliotta quoted Peck as saying that he tells his students in his course, "Political Trade Craft," at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center: "Try to remember in delivering a *demarche* that the person to whom you are speaking is an agent. He is not going to leap up and say 'My God!' All he does is pass on the message."

Gugliotta wrote that the United States is the world's leading practitioner of *demarches*, "because the United States loves to tell other nations how to behave." Peck concurs, "I doubt that the U.S. received many *demarches* when we invaded the Branch Davidian compound in Waco. But if it happens somewhere else, we're on them like a washcloth."

Federal Workers Satisfied, Says Poll

Members of the Senior Executive Service have few complaints about the federal government as an employer, according to a recent survey by the Merit Systems Protection Board. More than 80 percent said they were satisfied with their pay, and only 14 percent said they planned to look for another job outside the government.

However, the rank and file feel unfairly treated when it comes to job assignments (45 percent), awards (37 percent), training (36 percent) and promotions (34 percent). Generally, minority group members gave even lower scores on the fairness issue. A significant percentage of federal employees believe they are the victims of discrimination and other prohibited personnel practices. These statistics were quoted in a column by "Bureaucratus" in the magazine, *Federal Computer Week*.

The column reported that overall job satisfaction among federal employees remains high. Some 72 percent

50 Years Ago

"What will the Foreign Service look like in A.D. 2044? Will we be sending representatives to 40 countries or four? Perhaps super-ambassadors will fly through the stratosphere in a few hours, from the ends of the earth to go to a central Grand Council in California, as the most equidistant point from the great powers." The December 1944 *Journal* reflected on the future and then looked back to July 1844 to show the century before.

In 1844 there were no consuls general or ambassadors; the highest rank was "envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary" for eight countries: British Dominions, Russia, Austria, French Dominions, Prussia, Spanish Dominions, Mexican Republic and Brazil. The United States sent chargés d'affaires to 13 countries and 172 consuls and five commercial agents were scattered throughout the world. ■

"No one thought Christopher would go without trying to take [National Security Adviser Tony] Lake with him."

AUTHOR ELIZABETH DREW, ON THE EDGE

said they were satisfied with their jobs compared with 59 percent in 1983 and 70 percent in 1989.

IMMIGRANT REQUESTS FLOOD VISA CENTER

On the grounds of a former Air Force base in Portsmouth, N.H., 6.4 million envelopes stacked to the ceiling of the State Department's new National Visa Center carry the hopes of families from Bangladesh to the Bahamas.

Reporter Thomas W. Lippman, in an Oct. 27 *Washington Post* article, wrote that the purpose of the lottery "is to encourage legal immigration from countries and ethnic groups that are underrepresented in the U.S. population. To meet that goal, the 55,000 visas to be awarded are apportioned by region, with Asia getting the most, 24,000, and North America (defined as one country — the Bahamas) only eight."

The diversity lottery was guaranteed to produce an avalanche of papers and that, along with the imminent 10th anniversary of 10-year passports promising a flood of renewal applications, drove the State Department to move the visa and passport operations to a larger center. New Hampshire's bid won, according to Lippman. Only four of the center's 200 employees are on the State Department payroll. "A small New England town; what a great assignment," said Brian McNamara, visa center head and Foreign Service officer, who had previous assignments in Ethiopia, Ecuador and Cyprus. ■

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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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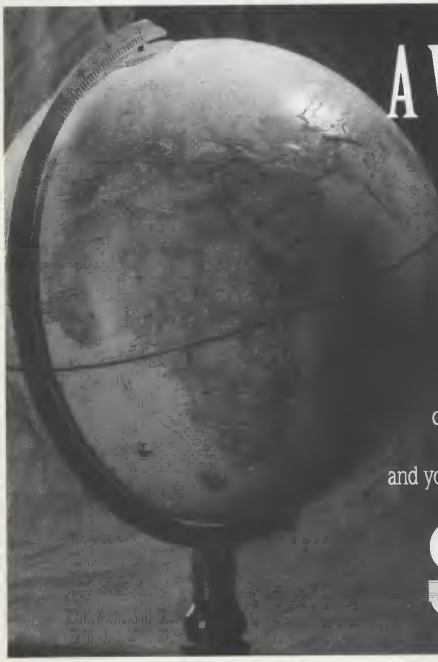

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SPEAKING OUT

Speaking in Tongues: Language Training Needs Accountability

BY DOUGLAS H. JONES

Call me sentimental, but does anyone else lament the passing of the Foreign Service Institute (FSI)? Or, more precisely, its exile from the concrete canyons of Rosslyn to a more pastoral reservation in the steppes of central Arlington? Rosslyn was verticality run amuck, a living catalogue of architectural dementia, with streets so wide the crosswalks gave proof that parallel lines do eventually meet, forcing pedestrians to use catwalks or die. Rosslyn: Where the completion of the Metro stop made possible an ascent into hell. Magnificent in its sheer awfulness. A Kafkaesque setting perfectly matched to that most Kafkaesque of classroom disciplines, studying — as opposed to using — a foreign language. How often, when seeking the logic behind some apparently aberrant grammatical form were we told: "There is no reason, that's just the way it is?" Josef K. knew that feeling.

Learning a foreign language is not supposed to be pleasant. It is meant to be an interminable grind best conducted behind closed doors in the warrens of some drab office building, reachable only after slow death elevator rides spent back to belly with 50 fellow sufferers. It's styrofoam coffee cups, overheated classrooms and the moments of panic when you sense that the air is slowly leaking from your mind.

Learning a foreign language is meant to be an interminable grind best conducted behind closed doors in the warrens of some drab office building, reachable only after slow-death elevator rides spent back to belly with 50 fellow sufferers.

Such suffering is what the conquest of a foreign language is all about. No pain, no gain. Feel the synaptic burn. Drill 'til you see umlauts before your eyes.

But what hath management wrought? A campus! Red-bricked, grassy, user-friendly, complete with a visitor's center. A cross between Williamsburg and Sing Sing, cloistered from the urban nightmare.

It is called the National Foreign Affairs Training Center (NFATC), a pompously galactic-sounding moniker that some wags have shortened to FAT City.

Not only is the atmosphere there hopelessly conducive to learning, it seems that vaguely subversive progressive things are going on with language instruction as well. In an effort to intensify and thereby shorten training, and to avoid being pencil-whipped by the budgeteers, the School of Language Studies (SLS) has recently embarked on some applied research — something government agencies rarely do — aimed at getting better results faster. Over the next 24 months, students of French will receive a mix of traditional classroom instruction, non-Rosslyn style, and electronic coursewear that will, among other things, allow them to "tune in" to their future work environment at post — a kind of long-distance immersion that approximates virtual reality. This strikes me as quite sensible, since so much Foreign Service work is more virtual than real anyway.

It is hoped that the data gathered as a result of this research project will provide some objective indications of the degree to which language learning needs to be structured in advance, how learning

Douglas H. Jones, who retired in May as the principal officer of the U.S. Embassy Branch Office in Berlin, was director of curriculum development at the School of Language Study at FSI from 1980-82.

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might be accelerated, and what the limits and potential of electronic communications "instruction" might be.

The results — even negative ones — ought to provide a less cabalistic basis than heretofore for gauging the level of monetary sacrifice that needs to be placed on the altar of language training. The experiment appears consistent, then, with SLS's commendable efforts in recent years to gear training increasingly to the professional requirements of the foreign affairs community, consistent with the bleak realities of the budget process and what that community is willing to pay to achieve the desired results. Now comes the "however."

However, the mention of money throws into fairly stark relief the discrepancies between the objectives of such an experiment and some other aspects of the language training "culture," namely proficiency testing and the designation of "incentive" languages. Both programs cost the State Department a lot of money, but there is very little indication that they have been subjected to much critical assessment. That needs to be done not so much by FSI (oops, NFATC) but, since they serve the requirements of the assignment and budgeting processes rather than any training need, by management.

The SLS testing system has always been controversial. Still, it and the proficiency scale it employs are the closest approximation to a commonly recognized standard of achievement available and hence they survive. It is also true that efforts have been made to accommodate job-relevant elements into the process of testing for general proficiency in a given

language. Nevertheless, the test is frequently the tail that wags the training dog.

Proficiency testing is essentially an institutional measurement used for career rather than learning objectives, and it is frequently a pernicious factor in the training experience. The student's agency demands an "absolute" measurement of achievement to justify its investment. The student feels pressure to aim squarely at a pre-determined proficiency target in order to keep his assignment, or get off language probation, or qualify for an incentive bonus. Whatever gets in the way of achieving that numerical objective, regardless of its intrinsic worth, is diminished in the eyes of the student by the value system of bureaucratic objectives and requirements. In other words, the test can undermine a student's commitment to preparation for work in the overseas environment. This is clearly not what the Foreign Service wants or needs. It should therefore develop explicit objectives for foreign language training that go beyond the proficiency test.

The test cannot be eliminated, but its importance in the eyes of the student should be tempered. The extent to which students of French perceive the new training experiment in which they are engaged to be inconsistent with "reaching the 3-3" will define the limits of their willingness and enthusiasm to participate. Means of evaluating proficiency should proliferate in consonance with the new dimensions to training that are being developed in SLS, and not concentrate single-mindedly on a score in a test that may prove irrelevant to real needs.

This brings me to language incentive bonuses, the flight pay of the Foreign Service. Achievement

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in training and maintenance of a given proficiency level while serving in a language-designated position overseas can mean money to the individual in the form of bonuses and step increases. On the face of it, this seems like a perfectly justifiable carrot-and-stick program to fill positions that would otherwise go begging. If employees capitalize on a training opportunity, get some extra money and bail out assignment officers in the process, isn't everyone better off? Absolutely, provided, again, everyone agrees on the precepts and the objectives.

I am told that at-post bonuses for language proficiency cost the department some $2 million annually. Who is handling that account? What are the politics of deciding how a language gets on the incentive list? It's certainly not a very exclusive list, since it includes about everything except world and Nordic languages. Afrikaans and Hebrew may have limited utility elsewhere, but do we really have to bribe people to bid on jobs in Pretoria and Tel Aviv?

If the incentives are working, perhaps this is all money well spent. But who is checking to see that that is the case? Language-training hours constituted about 350 full-time equivalent positions last year. That's many more people than were brought into the Foreign Service via the exam route. It's almost enough to staff a visit by Secretary of State Warren Christopher. If the department is serious about accountability and the cost-effectiveness of training, it needs to be sure that programs like these meet the criterion of relevance to actual, agreed-upon Foreign Service needs. ■

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Return of the Khmer Rouge

State Department Wants International Tribunal to Try Cambodian Leadership for War Crimes

By George Gedda

At the height of the Rwanda crisis in July, President Clinton ordered a massive increase in emergency assistance. Clinton said he acted after being told that the death toll at refugee camps was running at the rate of one a minute. Given the magnitude of the disaster, portrayed vividly in American living rooms via television, Clinton's proposals were received virtually without protest. It was an unambiguous case of a big power mobilizing its considerable resources in an area where the need was great and there were no competing interests.

Competing interests are those nagging geostrategic considerations that so often intrude on foreign policy issues, sapping the will of outside powers to spare endangered lives. Cambodians know all about competing interests. The one-per-minute death rate Clinton alluded to in Rwanda lasted but a few days. In Cambodia, during the late 1970s, the extermination rate carried out by the Khmer Rouge was one every two minutes — for almost four full years, until the arrival of a Vietnamese invading force in late 1978.

There were many reasons why the Carter administration declined to become involved in ending the slaughter in Cambodia, not least of which was the U.S. courtship of China, a Khmer Rouge benefactor at the time, and the perception that the Khmer Rouge was a brake on Vietnamese expansionism in Southeast Asia. Indeed, then-National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski acknowledged years later that he quietly encouraged China and Thailand to help the Khmer Rouge, notwithstanding their reputation for brutality. After the Khmer Rouge were ousted in 1979, there were competing claims for the Cambodian seat at the United Nations. Who deserved to be seated: the Khmer Rouge delegate or the representative of the Phnom Penh government installed by Hanoi? Determined not to seemingly acquiesce in Soviet-Vietnamese expansionism in Southeast Asia, the administration, albeit with the gravest reservations, supported the bid of Pol Pot and his colleagues.

Cambodia was a closed society during those years, and there were no televised images of their abuses that could have built a constituency for a more assertive policy. Beyond that, the notion of renewed U.S. military involvement in Southeast Asia so soon after the humiliating U.S. departure in 1975 was a political non-starter. When former Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern proposed in August 1978 that an international force be sent to Cambodia to halt the Khmer Rouge genocide, the State Department said it was not under consideration by anybody.

Now, more than 15 years after the Khmer Rouge were driven from power, the group continues to menace Cambodia, waging guerrilla warfare from strongholds in the western and northern parts of the

George Gedda is a diplomatic correspondent for the Associated Press.

country. And once again, a combination of pressures is forcing the outside world to pull its punches. The biggest source of concern is the impunity with which elements of the Thai military have been able to carry on a cross-border trade with the Khmer Rouge in areas controlled by the rebels in western Cambodia. It's hard to say how much of a threat the Khmer Rouge pose these days, but it would be tragic, indeed, if the rebels are able to overturn what has been touted as a major U.N. success.

At a cost of $2 billion, the United Nations mobilized more than 22,000 peacekeepers to conduct an election process in 1993 after more than 20 years of war and oppression. From those elections has emerged a fragile coalition government, with one faction led by the son of King Norodom Sihanouk and the other by former Communists who ran the country during the Vietnamese occupation. There has been a considerable waning in the optimism that prevailed in May 1993 when Cambodians, adorned in their best clothes, flocked to the polling booths. More than 90 percent of eligible Cambodians took part in five days of balloting, dealing a major setback to the Khmer Rouge.

Establishing democratic stability has not been easy, partly because Cambodia remains a semi-feudal country where lawlessness and corruption and rampant at all levels. Perhaps the institution in most desperate need of reform is the military; with officers comprising 60 percent of the 160,000-man military, it is not surprising that the Khmer Rouge have more than held their own in battlefield encounters.

In an earlier era, it was somewhat easier to concoct a rationale for Thailand maintaining links to the Khmer Rouge. Both shared an immense distrust for the Vietnamese, and Thai aid to the Khmer Rouge during the 1970s and 1980s was more plausible because of understandable concern about Vietnamese expansionism. But with Vietnam's withdrawal from Cambodia in 1989, coupled with the collapse of Soviet communism, the rationale for Thai-Khmer Rouge cooperation collapsed as well.

Since then, the Khmer Rouge and the Thai military have come up with a new hypothesis for continuing their alliance. In need of weapons and other resources to maintain themselves, the Khmer Rouge has allowed Thai firms, mostly run by Thai military officers, to plunder precious gems and exotic hardwoods in areas under rebel control.

The Thai government denies the existence of any such links. And Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Winston Lord has tried to put the best face on these activities, crediting Thailand with a "very concerted effort" to guard against cross-border dealings with the Khmer Rouge. He acknowledges only that "some leakage" across the border has occurred.

But the comfortable assumptions among Lord and others about the Thai-Khmer Rouge connection were undercut by a series of articles a few months ago in the Bangkok media. Craig Etcheson, executive director of the Washington-based Campaign to Oppose the Return of the Khmer Rouge, says U.S. officials last year privately confronted the Thai military's supreme command with satellite pictures showing Thai trucks delivering heavy weapons to the Khmer Rouge. "Thai military officials rejected the evidence and called the photography interference in Thai internal affairs," Etcheson wrote this summer.

Perhaps even more troubling to the Thai establishment were the public comments of Morton Abramowitz, a former career ambassador to Thailand who is now president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "Thailand has become Pol Pot's best ally," Abramowitz asserted in a recent op-ed piece in *The Washington Post*.

The one-per-minute death rate Clinton alluded to in Rwanda lasted but a few days. In Cambodia, during the late 1970s, the extermination rate carried out by the Khmer Rouge was one every two minutes — for almost four full years, until the arrival of a Vietnamese invading force in late 1978.

Abramowitz wrote that Thai assistance to the Khmer Rouge has been a major contributing factor to the Khmer Rouge battlefield successes last spring and to its establishment of control in the north and west, displacing 60,000 villagers. Abramowitz says a weak central government in Bangkok is partly to blame for the seedy partnership between the Thai military and the Khmer Rouge. He says the United States and regional governments must focus on the issue to ensure that Cambodia's hopes for rehabili-

tation are not destroyed by the Khmer Rouge.

Abramowitz's comments hit Bangkok with the force of a minor earthquake. During his earlier tenure in Bangkok, Abramowitz had been seen as an ally of the Thai military but after his column appeared, the chief of staff of the Thai Army called him an enemy of the Thai people and military. The Foreign Affairs Committee of Parliament took steps to name him *persona non grata*. There were warnings that his life may be in danger if he returns to Thailand.

Abramowitz tends to shrug off the attacks, pointing out that they died down after a few weeks. His criticism of the Thai military is shared by Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.), who believes the evidence of Thai-Khmer Rouge collaboration is unassailable. He says Thai military officers have been seen riding in the same vehicle as the Khmer Rouge. Also, Khmer Rouge personnel have been spotted guarding a huge weapons arsenal inside Thai territory, and some reports say there are American-origin arms being used against the Cambodian government.

"There has been a long-standing and very cozy, mutually beneficial relationship," McCain said recently. Like Abramowitz, he believes there is a "disconnect" between the civilian government and the generals on the border.

Abramowitz acknowledges there is nothing dramatic the Clinton administration can do to sever the Thai-Khmer Rouge link. He dismisses as ridiculous the idea of sanctions against an otherwise friendly Thailand. That leaves moral and diplomatic suasion — "continually reminding the Thais that they are undermining a neighbor and the costly work of the world community." McCain believes the Thais should be called to account publicly for their sins. "There hasn't been enough publicity about this odious relationship," says McCain.

On the other hand, Etcheson believes the United States should suspend immediately all military assistance to Thailand and all grants for equipment and supplies. It should revoke all U.S. licenses for commercial arms exports to Thailand, he says, and withhold all future foreign military sales. Thai support for the Khmer Rouge, he says, "threatens to destroy all the progress the international community has made in attempting to end Cambodia's decades of tragedy." Other experts believe, however, that inadequacies within the Cambodian military-political establishment are far more of a problem than the Khmer Rouge and its alliance with the Thai military.

Cambodia has asked for lethal assistance for its army but it's hard to find anyone who thinks that's a good idea. Says McCain: "It is premature to speak about supplying the Cambodians with weapons and ammunition. ... Until the issue of corruption in the army is settled, lethal assistance is not an option." The administration has been providing some training for the Cambodian Army along with help in clearing land mines and clearing roads.

Within the six-member Association of Southeast Asian States, the country most adamantly opposed to significant outside help for Cambodia is, not surprisingly, Thailand. The Thais have said they regard the struggle between the Cambodian Army and the Khmer Rouge to be an internal matter. In July, Former Thai Foreign Minister Prasong Soonsiri said military aid from outside nations was forbidden by the 1991 Paris Peace Accords that were intended to end 13 years of Cambodian civil war. If that's the case, Etcheson, for one, wonders why Thailand is helping the Khmer Rouge.

The top-heaviness of the Cambodian Army was dramatized by William Shawcross in *Cambodia's New Deal*, published this past summer. Shawcross described as "grotesque" the presence of 2,000 generals and 10,000 colonels in the Army. The armed forces payroll of 160,000 soldiers is about 10 times greater than a French military estimate of what the ideal size would be for a country of that population. Shawcross writes that demobilization is being resisted by Cambodians out of fear of the social consequences in a country where alternative employment options are few. The Cambodian Air Force and Navy exist mostly on paper, and the Cambodian Army is poorly equipped, principally with old Soviet and Chinese weapons. U.S. officials worry about Cambodia's ability to absorb lethal military aid in its present state. On the other hand, Shawcross contends that "without some significant external support it will be difficult to maintain even the low-level effectiveness of the forces."

The fecklessness of these forces was dramatized this past spring. In March, an Army campaign succeeded in capturing the western gem-mining town of Pailin from the Khmer Rouge. But, using classic Maoist strategy, the Khmer Rouge, after a tactical retreat, recaptured Pailin a month later. The rebels avoided significant casualties while government forces suffered casualties numbering in the hundreds.

Shortly after the debacle at Pailin, Cambodia's First Prime Minister Norodom Ranariddh said Pol Pot had fled to Thailand after Pailin had fallen — and he had photographs to prove it. Later, Ranariddh backtracked, saying he had meant "Pol Potists." These and other attacks on Thailand left Thai officials furious. Former Thai Foreign Minister Prasong Soonsiri

said it seemed that Phnom Penh could not handle the Khmer Rouge, "and so they have to find someone to shoulder the blame."

Soonsiri's snipes at Phnom Penh officials tend to obscure the threat that the Khmer Rouge represents. Etcheson offers a reminder of what life was like under the Khmer Rouge, beginning with the day of the Khmer Rouge triumph on April 17, 1975, 12 days before the communist conquest in neighboring Vietnam.

"The first action of the revolutionary forces that marched into Phnom Penh that morning...was to initiate a mass evacuation of the entire city: rustication. Within three days, the city that had swollen to more than 3 million (or five times its prewar population) was totally devoid of civilian life. ... Into the jungles and paddy went bankers, shopkeepers, refugees, everyone." Everyone except Prince Sihanouk, who remained under house arrest in his palace for more than three years. According to Shawcross, the Khmer Rouge murdered several of his children.

"No one knows how many people died from execution, forced labor, malnutrition, or disease under the Khmer Rouge autarchy," Shawcross wrote. "More than 1 million is the widely accepted estimate. The so-called killing fields display some of their remains in and around some of the provinces today. The regime had a strategy of sorts; it targeted the educated and trained sectors of society, Bhuddist monks and minorities — Vietnamese, Chinese, Cham Muslims, Christians and others. It destroyed institutions, prohibited normal family life and crushed dissent."

Thanks largely to Sen. Charles Robb (D-Va.), the State Department is undertaking an effort to hold the Khmer Rouge accountable for their crimes. With a budget of $800,000 over two years, the State Department, with the help of private groups, will investigate those crimes as part of a plan to develop a U.S. proposal for the establishment of an international criminal tribunal for the prosecution of the Khmer Rouge leadership.

Today, few competing interests deter the United States from pursuing an unambiguous anti-Khmer Rouge strategy.

It is somewhat easier now to take an unambiguously negative view of the Khmer Rouge than it was for the Carter administration during its final years. Indeed, the administration's quiet backing for the Khmer Rouge was explained this way by Brzezinski: "I encouraged China to support Pol Pot. I encouraged the Thais to help Democratic Kampuchea (Cambodia). The question was how to help the Cambodian people. Pol Pot was an abomination. We could never support him but China could."

It is easy, of course, to accuse the Carter administration of an egregious moral lapse in accommodating a group which, in terms of the percent of population lost, carried out perhaps the bloodiest revolution in history. But this analysis ignores what the administration saw during its last years in power as the overriding need to contain Soviet expansionism. Weeks before Hanoi sent its troops into Cambodia to crush the Khmer Rouge, the Soviet Union had signed a peace and friendship agreement with Hanoi, signifying Vietnam's unambiguous status as a Soviet ally, hardly a reassuring development for the Carter administration.

No sooner did Vietnam consolidate its power in Cambodia than the pro-American monarchy in Iran was toppled by anti-American Muslim clerics, one of the great strategic setbacks of the post-World War II era. Later in 1979, Moscow picked up additional allies in Nicaragua and Grenada. And there were repeated instances of anti-American mob violence at U.S. embassies in the Islamic world, most notably in Tehran, where 52 Americans were held hostage. It was hardly a diplomatic climate congenial to actions which might comfort America's enemies, particularly the Soviet Union. In that context, Brzezinski's encouragement of China and Thailand to support the Khmer Rouge seems less callous. The name of the game in those days was to halt Vietnamese expansionism, and only the Khmer Rouge could fill that role. As Shawcross points out, "Khmer Rouge decisions were grounded in an obsessional hatred of Vietnam."

Nowadays, of course, with the geostrategic map redrawn, there are a few if any competing interests deterring the United States from pursuing an unambiguous anti-Khmer Rouge strategy. The Khmer Rouge leadership remains essentially unchanged from what it was 19 years ago when they first seized power, and there is little to suggest they would behave any differently the next time around. A favorite Khmer Rouge tactic nowadays is to hijack trains and send the passengers to labor camps. But Cambodia is a peripheral issue in Washington these days despite the staying power of a group renowned for genocide. Until that changes, it is doubtful anything significant will be done to curb the Thai-Khmer Rouge alliance or to ensure that the huge international investment in a stable, democratic Cambodia is not frittered away. ■

Do Women Make Better Ambassadors?

Study of 50 Years of Female Envoys Shows Gender Can Be An Advantage

By Ann Miller Morin

Currently, 20 women are ambassadors at posts sprinkled throughout the world. This number, small though it is in terms of the 160 or more ambassadorial posts, represents a substantial increase for women, given that it took 43 years — from 1933 to the mid-1970s — for 20 women altogether to be appointed chiefs of mission.

For more than half a century, about two-thirds of women ambassadors were non-career and one-third were career. These percentages, however, were reversed during the Bush administration, and still hold today, with 65 percent of women ambassadors from the career Foreign Service.

Women ambassadors are now assigned to posts in all areas of the world, a significant departure from being sent to so-called "safe" European posts, the practice throughout former decades. At the same time, assignments for women traditionally have been and still are to the less-significant posts. Luxembourg, which has had five women ambassadors, holds the record, but countless countries like Nepal, Togo, Barbados and Denmark are where most women chiefs of mission are sent. Major posts, such as London and Rome, and those highly prized, like Brussels and The Hague, have rarely gone to women, but when they have, invariably it has been to non-career women, a pattern that still persists. At this reading, women with choice assignments — Paris, Vienna, Dublin, the Organization of American States and the United Nations — are all non-careerists.

My recently completed study of U.S. women ministers and ambassadors, beginning with the first in 1933, through the 44th, appointed 50 years later, revealed important differences between those who rose to the top from the Foreign Service ranks and those who became ambassadors by political appointment. At the same time, the data showed clearly that the women (17 Foreign Service officers and 27 political appointees) shared many significant characteristics. A further — and unexpected — finding was that most believed being women brought them substantial advantages in the practice of diplomacy.

Statistics on marriage were surprisingly disparate for the two groups. They revealed that although 26 of the 27 non-career women married (several more than once), only four of the 17 careerists did. And of those four marriages, three involved women near or over 40 years of age. Only one FSO ambassador married in her 20s and is the only one to have had her own children. In sharp contrast, children were born to 22 of the 27 political appointees. Many careerists stated they had deliberately chosen career over marriage, convinced they could not have both, citing as evidence several women colleagues forced to leave the Foreign Service upon marrying. Such a

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Ann Miller Morin is a freelance writer, oral historian and wife of a retired FSO; she has lived in Algeria, France, Japan and Iraq. This piece draws on material from her book, Her Excellency, An Oral History of Women Ambassadors, *released last month by Twayne/Macmillan.*

constraint did not fall on the women in the other group, who had come from successful careers in fields as diverse as academia, politics, journalism, acting and law.

The study included interviews with 34 of the 36 ambassadors then still living, document research and interviews with more than 150 people familiar with the subjects: colleagues, supervisors, relatives, professional acquaintances. What, if any, characteristics did these 44 women share, and were there differences between career and noncareer ambassadors? What were the disadvantages to being a woman in a traditionally male institution, and what were the perceived advantages? How well did women function as chiefs of mission? What influence did they have on U.S. foreign policy?

Similarities among women, regardless of grouping, emerged immediately. Nearly all the subjects were endowed with a high energy level. Many were good athletes, active in both team and individual sports; indeed, it was surprising how many reported being tomboys as girls. The vast majority were taller than the national female average, and a quarter were around the six-foot mark. Most were physically attractive. Good brains went along with good physical endowments. Nearly all were scholastically outstanding; nearly all had been early readers who developed a lifelong interest in books and learning. A high percentage had written for their high school or college newspapers and yearbooks. Well over two-thirds had received at least part of their formal education at all-girl schools.

Position in family or number of siblings did not appear to be a factor to success since the distribution among "eldest child," "middle child," and "youngest child" was remarkably even, with the "eldest" category having only a few more than the other two. Four were only children, but more than half came from families with three or more siblings. It may be noteworthy that brothers were considerably more numerous than sisters, suggesting that many of these women learned early to hold their own with males.

They exhibited a high degree of enthusiasm for their work and a great curiosity about the world. They also shared strong ideals and a dedication to the democratic principle. Courage, both physical and moral, was a prevailing characteristic. Those who were the most successful were risk-takers. However, along with these traits ran a strong vein of pragmatism; these women did not tilt at windmills, however abundant their courage, but rather used their high energy to devise solutions to problems.

The two groups were found to have distinctly different advantages and attitudes as ambassadors. In addition to being unaffected by the implicit institutional ban on marrying, non-career women often enjoyed the inestimable advantage of being able to go directly to the White House for advice or assistance. They also were more likely to improvise in carrying out policy and to use non-traditional approaches. They saw themselves as the president's emissary and were impatient with State Department restrictions. It comes as no surprise, then, that many of them had difficulties with staff, particularly with deputy chiefs of mission, who were in all cases FSOs. Too often an "us-vs.-them" mentality pervaded their posts, at least at first. In time, however, nearly all non-careerists came to admire the integrity and professionalism of FSOs on staff.

Clare Boothe Luce, in a 1976 after-dinner speech, said: "Women ... have been taught to use gentle words ... to learn how to get what they want in the interests of their family. Diplomacy is a feminine art."

Careerists, on the other hand, were comfortable with their Foreign Service colleagues and most got along well with their deputies. They were often initially more welcome in host countries. There were several examples of host country officials letting it be known professionalism was deemed more important than the envoy's gender, and that therefore a woman FSO was more desirable than a political appointee of either gender.

Non-career ambassadors often spoke of their "Foreign Service family," and displayed a maternal concern about the well-being of younger staff, while careerists regarded their staff as colleagues and held them to a high standard of performance, promoting efforts such as intensified junior officer training. In other words, non-careerists worried about their staff's personal lives while careerists evinced more concern about professional development.

There was also a marked difference in emphasis regarding the three basic tasks of an ambassador — reporting, negotiating and representation — with careerists more interested in reporting and negotiating and non-careerists allotting more of their energies to representation.

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Probably the biggest disadvantage faced by these women, particularly FSOs, was not being given challenges commensurate with their abilities. Too many were sent to small countries far from career-enhancing action. Indeed, almost half of the 44 went to countries such as Luxembourg, Ceylon, Barbados, Togo or Nepal. Only two, both non-career ambassadors, went to Class One posts, and of the two who went to Iron Curtain countries, only one was a career officer.

At first glance, it would seem odd that very few were troubled by the ubiquitous discrimination against women that existed throughout this period, although interviews elicited tales of the same kinds of discrimination set forth in studies of women in other professions. This is less surprising when one remembers that these 44 represent the winners in the career stakes. And while most could recall instances that were annoying in retrospect, by and large discrimination was of minor concern to them as they pursued their careers. Although there was sympathy for the women's movement, no one but FSO Mary Olmsted put her career on the line for it, becoming the first president of the Women's Action Organization, a group at the State Department that played a major role in improving the status of women there.

The early appointments of women as chiefs of legations or embassies made headline news as such announcements were few and far between. President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed the first one, Ruth Bryan Owen, in 1933 and there were only three others during the next 20 years. Perle Mesta, political hostess and the third woman on the list, became President Harry Truman's minister to Luxembourg in 1949. In 1950 she was ridiculed as a social butterfly, as portrayed by Ethel Merman in the Broadway and cinema hit, "Call Me Madam." This depiction of a woman envoy caught the public imagination both here and abroad and was a severe setback to the acceptance of women as serious chiefs of mission.

Clare Boothe Luce, the fifth female U.S. chief of mission, was the first woman to go to a Class One post — Rome; such posts — now no longer classified this way — included some of the world's most interesting cities, such as London, Paris, Moscow and Tokyo. The year was 1953. Italian foreign office officials vigorously protested her appointment, complaining to U.S. diplomats that sending a woman would humiliate them, and within the U.S. embassy there was so much grumbling the incumbent ambassador, Ellsworth Bunker, had to order the staff to stop. Part of the widespread resentment against her was that, as a very active — and vociferous — member of the House of Representatives as well as a famous playwright with a stinging wit, Luce was the antithesis of the soft-spoken, subservient woman then admired. Fortunately, she, like three others who preceded her, Ruth Bryan Owen (Denmark), Florence Harriman (Norway) and Eugenie Anderson (Denmark), carried out her mandate successfully, was a credit to the United States and was ultimately very popular in the host country.

Also in 1953, Frances Willis, first FSO and the sixth woman, was sent as ambassador to Switzerland, a country where women would not have the vote for two more decades. Willis was obliged to overcome an all-pervasive male chauvinism to become effective. She managed the feat skillfully, even to the extent of devising a black evening costume that closely resembled formal male evening attire, with a long black skirt in place of trousers, so as to be less conspicuous at diplomatic functions.

It is not unusual for any ambassador, man or woman, to be criticized

by the local press, but on occasion the criticism accorded these women had a gender-based edge to it. There was also a difference in the way they were treated by the press: Journalists usually wrote superficial articles about them for the women's pages, discussing domestic matters such as home decorating and favorite recipes. Such articles, if not balanced by substantive reports on the issues, trivialized the woman envoy and her work.

Husbands were also a problem. Most women FSOs, as we know, did not have them, and the four who were married seldom saw theirs. Rozanne Ridgway, newly married to a coast guard captain serving in Alaska when she went as ambassador to East Germany, reported that after the first few weeks, the two communicated almost exclusively by letters and cards because telephoning — hearing each other's voices — "hurt too much." A lucky few non-careerists had husbands whose professions allowed them to accompany their wives, and one or two had husbands who set up offices in nearby countries to facilitate frequent visits. And having a husband in residence was not always a plus. Stresses on marriages were heavy, stemming from the world's perception that an ambassador's husband was an anomaly. Two women with accompanying husbands divorced shortly after completing their assignments.

Difficulties encountered included how to occupy the husband's time, finding his position in the community, and where to seat him at formal dinners — which is not as frivolous as it sounds. In contrast, the wife of an ambassador has an official role and her own set of mission responsibilities, and she takes her husband's status at social functions. Lacking a "wife," a woman envoy often had to hire extra help or take on the responsibilities herself.

It was surprising how many said their gender provided advantages in doing their job. The one most often cited was being able to speak bluntly to male officials without causing offense. This proved especially valuable to those serving in developing nations, as so many were from the 1970s on. As females, they were not seen as threats by male leaders with little diplomatic experience; indeed, many host country officials turned to them for advice. Given the universal fear men have of losing face before other males, this probably would not have happened had the ambassadors been males.

Another advantage pertained to what is popularly called "women's intuition." This was described not as some mysterious gift, but as the ability to notice details and to listen carefully to another person: two skills that provided these women with more informatiou on which to predict political outcomes. An anecdote by Margaret Tibbetts illustrates the value of this to a reporting officer. As head of the political section in a bilingual country, she needed to know how the issue of language would impinge on an upcoming election. Accordingly, she asked her three political officers what language was spoken at local markets. Not one knew. As an experiment, she telephoned their wives, and found every one of them knew the answer.

Being female affected the way they were appreciated in host countries. Just as American women politicians have been perceived as more honest and more genuinely concerned than men about many issues, so these ambassadors were seen as more caring, more approachable and more believable than men. And, as emissaries of the world's most powerful country, they were potent role models for host country women. Indeed, several were told their very presence had led to career advancement for local women.

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Their gender also meant they could mix freely with women, a decided advantage in Islamic and other cultures where male diplomats are completely cut off from half the population. This allowed them first-hand knowledge of the whole culture and of social patterns and problems that impinged on government and politics.

With a few exceptions, these women performed to high standards. Although their goals were equal to those of male ambassadors, they achieved them in different ways. Their preferred management style was collegial, not hierarchical, and they strove for consensus at staff meetings.

Clare Boothe Luce, in a 1976 after-dinner speech, said: "Women have been skilled in diplomacy for thousands of years. ... (They) have been taught to use gentle words ... to learn how to get what they want in the interests of their family. Diplomacy is a feminine art." This study bears out her premise. A clear majority of women were highly rated by colleagues and outside observers, and while true that a handful were judged poor, no woman actually harmed bilateral relations. None was declared *persona non grata* nor recalled for malfeasance. To the contrary, most had successful records, and were fondly remembered long after they left their posts. To borrow former Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger's words about Melissa Wells, former ambassador to Zaire, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau/Cape Verde, these women envoys put a "human face on diplomacy."

As to women ambassadors' influence on foreign policy, the answer is less clear-cut. Obviously, their activities at the small posts where so many served did not affect the main lines of U.S. foreign policy, but when women had the opportunity to deal with significant issues at their posts, they played meaningful roles. Careerists sometimes made greater contributions to foreign policy while serving in the department than they did at their embassies. One outstanding example is Rozanne Ridgway, who, as assistant secretary for the Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs, was chief negotiator at all the Reagan-Gorbachev summits. Only former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick, however, was at the very top level of foreign policy as an ambassador. She alone had a place at the table with the president's top advisers as a member of the National Security Planning Group, the inner circle of the National Security Council. Of the 44 women noted, her influence on U.S. policy was unquestionably the greatest.

The second 50 years can be expected to offer women envoys more and better chances to create and implement American foreign policy. These first 44 pioneers prove that women can be first-rate ambassadors. ■

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INSIDE

ENTITLEMENT REFORMS DISCUSSED

BY ROBERT CHATTEN
Legislative Affairs Coordinator

The new Congress and its new mandate underscore the importance of the December report of a commission little noticed outside the Beltway that could have a major impact on government employee entitlements. The Kerrey- Danforth Commission, officially known as the Bipartisan Commission on Entitlement and Tax Reform, is a public-private panel formed to assess the need for entitlement and tax reform. It is named for its chairman, Nebraska Sen. Robert Kerrey, and vice chairman, retiring Missouri Sen. John Danforth. The commission is the subject of intense scrutiny and quiet lobbying by budget- watchers. It has a staff and offices in the Hart Senate Office Building, conducts research and holds formal and informal hearings.

It is widely believed that the report will recommend taking financial bites out of almost every American, one way or another. In a "60 Minutes" interview aired Halloween eve, Sen. Kerrey left little doubt that COLAs for Federal workers and retirees are a particular target for reform. In fact, the October Money magazine urged readers to write the commission to demand that it "give significant attention" to reducing federal retirement benefits.

In the first paragraph of the politically explosive memo on the administration's budget options, Office of Management and Budget Director Alice Rivlin wrote, "Decisions must be made soon about the policies to be articulated in the FY 96 budget, the State of the Union,

Continued on page 2

• AFSA Dateline •

• USIA and AID, in response to an AFSA request, have reimbursed 13 employees legally entitled to back pay. Affected employees were alerted to eligibility for back Sunday Premium Pay by an AFSA cable sent out in February. The two agencies paid a total of about $40,000 in back pay to the employees. At this time, the State Department is still considering the claims of some 30 employees.

• AFSA and US&FCS have signed a communications agreement that allows employees in the field to communicate via cable or e-mail with new AFSA/US&FCS Governing Board representative Patrick Santillo or by fax at (202) 647-0265 to the AFSA Labor Management Office. Negotiations on a combined "partnership" and the framework agreement between US&FCS and AFSA will begin shortly.

• AFSA/USIA will hold a membership meeting and holiday party on Friday, Dec. 9, 4-6 p.m. at the C Street Holiday Inn. All AFSA/USIA Foreign Service personnel are invited. For more information, call Acting USIA Vice President Bruce Byers at (202) 619-5671 or Labor Relations Specialist Carol Lutz at (202) 401-6405.

• The AID Standing Committee went on record as strongly opposing the State Department's proposed 5 percent hardship post differential cut. A number of AID employees contacted the Hill; Sen. Paul Sarbanes (D-Md.) wrote Secretary of State Warren Christopher opposing the 5 percent cut and supporting a joint AFSA-management review of allowances.

• AFSA is continuing to help members who have storage problems related to the

Continued on page 3

STATE DEPARTMENT

V.P. VOICE

• BY TODD STEWART •

Diversity Revisited

AFSA recently published a memorandum prepared by its general counsel explaining the legal parameters governing affirmative action in the Foreign Service without proffering any policy recommendations. Copies of the memarandum are available from AFSA post representatives abrood and from AFSA offices in Washington. The Governing Board urges oll members to reod this important memorandum, for it loys the graundwark far further debate on measures to achieve diversity.

A key issue in any affirmative action plan is the relationship between merit and diversity.

When the board commissioned the memorandum, few members were under the illusion thot it would provide neat, simple answers to the vexing problems in this area. The difficult process of drafting the memorondum underscored the unfartunate reality af these expectatians. Cangress has passed ambiguaus legislation, forbidding discrimination but permitting affirmative action, which the courts have been left to interpret. Not surprisingly, the caurts have been unsuccessful in laying down clear guidelines under these circumstonces. Instead, they produced a series of often inconsistent plurality decisions, which competing interest graups have seized upon.

Nanetheless, some clear parameters have emerged. One is the apparent need far an explicit farmal affirmative actian plon to pravide a cantext for specific measures. This parameter coincides with AFSA's coll early this year for a transparent diversity plan. However, the department hos still nat prapased a draft plan far negotiatian with AFSA.

A key issue in ony affirmative actian plon is the relotionship between merit and diversity. The Fareign Service Act of 1980 mondotes conformity with merit principles in personnel actions while maintaining the department's ability to undertake affirmative action in the Foreign Service. These objectives are nat necessarily incompatible – but, at the same time, they are not automatically compatible. The Gaverning Baard urges the department, in consultation with AFSA, to develop an affirmative action plan that promotes diversity with measures compatible with merit principles.

What meosures satisfy this criterion? More effective minarity recruiting is ane example, and here the department has recently made same headway, thanks to a far better-financed effort, which has significantly increased minority "takers" and "passers" of the last Foreign Service exom. Another attractive ideo, this one already used by our colleogues in AID, enables management to ga belaw the previously designated cut-off line on selection board lists to promote minorities into classes where they ore underrepresented – provided that ony intervening nan-minarity members are alsa promoted. AFSA is promoting this in FCS.

Other meosures are more controversiol. If the department had o foir, transparent system to identify the best qualified candidates for, say, a deputy chief af missian positian and minarities were underrepresented in the DCM ranks, should the department's published diversity plan permit or require the Bureau of Personnel to give preference to a minority condidote among the finolists? I would soy yes, but athers may disagree. This is the sort of issue which must be joined in the debote which the Governing Board hopes will ensue, once members have a chance to digest AFSA's memorondum describing the law governing affirmative action.

ENTITLEMENTS

Continued from page 1

and our response to the Kerrey- Danforth Commission repart." Rivlin's endorsement of the importance of the commission's report underscores the patential weight of the 32-member commissian findings.

Just what the commission will recommend is unknown, but findings of a preliminary report issued in August spelled out the problems to be addressed:

- A runowoy federal deficit, in which current trends are nat sustainable;
- A nationol sovings deficit. Sovings must be roised becouse other countries save and invest more thon Americons do;
- Entitlements that will consume a rapidly increasing share of the federal budget;
- An oging papulation with progressively fewer workers to support each retiree's benefits;
- Federal health core spending that will double by 2030 even if inflation is contralled in health care;
- Medicare and Medicaid costs that, if uncantralled, will triple by 2030;
- Medicare health insuronce that is projected to be insolvent by 2001;
- Sociol Security toxes thot exceed current benefits, but aren't enaugh to fund future retirees.

Many of these ideas have support within the new Congress.

In o special October meeting, the AFSA Gaverning Baard discussed strategies far combining AFSA's voice with those of other, larger associations of federal employees and retirees ta deal with some of the sweeping implications of budget problems.

These problems form an impartant backdrap against which the fareign affairs agencies face projected level progrom ond administrative budgets, staffed and run by fewer people who ore compensated with fewer benefits.

A Foreign Service constituting less than half a percent of the federal work force, which in turn is a minar percentage of entitlement recipients, must make special concerted efforts to make its case heard. Active and retired Foreign Service members in Washington and ocross Americo must join into this effort.

AFSA Dateline

Continued from page 1

bonkruptcy of Fidelity Storage in 1984. Those who hove returned to Woshington since 1992 ond have missing stored effects should contact James Yorke at (202)647-8160.

• AFSA ond AID hove signed an agreement obout employee porticipation in the Career Tronsition Program. The agreement allows employees who are separating because of time-in-class or limited-coreer-extensions and who hove spent the last four yeors overseas to participate for the full 90 doys of the program in full poy status; employees whose last four years were not overseas and are separating due to TIC or LCE are eligible for 60 days; and employees retiring due to age are eligible for 30 days of the program.

• The AID Standing Committee has reviewed new reduction in force (RIF) rules proposed by the Deportment of State for its employees. Comments were solicited from the AID Foreign Service on the State rules as they would influence the regulations adopted by other foreign affairs agencies.

• AFSA/USIA intervention recently helped obtain nearly $10,000 in back reimbursement for trovel and per diem expenses for o USIA employee who was in language training in Washington.

• At a luncheon meeting at the United Nations on Oct. 18 AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Harris spoke to Fareign Service retirees af New Yark obout the neo-isolationism sweeping America and new AFSA outreach programs.

• Seventy Foreign Service retirees met Oct. 19 and established the Foreign Service Retiree Association of Northern Virginio. Interim president is Dick Undeland.

• FAS and AFSA have signed o communications agreement to allow AFSA members to use e-mail and cable systems to communicate with their respective AFSA representatives.

AID

V.P. VOICE

• By Garber Davidson Jr. •

Evaluation Reforms Debated

Perhaps nothing is as important professionally to an AID Foreign Service officer as the system by which she or he is evaluated. Negotiations between AFSA and AID monagement on proposed employee evaluation reforms ore scheduled to begin soon, but there remain mony controversial issues.

The current system relies heavily on individual raters and reviewers ta evaluate employees on agreed-upon work responsibilities and objectives. The proposed system would accent arganizational and collective responsibility of the work unit for evaluating employees, plocing emphasis on teamwork and collaboration.

As envisioned by the proposed system, in preparing the initial evaluation, the employee's supervisor would consult various clients, peers, subordinates and others who work with the employee to devise a rating thot reflects o body of opinion. This process of obtoining information from outside sources is known in the private sector as a "360 review." Once the supervisor has completed o draft evaluation, it would go to the unit's "appraisal committee," made up principally af managers, wha wauld review the wark af the supervisar and make the final evoluation. All along the way there would be an ottempt ta ferret out the discrepancies and arrive at consensus. The employee would have an opportunity to comment on his ar her performance as well as the final evaluation, but such comments would not change the outcome of the evaluation.

An AFSA focus group has expressed general support for the 360 review, but raised concerns. First, there is worry thot the process may result in a popularity contest. The worst-case scenario would be a process in which undocumented, negative feedback ends up in an appraisal. There is also concern about officers who must occasionally soy "no" to mission monagement on a wide variety of job-related actions. Teamwork is worthwhile for well-functianing wark units, but just as important is an atmosphere that permits occasional unpopular decisions that insure oppropriate accountability.

While many focus respondents approved of the evaluation role of the appraisal committee, some questioned whether the process interferes with the relationship between the supervisor and the employee. Further questions have been roised about moving such o process to "committee" which in the end could consume more staff time thon the current system.

The single most difficult issue for the focus group is the proposed system of promotions. First, there is widespread opposition to the idea that any single office in Woshington (in this cose Human Resources) should allocate promotion slots to the overseos missions and Woshington offices. Second, while there is wide support for some separation of the evaluation and promotion processes, there is a clear lack of consensus on haw best ta achieve that separatian. AFSA wauld argue that bath bodies need sufficient dato to make bolanced, infarmed judgments abaut each candidate.

On balance, AFSA embraces the need for change in AID's evaluation system and is hoping for change that would improve the quality, integrity ond consistency of the system. What has been proposed by the agency with the assistance of an outside contractor is a system that appears more complex and time consuming than current procedure. AFSA will continue to support positive aspects of the reforms, but will resist those components that complicate the process and make supervisors less accountable.

RETIREE

V.P. VOICE

• BY DON NORLAND •

Retiree Views Important on Hill

Monetary contributions to the Legislative Action Fund (LAF) ore heading for o record level of more thon $53,000 and constitute o strong endorsement af AFSA's efforts on Copitol Hill. Once again, retirees ore leoding the way. All retirees, AFSA members or not, received the LAF mailing; 800 af the 1,100 contributions received by the end of October were from retirees, one-third from non-members.

Of the legislative action priorities listed on the questionnoires, the breod–ond–butter issues of COLAs, entitlements, health care and other benefits were given top ranking – by o wide margin – by retirees and active members alike. Retirees also gave strong support to their second preference for haw AFSA shauld use its LAF resaurces: testimony before Cangress on foreign affoirs budget ond personnel issues.

Discussion of congressionol strotegy for 1995 at the AFSA Governing Baard's special planning session in October focused on the clear message AFSA received from the overwhelming mojority of the responses to its LAF questionnoires: Fight for the interests of the Fareign Service community.

At the Octaber meeting, the AFSA Board reaffirmed its view thot making a strang argument with Congress and the American public for maintoining an effective Foreign Service is vital to promoting the interests of members. Retirees are an essentiol part of this effort. Foreign Service alumni are ideally qualified ta pravide a key link to the public by engoging in dialogue with opinian leaders ot the grossroots level, and they ore olso well-situoted to engoge their local congressional delegations, where constituent views carry the most weight.

In o reloted presentation at the October planning session, State AFSA Representotive Lonnon Walker told the baard that AFSA's overriding goal should be to maintain the integrity of the Foreign Service os defined in the Foreign Service Act of 1980. He stressed the need for maintaining AFSA's identity ond for AFSA to have its own strotegy to promate Foreign Service interests on the Hill.

AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Harris commented ot the session thot the budget-cutters tend not ta focus on the speciol needs of the Foreign Service, since it constitutes only .04 percent of the federal work force. The same holds true for Foreign Service retirees. If AFSA is to preserve the benefits assaciated with professionol Foreign Service careers, it is important, especially in this time of budget reduction, to continue to make Cangress ond the public aware of the importance of our profession ta American interests abroad.

1995/96 Scholarship Applications Available

AFSA Scholarship Programs gront opplications are now avoilable. There ore three categories: financial need-based scholarships far full time undergraduate collegel students and acodemic Merit Awards and an Art Merit Award for high schaal seniors graduating in 1995. The American Association of Foreign Service Women (AAFSW) will fund the $750 aword recognizing excellence in visual or musicol arts far 1995 high school graduates, through the new Art Merit Award Available.

Tax dependents of Foreign Service personnel wha have served overseos are eligible ta apply for these scholarships. Applicatians are available thraugh the AFSA Scholarship Office.

NGOs' Role Growing in Foreign Policy Arena

"You will hear mare of us," Julia Taft, president of InterAction, an ossaciation representing 160 privote non-profit groups working in humonitarion relief ond sustainable development, told a crowd at the Foreign Service Club on Oct. 19. She spoke about the growing role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in setting and implementing foreign policy. InterAction works with counterparts and governments oll over the world to improve understonding of Third World needs ond their relevance to U.S. national security.

NGOs ore becoming more active advocates of their views, especially with Congress, according to Toft. They have anolyzed proposed legislation to refarm AID and will be working with next year's legislotion to include greater emphasis on sustainoble development as o notional security concern. They olso see foreign oid as an investment to reduce the need for larger, emergency humanitarian expenditures and to develop trade markets of the future.

Toft pointed to Rwonda os on exomple of the obstocles to forestalling future crises. Although many ogree the best way to guard agoinst further genocide in Rwanda is to deploy humon rights monitors, this effort is moving very slowly, and the government of Rwanda is paralyzed by lack of funds. Meanwhile nothing is being done about the poor conditions in refugee camps in Zoire ond Tanzania, where delivery of international relief is contralled by armed men, she soid.

The knowledge gained by NGOs from their warld-wide presence could be helpful to governments in their decision-making, Taft said. However, ogencies are slow to take advantage of these resources. NGOs need to communicate their perceptions more effectively to decisionmakers, she said. She observed thot international connections are o two-way street, and some lessons learned in the Third Warld are helpful in U.S. cities.

Northern Virginia retirees are invited to o special lunch at the AFSA Club on Dec. 13 ot 12:30 p.m. AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Harris will speak. For reservations, call Joseph Kemper at (202) 338-4045.

Governing Board Meets, Discusses AFSA Priorities

On Oct. 29 the AFSA Governing Board reviewed current AFSA priorities and programs in a half-day retreat. The board underscored its No. 1 priority as the bread-and-butter issues under attack by Congress, the Office of Management and Budget and agency managements. The board decided on an expanded strategic congressional plan and a strategy involving greater numbers of AFSA members, retired and active, and the use of overseas congressional visits to discuss the work and challenges of the Foreign Service. The working theme for AFSA's professional program is "Advancing U.S. national interests around the world: the Foreign Service, needed now more than ever."

The board agreed to continue its efforts promoting diversity with regard for merit principles and bottom-up recruitment.

Lastly, the board discussed the faltering efforts to implement "partnership" processes of joint decision-making in the foreign affairs agencies. The board agreed that partnership processes in State and AID were not consistent with President Clinton's directive, but were high-level dialogues – useful, but not operational in ensuring employee input into key decisions made by the agencies. The board expressed concern that the re-engineering efforts in State and AID did not involve large numbers of employees through AFSA, as outlined in President Clinton's "partnership" directive. The process is being largely run in-house by management teams that do not involve employees.

1995 AFSA Elections

It will soon be time for the 1995 AFSA elections. In a period of budget-cutting, it is important to have strong AFSA leadership. AFSA members are urged to think about running for the Governing Board. Nomination information will be in the February *Journal*, nominations are due March 10; ballots will be distributed in mid-May and the new Governing Board will take office July 15.

USIA

V.P. VOICE

• Bruce K. Byers •

The Time to Act is Now

The need for USIA's Foreign Service generalists and specialists to be more proactive in AFSA has never been greater. USIA is changing; the new Bureau of Information is officially established; the bureaus of Broadcasting and Management are working through very painful consolidations and streamlining; and the demand for Foreign Service personnel at field posts continues to increase. Bread – and – butter issues such as the requirement for new RIF regulations and the serious threat of a reduction in post differentials demand our attention.

AFSA, one of the three original signatories establishing USIA's Joint Partnership Council, is the sole Foreign Service bargaining representative with USIA management. AFSA/USIA members have a definite stake in the success of the "partnership" process and as a union AFSA is working to define problems and opportunities during the transition period to a more streamlined agency. Members already serve on bureau and office partnership councils and teams throughout USIA, but we need to strengthen AFSA's contribution to the agency's own reinvention. AFSA also needs to serve our membership better as advocates in grievances and in resolving problems with management. This requires greater membership participation and more Foreign Service members.

Unlike most of our Civil Service colleagues, FSO's work in difficult, often dangerous overseas environments and are the frontline proponents of public diplomacy initiatives advancing U.S. foreign policy objectives. Our successes in public diplomacy have not gained the recognition at home that they deserve. The National Performance Review's recent *Accompanying Report: Department of State and U.S. Information Agency* reflects this. AFSA/USIA's Sept. 23 letter to the NPR pointed out the most glaring misrepresentations of USIA in the report. Director Joseph Duffey's chief of staff expressed her appreciation for AFSA's response to the NPR, and we appreciate her recognition. However, we need firmer support from USIA management for the role we play in Washington and abroad.

The point is that when members speak out on issues that concern them, they are heard. We need to speak out more forcefully through AFSA as advocates of Foreign Service needs and interests. This is especially critical on the issue of Foreign Service assignments in Washington. Through AFSA, we can help USIA obtain greater traction in Washington and raise its profile in the foreign affairs community. We can also encourage more effective use of the professional expertise of those working at USIA headquarters.

We in AFSA must work more effectively to define our positions on the required RIF regulations, on the overseas assignments process, on the performance evaluation process – especially in the "reinvention laboratory" of the new Bureau of Information – and on the thorny issue of Washington assignments in a streamlined USIA. We must increase our interaction with management and inform it about AFSA's position on key issues before it makes decisions or accedes to decisions made at State, which can profoundly affect our overseas operations.

We cannot deny that we face mounting challenges to our long-term survival as a career service. In the spirit of "partnership," we need to strengthen our presence within USIA to do so. For this we need the active participation of more Foreign Service professionals who are willing to shape the AFSA/USIA course. We have plenty of work to go around. It's time for more of us to pitch in and help. Members interested in serving on the USIA Standing Committee, which performs much of the essential work of AFSA, should contact Bruce Byers at (202) 619-5671 or Carol Lutz at (202) 401-6405.

AFSA Sponsors Pacific Rim Conference

BY JOHN J. HARTER
Conference Affairs Officer

U.S. business needs to be a part of the explosive economic development occurring in the Asia/Pacific region, said Joan E. Spero, undersecretary for economic, business and agricultural affairs, who was the keynote speaker at a day-long AFSA conference on APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) at the Department of State on Oct. 14.

According to Spero, Asia accounted for only 4 percent of the world's economy 30 years ago; today it accounts for 25 percent and may account for one-third by the year 2000.

The conference previewed issues that President Clinton discussed with APEC leaders in November in Jakarta and featured U.S. government officials who accompanied the president to Indonesia. The audience of 300 included representatives of 37 major U.S. corporations.

In a companion keynote address, Winston Lord, assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific affairs, emphasized that "one of the most important legacies of the Clinton administration's Asia/Pacific policy is a quiet building of an Asian-Pacific community."

The conference profiled new opportunities open to U.S. business in the Pacific Rim area, prospects for further trade liberalization in the region following the Uruguay Round, and the outlook for meeting the region's capital requirements.

Panelists included Assistant Secretary for Economic and Business Affairs Daniel Tarullo; M. Peter McPherson, president of Michigan State University and a former AID administrator; Richard J. Swift chairman and CEO of Foster Wheeler; and spokespersons for Motorola, Intel, Boeing, GTE, American Express, NYNEX, Coopers & Lybrand, GE, Morgan Stanley, and Fluor Daniel; and the Indonesian and Singapore ambassadors to the United States.

AFSA will publish a Highlights Report in January, which may be requested from AFSA.

DOL Gets Challenge Grant

The United States-Japan Foundation has awarded AFSA a one-year challenge grant of $106,214 to fund development of on-line educational resources in US-Japan relations. Receipt of the grant is contingent on AFSA raising an equal amount in general support of the Diplomats Online (DOL) program from other sources. Much of the grant will go to producing curriculum materials on Japan to be used in conjunction with the on-line dialogues on diplomacy and international affairs being established through AFSA between Foreign Service people and elementary and secondary school classes.

As the sole international affairs forum on America Online, DOL now includes linkups with the National Council of World Affairs organizations. Speakers registered with the AFSA World Issues Forum will be listed on-line.

Foreign Service participants willing to dialogue with classrooms receive five hours per month of free on-line time from AOL. For more information call Outreach Director Gil Kulick at (202) 338-4045.

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WILL 21ST CENTURY DIPLOMACY REQUIRE SHARED MORAL VALUES?

BY RUSHWORTH M. KIDDER

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, greeting us with his animated hands and infectious smile, led the way into his comfortably well-worn sitting room. Outside, his fellow South Africans were two months from the defining moment in their history: the April 1994 election that would bring Nelson Mandela to power. Inside, on that late winter afternoon, the archbishop was explaining what had made the coming election possible.

"Tell the world," Tutu had told the 475 delegates at the International Press Institute during an impassioned speech in Cape Town a few days earlier, "that these people have an incredible capacity to forgive." What had he meant? Why had he put so much emphasis on that point? What could forgiveness — a value rooted in morality but notoriously

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underrepresented in statecraft — have to do with the future of one of the world's most racially troubled nations? Now, sitting by the high mantelpiece before a small delegation of American visitors, Tutu expanded on his remarks. Were it not for that innate value of forgiveness so characteristic of the black South African population, he explained, "we would be seeing an orgy of bloodletting, where people would be hell-bent on revenge."

Centuries of frustration and decades of apartheid had given his people every reason to lash back at their oppressors. Yet when the short-fused moment came — with the assassination of popular black leader Chris Hani on April 10, 1993, when the entire black population was about to topple into a destructive rage — there came a pulling back. At that moment, the leadership of Mandela's party, the African National Congress, could have called for a pound of flesh. Instead, recalls Tutu, what surfaced was its "magnanimity, the capacity to forgive."

From his office in Johannesburg, Beyers Naude, an Afrikaner who was once a leading figure in the Dutch Reformed Church, agreed. "I do not know of any other country in the world," says Naude, who is respected throughout the country for his early, vigorous commitment to ending apartheid, "where the sense of forgiveness and willingness to accommodate those who have done injustice is as strong as it is here."

Some see the roots of forgiveness in South Africa's pervasive Christianity. Others trace it to the tribal concept of *ubuntu*, a complex set of community values that defines one's own individuality primarily in terms of the success and well-being of others. Whatever its roots, it appears to be shaping the surprisingly non-violent pace of the nation's new democracy. And it figures increasingly in the perceptions of diplomats, scholars, politicians and international observers who, in numerous interviews recently, contrasted South Africa to another of the world's diplomatic Gordian knots — the Middle East — where revenge sometimes seems the order of the day.

If the new South Africa works, they seemed to be saying, it will be not only because of sanctions, or great natural resources, or a European-based infrastructure, or the vigilance of an international community. It will largely be due to the moral value of forgiveness.

Nor is South Africa the only test site for forgiveness this year. Halfway around the world, Haiti's President Jean-Bertrand Aristide returned to power in October, repeating his call for the values of "honor" and "respect." To the euphoric crowd gathered at the National Palace on his return, he at last proclaimed on Haitian soil the moral stance he had so long been preaching from exile in Washington. "No to violence, no to vengeance, yes to reconciliation," he insisted.

Calls for reconciliation, of course, are easily made. What gives Aristide's words singular heft and authority is the background from which they spring: A sudden and successful diplomatic sally by former president Jimmy Carter, who knocked together the accord that ultimately restored Aristide. It was a negotiation based, apparently, on Carter's willingness to respect the dignity and humanity of his adversaries. Here, as in his negotiations over nuclear weaponry with North Korean dictator Kim Il Sung earlier in the year, Carter deliberately set forth to discover common ground, built upon shared goals, and worked toward a negotiated, win-win settlement.

To be sure, some observers accuse Carter of appeasement and point to his earlier penchant for respecting such towering dictators as Tito and Ceausescu. It's a charge that could yet prove valid, if exiled Haitian strongman Raoul Cedras turns out to be a fomenter of revolution against

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Aristide, or if North Korea finds a loophole out of commitments to abort its nuclear weapons-making capability. But it's equally possible that, in a stinging rebuke to our fashionable cynicism, these agreements may hold. And it's certainly true that, for the moment, one striking fact remains about Haiti: No American lives have been lost in what could have become a Caribbean Somalia. Whatever the ultimate outcome, this was a diplomatic exercise based clearly on the moral value of respect.

In recent years, the mainstream international community has had little to say about moral values — and much of what it did say was bad. "The very act of acting destroys our moral integrity," opined the archdeacon of realpolitik, Hans Morgenthau, in his highly regarded 1948 tome, *Politics Among Nations*. Statesman George Kennan argued that morality in international affairs is not only irrelevant but positively pernicious: In his 1952 book, *American Diplomacy: 1900-1950*, he denounced "the carrying over into affairs of state of the concepts of right and wrong: the assumption that state behavior is a fit subject for moral judgment."

Both had a point. There is no doubt that a misplaced moral fervor can blind our rational assessments, introduce hidden agendas, and crank otherwise ordinary conflicts into vicious crusades. But as the world presses inexorably into the global community of the future, there should be no doubt about something else: The foundation of successful statecraft for the 21st century will almost certainly be laid on shared moral values.

The luxury of imagining that values don't matter, or that states have no morals but only interests, may have worked just well enough to keep the 20th century afloat — if by "afloat" we mean its perilous survival despite two devastating World Wars, a 70-year experiment in communist oppression, the haunting of a nuclear specter, and an unprecedented increase of global population. Such a view may not work at all in the 21st century. Why? Because at least four things have changed radically in recent years:

A new military equation. With the end of the Cold War and the new imbalance of power, the temptation of smaller states to resolve conflicts by force has already become more prominent. Had the Soviet Union still been a player and the threat of nuclear escalation still been real, its client state Iraq would never have been given the green light to invade Kuwait — nor would Bosnia have erupted or Somalia festered. The United States is not immune to the same temptation. Absent the Soviets, America's comfortable old equation — "See what side they're on, then take the opposite" — vanishes. In a world where the projection of American military force meets little effective challenge, the issue is less what the United States must do than what it wants to do — since, militarily at least, it can do pretty much whatever it wants. Increasingly, the choices it faces will be moral ones, where the question of whether or not to intervene pits one moral "right" against another.

Better modes of communication. With the surge of new information and travel technologies, the global village has become a widely recognized commonplace. Less recognized is the fact that villages depend on shared values. They depend not only on rights but on responsibilities. And they achieve a sense of shared responsibility because those who live there have access to information ranging all the way from back-fence gossip to front-page blockbusters. This very access, however, raises the moral pitch of society. Had the Rwandan refugee crisis occurred with no news coverage whatever, it would be difficult to argue that citizens of any another nation would have a moral obligation to help.

But vivid images of Rwanda, Bosnia, Haiti and Ethiopia — and the Kurds, and the Armenians and Azeris, and all the rest of the world's vortex of tragedy — compel a response. Nor can those in the developed world hide any longer behind the Cold-War excuse that "those are our enemies" and that "the Soviets will help them out." The danger, now, is one of compassion fatigue, an overloading of the ordinary citizen's moral circuits that, because of the new technologies, has no parallel in history.

Different international players. When kings ruled the world, states were the major players. Increasingly, however, extra-statal relations shape international affairs. With trillions of dollars now traded overnight in currency exchanges, and with multinational corporations increasingly determining the standards of trade, work and leisure, the economies of individual nations can easily be dwarfed by systems which do not even profess to have at their heart the well-being and survival of a citizenry.

The moral imperatives of statecraft in the future, then, will demand a focus on the ways corporations and markets can and should be regulated. But since these entities are international, the regulatory structures must lie some-

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where beyond the individual states, in a body of international law. Where will that law derive its authority? Ultimately from one source: a set of commonly agreed and widely shared values, without which such law can neither be formulated nor enforced.

Shifting demographics. The population explosion, as George Moffett argues so cogently in his new book, *Critical Masses: The Global Population Challenge*, adds the equivalent of another Boston every two days and another Mexico every year — not to western nations, but to less-developed countries already crushed against the boundaries of their resources. Why this glut? Most demographers cite the imbalance between birth and death rates. The mortality rate has dropped dramatically in this century, which has seen tremendous success in controlling disease, reducing infant mortality, and extending longevity. Such steps, most people would agree, are morally proper. But is there a corresponding moral obligation to reduce birth rates and thereby achieve a balance? If we ignore that obligation, will we jeopardize the ecological integrity and the resource base of our future? If we don't act to reduce birth rates, will we be tempted to rationalize wholesale massacres, famines and an AIDS pandemic as nature's means for reversing the death rates we've worked so hard to reduce? These are moral questions that the 19th century simply didn't have to face.

These four changes alone would be enough to insure that the 21st century will present us with new moral challenges of the first intensity. But two other trends — one that stretches the ethical perimeter, and another that polarizes the moral discourse — also figure here. The first trend, concerning race, woman and the environment, finds expression in a steady expansion of the moral frontiers — compelling us to "do the right thing" in more and more areas. The history of the developed world makes the case here. When it was already wrong to own slaves and oppress other races, it was still thought proper to "own" women. When women were finally understood to be worthy of full moral citizenship, it was still acceptable to degrade and exploit other species. Now even the natural world is coming under the tent of our responsible concern. By constantly expanding this perimeter and turning more of "them" into "us," we greatly increase the range and significance of that which deserves our moral consideration. Result: We greatly expand our duty to act morally.

The second trend takes shape at the nexus of two polar political forces that affect the entire context of our moral debate. On one pole lies the resurgence of religion, growing with new fervor almost in direct proportion as the world seems to become more technological, mechanical and impersonal. In part, the impulse is a positive one, probing for a spiritual dimension, a set of transcendent values, and an unselfish approach to others and to an uncertain future. In part, however, the impulse is just the reverse: a radical retrenchment into a black-and-white fundamentalism that resists critical inquiry, measures all worth by loyalty to its causes and exponents, and resorts to terrorism and dictatorship to impose its values.

At the other pole lies an intense rationalism that challenges all ideas and tests every construct. In part, that's good. Unexamined theories have perhaps more potential to harm humanity than all the bludgeoning of unthinking tyrants, while a tolerance for a rich diversity of ideas is surely at the core of human progress. But, such rationalism fosters cynicism, nihilism and an ethical relativism that, in the name of challenging all values, dismisses the very thesis that moral values exist and have meaning.

At times, these polar forces have oozed over so much ground that no meaningful space was left between them. Recently, however, a middle ground has begun to open up an arena for vigorous public discourse about moral and ethical concerns. It is here that those who wish to talk about a set of globally shared values can do so without being lumped automatically with the ultra-right — and where those who wish to point out that moral values may not be absolute can do so without being branded as relativists. It is in this middle ground — or, more accurately, the world view it suggests — that we may ultimately be able to come to grips with the moral issues of our collective future.

If, as I have been arguing, our progress in the next century will depend upon a core of shared moral values, the next question is self-evident: Does such a set of values exist, and can it be found? This is the question that, over the past five years, I have put to 24 individuals in 16 different countries. These interviewees were chosen because, in the eyes of their peers, they are moral exemplars, ethical spokespersons with something worth saying about values. Some, like Nobel laureate Oscar Arias, former president of Costa Rica, are well known beyond their own countries. Others, like Dame Whina Cooper, a 98-year-old Maori activist living in a secluded mountain village in New Zealand, are largely known only to their own fellow citizens. All, however, are people who are voices of conscience.

These interviews, collected in my book published this year, *Shared Values for a Troubled World: Conversations with Men and Women of Conscience*, begin with a core question: If you could formulate a global code of ethics for the 21st century, what would be included? What are the values, in other words, that you would bring to the table from your own culture?

Examined together, their statements yield a consistent, powerful and widespread core of collective values. Equally significant for this discussion, however, is the force with which they articulate the need for a moral vision of statecraft in the coming century.

"Ethics," said Arias, "is an indispensable framework for our view of ourselves and others. The idea that ethics is a luxury results from a narrowly reductionist view that treats human problems as neutral scientific facts from which values can be excluded. The real question is not whether we should be ethical: No human society could survive without codes of acceptable behavior, sanctions, socialization and structures. Rather, the real and urgent question is whether we can evolve an ethics commensurate with our rapidly increasing cognitive and technological powers and ... communications capabilities.

"Ethics is never dispensable. It is an integral part of human survival. But in the 21st century, such survival will be a more complicated and precarious question than ever before, and the ethics required of us must be correspondingly sophisticated."

In a world beset by economic, military and political turmoil, he acknowledges, world leaders might be forgiven for having more hard-nosed concerns. Yet in his meetings with them, he has continually been struck by their concern that, as he summarizes it, "we have forgotten about the values, about the spiritual heritage and patrimony that is the only thing that can give cohesion to our prospects for the future."

Former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick, holding a more conservative vision, agrees. She recalls that, when the world body finally was able to adopt a common definition of aggression, something very important occurred. Such developments, she feels, are significant markers for "the emergence of some kind of near-global, or at least very broad, international agreement on some very fundamental values. A meaningful international code of ethics will also affirm human rights, very much on the Helsinki model."

Salim El Hoss, Lebanon's former prime minister, links such a code to international law. He explained, "My understanding of a global code of ethics would be a set of values and rules to govern international conduct based on a clear perception of the dichotomy of good and bad, right and wrong, fair and unfair, which would insure peace and stability and prosperity for all."

International law, he says, "would be essential for a good code of ethics. [But] the law is no substitute for the code of ethics, and the code of ethics is no substitute for international law. [They] should be complementary."

How do these two — ethics and law — interrelate? "I think international law, regardless of how it is conceived, should be inherently ethical," he concludes. "You can't have law which is unethical. It has to be legitimate to be really legal."

And so the interviews go. But the force of their arguments, and their widespread cultural representation — Buddhist and Muslim, Catholic and Protestant, liberal and conservative, black and white and Asian and Hispanic, First World and Third World — suggest that, in the eyes of some of the leading moral voices of our age, there exists a shared body of global values. What are they? The list, as I extract it from their comments, goes like this:

- Love (compassion, empathy, or caring for others)
- Truth (honesty, integrity)
- Freedom
- Fairness (justice, equity)
- Unity (a sense of community)
- Tolerance (respect for diversity)
- Responsibility (accountability)
- Respect for life (not killing, respect for the environment)

These are not in priority order. Nor, as the parenthet-

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ical terms suggest, were they articulated with precise definition. In each case, they represent a constellation of ideas surrounding the core concept. But what seems significant is the degree of consensus on each constellation. The notion that we somehow lack a set of values that can unite us globally — and that therefore we must tolerate whatever anyone else asserts is right and proper, from cannibalism, wife-torching and genocide to corruption, revenge and deceit — simply doesn't hold up to scrutiny. The need for a world view to deal with our growing moral complexity is met — fortunately — by the fact that such a world view really does exist. What's more, it need not be imposed, since it can be discovered.

Well, but so what? How does the recognition of the need for moral statecraft, and even the realization that a common code exists, help us sort out the pressing, real-time dilemmas facing the international community? Are there any methodologies through which this moral vision can be made practical?

There are indeed. And they begin, it seems to me, with our understanding of what creates moral dilemmas. Here let me make an assertion: Individuals who have no core moral values will never encounter moral dilemmas. Our toughest dilemmas arise, in fact, not through ignorance but through awareness. They happen not in spite of our values but because of them. And they typically occur when two of our core values come into conflict. They are, in that sense, right-versus-right dilemmas. To be sure, we all face right-versus-wrong temptations. But most of us don't routinely say, "Here's the good, the right and the true. There's the bad, the wrong, and the false. And here I stand, equally torn between them." Once we've labeled something as wrong, we're not so apt to do it. The tough choices — in our personal lives, and in international affairs — arise when two core rights are pitted against each other. Such right-versus-right dilemmas do not come, like quarks or ice-cream cones, in a whole array of flavors. Instead, they tend to reduce themselves to four paradigms:

■ Justice-vs.-mercy dilemmas, where the stern demands of law and the clear need for compassion both demand consideration.

■ Short-term-vs.-long-term dilemmas, where what's good for now is at odds with what's good for the future.

■ Individual-vs.-community dilemmas, where the needs of the self (or the small group) and the needs of the community (the large group) are both right and are mutually exclusive.

■ Truth-vs.-loyalty dilemmas, where one's allegiance to a person or idea is challenged by one's understanding of what honesty or integrity demands. In today's world, these kinds of dilemmas are all around us — with some dilemmas exhibiting more than one paradigm. For example, in recent months the situation in Bosnia has thrown up to U.N. peacekeepers a classic justice-versus-mercy dilemma. On one hand, it seems right to show mercy for innocent Muslim citizens, in danger of being slaughtered by advancing Serb forces, by evacuating them to safer ground — an activity that, in many cases, is well within the means and mandate of the U.N. forces. On the other hand, since that is precisely the outcome the Serbs would approve — because it enlists the U.N. to achieve their ultimate goal of "ethnic cleansing" — the principles of justice demand that the Serbs not be rewarded in this way. There are powerful, right arguments on both sides.

Another example is Hidrovia, the multi-billion-dollar, 2,000-mile-long navigational waterway proposed for the Paraguay-Parana River basin in Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay, which pits environment against development in a large-scale individual-vs.-community dilemma. Residents of the area (the small, local group) clearly need jobs and prosperity, which could be brought to their region through lower transportation costs and increased large-scale cash-crop opportunities. But environmentalists (the large, global group) seek to prevent the project's

proposed drainage of the Pantanal, the world's largest tropical wetlands ecosystem. They worry about the global consequences of massive flooding, soil erosion, siltation and increased damage from pesticides and fertilizer. There are, of course, layers of self-interest present to both sides.

Finally, imagine the truth-vs.-loyalty issues that arise when one is asked to betray a confidence, whether in personal matters or for reasons of state. For many people, truth is the supreme moral value, showing up on just about every code of ethics. So there is a strong impetus toward truth-telling — to answer honestly and accurately the questions that are asked. But at times the claims of truth conflict with those of loyalty. Journalists, diplomats, lawyers, psychiatrists and others are now and then pressured to "tell the truth" about a situation, even if that requires them to divulge their sources or share information gathered in private. Frequently they refuse, putting loyalty above truth — just as, you would hope, your Kuwaiti friend who had hidden you in his attic during the Gulf War would have answered, "No," when an Iraqi patrol came to the door asking, "Are you hiding anyone in your house?" Loyalty to friends, to nations, and to ideas is a value ingrained in youth. But so is honesty. When these two clash, powerful arguments for right bubble up on both sides.

In scores of issues like these, those working in the international community are daily faced with moral and ethical issues. The notion that they shouldn't be troubled by them — a notion fertilized by the Morgenthau-Kennan thesis and bearing fruit in a deliberate moral neutrality — amounts, these days, to a false assessment of the way the world works. Individuals do face tough right-vs.-right dilemmas. They do not always check their morals at the door of their Foreign Service academies, their schools of international business, or their professional careers. They long to find ways to bring their deepest ethical concerns to bear on their lives. What are they to do?

Here the centuries offer some guidance. Moral philosophy, grappling with such tough issues over the centuries, has spun out a number of helpful principles for decision-

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making. Three of them seem particularly relevant here:

■ Utilitarianism, most commonly known through the phrase, "Do the greatest good for the greatest number."

■ Immanuel Kant's "categorical imperative," a complicated term for a fairly commonplace idea, which is that we should act according to the highest principle we wish to see universalized. Shorthand: Do only those things that we would feel comfortable having everyone else in the world do now and forever.

■ The Golden Rule, which urges us to do to others what we want them to do to us — a precept by no means restricted to Christianity, showing up at the heart of every one of the world's major religions.

How do these apply? Do conflicts of principles mean that the principles themselves are pointless? No. It only reminds us that the moral issues we face are complicated. Were that not so, ethics would be a closed system, with rules as clear as those of a Monopoly game and issues as easy as some talk-radio hosts think. But if that were the case, all these matters would have been sorted out by Aristotle centuries ago. There are no easy answers. But, we will need to recognize that the world is indeed fraught with serious moral issues, that there exists a core of shared values, and that methodologies do exist for posing global questions in moral terms and resolving ethical dilemmas.

I've tried to argue, here, not so much for one set of paradigms and principles as for a recognition that we can find ways, through ethical decision-making methodologies such as this, to build "a moral and intellectual state." The phrase is Czech President Vaclav Havel's, who puts all of this best in an essay from his 1992 book, *Summer Meditations*.

"[W]ithout commonly shared and widely entrenched moral values and obligations, neither the law, nor democratic government, nor even the market economy will function properly.

"A moral and intellectual state ... is not something we can simply declare or introduce. It is a way of going about things, and it demands the courage to breathe moral and spiritual motivation into everything, to seek the human dimension in all things. Science, technology, expertise, and so-called professionalism are not enough. Something more is necessary. For the sake of simplicity, it might be called spirit. Or feeling. Or conscience." ■

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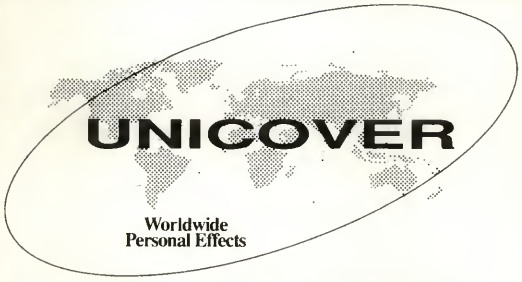

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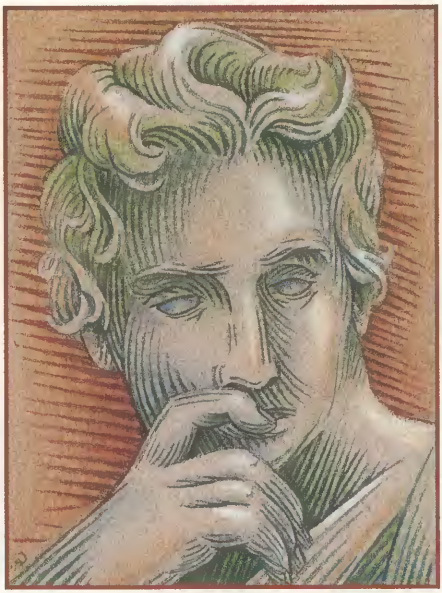

CHRIS ANGRISANI

AN EX-FSO REFLECTS ON 1970 RESIGNATION FROM WHITE HOUSE OVER VIETNAM STRATEGY

BY ROGER MORRIS

After resigning from the National Security Council staff over the invasion of Cambodia in the spring of 1970, I had gone to work as an aide to the young Democratic Senator from Minnesota, Walter Mondale, and soon found myself something of a novelty, if not an odd trophy. Mondale was fond of taking me along when he spoke to the wide-eyed, well-scrubbed high school or college students from Minneapolis, Duluth or Fergus Falls who were touring the Capitol. After delivering a small civics lesson on the blunders of the Republican administration, he'd point to me: "And here's a new member of my staff who just couldn't stand it. He walked out of the White House the night they went into Cambodia."

I soon concluded with painful certainty that the failure to blow the whistle as loudly as possible that bloody spring of 1970 was the worst mistake of my life.

Evoking images of drama and smoke, Mondale's introduction never failed to move some of the students, who were eager to know "what was it like" to leave a coveted job in government. No one seemed puzzled that I was opposed to U.S. policy on the Vietnam War. By late 1970, the country was bitterly weary of Vietnam, and Richard Nixon was at the nadir of his first-term popularity. It was the resignation itself that intrigued them. "Very interesting," one of their instructors said to me, "Americans don't resign, you know."

I soon confected a suitably self-effacing throwaway line for these sessions. "If you couldn't resign from this administration," I'd say after assuring them it was worse than it looked, "you couldn't resign from anything." It always drew a little nervous laughter.

It was also, as I look back, a smug, perfunctory gloss on a fateful decision defining career and life. I had indeed resigned on policy grounds, but at the same time on the most personal basis, ultimately for fundamental moral reasons. The teacher was right — Americans don't often do that, not in government, especially in foreign affairs. Though I'm not sure how much I understood it at the time, my resignation held meaning for others well beyond my own small passage and moment in Washington.

I was born in Kansas City, my forbears having moved westward through the Cumberland Gap in the early 19th century. My mother once conducted something of a genealogical search —in discreet hope of dignitaries, I suspect — but found Gouverneur and Robert Morris, signers of the Declaration of Independence, in another distant branch and ours crowded with obscure dirt farmers. Their mottled gravestones lean in small churchyard cemeteries of northwestern Missouri. Born, marrying, working, dying in the radius of a few fertile but hard-scrabble counties, my ancestors probably would have thought me a frivolous dreamer and shirker.

The first Republicans I met, long before the Nixon White House, were my mother and father. They were small-town kids who had come to the city during the 1920s, my father going to work in a stock brokerage firm literally days before the Great Crash. After an interlude in Washington state during World War II, they brought me back to the quiet small suburb of North Kansas City, where I grew up, went to public schools, played baseball — and dreamed of being a Foreign Service officer. Good and bad, fortunate and flawed, it was a largely unexceptional postwar midwestern, middle class background — except perhaps for two experiences.

In its own buttoned-up, non-evangelical Protestantism, the local Methodist church left me with the conviction that public service carried an even higher moral and ethical responsibility than other occupations, and that democracy was not only a matter of political form but even more essentially of economic justice. We took seriously the Sermon on the Mount.

I also had an extraordinary grandmother, who as a young widow in the 1920s, had encountered the old Pendergast regime in Kansas City, and had known Harry Truman when he was making kickback collections for the machine. She taught me early to look hard beneath the surface of politics and government, and of the people in each. If there was one lofty literary reference that caught that combination of Sunday school morality and homespun political sophistication, it was my favorite credo from a worn copy of *The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius* found at a library sale for a quarter: "Whatever is being done, accustom yourself as much as possible to inquire, 'Why is this man doing this thing?' But begin with yourself and examine yourself first."

After graduate school at Harvard and years as an exchange student in Moscow and London, I ignored the disdain and warnings of academic colleagues who sneered at the Foreign Service as one more bureaucracy, and in 1966, I entered the basic officers course at the old Foreign Service Institute.

Like some of my classmates who became close friends, I saw myself very much as a non-partisan, professional public servant, entering on a career that would never make me particu-

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larly rich or famous, but had its fulfillment and excitement, dignity and perquisites. Most of all, it would allow me to be part of something important in America's internationalist impulse — to be where the action was, while also doing good.

We were sworn in on April Fool's Day, which in my case would later appear to be an omen for both me and the government. It was the height of the Vietnam War, and I was impressed that Secretary of State Dean Rusk took time to vouchsafe us some welcoming remarks. "Gentlemen," I distinctly remember him admonishing, "the world's a dark back alley and the fellow coming toward you is carrying a big knife."

The Yugoslav regime held up my visa for a first assignment to Belgrade, and as a result I soon had the blessing and curse of a rapid, remarkable succession of jobs that led to the cancellation of my foreign posting. It began with duty as a junior aide to former Secretary Dean Acheson, called back in 1966 as a special consultant on NATO. There followed positions as a staff assistant to the assistant secretary for European affairs, liaison officer for the European and other bureaus in the Executive Secretariat, aide to White House special consultant McGeorge Bundy during the Middle East War, staff officer of the National Security Council under Lyndon Johnson, and retention on the staff under Nixon. In 1968, wishing to remain in White House assignments, I left the Foreign Service, moving from FS-6 status to GS-15 of the Civil Service by April 1969.

In that somewhat rarified process, I would have a chance in the latter 1960s to witness the substance of six once or future secretaries of state whose tenures altogether spanned decades in American foreign policy — including not only Acheson and Rusk, but also William Rogers, Henry Kissinger, and Alexander Haig, and a close personal and working relationship with Larry Eagleburger. I knew firsthand the provenance of several contemporaries later prominent in foreign affairs from the 1970s to the present — such as future U.N. Ambassador Don McHenry, assistant secretaries Winston Lord and Dick Holbrooke, Defense and NSC official Mort Halperin, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin, Reagan National Security Adviser Richard Allen, and several others — most importantly former FSO Tony Lake, now assistant to President Clinton on the National Security Council, my closest friend in government whose signature appeared next to mine in our April 1970 letter of resignation.

From my perches there was also routine contact with many senior- and middle-grade FSOs in a number of bureaus as well as from the field — for a junior officer it was a candid, revealing preview of both the work and personal effects one might expect at the top of a long ladder. "What they are, we are becoming," as one of my FSO colleagues in the Secretariat put it. Finally, the work involved much exchange with senior officials outside the State Department as well as congressional figures, journalists and others, most of whom were sharply and openly critical of the Service as what one called in a memo of the time, "a puckered guild of atrophied and wasted talent." Like my own origins and education, like the jobs I held, like the actual content and meaning of policies, all this broader sociology was also part of the backdrop of my resignation.

In that larger sense, the decision to leave may have been incubating for some time. But the precipitant cause, as the lawyers might say, was swift and plain. Early in 1970, Lake and I were handling Kissinger's back-channel talks with the North Vietnamese, negotiations kept as secret from the U.S. government as from the rest of the world. That spring plans were on the table for complete troop withdrawals and a political settlement by the close of 1970, what we believed was a genuine prospect of stopping the war five years and hundreds of thousands of casualties earlier than it eventually ended. Indulged by Kissinger and others for their own reasons, Nixon's manifestly manic impulse to invade Cambodia lethally cut off that peace process, poisoned American politics while inciting the tragedies at Kent State and Jackson State, and drew the Cambodians into a holocaust still felt a quarter century later.

Seeing and sensing only a small part of what would become an enormous crime, Tony Lake and I resigned two days before the president ordered and announced the attack, joined by close friend and colleague William Watts, a former FSO who was then NSC staff secretary. Though we left the White House out of moral as well as political repugnance, and made that revulsion plain within the executive branch and Congress, we did not go public with our resignations by calling a press conference, issuing statements, or merely leaking and then talking on background. After much discussion, we had decided that a more publicized break, open or furtive, would only damage National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger within an extraordinarily benighted, reactionary White House, where even his own megalomania and expedience, which the three of us knew so well, appeared then to represent the lesser of evils.

We sacrificed the truth of what we did, as well as whatever wider public impact and political force it might have had, to such pretentious and problematic insider calculations. I can only say it seemed the best of a bad choice at the time, a deci-

The Foreign Service must ask whether it is executor and trustee of democracy, or merely foreign rep and protocol officer to the real Washington regime.

sion with far less clarity than the act of resigning itself. I soon concluded with painful certainty that the failure to blow the whistle as loudly as possible that bloody spring of 1970 was, as I've since confessed to many who've asked about it, the worst mistake of my life. Perhaps we could not have altered in any way the administration's policy savagery and the blundering that lay ahead from Vietnam to Chile, Bangladesh to Burundi — or even warned of Watergate, the dark shape of which we had glimpsed in the constitutional squalor of the Nixon court, and which our full disclosure in 1970 could conceivably have foreshadowed. Perhaps that, too, is so much pretension. But our silence is haunting.

Apart from the issue of public voice, it had not been a difficult choice for me to resign. I remember vividly reading the first menacing, stream-of-consciousness memos about Cambodia pouring out of the Oval Office, walking into Tony's adjoining room at a corner of the Old Executive Office Building, pounding my fist on his desk and announcing in angry if grandiose dismay, "The first goddamned American trooper across that border and I'm out of here!" We were so close to peace, yet with Nixon as president, always so precariously on the razor's edge between statesmanship and barbarity.

In moral and ethical terms, the Cambodian invasion, abhorrent enough in itself, was also only a last straw. I was working for a regime, after all, that I knew after little more than a year to be at root manipulative and thus contemptuous of most of the American electorate. It was awash in corrupt political money, riddled with the most venomous intramural rivalries and resentments — manifest in vicious jokes and machinations directed at the secretary of state and other cabinet officers — wantonly wiretapped its own appointees as well as spied on outsiders, given to casual vocal racism in private and cynical appointments in public.

All that and much more I found morally repellent, as well as politically sordid. Corny, naive, old-fashioned notions as some would say, but still relevant by my lights; this was not the decent government my parents had believed in when they went door-to-door for Eisenhower in the 1950s, not the democracy my education taught me to cherish and I had hoped to represent to the world as a diplomat, not the constitutional principle I swore to uphold that long-dreamed-of day I entered the Service just four Aprils before.

Nor did I see the moral option of slipping away to some more remote and presumably absolving corner of government, even after the Lake-Morris joint resignation letter had been received and suitably ranted over as another example of "the cowardice of the eastern establishment." Kissinger himself later called me in to say, according to my journal, that we could "put all this behind us." Patronizingly, with unconcealed and mutually-understood condescension toward me and my views, he offered "something away from Washington, like running a nice little African embassy or Peace Corps mission, something you'd think worthwhile, Roger."

The truth was that while I was watching the unfolding disgrace of the White House, I was increasingly clashing with — and alienated from — a foreign affairs bureaucracy that I also opposed in moral principle on its own terms. Responsible for African and U.N. affairs on the NSC before being pulled off to be on Kissinger's special negotiation staff with Tony, I had battled with the State Department and missions over humanitarian policy toward secessionist Biafra in the Nigerian Civil War, over the future course of policy toward South Africa, over policy toward the dictatorship of Haile Selassie in Ethiopia, over armed conflicts in the Horn, and over continent-wide aid strategies, weapons sales, CIA interventions and more.

I not only found these policies odious by a deeply ingrained bureaucratic indirection and moral abdication, but also the very rites and habits of the bureaucrats, the reflexive burial of blunders and marginalization of dissent, and the preoccupation with careers and subsequent postings, pensions and corridor images, amid human tragedies and acts of ruthless national expedience altogether incessant and petty — what an FSO friend and future ambassador called "blue suit chickenshit," as distinct from the "khaki chickenshit" he'd seen in the military.

It all seemed symbolized by the rarity of Foreign Service resignations or even open questioning of Vietnam or other highly dubious policies — though many Foreign Service officers I knew were privately more bitter, caustic and cynical than

any outside critic, often about policies they were ardently executing, justifying and publicly defending daily. They worked in the midst of what was always someone else's disaster, someone else's responsibility. In some, it seemed to me an unfathomable hypocrisy.

No doubt I was often as wrong, arrogant, abrasive, shrill, self-righteous as my numerous bureaucratic adversaries thought, not to mention that ultimate indictment of young officers — "brash." On paper a promising recruit for the old career dead-enders at the Board of Examiners, I had turned out to be a hopeless bureaucrat. And still, I realize now that I should have fought even harder — been even more intractable and offensive than imputed — in the face of much of what I encountered.

Whatever my boyhood dreams, I could morally abide neither the Nixon administration nor the foreign affairs bureaucracy of the time. I had resigned a few months after turning 32, with a wife who had left her career to have a family, sons 4 and 18 months old, about $2,000 in the bank, and not a job in sight or in mind. As a matter of fundamental integrity and character, I didn't think I really had a choice. Twenty-four years and much study later, I still don't believe I did.

That last winter and spring, I had come home to my house off Chevy Chase Circle to spend night after night staring into the fireplace or walking the dog, asking the old questions of Marcus — what was really happening here, and why? What was I really doing? I remember thinking long and hard about issues of the national interest vis-a-vis my trivial personal interest, about elected authority and ostensibly legitimate governance vs. my own lone judgment and conviction, about questions of loyalty and betrayal on all sides, and not least, my own sheer sense of disappointment, like some deep and gnawing and undeserved pain, that I had had to face these issues at all.

Throughout there was a still, small inner voice that could not be put off by any special pleading of government authority or Foreign Service convention, much less personal apprehension or attachment. We did know the difference between right and wrong. We did know there is an outer face to foreign policy, and then an often very different inner reality, in its making and in its human, sometimes more subtle conse-

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quences. We did know that the United States — often willfully, occasionally inadvertently and unintentionally, but always at some level, knowingly — was widely involved and implicated in acts violating the most fundamental moral tenets of our secular and spiritual civilization.

Whether massacre in an open field or torture in a darkened cell, whether covert payoffs and quiet support of tyranny in the name of freedom or gunrunning and drug smuggling in the guise of national security, whether, more finely, aid and assent in economic arrangements that disenfranchised millions abroad and eventually at home, we knew what was really happening — and, an equal moral obligation, should have known. How could an FSO not know the reality, suspect it, or make the devoted effort to dig it out in his official capacity, even when an avid lay person could have glimpsed a darker shape by 1970 through investigative journalism, published scholarship, congressional hearings, foreign press reports, and other, non-classified sources. Ignorance — the old "need-to-know" dodge used by perpetrators and spectators alike — was no excuse. The still, small voice went as well to the issue of culpability. I was morally responsible, it seemed clear, not only for active support or participation in a policy, but also for condonation, for complicity by indifference or evasion, for collusion by silent presence, ultimately for adult consent.

I knew the cost of withdrawing my consent, as it were, would be high. In a society that ostensibly makes honesty a supreme value, candor is often rewarded with ostracism, loyalty defined as conformity, defiance treated as deviance. The government I served under two presidents commonly resorted within and without to a familiar defense — that we were only following orders, or doing our jobs, and were absolved of any larger guilt.

"Given so delicious a mixture of motives," Albert Hirschman wrote in a small 1970 volume that discussed these rationalizations, "opportunistic behavior will be indulged in with an intensity, persistence and abandon out of all proportion with its justification. ... It would seem that Lord Acton's famous dictum can be varied to read: 'Power corrupts; and even a little influence in a country with huge power corrupts hugely.'"

Even after resolving those issues, I wrestled with the myths, excuses and rationalizations that bar the moral door: The gov-

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As an FSO, I saw myself as a non-partisan public servant, in a career that would never make me rich or famous, but had its fulfillment and excitement, dignity and perquisites. It would allow me to be part of something important — to be where the action was, to do well enough, while also doing good.

ernment may not be "perfect," but the "realist" knows it's the best on the planet. Leaving would only weaken the collective inner impulse for reform. Staying would allow the staving off of a greater evil. And, of course, expelling myself from the inner sanctum, I would lose that prized virtue of "effectiveness."

But I also knew well what James Thomson, a predecessor on the NSC staff, had called the "domestication of dissenters" in the State Department culture, the "assigning" of a role that assuaged the opponent's conscience while keeping him safely on a discounted margin of the dialogue. There were apt lines from Barbara Garson's "MacBird," playing in New York the year I entered the Foreign Service, in which "Egg of Head," the character satirizing U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, ponders the awful toll of resignation:

> In speaking out one loses influence.
> The chance for change by pleas and prayer is gone.
> The chance to modify the devil's deeds
> As critic from within is still my hope.
> To quit the club! Be outside in!
> This outsideness, this unfamiliar land,
> From which few travelers ever get back in ...
> I fear to break; I'll work within for change.

As for our discreet resignations, they were hardly a jolt to either the administration or the bureaucracy, which went on to respective destinies. As for my former colleagues, those who left with me and those who stayed, we all took rather diverging directions by our own, distinctly personal lights. I came to see more clearly afterward what I understood only in part at the time: Resignation on moral or ethical grounds is a profoundly cultural, sociological, psychological choice — and that one's resignation can continue in the larger sense of work and values served, be sustained, or even be rescinded by the life choices that follow. I speak for no others here in this entirely personal reflection, any more than I judge them. We simply stand at different vantage points. The late *Washington Post* journalist Larry Stern once wrote that I was widely regarded as a "renegade" by the "foreign policy establishment," a branding for all I wrote and said after leaving in public revelation and critique, as well as for my original break. Under the circumstances of the last quarter century of governance and foreign policy, and in the broadest meaning of both "renegade" and "establishment," I've never been more proud of a personal characterization.

At that, however, my personal moment of truth seems to me now as an historian and journalist all too relevant to those in the Washington and foreign postings of the 1990s. If anything, the larger moral landscape is starker and more demanding. Transcending old partisan politics, public alienation from the political system in all its institutions is obviously far wider and deeper than any we knew even in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Corrupted by money as never before, the U.S. government may be abusive in a more subtle, bipartisan manner, but more than ever it is a special-interest oligarchy — in the larger sense an enduring culture of complicity maintained in important measure by the embedded, ritualized silence, performance, and thus collusion of crucial stewards like the Foreign Service.

Called upon now to assess the inner quality and reality of its own government like some foreign satrapy, that Service appears to face more starkly than ever the questions of Marcus. It must confront the issues of consent. It must ask whether it is executor and trustee of democracy, or merely foreign rep and protocol officer to the real Washington regime, just one more endlessly reinvented, fringe-benefits bureaucracy. It must come to grips with the moral implications of what it knows or should know, with its vaunted traditions of intellect and courage and its deeper *esprit de corps.* It must face the higher loyalty and responsibility in its oath of office. For those who understand what is at stake for themselves and others, I warmly recommend confronting the issues and making an honest decision. It can be a life-saving act — certainly for individuals, even for lumbering institutions, and now, perhaps, for a gravely beleaguered democracy as well. ■

JUST SAY NO: THE DISSENT CHANNEL

BY LIZ ALLAN

Since the creation of the Foreign Service, Foreign Service officers have not always agreed with the U.S. policies that they've pledged to carry out.

That's why Secretary of State William P. Rogers created the foreign affairs agencies' Dissent Channel in 1971 to deal with internal dissent on U.S. policy on the Vietnam War. Unique in government to the State Department, similar versions should be considered for the Defense Department and the CIA, according to Rosemary O'Neill, chairwoman of the Open Forum and coordinator of the Dissent Channel.

The channel was promptly criticized by some as a mechanism designed to thwart — not air — dissent, since the channel aimed to discourage Foreign Service and Civil Service workers from making their complaints public. In a 1973 memo, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger warned, "I expect that all officers in the Foreign Service and the department will keep dissenting views in the channels provided for. We cannot operate the government or the department if dissent is taken to the press."

The procedure, which promises to protect employees "from pressure or penalty" is a simple, though lengthy one: The dissenter makes a formal dissent, which is passed on through his supervisor to the Policy Planning Bureau and, ultimately, to Secretary of State Warren Christopher. A Policy Planning staffer is assigned to respond to all dissents within 60 days. Notes O'Neill, "When you write a dissent, you have to write with the point of view that the secretary of state might read it."

Despite its intention, the Dissent Channel has not been a popular forum with employees. In the 20 years between 1971 and 1991, only 200 people have used the channel, with a record number of 30 in 1977, according to FSO John K. Naland, who reviewed 20 years' of dissent messages as staff assistant on the Secretary's Policy Planning Staff in 1991. Nine dissents were filed in 1992; nine in 1993 and 10 so far to date this year, according to Alex Meerovich, Policy Planning Bureau staff assistant. In the channel's 23 years, 52 dissents were registered on Latin American policy; 39 on Europe; 31 on Near East; 26 on East Asia; 22 on Africa and 58 on administrative and general policy, according to figures.

Former Foreign Service officer Marshall Harris, who filed his first dissent message in 1993 over the Bosnia issue, used the channel three times in his Foreign Service career, though he says he rarely received a satisfactory response from management. "I do not have a high opinion for the mechanism; it seems to serve just for the record," he said.

His colleague in the Bosnia dissent, former FSO Steve Walker, decided not to file a dissent message over his frustration with government policy. "It seemed futile," he said. "They were already aware of our views. I'd say something if it was unique and if it added to the debate, but it didn't."

Paul Neifert, a Foreign Service officer with the Agency for International Development (AID), didn't consider using the Dissent Channel this year, when his South African assignment was abruptly terminated because, he says, he objected to race-biased hirings of AID contractors. He opted for the grievance route instead. "There is a pervasive feeling that it does not do any good to speak up because you're dealing with folks who do not want to do anything to solve these problems," he said.

Indeed, statistics show that the number of messages has declined since 1980, with twice as many dissents received during the channel's first decade than during its second, according to Naland. The highest number of dissents — 75 — were recorded during the Carter administration; the Reagan administration tallied 55 and the Nixon/Ford era received 51, according to Naland's figures. The Bush administration received 28 and the Clinton administration has had 19 to date — only halfway through his term, according to Meerovich's figures.

"It's hard to tell if the dissents themselves have a clear impact," Naland said. "However, I feel it is a very valuable channel. The Policy Planning staff recognize the sensitivity of the dissents, especially if the dissenter is going out on a limb." ■

Liz Allan is the assistant editor of the Foreign Service Journal.

Stop, All Ye Who Enter Here

US Needs Annual Immigration Cap To Stem Tide of Illegal Aliens

By Marshall Green

The most time-consuming task of U.S. embassies and consulates is the administration of complex, ever-changing U.S. laws governing the admission to the United States of millions of people seeking residence in the United States as immigrants, or visits to the United States as non-immigrants such as tourists, students or business people.

The great majority of migrants around our restless world move within their own natural boundaries, predominantly as part of the mass migration now going on from rural areas into cities — many of which are doubling in size every 15 to 20 years, with vast slum areas growing even faster. The next largest group of migrants are those living in the poor countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America who move to adjoining poor countries, usually driven by famine, plague, pestilence, and increasingly by ethnic conflict and turbulence. Rwanda and Somalia are recent newsworthy examples. A third, relatively small but rapidly growing group of migrants are those crossing borders from poorer to richer countries largely for economic reasons, seeking jobs and a better way of life. The outstanding examples of this group are migrants crossing the Mexican border into the United States, or crossing the Mediterranean Sea from North Africa and the Near East to Western Europe.

During the Cold War years, another sizable category of migrants was recognized as refugees, those who, as defined by international law, are outside their country of nationality and are unwilling or unable to return to that country because of persecution, or a well-founded fear of persecution, due to race, religion, nationality or political opinion. Thus, the United States admitted some 900,000 Indo-Chinese as refugees in the late 1970s, as well as tens of thousands of Jewish refugees from the former Soviet Union. Today, the situations in Haiti and Cuba have intensified concerns over immigration.

Now that the Cold War is over, an argument can be made for ending the current U.S. refugee program. But the real argument for ending the refugee program is a rather brutal argument: There are simply too many countries in the world of today and tomorrow where people are fleeing ethnic, religious, racial and political persecution. Their numbers promise to be overwhelming. Already by the 1960s,

Marshall Green was ambassador to Indonesia from 1965-69 and assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs from 1969-73. Since 1980, he has been a director of Population Action International, a private, Washington, D.C.-based group. This piece has been adapted from a recent address to the Yale Class of 1939 during its 55th reunion in New Haven, Conn.

more and more of our citizens were raising critical questions about the numbers the United States should be accepting annually to live in the United States, bearing in mind such factors as pollution, traffic congestion, water and other resource shortages, lack of adequate housing, health and other services, loss of wilderness and recreational areas — all of these factors affecting the quality of life of Americans, their children and new generations. Here it should be emphasized that the argument was not, and is not, against immigrants, who include almost all our ancestors. The argument is over the number of immigrants to be admitted every year, and about more effective ways to stem the flood of illegal immigrants.

In 1972, after two years of studies and hearings, a presidentially appointed commission, headed by John D. Rockefeller III, delivered its report, "Population and the American Future." Composed of leading Americans from diverse walks of life — including five members of Congress — the commission concluded that, "There is scarcely a major problem in America whose solution would not be more easily and satisfactorily resolved if [its] population growth were lower."

Since immigration accounted for a growing and sizable proportion of the increase in U.S. population, the Rockefeller Commission recommended, among other things, that the government cap immigration at 400,000 people a year. It also urged a major crackdown on illegal immigration. These and other recommendations in the report would probably have been approved by former President Richard Nixon had not the report raised — quite unnecessarily — the abortion issue, which is always a hot potato, especially in an election year like 1972.

So in terms of migration to the United States, what has happened since 1972?

■ Annual levels of legal immigration to the United States have just about doubled, from 500,000 in 1972 to 1 million in 1994.

■ Annual levels of illegal immigration have at least doubled to an estimated 300,000 permanent settlers, mostly from or through Mexico.

■ Meanwhile in 1980, 1986 and 1990, three major bills on immigration were passed by Congress, all of which helped raise legal immigration levels. The 1986 bill automatically provided legal resident status to more than 3 million people who had entered the United States illegally before 1982.

The prospect of increasing pressures on U.S. borders is downright alarming, since the world's population is growing by 100 million a year, with the economic gap ever widening between the richer, industrialized nations and the poorer, developing nations, where virtually all population increases are occurring. Meanwhile, the poorer countries face increasing levels of unemployment as work forces grow every year by 50 million, while the mechanization of agriculture and the automation of labor-intensive industries like textiles have eliminated many jobs. A surge of job-seekers to the United States is inevitable, whether through legal or illegal channels.

The United States is expected to reach a population of 392 million by the year 2050. The prospect of adding 132 million inhabitants to this country by mid-century obviously has major demographic, economic, resource, social and environmental implications.

Another basic fact contributing mightily to migratory pressures is the revolution in communications and in speed of travel. Largely through TV programs, now being seen even in remote villages of Asia, Africa and Latin America, people are aware of a better way of life in the industrialized nations — especially the United States, the fabled land of opportunity. In short, the United States can be likened to a huge magnet attracting people from all over our planet, especially from more crowded and polluted countries, where there is more destitution, unemployment and political turbulence.

So what can be done? The United States' first and most immediate task is to enforce existing immigration laws and regulations more effectively. California's passage on Nov. 8 of Proposition 187, which would expand laws prohibiting illegal immigrants from receiving pub-

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lic services — including public education and health benefits — shows the extreme of Americans' frustration with the mounting costs of illegal immigration. The measure passed easily, with 59 percent of the vote.

In response to strong popular demand, Congress is now moving to strengthen U.S. border guards, especially along key points of the U.S.-Mexican frontier. However, this may not prove very effective unless the United States receives cooperation from Mexican authorities, especially in dealing with organized gangs of human smugglers. Otherwise the United States will need to resort to a great deal of barbed wire, sensors, electrified fences and the like if U.S. borders are to be adequately secure — hardly an inspiring symbol of the NAFTA relationship. The U.S.-Mexico border presents a uniquely challenging problem, extending for almost 2,000 miles between two countries, one of which has a per-capita GNP seven times that of the other and a population growth rate one-third less.

Another needed measure is a more effective way to prevent U.S. employers from hiring illegal aliens. This was the main objective of the Immigration Reform Control Act of 1986, but it has proven ineffective largely because there is no secure identity document to verify that the holder is a legal U.S. resident.

As Doris Meissner, U.S. commissioner of immigration and naturalization, has recently written, "The ability of the United States to control illegal immigration turns to an important extent on the seemingly esoteric issue of identity documents. Yet proposals to improve document security, or introduce a universal identifier, to quell illegal immigration are widely greeted as medicine that is worse than the disease."

Why so many Americans cling to this outdated attitude is hard to understand, particularly since all other modern countries have comparatively secure identity systems, and particularly since the United States is the prime target of alien terrorists. Witness the recent bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City, the assassination of two CIA employees outside the Langley, Va., headquarters and the ruthless Chinese snakehead gangs now smuggling Chinese aliens into the United States, losing lives in the process. A 1993 *New York Times* editorial cited an estimated l00,000 illegal Chinese entrants to the United States every year, mostly to New York. Some may argue that there is no such thing as a fraud-proof identity system. That argument is no longer valid in this day when secretly coded numbers on tamper-proof cards can be instantly checked against a central computerized registry.

Another tactic the United States must stop is the way more and more illegal aliens are arriving in U.S. airports without acceptable documentation, claiming asylum as refugees. Currently, these applicants for refugee status are allowed to stay in the United States, pending adjudication of their claims as refugees, but most never show up for the required court hearings. They simply vanish into the American underground.

When I chaired the State Department's Advisory Panel on Indo-Chinese Refugees in 1981, all refugee claims for sanctuary and settlement in the United States were processed outside the United States — even in Vietnam.

This should be standard practice, and any airline or shipping company bringing an undocumented alien to the United States should be required to return that alien to his or her point of embarkation at the expense of the offending airline or shipping line.

The other major task on migratory issues is to determine optimum levels for legal immigration to the United States. Recent public opinion polls indicate that an overwhelming majority of Americans, including Hispanic Americans, want immigration levels decreased.

Despite several attempts at lowering immigration quotas, these bills did not pass Congress during the most recent session. Already in Florida and California, the number of immigrants — legal and illegal — from Mexico, South America and the Caribbean has had a severe impact on the respective economies. Indeed, immigration issues were at the forefront in elections in those states this month.

In the State Department, most Foreign Service officers have long deplored the flagrant way U.S. immigration laws are violated. Such violations not only invite disrespect for all U.S. laws, but reward those who break the laws and penalize those waiting in line for legal admission to America: These people simply have to wait longer.

Meanwhile, a recent U.S. Census Bureau announcement makes it all the more urgent that corrective action be taken on lowering admission levels. According to the latest projections, the population of the United States will grow faster than earlier believed. Instead of stabilizing at a level

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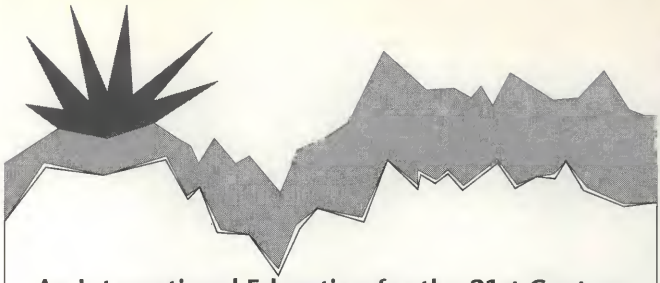
between 290 million and 300 million by the middle of the next century, the United States is expected to reach a population of 392 million by the year 2050. The prospect of adding 132 million inhabitants to this country by mid-century obviously has major demographic, economic, resource, social and environmental implications.

It would accordingly seem to be high time for another presidential commission to address U.S. population and migration issues in terms of recommending optimum annual levels of immigrants based on resources, environmental issues and other factors. The commission should also address the question of illegal immigration, recommending more effective ways of minimizing numbers, though this is an issue of such pressing importance that corrective measures should not await the results of a presidential commission.

Ultimately and obviously, the problem of migratory pressure can only be resolved by world-wide population stabilization — a goal towards which the world is making some progress, though much more needs to be done, especially in the fields of family planning and the empowerment of women.

Some may have heard the story about a group of Native Americans who called many years ago on Vice President Alben Barkley. Just as the group was leaving the vice president's office, one of its old leaders, Chief American Red Horse, grabbed Barkley by the lapels and said: "Young feller, let me give you a bit of friendly advice: Be careful with your immigration policies; we were too careless with ours." ■



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BOOKS

DIPLOMATIC WARS AT SECURITY COUNCIL

The United States, Iran and Iraq: How Peacemaking Changed
Cameron R. Hume, Indiana University Press, 1994, $29.95, hardcover, 269 pages.

BY ROBERT HILTON

Cameron Hume ends his book on the changing nature of United Nations' peacemaking with the question: "By defeating Iraq's aggression, will the Security Council and its members gain credibility to deter aggression elsewhere?" *The United Nations, Iran and Iraq* is not about the future of the United Nations but about its recent past, a look behind the scenes of the U.N. Security Council's attempts to end the 1981-90 Iran-Iraq War.

From 1986-89, and again in 1990, Hume worked on Middle East affairs as a member of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations. This book is a primer on U.N. operations that should be read by every Foreign Service officer assigned to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations.

Hume's book is not a chronicle of the Iran-Iraq War. Rather, it is a despatch from United Nations Plaza, where the battles are diplomatic maneuvers among the secretary general, the Security Council's five permanent members, and a changing cast of other countries taking two-year turns at membership on the Security Council. Representatives from Iran and Iraq, of course, appear in the diplomatic trenches as well.

The middle third of the book, five chapters grouped under the heading, "The Turning Point," makes the most interesting reading. Hume describes the process of consultations among the permanent members over how to respond to Iran's refusal in 1987 to accept Security Council Resolution 598, which demanded that both sides implement a cease-fire and withdraw to internationally accepted boundaries. In informal meetings, free from the rigidity that characterized public stances, the five permanent members wanted to impose an arms embargo on Iran for refusing to accept the resolution. In the end, these talks led nowhere. China's refusal to go along with what was essentially an American drive to punish Iran doomed the many drafts to the dustbin. Hume's point, however, is that these discussions established a procedure by which the veto-wielding powers could work to find common ground. The new process, he argues, is far more important than the Security Council's failed efforts to end the war.

Hume proves that changing attitudes brought about change in the functioning of the Security Council. Member countries became concerned about the Iran-Iraq War only when it threatened their interests — i.e., oil. Evolving bilateral U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations allowed the two Cold War antagonists to work together in the Security Council, and the fact that the Iran-Iraq War did not fit into a nice Cold War paradigm helped. This breaking of the ice preceded and made possible the fast and impressive action of the Security Council when Iraq invaded Kuwait.

The Security Council's new era cannot be defined in New York but must be framed in Washington, Moscow, Beijing and other world capitals. Hume convinces the reader that the Security Council has developed into a tool that may be used to resolve conflicts; it only needs strong hands to wield it.

Robert Hilton is a Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Information Agency.

FRIENDS & ENEMIES IN ASIAN TRIANGLE

Taiwan, Hong Kong and the United States, 1945-1992: Uncertain Friendships
Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, Twayne Publishers, $29.95, 1994, 337 pages.

BY DAVID REUTHER

The June 1989 Tiananmen Massacre is the oft-mentioned backdrop to Georgetown University China historian Nancy Bernkopt Tucker's contemporary study of U.S. policy and popular attitudes toward Taiwan and Hong Kong. Her methodology of weaving together traditional academic and nontraditional cultural and social materials gives a delightfully textured rendering of the stories of Greater China.

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For the researcher, Tucker has brought new luster to an old academic tool, the bibliographic essay. Tucker sees Beijing, Taipei and Hong Kong as linked into a Greater China and notes that economic arrows shot at Beijing have in the past hit Taiwan or Hong Kong. She believes that handling Greater China issues will test the sophistication of the American public and policy formulation for years to come.

Tucker divides Taiwan's post-war history into four periods: 1950-65, the year U.S. economic assistance ended; 1965-72, the year former President Richard Nixon visited Beijing; 1972-82, the year that the Reagan administration signed the August Communique; and finally 1982-92. A major theme throughout the book is that Taiwan, not the American superpower, dominated the relationship. "The manipulation of the United States, a skill developed early by Chinese Nationalist leaders, became fundamental to Taiwan's foreign policies, and the nature of the American political system — as well as the larger international environment — made it effective," she noted. No Soviet satellite had a similar call on Moscow's resources and attention. Even as the Vietnam War eroded U.S. public support for Asian authoritarian regimes, Tucker argues that Taiwan's influence and popular pro-Kuomintang (KMT) inertia were sufficient to make the 1979 diplomatic recognition of Beijing messy for the Carter administration.

In covering the 1982-92 period, Tucker weaves economic, social and cultural trends and interactions between Taiwan and the United States. She writes of personalities and incidents that are crucial parts of the story of the development of Taiwan political opposition. She also catches the flavor of President and KMT Party Secretary Chiang Ching-kuo's willingness to alter the Nationalist Party's hold on the politics of Taiwan, but the more prosaic story of the reform and Taiwanization of the mainlander-dominated party is not as well told. This is unfortunate because the KMT holds the reins of power and dominates the decisions that impact on the relationship with the United States.

In the two chapters devoted to Hong Kong, Tucker again offers easily readable pages on diplomatic history, economic trends and cultural phenomena. The story of Hong Kong connects the dim imperialist 1800s with the present, reminding all that the return of Hong Kong has been a dream of Chinese Nationalists for decades.

Whether discussing security, intelligence or trade, the author points out that U.S. policies created tension with local and London officials who believed there was a point where Beijing would respond to provocation. But Tucker writes that Hong Kong survived U.S. policy and Vietnamese refugees to become an unequalled nexus among the separate parts of Greater China. She notes that the United States is accustomed to viewing Taiwan, Hong Kong and the mainland as separate political and economic entities. However, she claims that Greater China was "the fastest growing economy in the world in the beginning of the 1990s." The author argues that Greater China challenges American policy-makers and those who would influence policy with the need to reformulate outdated images. The concluding chapter is an excellent essay highlighting that difficult policy choices remain for the United States over Greater China. This volume is a good start toward understanding the background to that interaction.

David Reuther is a Foreign Service officer on detail at the Pentagon. He has more than 20 years' experience in East Asia and the Mideast, having served in Beijing, Taipei and Bangkok. ■

In Memory

Warren M. Chase, 89, of Ashfield, Mass., died June 16 at his home.

Mr. Chase was born in Chicago, Ill. and graduated from Amherst College in 1925. He did his post-graduate studies in economics at the University of Chicago and the University of Paris.

Mr. Chase joined the Foreign Service in 1929, retiring in 1957. He served in Amsterdam, Hamburg, Bern, Berlin, Helsinki, and as a special assistant at the State Department from 1951-57.

He was awarded the Medal of Freedom, the highest U.S. civilian award, in 1948. After moving to Ashfield in 1957, he became active in town government, serving as a selectman and as tax assessor.

Survivors include two daughters, Adeline C. of Virginia and Josette M. Banks of Massachusetts; three sons, George W. of California, Vincent H. of North Carolina, and Charles V. of Minnesota; and five grandchildren.

John William Henderson, 83, of Sarasota, Fla., died Sept. 30.

He grew up in Des Moines, Iowa, and attended Drake University and the University of Iowa, graduating with a B.S. in journalism in 1932. He graduated from the National War College in Washington, D.C., and later was a reporter in Iowa. He served in the U.S. Army, including overseas service in Japan, from 1945-46.

In 1948, he entered the Foreign Service, retiring in 1967. He served in Shanghai, Hong Kong, Manila, Tokyo, Bangkok, Jakarta and Taipei. In Jakarta, he was the deputy chief of mission and in Taipei, he was U.S. Information Service director. He served two assignments in the Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs.

From 1968-71, he was in charge of Far Eastern Studies at The American University in Washington, D.C. He wrote and published a number of books and articles.

Survivors include his wife, Lois, of Sarasota, Fla.; four step-daughters, Catherine MacCartney of Columbus, Ohio, Josephine Bruaker and Mary Novak of Charleston, S.C., and Ellen Laura of Atlanta, Ga.; one son, John W. Jr., of Fairfax, Va.; a sister, Maryann Harwick of Bradenton, Fla.; and 15 grandchildren.

Earl R. Michalkia, 75, of Boca Raton, Fla., died on July 23.

He was born in Missouri and grew up in Texas. After receiving his bachelor's degree from Rice University in Houston, Tex., he joined the U.S. Navy.

He joined the Foreign Service in 1947 and served in Honduras, Colombia, Nicaragua, Hong Kong, Pakistan, Dominican Republic, Chile and Spain. He retired in 1973.

Survivors include his wife of 47 years, Nereida, of Boca Raton, and son, John Earl.

David L. Osborn, 73, of San Diego, Calif., died on Sept. 16 from head injuries received in a bicycle accident.

He was born in Indiana and received a B.A. from Rhodes College in 1940 and an M.A. in Chinese from Harvard University in 1947. He was a naval officer in the Pacific during World War II.

He joined the Foreign Service in 1947 and served in Tokyo and Taipei. He was consul in Hokkaido, Japan, and political officer in Kobe, Japan.

In 1955, he served in the Office of Chinese Affairs and was assigned to Geneva as special representative for talks with the Chinese Communists in 1956. He then served again in Taipei and Tokyo.

He attended the National War College in Washington, D.C., and then served as deputy assistant secretary of state for Educational and Cultural Affairs. He was deputy chief of mission in Tokyo. In 1970, he became the American consul general in Hong Kong. In 1974 he was appointed ambassador to Burma.

After retiring, he served as chancellor of the International College of California in Pasadena and as director of a computer-accelerated language-learning project for Nippon Television Cultural Society.

He was honorary chairman of the Japanese Friendship Garden Society of San Diego, as well as a member of the San Diego Museum of Art and the Japan Society.

He is survived by his wife, Helenka; a son, David; a daughter, Kim; a sister, Louise; and two brothers, Ralph and James. ■

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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

Witnessing Haiti's Rebirth

BY BRIAN JONES

Hope. It is a simple word. It was, however, a word the Haitian people had no concept of before the U.S.-led intervention of Sept. 20. In fact, if any word described the Haitian spirit prior to the intervention, it would be hopelessness. The leap was a remarkable metamorphosis for witnessing Marines deployed in Cap Haitien.

As a member of one of the first Marine units that rolled into the streets of Cap Haitien that first day, the scene I saw was overwhelming. Thousands of Haitians filled the streets or covered the rooftops, all joyously applauding our arrival.

After the initial celebration subsided, the Haitians obviously were confused. Here sat the Americans, their alleged saviors, and yet it was business as usual for the Haitian Army and its accompanying band. Even in the presence of the Marines, the sight of a truckload of Haitian soldiers was enough to frantically scatter the hundreds of Haitians who had come to stare at us. We were often forced to make split-second decisions on whether to challenge the Haitian military, who tested our resolve by incrementally increasing the level of oppression against the populace.

However, there were subtle signs that the Haitians were discovering the benefits of liberty. Streets began to be cleaned. Shops opened and conducted business. An air of entrepreneurial spirit seemed to develop everywhere; near one of our positions, two independent bedmakers set up shop on either side of us, selling their wares in a true competitive spirit.

> *Only hopelessness described the Haitians' spirit prior to U.S. intervention.*

Suddenly, on Sept. 24 the tension between the Marines and the Haitian military snapped. When two Haitians pointed Uzis at the platoon commander, the Marines responded, and in that one night of violence, the back of the Haitian military was broken with the deaths of 10 Haitian soldiers and policemen. I remember escorting the platoon out of the area that night through crowds of milling Haitians. The Marines walked proudly, confident that what they had done was the correct response to a dangerous situation. The news of the deaths spread quickly through the streets. Now in fear for their lives, the once brazen military and police threw away their weapons and burned their uniforms.

Earlier that night my platoon had been called to respond to a sniper who was shooting into a crowd of civilians. Some 25 Marines and four light-armored vehicles surrounded the building. I led four Marines up to the sniper on the second floor. When he saw the Marines, he surrendered.

Over the next few days, vigilante crowds turned in automatic weapons, machetes, knives — and live grenades and explosives. Once, more than 1,000 feet of detonation cord was handed in, the Haitians believing the military had used it as rope to tie up prisoners.

But after nearly three months, we were eager to return home. By this time, the Haitians no longer sat and blankly stared at us. They were becoming accustomed to security, and with potable water now available, they opened the markets and bars and socialized more in the streets. And once electricity was restored — which had been shut off for three years — a movie theater was opened, drawing out many more people from their homes.

We left on Oct. 2, two weeks after the U.S. army arrived in Cap Haitien. It was business as usual that day. Haitians were buying food, cleaning the streets and socializing — it was a gratifying sight.

Throughout my time in Cap Haitien, I witnessed a remarkable transition of the Haitian people's lifestyle, which made the three months seem worthwhile. I returned from Haiti with one simple thought — that I had witnessed the awakening of hope for the Haitian people. That was enough for me. ■

Brian Jones, a second lieutenant in the U.S. Marine Corps, served in the Special Purpose Marine Air/Ground Task Force in Haiti. Stamp courtesy of the AAFSW Book Shop Stamp Corner.

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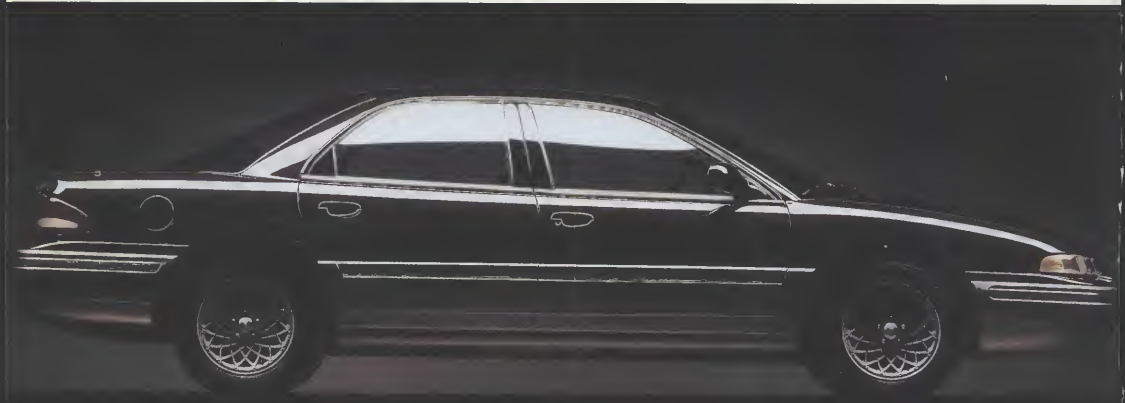

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