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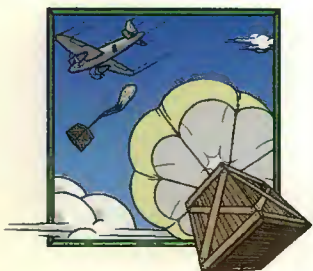


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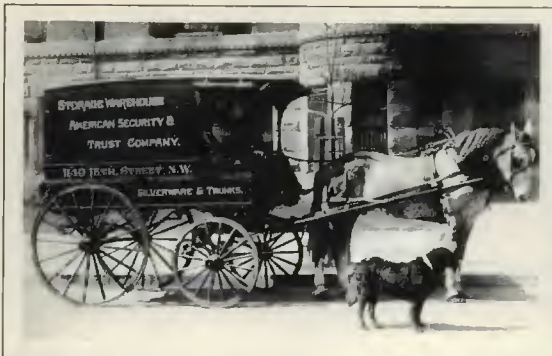
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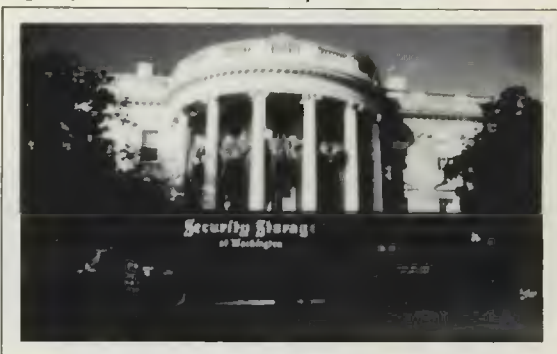
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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Cut the Fat, Leave the Muscle

By F. A. "TEX" HARRIS

As we used to say in the Africa Bureau, "No matter how bad things may be, they can always get worse." Well, they have. The GOP leadership is pressing for major cuts in the foreign affairs budget of \$3.5 billion in President Clinton's \$21.2 billion request. Earmarking major portions of the foreign aid budget as untouchable renders the real impact far more severe. And although the idea of abolishing the U.S. Agency for International Development and other agencies was buried by Vice President Gore, it's very much alive on the Hill.

The silence from the foreign affairs agencies about the role of diplomacy in the world is deafening. Rather than engaging in a policy dialogue in support of strengthening the instruments of diplomacy, we find ourselves discussing how much less we can do. We seem to have given up any attempt to guide Congress during this knife-wielding phase. The result is predictable: major cuts in dollars and people, an *ex post facto* prioritization based on the severity of the cuts and the percentage of the international affairs budget that lawmakers want to preserve. That is poor governance that will weaken U.S. posture and influence worldwide.

Everyone in the Foreign Service agrees on two general principles: first, duplication must be ended and functions streamlined; second, the major

*We can no longer
afford to give
everyone a seat at
the table.*



cuts should be in the Washington bureaucracy, not in the field. And that's about as far as it's gone. Consensus on just what should be cut and by how much seems as elusive as ever.

After years of Cold War largesse, redundancies have assumed large proportions. Having dodged the National Performance Review (NPR) bullet that would have abolished it, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) now reckons there are 100 duplicative positions in State's Political-Military Bureau. Overseas, law enforcement agencies vie with one another to accomplish the same tasks. The work of State's communicators is duplicated around the world by the CIA. Who are the real players and who are the kibitzers? We can no longer afford to give everyone a seat at the table. If the role of diplomacy is to be strengthened as a key part of our nation's security, we must speak out for efficiency and effectiveness, not turf protection. Clearly, that is as difficult for members of AFSA to do as it is for agency managers. But unless we stand up for what is essential —

indeed indispensable — we will abdicate responsibility and Congress will force its decisions on us.

The "tooth-to-tail ratio" problem is equally tough. State's dual responsibilities for conducting foreign relations and establishing foreign policy conflict when setting priorities. AFSA's tilt toward the field makes sense, since without a strong overseas base neither U.S. policy nor operations can be effective. Seventh Floor appointees have the principal role of maintaining State's foreign policy primacy in the Washington inter-agency arena, but that depends equally on field and headquarters programs and staffing. We need competence in both.

The Strategic Management Initiative introduced last summer has moved carefully for months, as Sixth- and Seventh-floor principals have jockeyed to preserve their own fiefdoms. The stakes have now gotten so high and the gridlock so obvious that Secretary of State Warren Christopher is trying to resolve it. He has just sent 19 questions to all assistant and under secretaries calling urgently for a "fundamental review of what we do and how we do it." Left unanswered is how the Foreign Service will participate and contribute to this process, once its seriousness, scope and direction have been set.

A vision of America's role in the world is necessary to make the painful long-term choices that can no longer be avoided, if we wish to preserve and strengthen our role in managing U.S. foreign relations. ■

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

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LETTERS

To the Editor:

I do not agree with the letter from Charles Cecil (January *Journal*), in which he argues that the only way for the State Department to regain leadership is through a unified Foreign Service with a unified budget. Indeed, the difference I have with him goes to the heart of what the department's role is and should be.

First of all, I disagree that the ambassador has no influence over the resources, personnel, funding or efforts of various agencies. But in exercising such influence, what an ambassador must recognize is that each of these agencies has a mandate from the president and Congress. One must begin from respect for those mandates. From there, influence proceeds.

The ambassador does not represent the State Department; he or she is the president's representative. The ambassador's job is to provide leadership, coordination and cohesion to enable those several mandates to be achieved in the particular country. The State officers are responsible, in addition to their own mandated roles, in assisting the ambassador in that task. Thus, State provides the deputy chief of mission and thereby, the *chargé*, and often State officers chair inter-agency committees.

And that brings me to the heart of my belief about the future of the State Department. State will not regain "leadership" if we think that

State's role is to tell other agencies what their mandate and role must be. Not only does that contradict the authority of other agencies, it flies in the face of the fact that other agencies often are increasing their staffs as State's decreases. Nor will it come about, as Mr. Cecil suggests, from a unified Foreign Service, unless he means by that that all agencies will have their legislated mandates, budgets and personnel put under one department. Not likely. Certainly not Agriculture, Defense, Commerce, the Federal Aviation Agency and all the others.

The real challenge for State is thus to develop the capacity and the ability to provide coordination, cohesion and a focused practicality to the totality of U.S. government objectives and mandates in any particular country. That is the leadership challenge of the 21st century. And it can be done. In both posts where I have been ambassador, we addressed exactly the issues Mr. Cecil raises, through Country Team committees (almost always chaired by State officers) and, more importantly, by real team efforts, whether for democratization, narcotics or commercial development. In all such efforts, we respected each other's skills as well as respective mandates, and — not insignificantly — the special responsibilities and restrictions that are demanded of the Agency for International Development (AID) and the U.S.

Information Service (USIS) in managing resources. Yes, there were differences, and at times, friction. But usually the latter arose from the lack of appropriate respect for each other's legitimate role.

A unified Foreign Service will not address more than the personnel aspects of our jobs. A unified service may well eliminate many administrative headaches and overlapping responsibilities. But the policy challenge for State will not be met there.

Princeton Lyman
Ambassador
U.S. Embassy Pretoria

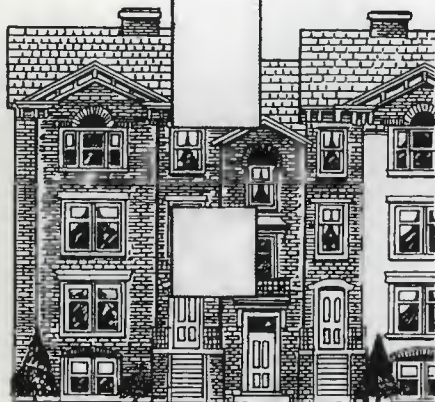


To the Editor:

Sure, we all have selective memories. Sure, we are all prone to view our own decisions as the "right" ones. But even in Washington, the national capital of rationalization, seldom are we treated to such a self-righteous, self-serving article as "When Personal Ethics Conflict with U.S. Foreign Policy," penned by Roger Morris in the December *Journal*. Mr. Morris's own "personal ethics" do not inhibit him from taking gratuitous shots at former colleagues with whom he disagreed or from portraying the Foreign Service as a morally bankrupt bureaucracy.

Good people can, and do, have policy differences. Good people

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can, and do, make mistakes. If one's goal is a truly moral, as opposed to a moralistic, approach to foreign policy, then a lot more objectivity and a little less determination to get even are in order.

*Lee Nesbit
Retired FSO
Arlington, Va.*

To the Editor:

I read with interest Marshall Green's article on immigration (December *Journal*). While I agree with most of his sentiments, I nonetheless did wonder if the article did cover all of the salient points of the issue. The article seems to take the viewpoint that illegal aliens in the United States make no real or lasting contribution and that such immigration must be strictly controlled.

I agree, and yet, because of my coming from the southwestern area of the United States, I would assert that a Mexican who wades or swims a river or slips across a border to look for a job has, in fact, played a considerable role in the economic and sociological development of that area of the United States. These people do, in fact, pick grapefruit or work laying a pipeline. Very few Americans really want to perform some of these jobs, yet the need exists.

Given the increased controls advocated by Ambassador Green, every American has, and will continue to pay the costs of increased border controls, not to mention the expense of hauling whole busloads of Mexicans back to Mexico following a roundup. I am well aware that there are some Americans who would say that a Mexican had done him out of a job.

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What that American does not say is that his employment is conditioned on the farmer driving him back to town at the end of each working day and then picking him up the next morning.

Who should do this work? Somebody has to go out and do a stint as midwife for cattle and sheep. Somebody needs to swab the ravel of every single lamb so that this little creature can give me and others the woolen shirts I so love to wear in the winter. Someone needs to bring them water when the windmill breaks down.

I know not the answer. The work I have outlined needs doing. It is hard to find very many Americans who will condescend to do it. Some have little choice but to hire illegal aliens. This is the other side of the immigration story. It needs to be heard and borne in mind by even the Foreign Service.

*Roy Harrell Jr.
Retired FSO
Falls Church, Va.*

To the Editor:

In the December 1994 *Journal* Douglas Jones addresses recent and ongoing changes in language training at FSI — it's still FSI, the Foreign Service Institute at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center. He describes some positive changes at the School of Language Studies (SLS), including ongoing applied research in improving language training delivery. He also points out problems in the assessment of training and in an incentive language program. There are management initiatives under way on these issues, but there are also some initiatives from the training side.

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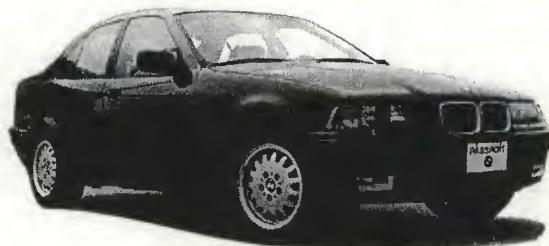
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In a pilot project in French, one thrust is to examine and evaluate alternate forms of assessment, including "portfolios" of performance collected by a learner over time, efforts to evaluate on-the-job effectiveness, and qualitative teacher evaluations. The SLS test, however, is likely to stay with us for the indefinite future; it is an information-rich form of assessment that bureaucratic systems can process quickly. To be sure, as Mr. Jones suggests, we can try to reduce the test's impact on students' motivation. Such reduction is both desirable and very difficult. Probation, assignments, tenure and incentive payments have a way of looming very large in life.

We are also revising the test itself, with the purpose of promoting more of the kind of learning that FSI faculty, most students — and Mr. Jones — have advocated for a long time. The new speaking test — still under development — represents nearly two years of work by an interagency group of test managers and experts. We aimed at making the test more flexible and inclusive of a wide range of foreign affairs needs.

Madeline Ehrman
Director
Research Evaluation
and Development
SLS, FSI



To the Editor:

The new Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman wants to stop wasting hard-earned American tax dollars on the foreign aid "rathole" ("Clippings," February *Journal*). He has lots of company. President Clinton has already reduced foreign aid in his first two

years and another 20 percent cut is on the way. In fact, the United States has consistently reduced its foreign aid commitment for 30 years. As a portion of GNP, we provided three times as much aid in 1964 as we do today. To be sure, money spent on foreign aid has not eliminated poverty or liberated the whole world from tyranny. Nor has our military might eliminated war. But, the world, including America, is far safer, more prosperous and more honorable because of our modest investment in human progress as well as military defense.

As a Peace Corps volunteer in Colombia 25 years ago, I saw government-supported American food aid managed by CARE feed hungry people and serve as wages for workers who built schools. ... U.S. food aid, technical assistance, health services and small business support have improved the standard of living for hundreds of millions, perhaps billions, of people. It has been a remarkably sound financial investment for America as well. Much of our aid is in the form of loans that are paid back with interest, and 70 percent of the the Agency for International Development's (AID) budget goes to American farmers and contractors. Expanding Third World economies have become important markets for U.S. products, and the net cash flow in 1994 between the developing countries is more than \$60 billion into, not out of, the United States.

Other prosperous nations now give a much larger portion of their wealth than do Americans. Japan has become the world's largest foreign aid donor. The average Norwegian contributes \$7 for every dollar we provide. The average Canadian contributes \$3 for each one of ours, and German citizens

LETTERS

provide 2.5 times as much as Americans. On a recent trip to Taiwan, I heard Republic of China leaders express great pride in their growing foreign aid program.

I share the complaint that too much of our aid has been misdirected. We have armed too many tyrants and helped perpetuate too many failed systems. Too much has been spent on massive projects that destroy the environment and enrich only a few (mostly American) companies. Too little has been invested in the countries that need aid the most. With the exception of Haiti this year, none of the world's 50 poorest nations is among the 20 receiving the most U.S. aid. However, the portion of the aid budget used specifically to reduce hunger and poverty has been exceptionally effective. With our help, Third World food production has exceeded population growth — a result of both reduced fertility rates and increasing production. Life expectancy in developing countries has increased by 20 years since 1960, the child mortality rate has been halved and the developing world's share of global production has increased significantly.

During my visit to Taiwan, officials expressed their view that the Peace Corps is the best example of effective overseas development aid. There are 6,500 Peace Corps volunteers serving today in over 90 countries to teach and promote better health care, agricultural and small business development and environmental management. Now, Peace Corps volunteers are in Russia and the former Soviet Union teaching English and helping small business entrepreneurs convert to a market economy.

The Peace Corps and the American foreign aid story is one of

achievement, not failure and ratholes. We should be proud of it, and we should be determined to do more and do it better — not cut back. AID administrator Brian Atwood has proposed changes that move in the right direction. They deserve serious attention.

*Charles F. Dambach
President and CEO
National Peace Corps
Association*

To the Editor:

The Vice President for Retiree's [Donald Norland's] column in the January "AFSA News" focused on threats to the integrity of the Foreign Service as a separate institution with unique skills and experiences. It then cites Somalia and Rwanda as "interventions," which contribute to some of the "anti-government, anti-spending sentiment."

The column then states that, (presumably Foreign Service) "voices can distinguish the pretensions of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to succeed where governments have failed" and if these voices had been consulted, American actions would have been different. As the former assistant director and director of the Agency for International Development's (AID) Office of Food for Peace before my retirement in September 1993, I take issue with these conclusions.

First, Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger personally approved the increased U.S. military protection for American and foreign NGOs providing food relief in Somalia. State and AID Foreign Service officers supported this decision, which was based on numerous



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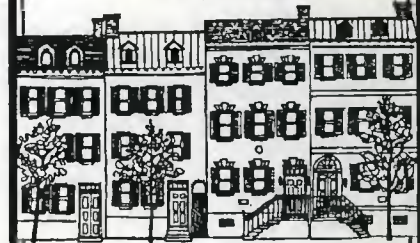
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
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field assessments by AID and U.N. organizations. ... This effort responded to strong press reports and widely held revulsion by the American people, reflected in Congress, of a need to prevent mass starvation. The expansion of the role of the U.S. military to try to bring about a conclusion to Somalia's clan warfare does not relate to any "pretensions" of the NGO community.

The Rwandan tragedy, which has occurred since I retired, was not predictable, preventing significant food stocks from being mobilized in anticipation of mass migrations of populations to Zaire and other bordering nations. Again, part of the American effort was to prevent mass starvation.

In both cases, to imply after the fact that "voices of experience" somehow would have done things differently implies that these voices were not involved in the original decisions. Nothing is further from the truth. To imply that NGOs have caused the United States to commit resources unwisely or against our own best interests is, at least in the relief arena, unfounded and does a deep disservice to the leadership and staff of such NGOs as CARE, Catholic Relief Services, Doctors without Borders, Irish Concern, etc. This is not to say that AID and State necessarily agree with all the proposals made by NGOs or the U.N. relief organizations. But the "voices of experience" are precisely those involved in the decision-making process concerning emergency and humanitarian relief.

In my view part of the problem is the failure of the American press to widely publicize the successes of the relief programs. For example, the hundreds of thousands of lives that were saved in the 10 southern African nations during the 1991-92

draught was largely ignored. ... The U.S. taxpayer foots the bill for regular feeding and emergency feeding programs for millions of poor infants and adults worldwide. Many of these programs are managed, without popular support or acclaim, by those same NGOs whose "pretensions" are disparaged. I find it noteworthy that in a climate that threatens AID's very survival, American humanitarian relief programs continue to receive distinct support from the new Republican majority in Congress.

*Robert Hechtman
Retired FSO
McLean, Va.*

To the Editor:

I was gratified to read [the Agency for International Development (AID) Assistant Administrator for Legislative and Public Affairs's] Jill Buckley's letter (*January Journal*) confirming it is not AID policy to exclude certain racial groups from participating in our South African assistance program. Those familiar with this matter were wondering if management would ever make this simple, yet seemingly difficult pronouncement. I wonder why it took them two years.

As a witness to AID/South Africa's "non-policy" of racial discrimination, I find Buckley's denial of wrongdoing as absurd as it is predictable. But perhaps she has not yet read the March 31, 1994 Inspector General's report, the April 1994 management assessment, the 15 (and counting) news articles on the matter, or spoken to the dozen or so officers who left South Africa prior to completion of

LETTERS

their assignments. If she had, maybe the spirit of "government reinvention" would have compelled her to write a response that employees find credible. Issuing unarguable moral pronouncements as a response to specific allegations doesn't count for much when serious misconduct is put on such crude display. And management's outraged denials of racially motivated practices while it parrots suspect, race-based statistics only serves to highlight the folly of its illogical methods. It seems as if the irony of racial data collection in the new, non-racial South Africa is an irony too subtle for some.

But perhaps what is most shameful of the AID/South Africa "foreign policy success story" is the national disgrace such shabby American governance displays before our South African friends. There is much that binds our two fine countries together. But when it comes to America's race-conscious bureaucrats and AID's inept spoils system, South Africans now realize that no amount of American aid will ever amount to very much.

Paul Niefert

Private Sector Officer
Bureau for Europe and
New Independent States
AID

To the Editor:

"AFSA News" in the October *Journal* touts the American Foreign Service Association's (AFSA) success in forcing the Federal Aviation Agency (FAA) to publish a list of "dangerous foreign airlines." While AFSA's concern for public safety is admirable, it is disturbing to see AFSA resort to inaccurate, sensa-

tionalist headlines. The FAA list refers not to specific airlines, but to countries whose civil aviation oversight capabilities do not meet international standards. For example, the report does not state that Uruguayan airlines or safety priorities are insufficient, but that the Uruguayan government lacks adequate oversight measures. In fact, Pluna, Uruguay's state-owned airline has not had a fatal accident on a commercial flight in its 50-plus-year existence.

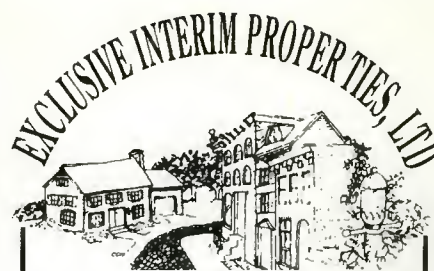
Journal readers may be interested to know that in the Uruguayan case, inclusion on the list and the media's misrepresentation of the information contained therein, adversely affected the bilateral relationship. In fact, publication of the list so infuriated the Uruguayan government that routine cooperation between Uruguay and FAA was seriously jeopardized. In addition, the dispute has spilled over into the private sector. Uruguayan civil aviation authorities have not acted on a major U.S. carrier's request to serve Uruguay filed months ago and granted only a temporary extension to another major U.S. carrier.

Andrew I. Rudman

Political/Economic Officer
U.S. Embassy Montevideo ■

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CLIPPINGS



*"If AID, ACDA
or USIA were
divisions of
General Motors
or General
Electric, they
would be gone
by the close of
business
today."*

— JAMES BAKER III,
FORMER SECRETARY
OF STATE,
TESTIFYING BEFORE
THE HOUSE
COMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS,
JAN. 12

NEXT TIME, SIR, PLEASE CALL COLLECT

The next time Rep. Bill Richardson (D-N.M.) conducts high-stakes diplomacy, he should call Secretary of State Warren Christopher collect. According to investigative journalist Jack Anderson's column in the Jan. 19 *Washington Post*, Richardson just happened to be in North Korea discussing the U.S. nuclear agreement with government officials when a U.S. helicopter was shot down on Dec. 17. Richardson sprang into action as Christopher's official emissary and helped secure the release of U.S. Chief Warrant Officer Bobby Hall, the surviving pilot.

Since North Korea has no direct phone links to the United States, Richardson was able to reach Christopher only through Canada, which patched him through to Washington. The North Koreans say the bill reached \$10,000 before the negotiations were finished. But the bill had to be paid in full — in cash — before Richardson was allowed to cross the demilitarized zone with the remains of Chief Warrant Officer David Hilemon, the second pilot of the helicopter. Anderson reported that the congressman made more than 23 calls to the State Department, plus calls to the pilots' families. The calls were made on unsecured phone lines. American officials, believing that every word was being recorded by the North Koreans, turned the phone calls into a negotiating ploy. As the negotiations progressed, Christopher logged a hefty phone bill himself, at one point locating Richardson through the German and

Indonesian embassies, who have diplomats in Pyongyang, because he feared that Richardson had been abducted.

BEING PREPARED FOR QUAKES IN JAPAN

When disaster strikes overseas, a top priority for U.S. diplomats is to check local hospitals and morgues for American casualties. But when the Jan. 16 earthquake hit Kobe, Japan, the U.S. consul general and most of his staff in nearby Osaka were stranded in their suburban homes. But, according to the Jan. 30 *U.S. News & World Report*, John Dinger, deputy director of State's Japan desk, had arrived the night before in Osaka. He rushed to staff the phones and report to the State Department. Why was he in Osaka? To attend a conference on earthquake preparedness and emergency management.

POLL SHOWS AMERICANS UNAWARE OF AID LEVEL

Most Americans believe the United States spends too much on foreign aid. But how much is too much? *The Washington Post's* "For the Record" column on Feb. 1 quotes a recent study by the Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) at the University of Maryland that found 75 percent of Americans said too much was being spent on foreign aid.

Those polled estimated that 15 percent of the federal budget — 15 times the actual amount of 1 percent — was spent on foreign aid. Other polls have estimated even higher sums and many



assumed that foreign aid was the largest item in the U.S. budget — larger than the defense budget or Social Security.

When respondents were asked in the PIPA poll what was an “appropriate amount” to spend on foreign aid, the median response was 5 percent; Republicans and Democrats did not differ. When respondents were asked what amount was “too little” to give, the median response was 3 percent — still three times the present spending level.

MISTER, WOULD YOU LIKE A LIFT HOME?

Al Kamen reports in the Jan. 25 *Washington Post* that the last straw for Edward E. Elson, the ambassador to Denmark, came one night this fall when he stood beside his armor-plated car after it broke down on a deserted road and he and his agricultural attaché had to thumb a ride to a nearby village to call a cab back to Copenhagen.

The 8-year-old car was long past its prime, Elson concluded. The car was breaking down and spare parts from the United States were taking a great deal of time to get to Denmark. Ambassadors from Third World countries were being driven around in expensive Mercedes and the American ambassador was in an old jalopy, Elson noted.

But the State Department's routine replacement schedule for cars overseas is 10 years. Elson was told he was looking at 10 months worth of paperwork, during which he would have to rent a car. Or he could get a Chrysler sedan (Chrysler is the only American maker in Denmark), but the cost was \$27,000 and that was \$8,000 above what State would allot him.

Elson decided to fork out the other \$8,000 from his own pocket. The car should be in the embassy garage this

month. Given budget cuts expected at State, having ambassadors pay for their own cars may be the wave of the future, Kamen writes.

PASTOR BERATES HELMS'S 'TACTICS'

Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), blamed Robert A. Pastor, former nominee to the U.S. ambassadorship in Panama, for the Panama Canal treaties, blocking a vote on the nomination, Pastor wrote in an op-ed piece in the Feb. 1 *Washington Post*.

Pastor was advised by Adm. Bud Nance, Helms's chief of staff, that even if his nomination were again put forward, it would not come to a vote. “The reason is simply that Helms knows he would lose the vote overwhelmingly, as he did last October,” Pastor wrote. “While Jesse Helms is still fighting the Panama Canal treaties, the United States and Panama have only five years left to make sure that the treaties work. Too much has been delayed for too long.”

Pastor complained that Helms's “tactics raise broader issues. Senators view their institution as a great deliberative body but it is one thing to filibuster in order to debate an issue fully. It is quite another for an individual to use ‘senatorial holds’ arbitrarily to prevent debate or a vote without resorting to a filibuster. Such ‘holds’ should be discarded.

“The Constitution grants the Senate power to advise and consent on ambassadorial nominees, not to delay and obstruct. That power must remain with the Senate, not a single senator. Delays should be aimed to permit debate and an informed vote, not prevent them. Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of this case is the way people accept that one person should have the right to block his colleagues, the president and the nation. Some rules still need changing.”

50 YEARS AGO

A letter to the editor in the March 1945 *Journal* praises the move to offer entering Foreign Service officers annual salaries ranging from \$2,500 to \$3,400, depending on their age, experience and qualifications. But the writer goes on to say, “an adjustment on the basis indicated would be unfair and sterile if it left unaffected those of superior age, experience and (presumably) qualifications who have already made the grade. The Service will only be as attractive to new men as it is to those who compose it.”

The writer, posted in Monterrey, Mexico, ends with the observation: “The foregoing worm's eye view is not offered as unbiased, disinterested or detached, as anyone can see, but it may be constructive.” ■

CLIPPINGS



"Foreign relations are like human relations. They are endless. The solution of one problem usually leads to another."

— JOURNALIST JAMES
RESTON, 1957

A LONG FRIENDSHIP OF WISDOM AND WIT

The correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and James Madison is not the distilled musings of two philosophers and statesmen so much as day-by-day battlefield reports from two commanders in the field, writes reviewer Joseph Ellis in his review of *Republic of Letters: The Correspondence Between Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, 1776-1826*.

In the Jan. 30 *New Republic*, Ellis observes that meditative moments are crowded out by memo-like exchanges about tariff rates, the shifting fortunes of Napoleon, British diplomatic maneuvering and the insufferable arrogance of Barbary pirates.

Ellis says the friendship depended

upon shared assumptions and the binding effect of mundane events. He points out that they also shared mutual inadequacies. Neither man was very good at managing a government during wartime; each watched the capital burn to the ground; both lived by the contradiction of owning slaves while claiming to abhor slavery. The friendship worked because the mutual trust on which it was based was reinforced in countless ways, including humor.

Ellis wrote that even in "the dense diplomatic underbrush, there are occasional flashes of wit, as when the Tunisian ambassador demands concubines for his delegation in Washington and Madison tells Jefferson he is charging the expense to 'appropriations to foreign intercourse.'" Appropriations always have been a problem in foreign affairs. ■

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SPEAKING OUT

Is Diplomacy Really a Profession?

BY CHAS. W. FREEMAN JR.

Can diplomacy accurately be called a profession? Could it be defined in the same sense that law, medicine and the military are professions today? Professions have common characteristics: an expertise in carrying out specialized functions, a specialized vocabulary, a common ideology to analyze problems, a common set of skills for solving those problems and a self-administered system of ethics.

I believe that diplomacy has all these attributes, but that they remain in inchoate form. Diplomacy is a transnational profession not unique to any country, and if it is to be professionalized, there must be leadership from some quarter. The professionalization of the clergy, of the law, of the medical profession and of the military first emerged in the United States. Why shouldn't that be the case with diplomacy, too?

These professions — the clergy, law, medicine and the military — began in the 18th century with profes-

Chas. W. Freeman Jr., a distinguished fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace in Washington, D.C., was principal deputy assistant secretary for Africa, ambassador to Saudi Arabia and assistant secretary of defense for International Security Affairs before retiring from the Foreign Service in October 1994. He is the author of the recently released The Diplomat's Dictionary. This piece is an edited excerpt of a Jan. 11 lecture at the Foreign Service Club.

*I would argue
that, in fact, there
is a professional
set of ethics
inchoate, but very
much known to
the practitioners of
the profession.*



sional entry through apprenticeship and on-the-job training. There were no set standards, and there was no professed system of professional ethics. But over the succeeding two centuries, all these professions developed professional schools and professional associations that would certify the competence of their profession's members, and each developed a self-regulating system of ethics.

By the middle of the 19th century, the systems were somewhat mixed. That is, apprenticeship coexisted with professional education as a means of entering the profession. Some states have only recently abolished the privilege of entering the practice of law through apprentice-

ship rather than graduation from a law school. Professional associations had been formed in the 19th century, but were still not formalized as a regulatory mechanism. Codes of ethics were available, but were far less formal and elaborate than today.

By the early 20th century, each of these professions had developed the degree of formality with which we are familiar today. It was at this point that the divinity schools, law schools, medical schools, military academics, staff colleges and war colleges reached their current state of definition.

Why didn't this happen for diplomacy? There are probably many reasons for that, such as the transnational nature of the profession and its close connection to politics. In any event, it didn't happen.

There are competing images of the diplomatic profession held even to this day. In 1857, the *New York Herald Tribune* observed, "Diplomacy is the sewer through which flows the scum and refuse of the political puddle. A man not fit to stay at home is just the man to send abroad." And in 1959, the English diplomat Harold Nicholson observed, "There are those who regard the Foreign Service as a kind of bird sanctuary for elegant young men with the milk of Groton still wet upon their lips, arrayed in striped pants, and spending most of their time handing sugar cookies to ladies of high society in Europe and Latin America. Conversely, there are those

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SPEAKING OUT

who regard diplomatists as an international gang of intriguers intent upon ensnaring the Great White Soul of the United States."

I believe that these disparaging views will continue as long as diplomacy does not follow the course that other learned professions have followed. These professions have benefitted greatly in terms of both their competence and standing from their formal professionalization. So can diplomacy.

In 1716, the French diplomat Francois de Callières noted, "Diplomacy is a profession by itself, which deserves the same preparation and assiduity of attention that men give to other recognized professions. The qualities of the diplomatist and the knowledge necessary to him cannot indeed all be acquired. The diplomatic genius is born, not made. But there are many qualities which may be developed with practice, and the greater part of the necessary knowledge can only be acquired by constant application to the subject."

The first characteristic of a profession is an expertise in carrying out specialized functions. There are, I believe, 10 unchanging principal functions of the profession of diplomacy. The international situation gives these content, but it doesn't alter their contours. Diplomats discharge these duties on their own or in collaboration with members of the allied professions of arms and espionage. They are agents, advocates, informants and counselors of their government, which looks to them as the stewards of their nation's interests abroad.

The major tasks of diplomats are the following:

- Linking of their government's decision-makers to foreign counterparts;

- Advocacy of their government's policies and views;

- Negotiation on their government's behalf;

- Commendation to their government of ways to advance or defend its interests;

- Promotion of trade and investment;

- Protection of compatriots;

- Management of programs of cooperation between governments;

- Reporting and analysis of relevant local developments and realities;

- Establishment of cooperative relationships with officials and members of the elites who influence them;

- Cultivation of an image for their nation that is favorable to its interests.

These 10 functions are inseparably connected; I stress this because inseparable connection of functions is at the heart of any profession. When decision-makers have positive feelings toward a foreign nation, they're more receptive to approaches from both its officials and business owners. They're also more inclined to give weight to its interests and views.

When diplomats have access to a wide range of influential people, their understanding of local trends and developments is enhanced; so, then, through their reporting, is that of their government. When programs of official cooperation are well conducted, they facilitate access to those in authority and predispose them to cooperate. When diplomats' relations with such men and women are easy and informed by good understanding of local affairs and mind-sets, they are better able to help their citizens to do business and to protect those who fall afoul of local custom and law.

SPEAKING OUT



When these tasks are properly performed, diplomats have the insight necessary to draw plans of action to further the interests of their country. Diplomats will know how to present their government's positions in terms appealing to local interests and sensibilities. They will be more able to persuade host government officials to conclude agreements favorable to their country's interests. They will be equipped to provide uniquely valuable counsel and support to direct dialogue between the governments' officials.

Do diplomats have a specialized vocabulary? In the early 19th century, the German diplomat Ludwig Boerne said, "Diplomacy is to speak French, to say nothing, and to speak falsehoods."



extraordinary ways, and we speak in ways incomprehensible to those outside our calling, as well.

Do diplomats have a common ideology of problem solving? American diplomat Arthur Goldberg once observed, "Diplomats approach all problems with an open mouth." There certainly is a common ideology of diplomacy, which emphasizes the adjustment of differences between nations through negotiation and peaceful, rather than violent, interaction.

Do diplomats have a common set of skills? Basic diplomatic skills are the same in all times and places. Some derive, as Francois de Callières said, from natural talent, but most, I believe, are acquired only through professional training and experience. These skills are mutually supportive, falling into five categories: agency, advocacy, reporting, counseling and stewardship.

As agents of their governments, diplomats must cultivate a mastery of the arts of negotiation; a demonstrated capacity to elicit prompt, authoritative responses from their own government to the views of their host nation; an ability to add at least the appearance of conviction to the messages they communicate; a precision of expression both in their own and

Do diplomats have a specialized vocabulary? Well, back in the early 19th century, the German diplomat Ludwig Boerne said, "Diplomacy is to speak French, to say nothing, and to speak falsehoods." He is one of many who have observed that diplomats do use language in peculiar ways. Former U.S. Ambassador to India John Kenneth Galbraith commented in 1969, "There are few ironclad rules of diplomacy, but to one there is no exception: When an official reports that talks were useful, it can be safely concluded that nothing was accomplished." Clearly we have a specialized vocabulary in the diplomatic profession. We use ordinary words in

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in other languages; and finally, a sophisticated grounding in their own nation's history and culture.

As advocates of their nation's policies and perspectives, diplomats must embody credibility; a gift for political calculation; tact; the empathy and ability to help their host nation redefine its interests to be compatible with those of their own government; fluency in the dominant language of their host nation and the principal diplomatic language of its capital; and affability and a poise that shrugs at adversity.

As reporters, diplomats must personify acuity of observation and accuracy of memory; discretion; graceful adaptability to life in alien cultures; ease of fellowship with a wide range of individuals and groups; and facility as vivid but scrupulously accurate writers.

As counselors of their own governments, diplomats must cultivate a reputation for selfless dedication to their own nation's interests; a knowledge of their host nation's history, including a record of its relations with their own country; a finely honed sense of how policy is made in their own government; an ability to judge when and how to present to their government recommendations for altered courses of action or requests for new instructions; and finally, a knack of allowing others to take credit for notable policy innovations or successes.

As stewards of their people's interests and reputations in foreign lands, diplomats must evidence a concern about their compatriots and a dedication to serving them; an understanding of commerce and finance; an appreciation of the essentials of military science and a knowledge of diplomatic practices and international law.

These 25 basic skills are born of training and experience. When diplomats possess them in adequate measure, they can perform the tasks their state expects of them.

SPEAKING OUT



Are there professional ethics to diplomacy? The common impression of the diplomatic profession is that it is a tricky one. But I would argue that, in fact, there is a professional set of ethics inchoate, but very much known to the practitioners of the profession. Consider for a moment the emphasis on the protection of confidences; the operation of collegiality between diplomats in a foreign capital or in a multilateral setting; the sense of duty to one's own government; the limited expectations that other diplomats will violate these rules; and the commitment, finally, to the construction of an international system that facilitates problem solving by nonviolent means — attention not simply to reasons of state, but also to reasons of system.

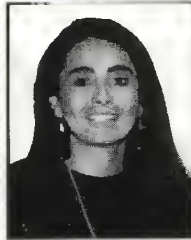
The American statesman Herbert H.D. Pierce commented in 1897, "As we would not put a ship into the hands of a commander ignorant of navigation, an army under the control of a general without military training, so we should not put the foreign affairs of our government into the hands of men without knowledge of the various subjects which go to make up the diplomatic science."

I would note, finally, and this again from de Callières, "Even in those cases where success has attended the efforts of an amateur diplomatist, the example must be regarded as an exception, for it is ... commonplace of human experience that skilled work requires a skilled workman." The point for the Foreign Service is that not only must the workmen and the workwomen know their skills, but they must be seen as possessing those skills in unique measure. Until the Foreign Service follows the course of the other learned professions, it will fail this test in the court of American politics. ■

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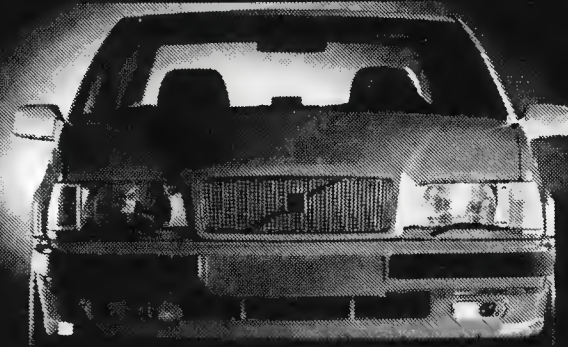
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IN THE EYE OF THE STORM

8 EX-TOP AIDES TO SECRETARIES OF STATE REMEMBER THEIR BOSSES' STYLES, STRUGGLES

By DENNIS KUX

When the State Department's Secretariat was formed in December 1944 at the height of World War II, State's top leadership consisted only of Secretary of State Edward Stettinius Jr., Under Secretary Joseph Grew and four assistant secretaries — a far cry from the 1995 galaxy of five under secretaries, 21 assistant secretaries and one deputy secretary who support Secretary Warren Christopher. At that time, the secretariat — basically a support staff for top management — was to improve the flow of correspondence between the secretary of state and the under secretary and to refer policy questions to appropriate State Department offices. However, over the years its influence has waxed and waned, depending on the personalities and styles of the players involved, and it has grown to include 145 people on staff.

During a recent reunion, under the auspices of the Oral History Program of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, eight former executive secretaries discussed the Secretariat's past half century. They all agreed that, though it

*Dennis Kux is a retired Foreign Service officer whose last assignment was as executive director of the Association of Diplomatic Studies and Training. He is the author of a 1993 history of U.S.-India relations, *Estranged Democracies*.*

was often an excellent training ground for State's more promising young officers, the talent of State's many experienced employees was often ignored by the secretary of State. The former top aides at the Secretariat also agreed that the secretary of state's relationship with the president was key to determining the State Department's role in the foreign policy arena and that the department's relative importance in foreign-policy making has declined in recent years.

In 1947 the first executive secretary was appointed by Secretary of State George C. Marshall; by the mid-1950s, the Staff Secretariat had evolved into its current role of controlling the paper flow and preparation of briefing materials. The Secretariat largely assumed its present shape in 1961, when the Operations Center was established to provide an around-the-clock watch and a home for department task forces.

Luke Battle, who served as special assistant under two Deans — from 1961-63 under Dean Rusk and, from 1949-53, under Dean Acheson — recalled Acheson as a strong secretary of state and strong leader at State. Acheson settled foreign policy issues in twice-weekly, one-on-one meetings with President Truman and felt entirely secure in his relationship with the president. Acheson would endure no interference in the foreign policy field — even from the White House staff. Battle was told not to worry about phone calls from White House aides. The secretary advised him, "Don't answer the White House phone. If anybody calls,

I will speak with the president." Acheson, Battle noted, also was thoroughly familiar with the institution and its personnel and made full use of Foreign Service officers.

Fisher Howe, who served as executive secretary for Secretary of State John Foster Dulles from 1956-58, noted that the work at the Secretariat was "an extraordinarily challenging and interesting personal experience ... You were right in the center of the action." Howe stressed that the usefulness of the Secretariat hinged on the secretary of State's relationship with the president — in Dulles's case very close — and the extent to which the secretary was willing to use the State Department's career staff — in Dulles's case, only intermittently.

Talking of the policy process, Howe recalled when George Marshall became secretary of State in 1947, he gathered the staff and said, "I want you to keep pushing up, recommending. I will make the decision, don't worry about that, but keep putting the pressure on me. I don't want to lean against a vacuum." The Secretariat, Howe declared, played "a very keen role in getting the department to come up with not only the recommendations to fill that vacuum, but to see that these come up in an orderly way."

In 1961, when Luke Battle became executive secretary for Dean Rusk, he confronted a dramatically different situation from his days with Acheson. Rusk was uncertain of his relationship with President Kennedy, saw his role more as a foreign policy adviser rather than a manager, and spent much of his time trying to keep up with high-flying White House aides who were free-wheeling on policy questions at all levels of the State Department.

To compound the problem, Under Secretary Chester Bowles, who was supposed to be in charge of policy at the State Department, in Battle's words was, "a marvelous man but not very well suited for the job. ... (Bowles) thought making policy was something separate from sending out telegrams." Consequently, Battle found a mountain of unsent cables on his desk when he took over the Executive Secretariat. Recalling guidance from Acheson, "Sign off and deal with whatever you feel comfortable with," Battle set about clearing up the backlog. "If I understood the message, off it went," he said. "If not, or if it seemed unusually sensitive, I called the assistant secretary to

straighten it out."

Just about this time, the Bay of Pigs debacle overwhelmed the Kennedy administration. Inside State, Battle recounted, the episode "pointed to the urgent need for ... something that was on duty around the clock, because I didn't want to be on duty around the clock." The result was the creation of the Operations Center for crisis management and a major expansion of the Secretariat's functions.

Theodore (Ted) Elliot, executive secretary from 1969-73 when Henry Kissinger was Richard Nixon's national security adviser, recalled those years as difficult for the State Department. Kissinger and Nixon conducted much foreign policy outside normal diplomatic channels, ignoring or keeping the department in the dark on key issues. For example, Secretary William Rogers was not informed of Kissinger's secret China trip until it was over. Elliot recalled that Alexander Haig, Kissinger's deputy at the National Security Council, would try to help, calling up to say that the secretary of state should know about some event. "Sometimes, he (Haig) would be interrupted by a guttural German accent, 'Who are you talking to? Why are you telling him this?'" Elliot noted that when Kissinger became secretary of state himself in 1973, he made sure he had total control of the policy process and brooked no outside interference.

Tom Pickering, who followed Elliot as executive secretary to Kissinger, was asked about his toughest challenge as executive secretary. Pickering responded, "Middle East War, 1973. Henry Kissinger's first three or four months in the State Department. Equal crisis!" Pickering continued, "Ted (Elliot) had him (Kissinger) beautifully conditioned after three years of horn-locking battles. He had come to respect, I think, what was going on at State and found, I thought, tremendous interest in trying to challenge the department. The Secretariat, as long

*Tom Pickering,
executive secretary
to Secretary of
State Henry
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alerting in the field
and at home."*

as I was there, was an attempt to try to respond creatively to that challenge. It didn't always succeed, but it tried. This building responds well in a crisis ... I think it is a combination of good information, good knowledge and good alerting in the field and at home." Pickering thought that the "power" of the executive secretary's job "is just knowing a lot more than anybody else."

In 1977, Peter Tarnoff, currently under secretary for political affairs, assisted incoming Secretary Cyrus Vance and later served as executive secretary for him and, in 1980-81, for his successor, Edmund Muskie. Tarnoff received rather jaundiced counsel from Larry Eagleburger, outgoing under secretary for management and a Kissinger insider. When Tarnoff asked about the Secretariat, Eagleburger in effect stated that he really shouldn't pay too much atten-

tion to it, since Kissinger didn't.

Tarnoff commented, "It says a lot about the way the secretary of state wants to manage the department. There are good ways in either direction. But if the secretary is going to manage in a way that opens up the secretary and his top aides to employees, there is no way to do that without the executive secretary. If he prefers not to manage his office and operations that way, then he can do it very effectively in another way." Jerry Bremer, Tarnoff's successor under Secretary Haig and earlier a Kissinger aide, picked up on this point: "Although we were able to run the building under Henry rather effectively, it wasn't the right way to do it."

Regarding Haig's style, Bremer commented: "Al had the view that he was going to be ... the vicar of foreign policy for the Reagan administration. ... His idea was that we had to seize

control of the inter-agency mechanisms. ... So we set up a series of what we called IGS (Interagency Groups) and the secretary's instructions were, 'Get these things up and get them running fast before Dick Allen [Reagan's first national security adviser] can get himself organized over at the White House'. ... The problem, of course, was that while we had the NSC on its knees, we had not paid too much attention to the domestic side of the White House. This was where Haig's problems really were."

Charles Hill, who followed Bremer when George Shultz became secretary in 1983, commented, as did others, on the diminished role of State. "When I went away in the late 1970s to Israel," Hill said, "the State Department really had a monopoly on instructions overseas. ... When I came back in the early 1980s, I suddenly

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realized that things were different. The first inkling was when the Israelis were invading Lebanon. ... "I got a phone call about 4:00 in the morning from Lt. Col. Oliver North from the NSC. He said, "We want you to send this message to the party." The party was the president and the secretary of state then at an Economic Summit overseas. I knew ... that this was not right. So I said I couldn't send that message and slammed the phone down. ... The message got to the party anyway."

In 1984, Hill handed over the Secretariat to his successor, Nicholas Platt, and felt he had to tell Platt, "I am handing over something that is much more problematic, much less authoritative. You were going to have a lot of problems because that monopoly was gone. People are doing things in their own way."

Like several others, Marc Grossman, who became Christopher's executive secretary in 1993, spoke

about the Secretariat's role as a trainer for younger officers and as a place where the most advanced information technology was introduced to the State Department. "We have begun to take the technology that we are faced with," he noted, "and try to connect this to some kind of an Executive Secretariat that will make sense in the year 2000. We have just now begun an effort to try to take a look at what this operation does ... to make sure that it is still relevant and that we are going in the right direction."

Grossman and others stressed how much the almost instant availability and wide dispersion of information had radically altered the decision-making process. "The problem now, with CNN and the vast input of information, is that we have moved to much more reacting," rather than planned action. There is very little time, Grossman commented, for the secretary to go over "to see the president to

think about something that might happen six months from now." The days when the secretary and the president could calmly discuss things at twice-weekly meetings were history.

At the end of the discussion, Ted Elliot recalled an experience that happened when he was feeling especially low about the State-White House relationship in the Nixon years. "I went with one of my 'Can I cry on your shoulder?' episodes to the then-under secretary for political affairs, who was Mr. Foreign Service of that era, U. Alexis Johnson. I said, 'Alex, what are we going to do about this latest situation that has come up?' His answer was, 'Ted, the president of the United States establishes how he wants the foreign policy mechanism to be organized. It is our job to make it work.' I think that is something that stuck in my mind from those years ... that it is our job to make this system work." ■



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GREASING DIPLOMACY'S WHEELS

GROWING DEMOCRATIZATION OF WORLD
PROMPTS RENEWED DEMAND FOR PROTOCOL

BY FRANCINE MODDERNO

The increasing democratization of the world's nations and offices is prompting new ideas about the pecking order of people and countries. Some see protocol, which establishes orders of precedence for individuals and nations, as a decadent vestige of earlier eras and monarchical societies. The diplomat's concern with protocol may appear a snobbish and somewhat useless preoccupation aimed at preserving his privileges and sense of self-importance.

But, paradoxically, as the world becomes more democratic, the need for the hierarchies of protocol is perhaps greater than ever. As diplomats and businesspeople deal with an increasing number of nations, cultures and special interest groups, they need more than ever a reliable set of rules to facilitate interaction. According to experts on diplomatic and business etiquette, protocol is back in style.

"While some suggest that a change affecting Foreign Service officers in the future will be the relaxation of protocol, others consider it will be the opposite," says Pauline Innis, co-author of the diplomat's bible, *Protocol: The Complete Handbook of Diplomatic, Official and Social Usage*. The book is used as a reference in protocol

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courses at the State Department's Overseas Briefing Center (OBC), and is on the list of books recommended by the department's Office of Protocol to foreign diplomats who call for advice. The English-born widow of a Navy admiral, Innis wrote the book with Mary Jane McCaffree, a former White House social secretary and specialist in the office of the U.S. Chief of Protocol.

"Official protocol is the oil that greases the wheels of diplomacy," Innis advises the unschooled. Even before civilizations developed, tribal societies communicated with each other via messengers who usually carried some symbol of accreditation, such as a special stick, and who were considered sacred and inviolable. In recognition of their status as representatives of their societies, and to avoid hostilities that could lead to war, these early envoys were received with often elaborate ceremonies.

Archaeological remnants of the art and writings of the ancient civilizations of Egypt, China, Persia and the Mayans depict strict rules governing the reception of foreign envoys and the orders of precedence in gatherings that included these officials.

In the Middle Ages, when tribal societies on the European continent were emerging to form our modern western civilization, the jockeying to carve out positions of power in the new order was fierce. Wars and duels were fought among nations over who occupied the position of prestige at official functions. In those days, the place of honor was grabbed by whichever diplomat arrived first. In 1661, France and Spain almost went to war over a

fracas between their envoys in England about whose coach should be first in an official procession. In the next century, French and Russian diplomats would draw swords at a court ball in London when their ambassadors argued over who belonged where.

International protocol as we see it today was established at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, when the powers of the time agreed to defuse things in the world of diplomacy by ordering the precedence among the diplomatic corps according to seniority. Now, the ambassador who has been in a country the longest is the doyen of the diplomatic corps and is given the place of honor at all diplomatic functions. In Washington the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps is the Saudi Arabian ambassador, Prince Bandar Bin Sultan, who presented his credentials on Oct. 24, 1983. The one exception to this rule is at the United Nations, where envoys draw lots each year for the place of honor. The losers in the draw follow the winner alphabetically in the order of precedence.

When the United States entered the world stage as an independent nation, George Washington tried to establish the importance of the American presidency by creating distance between himself and ordinary American citizens. He stayed in the finest quarters wherever he went, refusing citizens' invitations.

When Thomas Jefferson, the father of modern democracy, was elected president, he scoffed at formalities as part and parcel of the monarchical practices of England, but his attempt to establish his "democratic" rules of protocol did nothing to grease the wheels of diplomacy. Instead, it elicited formal protests from the European powers.

Jefferson's successor, James Madison, decided that peace within the diplomatic corps was more important to the furtherance of democracy than the self-righteousness of a fledgling nation. Madison abolished the diplomatic pell-mell created by Jefferson and restored order by recognizing the European rules of diplomatic protocol formalized by the Congress of Vienna during his presidency.

The American aversion to hierarchy persists, however. When Prince Charles visited the United States in the early 1980s, quite a stir was caused when the State Department's then chief of protocol, Leonore Annenberg, curtsied to His Royal Highness.

"There was considerable criticism," says Innis. "Many citizens of the United States have never for-

gotten that the American Revolution was fought because of the strong belief that all men are created equal. This is why no American bends the knee to anyone.

"Not only are Foreign Service officers expected to refrain from offending foreign countries, but they are also subject to the strong opinions of this country concerning certain aspects of protocol."

Although the rules governing protocol established at the Congress of Vienna are recognized by all nations, refinements are determined by each country individually, usually following national custom. While Americans may curtsy to Prince Charles when they're in England, it is incorrect to curtsy to royalty visiting this country, according to Innis.

Protocol doesn't exist only to clue diplomats, but also lets everyone else know who's important. "One example occurred during the Clinton inauguration," says Peggy Ward, who teaches the OBC protocol course. "In an automobile, the right rear seat closest to the curb is the seat of honor. At the inaugural parade, this rule was not observed strictly, and when a woman sitting in the seat of honor got out of a car in the procession, reporters ... didn't know who she was. She wasn't in the script."

According to Ward, today's junior U.S. diplomats may not be as well versed in protocol as they should be. "In Frankfurt I was with [a cabinet officer's wife on] a tour, and we were accompanied by a junior officer who didn't realize the right rear seat was the place of honor. The young officer sat in the seat, and throughout the excursion the chauffeur, who was trained to defer to the person in that seat, directed all his comments to [the officer]."

During the Cold War, the Soviet Bloc's disdain of anything smacking of pre-communist hierarchy helped deflate the image of international protocol. Today, however, schools of protocol are cropping up around the world — and many are teaching American protocol.

"It appears that the hope of increased trade with the United States is the reason for the interest,"

Protocol is back in style. As diplomats and businesspeople deal with an increasing number of nations, cultures and special interest groups, they need a reliable set of rules for interaction.

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notes Innis. "These countries intend to study the official protocol of this country in the hopes of creating a comfortable atmosphere for their negotiations and to find out what they might expect on arrival here."

Her observations are seconded by John W. McDonald, a retired ambassador who now heads the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy in Washington, D.C. McDonald says the plethora of nations and ethnic groups now emerging as world players is responsible for the surging demand for training in protocol. Countries and groups who previously weren't allowed to participate on the world stage are hungry for knowledge about how to operate in international relations. His institute has taught conflict resolution to people of Cyprus, Liberia, Israel, Palestine, the Tibetan government in exile, and Ethiopia, among others. Most want training in protocol, he says.

New schools of protocol also are cropping up in the United States, due to the increasingly global economy. "Eighty percent of American business ventures overseas fail because Americans don't know how to treat people," said Dorothea Johnson, director of the Protocol Institute of Washington, in a recent interview with the *Washington Times*.

"That's especially true in Japan," says Christel McDonald, who is writing a book, *Protocol and Etiquette in Citizen Diplomacy*, in response to requests for information from the clients of the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy. "Many deals with the Japanese go down the drain at the airport, when Americans try to grab the hands of their hosts to shake them. Ignorance about the Japanese style of greeting can ruin a deal right then and there." The Japanese prefer a slight bow to body contact.

Most people are unaware of cultural differences such as personal

space requirements among various people. "The Japanese require more personal space than Americans because they bow on greeting and departure," says Ward. "The Latin Americans, who embrace on meeting, require less personal space than Americans. As for Americans, they're most comfortable with a distance between themselves and others that equals the length of an arm stretched out to the ear of the other person."

"Americans are definitely more informal than people of most other cultures," says McDonald, who grew up in Hamburg, Germany. "What they see as acting friendly may be seen by foreigners as poor or unpolished manners, or indifference to what the foreigners feel is important."

Food, drink, topics of conversation, gestures, gift-giving and numbers are areas to pay special attention to. Innis views American businesses' increasing interest in learning about protocol and the etiquette of other nations as encouraging. "At long last, this country has realized that diplomacy and trade go hand in hand. The European countries have long been aware of this."

From what anthropologists have gleaned about prehistoric societies, it seems that the world's first diplomatic envoys were women. Back when societies were first forming, women were sent to deal with potential enemies because our ancestors realized that love conquers all, so to speak.

In 1925, the first woman entered the U.S. Foreign Service, and in 1930, the first woman passed France's Foreign Service exam. In 1933, the United States posted a female political appointee as minister to Denmark, and after World War II, women began to attain the rank of ambassador via career progression, as well as by political appointment.

Since protocol is concerned primarily with orders of precedence, unlike social etiquette, it has nothing to do with gender, and the entry of women into the profession of diplomacy has thus had little impact on it.

"In American culture, women go first, but not necessarily in diplomatic reception lines," says Peggy Ward. "It's the one who has the reason to be invited, the most recognized person, who goes first." In most cases, it's still the man.

One sexist practice that until recently was part of official entertaining has pretty much disappeared, according to Ward. In most countries women no longer are relegated to a separate room for coffee after state dinners. Former First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy led the way to the demise of this practice when she introduced the mixing of male and female guests after state dinners at the White House. Kennedy's innovation has continued in the White House ever since, and now is fairly widespread in diplomatic circles.

Although increasing diversity in domestic living arrangements is becoming more acceptable in countries of the West, partners who have no legal attachment to the officials with whom they live still are accorded no official status. "Protocol recognizes only the marriage partner," says Innis.

The presence of women in the Foreign Service has changed some forms of address in official entertaining. "We're seeing more and more women keeping their own names," says Ward, "and we're seeing more invitations addressed to 'Ambassador and Ms. Jean Smith.'" In cases where a spouse does not go by his or her partner's name, says Ward, "It is the responsibility of the couple to ease conversations by making a point of introducing the spouse by the name he or she uses."

How to address a female ambassador also can cause some confusion, says Ward, because "Madame Ambassador" is also the designation for the wife of an ambassador in some countries. To avoid this confusion, some female ambassadors prefer to be addressed by their last name, with "ambassador" first, such as "Ambassador Smith."

The increasing independence of spouses means they are no longer required to participate in official functions. "An official invitation from the ambassador or DCM is a command performance for an officer," says Peggy Ward, "but spouses have the luxury of choosing to go or not go. If they do decide to attend, however, they have to realize that they're buying into the whole ambiance of protocol. Spouses who choose to attend these functions must accept the role of co-host and tend to guest needs, help with conversation, get drinks, etc."

Although protocol is based upon good manners, protocol and etiquette are not the same thing. However, attention to what is good etiquette, both in other cultures and our own, is becoming an increasingly important component of successful diplomacy.

"While English is now the accepted diplomatic language, to have a good understanding of the spoken and body language of other countries, and their culture, gives a person an edge in any negotiation," says Innis. Body language is particularly important. Americans don't realize, for instance, that crossing their legs or putting their feet up on a table to expose the sole of a shoe is considered quite rude in many countries, especially those of Asia.

A common error made by Americans is equating the word "informal" on invitations with "casu-

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al," say both Ward and McDonald. "In Europe and in diplomatic circles, 'informal' means a dark suit or dress," says McDonald.

"The RSVP is absolutely, across the board, the No. 1 problem of etiquette around the world," says Ward. "In our protocol classes at OBC, we say RSVP means 'Respond or die.'"

"One obvious difference between Americans and people of most other nations is flag etiquette," says McDonald. "People of other countries stand to attention when the American flag is presented and then are amazed when they see the absolute irreverence to their own flag shown by many Americans. They just don't understand it."

Not only is the average American ignorant of the etiquette observed in other countries, but younger Americans are surprisingly ignorant

of traditional American etiquette, according to McDonald. She says she has noticed that Americans' manners "have gotten worse in the last couple of decades. Most young people in this country don't get basic experience in manners at home." McDonald chalks up the decline in American manners to the emergence of fast food and homes where both parents now work, and to the social isolation enforced by the long hours children spend watching television.

As for who has the best manners in the international arena, McDonald says, "I have always felt the French are most sincere about protocol. They have the best training in protocol and the best guide book, *Le Manuel Pratique De Protocole*." For years, the book has been the major reference on protocol across Europe, and McDonald says it has been the basis

for a book that covers protocol for the new European Union.

Peggy Ward's course in protocol at OBC is open to all Foreign Service officers and their spouses, but the majority of participants are spouses. Her students say that two days of training aren't enough. Ward encourages officers and spouses headed overseas to visit the OBC library to peruse its many cultural guides and post reports. "And when you get to post, ask the Foreign Service Nationals and the Americans already there about any questions you have. Only a fool doesn't ask," she says.

And what if you do make mistakes? "Everyone makes mistakes," says Ward. "One of the most important things to learn is how to say 'I'm sorry.' If you know nothing else, know the appropriate ways to apologize in the culture you're visiting." ■

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AFSA RESPONDS TO DOWNSIZING, MERGER

In late January, Vice President Gare's National Performance Review (NPR) staff seriously studied a proposal to merge AID, USIA and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) with the Department of State. But when the paperwork cleared, the vice president announced the three agencies will remain independent.

At the same time, the four foreign affairs agencies were instructed by the vice president to establish common administrative services, eliminate unnecessary practices and use private sector competition to cut costs. Such cutbacks should result in savings of at least \$5 billion over five years, according to the NPR.

Specifically, the review announced the planned closing of an additional 26 missions and posts - 15 from State, six from AID, and five from USIA - and the elimination of one State Department bureau, as well as duplicative efforts in public affairs, congressional relations, political-military affairs and policy planning. USIA will end government funding for radio broadcasting in Western Europe, cut staff and reduce costs in its overseas operations, eliminate select publications and duplication of information centers and libraries, and reduce staffing in its management bureau. AID will reduce its pro-

ject planning cycle from 27 to six months, eliminate same areas of management activity, expand the use of technology, cut internal regulations and complete the reengineering of its management systems.

Calling for change, Secretary of State Warren Christopher remarked, "In an era of growing challenges but static or declining resources, all of the foreign affairs agencies must streamline operations and match our talents and budget to the highest U.S. priorities."

Meanwhile, on the Hill former Secretary of State James Baker called for the elimination of the three foreign affairs agencies. Testifying before the House Committee on International Relations, Baker declared that "the existence of [AID, USIA, ACDA] has nothing to do with national interest and a great deal to do with bureaucratic inertia. AID, ACDA and USIA should be abolished and their functions terminated or distributed to other agencies."

Reacting to the administration's review, AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Harris said, "We are pleased that the vice president's rush-to-judgment review did not result in a hasty and ill-conceived integration." However, he continued, "AFSA regrets that the no-merge decision

Continued on page 5

AFSA Dateline

- Diplomatic Security agents in Islamabad had the key role in the Feb. 7 capture of Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, the alleged mastermind of the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center. The DS agents worked with Pakistani authorities and agents from the FBI and the Drug Enforcement Administration in apprehending and deporting Yousef to the United States.

proposal allowing new officers to be assigned to the United States on their first tours. It has also proposed changing the maximum tour of duty in the States to eight years from the current maximum of five years.

- AFSA and US&FCS are in the midst of negotiating changes in regulations for assignments and tours of duty. The agency has

- AFSA and FAS have signed a "Partnership" agreement in the spirit of President Clinton's executive order. The agreement calls for the Partnership Council to "create an atmosphere of mutual respect, open communication and

Continued on page 3

Employee Involvement Crucial

A watchword of the National Performance Review, and virtually every strategy for reform of the federal government, is employee involvement. But how can employees become involved, and what role should AFSA play in this process?

The State-AFSA relationship has had its ups and downs since 1973 when it became a union as well as a professional association. The election of F. A. "Tex" Harris as AFSA president in 1993 was followed a few months later by EO 12871, in which President Clinton invited federal unions to participate as partners in personnel-related policy-making and instructed agency managers to facilitate that participation. The *technique du jour* is "pre-decisional involvement," which incorporates union representatives in the analysis of a problem and development of a solution. But how do union representatives know they are representing employee interests under such circumstances, when the issues are complicated and quick decisions are required?

What interests and which employees? If State proposes to cut post differentials by 5 percent, AFSA's response is clear. On the other hand, if the question is whether to cut post differentials or, say, to fire senior FSOs, the choice becomes more difficult. Even trickier is a complicated systemic issue, like personnel reform, where the identification of positions may vary greatly among equally experienced employees with identical interests.

The association's bylaws provide for decisions affecting all foreign affairs agencies to be made by the Governing Board and decisions affecting one agency (e.g., State) to be made by the standing committee for that agency. I have tried to build a representative State Standing Committee from AFSA members who

study the issues and serve as conduits with employees in their bureaus. Unfortunately, there has been considerable turnover in the committee's membership over the past 18 months, and some bureaus lack representation.

The AFSA Governing Board agreed to increase employee involvement by consulting members abroad through cables before making major decisions affecting their interests. This technique has worked well, I think, in the cases of junior officer coning procedures and the secretarial career path. It has worked passably in defining employee preferences for RIF regulations, even though a significant minority position could not be represented. Its biggest test has come in defining an AFSA position regarding personnel reform for generalist officers, where there are many issues with multiple options in an inherently complicated area. However, an even greater challenge may arise when severe budget cuts require choices among programs or posts staffed by Foreign Service employees.

Are the current mechanisms adequate to determine what employees prefer in such difficult circumstances? Probably not, for I can't guarantee that the decisions of the AFSA officers, Governing Board, and standing committees will always accurately reflect majority employee interests, even with the aid of polls. Can our efforts be improved? Yes - but not by additional or improved techniques, only by encouraging more AFSA members to become actively involved, either by running for AFSA office or by serving as standing committee representatives and post reps - and helping their constituents to understand the issues and express informed points of view. This isn't an easy job. But it is an essential one if a professional Foreign Service is to survive and prosper into the next century.

Congressional Update

BY RICK WEISS
Congressional Liaison

With one-third of the 100 days of the Gingrich revolution completed, the Republican legislators involved with foreign affairs have focused on the United Nations and U.N. peacekeeping, the Mexican financial crisis, and the possibility of restructuring the foreign affairs agencies. The foreign affairs agencies have been told to expect cuts, both in FY95 rescissions and FY96 reductions, as Congress and the administration demand cuts in spending, personnel, bureaucratic layering and programs.

Chairman Robert Livingston (R-La.) of the House Appropriations Committee has stated, "I have looked at the numbers and they are austere." Chairman John Kasich (R-Ohio) of the House Budget Committee commented that without cuts in Medicare, the discretionary budget, including the foreign affairs agencies programs, must take drastic reductions. Senator Ernest Hollings (D-S.C.) summarized the problem: "The reality is that you cannot save enough on entitlements. ... With respect to domestic discretionary spending reductions, they have to come from freezes and cuts. But once you go over the list, you find out that there are not enough savings to balance the budget."

The foreign affairs agencies and programs are currently 1 percent of the federal budget and will drop to under 1 percent in FY 96. How much they will drop will depend on the budget, appropriations and authorizing committees that began hearings last month.

FSN QUAKE FUND

The recent earthquake in Kobe, Japan has left several embassy Foreign Service National employees homeless. Members wishing to make a contribution to assist FSNs who suffered losses may send checks to:

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Department of State
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AFSA RESPONDS TO GORE

Continued from page 1

trust to accomplish the agency's newly expanded mission in a spirit of excellence." Negotiations of the collective bargaining agreement continue. One final issue still unresolved is the amount of official time the AFSA representative will be allowed to work on union issues.

- All Foreign Service members, both active and retired, who have ever served in Germany are invited to a reunion dinner to be held at the AFSA Club in April. Call Joseph Kemper at (202) 338-4045 for reservations.
- Maryland retired Foreign Service employees are invited to a lunch at AFSA on Mar. 8 to learn about congressional initiatives and to discuss forming an association of retirees. For information, call Joseph Kemper at (202) 338-4045.

DACOR OFFERS NEW SCHOLARSHIPS FOR YALE

The DACOR (Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired) Bacon House Foundation is offering new awards for study at Yale University to children of Foreign Service officers. The Louis Dreyfus Scholarships and Fellowships, to begin in academic year 1995-96, will honor the late Ambassador Louis Gaethe Dreyfus, who retired from the Foreign Service in 1950 and died in 1973.

Undergraduate awards are need-based; all graduate students, regardless of need, are eligible to apply for a fellowship, although preference will be given to those planning a career related to foreign affairs. The size of the individual awards, applicable to university-billed expenses only, will be determined when the number of accepted applicants is known. Undergraduate Yale students should indicate their interest in a Dreyfus Scholarship to the director of the Undergraduate Financial Aid Office. Graduate students or applicants should write to: Director, Yale Center for International and Area Studies, PO Box 208206, New Haven, Conn. 06520-8206. Additional information is available from DACOR at (202) 682-0500 or (800) 344-9127.

AID

V.P. VOICE

• BY GARBER DAVIDSON JR. •

Many Priorities Crowd Agenda

Vice President Gore's announcement that AID will retain its independence included the statement that AID, USIA and ACDA "are essential vehicles for the accomplishment of their missions under the overall foreign policy guidance of the Secretary of State." I applaud this decision of the administration, because the United States has fundamental interests abroad that can best be advanced by an independent agency whose primary purpose is sustainable development.

AID now must turn to the admonitions of the National Performance Review (NPR) to close an additional six missions, reduce the project planning cycle, eliminate areas of management activity, expand the use of paperless internal systems, cut internal regulations by 50 percent and complete its reengineering of management systems by Oct. 1, 1995. In addition, AID must collaborate with the other foreign affairs agencies to establish common administrative services and eliminate unnecessary and duplicative practices.

While AID is far ahead of other agencies in some of these areas (the agency is a "reinvention lab" for NPR), the above menu constitutes a tall order that will absorb enormous energy and time. Meanwhile, there are other major priorities that cannot be ignored. The single most important one is the budget. Nothing else will mean much if the agency's budget is significantly cut again. It should be

Additional cuts will cause the United States to retrench in parts of the world, and could signal a dangerous neo-isolationism.

recalled that economic assistance appropriations have been reduced consistently over the past years, and now represent less than 1 percent of the entire budget.

Additional cuts will cause the United States to retrench in parts of the world, and could signal a dangerous neo-isolationism at a time when the United States needs to be economically engaged and competitive.

Also of high priority are proposed internal reforms dealing with evaluations and reengineering assignments. The proposed evaluation was recently tested in Guatemala and holds great promise for constructive change, but it also needs further revision and articulation. The so-called "reengineering" of AID is said to create an entirely new organizational paradigm and AFSA eagerly awaits an invitation from management to share in its design. Assignment process reforms, now under way, also demand much monitoring and possible revision.

The legislative season will bring additional pressures to the agency, and coupled with issues on diversity, workforce planning, partnership and dispute resolution, the next few months will be intense. The establishing of priorities and the effective articulation of such priorities to employees will prove a major test for the agency's senior managers. Equally as important will be the manner in which the agency's managers involve employees and their unions in the decisions and reforms that lie ahead.

RETIREE
V.P. VOICE

• BY DON NORLAND •

Retirees Develop Action Agenda

This column gives me an opportunity to reflect on a couple of current agenda items. First, a personal note. In March, the slates of candidates for AFSA officers and the Governing Board will be public, including the names of candidates for retiree vice president. My two-year tenure as retiree vice president ends in July and I will not be a candidate for reelection. Prior to my election as vice president in 1993, I

was a member of the Governing Board for two years, making a total of almost four years of board duty. The many outstanding officers among the new retirees ensures a smooth transition and strong retiree representation on the next Governing Board. It should be noted that the board has accepted a motion (not at my initiative) to earmark the sum of \$10,000 in the 1995 budget as a taxable stipend for my successor. The principal justification is the increased role retirees play in expanding AFSA's outreach - especially at the grass-roots level - which is an AFSA priority board objective.

Specific duties of the retiree vice president are, in large measure, dictated by circumstances. But there has been one constant underlying concern, namely to draw on the great reservoir represented by Foreign Service retirees to highlight the key role and importance of diplomacy in promoting and protecting vital U.S. security, economic and strategic interests. Two characteristics of retirees are paramount in any campaign to promote these views: One, retirees are free to speak out, and two, most

We will intensify these efforts by encouraging members to get involved in radio talk shows and other media outlets.

of them live - and vote - well outside the Beltway.

The AFSA agenda is increasingly dominated by the imperative of developing a constituency. This means earning broad public sympathy and support, cultivating Congress and gaining the confidence of budget-makers in Washington.

As evidence that retirees are beginning to respond, I note a letter from Arizona retiree George A. Miller to the *Arizona Daily Star* out-

lining in direct, simple terms the consequences of continuing budget cuts on U.S. influence abroad. Similarly, retiree Robert K. Olson in northern Wisconsin is reaching out to a wide range of civic and academic groups, as well as his congressman, with the message that U.S. engagement abroad remains essential.

Similar examples of activism have come from other AFSA members who form what we call our "Legislative Action Network." Our objective is to keep members informed as to what we're doing at AFSA, leaving each member to judge what would constitute appropriate action. We intend to intensify these efforts by encouraging members to get involved in radio talk shows as well as more traditional media outlets.

My hope is that these examples, as well as the threat of indiscriminate budget cuts of important U.S. diplomatic roles and missions, may inspire retirees to engage in the debate about America's place in the world. I also trust you will be moved to practice with in AFSA those principles of democracy that we preach around the world by taking an interest in the AFSA election - and candidates' positions on issues.

NEW SPEAKER PROGRAMS FOCUS ON DIPLOMACY

A lunchtime speaker series exploring the nature of diplomacy, past, present and future, was launched Jan. 11 by retired Ambassador Chas. W. Freeman, who spoke on diplomacy as a profession. Professor Warren Cohen, Delavan Scholar at the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, followed up on Jan. 25 with a description of the U.S. foreign policy structure established to meet the demands of the Cold War. He posed the question of whether those institutions should now be refashioned. Panels of experts are planned to look at the diplomacy of the future.

The new AFSA Friday Forum is addressing topics of urgent professional interest. January and February meetings have dealt with congressional issues, proposals to amalgamate the foreign affairs agencies, the 1996 administration budget and running an embassy on a tight budget.

Anyone interested in more information on these programs may phone AFSA's automated information number at (202) 944-5513 or Richard Thompson at (202) 338-4045.

'95 FS EXAM CANCELED

The 1995 entrance examination for the Foreign Service has been canceled, the State Department recently announced. According to a State spokesperson, "The decision not to offer the exam in 1995 grew out of the diminished need for new Foreign Service officers." Some 400 successful candidates have already passed the Foreign Service exam - more than enough to fill the 110 expected openings each year for 1995 and 1996.

Under Secretary of State Richard Moose testified before the House International Operations Subcommittee that canceling the exam would save \$1 million. Lowered intake also affects junior officers, who may be required to do more consular work during their first tours. AFSA will raise this with State managers.

AFSA DOWNSIZES

Continued from page 1

included an announcement that 26 diplomatic posts, consulates, and USIS offices and AID missions will be closed, further reducing the U.S. overseas presence in striking disproportion to the modest reductions in the supporting Washington bureaucracies. We need to cut Washington's 'tail' and preserve foreign operations' 'teeth.'" AFSA noted that no consultations preceded the announcement of the proposed changes, and called on agency managers to schedule prompt discussions with AFSA under the partnership agreement on achieving greater efficiency in implementing common objectives.

AFSA NEEDS 3 APPLICANTS FOR INSURANCE COMMITTEE

The Insurance Committee is seeking applicants to fill three vacant positions. The committee establishes policies relating to specific programs of insurance for the beneficiaries and oversees their operation.

AFSA offers seven different insurance programs: Personal Property, Dental, Collision, Long-Term Health Care, Accidental Death, In-Hospital Income and Disability.

The role of committee members is to determine the scope and nature of AFSA's group insurance programs; negotiate and contract with insurance carriers or insurance agents; modify or terminate old contracts as necessary; and develop new elements of the insurance program to attract beneficiaries.

Appointment to the committee is for three-year terms (or length of service in Washington, with not less than one year remaining in tour). Reappointment is at the discretion of the AFSA Governing Board. Insurance Committee members serve without compensation but are entitled to reimbursement of reasonable and necessary out-of-pocket expenses for their services on the committee.

The committee meets periodically throughout the year. For inquiries and additional information, contact Lori Decot (202) 338-4045, or write AFSA Insurance Programs, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C., 20037.

USIA V.P. VOICE • RAZ BAZALA •

USIA Faces More Budget Cuts

In January, phase II of "Reinventing Government" raised the prospect of the consolidation of four foreign affairs agencies. AFSA went on record early in opposing a mad rush to abolish three independent foreign affairs agencies and Vice President Gore subsequently indicated that ACDA, AID and USIA are essential to advancing foreign policy objectives of the United States. The survival of USIA, it appears for the moment, is not threatened.

Congress, however, has yet to articulate views on the issue of USIA's continued existence. But early indications from AFSA's calls on congressional members and staffers are that USIA is not in Congress's crosshairs. First, several influential senators have reservations about consolidation under the Department of State. More importantly, several key staffers have told AFSA that they regard USIA programs highly, especially those programs dealing with international exchanges, which they consider a productive and effective use of the taxpayers' money.

But there is much more at stake than the survival of our bureaucracy at USIA. Soon, the extent of the cuts from rescission of the FY95 budget and proposals for FY96 will be known. It will not be a pretty picture. USIS post closings are inevitable, but the number of Foreign Service positions lost overseas will be largely determined by how many consulates and embassies the State Department is forced to close.

At home, the number of Foreign Service positions is declining, and the down-sizing, streamlining, and flattening reflected in the creation of the Information Bureau will be reiterated as other agency elements are reinvented this fiscal year and next.

In response, on the Foreign Service side of the house, agency management has initiated a review of the JOT (Junior Officer Training) process from recruitment to tenure. AFSA has been invited to participate in the review, although numbers, types, and grades of employees are not bargainable issues between labor and management. In addition, AFSA independently has also sought employee input on performance evaluation and career advancement as the first step in determining whether we will propose reform of those processes to management.

We received responses from more than 40 posts on these issues. Many do not believe that a major overhaul of the evaluation process is necessary, but perceive elements of assignments procedures – particularly the link between assignments and career advancement – as requiring review.

Finally, I would like to note USIA Director Joseph Duffey's strong leadership in defending the agency and articulating how its unique capabilities continue to advance U.S. interests abroad. He met with senior staff, the Joint Partnership Council and employee unions after each meeting in Gore's office to share his views of the deliberations. He was receptive to employee input to help him develop the strongest case possible for USIA. In short, his openness and candor served us all well by providing accurate information that went far beyond media reporting and enabled everyone to understand the state of play and what was really at stake.

And that – open communication between management and employees – is the essence of "Partnership" in these turbulent times of rapid change.

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A MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

This past year was one of momentous change in how the U.S. government conducts foreign relations. With the election of the 104th Congress, the mandate of the foreign affairs agencies changed from "doing more with less" to, in effect, "doing less with even less." This trend toward disengagement from the world, as reflected in the new GOP-led Congress, presents AFSA with a tremendous challenge, not only to ensure that we retain the resources and conditions we need to continue to protect and advance our nation's interests worldwide, but more fundamentally, to preserve the very integrity of our profession and the primacy of diplomacy as this nation's first line of defense.

Your Governing Board's efforts over the last year have been devoted to building long-term processes and structures within AFSA to strengthen our ability to meet these challenges. Clearly, more activism, participation, empowerment, unity and vision are needed, and the strategic changes we have made have strengthened us in all these respects.

Underlying everything the board has done is the principle that AFSA's primary job is to represent and speak for its members: the Foreign Service. Any earlier image of AFSA as an elitist clique has been dispelled once and for all and replaced by a vibrant, energetic — if, at times, messy — democracy, with active standing committees, committed bureau and post representatives and direct polling on key issues in the field and in Washington. AFSA's new commitment to speaking for all members of the Foreign Service meant not only winning representation elections in FAS and US&FCS — which we did handily — but energizing and meeting with the many diverse groups that make up the service today — junior officers, senior officers, diplomatic security agents, nurse practitioners, information management specialists, secretaries, VOA relay technicians

and AID development experts. This greater openness and candor towards our membership frequently has put AFSA in the uncomfortable position of having to deliver bad news, a task that agency managers seem reluctant to do, especially in hard times.

With two-thirds of our active members overseas, communicating with people and bringing their views together is a major challenge. The information superhighway is helping us meet that challenge. This year we experimented with e-mail focus groups in AID and will soon be employing AFSANET, as part of the Internet system.

Defending diplomacy requires the building of new constituencies for the Foreign Service both inside and outside the Beltway. We have devoted much energy to reaching out to Congress, the news media, the business community, and directly to the American people through such programs as the International Associates (business affiliates), World Issues Forum (speakers bureau), Diplomats Online, and the hiring of a full-time congressional liaison staffer. We took the lead in creating the Coalition for American Leadership Abroad (COLEAD), an alliance of more than 25 non-governmental organizations (NGOs) committed to American engagement in the world.

Given the magnitude of the forces arrayed against us, our success is all too often measured in partial victories and improvements at the margin. One ambassador whose nomination AFSA opposed was ultimately confirmed, but only after a major congressional fight that focused attention in the national and local press, from *People* magazine to the *San Diego Union*, on one of our key issues — the need to appoint only the most qualified people to head America's missions abroad. We also lost our fight against Radio Free Asia, but in the process succeeded in reducing the money wasted on it from \$30 million to \$10 million. Likewise, thanks to our



AFSA President F. A. "Tex" Harris

full-bore lobbying effort against proposed across-the-board cuts in hardship allowances, we saved 30 percent of our posts from these unfair penalties.

Lastly, AFSA and agency managers talked a lot in 1994 about "partnership" to empower and engage the Foreign Service in meeting the challenges ahead. Management now needs to walk the walk.

With the exception of USIA, the foreign affairs agency managers still make almost all key decisions unilaterally, consulting with their employees on some. That process is not sufficient for the major reengineering and downsizing decisions that face us now. We need jointly to set consistent priorities. Are we going to give resources to managing our foreign relations abroad or to our foreign policy apparatus in headquarters? Are missions going to reduce employee-support functions to bolster operations, or vice versa? AFSA has joined President Clinton and Vice President Gore in demanding that these deci-

sions be made with all participating as partners. This year we have set out to make this major change in our corporate culture. Much depends on the vision and the management style of the agencies' leaders.

In sum, 1994 was a year of reinventing AFSA to make your association participatory and representative of all the skills that make up the Foreign Service; to be open and candid; to be aggressive but not irresponsible in fighting for the Service; to reach out to influence Congress, the media, business, NGOs and the public; and to remain dedicated to securing authentic partnership with management. Participate! It's your Foreign Service.

Regards,

Tex Harris



AFSA's Governing Board

First Row (l-r): Garber Davidson, AID VP; Janet Shafer, State rep; Patty Ryan, AAFSW liaison rep; Susan Reardon, AFSA executive director. Second Row (l-r): Gail Lecce, treasurer; David Shinn, State rep; Meg Hawley-Young, State rep; Andrew Young, State rep; Lee Ann Ross, AID rep; Bruce Hirshorn, retiree rep; Sue Saario, State rep; Edward Peck, retiree rep; Catherine Barry, secretary. Third Row (l-r): Weyland Beeghly, FAS rep; Patrick Sautillo, US&FCS rep; Raz Bazala, USIA VP; Don Norlund, retiree VP; Bruce Byers, USIA rep; Tex Harris, president; Jim Washington, AID rep; Todd Stewart, State VP; Joe Keuper, retiree rep; Lannou Walker, State rep. Not pictured, Kay Clark-Bourne, retiree rep.

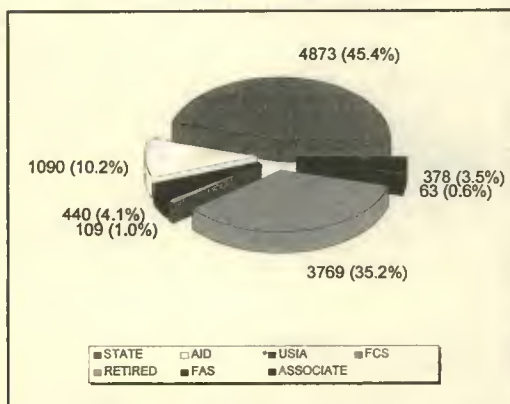
AFSA TACKLES UNION, PROFESSIONAL ISSUES

MEMBERSHIP

AFSA membership is at an all time high of 10,722, with 1994 bringing in 801 new members. Two new associate (non-voting) membership categories were added this year: Retiree Associates for individuals who served overseas in a diplomatic capacity and Foreign Service Spouses for the surviving spouses of retired members.

In order to better serve our members, AFSA purchased a fully integrated association management software system. This new program will allow AFSA to process information, track financial history, and monitor demographic trends more accurately than previously possible.

The following chart shows AFSA's current membership breakdown:



LABOR MANAGEMENT

AFSA's Labor Management's 11-person team, including eight staffers and three AFSA vice presidents, had a host of accomplishments in 1994, racking up successes for individual AFSA members as well as for the Foreign Service. The two grievance counselors assisted more than 350 people in 1994. Some examples of other actions include:

Foreign Agricultural Service: In the spring, AFSA overwhelmingly won an election at the Foreign Agricultural Service (FAS) to represent those employees as their exclusive bargaining representative. The vote was 146 to 17. A FAS Standing Committee has been formed, and negotiations with management on

the collective bargaining agreement are nearly completed. However, agreement on the remaining issue, which concerns the amount of official time for the AFSA/FAS representative, has not been reached.

U.S. & Foreign Commercial Service: In August, AFSA overwhelmingly won an election at the Foreign Commercial Service (FCS) to represent those employees as their exclusive bargaining representative. The vote was 120 to 8. A FCS Standing Committee has been formed, a Partnership Agreement has been signed with management and negotiations have begun on a variety of employment issues.

Partnership: AFSA became an early participant in President Clinton's "partnership" process, part of his proposal to "reinvent" government by bringing employees' unions and management together to consider the impact of policy proposals before decisions are made. The new spirit of cooperation helped facilitate the creation of the Information Bureau at USIA, which was designated by the National Performance Review as a "reinvention laboratory." Partnership results in the other agencies have not, to date, been as positive. But the process has been lauded.

USIA's I Bureau embodied the concept of team-based working groups, a greatly reduced hierarchical structure allowing employees at all levels to voice their ideas, and a bottom-up reassessment of the bureau's products and services to support U.S. public diplomacy overseas. Partnership councils and teams have been created to tackle a broad range of problems, including greater streamlining and less bureaucracy and more open communication between offices and bureaus. AFSA's participation, from the beginning of the partnership process, has been a major contribution for advancing better understanding between Foreign Service and Civil Service employees. AFSA has regularly communicated progress in partnership to Foreign Service officers and specialists overseas. In December, the I Bureau received a "Hammer Award" from Vice President Gore.

Diplomatic Security: AFSA assisted a Diplomatic Security (DS) agent assigned to the Secretary's Detail in receiving over \$20,000 for two years' worth of back overtime wages after a ten-month battle with the Department of State.

"We are going through a difficult period in AID. Recent reorganization actions, "rightsizing," tenuring and selection-out practices, diversification initiatives, LCE actions and failure to comply with agreed-upon grievance mechanisms are just a few of the numerous matters that are on our agenda."

— Garber Davidson, AID Vice President, August 1994

State had erroneously found that the position of special agent on the Secretary's Detail was "exempt" from the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) — the law that requires overtime at the rate of time-and-a-half. The grievant continues to press for an additional year of back overtime pay as well as liquidated (double) damages. The Foreign Service Grievance Board (FSGB) is expected to decide these additional issues in the next few months.

As a result of this grievance, State must pay all DS agents who held special agent positions on the Secretary's Detail for back overtime wages during a period of time to be established by the FSGB. In addition, State is reviewing the position descriptions and FLSA status of all DS jobs to insure that the department is in compliance with the law. AFSA anticipates that numerous other DS agents will be paid back overtime wages once this process has been completed. If State refuses to pay all agents what they are owed, AFSA will assist these individuals with their grievances.

Equal Employment Opportunity: AFSA helped a disabled State employee file an EEO complaint after the department had confined him to a basement office that was not wheelchair accessible. The department settled the case for a significant but undisclosed sum. More importantly, as a result of this case, the National Foreign Affairs Training Center held a program to train managers on the requirements of the Americans with Disabilities Act and to sensitize managers on how to interact with individuals with disabilities.

Agency for International Development: The Foreign Service Grievance Board (FSGB) issued a decision supporting AFSA's position that AID had violated its regulations in denying a grievant an additional Consolidated Board (C/Board) review for consideration of a Limited Career Extension (LCE). AFSA had filed a brief in support of this grievant and is currently awaiting a decision on a group grievance now before the FSGB on this same issue.

Grievances: The Foreign Service Grievance Board issued two important decisions holding that an agency may not select out an employee based upon a Selection Board's belief that the employee's assignments have been subpar; an employee may only be selected out if his or her performance has been subpar. These decisions were based upon two grievances, one in AID and one at State.

Post differentials: At AFSA's urging and following widespread input from the field, the department set aside the October 1994 implementation of an across-the-board 5 percent cut in post differentials in favor of a more comprehensive study. However, despite AFSA's strongly repeated protests in a process which barred negotiating, 5 percent cuts were imposed at two-thirds of the posts and took effect in February 1995. The most severe posts retained their 25 percent differential and a new lower 5 percent category was established. AFSA does not have bargaining rights on this issue, but the department is required to "consult" with us. AFSA's proposals to grandfather and revise and then apply the new allowance structure were rejected in favor of a quick fix.

Transportation at post: At AFSA's insistence, the department in July revised a recently established one-way flat rate of \$2.70 for payment of post-provided office-to-residence transportation overseas. The \$2.70 had been based on the average cost of a one-way commute in the Washington area and was inappropriate for many lower-cost posts where commutes are short and labor is cheap. Payment will now be based on actual costs, capped at \$2.70 for the higher cost posts.

Diversity: In 1994, the AFSA Governing Board wrestled with the difficult and highly divisive issue of implementing diversity measures within the Foreign Service. AFSA has insisted to management that all pro-diversity measures are important, but they must be legal, out in the open, negotiated with AFSA, and con-

"Retirees can play an important role in the effort to help Mr. and Mrs. Average American understand that their future is as deeply affected by foreign policy issues as by domestic issues. ... There are now over a dozen very active retiree groups who are engaged in local community outreach."

— Don Norland, Retiree Vice President, October 1994

sistent with the merit principles upon which the Foreign Service was founded. It is hoped that AFSA's 37-page legal memorandum on affirmative action and diversity will encourage the foreign affairs agencies to work with AFSA to develop affirmative action plans that promote diversity with measures compatible with merit principles.

Specialists: Last fall, AFSA's actions helped push State's Personnel Bureau (PER) to reconsider the files of 36 specialists who were denied tenure by the March 1994 Specialist Tenuring Board (SPTB), since PER had determined that the board's precepts had not been followed correctly. These employees were reviewed again by the December SPTB.

Medical issues: AFSA continues consulting with State on regulations concerning the arrangements for provision of, and payment for, medical treatment overseas. AFSA objected to an earlier proposal to restrict the provision of free treatment overseas to job-related injuries or illnesses. The medical office now proposes a more vigorous pursuit of repayment from employees' insurance coverage coupled with department absorption of the cost of all deductibles and co-insurance payments. AFSA believes that this proposal is equitable.

FAA list: Due to AFSA's filing of a Freedom of Information Act request with the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) in September, the FAA publicly released a list of countries whose civil aviation oversight capabilities do not meet international standards. The FAA released the list, which includes Belize, Dominican Republic, Gambia, Ghana, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Uruguay and Zaire, after AFSA argued that "we believe the safety concerns of U.S. citizens outweigh any setbacks the disclosure of the requested information may cause."

— Sharon Papp, general counsel; Colleen Fallon, staff attorney; Megan Chung, law clerk;

James Yorke, director; Peter Gaaserud, representative; Carol Lutz, USIA labor relations specialist; Joan Smedley, grievance attorney; Derek Terrell, grievance counselor.

CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

In 1994, AFSA doubled the resources devoted to congressional relations, with Legislative Affairs Coordinator Bob Chatten joining Congressional Liaison Riek Weiss in orchestrating AFSA's dealings with the Hill.

AFSA President Tex Harris twice testified before Congress on ambassadorial nominations. In opposing the nomination of Larry Lawrence as ambassador to Switzerland, he stressed that AFSA supported qualified nominees, both political and career. His testimony in behalf of retaining a qualified career ambassador, Peter DeVos, in Tanzania rather than replacing him with political appointee Brady Anderson, was based on the principle of keeping ambassadors in sensitive posts for three-year tours. Although both nominations went forward, AFSA helped make reform of the ambassadorial process a national media issue. *Time*, *Newsweek*, *People*, national wire services and editorial writers from coast-to-coast echoed AFSA's views on the need for highly qualified ambassadors. Harris also supported the nomination to Mauritania of Dorothy Sampas, a career Foreign Service officer.

In April, AFSA for the first time focused on the appropriations side of congressional relations. The AFSA president testified before a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee on the nature of the U.S. presence overseas. In his testimony Harris suggested that a realignment of funds among diplomacy, the military and intelligence would "match resources to rhetoric" and that duplication of information-gathering abroad contributed to budgetary pressures.

In other efforts, AFSA embarked on a policy of joining with other federal employee groups to advocate for health benefits and retiree benefits — such cooperation resulted in the defeat of a

"The Governing Board urges the department, in consultation with AFSA, to develop an affirmative action plan that promotes diversity with measures compatible with merit principles. An explicit formal affirmative action plan is needed to provide a context for specific measures."

— Todd Stewart, State Vice President, December 1994

proposal to postpone retiree COLAs an additional three months and kept in the news federal employee concerns on health-care reform.

On USIA issues, AFSA vigorously opposed, as wasteful and redundant of resources, the creation of Radio Free Asia and the continuation of Radio Marti. Funding for Radio Free Asia was cut by two-thirds to \$10 million.

AFSA supported several AID initiatives, including the rewrite of AID's basic authorizing legislation. The bill passed the House, but not the Senate. AFSA also articulated strong opposition to the creation of a unified personnel system within AID.

The board laid plans to strengthen its legislative affairs by approving the hiring of a full time director of congressional relations, to be filled in 1995.

— Rick Weiss, congressional liaison; Bob Chatten, legislative affairs coordinator.

PUBLIC PROGRAMS

Awards and Foreign Service Day

AFSA, in order to emphasize the importance of the awards program, held its own awards ceremony and eighth-floor luncheon on June 28, rather than conferring its awards on Foreign Service Day, as had been done since 1988. The highlight of the day was the presentation of the William R. Rivkin Award to 13 mid-level officers for their dissenting views on U.S. policy toward Bosnia. The AFSA Achievement Awards were accorded for the first time to John H. Bierke and Charles A. Schmitz, honoring the active duty member and the retired member who had made the most significant contributions to AFSA during the preceding year.

AFSA maintained its traditional participation in Foreign Service Day, including a moving plaque ceremony at which the Secretary of State spoke as two names were added: Barbara L. Schell and Freddie R. Woodruff.

AFSA Speaker Series

The popular luncheon speaker series featured presentations on how the foreign affairs agencies are adapting to a changing world. Speakers included Frank Wisner, former under secretary of Defense; Carol Bellamy, Peace Corps director; Carol Lancaster, AID deputy administrator; Charles W. Freeman, assistant secretary of Defense; and Donna Oglesby, USIA counselor. Julia V. Taft, president of InterAction, spoke on the growing role of nongovernmental organizations in foreign policy, and two Senate Budget Committee staffers outlined the effect of the Nov. 8 election on the foreign affairs budget.

A number of open meeting discussion groups were also organized in the Department of State, sometimes in cooperation with the Secretary's Open Forum, on key issues such as budgets, personnel and congressional developments.

COLEAD

The Coalition for American Leadership Abroad (COLEAD) was formed under AFSA leadership to support continued American engagement in the world and counter perceived isolationism. More than 20 non-governmental organizations met several times throughout the year for debate and to hear speakers, such as AID Administrator Brian Atwood. COLEAD's influence with the president was cited in *The Washington Post* as a factor in the defeat of the administration's proposal to merge the foreign affairs agencies.

Conferences

AFSA sponsored two conferences that continued the dialogue between government and business on key international economic issues. A fall conference, "Economic Cooperation in the Asia/Pacific Area," included State Department speakers Joan Spero and Winston Lord, as well as C. Fred Bergsten, director of the Institute for International Economics, and others. Bill Reusch, under secretary for export administration at

Commerce, was the keynote speaker for the March symposium, "Sanctions and Trade Controls."

AFSA held four professional seminars on "Organizing the Nation's Foreign Operations in the 21st Century." Several meetings were held on decision-making processes involved with Bosnia policy.

Diplomats Online

AFSA adopted DOL as an activity for promoting understanding of the complexities of international relations through online dialogues among Foreign Service people, teachers and students, and rank-and-file citizens. A part of the million-member America Online, DOL is the only online forum for grassroots interaction with diplomats on foreign affairs. DOL was awarded a two-year \$200,000 challenge grant by the U.S.-Japan Foundation.

International Associates

Our 45 corporate affiliates pursued an ongoing dialogue between the Foreign Service and the U.S. international-business community through off-the-record lunches with State Department officials Winston Lord, Alexander Watson and Paul Cleveland, Ambassadors Thomas Pickering and Princeton Lyman, and FCS Director Charles Ford. Many International Associates provided critical underwriting for the business conference program.

Minority Interns

AFSA in 1994 sponsored two summer interns in State and one fall-semester intern in AID as part of our effort to provide opportunities for minority students to become familiar with the foreign affairs agencies. AFSA also expanded its minority mentoring program, offering to arrange mentors, from among our retired members, for several dozen additional minority students who have had internships in State, AID and USIA. The Thursday Luncheon Group and AFSA hosted a successful intern fund-raiser at the AFSA Club.

Scholarships

The biggest scholarship news in 1994 was the establishment of a new Art Merit Award and the increase of the 1995 Merit Awards to \$1,000 from the long-established \$750. The Scholarship Office worked on many other procedures to streamline the scholarship process and to make more financial information available to scholarship applicants. The scholarship manual and

brochure were revised, a new scholarship database installed and a new FUNDamentals newsletter produced to keep donors informed about scholarship developments. A thorough review of AFSA's investment policy relating to the scholarship endowment also was conducted by the Finance and Education Committee.

World Issues Forum

In its second full year, AFSA's Speakers Bureau arranged for Foreign Service alumni to address over 75 diverse groups around the country. Audiences ranged from World Affairs Councils and universities to local community service organizations and high schools. AFSA speakers stressed the need for a strong Foreign Service to maintain active U.S. international engagement and leadership.

— *Theresa Auricchio, scholarships; John Harter, conferences; Gil Kulick, outreach; Dick Thompson, professional issues.*

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

In 1994, the *Journal* won a Gold Award for "most improved" magazine from the Washington Edpress Association for editorial quality and design. The *Journal's* redesign, which premiered with the June issue, included a new editorial focus, with enhanced columns, departments and more timely articles. At this time the editorial staff was reorganized and all computer layout functions were moved in-house. New advertising supplements to increase advertising revenue were planned by the advertising and circulation manager, as well as circulation and newsstand drives.

— *Karen Krebsbach, editor; Nancy Johnson, managing editor; Liz Allan, assistant editor; Janet Emery, advertising & circulation manager.*

RETIREE PROGRAMS

In 1994, growing numbers of alumni participated in AFSA's World Issues Forum, minority mentoring program and Diplomats Online. A Legislative Alert Network for retirees was developed with the help of AFSA's new membership database. AFSA retirees were instrumental in organizing an eight-session program on diplomacy for the Smithsonian "Campus on the Mall" series, which drew some 260 participants — a full house.

Retiree associations in Texas and Northern Virginia were established. AFSA arranged speakers for groups in these states and in Arizona,

"AFSA, now 400 strong at USIA, needs to stay on top of a deepening stream of issues that the agency will face over the next several years — a shrinking budget, continuing personnel cuts, the reinvention conundrum and call for increased diversity."

— Raz Bazala, USIA Vice President, July 1994

Florida, New England and New York, and strengthened coordination with the National Association of Retired Federal Employees (NARFE) and with alumni associations of FAS, FCS and USIA. In a new program, retiring career ambassadors Herman Cohen, Deane Hinton, and Terence Todman were each honored at "roast and boast" luncheons hosted by AFSA.

The Retiree Department continued to publish the bi-monthly Retiree Newsletter and contributed to the "Retirees Corner" in State Magazine. 1994 marked the first full year of the retiree 1-800-704-2372 number, which has permitted improved communications with and service to retired members around the country.

— Ward Thompson, retiree liaison

DEVELOPMENT

The year-end appeal in December 1993 and January 1994 raised more than \$23,000 for the Scholarship Endowment. The AFSA Fund/Scholarship Fund appeal in March 1994 raised \$24,211 for the Scholarship Fund and \$11,491 for the AFSA Fund. The Legislative Action Fund Drive in September 1994 was the most successful drive to date and raised over \$60,000.

In 1994 World Issues Forum grants were renewed by the Marpat and Delavan Foundations. Diplomats Online received a two-year \$200,000 grant from the U.S. - Japan Foundation, depending on matching funds from other sources; additional proposals are pending with the Cimd Foundation and NYNEX. The Development Office also raised money to fund the *Foreign Service Journal's* 75th anniversary party and worked to support COLEAD. For the first time a biannual newsletter, FUNDamentals, was published to keep Legislative Action Fund, Scholarship and AFSA Fund donors informed and to acknowledge their most important donations.

Three student internships, two at the Department of State and one at AID, were supported by AFSA with funds from the Charles del

Mar Foundation, Development Alternatives, Inc. and Louis Berger International, Inc.

— Lori Dec, director of development

ADMINISTRATION & FINANCE

AFSA's financial position remained healthy in 1994. The audited financial statements will be completed and published in April 1995. AFSA paid off the balance of a mortgage on the headquarters building. A \$150,000, 48-month loan was taken out for capital improvements to technically update our work environment and to renovate headquarters' second- and third-floor office space to maximize space utilization. AFSA installed a computer network, purchased several workstations, accounting software and a new membership database system to meet the needs of AFSA's expanding membership. Equipment and software were also purchased to allow the design and layout of the *Foreign Service Journal* and other AFSA publications to be done in-house at substantial savings. AFSA opened a fourth office in SA-1, Room 913, which houses AFSA grievance counselors.

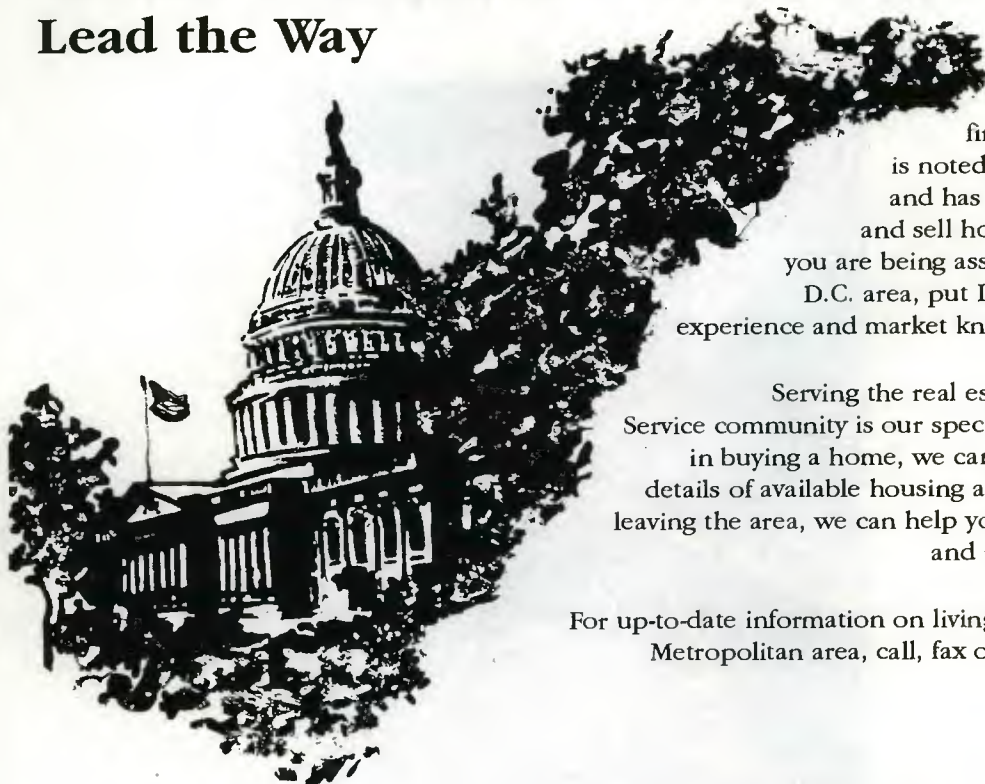
The Foreign Service Club saw a slight financial improvement in 1994 under the management of HMC. The Governing Board nearly voted to close the club due to the continued losses. However, HMC Management Company came forward with a workable plan to reduce losses in 1995. AFSA will monitor the club's progress and is hopeful that the Foreign Service Club can continue to serve the membership.

In 1994 seven new staff joined AFSA: Kara H. Ebert, controller, Leslie Lehman, executive assistant, Joany Smedley, grievance attorney, Janet Emery, advertising & circulation manager, Carol Lutz, labor management representative, Eunice Blau, administrative assistant, and Monica Riva, law clerk.

— Susan Reardon, executive director; Kara Harmon Ebert, controller; Sheree Beane, general ledger accountant; Dianna Dunbrack, administrative manager; Eunice Blau, administrative assistant. ■

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CHUGGING UP THE ONRAMP OF THE INFO INTERSTATE



ROBERT BURGER

WILL 'VIRTUAL' EMBASSIES REPLACE TRADITIONAL ONES ON ROAD OF TECHNOLOGY?

By JIM ANDERSON

Former Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban has found a letter in the U.S. Archives written by President Thomas Jefferson to his secretary of state, James Madison, which reads: "We have not heard from our ambassador in Paris for two years. If we do not hear from him by the end of this year, let us write him a letter."

Since those innocent days of sailing ship communication, the business of diplomacy can be divided into several eras, all defined by technology: the advent of radio, telegraph and telephone, which linked overseas missions to Washington; the invention of the jet engine, which made it easier for leaders and diplomats to conduct face-to-face negotiations; and the simultaneous arrival of communications satellites and computers, binding the entire world-wide diplomatic appa-

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The consequences of information technology have led to a rethinking of what the State Department and the Foreign Service are and what their form and purpose should be.

ratus into a real-time web that is as accessible as the screen of the nearest personal computer.

Of those changes, the last — now in its early bloom — may have the most profound impact on the management of foreign policy and the shape of the Foreign Service.

Some of those changes are already occurring, including fewer layers of bureaucracy, but the pace will accelerate as the revolution spreads:

■ Decision-making and management will become more democratic, with teamwork and consensus increasingly replacing the rigid hierarchy.

■ Although the personal contacts and nuances gleaned from face-to-face diplomacy will continue to be critical to the diplomatic agenda, traditional reporting will be less important than the ability to analyze available information quickly.

■ Secret, classified information will be less important since so much information will be available at the touch of a few keys.

■ Fewer people will be employed in the foreign affairs community and they will have different skills, training and abilities than those of today's Foreign Service.

■ As communications become mostly electronic and ephemeral, fewer supporting paper trails will be available for future historians and policy-makers to learn from.

There are already signs that the classic management system of the State Department and embassies has begun to flatten and widen, bringing in more people earlier in the policy-making process. This represents a seismic change in the most tradition-bound of the government services.

Noted Under Secretary of State for Management Richard Moose, "I don't think we have begun to understand and haven't thought nearly enough about the implications of technology on our management style. The State Department has clung to a rigid, hierarchical style

longer than many other organizations. ... We're still in some ways trying to beat fast news (on television). We're going to have to give that up and focus on trying to get our analysis in a much faster time frame."

As a byproduct of that change, the conventionally trained manager — the ambassador or senior official in charge — may find himself preempted by the broadening of the decision-making pyramid. More lower-ranking officials will tend to establish *de facto* policy through consensus via their interconnecting computers.

Also, there will be fewer managers. The European and Canadian Affairs Bureau (EUR) has already eliminated the layer of officers between the desk officers and the assistant secretary. Now the lowly desk officers deal directly with Assistant Secretary Richard Holbrooke.

Specialized analysts — whether in economics or politics — may be initially aided by machines efficient at gathering and analyzing certain kinds of data. But some diplomats fear the next step may be the replacing of these analysts by technology's next generation of sophisticated machines and software.

"Increasingly, we are into ranges of subject matter which are largely unclassified," observed Moose. "The players are new and you've got more information available from open sources, so the question is: Can we more efficiently gather it through information technology? I am not talking about abolishing reporting and replacing it with computers. I am talking about where we put our energy — into a higher level of analysis, a broadened scope of coverage. We may need less primary reporting on the internal party politics of Country X. We need to know much more about the role of labor and trade in relationship to GATT or some international agreement."

These consequences have led to a thorough rethinking of what the State Department is and what its form and purpose should be. Secretary of State Warren Christopher is asking managers to develop a new premise for U.S. missions abroad that involves, among other things, abandoning the notion that an embassy is an extension of the State Department.

Jim Anderson, formerly with UPI, is a correspondent for DPA, the German Press Agency. He has covered the State Department for 26 years.

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Under the new thinking, the embassy's primary purpose would be to create a platform, supporting the work of all the agencies involved in foreign affairs, including Defense, Treasury, Commerce, the Drug Enforcement Agency, the CIA and the FBI. A chief of mission's success would be judged on how well the interlocking team worked. "For too long we have clung to the notion that the embassy belonged to the State Department and we have concentrated on reinforcing the primacy of the ambassador in that situation," observed Moose. "The other agencies, if they were permitted to be there, were meant to be satellites at the sufferance of the ambassador.

"We'll also have to improve the connections between the agencies. Our e-mail system doesn't connect with the NSC or the Pentagon. I want to predicate our investment over the next few years into a messaging system which will be used throughout the national security community so the links would be much easier than they are today.

"One of the things that this revolution means is that we're going to have to improve our ability to work in teams and across organizational lines. In the old days, when I came to the department, problems could be handled very well within the geographic bureau."

If there is a technical symbol of the coming events, it would be the eventual and inevitable abandonment of the massive main-frame Wang computers, those dinosaurs still humming away in the bowels of the State Department. They represent the supremacy of the present central hierarchy.

Replacing them will be a web of wires connecting hundreds of desktop or laptop computers in a series of local area networks (LANs). Communication within the LAN is easy and instantaneous and soon the State Department will become a global LAN. In the next step, a more universal communication system would allow access to the outside world as well, mostly likely through the global Internet system.

John Clark, a deputy assistant secretary in Information Management (IM) at the State Department, foresees that the traditional ambassador who signed cables at the end of the day will soon be an anachronism. The new-style ambassador will be faced with a series of *faits accomplis*, policies or decisions hammered out by his computer-connected staff. The only way to temporarily regain control would be governing by veto and nullifying

the work of his staff members.

Not only will the new system become more democratic, it will be more open. The "value added" by State professionals will be in how they analyze available information, not in the secrets they're privy to. For example, diplomatic demarches could be informally bounced off everybody concerned, including the other government, to gauge the response. The informal sounding would shape the wording of the final diplomatic note actually sent.

Some diplomats are already reaching out through their computers. For example, the UK desk officer, planning a London trip, might ask his contact at the Foreign Office via e-mail if he would be available for dinner. The dinner would be set up and the issue to be discussed mentioned, as well.

"In other words, the informality of the exchanges makes possible a much larger community of people to consult in ways that we never considered, in ways that were technically impossible a few months ago," Clark says.

Clark described the technique used by John Negroponte, U.S. ambassador to the Philippines, as one way of maintaining control during the technological shift. "John's constantly involved in everything," he said. His control device is a daily "marathon meeting," in which every embassy officer describes his current projects. "If the ambassador hears something is going on, he says to the guy — DEA or whatever — 'I'll call the minister and help you solve the problem.' Then John's in on the project. He doesn't control in the [hierarchical] way ambassadors used to control everything. He controls it because of his prestige and know-how with local government."

"Rapid communication is a major new dimension to the problem," said Moose. "Time is so compressed, it makes things more complex. The way that the ambassador deals with it has to be the way good ambassadors have always dealt with it, which is to build mutually reinforcing relationships within the mission. If the ambassador can't establish his or her position based on mutual respect and teamwork, then there are going to be all sorts of things going wrong."

Modern ambassadors are faced with an embassy staff that may involve, directly or indirectly, 55 government agencies. They communicate with Washington, the host government and other embassies, all of whom are also

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communicating freely with one another. The neat little former world of everybody communicating through the ambassador, or at least informing him of everything, is technologically inefficient — and thus doomed.

The State Department's e-mail system, which now has about 13,000 users, virtually 100 percent of the department, is expected to soon be accessible to the National Security Council and the Pentagon, as well as the other foreign affairs agencies. The Foreign Agricultural Service (FAS) and the U.S. & Foreign Commercial Service (US&FCS) both have e-mail communication with their overseas staffs.

Moose said he believes the embassy of the future will "inevitably have fewer people. Budgetary pressures are pushing that way and information technology will make it possible to operate missions with fewer people."

Nobody ever said democracy was neat; that holds true for the technological version, as well. There is a lot of random activity but even trivial chatter on a screen can develop into something, if only a better understanding of

the other members of the chattering class. And it's becoming even more complex.

What's next for the practice of diplomacy in the technological age of the 21st century? *Wired*, a magazine for the new information age, has coined a term — teleplomacy — for it.

The article written by Ross Stapleton-Gray, a former CIA employee, proposes an even more radical change, calling for the State Department to create a "virtual embassy" that would bring foreign policy into the Information Age. If everybody were connected to the same worldwide data base and communication system, there would be no technical need for a large embassy abroad. The work could be done, at lower cost and less hazard, by people sitting at their desks in the State Department. Presumably an ambassador would still be needed overseas to attend National Day parades, but he would require only a skeleton staff. The rest of the work could be done by staffers on their computers at State.



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To take it a step further, if effective communications are unrelated to the location of the user, why have FSOs sitting in expensive, traffic-jammed Washington, D.C.? Why not move the staff to South Dakota, as some credit card companies have done with their employees?

In response to this scenario, many foreign affairs professionals argue that technology could never replace the face-to-face contact critical to the practice of diplomacy.

The State Department is far from being on the cutting edge of the technology revolution, but the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) is a generation ahead of State in catching the technology wave.

Its Information Bureau, the I Bureau, can be considered a futuristic laboratory. Here, teamwork rather than a rigid hierarchical structure is the result of technological change and personnel cuts. There used to be four persons for every supervisor; now there are 11 people per supervisor, meaning fewer layers of clearance and supervision. "We're saying, 'We trust you to make more decisions than we used to,'" says the head of the bureau,

Robert "Barry" Fulton, a Foreign Service officer who recognizes that asking fewer people to do more can be stressful. But he believes the product has improved, with a few glitches, now that more people are taking direct responsibility for their own work. In addition, everyone at USIA is connected via e-mail.

He believes that there is so much reporting and interpretation available in the mass media and accessible via computer networks that USIA shouldn't add to the clutter by doing its own reporting. So that function is expected to disappear, although Voice of America's reports will continue to be available via computer and short-wave radio around the world.

The information revolution has forced USIA into somewhat of an identity crisis — to the distress of some professionally trained journalists in the organization. "We aren't a news medium," said Fulton. "We don't have the time or the money to do that." He summarizes the computerized future of USIA in two words: context and connectivity. USIA must supply the background of events and policies



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and explain to the public how all the available bits of information can be brought together in a meaningful way.

Russ Linden, a State management consultant that is helping State usher in the new technology, calls it "mass customization," and compares it to the process of a Chevrolet plant responding to market demand by daily turning out thousands of cars, each slightly different in terms of color, accessories and model.

"Narrowcasting" is how Fulton describes that process in terms of the future of USIA, aiming at a huge mass audience but allowing them to be more selective in choosing only what they need or want.

USIA had a head start in technology by working with television, a digital glutton that requires millions of bits of information to transmit the simplest images. The agency has cleverly shoehorned one of its basic products, the venerable Wireless File, onto the outer margins of the TV satellite transmission, a hitchhiker on the information superhighway. The File, which used to take three to four hours to transmit by shortwave teletype, now goes world-

wide via satellites in the burst of a few minutes, arriving overseas in a form that can be produced almost instantly into a slick-looking desktop-published version.

In the dissemination of information, both USIA and the State Department are now using CD-ROMs, compact disks that can be read by machines but not altered. In the simpler verbal version, now used by State's Bureau of Public Affairs to provide information to the public, three years of transcripts, speeches and other documents fit onto a single 4 1/2-inch disk. The disks, when mass-produced, cost the U.S. government somewhere between 50 cents and \$1 each.

Some USIA posts overseas have moved 100 percent into the Information Age, regularly using electronic bulletin boards via Internet, e-mail and auto-dial faxes to deliver policy material to influential policy-makers.

USIA is examining the next step — interactive CDs that can respond to questions or requests by the viewer, just as the new computer games like "Myst." In the USIA CD, prospective foreign students thinking about attending American universities would get a glimpse of U.S.



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campuses and fashion styles and would be able to get responses to specific questions directly from CDs. This translates into a need for fewer USIA employees.

The Agency for International Development (AID), according to Deputy Assistant Administrator for Management Phyllis Dichter-Forbes, is "light years" ahead of State in accessing new technology and changing the corporate culture to suit it.

"The information revolution is an enabler, as we see it," she said. "The goal is to take the start-up time for an AID project from the current 27 months to six months and to make the agency more responsive to its customers' needs. But, you cannot focus on your customer without empowering your staff."

Empowerment, typically working within an egalitarian team, has revolutionary implications for a hierarchical system. Managers will no longer be able to make arbitrary decisions about stopping or starting programs, because the basic information is available to all staff on their computer screens.

The information superhighway has allowed AID to solicit contractors, via the Internet, for various projects.

Prompted by a National Performance Review recommendation to open the contract process to a wider audience, the electronic search saves the contractor time and AID the expense of mailing reams of paper to potential workers.

E-mail connects all AID employees in Washington with each other and all overseas missions.

Most people find it a huge time-saver. David Johnson, a deputy spokesman for the State Department, who says he can have up to 80 e-mail messages daily on his desk-top computer, says he can deal with three computer messages — occasionally with one word — in the time it normally takes him to make one telephone call. E-mail is not about to disappear because of the lack of literary qualities. As Moose noted, "It used to be that nothing was more appreciated in the Foreign Service than the finely turned phrase. Now it's going to be increasingly how resourceful the officer is in knowing where to pull together the information."

David Oot, director of health and nutrition at AID, agrees e-mail has its uses. "If I go to a three-hour meet-

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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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ing, I'll have 50 to 60 e-mails when I get back. It's a mixed bag. It's an efficient way of communication, but there needs to be greater discipline on how it's used. The down side is the loss of person-to-person contact."

And, there's another down side: security. When Jim Casey, of State's Information Management Bureau and a long-time communications specialist, first joined the State Department in the 1960s, a secure telephone involved a huge box the size of an average desk.

In his file drawer sets a normal-looking push-button telephone, which is secure. "Now we're down to this. ... We now have people travelling with the secretary of state, carrying a little case with a little parabolic antenna and it's secure. We can do anything we put our minds to," Casey says.

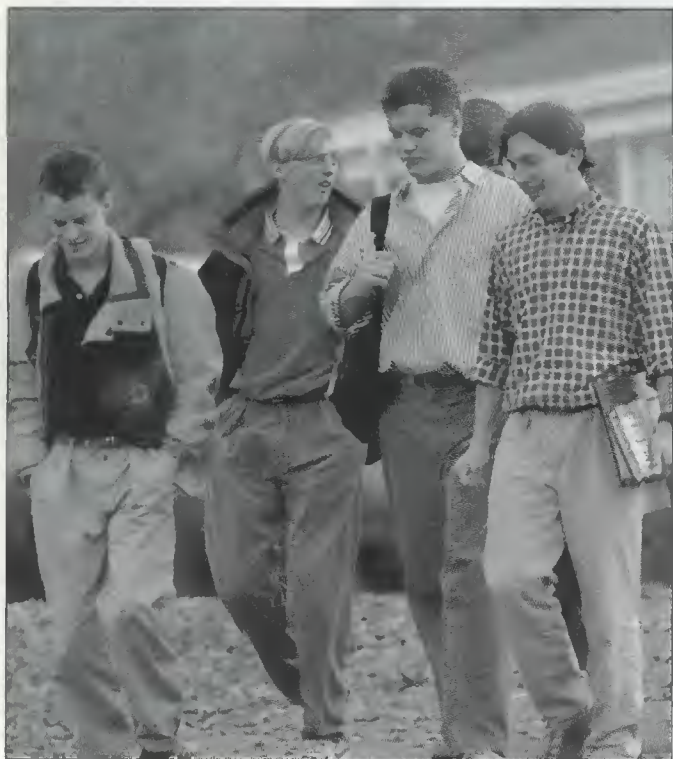
While the traditional telegram system is still used to send classified data, much unclassified information is sent via the Internet, which officials agree poses security problems.

"Being connected to everyone else via a modem inside the computer also means that outsiders can be connected to wherever and whatever else the computer is also linked,"

points out Patricia Fisher, president of Janus Associates, a computer security firm in Stamford, Conn., which handles many government contracts. "If a PC is used to connect to the Internet which can be connected with another PC containing confidential data, it's possible for hackers to also be connected to the same confidential information — straight through the computer via its network connection."

Barry Goldberg, director of AID's Information Resources Management, said security is a big issue for the foreign affairs agencies. "We are very aware and concerned with computer security issues," he said. "All computers have virus protection software and we have firewalls between our e-mail system and Internet. But we need to do more."

Technically, more will be possible in the future. The unresolved issue is how the real world of managing national security policy can be adapted to deal with the cyber-revolution, and how to prevent the traditional hierarchy from being transformed into a computerized kind of anarchy that would badly serve the nation and its embassy personnel. ■



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ROBERT BURGER

WORLDWIDE COMPUTER WEB BRINGS FOREIGN AFFAIRS DIRECTLY TO THE HOME PC

By DAN KUBISKE

Internet has helped bring international affairs to Main Street. For the average American with a home computer, foreign affairs is no longer only for academia and Washington bureaucrats. By using PCs to retrieve U.S. foreign policy documents from government agencies and to chat on the hundreds of international affairs bulletin boards, Net surfers are making foreign policy more a part of daily life for the average American than ever before in U.S. history.

The Internet, created in 1969 as an experimental network by the Department of Defense and the National Science Foundation to facilitate rapid data exchange between military and educational research sites, was originally called

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By using PCs to retrieve U.S. foreign policy documents from agencies and to chat on international affairs bulletin boards, Net surfers are making foreign policy a part of daily life.

ARPANET (Advanced Research Projects Agency Network). Some 50 universities and military sites were linked in 1972. Renamed the Internet in the 1980s, today it has grown to a worldwide web of computer users of more than 30 million. And their numbers are growing daily.

With a few keystrokes, computer users around the world can retrieve a travel advisory on Morocco from the State Department, debate President Clinton's bailout of Mexico with Mexican university students, or fire off a letter to Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) on foreign aid.

"The Internet is like talk radio," says Louis Goodman, dean of the School of International Service at The American University in Washington, D.C. "It is challenging our democracy and making more people engaged with (foreign affairs) issues."

Participation in the Internet has grown most rapidly in the last year, as the price of home computers and modems has dropped and their power and speed have increased. In addition, new communications software packages have eliminated much of the hard work formerly associated with going on-line.

There's no doubt that the Internet allows Americans greater access to their government. "We have to be concerned about our relevance," noted State's Under Secretary of State for Management Richard Moose in a recent interview. "Are we seen as relevant by the taxpayer and the public and the Congress, relevant to the issues they are interested in?"

Since Internet access can occur any number of ways, understanding the network of fee-based computer servers provides a certain sense of order in the cyberspace chaos. To enter Internet, most people open a credit card account with the provider; the largest and most user-friendly are CompuServe (2.5 million users), Prodigy (1.7 million users) and America Online (1.2 million users). These companies also offer thousands of databases and discussion groups restricted to their own

members. Other servers, such as Delphi, MCI Mail, AT&T and AppleTalk, offer more direct Internet connections.

Service providers have a variety of plans that range from a flat fee for unlimited access to monthly charges that allow a certain number of hours of access. Most charge a per-hour fee for certain items, such as discussion forums or government documents. Since calls are made to local phone numbers, it's possible for a CompuServe member in Washington, D.C., to send a letter to a friend in Hong Kong with the sender and receiver spending no more than the monthly connection charge. Due to direct access hooked up years ago, most U.S. universities and government agencies have free Internet access.

For researchers and news buffs, each server offers literally thousands of read-only databases for those interested in foreign affairs, ranging from wire services with up-to-the-minute news (Reuters, United Press International, the Associated Press) to the latest issue of *Foreign Policy*, *The New Republic* or *U.S. News & World Report* or a recently released government document. Magazine databases carry an additional charge from the server.

Colleen Elliott, office director for the State Department's Office of Public Communications in the Public Affairs Bureau, says her office has one mission, and one mission only: to talk to the public. These days, via a gopher, her office electronically mails transcripts of official U.S. foreign policy texts, daily press briefings, senior officials' speeches and testimonies, and country background reports to those who request them.

The bureau uses the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) as the Internet entry point or "gopher." UIC librarian John Shuler runs the Department of State Foreign Affairs Network (DOSFAN), an ambitious cooperative effort between State and UIC. He receives, collects, posts and electronically mails material from Chicago to anyone who asks for it — all for the price of a telephone

Dan Kubiske is a freelance writer in Northern Virginia.

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call. "Going on line is what reinventing government is all about," said Shuler. Also available from the State Department is "U.S. Foreign Affairs" on CD-Rom (USFAC), a foreign policy library at your fingertips for only \$80 annually (\$100 for foreign orders) in quarterly updates, which offers more than 4,000 documents from 1990 through September 1994.

Both the Agency for International Development (AID) and the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) run their own Internet connections. USIA provides lists of U.S. Information Service (USIS) activities planned in Zagreb, Buenos Aires or Singapore. The USIS Wireless File, a daily briefing of news events around the world, will now be available to more than just diplomatic personnel. USIS also plans daily updates, rather than just one report at the end of the day. Jim McGregor, chief of USIA's Information Resource Center, says by having "99.9 percent" of USIS material on-line, officers in the field can provide details more quickly to overseas contacts. Although Americans can log onto the daily file, USIS is not legally allowed to adver-

tise its wares inside the United States. The Voice of America (VOA), like USIA, has a mandate to only disseminate material overseas, but Internet users can pull down transcripts of VOA broadcasts and its daily reports for the print media.

The United Nations and the World Bank each run their own sites, as do the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the World Health Organization, the International Telecommunications Union, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, the Global Democracy Network and many more.

The U.S. government's move into cyberspace, while strongly promoted by the Clinton administration and the new GOP leadership in the House of Representatives, actually began more than a decade ago.

The Departments of Commerce and Agriculture made many regular reports available on rudimentary electronic bulletin boards accessible through telephone tape record-

Continued on page 44

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From: XXXXX@mail.sas.upenn.edu
Newsgroups: talk.politics.mideast
Subject: Yet ANOTHER Bomb!
Date: 22 Jan 1995 19:03:18 GMT
Organization: University of Pennsylvania

Well, I was just reading "claris.world.briefs" to see what was going on in the world, and lo and behold, there was another suicide bomb attack by Islamic Jihad (or so they claim). Since they are based in Damascus, it seems that all the negotiations with the Syrians are based on falsehood and should therefore be suspended until they give these people up to Israel or at least to an international court of some kind. Syria seems to have only one thing in mind, and it doesn't look like peace, but a 'piece' of land, the Golan. It also sets back the Palestinian talks back a good bit, and certainly doesn't improve their Jerusalem status.

From: XXXXX@american.edu
Newsgroups: talk.politics.mideast
Subject: Re: Yet ANOTHER Bomb!
Date: 23 Jan 95 13:19:37 EST
Organization: The American University

I understand from a news report that at least one of the suicide bombers came from Gaza. A public apology from Arafat is nice, but what is he doing to curtail the activities of terrorists in Palestinian controlled territory? In my view, precious little. What can be done? Halt the peace negotiations until Arafat and the PLO clean up their act.

From: XXXXX@carbon.cudenver.edu
Newsgroups: talk.politics.mideast
Subject: Re: Yet ANOTHER Bomb!
Date: 23 Jan 1995 21:36:49 GMT
Organization: University of Colorado at Denver

Even before there were "peace negotiations," the PLO was held accountable and pressured by Israel to make sweeping condemnations on the 'actions' of Hamas and other Islamic-based groups. What good is it? Talk is cheap. It accomplishes nothing and it is obvious that the percentage of people on both sides who are sincere about peace is minimal and decreasing by the day.

When Arabs/Muslims kill Israelis, all Jews/Zionists condemn every Arab and continue to denounce collective peace with Arabs. When Israelis/Zionists kill Arabs/Muslims, all Jews/Zionists try to placate the Arabs with words of, 'He was insane,' or 'He doesn't

represent the average Israeli sentiment.'

From: XXXXX@garnet.berkeley.edu
Newsgroups: talk.politics.mideast
Subject: Re: Yet ANOTHER Bomb!
Date: 24 Jan 1995 12:48:06 GMT
Organization: Philosophers of the Dangerous Maybe

This is completely untrue. You will find that while there are a few Jews/Zionists who seem to think that all Arabs or Muslims should be condemned, the majority recognize that it is the perpetrators themselves who need to be brought to justice, and that most Jews/Zionists believe the ultimate goal still needs to be a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab/Muslim world.

"Life is a blur of Republicans and meat." — Zippy

From: XXXXX@liszt.eecs.berkeley.edu
Newsgroups: talk.politics.mideast
Subject: Re: Yet ANOTHER Bomb!
Date: 24 Jan 1995 20:23:27 GMT
Organization: University of California, Berkeley

It's funny that you imply that sealing of the territories contradicts the notion of Palestinian autonomy. Do you mean that Palestinians cannot be autonomous without being stitched into Israeli society?

It would be nice if the Israelis and Palestinians could cohabit peacefully, but that doesn't seem possible. So closing off the territories may be a collective action against the Palestinians but the peace process has a better chance of surviving if Israel can slow down the terrorist attacks.

The opinions expressed here are my own and those of anyone who agrees with me.

From: XXXXX@iii.net
Newsgroups: talk.politics.mideast
Subject: Re: Yet ANOTHER Bomb!
Date: 24 Jan 1995 22:24:54 -0500
Organization: intuitive information, Inc.

I don't think Arafat and the PLO have anything with suicide bombings in Israel. They'd love to stop it, but they can't. Their strategy has been to, under the guise of a peace process, establish an Arab state in the West Bank and Gaza and to use it to conduct a low-intensity guerilla warfare against Israel. It's not Arafat's fault that Palestinian Arabs are so overflowing with hate that they can't control their genocidal urges. Are they serious about peace or is it all lip service? ■

F O C U S

Continued from page 42

ings. Reports and studies generated by the Foreign Agricultural Service (FAS) and the Foreign Commercial Service (FCS) also found their way to these bulletin boards at a time when the State Department and USIA were still using couriers to send information between agencies.

In October, the White House announced its World Wide Web (WWW) hypertext site, which provides users access to a wide range of presidential documents and government agency libraries and can take visitors on a virtual tour of the White House. Compuserve and America Online offer templates to send electronic mail to the White House and Congress.

Earlier last year, a World Wide Web site was opened for the Library of Congress, nicknamed "Thomas" after the library's founder, Thomas Jefferson. The WWW sites provide the added dimension of video, which allows users to see pictures as well as words.

Global bulletin boards, where users can post comments, and chat rooms, where they can converse on a

wide variety of topics, are the hottest communication methods available today, allowing anyone with a modem and Internet access to pin a note — and read others' notes.

"I'd say in three forums [where I participate], at least 3,000 people a week read and download files about foreign affairs," said Georgia Griffith, the system manager of Compuserve's "Political Debate." She estimates these users represent 20 to 25 percent of weekly forum visitors.

Earle Robinson, manager of the Compuserve's "European Forum," says his group has 300-400 active members out of 15,000 who have registered with him. His members discuss everything from travel tips to business opportunities to political and social issues.

American University's Goodman predicts that the Internet is only the beginning of an information and telecommunications revolution that will change many people's lives. "CNN's 24-hour news coverage allows viewers to witness world events first hand, but the Internet makes those events more personal. We won't

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F O C U S

see a sea-change," he predicts. He believes that gradually people will learn more about the world and "make adjustments in their lives. ... It's human nature for people to act on knowledge they receive."

The American Foreign Service Association (AFSA) is represented on-line at AOL's "Diplomats On Line," (DOL) which provides a glimpse at the working world of the career diplomat for students of current events, geography and history. The program is intended to allow Foreign Service officers and specialists, both retired and active duty, in the United States and abroad, to share their expertise with teachers and students at U.S. elementary and secondary schools. DOL also offers about 100 bulletin boards and interactive conference sites on topics ranging from NAFTA to Kashmir.

Games, such as Compuserve's "Diplomacy," are also available on the Net. Based on the 37-year-old board game from Avon Hill, up to 37 Internet players play the game even though they can't see their opponents' faces — as is often the case in real diplomatic maneuvering. The goal remains the same: to outwit your opponents —

each head of a different European nation — and conquer Europe through diplomacy.

Linguaphiles can get help in writing and reading foreign languages — including correction of grammar, spelling and word usage — through a variety of language groups, including one offered by the University of Massachusetts at Amherst "International House" of America Online, which allows students of Chinese to practice pinyin and download a sample version of a program for writing Chinese characters.

Dozens of books are available with the addresses and Internet locations of popular sites. In December, *Congressional Quarterly* published a directory of free electronic bulletin boards in the Washington, D.C. area, *How to Access the Government's Electronic Bulletin Boards* by Bruce Maxwell (\$19.95 in paperback), which serves as a guide to the more than 200 electronic bulletin boards. A companion guide to government sources on the Internet will be available in May.

Happy cyber-surfing. ■

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ROBERT BUNGER

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I'M NOT CYBERPHOBIC,
JUST REALLY TERRIFIED
OF COMPUTER CRASHES

By *STEPHEN B. MORISSEAU*

Monday morning. Another week representing my country as a member of the foreign affairs community. I love Mondays. Start the computer, pour some coffee. Bleep, whir, click — stop. What's wrong? "Non-system disk in drive A. Please remove and hit any key." Right, reboot, starting fine. Another sip of coffee. Check my voice mail: three hang-ups, two fax machines and one automated sales call — normal weekend traffic. Check my e-mail. 247 messages! What the heck? I guess I signed up to a few too many Internet listservers.

Another sip of coffee. OK, now I'll look at the daily in-house newsfile. Should be in the S drive, INFO directory, but on which server? I'll try this one. Nope. Maybe that one. No again. "Warning. You have exceeded the limit of grace connec-

F O C U S

*It's easy to think of technology as something that happens
to you like the flu, rather than something you can
use to do your job better.*

tion attempts. Possible security violation." What? All I want is the newsfile! This was easier when it was on paper. Well, that can wait. I still need to fax that memo for approval. Let's see, I'll start WordPerfect. This update sure takes a long time to load. I wonder when we will get upgraded personal computers? Next, printer-fax server. Recipient, fax number, ready, send. Great, at least that worked.

More coffee. Ding! "Warning. Application has violated system integrity. Close all applications and restart computer." ^\$#&^%\$&^#! I'll never get anything done today. Start over, reboot, search for quotes on diplomacy and technology. Here's one: "Once the Xerox copier was invented, diplomacy died," according to Andrew Young, the former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. That seems a little extreme. We couldn't get along without copiers, or fax machines, or voice mail or even PCs these days. Some people just don't seem to get the concept of the information superhighway automation movement. With just a little patience, however, I think ... Ding! "The system has become unstable. System crash imminent. Save all data." Not again.

I thought all this technology would make diplomacy easier. Maybe Andrew Young was right. Maybe for foreign affairs practitioners like me, the true enemy is not across the bargaining table or in some foreign capital, but rather in our ergonomic workspaces, quietly beeping and whirring while it saps the very purpose from our being. Maybe the personal computer is but the latest in a long line of technological innovations foisted upon us by do-gooding, uncomprehending managers, trying to "help" us, but who, in reality, want only to control that which they cannot understand. Maybe Internetworking, information highways, databases and electronic mail are just more attempts to further dilute the importance of highly skilled, well-trained Foreign Service officers as the eyes and ears of the U.S. government. Yes, that's it. They are trying to replace us with computers, reduce us to bytes in the data stream, sap our precious bodily fluids.

Stephen B. Morrisseau, a Foreign Service officer at U.S. Information Agency's Office of Technology. His Internet address is "smorrisse@usia.gov."

We must resist! Smash the computer, reformat your floppies! The time to rise against the technocracy has come!

Ctrl-Alt-Del, reboot. Too much caffeine this morning.

When you are in Ouagadougou, where the poor power supply fries your PC just as you've finished the annual Economic Trends Analysis, or even in Washington where the new PC you've needed for months arrives without a power cord, software or manuals, it's easy to think of technology as something that happens to you like the flu, rather than something you can use to do your job better. This stuff costs a lot of money and comes at us piecemeal, and we always seem to be a bit behind the curve. We had a fine Wang computer system, before someone decided we had to have individual personal computers, and then somebody else decided they had to be linked together, and then we had to get better PCs with faster chips but those chips can't do long division or something, and besides, now they are telling us that I have to shift from a PC-LAN to a superserver WAN and it will be great because it will be just like the Wang I was used to.

Even though replacing Wang mainframe and OIS systems with PC-LANs seems momentous, diplomats have been adapting to new technologies for centuries. There have been lots of technological innovations (clipper ship, undersea telegraph cable, jet engines, direct dial international calling, machine-readable visas, satellite television, fax machines) that were supposed to increase the effectiveness of American diplomacy. Each new advance has brought dire predictions of the demise of "Diplomacy As We Know It," and each has proven equally silly in hindsight. Neither the Xerox machine, the direct dial telephone, nor connecting each U.S. embassy abroad to the Internet will mean the end of diplomacy or the Foreign Service.

So grab your disks, charge your laptop batteries and wire your computer for e-mail. The information superhighway may be more of a two-lane secondary than a 10-lane interstate, and the technology juggernaut may have frequent breakdowns, but we all need to understand and to exploit both to successfully carry diplomacy into the next century.

Darn. Now what happened to that file I was just in? ■

DEATH COMES CALLING IN KENYA

AN AFRICAN MYTH HAUNTS A FAMILY
HOURS AFTER ALL SOUL'S DAY ENDS

BY BONNIE KATHRYN SCHMIEL

We've taken hundreds of pictures in our years overseas. They fill over 20 albums — overflowing records of the familiar and the foreign, the anticipated and the astounding. Occasionally they reveal an intersection of legend and life, of fable and fact that defies reason.

One such photo prompts a chain of memories of an unforgettable weekend. A 12-year-old girl, my daughter, wears a long black gown and a pointed, cone-shaped hat with a scarf trailing from its top. White makeup circles her eyes. Behind her stand other children variously dressed as hobos, punks, rock stars and princesses. It was Saturday, Oct. 31, 1987, All Souls' Day, and we were hosting a Halloween party for our children's friends in Mombasa, Kenya, where my husband was posted to the consulate.

I remember that holiday well. Earlier in the week the local hospital had called to inform the consulate that an American tourist, traveling in Africa with his wife, had suffered a heart attack

Bonnie Kathryn Schmiel, whose husband Eugene was principal officer at the consulate in Mombasa, Kenya, from 1986-88, now lives in Reykjavik, where her husband is deputy chief of mission.

and was being treated in the cardiac unit of one of Mombasa's three hospitals. My husband and I drove to the hospital to check on the man's condition and to reassure his wife, Caroline. The man's condition remained stable for two days, and when I returned to visit, I found his wife somewhat less tense. She began to make arrangements with her husband and the hospital about his eventual return to the United States. They would fly back and he would enter a hospital in Boston near their hometown in the state of Maine.

Then on Saturday at 2 a.m. the telephone on our bedside table rang. I answered with the fear such calls always elicit, and heard a woman's wavering voice. Caroline said that her husband's condition had worsened. We reassured her that we would come immediately, dressed quickly and woke our son to tell him that we were driving to the hospital. As we left, we roused our Luhya cook, Ishmael, to tell him, too, that we were leaving the house to go to the sick man's side.

We reached the hospital in 15 minutes and were greeted by the grim-faced doctor, who told us that his patient was in extremely critical condition. He expected death momentarily and was grateful that we had come to be with Caroline. We waited and walked with her, circling the atrium until the doctor came to us with the final sad news.

Leaving the hospital, we took Caroline to our house, where she rested in the guest room. My

husband began the official procedures, while I made coffee and tried to decide what to do about the children's Halloween party planned for that evening: A man had died, and his wife was now a guest in our house. Under the circumstances a party would be impossible. It would have to be canceled, I decided.

However, when Caroline awoke, she told us that, after informing her family, she wanted to return to the United States as soon as possible. We quickly made arrangements for her to get a seat on the next plane, and I drove her to Moi Airport at 4 p.m., a little more than 12 hours after her husband's death. A few hours later, she was on her way to Boston and then on to Maine.

Returning to the house, I found our son and daughter busily preparing for the Halloween party. They were attaching balloons to the pillars surrounding the veranda. With the help of the gardener, they had replaced all the white outside lights with orange and yellow bulbs, tinting the aqua blue waters of the pool an eerie green. Ishmael, who had been almost silent during the day, was frying hamburgers and frosting cupcakes with orange icing. The stereo in the living room had been pushed to the edge of the sliding glass doors and filled the patio with music.

Soon the children began arriving. The costumes were colorful and imaginative; the guests were active and excited, dancing, eating, laughing, shouting. Four fully costumed guests "fell" into the pool. The party continued until nearly midnight with the remains of partially eaten hamburgers and cupcakes scattered over the veranda and sticky drips of Coke running across the tile floor: a messy, but successful preteen party. When the last guest was gone, we collapsed in near exhaustion, having been up for nearly 24 hours.

Sunday was quiet. We picked up the last of the debris and hosed down the patio and veranda area. Then we lay back on the chaise lounges in the sun, lulled by the gentle swishing of the wind through the casuarina trees. I had gone into the house for a towel when I first noticed the murmur. As I ascended the steps to our bedroom, the faint drone became louder. Near the landing the insistent hum was clear, and as I entered our bedroom, it became an angry

buzzing, ceaselessly rising and falling in tone.

I didn't search long for the source. I saw the bees, thousands of them, filling the trough at the base of the windows; they were climbing over each other between the glass and the screening. They scaled the inside of the screens, blocking the view through the window. In the adjoining dressing area, the whirring commotion was even stronger. I looked up toward the closets; the bees were swarming in the large cupboards which connected with the crawl space under the eaves of the house. I hurriedly left the room, closing the door tightly behind me.

The furious din of insects continued throughout the afternoon and evening. We slept in the guest room that night after tucking the mosquito netting in securely around the children's mattresses.

The endless whining threw a sense of uneasiness over us all. As darkness fell, we nervously prepared to share our house with an angry presence. The next day exterminators dressed in bee-proof armor arrived to eliminate the hostile invaders.

I spoke with Ishmael that next morning and told him about the bees. Normally a cheerful man, he listened somberly to my description of Sunday's events. Then he spoke in a serious voice.

According to folklore, he said, the bees were a symbol of death. They had come to our house because of the American man's death and our connection to him. I felt a tremor pass through my body. I didn't question Ishmael or argue. The exterminators had not been able to explain the bees' sudden, unexpected presence. Nor could I.

Now years later, at another post, on another continent, with our children away at college, I look at our album and the record of rich experiences it holds. When I see the photo of our daughter in her witch's costume, I remember the man's death, the Halloween party, and the invasion of bees, separate images forever connected by myth and reality. ■

According to the folklore, the bees were a symbol of death. They had come to our house because of the American man's death and our connection to him.

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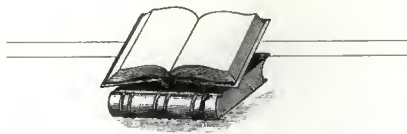
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BOOKS

IN THE THEATER OF THE ABSURD

Romania vs. the United States: Diplomacy of the Absurd, 1985- 1989

Roger Kirk and Mircea Raceanu, St. Martin's Press, 1994, \$45, hardcover, 320 pages.

BY AURELIUS FERNANDEZ

It usually takes years before diplomats from opposing sides of the negotiating table meet to draw on archives and their memories to elucidate the issues dividing them. A quarter century passed before American and Soviet diplomats in the Cuban missile crisis enlightened each other about mutual misperceptions and misunderstandings. This welcome study of US-Romanian diplomatic relations from 1985 to 1989 arrives less than half a decade after some of the events it describes. The book makes a unique contribution to the diplomatic history of the Cold War's last years.

Roger Kirk was the U.S. ambassador to Romania from November 1985 to July 1989. He left Bucharest as Nicolae Ceausescu was lurching toward inevitable demise in bloodshed as communist governments in the area collapsed from political decay. Mircea Raceanu was one of Romania's most experienced diplomats in U.S. affairs. After he was released from prison in December 1989, he moved to the United States

to write this case study with Kirk at Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy.

The authors attended virtually all the meetings described and had access to declassified State Department documents. Kirk met Ceausescu more than 20 times and gained insights into the Balkan dictator's peculiar mindset, as illustrated by the many fascinating anecdotes. In the absence of Romanian archives, the authors relied on Raceanu's vivid memories.

The book's subtitle, "Diplomacy of the Absurd," is no reflection on the diplomatic skills of the authors: They dealt with a tricky legacy. As they pointed out, "Romania was the darling of the United States among the communist Warsaw Pact members for almost 20 years, from the mid-1960's to the early 1980s. By 1989 it had sunk to last place among those countries in U.S. eyes."

The US Trade Act of 1974 and the CSCE Final Act in 1975 had opened promising vistas for U.S.-Romanian most-favored nation (MFN) status and cultural relations, but Ceausescu missed the opportunities. His ruthless trampling of human rights helped propel U.S.-Romanian relations down a slippery slope.

Romania was useful to the U.S. for years as the Warsaw Pact "maverick" condemning the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, maintaining relations with both Israel and the PLO and facilitating contact with Beijing and Hanoi. The United States

extended its hand repeatedly through high-level dialogue in Washington and Bucharest, but to no avail. Misled by political cronies headed by his wife Elena and the obsequious security service, *Securitate*, Ceausescu simply lacked reality checks. He denied his country MFN status and senselessly suppressed his economy and people to liquidate foreign debt, illustrating his ignorance of international finance.

This study may inspire other diplomats to enrich the historical record of events leading to the collapse of the Soviet-East European security system and to the end of the Cold War.

Aurelius Fernandez was counselor for public affairs in Bucharest from 1974-76. He is executive director of the International Media Fund in Washington, D.C.

WHEN THE ENVOY IS A WOMAN

Her Excellency: An Oral History of American Women Ambassadors

Ann Miller Morin, Twayne Publishers, hardcover, \$27.95 or paperback, \$16.95, 315 pages.

BY DAVID REUTHER

This is an excellently crafted book that realistically portrays professional Foreign Service life as represented

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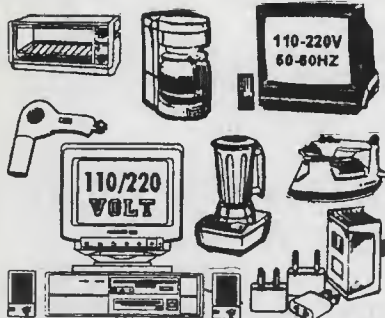
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in the experiences of its highest serving female officers. In author Morin, we have a researcher not only knowledgeable about the Foreign Service, but one who also tapped a wide range of Foreign Service colleagues of the ambassadors she profiles.

Knowing the Foreign Service *weltanschauung*, she has done an excellent job editing these oral histories, which she demonstrates work well as a complicated and nuanced research tool. Only 15 of the 34 full oral histories the author conducted are represented in this volume. The choice of a few extensive histories rather than a multitude of thin anecdotes was an excellent judgment, because the reader is exposed to careers rather than reminiscences. Morin made another excellent decision in choosing eight career women and seven non-career women, especially since both groups have different perspectives.

The first chapter is a particularly valuable essay that cogently introduces the novice to the Foreign Service's institutional history. In preparation for the following chapters, it tautly draws attention to the three main tasks of the Foreign Service professional — reportage, negotiation and representation. It also describes cones, entrance techniques, bureau loyalties, the nomination/confirmation process and otherwise summarizes the bells and whistles unique to the Foreign Service.

We first meet Constance Ray Harvey, who in 1929 became the sixth woman to become a Foreign Service officer. She is the prologue representing the years when women had difficulty joining the Foreign Service. Her clandestine reporting exploits immediately before the outbreak of World War II are recounted, as well as her wartime internment and later service in

Europe, which culminated in an assignment as consul general at Strasbourg.

The interview with Ambassador Margaret Joy Tibbetts is particularly striking for its insights on mentoring, training and anecdotes about the invaluable contributions an open mind can provide. The chapter on Ambassador Mary Seymour Olmstead includes insights on career development and an in-depth discussion of the frustrations involved in establishing a new post. Ambassador Mari-Luci Jarimillo's chapter is an excellent antidote to the "Ugly American" image of political appointees. Her international interests and style made her a particularly effective representative to Honduras.

Not only would this volume serve well as part of any academic course on public service or women's studies, but it provides valuable insights into Foreign Service survival skills for the young career officer. More than once a career-enhancing opportunity or assistance in a sticky situation came from networking. Ambassador to Suriname Nancy Ostrander noted that, hobbled by personnel shortages and bedeviled by a coup, she asked the ambassador next door, who had no shortage of alligators, for temporary duty assistance.

This volume's simple theme is, "It can be done and it has been done." In a summary last chapter, the author draws some general conclusions from the careers of the 34 ambassadors she interviewed. She notes the common personal attributes of education, energy and raw courage. Her narration makes it clear that the Foreign Service did not always make full use of women's talents.

David Reuther is a Foreign Service officer on detail to the Pentagon.

ETHNIC POLITICS ALIVE IN KENYA

Kenya: The Quest for Prosperity
Norman Miller and Rodger Yaeger,
Westview Press, 1994, \$19.95, soft-
cover, 254 pages.

BY ROY A. HARRELL JR.

Anyone specializing in sub-Saharan Africa knows all too well the need to understand and acknowledge the dynamics of ethnic politics. Until recently, American political scientists have assumed that modernization required a strong, secular state and ethnic considerations were petty annoyances. It was felt that the sooner these hindrances could be swept aside, the sooner elites and strong tribal leaders could move their societies toward nation-building and economic modernization. Now, political scientists have begun to take into account the importance of the inter-ethnic relations now rapidly unfolding.

This book represents a welcome step in this direction. Norman Miller and Rodger Yaeger carefully portray Kenya in all its aspects, providing valuable political, economic and cultural history to guide the reader as to how Kenya is developing on all fronts. Of particular value is the framework for studying and analyzing the importance of cultural pluralism. The result is a readable, succinct volume that belongs on the bookshelf of any Africa specialist.

In discussing the political situation in Kenya today, the authors correctly note that the Moi government has perpetrated civil rights abuses on much of the population. The democratic process, which the Agency for International Development has supported in Kenya, has emphasized bargaining and compromise and thus

offers a meaningful alternative for handling conflicts. But in Kenya, the country's leaders do not choose to use it. Moreover, effective democratic systems of government provide citizens with the tools to oust abusive leaders from office. In Kenya, the point should be made repeatedly that tribal minority and procedural rights must be regarded as elemental features of a democratic form of government.

All these matters must be considered when the United States or others seek to promote democracy in Kenya. At all costs, aid donors should not attempt to transplant or export their institutions and procedures.

Roy A. Harrell, Jr., a retired Foreign Service officer, has served in all countries of Africa, except Somalia and Djibouti. He currently works for Research Associates International in Arlington, Va.

JUDGING FSOs AT WORK IN CHINA

War and Peace with China: First Hand Experiences in the Foreign Service of the United States
Marshall Green, John H. Holdridge,
William N. Stokes, DACOR Press,
1994, \$15, softcover, 211 pages.

BY ROBERT W. BARNETT



War and Peace with China is testimonial to the professionalism of the Foreign Service of the United States. It refutes supposition that Foreign Service officers are slavish servants of a distant, ideologically gridlocked authority. Washington depends, in fact, on the FSO for context — political, economic, social and historical — vital for relevance and foresight in Washington decision-making.



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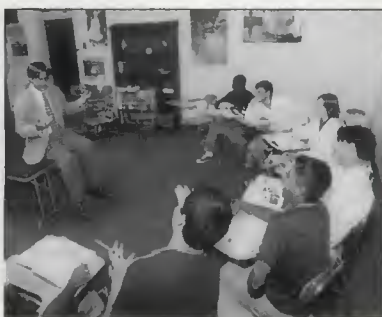
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BOOKS

The structure of collaboration allows breathing space for personal "glimpses" certain to delight readers. The authors, all FSOs, served in Asia and in various branches of the military. Marshall Green, a former Navy officer, served as a FSO in Japan; John H. Holdridge, a former Army officer, served as a FSO in China; and William N. Stokes, who served in the Air Force, was also a FSO in China.

One of Stokes's "glimpses" refutes the general supposition that China entered the Korean War in response to the American invasion of the north. Actually, "The invasion of South Korea was manned, supplied and organized by a triple alliance of Communist states," notably North Korea, the USSR and the People's Republic of China, writes Stokes.

Green displays an alarming capacity for detachment and personal integrity in offering casual, almost perfunctory, judgment on the flaws and strengths of working colleagues, above and below him in the pecking order. He recalls Henry Kissinger quoting Harold Nicholson as saying the worst diplomats were zealots, lawyers and missionaries. Green says, "Dulles may be remembered by history as one of our most zealous, hard-line secretaries of State, especially in his dealings with Moscow and Beijing." ... "But from my vantage point, in the last full year of his life, he appeared moderate and reasonable, in short, a humane skeptic."

To Holdridge, we owe our glimpse of the style and ambience of a business conversation between Kissinger and Zhou Enlai: "I (Holdridge) waited impatiently for him (Kissinger) to get to the point about Taiwan. He finally got to what I had written for him — no two Chinas, no one China/one Taiwan,

BOOKS

no independent Taiwan. Zhou's response was immediate: "These talks may now proceed."

The authors are conscious of the implications of the events that led to the Shanghai communiqué of Feb. 28, 1972. Green points out that its one main result was "a constructive relationship among the world's most powerful nation, the world's most populous nation, and the world's most economically dynamic nation — all three ... having been at war with each other ... earlier in this century."

Robert W. Barnett was deputy assistant secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific affairs, director and vice president of the Washington Center of the Asian Society, and resident associate for the Carnegie Endowment of International Peace. ■



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By Robert Amerson

Foreword by Ambler Moss, former U.S. Ambassador to Panama

Amerson uses his analysis of developments in Venezuela to develop and bolster his case for America's use of "public diplomacy" in the encouragement and nurturing of democracy. In areas where authoritarianism and dictatorship have been the norm, the interface between traditional and public diplomacy to foster democracy movements is often determinative.

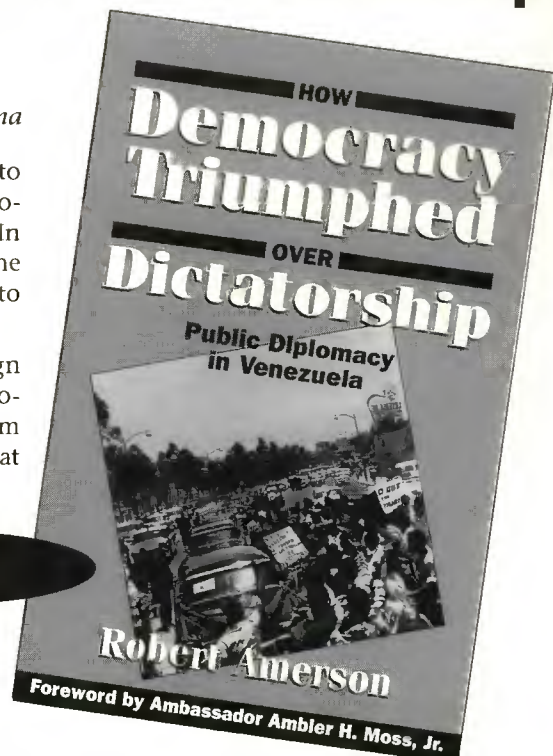
Amerson has written an insider's account of how U.S. Foreign Service officers with USIA operate during times of crisis. He provides a valuable, first-hand study of Venezuela's transition from military dictatorship to popular democracy, a democracy that continues to exist while still struggling for survival today.

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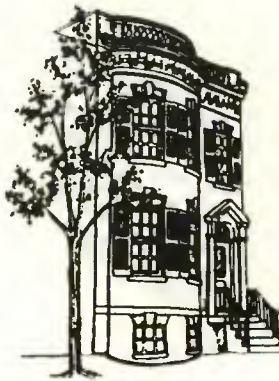
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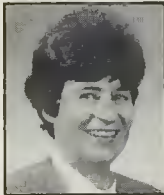
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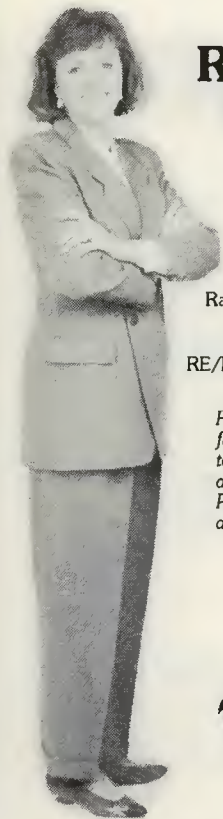
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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

Battling Frostbite and Fear In Hungary

BY ANNE-MARIE NICOARA

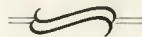
When I first joined the Peace Corps, I never envisioned I would end up in this frozen wasteland in Hungary. "Ugly American" jokes and food poisoning are a counterbalance against the Corps' slick brochures of open grasslands that drew me from California. But one year later I still haven't reconciled business suits and fax machines with my original vision of life in Eastern Europe.

But in the course of my work — editing a quarterly news magazine with a circulation of 5,000 to foster greater tolerance within the Tisza River basin — I've stumbled through a bleak landscape of distrust, arrogance, ignorance and Byzantine terrors that have convinced me that the United States has a role to play here.

Ten years in publishing should have prepared for this work: carefully orchestrating dialogues on environmental issues, sustainable economic development, ethnic and minority issues and development of democratic processes in this highly volatile society. But the region's chaotic history clots in one's throat, suffocating new ideas. Every pronouncement or story idea buckles under the weight of my cultural ignorance.

Anne-Marie Nicoara, a Peace Corps volunteer in Szolnok, Hungary, has worked as a writer and editor in U.S. book, magazine and newspaper publishing. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Book Fair "Stamp Corner."

*The courage of
those willing to
move forward buoys
me when I want to
throw up my hands
in disgust.*



Geography drives the magazine, called, somewhat ambitiously, I think, *Corridors*. The polluted Tisza River Basin is a volatile mix of five nations — Hungary, Romania, Ukraine, Slovakia and Serbia — with dozens of ethnic groups. The political lines that dissect the region mean everyone contributes to and suffers from the effects of pollution collectively; solutions are by necessity international.

The prognosis is often grim. Recently scientists discovered radioactivity in one of Romania's Tisza tributaries, which flows ominously into southern Hungary and the former Yugoslavia. Political tensions are building again in Transylvania, prompting fears of another showdown. Ukraine is falling apart. I often find myself thinking, "There is so little time."

I travel constantly throughout the region, talking, arguing, cajoling any-

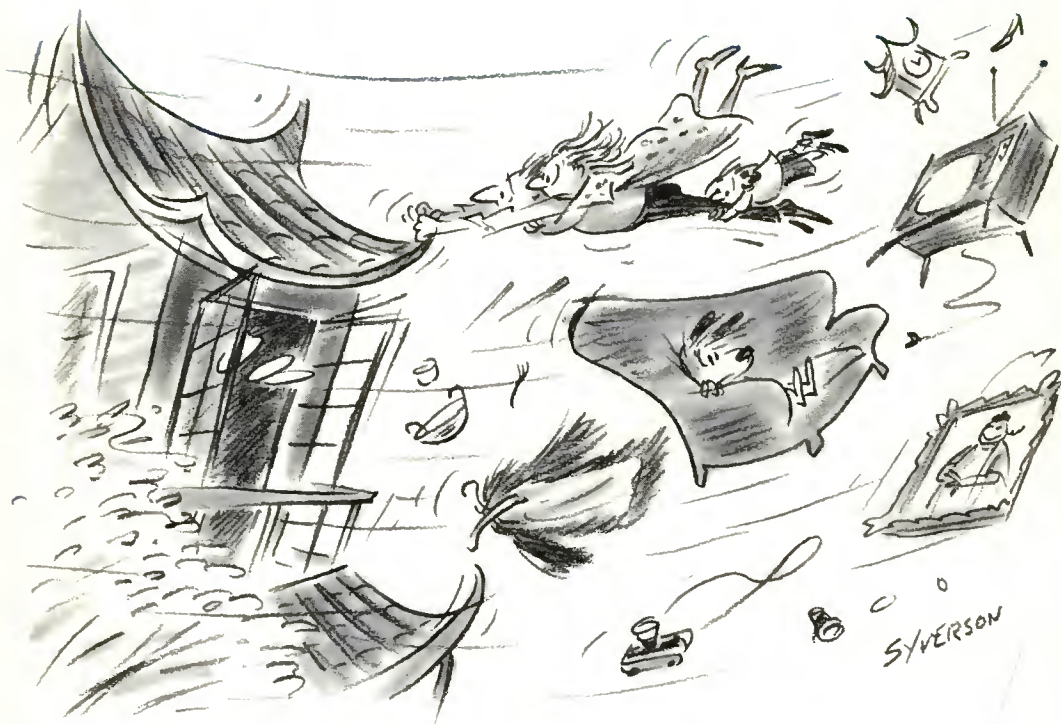
one who'll listen to my proposals for cooperative media, talking in unlit universities, dowdy hotel conference rooms, wood-stove kitchens, train stations, bars. Because I am Transylvanian myself, I'm granted a respectful hearing in Romania and Hungary. But in Slovakia and Ukraine I feel more like an extra in some poorly funded Aristophanes play. Biblical miracles were surely easier than this.

After more than six months of frustrated attempts, I've set up editorial, translation and distribution agreements with each of the five participating countries. Though the 32-page black and white magazine is in English, it carries a Table of Contents in Slovak, Ukrainian and Romanian. Translators in each country provide local-language articles on request. I am the entire staff, but a chaotic assortment of local volunteers stream in and out to help.

It is a fearful commitment that compels me. Frostbite and food poisoning and a Babel of languages in blackened corridors certainly slow me down — I feel so frail next to my colleagues. But the courage of those willing to move forward buoys me when I want nothing more than to throw up my hands in disgust.

But I have an idea, a sometimes romantic, sometimes naive concept with legions of supporters. And in a region where 50 times more per capita is spent on poetry than in the States, where jokes are still passed around in Latin, perhaps that is enough. ■

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