

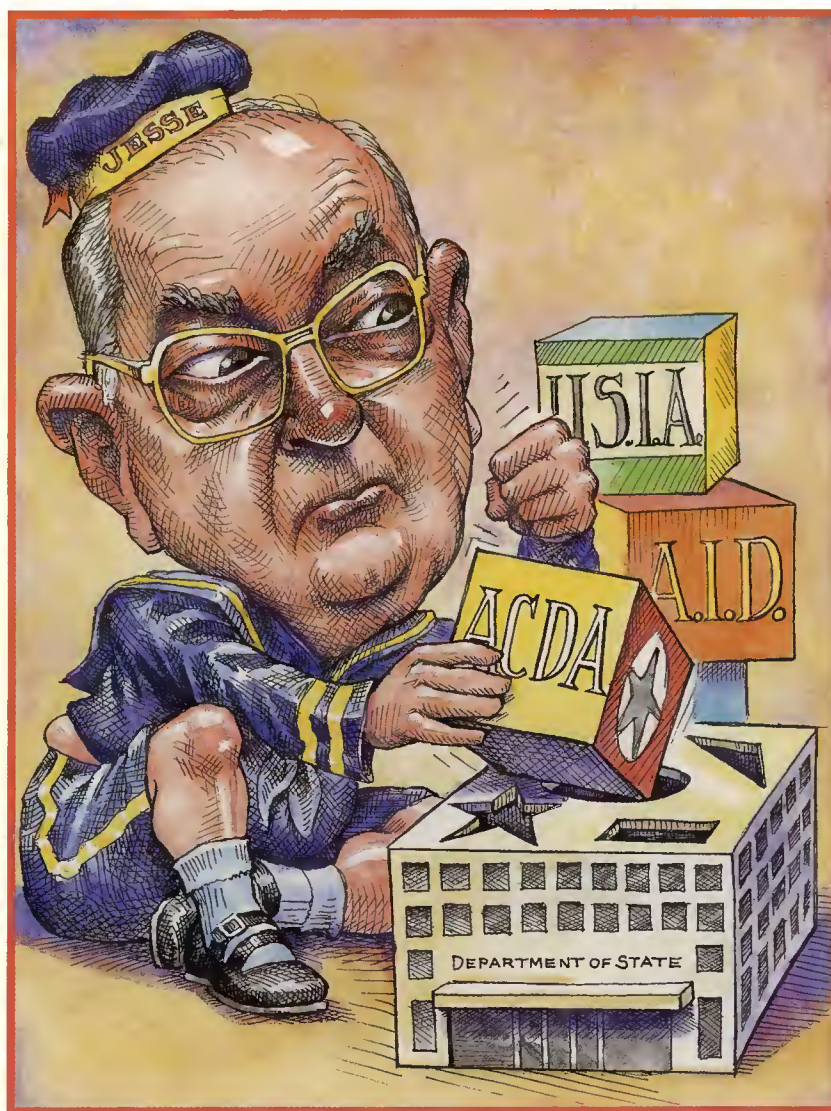
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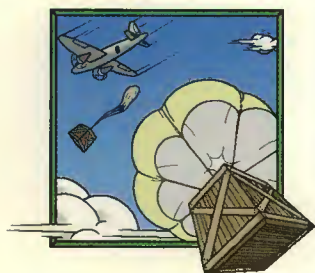


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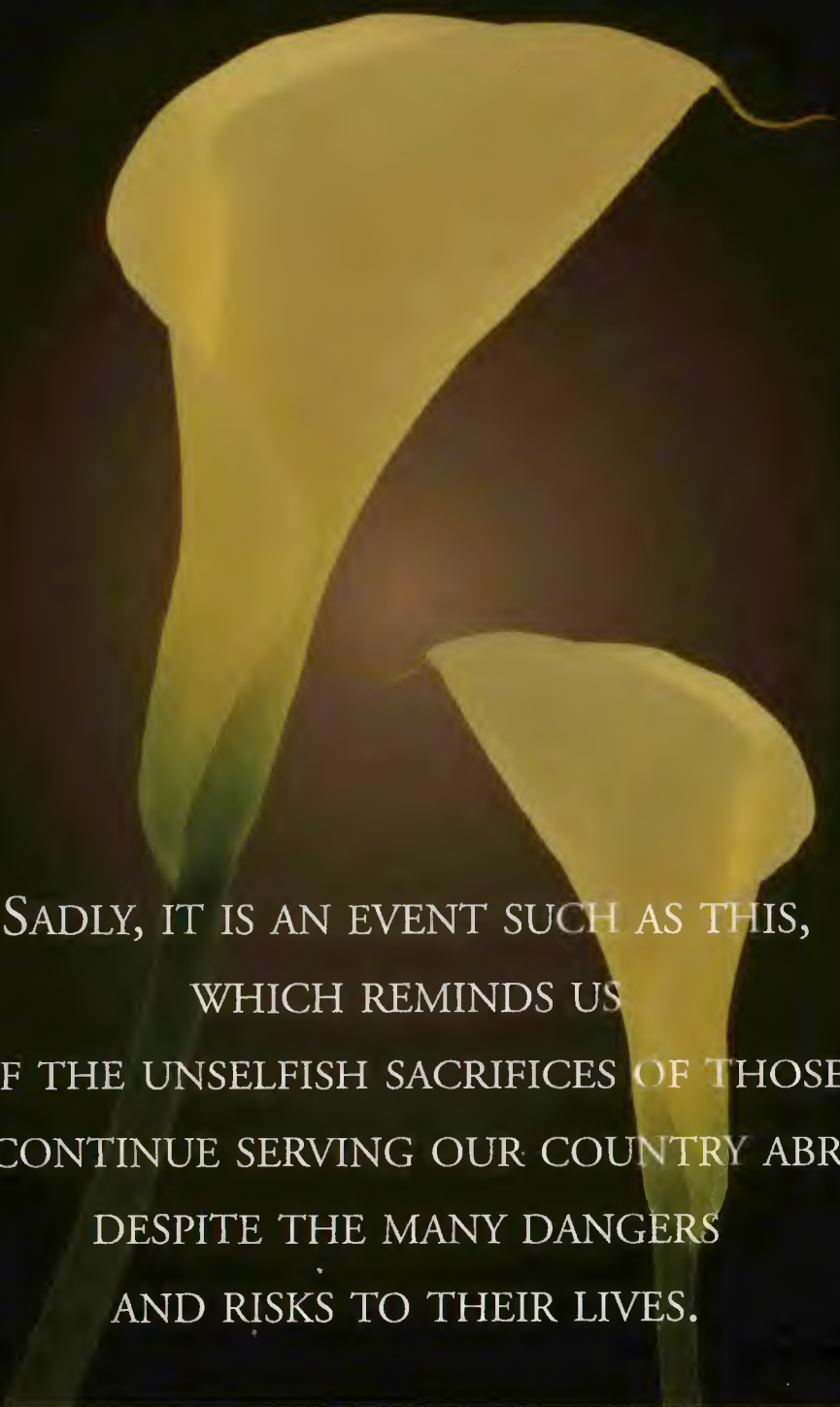
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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Quality of Life Counts

BY F. A. "TEX" HARRIS

At long last, the secretary of State has enlisted in the campaign to halt the decade-long decline in the living and working conditions of Foreign Service employees. Recently Secretary of State Warren Christopher convoked his top management team to lay out clear guidelines for the much-touted, but thus-far underwhelming "Strategic Management Initiative."

Refreshingly, and perhaps for the first time in living memory, he set out to establish a new paradigm for managing the Department of State, one that posits as indispensable both maintaining an adequate quality of life for Foreign Service personnel and a minimal level of technological readiness.

The new paradigm recognizes that the foreign affairs agencies must have modern computers and communication systems, that vouchers need to be processed without red tape, that overseas posts must have reliable electricity, adequate housing, good health care and jobs for spouses. Christopher affirms that he is prepared to fund the needed improvements in quality of life and "diplomatic readiness" by pushing for greater efficiency, by closing marginal posts, by reducing duplication and redundant layering, and by seeking additional funding from Congress.

The secretary's message was a profound one, dictating major changes in priorities for the management and

*Changes in
priorities will not
come about
without a fight.*

allocation of resources of the Department of State and the other foreign affairs agencies. But notwithstanding Christopher's asserting his personal leadership, this change will not come about without a fight.

Thus the State Department's claims that it can no longer afford to provide potable drinking water in Brasilia, initial supplies of prescription medicines in Cairo, temporary lodging allowances in Madrid, and hospitalization co-payment costs for medevaced individuals have until recently gone virtually unchallenged. Exploiting the Foreign Service's unparalleled dedication to duty, the State Department has continued to cut back on staffing worldwide, while giving only lip service to re-evaluating its traditional global responsibilities. Foreign Service professionals are working longer hours, incurring massive uncompensated overtime, and remaining on call the rest of the time.

On top of this, the employees' contract has been badly compromised by the 5 percent cut in the hardship allowance at two-thirds of all hardship posts. And adding insult to injury,

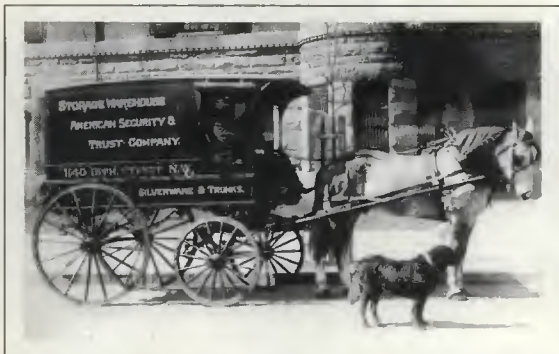
instances continue to surface of non-career ambassadors redecorating residences, maintaining luxurious secondary quarters from underfunded operating budgets and hiring highly paid outside assistants, while the Foreign Service faces its first layoffs in recent history.

The department and other foreign affairs agencies are not managing by setting priorities, funding the most important responsibilities and halting work on the lesser priorities. Nor is the burden being shared equally by the generals and the foot soldiers. Rather, they are following the futile and discredited practice of continuously trying to do more with less. Hopefully the foreign affairs managers are getting smarter. The secretary of State, at least, has gotten the message that AFSA has been sending for months: The department cannot continue to starve the Foreign Service without severe consequences. There is growing realization in the Foreign Service, and now, apparently, on State's Seventh Floor, that the contract upon which our self-sacrifice has been based is no longer reciprocal.

The secretary's focus on quality of life of the department's employees now has to serve as the model for each ambassador, principal officer and executive director. They will ignore his admonitions at their peril. Old ways die very hard, but I do not exaggerate when I say that a revolt — although for the time being, an understated, Foreign Service-style revolt — is brewing in the ranks. ■

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

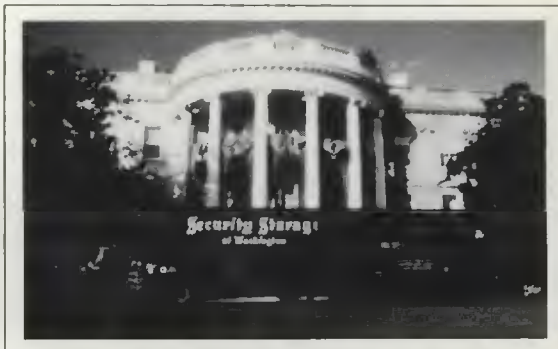
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To the Editor:

I found [Tex Harris'] views (February *Journal*, "Views") very interesting — and helpful. [He] asserted the importance of revisiting "first principles" in assessing the relevance of the Foreign Service in a changing world. I could not agree more. It is appropriate to ask whether a U.S. Foreign Service is needed. On a broader scale, it is essential to understand what our diplomacy should be expected to accomplish and how it should be done.

Original principles are, more often than not, very sound. That is why I have proposed a reintegration of our foreign affairs functions that would, in many respects, take them back to basics. It would help ensure that U.S. overseas programs are responsive to policy. It would make more efficient use of funding for foreign affairs, both here and in the field. It would establish more effective coordination of the overseas activities of a myriad of domestic agencies, and create mechanisms to eliminate those activities that are redundant or unnecessary. Similarly, it would strengthen the ability of U.S. ambassadors to manage effectively the whole of this nation's official presence in U.S. embassies.

Additionally, my proposal would create a unified Foreign Service based on the only principles that can justify a distinct service: tight discipline, worldwide availability based

on national needs, merit-based promotion and rank-in-person.

My views in this regard are straightforward, if frequently misrepresented: If there is to be a separate Foreign Service, must it not be composed of versatile professionals who see their highest calling as the advancement and protection of this country's economic, commercial, security and political interests in the world?

In the coming months, Congress will be discussing these and other issues fundamental to the U.S. ability to safeguard our nation's interests in a quickly evolving world.

*Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.)
Senate Committee on
Foreign Relations
Washington, D.C.*



To the Editor:

The new Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman [Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.)] wants to stop wasting hard-earned American tax dollars on the foreign aid "rathole" (February *Journal*, "Clippings"). 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 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 Americans provide. The average

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LETTERS

Canadian contributes \$3 for each one of ours, and German citizens 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 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 U.S. 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. 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.

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

"Letters" (March *Journal*). If I am interpreting his letter accurately, Mr. Harrell is recommending that we should turn our backs on the law and support hiring illegal immigrants. He further claims that some of the employers have "little choice but to hire illegal aliens."

There definitely is a choice. The U.S. immigration laws provide an orderly and legal way for needed laborers to enter our country. If visas provide for the hiring of alien labor for work of a temporary or seasonal nature for which a shortage of employable and willing persons exists in the United States, including farming and fruit-picking areas. However, since illegal aliens and their employers are well aware of the breakdown in the enforcement of the laws, they have ignored the proper visa process.

The whole point of my objection is that the foundation of our democracy is upholding the law. The wholesale disregard of our immigration laws has made a mockery of them. Are we going to continue tolerating the breakdown of our immigration laws, or are we going to insist that Congress revise these laws to reflect the realities of existing conditions today? To continue as we have only encourages the further breakdown of the fabric of our society.

*Marietta Barbier Falzgraf
Retired FSO
Bethesda, Md.*

To the Editor:

I hope [Overseas Briefing Center protocol instructor] Peggy Ward teaches her students that in right-hand driving countries, the seat of honor is on the left (March *Journal*, "Greasing Diplomacy's Wheels.")

To the Editor:

I take exception to the comments made by FSO Roy Harrell Jr. in

LETTERS

I remember how flustered the ambassador's chauffeur was in Suriname when the new ambassador went to the right rear door while the chauffeur was opening the left rear door.

Paul Good
Information Officer
U.S. Embassy Rabat

To the Editor:

Doug Ford's thoughtful article, "The Legitimacy of Separatism" (April *Journal*) contains one slight factual inaccuracy. The issue of secession was addressed under the former Soviet constitution. In theory, the 1977 constitution granted the right of secession to Union republics through Art. 72: "Every Union republic retains the right to freely leave the USSR." Autonomous republics, such as Chechen-Ingushetia, did not enjoy this right.

The term "self-determination" was dealt with in an interesting fashion by the Soviets. In the U.N., where "self-determination" was assumed to mean independence for colonies held by the European powers, the Soviets interpreted "self-determination" with the Leninist calque *samoopredelenie*. However, when the Helsinki Accords emerged in Russian, where the Soviet Empire itself was under consideration, the interpretation became *pravo rasporjzhat'sya svoei sud'boi*, or "right to determine one's own fate." Semantically, it's probably not that different, but clearly the Soviets were not going to let themselves be beat over the head with their own propaganda.

John Finerty Jr.
Retired FSO
Alexandria, Va.

To the Editor:

While Chas. Freeman in his evocative article, "Is Diplomacy Really a Profession" (March *Journal*) includes among his 10 tasks, "cultivation of an image for their nation that is favorable to its interests," he shortchanges the requirements for the public diplomat.

The latter a specialty of the diplomatic profession similar to a specialty in the medical profession, is responsible for and must be skilled in the art of communicating not with foreign officials but with foreign publics.

To be a professional in the discipline of public diplomacy, the practitioner combines, in the words of W. Phillips Davison, one of public diplomacy's earliest academic specialists, "the skills of the traditional diplomat with those of the specialist in communication and the social researcher. The diplomat formulates the ideas that he would like to have communicated to a foreign public; the social researcher studies the intended audience; and the communication specialist chooses the most appropriate media and composes the message."

Not until public diplomacy is recognized as a profession will its practitioners be able to do justice to their calling.

Hans N. Tuch
Retired USIA FSO
Bethesda, Md.

To the Editor:

Only a few weeks ago I stumbled across Paul Neifert's "Speaking Out" article in the November 1994 *Journal*, and its logic and focus prompted me to write a response.

Neifert clearly enjoys articulating his own perceptions [of management policies at Pretoria's office of Agency for International

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LETTERS

Development (AID)], but what he says so authoritatively on behalf of black grantees...is unpalatable. ...

Allow me a brief example of how AID's morally strident and non-racial team operated before the new management policies came into being. [One] officer ... would mock even the most prominent of blacks. In one instance, one of our most eminent academics complained bitterly to the new AID management of this official's superior stances.

[Under the new management] I was invited to attend a brainstorming session on a [new project]. I was intrigued by the invitation; never before have any of us been invited to planning stages. I attended and was nearly dumbstruck by the free flow of ideas. As months passed we were appraised of much of the progress. In the two years since the new policies came into effect, there have been several such invitations to share my views and air my grievances, from meeting with visiting AID management delegations to congressional delegations, which did not only consist of members from Neifert's dreaded Black Caucus. Both the director and the deputy director came to my office to discuss our grievances because they detected a pattern in the complaints that reached them after taking charge some six months previously.

Apparently AID's Pretoria professional staff appealed for adherence to the mandated, balanced and multi-racial character of AID programs in a clear challenge to the current management strategies. Why must South Africa play host to multi-racialism in its democratization rather than to non-racism? Should not more attention be deliberately levied on the disadvantaged groups?

Given the receptiveness that the present AID management has displayed country-wide, and given the

apparent assertive pro-black stance, many grantees, like my own organization, happily and with crystal consciences endorse their stance — simply because it is about time that we were entrusted to develop ourselves. There are in excess of 12 million black intellectuals in this country, many of whom were trained in the United States. If the less than 2 percent of U.S. taxpayers' money through AID cannot be used by those people to effect their own development, then one must wonder about its efficacy in not promoting black affirmative action.

A student of mine, talking about white African poetry, once remarked, "It is like white flour, all of its nutrition has been refined away." He was lamenting the emphasis on ideas at the expense of people and emotions. The human context must not be allowed to slip from view and leave only the rational. And that is something the current AID Pretoria management have become acutely attuned to.

*Peter N. Thuynsma
Executive Director
Institute for Human
Rights Education
Johannesburg, South
Africa*

To the Editor:

I am writing about the January "Clippings" article concerning my case of discrimination against the Foreign Agricultural Service (FAS). In November 1994, after three years of delay and harassment from the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) management, I decided to take my case public. During the course of my interview with *The Federal Times*, I used a phrase, "treated like a secretary," that was

LETTERS

clearly insulting to those in the secretarial profession. I should have described myself as a superannuated clerk. At any rate, I regret my poor choice of words, and I apologize to those who were offended by my statement. I have the greatest respect for the secretarial profession. However, I have no respect for the insensitive USDA managers who told me that I could be promoted to the Foreign Service "... only if my daughter would die." Three years of such gross management insensitivity takes its toll.

After three long and difficult years, the USDA recently ruled in my favor [that I could join the Foreign Service even though my daughter was disabled] by issuing a finding that discrimination based on associational disability was a factor in FAS's decision to deny my medical waiver request and subsequently to refuse my conversion to the Foreign

Service of the FAS. The Rehabilitation Act of 1973, as amended, prohibits discrimination based on association with a disabled individual. This is the first such decision of its type.

I commend the USDA for its courage in issuing this important and historic decision. I was converted to the Foreign Service in February 1995. The USDA decision sends a clear message to all employers that a qualified candidate for employment cannot be rejected solely on the basis of the disability of a dependent child, spouse or partner. I look forward to my career in the Foreign Service without fear of losing my job due to associating with disabled children, colleagues and clients.

James E. Patterson

USDA

Washington, D.C. ■

NOTICE

The *Foreign Service Journal* is seeking short memoirs from those who served overseas in the Foreign Service during World War II for a special issue on the 50th anniversary of the armistice. Memoirs can include reminiscences of officers and families traveling through war zones, post experiences and glimpses of the human condition during the war, internments or other hardships, etc. Limit: 1,000 words.

Old photos of FSOs of the period are also welcome and will be returned. Please send typed manuscripts and photos to Karen Krebsbach, Editor, *Foreign Service Journal*, 2101 E St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

NOTICE

The Department of State Library is preparing a World War II program and exhibition and would like memoirs from any current or retired employees who participated in the battles of Tarawa, Saipan, Leyte, Iwo Jima or Okinawa. Please contact Eliana Holmes at (202) 647-3092.

Attention Fiction Writers

The *Foreign Service Journal* welcomes short pieces of fiction, from 2,000-4,000 words, for its annual fiction issue. Preference given for Foreign Service settings, situations and characters. Small honorarium offered. Submissions, on disk and on paper, may be made by June 1 to Karen Krebsbach, Editor, *Foreign Service Journal*, 2101 E St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

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CLIPPINGS



*"What does
my husband
do? Why, he
doesn't do
anything.
He's a
diplomat."*

— MRS. SHUBERT,
A CHARACTER IN
"SHEAR MADNESS,"
THE LONG-RUNNING
PLAY AT THE
KENNEDY CENTER.

BEING DIPLOMATIC IN EX-YUGOSLAVIA

U.S. Ambassador to Croatia Peter Galbraith said in the two years he has been in Zagreb he has learned that consistency and pressure achieve results. "What works diplomatically is to be extremely direct ... even blunt," Galbraith told reporter David Rohde in the March 27 *Christian Science Monitor*. "In some other diplomatic circumstances, great subtlety is needed, but that's certainly not the case here," reflected Galbraith.

Fellow diplomats praise Galbraith for being tireless and brimming with new ideas in a region that has become infamous for chewing up good intentions. Galbraith's crucial role in keeping the U.N. in Croatia and convincing Croatia to halt Croat-Muslim fighting in Bosnia last year is undisputed, according to Rohde.

But critics counter that while the resulting U.S.-backed Muslim-Croat federation ended fighting, joint governmental and military structures formed to counter Serb military strength have not been implemented.

Galbraith, a popular and well-known figure who is sometimes applauded by Croatian crowds when he enters restaurants, bristles at the suggestion that the region's problems are unsolvable. "We've got to keep trying because the alternative is invariably worse."

Meanwhile, the Associated Press reported that in Sarajevo, Ambassador Victor Jackovich is on his way out. Al Kamen in the April 3 *Washington Post* reported that he was "apparently ousted because some State Department higher-ups don't like his strong support

of the Muslim-led Bosnian government." Jackovich has been offered an ambassadorship in Slovenia and would be replaced by John Menzies.

CLINTON EMBRACES 'COMMERCIAL REALISM'

Addressing a recent dinner of the Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom, Clinton identified himself as part of a "Coalition of realists — people in both houses of Congress ... who know that the wealth and well being of the United States depend on our leadership abroad." Columnist Jim Mann writes in the April 3 *Los Angeles Times* that Clinton's characterization of himself as a realist represents quite a change in tone and that his administration is the first to have embraced what might be called "commercial realism." It is a revised version of the old philosophy: giving American interests priority over questions of morality or ideals, and judging those interests more in economic terms than in geopolitical ones.

Mann writes that it is easy to forget how much of a change this philosophy represents for U.S. foreign policy. When then-Secretary of State George Shultz visited Beijing 12 years ago, business executives complained that restrictions on technology transfers were hurting business in China. Shultz angrily told them to stick to business and let the U.S. government make foreign policy. When Secretary Warren Christopher had a similar confrontation in Beijing last year, the administration changed its foreign policy the way the business executives wanted.



PUBLISHER PRAISES US DIPLOMATS

"I take back any negative attitudes I ever voiced about American diplomats," wrote *Washingtonian* magazine publisher Philip Merrill in the April 8 *Washington Post*. Merrill wrote that in a recent trip around the world, he saw the real Foreign Service in action: "In outposts such as Burma, Mongolia, Madagascar and Papua New Guinea, my traveling companions and I were impressed by able and dedicated representatives of the United States."

"Life is not glamorous these days in Burma ... yet we found charge d'affaires Marilyn Meyers and her country team carrying out their duties very capably — promoting economic development, good health practices and the values of free enterprise as well as maintaining ties to government officials ... and dissenters alike."

Merrill praised U.S. Ambassador to Mongolia Donald Johnson, who "works diligently under tough conditions."

In Madagascar, Merrill found that in the face of wide-spread disease, poor education, little social life and endemic government corruption, American diplomats are trying to promote democracy, help preserve the rain forest, deal with a population explosion and assist Americans who do business there.

"In these and other distant posts, there are no striped-pants stereotypes. The reality is mostly young, well educated, dedicated Americans" in small posts that are minimally staffed, he wrote. "After American troops and CNN are gone from Somalia, U.S. Foreign Service officers will go in again. Amid the poverty and clan warfare, while fighting off disease and dealing with unpotable water ... they will do what they can to promote representative government. They will

help those in need, cultivate and educate centers of influence, explain the U.S. role in the world and in so doing advance the cause of freedom and the interests of our country. ... They make us proud."

A DIPLOMATIC FIRST FOR SOUTH AFRICA

Franklin Sonn is the first ambassador to the United States representing the new, black-majority government of South Africa. He is the first nonwhite South African ambassador here.

And, wrote James Morrison in the March 8 *Washington Times*, he is the first ambassador to have met a U.S. president in the Oval Office without first presenting his diplomatic credentials. He escorted Thabo Mbeki, a South African deputy president, to a meeting with President Clinton before being officially recognized.

The ambassador has seen to it that his government leaders meet all the right people in political Washington, squiring Mbeki to the offices of House Speaker Newt Gingrich and Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms. Among the mementos Sonn cherishes from that visit is a photo with the smiling North Carolina conservative Republican standing by his desk with Mbeki, a leader of the African National Congress, sitting in Helms' desk chair.

The South African embassy "must be one of the busiest small embassies in Washington," said Ambassador Sonn, recalling the more than 200 letters the embassy has received seeking a meeting with him.

Sonn said his mission was "to continue encouraging investment and to shape the embassy into a model of a non-racial, democratic environment." Sounds like the mission statement of the U.S. embassy in Pretoria.

50 YEARS AGO

Early in October 1944 the American embassy and the government of Greece, which had been established in Cairo for nearly a year, began final preparations for returning to Athens. On Friday, Oct. 13, Allied forces sailed from Alexandria to liberate Greece; the Greek government arrived at the port of Piraeus (along with American Counselor Harold Shantz) on Oct. 17. The staff's arrival via air and sea was staggered over a three-week period so as to avoid mines and to facilitate finding food and lodging.

The *Journal* of May 1945 reported that opening for business did not mean that everything was again running smoothly. Much of the telephone and electric system was not functioning, many desks were broken and typewriters out of commission, and an enormous volume of archives remained to be sorted out and put in place. The registration of American citizens and determining those eligible for relief were some of the most urgent tasks. ■

CLIPPINGS

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STATE DEPARTMENT
OFFICIAL,
THE WASHINGTON
POST,
APRIL 1

WHO'S IN CHARGE AT GUATEMALA POST?

"The imbroglio over CIA activities in Guatemala has left the U.S. embassy struggling to establish a clear chain of command to guarantee that the ambassador knows what the agency is doing," Tod Robberson reported in the April 6 *Washington Post*.

Robberson wrote that the embassy has begun an internal procedural review after learning that the CIA failed to keep two successive U.S. ambassadors to Guatemala informed about an investigation that linked a paid agency informant with the abduction and subsequent killing of a U.S. citizen in Guatemala. Washington analysts said the Guatemalan incident highlighted a global interdepartmental

conflict: Heads of embassies often are kept out of the loop on the activities of CIA agents, who in theory if not in practice are required to report to the U.S. ambassadors at each post. Existing procedures require the CIA to provide ambassadors with intelligence on a "need-to-know" basis.

Robberson reported that the Guatemalan case has exposed an embarrassing lack of coordination that sent a confusing, mixed foreign-policy signal to Guatemala's military leadership. When an angry Ambassador Marilyn McAfee, a career FSO, learned that the CIA had withheld information from her about an informant's involvement in the slaying of an American citizen, she arranged the withdrawal of the CIA's station chief from the embassy. ■

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SPEAKING OUT

The Anonymous Workers: FSNs Deserve More Respect

BY R. MICHAEL GALL

In March, 1779, King Louis XVI appointed a French clerk to assist Benjamin Franklin in carrying out his duties as the first U.S. minister plenipotentiary to France. With the appointment of this now-nameless civil servant, an employment tradition was started that is likely to continue as long as the United States maintains a representative presence in foreign countries. The U.S. government employs nearly 40,000 foreign citizens to assist in operating the overseas programs of the State Department, the Agency for International Development (AID), the Peace Corps, and the U.S. Information Agency (USIA). In fact, worldwide, more than 70 percent of the State Department work force is made up of Foreign Service Nationals (FSNs). Although this group constitutes only about 1 percent of the federal Civil Service work force, it is a very important element in the day-to-day conduct of U.S. foreign representation and operations. However, the activities and contributions of these employees are generally unknown and unrecognized outside the embassy community.

FSNs provide support and conti-

R. Michael Gall retired from the federal government in 1988 after a 29-year career that included seven years in the Senior Executive Service. From 1984-86, he worked as a consultant to the State Department, working on an FSN payroll system project.

*The long-range
objective would be to
turn the FSN corps
into a transnational
elite part of the
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nity in operations at overseas posts and are essential to the conduct of American diplomacy. They assist Foreign Service employees in the political, economic, consular and administrative functions, as well as in public diplomacy and in foreign assistance programs; they acquaint newly arrived personnel with work procedures and provide background information important to the job. They are the secretaries, drivers and maintenance workers. Often, it is the FSN who provides the entrée to the foreign ministry, the customs official, the bureaucrat in the local office. It is the FSN who can cut through red tape and navigate the shoals of local languages and customs.

In Jerusalem, John Barger, the embassy's deputy consul general, said of the post's FSNs: "Every one of the nationals is doing a job for the United States, while taking some of the pressure off of us Americans. It's been that way at every post I've ever been at — it's the nationals who help us through the maze."

The U.S. foreign affairs agencies have been employing FSNs for hundreds of years, but only in 1975 did the Department of State's Office of the Inspector General (OIG) conduct a comprehensive review of this group of employees. That audit was followed in 1980 by another, which was much more focused, and there have since been some very limited reviews of specific FSN program issues by the General Accounting Office (GAO) and by State's inspector general. The "FSN employee of the year" program, which annually honors the best FSO, was created in 1984. In 1994 Majed Razeq came to Washington, D.C. from Jerusalem to receive a \$5,000 award as Foreign Service National of the Year. Runners-up from five other regions also were honored in Washington. In 1994 contributions to a newly created FSN emergency relief fund reached \$40,000. This fund was instrumental in helping the families of the four FSNs murdered in Sudan and the three national employees murdered or wounded in Haiti. Small amounts were disbursed for victims of the Osaka earthquake.

However, this management recognition of FSNs is new. The Velities



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Commission conducted a thorough review of the State Department's personnel system in 1992, and although the commission's charter did not include the issue of FSN personnel management, its final report concluded that FSNs "... constitute one of the most important elements of the department's human resource base and provide vital services to U.S. overseas posts."

Over the last 30 years, the Department of State has developed an active and highly specialized personnel management process to support FSNs. However, position classification and compensation have tended to dominate the limited resources of the Personnel Office. Clearly, support for these issues is vital, but they are not the only important issues. There is a pervasive feeling throughout the foreign affairs community of a "them and us" relationship, in which the FSN employee is paradoxically conceded to be "indispensable, but not an integral part of the overseas personnel system. ... The local [employee] is a member of a group, rather than an individual," as the 1975 OIG study stated. There is evidence of alienation and discrimination, which, paradoxically, has been reinforced by the separate FSN personnel management program. The program, although basically patterned along Civil Service lines, is administered separately from those for either the GS or FS employees. As the State Department Inspector General's office noted in its 1975 report: "There are unnecessary and often petty distinctions [between the two personnel systems], which cause the FSNs to believe that they are being treated unfairly, both in terms of what they deserve and in comparison to Americans."

These petty distinctions have not gone away. They have, in fact,



become more evident, more explicit and far less petty. The alienation of the FSN workforce has been exacerbated by a 1983 change in the Civil Service retirement program, which specifically excluded non-U.S. citizens from participating in the new Federal Employees Retirement System (FERS). It is difficult to comprehend how the legislative process for the 1983 retirement changes could have been allowed to exclude 40,000 FSNs from retirement coverage. Now more than ever, FSNs feel that they are second-class employees, and there is evidence that the basic relationship between the U.S. government and FSNs has changed permanently. In addition, some jobs that were formerly held by FSNs are now being opened to Americans living abroad, in accordance with the 1991 Rockefeller Amendment, which became effective in 1993.

The department needs to look for opportunities on many fronts to integrate the disenfranchised majority with the ruling class minority. State should create opportunities to deal with the work force as a whole, as contrasted with the present situation where Foreign Service employees and FSN employees are separate and distinct classes of employees with carefully circumscribed roles, functions, jobs — and separate personnel support systems.

The subtle motivational factors that drive foreign citizens to take jobs with the U.S. government have been largely ignored in the press of day-to-day execution of the compensation and classification processes. There are indications that the attractiveness of the U.S. government as an employer is waning as more attractive opportunities become available. The foreign affairs agencies are in danger of losing a very important part of the



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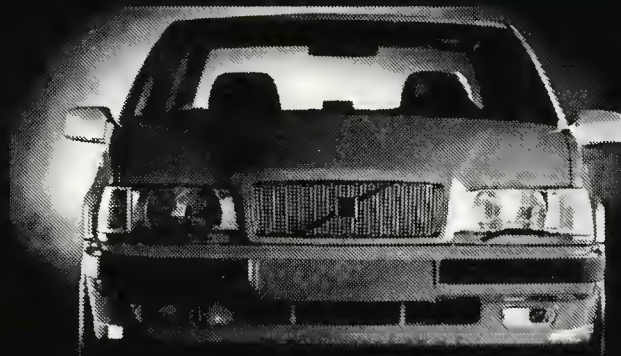
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SPEAKING OUT

career labor force through benign neglect, if not overt discrimination. With the down-sizing of many embassies, it seems clear that the role of FSNs will increase rather than decrease; the issue is whether the department will be able to attract and retain FSNs to fill the expanded roles.

The compensation system for FSNs is theoretically sound — but extremely complex and time-consuming. It includes a series of compensation plans that accurately reflect “locally prevailing practice” at every post. However, the pace of change has outstripped the capacity of the people and the administrative machinery required to keep them current. Since the current operating policy of the department is to not make salary adjustments retroactive, it is apparent that the compensation for a majority of FSNs lags at least a year behind their counterparts in the local labor markets. As noted by the State Department IG’s office, FSNs all over the world have to wait long periods for updated compensation packages. This lag in pay adjustments creates a major source of discontent among FSNs, as well as causing a disadvantage in recruitment.

Retirement benefits for FSNs are particularly troublesome components of the compensation package because they have been applied unevenly and inconsistently. As a result, FSNs working side by side are very likely to receive widely divergent retirement benefits. This one element of compensation is regarded by most FSNs as unfair. It also seems to be the most intractable issue facing the management of the FSN program. There are some 2,000 FSNs hired before 1984 who still contribute to the Civil Service Retirement System (CSRS); and another 5,000 FSN CSRS retirees who receive federal pensions. The Office of Personnel Management

expects there will be FSN recipients of federal annuities well into the middle of the next century. Approximately 100 posts are enrolled in local social security and retirement programs, some of which are inherently unstable; at some 50 posts, there are no retirement benefits for FSNs hired after 1983, and the balance of posts have a jumble of benefits.

The FSN retirement issue has come to light most recently through a 1993 OIG Report, although it has been festering for a long time. The IG has taken the position that the U.S. government has a moral and legal obligation to provide FSNs with retirement benefits and, as a result, a number of posts may find themselves involved in lawsuits for retroactive retirement benefits.

The following policy recommendations provide a blueprint for bold action to help preserve the brightest and the best of FSNs:

■ Restore an equitable retirement benefit program. The department should sponsor legislation that reestablishes a federal retirement benefit program for FSNs for any post that does not have a viable local program available. The abolishment of provision for any common retirement program for FSNs in 1983 was a major blow to the morale of the FSN corps. Both as a legal and an equity issue, there should be a readily available retirement program as a reliable fringe benefit for FSNs.

■ Improve Compensation Plan maintenance. The department should delegate the maintenance of compensation plans, including their approval, to posts, retaining authority only over those too small to have adequate administrative machinery to carry out the functions. The objective should be to reduce the review and approval time for a compensation plan adjust-

SPEAKING OUT

ment to fewer than 60 days, to better maintain compensation levels and buying power for FSNs. Retroactive adjustments to compensation plans should also be restored so as to not penalize FSNs when approvals are delayed.

■ Provide representation for FSNs at State. The department should establish an FSN Policy Office, staffed and managed by senior FSNs. That office would provide a representative voice for all FSNs in policy issues that affect them.

■ Provide expanded career paths for FSNs. The FSN program is insular and provincial by design. From its inception, the paradigm for the program has been localized — local prevailing practice, local compensation plans and local national employees. That paradigm assumes that employees will not and cannot move freely between countries. However, many FSNs are highly mobile, well traveled, well educated, facile in English as well as other languages, and capable of taking their skills from one country's operations to another. The long-range objective would be to turn the FSN corps into a transnational elite part of the workforce, rather than a localized source of cheap and menial labor.

The department has been asserting for nearly 15 years that it needs to open other embassy jobs, which are now restricted to Foreign Service officers, to FSNs. So far, there has been little but rhetoric. Senior management positions at post, where security clearances are not required, could be opened to FSNs with the necessary skills, experience and capabilities. The department could easily enrich the career opportunities available to FSNs, thereby reducing the number of junior FSOs used for those jobs. ■

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MEMOIR OF A CARDINAL

HUNTED BY COMMUNISTS AND TOLERATED BY THE CHURCH,
A HUNGARIAN PRIMATE SPENT 15 YEARS IN EXILE AT US EMBASSY

BY CLEMENT G. SCERBACK

It was Sept. 26, 1971, and an edgy Cardinal Jozsef Mindszenty was waiting out the final hours of his 15-year sanctuary at U.S. Embassy Budapest. Hunted by Communists, tolerated by the Catholic Church and abided by his American hosts, the cardinal's latter years were spent in diplomatic exile, attended by me, a Hungarian-speaking American diplomat.

After months of acrimonious negotiations, the cardinal was being forced to leave his native Hungary forever. He had been distributing personal possessions among those who had helped make his exile comfortable — diplomatic wives who had shopped for his favorite toiletries and cigars, kept fresh flowers on his makeshift altar and monogrammed more napkins, towels and shirts than ever he could use; Hungarian women who prepared his simple meals in a basement kitchen, usually including a daily can of beer; and those who borrowed reference books for him from local libraries and helped type and research his memoirs. Among them, he distributed brass candlestick holders, vases and papal medals.

To senior embassy officers, this exercise harked back to 1967, when the cardinal also began giving away his personal possessions and threatening international scandal by leaving his exile and surrendering to the sidewalk police in order to protest elevating the then-legation to an embassy. This change in status was a clear diplomatic signal that things were looking up, which the cardinal

found totally inconsistent with his status. In fact, the U.S. ambassador-designate was kept waiting in Vienna for three weeks until Mindszenty could be placated.

After the Hungarian Workers' Party seized power in 1948, a constitution on the Soviet style was adopted in 1949 and the new rulers, proceeding to impose total Communist control, jailed the Lutheran Bishop Lajos Ordoss, disbanded the Catholic youth organizations and nationalized all Catholic schools. That left only the cardinal, the Hungarian primate. Arrested by the Communists after a Christmas service on Dec. 26, 1949, the cardinal told his mother not to weep because he was sacrificing his life for his people. Prepared for a quick show trial, then denied a predicted martyrdom on the gallows, the archbishop of Esztergom — legally the nation's constitutional authority — was sentenced to life in prison on fabricated charges of treason, espionage and currency manipulation. Hungarian jailers were so adept at breaking prisoners that even Moscow sent its more intractable cases to Budapest for softening; a KGB source once boasted that no mother would recognize her son once the Magyars had finished with him. Yet the cardinal steadfastly maintained he never had been broken.

He was disgusted with a 1958 British film, called "The Prisoner," about his life, wherein jailed "Cardinal" Alee Guinness is served coffee and is politely addressed as "Your Eminence" by urbane Hungarian interrogator Jack Hawkins.

Instead, as his memoirs describe, during his nearly seven years in jail he was beaten regularly with a truncheon. Without realizing it, he had become a *mas ember*, different person.

Resentment of continued Soviet influence over Hungarian affairs was one element in the popular uprising of October 1956, which was summarily put down by Soviet military force. When Red Army tanks stormed back into pre-dawn Budapest on Nov. 4, 1956, martyrdom again beckoned the cardinal, only to elude him once more. He evermore remembered in his prayers the Hungarian platoon commander who rescued him from solitary house arrest and delivered him to the shattered primate's palace atop Buda Hill.

Steps ahead of advancing Soviet units, he fled under crackling shellfire to the alerted U.S. legation. Under a huge American flag, he was invited into a lobby filling with American escapees and journalists. Soon he was installed in the mission chief's fifth-floor corner office, its symbolism never lost on him for the next 15 years.

Although genuinely grateful for embassy hospitality and financial support from private American sources, he stopped short of admiring the leadership of the United States, a nation he called "poisoned by divorce, crime, abortion and social permissiveness." Most of his opinions about American life came from U.S. Hungarian-language weeklies. He used the radio only for static to thwart suspected buggings of his apartment and never watched local television. Josef Stalin and Hungarian President Janos Kadar, his mortal foes, constantly stirred his thoughts, as did President Woodrow Wilson's "betrayal" of

Hungary at Trianon; FDR's "sellout" at Yalta; Eisenhower's "abandonment" of anti-Soviet "freedom fighters" during the 1956 uprising; and the White House's failure to stop the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 or to intervene in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

His often tedious Sunday sermons — in dictionary English to about 20 Roman Catholic embassy staffers — featured Hungarian history and the sinful world, often reworked from news items he otherwise ignored as false.

But because he liked and felt comfortable with me, the last of his many aides, he would relax and chat after a tiring day. Sash and zucchetto aside, cassock and collar loosened, he would explore his thoughts from a reclining position on the sofa — while blowing smoke rings from his favorite R.G. Dun cigar. Such musings vanished the instant he was back on his feet, every inch Hungary's primate. His evening walks with duty officers in the dingy embassy inner courtyard, in full view of the adjacent Hungarian apartment building, showed he was less given to conversation than to lecturing, if not to his companion then to the suspected hidden cameras and microphones from next door. Recalling the world's mistakes, he abruptly changed the subject if asked how he would resolve them. With practice, Catholic diplomats learned to distinguish between the priest and the politician, better perhaps, than he could himself.

Preoccupation with martyrdom inhabits his memoirs, especially during his recounting of early conflicts with Nazis, later with homegrown Communists led by the venomous Matyas Rakosi, Stalin's personal secretary during World War II, whose tenure is remembered in Hungarian history as the monster epoch. Physically, the papers

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Clement Scerback, a freelance writer in Florida, was a Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Information Agency, serving in Belgrade, Vienna, and Budapest; he was also European director of the Voice of America from 1963-67. As the first secretary for press and cultural affairs at U.S. Embassy Budapest from 1969-73, he was also Cardinal Jozsef Mindszenty's informal aide for several years.



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came to five bundles of disorganized handwriting, typescript and assorted newspaper and magazine clippings, a formidable assortment, indeed, which never quite attained the author's objective of refuting Communist accusations that the Hungarian hierarchy "greedily" had amassed enormous financial power. Before Mindszenty's exit from Hungary in 1971, a papal visitor, who was permitted to scan excerpts, professed dismay over their "academic poverty." He urged the cardinal to seek scholarly advice lest a prince of the Church be held up to ridicule.

In 1969, Alfred Puhon, the U.S. ambassador, discreetly spread the word that the aging prelate could turn seriously ill, or even die, on his watch. Mindszenty was surrounded by many who thought he should leave. But how? In a life-threatening situation, the ambassador could find himself forced to disregard the patient's expected objections and transfer the cardinal to a local hospital, hazardous indeed for the diplomat's career, and highly damaging to the U.S. and Vatican images, not to mention Hungary's Communists seeking a measure of respectability on the world stage.

Concerns about the primate's health dated back to the early 1960s when he was treated for tuberculosis. Because personal cleanliness was deemed vital to his well-being, he was led every Saturday morning to a newly-fashioned bath on a lower floor. Plans to build new quarters on the first floor, including a state-of-the-art infirmary and surgical sickroom, were rejected by the cardinal every time they were proposed.

His opinion of leaders who had "betrayed" him began to reflect growing exasperation with Pope Paul VI and his counselors, whom the primate accused of knowing nothing

about "our great Hungarian tragedy" and caring less. Two papal negotiators tried anew in mid-1971 to convince him to leave his homeland. Msgr. Giovanni Cheli teamed with a Hungarian-born cleric, Jozsef Zagon, whom the cardinal had spirited to Rome in 1949 as one of 20 promising young priests who were to ensure the Hungarian church's future. Now Msgr. Jozsef Zagon was back, charged with persuading his onetime mentor to forsake his haven, an essentially thankless assignment, complicated impossibly by a pontiff who could not bring himself to order a fellow cardinal to respect his wishes. Mindszenty demanded that his life sentence be revoked, and by the time he reached Rome it publicly was. He wanted to reside in Vienna, to which the Vatican agreed. He expected to remain Hungary's primate, a point later disputed by both sides. Nor would he agree to stop speaking out against the Communist regime. One of Cheli's victories was securing guarantees for the cardinal to bid farewell to selected friends. The Communists arranged transportation for eight people to call on him at the embassy.

Mindszenty remained convinced that once he was gone, Kadar's guarantees to accommodate the Catholic Church were worthless, and the cardinal reneged on so many of his promises to the monsignor that the exhausted Zagon, near collapse following a crucial reversal by the cardinal, came near to asking that he be relieved of his assignment. By now, the 79-year-old prelate was given to periods of sulking, refusing food and canceling his evening airings.

At long last, the wracking exchanges between the two combatants narrowed to the pope's written insistence — still couched as a request — that the primate appear at the Vatican on Sept. 30 to concelebrate with his pontiff the opening

Mass before the Third World synod of bishops. Finally, the cardinal was packed and ready to go. On Sept. 27, 1971, he stepped out of his embassy exile for the first time in 15 years and was driven by Vatican officials to Vienna. Continuing on to Rome, he received a private, eight-minute "welcome" from Jan Cardinal Villot, the pope's secretary of state, who boarded the DC-9 soon after it landed.

Described as "visibly tired," the wilting traveler appeared unnerved by the noise, crowds and traffic. From a respectful distance, a media pool in the Vatican gardens watched Pope Paul advance to embrace his Brother in Christ, first presenting his golden ring and then his pectoral cross. About then the cardinal appeared to lose control, loudly berating the pope for "tricking" him out of his homeland. Horrified priests hurried the men away from reporters pressing for explanations.

Mindszenty was heard demanding to leave at once and rejecting any concelebration of the morning's scheduled synodal Mass. News people were told that "nothing must be done to overturn the existing delicate balance." Only an 11th hour caucus of Hungarian expatriates persuaded the furious cardinal to concelebrate the Mass.

After marking time for three weeks in St. John's guest apartment overlooking the gardens, the cardinal returned to Vienna, one of the conditions agreed upon before he left Budapest. He established himself in Vienna's Pazmaneum, a seminary named for a famed Hungarian churchman. Technically under the Hungarian primate's jurisdiction, also adjacent to the U.S. Embassy on the Boltzmanngasse, living at the Pazmaneum may have been a way for him to keep in touch with Budapest staffers who made frequent business trips to Austria. However, Mindszenty

soon realized that those he had hoped to see had been encouraged to avoid the Pazmaneum.

From Vienna, the primate began speaking out on issues many observers considered politically inappropriate. He offended his Austrian hosts with an indiscreet comment about their Hungarian frontier. Such talk must stop, he was warned, if he expected to remain welcome.

Twice in 1972 and again in 1973, he rushed off to America to arrange for publication of his memoirs. He also toured the country as the self-appointed leader of Hungarian-Americans, trying to thwart Budapest's campaign to get them to revisit the homeland. Over and over he repeated what he once had told visiting Postmaster General Winton Blount in Budapest: "Anyone spending a dollar in communist Hungary commits a mortal sin." In Ohio he was "a real saint," in Los Angeles, a "moral giant," in New Jersey, "one of history's greatest defenders of life, liberty, and human rights." A foundation was named for him in St. Louis, where a congressman called him "the greatest spiritual leader of the world." An Indiana senator was all for settling him in the United States. Pointedly, he was not invited to the White House. Along his tour route, one Hungarian-American cleric cautioned, "We respect him but hardly regard him the spiritual leader of exiled Hungarians."

Back in Hungary, Communists were fuming over his reported attacks on them. They refused to believe an "authoritarian church" was powerless to silence him in accordance with the bargain which secured his release. At last they started firing back, and distraught prelates began showing up at the Holy See to complain that the cardinal's public remarks were undermining efforts to improve Hungarian



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Catholicism. Mindszenty's defenders blamed the media for sensationalizing and misquoting him. His book, *Memoirs*, was published in 1974, a few months before his death, in both English and German by Macmillan Publishing.

When on Feb. 7, 1975, Pope Paul VI with "great reluctance" dismissed him as Hungarian primate and archbishop of Esztergom — many headlines claimed he had been fired — he indignantly replied, "Cardinal Mindszenty can not abdicate." Minus the title, however, his role of "spiritual head of the Hungarian emigre movement" began to erode. By now he realized that Rome could not allow its directives to be broken with impunity. He wilted when the pope appointed a new Hungarian primate, about the time when associates became aware of his failing health. He had predicted his unhappy end during his last sermon at the embassy. Drawing on Paul the Apostle, he said, "I go ... to pagan Rome, where my fate is uncertain, but I stand ready to suffer anything." After Mass, he made a small joke, reminding lingering well-wishers that Paul was beheaded in Rome.

Soon after his May 6, 1975, death at age 84 in Vienna's Brothers of Mercy Hospital, which followed prostate surgery, a clamor arose for the instant canonization of this Jozsef Pelm from Csehmindszent, a rural village in western Hungary. However, the strained tone of Pope Paul's epitaph laid any such hopes to rest for the simple, courageous, tormented priest.

In Budapest, Ambassador Puhon was working swiftly and efficiently to get his embassy back on track. Normalizing U.S. diplomatic initiatives assumed physical characteristics. After refurbishment, the vacated corner office again became the mission chief's, the former

Continued on page 26

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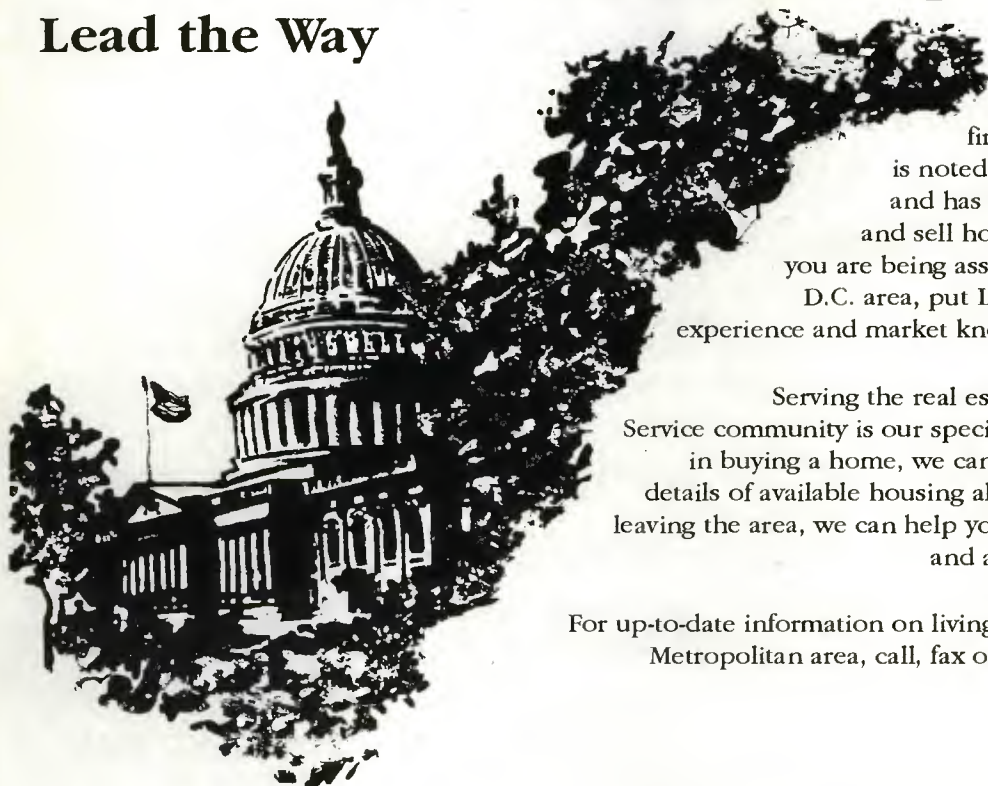
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Continued from page 24

occupant reduced to a small brass plaque near the door. The raggedy band of police agents vanished from the sidewalks. The embassy's moody battleship grey exterior was transformed into a lively yellow.

Other diplomatic initiatives took place. The Carter administration returned the Holy Crown of St. Stephen to awe-stricken onlookers. It had been stored at Fort Knox since American GIs in Austria received it from Hungarians fleeing the Red Army during World War II. Congress also awarded Most Favored Nation status to the Budapest regime. Both governments cleaned up disputed postwar claims and reparations. A postmaster general's visit led to the arrival of a cabinet official, Secretary of State William Rogers. However, Deputy Premier Peter Valyi never reciprocated with a trip to Washington. Few Hungarians believed that, while inspecting a factory near the Slovak border, he slipped from a catwalk into a vat of molten steel.

Another strange tragedy may have been Ambassador Puhán, who with dedicated diligence had kept the cardinal's future on front burners in Washington, Rome and at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry. Asked by the Foreign Service to submit a pro forma resignation at the beginning of President Nixon's second term, he was shocked to have it accepted.

Nowadays, visitors to Mariaszall, the famed shrine to the Virgin Mary near Vienna, linger with mixed emotions at the former Hungarian primate's impressive tomb. During a 1983 visit to Austria, Pope John Paul II came to pray over the almost-martyr's remains. Zealous adherents may have regarded the gesture an overdue act of papal penance for the Holy See's treatment of a cardinal memorably described by a friendly diplomat as "a narrow, stubborn, obtuse, tough-minded, yet warm-hearted and charming priest." ■

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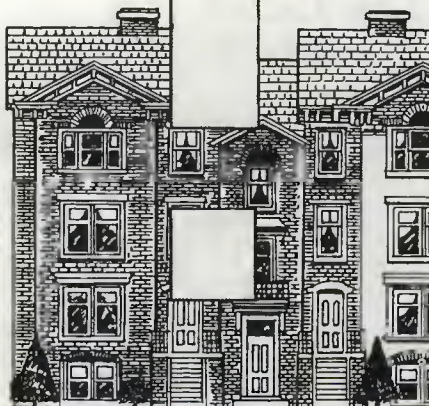
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AFTER 10 YEARS ABROAD, A FOREIGN SERVICE FAMILY
CAN'T RESIST TURNING A HOUSE INTO A HOME

BY PAMELA COHELAN BENSON

The memory of that house, though two years old, is still clear in my mind. Tall wet grass carpeted the front garden and a gate, broken off its hinges, stood permanently open. Bushes close to the house, once neatly trimmed, bolted awkwardly in all directions. The neighbors' unchecked ivy crept through the fence, digging its tendrils further and further atop the flower beds and around a dead tree stump on our lawn. On the house, a shutter hung askew. From another window, two slats had slipped from their fittings and fallen to the ground. The lamp post, once a beacon to passersby, had rusted and was tilting into a surrounding shrub.

We had returned to our house in Northwest Washington after 10 years of living and working abroad. The tenants were only preparing for departure when we descended on the house, attacking the front garden with clippers, saws and shovels and filling 30 bags with ivy and trimmings. We chopped down three trees — once bushes — and sawed through thick limbs of yew and azalea, reducing them to their former scale. The garden looked plucked, whipped, unlovely. "Don't you

like trees?" asked a passing neighbor.

Inside, the house looked lived in, but not as neglected as the garden. With a few new appliances and fresh coats of paint, it would be fine — a place for us to live, one of many we lived in during our Foreign Service wanderings. To our tenants, the house had become a home that was difficult to leave. When they finally moved out, we went about our refurbishing tasks with a grim determination tinged with ambivalence. We had never actually pictured ourselves reoccupying the house, but the real estate market was flat, and the property needed our attention.

Ambivalence turned to despair the day the moving truck maneuvered onto our narrow urban street and began unloading our furniture and belongings, which had been in storage for 10 years after being gathered during our early travels. Piece by piece, the workmen carried in pieces of our lives — the secondhand wooden dining room table; the four ladderback chairs my brother left behind when he moved his family to California; the kitchen hatch of stained plywood my grandfather had made in 1950 with the year etched on the back; the low-slung sofa covered in khaki wide-wale corduroy; the antique treadle sewing machine; the Turkish baby cradle; the Indian rosewood chest of drawers; the brass table etched in Urdu; the bookshelves made of packing crates. It was funny furniture, the kind people store in their attics or sell at garage sales. Take it back, I thought. Please stop bringing this junk to my door.

Pamela Cohelan Benson accompanied her husband David to India and Turkey with the Peace Corps, Zambia with the American Friends Service Committee, and Liberia, Kenya and Cote d'Ivoire for the Agency for International Development. She now teaches at the Sidwell Friends School in Washington, D.C.

Rooms filled with the trick's contents. My life of 10 years ago emerged again. Carpets, pictures, lamps, tables, endless boxes of books, children's clothing, children's bicycles, out-of-style shoes carefully wrapped in tissue paper. I sat on the stairs leading to the basement and stared helplessly at the piles of our belongings. My skin itched against the wool of the carpet. Humidity was high. How could I have ever wanted or needed all this stuff?

I remembered friends of ours who, not too long ago, had been able to fit their belongings into three footlockers. They had traveled as we had, yet they had collected no furniture and few household items. When they settled into a new location, they simply purchased what they needed through want ads and thrift shops. In a short time, they always assembled a comfortable, functioning household. I envied their ability to avoid cluttering up their lives with extensions of themselves.

Slowly, angrily at times, I began sorting through the assorted remnants of my former life, a process that took all summer and dragged into the fall. Resisting the impulse to rid ourselves of everything, we refinished the ladder-back chairs, bought them cushions and welcomed them back into the house. My daughter and I sorted through clothing with big floppy collars and garish prints. "Mom! Please say you didn't wear this! Not those shoes!" Listening to my daughter made me laugh as I packed wide neckties into the give-away bag.

We built a new picket fence across the front garden and planted a cherry tree to replace the one that had died. Summer flowers eased the raw look of the pruned shrubbery. We replaced the shutters and made window boxes for geraniums. We began to relax and invite old friends to come for dinner.

In the decade we'd been away, the neighborhood had changed. The elegant couple next door who had once given a catered formal dinner party in their lovely garden had been replaced by a family with three children and two dogs. On the other side of us there had been a divorce. Instead of a family of two adults and a child, one remaining adult occupied the house.

Two years later in the spring, we put the house on the market and, somewhat to our surprise, it quickly sold. We'd found an older house on a large lot a few blocks away. It had stood empty for more than a year. We liked the idea of restoring it and making it our own, a house that would be difficult to leave; a house we might never rent to strangers. Friends commented on how odd it was for us to undertake this project as our adult children were preparing to leave the nest. Our children, however, were supportive and saw the move as a positive new beginning. After all, my parents' nearby home, the one where we had spent home leaves and one evacuation, was still our children's emotional home base.

We packed again — fewer belongings, but still far too many. Once more, movers would struggle to negotiate the stairs under the weight of the rosewood chest of drawers. As we prepared to depart, I scanned our garden.

Shoots of waxy red peonies were pushing up through the damp earth and the young cherry tree was a shower of pink. Daffodils and tulips lined the borders against a background of well-shaped yew and azalea bushes. I imagined that the new owners would put their baby in our daughter's room where the windows looked out onto the treetops.

The house we were leaving was just one of many in which I had made a home during our years of living and working abroad. I had a few fond memories of almost all of them. Of this one, I would remember the difficulty of re-establishing a life at home in the United States, after so many consecutive years away. I would remember the way the floor boards squeaked as you walked into the kitchen and the sound of the gate latching as you walked out to the avenue. And I would wonder if the grape hyacinths pushed up in the spring and whether the ivy was being kept at bay. But, as always, I was glad to be going, glad to be getting on with our life. ■

*Friends commented
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leave the nest.*

LOVER, HERO, SPY, CAD

SURVEY OF MODERN AMERICAN FICTION SHOWS THERE'S NO 'TYPICAL' FSO

By MICHAEL CANNING

Not as sexy as the spy nor as deadly dull as the soldier, the Foreign Service officer emerges in modern American literature as a variety of characters, from a smarmy political ambassador to a loyal low-level bureaucrat. In many American mainstream novels, the FSO is a peripheral figure playing sidekicks and providing sidebars to the main action. Two such minor characters include a consular officer in Paul Bowles' *The Sheltering Sky* (1949) and an envoy who is father-in-law to the hero in Richard Condon's *Bandicoot* (1978).

Such 1960s thrillers as Fletcher Knebel and Charles W. Bailey's *Seven Days in May* (1962) and Dominic Torr's *Diplomatic Cover* (1965) have European embassy locales, with FSOs taking bit parts in larger dramas. In Leslie Waller's suspense novel, *Embassy*, (1987) the key FSOs are the deputy chief of mission and the consul. The book is jammed with characters and situations stretching all credulity.

Tom Clancy's latest techno thriller, *Debt of Honor* (1994), features a cleverly venal deputy assistant secretary, Chris Cook, an expert in Japanese trade. He's looking to jump to private industry and really wants that house in Potomac, so he agrees to leak secrets to the Japanese. To know what Clancy really thinks

of the Service, one only has to listen to his alter ego, Ryan, muse on what his president might offer him: "Please," he thought to himself. "Not an ambassadorship: the usual kiss-off for a senior official."

In more serious literature, writers' own overseas jaunts have inspired a couple of the best to incorporate diplomatic types into their fiction. In John Updike's *Bech: A Book* (1970), for example, protagonist Henry Bech, a New York Jewish writer, is on a 1964 State Department cultural exchange program to the USSR and Eastern Europe, where he treats his embassy handlers with offhand irony. His contact in Moscow, for example, is "a prissy, doleful ex-basketball player from Wisconsin." Bech's is a lively take on U.S. writing of the period and worth a read.

The Service fares far better in Saul Bellow's *The Dean's December* (1982), one of the Nobel laureate's late, sardonic novels on the rather dismal state of American culture. The overseas context is Romania, where university dean Albert Corde has come with his astrophysicist wife to visit her dying mother in a Bucharest hospital. The authorities refuse hospital visits, so Corde gets some strings pulled to arrange a meeting with the ambassador. This career man is a "discreet, soft-spoken, almost gentle, mysteriously earnest, handsome black man." This fellow is a class act, a paragon who not only hears the voluble Corde out but agrees to intercede on his wife's behalf with the minister of health.

Besides being bit players, American diplomats can also be the chief actors in imaginative fiction. In a way, the novel's very nature is attuned to the diplo-

Michael Canning is a retired U.S. Information Agency Foreign Service officer. His last post was as deputy public affairs officer in Brasilia from 1991-93.

matic game in a way other creative vehicles are not. The novel can be discursive and ruminative, better matching the mindset and literacy of the Service. Novels, moreover, can be better vessels for character than action. The examples may not be legion, but several books over the last 40 years have actually had members of the Foreign Service at their core.

A landmark novel of this type, both for what it said about U.S. Southeast Asian policy as well as for how it depicts the Foreign Service, was William Lederer and Eugene Burdick's *The Ugly American* (1958), which offers a parade of foreign policy types in the fictional principality of Sarkhan. They range from the public information officer, Joe Bing — a gross diplomatic parody concerned only with commissaries, social life and perks — to self-made millionaire and engineer Homer Atkins, who comes to Sarkhan to help develop small projects for the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID). Atkins is, by the way, the original ugly American — because of his physical features, not his diplomatic behavior.

The key diplomatic figure in the novel is, however, Ambassador Gilbert MacWhite, for whom Sarkhan represents the capstone of a career. He is an ambiguous figure, intelligent and earnest, who wants to do right by President Eisenhower's containment policy, yet who's prone to misread the Sarkhanese and comes to doubt Washington's direction. He ultimately fails and is recalled to Washington — to be replaced by the vulgar Joe Bing!

The Ugly American was a headline best seller in its day and regularly cited as a cautionary tale for America's Southeast Asian policy. The authors saw it precisely that way and even added a non-fictional addendum with policy prescriptions for State in the region, beginning with language and area studies training. Yet, at a distance of almost 40 years, the novel just doesn't stand up, little as policy admonition, even less as literature. Its structure is a parade of one type per chapter, each a dutiful stand-in for a piece of the authors' thesis. Worse, the tone is so condescending that the cautionary tale degenerates into mere finger wagging.

With *The Ugly American* a smash success, Lederer and Burdick followed up with *Sarkhan*

(1965), which presumes an imperialist North Vietnam spreading its tentacles into its imaginary neighbor. Running the under-siege embassy is political appointee Spratt Brown, another "nice amateur diplomat spending a couple of pleasant years in a country he doesn't understand." Benighted Brown and his mission must revisit the agonies of Vietnam: upcountry guerrillas, embassy demonstrations, American "advisers," military build-ups. It all ends very badly: The good guys are dead, all the rest are discredited, and stupidity and cupidity reign.

The Southeast Asian crisis was enough the common currency of the mid-1960s to inspire another high-profile, if more effective literary effort, *The Ambassador* (1965), by Australian novelist Morris West. The narrator is Maxwell Gordon Amberley, a 35-year State Department officer who gets the post of his career — South Vietnam — but is torn between this call to service and a burgeoning sense of self-awareness he gained from an old Zen master. Thus the novel provides fictionalized particulars of the mid-1960s Vietnam War.

The poles of U.S. policy are posed by superhawk Harry Yaffa, the oily, unscrupulous CIA chief of station, and the thoughtful Mel Adams, the lean, bleak first secretary with an academic bent and a conscience. Amberley needs them both to test his shifting perspectives on local crises. The novel affords Amberley plenty of time to muse on foreign policy, his fate and the Foreign Service. Much of the dialogue has a stilted, formal quality that lacks bite and idiosyncrasy. Yet, *The Ambassador*, more than most, harbors some telling word pictures of the diplomat's lot in life.

Embassy cocktail parties are encapsulated nicely: "They strain the memory, the courtesy and the digestion. They conduce to scandal, fallen arches and jealousies among the women." And there is a nice paraphrase of the Fudge Factory: "Diplomacy is the near-

The FSO in American literature is just another person, a flawed creature who finds love, escapes danger, risks his career, but, more often than not, remains loyal to his country:

est thing to perpetual motion, and in spite of death, disaster, subornation and treason, the fidget wheels keep turning ... the springs wind and unwind and the illusion of purpose and direction is maintained for the comfort of the ignorant."

At its best, *The Ambassador* is an honest effort to genuinely plumb the mind and morals of one career officer. It is that rare attempt to examine the duality of the official and the personal that confronts most FSOs, such as action vs. inaction, or needing approval from superiors while holding off subordinates. As West's ambassador defines that duality: "Diplomacy is a dichotomous business at best, since it demands a total cleavage between the accidental and the absolute, between the just and the expedient, between the difficult truth and the desirable casuistry."

Another book of the 1960s with a State Department context is economist John Kenneth Galbraith's *The Triumph*

(1968), subtitled "A Novel of Modern Diplomacy." This "small fable," as the author calls it, traces U.S. policy toward a wretched Latin American country in crisis. Its Somoza-like dictator is deposed in a military coup and replaced by a vaguely leftist regime that the U.S. government hesitates to recognize. Much of it is told through the bureaucratic mind games of one Worth Campbell, the assistant secretary of state for Inter-American Affairs, who backs off from the new government in hopes a more amenable, or anti-Communist, leader can be found.

While clever and timely for its day, the book is mainly an excuse for the acerbic and opinionated Harvard don to hold forth on the pettiness and obtuseness of Washington. It is littered with metaphors, such as the New State building as "an unusually well-staffed hospital." It's a great role for potentate Galbraith, who can invent a Third World country to mock and play puppet master over an entire

bureaucracy. *The Triumph* is, above all else, so very knowing, and its genuine wit is darkened with hardcore disclaim.

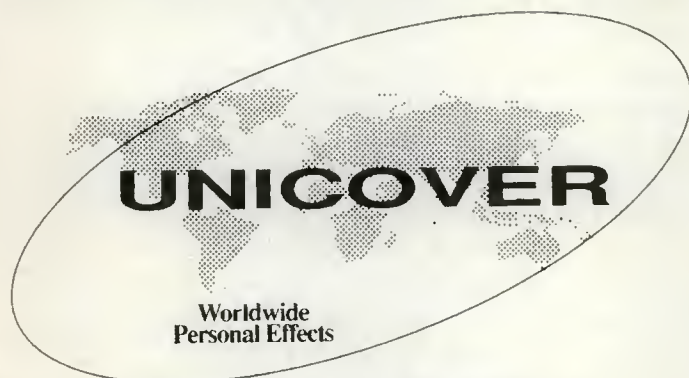
Tad Szulc's *Diplomatic Immunity* (1981) is a novel of U.S. involvement in Central America. Young Ambassador Julia Savage, a presidential pet whose appointment was opposed by the pedants and boobs at State, takes over the troubled mission in Malagua. At her arrival the airport is bombed and the blood of the injured sprinkles the roses she is given by the chief of protocol. This tour, the reader senses, will be nasty, savage and short. Again, we have a brutish CIA figure on the side of the bad guys and the questing envoy who must, on conscience, go against home-office policy.

Szulc, a veteran journalist, proves himself no novelist. He gets some details right, but is prone to provide a primer on department business, stopping the narrative cold.

Perhaps the most serious fiction written about the Foreign Service comes from two writers, Paul Theroux

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and Ward Just, who have had ample exposure to life overseas and who have written acute portrayals of diplomatic folk in their considerable bodies of work. Theroux, Boston-born but long expatriate in England, a Peace Corps volunteer in Uganda in the mid-1960s and a teacher in Malaysia, may be better known as an idiosyncratic travel writer than as a novelist. Ward Just was an award-winning journalist and Vietnamese war correspondent before he moved into fiction, where he has concentrated on chronicling the denizens of Washington, D.C. Both know first-hand the milieu and the personalities of the Foreign Service. Theroux, for example, in two collections of short fiction, *The Consul's File* (1977) and *The London Embassy* (1983), adroitly traces the trajectory of a somewhat detached but literate junior FSO as he moves slowly up the career ladder.

The Consul's File is a collection of first-person sketches written by this unnamed FSO who is sent to up-

country Malaysia to close out the tiny consulate in Ayer Hitam. The fellow becomes a thoughtful, but distant, observer of the locals of this exotic place. He admits, "It was the other people who mattered, not me. ... Other people's lives are much more interesting than one's own. I am an unrepentant eavesdropper, and I find anonymity a consolation." *The Consul's File* is slight, containing slim slices of life. But the life is real, deftly observed. When he is ready to leave, the consul muses in a letter, "It's fairly easy to come to countries like this; it's very hard to leave, which is why all of us who don't belong must leave. We crave simple societies, but they are no good for us."

Several years later, Theroux assigned his consular officer to London, now as a newly minted FSO-4 in the political section. In *The London Embassy*, more time is given to describing embassy colleagues. There is the commanding

and athletic deputy chief of mission who decries "cookie-pushers" and wants to be called "coach." There is a black FSO who can be cruelly cynical of his race. There is the preening U.S. Information Service cultural affairs officer of Italian-American descent who is desperate for a post in the country he pronounces "IT-lee." All these characters and more are easily recognizable.

Early on, there is a wonderful post-mortem of an embassy cocktail party — with staffers earnestly toting up the "contact" points for the evening. There is a right-on depiction of how two Foreign Service brats become more British than the British and cat-tily dismiss America. Then, too, there are sprinkled *bon mots* like, "There were ... two categories of bores at the embassy dinner parties: people with children and people with animals," or observations such as, "Bazaar merchandise doesn't travel well, and most of it is so hard to dust it grows fur."

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The London Embassy, while clever and well-crafted enough, is less affecting than Theroux's Malaysian book; perhaps the post simply does not have the same resonance. Still, it is a worthy read and the author saves a surprise for its last lines.

Ward Just first assayed the Foreign Service in the story "Burns," part of the collection, *The Congressman Who Loved Flaubert and Other Washington Stories* (1973). It examines an FSO whose career "proceeded logically and without sensation" from State Department cable clerk to visa stamping in Turkey to three years in the economics section in Bonn. There his DCM mentor imprints on Burns that "the Department values loyalty, intelligence and calm — in that order. ... We are not action people; we are analysts." Back in D.C., he is loaned to the CIA. The story ends modestly, mundanely, like most lives do. He is sucked into a new world of inside dope, realizes there is no returning, and is quietly

consigned to be a drone rather than a diplomat.

It is in Just's later novel, *The American Ambassador* (1987), where the diplomatic vein is richly tapped as he effectively dissects the life of a Foreign Service family in an intricate, three-part narrative. The ambassador is William North, fast-tracker, career man known as "a field man uncomfortable in the Department." His wife is Elinor, both a frice and a practical spirit and an accomplished painter. Their son, Bill Jr., is a Foreign Service parent's worst nightmare. Inexplicably soured by his parents' roaming life, he "displays a fathomless anger without object or definition."

Bill Jr. walks out on his parents in Hamburg in 1979 — at age 19 — to metamorphose into a German Marxist renamed "Wolf," who begins literally gunning for the despised father. Diplomatic life becomes understandably hard on the troubled Norths, who are eventually forced

toward that horrendous choice — familiar in Graham Greene novels — "between betraying your country and betraying your kin."

Summarized thus, the novel sounds merely melodramatic, but Just makes it real by intelligently drawing his characters. The struggling ambassador, though a thoughtful, dedicated officer, knows he is capable of insensitivities and little arrogances. He realizes he has "defended the indefensible."

Maybe *The American Ambassador* does not qualify as the Great American Diplomatic Novel. And, overall, this brief survey has hardly identified a new literary genre. Yet it is heartening, perhaps, to know that there have been decent literary efforts to penetrate the mind and manner of the American diplomat. The FSO in American literature is just another person, a flawed creature who finds love, escapes danger, risks his career, but, more often than not, remains loyal to his country. ■

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AFSA NEWS

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 FAX: (202) 647-0265

USIA Headquarters: (202) 401-6405
 FAX: (202) 401-6410

CANDIDATES SET FOR AFSA ELECTIONS

Ballots will be mailed on or about May 15 to all AFSA members to vote for a new Governing Board. The completed ballots must be received by June 30. The 1995 elections include two slates of candidates, the "Building Unity for Strength" (BUS) slate (*) and the Foreign Service "Leadership" slate (**). The BUS slate chose to submit individual statements by each candidate, whereas the Leadership slate chose to have an integrated slate statement. Candidates are listed by position, with the order of the names under each position determined by lot.

President: F. A. "Tex" Harris, * Christopher W. Dell**

Vice President for State: Alphonse F. La Porta,** Robert M. Pringle*

Vice President for AID: Garber A. Davidson, Matthew Horween

Vice President for USIA: Bruce K. Byers

Vice President for FCS: Patrick Santilla

Vice President for Retirees: Edward M. Rowell,* Daniel A. O'Donohue,** William S. Shepard

Secretary: Donald Norland,* Robert Gadec**

Treasurer: Sandra A. Crumpton,** Gail Lecce*

State Representatives: (five to be elected)

Nanette Krieger,* Mary Tarnowska,** Marshall Carter,** Pamela Bates,* Angela R. Dickey,** Gregory D.S. Fukutomi,* Rosemary O'Neill, Valentino E. Martinez,** Todd Kushner,* Francis T. "Paco" Scanlan**

AID Representatives: Gregg Baker, James Washington

USIA Representative: Jess L. Baily

FCS Representative: Tom Kelsey

FAS Representative: William W. Westman

Retired Member Representatives: (four to be elected) Aurelius Fernandez,* Arthur A. Hartman,** William Harrop,** Dennis M. Chandler,* Willard DePree,* Dennis Kux,* Kevin Kelly, Thomas Boyatt**

Continued on page 3

• AFSA Dateline •

• A new AFSA report on APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) is available to AFSA members on request. It features comments by Joan Spero, under secretary of State for Economics, Business and Agricultural Affairs; Winston Lord, assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs; C. Fred Bergsten, director of the Institute for International Economics; and other prominent government and business experts on APEC. The report addresses the principal issues at the next APEC summit in mid-November in Osaka, Japan. Call John Harter at (202) 338-4045 for copies of the report.

• Maryland retirees are invited to a lunch on May 17 at the Classic Residence Hyatt in Chevy Chase. A Northern Virginia retiree lunch will be held on May 24 at the Ft. Myer Officer Club. Call Joseph Kemper at (202) 338-4545 for more information.

• The Association of American Foreign Service Women is seeking donations of books, stamps, coins and crafts for its annual AFSA/AAFSW scholarship fund-raising sale in October. Donations, which are tax-deductible, can be brought to the Bookroom, State Room 1524, or call (202) 223-5796 to arrange for pickup.

Continued on page 2

AFSA DATELINE

Continued from page 1

- The Foreign Service Journal is planning a booklet, "A Day in the Life of an Embassy," to help Congress and the general public understand the Foreign Service. Any examples, stories or anecdotes that illustrate what Foreign Service personnel in State, AID, USIA, FAS, and US&FCS do and how they contribute to American national security, economic prosperity would help this effort. Please send all contributions to the editors by fax at (202) 338-8244 or via internet, afsa@dcz.com.

- If there are problems with Medical Services (MED) paying in a timely way for services that they are obligated to fund, please notify AFSA at (202) 647-0265.

- As part of its continuing outreach effort, AFSA Retiree VP Dan Narland recently spoke at a Syracuse University Seminar in Washington, at a Johns Hopkins University continuing education class and at the Patterson School of Diplomacy and International Commerce.

DISABILITY INSURANCE OFFERED TO MEMBERS

Errall between now and Aug. 1 to take advantage of the Disability Income Insurance Plan offering a monthly benefit of \$1,500.

The plan pays for up to five years when an employee is disabled by a covered accident and up to one year when disabled by a covered illness. The benefit received will coordinate with any other income sources to pay up to 70 percent of your monthly salary.

Members and spouses under age 60 not already insured under the plan, who have been actively working at least 30 hours a week for the last 90 days, and have not been hospitalized in the last six months, are eligible to apply for the AFSA Group Disability Income Plan.

The plan offers partial disability benefits, too, with only a 30 day waiting period. For more information on disability insurance, call Member Services at 202-338-4045.

SECURITY AGENTS FILE OVERTIME PAY GRIEVANCES

At a town meeting in Washington on March 30, about 100 diplomatic security agents unanimously agreed to file grievances for back overtime pay under the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA). Grievances must be filed prior to June 20 to take advantage of an AFSA/management agreement that froze the filing limitations period for one year.

The filing limitations agreement applies to all department employees who have FLSA grievances. Thus, unless the agreement is extended, all specialists and junior officers who believe they are owed overtime under the FLSA should file grievances prior to June 20. Note that the FLSA does not apply overseas.

RETIREE HOTLINE

Information on retiree activities and actions are available on AFSA's Retiree Hotline. Call 1-800-704-2372 for recorded messages.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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AFSA ELECTIONS • 1995

CANDIDATE'S STATEMENT

PRESIDENT

F.A. "TEX" HARRIS
(BUILDING UNITY FOR STRENGTH)



Dear Friends and Colleagues:

It is a great honor and an even greater responsibility to represent you as AFSA's president. Team AFSA – in Washington and around the world – has made enormous progress in the past 20 months bringing vigor and new directions to our joint efforts to strengthen the Foreign Service against its isolationist enemies while working for the internal reforms so badly needed. The Annual Report in the March Foreign Service Journal outlines AFSA's proud record of achievement in 1994. But now, less than ever, is no time to rest on our laurels. Major threats are lined up against the Foreign Service, our role, our programs, and, in a real sense, our very existence.

What follows is not the Building Unity for Strength (BUS) slate's platform; it will be issued in May. They are rather some key observations on what is at stake in this election.

This is the most important election since the Foreign Service was "reinvented" in 1980. That took place at the height of the Cold War, when the need for vigorous American leadership in the world – and a robust, well-funded Foreign Service – was

token for granted. Those days are gone. Today we face a Congress and an American public who question all those propositions, and those doubts are reflected in the draconian retrenchment that is being imposed upon us.

If we are to fight effectively not only for our benefits but for the primacy of diplomacy in the defending of our national interests, we must speak, as much as possible for all members of the Foreign Service, in all our diverse disciplines. Thus, the choice in this election is not only of the leaders, but of the leadership style of this organization. Our slate's vision for AFSA is clear: We are committed to bring about the real involvement of all Foreign Service members in the decisions that affect their careers.

AFSA has grown greatly in recent years. For the first time it comprises more than half of all active and retired members of the Foreign Service. Decision-making on constituency issues has been delegated to six very active standing committees for Retirees, State, AID, USIA, FAS, and US&FCS and to a score of specialized committees, dealing not only with scholarships, awards, and outreach, but also with the special issues facing diplomatic security agents, information managers and nurse practitioners. On the big issues, we poll those affected and represent their views to agency managers and the Congress.

Some months ago, a small group with a narrowly focused agenda took over the (State-only) Senior Foreign Service Association (SFSA) with the intent to develop a

political base from which to take over AFSA. I expect that their polished platform will make a traditional call for a return to basics for AFSA, taking positions in strong defense of the Foreign Service's traditional attributes – advancement by merit, rank in person, etc. Who could disagree?

But who decides how best to defend them? They see their election as empowering their small group to make those decisions for you. I and my running mates believe key decisions should derive from your full participation. This may sometimes be a messy process, but the organization is usually stronger for it.

A case in point is the AFSA stand on Sen. Jesse Helms' (R-N.C.) hastily drawn-up proposal to consolidate nine foreign affairs agencies into a super State Department. That proposal has been applauded before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee virtually sight unseen by the chairman of the SFSA, who took the lead in organizing the opposing slate. That proposal may or may not enhance the effectiveness of our foreign policy in an era of shrinking resources, but the BUS slate is not prepared to endorse or reject it until we carefully examine the details and their ramifications for the members of the Foreign Service.

Three months ago, Sen. Helms was questioning the rationale for the continued existence of a distinct Foreign Service and scolding foreign assistance as "two trillion dollars" of the taxpayers' money "down foreign rat holes." Now he purports to strongly support both in his "consolidation" proposal. Caution on

the part of the Foreign Service would seem to be in order, but the SFSA has warmly embraced Helms' proposal before knowing its details. They seem to have endorsed a management abstraction rather than the welfare of the Foreign Service rank and file.

AFSA is proudly both the union and the professional association of the Foreign Service. We are not a senior policy planning staff, which can examine and support great ideas on their abstract merits. We will withhold our judgment until we and AFSA's members see the full details contained in the Senator's still-secret several-hundred-page bill.

The Building Unity for Strength slate is led by dedicated AFSA volunteers who have proven their ability and willingness to work tirelessly on your behalf. We need balance and broad representation on the board, with junior, mid-career and senior officers, specialists, as well as retirees from AID, USIA, and State. The AFSA Board must represent the entire Foreign Service. It must represent you.

I bring to the job the knowledge obtained over the last 24 months representing you, and my vision that AFSA's strength in the long run comes not from any group of its elected officials, but from systematically eliciting your views and presenting them forcefully. Is this the right time for rookie leadership for AFSA?

**PLEASE SUPPORT THE
ENTIRE BUILDING UNITY
FOR STRENGTH SLATE.**

AFSA ELECTIONS • 1995

FOREIGN SERVICE LEADERSHIP SLATE STATEMENT

The Leadership slate brings together a strong coalition of mid-level officers, seniors, retired ambassadors and former AFSA presidents deeply concerned about and determined to fight to ensure the future of the Foreign Service. We promise effective, tough and innovative action on both labor-management issues and professional questions. And we will work to forge unified and coherent views on core issues of importance to all AFSA members.

Why We Are Standing for Election:

The Foreign Service faces a period of profound international change, uncertain U.S. leadership, declining public interest in foreign affairs, drastic budgetary challenges and "reinventing government" overload. We need an active, independent and engaged AFSA leadership will-

ing to cooperate with - but not be co-opted by - management.

AFSA's current leadership has failed us. It has remained mute on a weak echo of management on key labor issues. It has been silent on inaction on Foreign Service personnel reform, ignoring widespread member concerns and apathy. It has become party to management's exploitation of differences between employees, whether gender, ethnicity, specialist vs. generalist, senior vs. mid-level, or Civil Service vs. Foreign Service. And it has been reduced to the role of a feeble supplicant on management's side and a source of empty rhetoric, not an independent, respected representative of the membership which elected it.

AFSA must take clear, firm stands reflecting members' interests on major labor-management issues facing the Foreign Service and its parent agencies. These include the department's badly

flawed personnel reform proposals, belated "quality of life" improvements, the uncertain Strategic Management Initiative, and the cacophony of contradictory budget cutting and so-called management improvement actions.

Junior officer status, morale and career prospects pose major problems, which both management and AFSA have ignored. There is also growing mid-level, secretarial and specialist career disenchantment. Personnel in these groups and their families are bearing the brunt of management's shortsighted personnel practices and slash-and-burn resource allocation tactics.

Reorganization of the foreign affairs agencies has become a congressional priority. Whatever the prospects for congressionally imposed agency realignments, budget cuts alone will force major organizational changes. AFSA, the voice of professional

Foreign Service interests, has relegated itself to a marginal role by avoiding meaningful engagement in the public debate. It was not asked to testify before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the critical issue of foreign affairs reorganization. This is unacceptable and we intend to rehabilitate AFSA's image on the Hill.

We hold that AFSA, through its representation of Foreign Service personnel in all agencies, should protect the national interest and force attention to the major institutional and associated "people" issues through intelligent, articulate dialogue and negotiation within the Executive Branch and with Congress.

Like you, we are deeply troubled by AFSA's temporizing. Like you, we have been frustrated by our inability to do something about the problems besetting us. Like you, we are disturbed about AFSA's unwillingness and inability to defend our interests

CANDIDATES

President: CHRISTOPHER W. DELL, FO-01, deputy for political affairs, EUR Regional Political-Military Affairs, former DCM in Mozambique.

State Vice President: ALPHONSE F. LA PORTA, FE-MC, office director in EAP, extensive management experience, "State 2000," former DCM and principal officer, AFSA standing committee.

Secretary: ROBERT F. GODEC, FO-02, assistant director for Thailand-Burma Affairs, economic officer, Southeast Asia director at USTR.

Treasurer: SANDRA A. CRUMPTON, FO-03, past management officer for Central Asian posts, administrative officer in Africa and Europe bureaus, former vice president of a financial services firm.

State Reps: MARSHALL CARTER, FO-01, office director in Democracy, Human Rights & Labor, served in economic, political

and science positions, AFSA standing committee.

ANGELA R. DICKEY, FO-03, Iraq desk officer, served in Mauritania and Canada, prior experience as editor and journalist.

VALENTINO E. MARTINEZ, FO-01, consul general in Belfast, political officer in Central America, member of Policy Planning Staff.

FRANCIS T. "PACO" SCANLAN, FO-01, deputy director for Mexican Affairs, political officer, also labor and extensive consular experience, AFSA standing committee.

MARY E. TARNOWKA, FO-03, special assistant in E/O Office of the Coordinator for Business Affairs, economic and consular officer in ARA, previously manager in "Big Six" accounting firm.

Retiree VP: DANIEL A. O'DONOHUE, former ambassador to Thailand and

Burma, senior inspector, DAS in East Asian and Pacific Affairs, principal deputy in Policy Planning and Politico-Military Affairs.

Retiree Reps:

THOMAS D. BOYATT, former AFSA president, ambassador to Colombia and Upper Volta, recipient of State Department Award for Heroism; currently president of U.S. Defense Systems, director of DACOR.

WILLIAM C. HARROP, former AFSA chairman, ambassador to Israel, Zaire, Kenya, Guinea and Seychelles, inspector-general, recipient of Presidential and State Department Distinguished Honor Awards.

ARTHUR A. HARTMAN, former ambassador to France and USSR, European Bureau Assistant Secretary, director of Policy Planning; currently president of an investment firm.

AFSA ELECTIONS • 1995

FOREIGN SERVICE LEADERSHIP SLATE STATEMENT

assertively. **We are standing for election together because the time has come to speak to management with a single, clear voice in the defense of our careers, our families and our nation's need for a strong Foreign Service.**

What We Stand For:

We will take office with an agenda for action and a framework for responsive dialogue with our membership. If AFSA is to be effective, we cannot merely react to management initiatives. We will bring our own agenda to the table and insist that management deal with us as an equal partner. The governing board, therefore, must adopt views informed by the membership, rather than grope for elusive consensus. We will invigorate the standing committees, work through task forces to expand AFSA's outreach, and engage our membership in tracking and negotiating issues with management.

Specifically, the Leadership Slate will:

- **Challenge the department to work with us in addressing the major personnel issues confronting the Foreign Service:**

- **We will oppose the department steering committee personnel reforms** as harmful and irrelevant to Foreign Service needs and problems. We will propose instead an interim program, including Junior Officer coming upon entry, more flexible cones and real multifunctional definition. Management's inappropriate use of time-in-class as a tool for downsizing, often forcing the best people out first, must also be addressed. Intelligent person-

nel reform must be linked to a clear definition of the roles and missions of the foreign affairs agencies.

- **We will press for equity and transparency in Foreign Service personnel policies,** including recruitment, assignments and promotions. We will staunchly protect employee and retiree benefits from senseless budget cutting, recognizing that Foreign Service allowances and other benefits help attract high-caliber personnel to difficult assignments. We join with AAFSW to promote "family friendly" initiatives and family-member employment opportunities with equitable compensation. Unlike current AFSA management, we will demonstrably "put people first."

- **We support diversity, not as a codeword for divisiveness, but as a means of attracting the best people to the Foreign Service, regardless of race, ethnicity or gender.** We reject any form of discrimination. The only standards for recruitment, assignment and promotion must be merit, equality and fairness. Scrupulous respect for these principles can produce real and lasting diversity without opening up new divisions and introducing new distortions to our career structure.

- **Fight for real partnership** on the full range of management issues:

- Management's current version of the State Department's future leaves unanswered the role of the Foreign Service. AFSA suffers from the same lack of vision.

- Drawing upon USIA AFSA's positive experience, **we will define and use partnership to the advan-**



Leadership Slate officer candidates: (left to right) Doniel O'Donohue, retiree vice president; Sandra Crumpton, treasurer; Christopher Dell, president; Robert Godec, secretary; and Alphonse LaParta, State vice president

tage of the Foreign Service. AFSA should be a full participant in committees, working groups and meetings at all levels when the management policies of all foreign affairs agencies are deliberated. AFSA must work vigorously to assess member views, define the agenda and press for meaningful action.

- **Work for a single Foreign Service of the United States:**

- This is the best means to pursue a unified foreign policy, guarantee the future of the public diplomacy and development assistance functions, and protect the careers of our professionals.

- Change is coming: The cold war has ended; new policies require restructuring of the foreign affairs agencies to face new international challenges; and drastic budgetary slashes will drive change whether we like it or not. Blind defense of the bureaucratic status quo in this situation does a disservice to all our members.

- We will work to shape proposals that ensure the most effective formulation and execution of national policy; pro-

mote the highest professional standards; protect and enhance our core competencies; and obtain the resources necessary to foster a more efficient and compact unified Foreign Service.

- **We will stress integrity and a new vigor in AFSA leadership.**

We are a coalition of active duty mid-level and senior officers, supported by a corps of distinguished retired officers, who are dedicated to the Foreign Service as a profession. We represent a wide spectrum of functional and geographical expertise.

The Leadership Slate does not seek a career in paid AFSA office. Nor does it believe the AFSA presidency should be a sinecure, dependent on currying management's favor. **The Leadership Slate believes in a renewed and reinvigorated AFSA. We are ready to work collegially with elected representatives from AID, USIA, FCS and FAS.**

GET OUT A MASSIVE VOTE FOR THE LEADERSHIP SLATE! SEND OUT A STRONG MESSAGE THAT WE ARE READY TO FIGHT FOR THE FOREIGN SERVICE!

AFSA ELECTIONS • 1995

CANDIDATES' STATEMENTS

VICE PRESIDENT FOR STATE

ALPHONSE F. LAPORTA
(LEADERSHIP SLATE)

ROBERT M. PRINGLE
(BUILDING UNITY FOR STRENGTH)



The Foreign Service cannot remain a quality organization unless it does better by its members. Quality of life issues will be on the line as never before in the stressful months ahead. AFSA must be more effective both in communicating with its membership and in advocating solutions. For example, we should determine how much money it costs a two-income family when one quits his/her job and follows the other abroad, and use that kind of information to combat ill-informed proposals to tax housing and other allowances.

AFSA has no choice – it must be oriented both toward the welfare of its members and toward professional concerns – but right now the emphasis should be on job protection and enhancement.

I pledge to concentrate on reporting the "quality of life" news from Washington on a weekly basis, more often when necessary, seeking members' views, and then proposing action as needed. This will be my top priority.

Our constituents have recently reminded us that State's most valuable asset is foreign policy expertise. Developing such expertise requires a long-term commitment. We will not attract tal-

ented people if there is no long-term job security or sense that a compact made is likely to be a compact broken.

A more secure Foreign Service should be outward-looking, seeking opportunities for two-way interchange with business, academia and domestic agencies. If we are as good as we can be, such openness can only enhance our prospects.

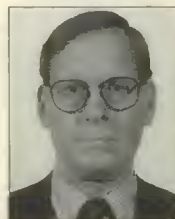
My education includes a doctorate from Cornell University in Southeast Asian History, and I have published two books in that field. Since 1967 I have done a mix of political, economic and environmental work. I have served five times abroad in Asia and Africa, always in hardship posts, twice as DCM, and most recently as ambassador to Mali. I respect the need for a broad range of foreign affairs skills and missions.

Although there is an immediate need for greater efficiency, I'm not sure that wholesale agency integration is the way to achieve it. Certainly integration should not be undertaken in a rush, without extensive study. What is clear is that the Secretary of State should have enhanced authority, and in some cases budget oversight, over all other foreign affairs agencies, empowering him to set broad policy goals.

AFSA's slogan could well be "unity in diversity." To be strong, AFSA must have a base drawn from the different foreign affairs agencies, diverse in its professional composition but united in seeking rational, humane solutions to the special problems common to all civilian professionals committed to serving their country abroad.

VICE PRESIDENT FOR AID

GARBER DAVIDSON
(INDEPENDENT)



As the AID Foreign Service we serve our nation in the most difficult and dangerous places of the world. We work to make America better by improving the well-being of others. We serve the U.S. national interest through our support for free markets, democracy, health and the environment. I am angry that despite the important functions we perform, we are under assault. We are caught between some on the Hill who would turn back to isolationism, and those in the administration who would cave on bedrock principles. I am angry that we must fight to defend our basic contract e.g., hardship differentials, medical care overseas, and retirement. Even worse, there are strong forces in Congress which would eliminate foreign assistance altogether and retire the talented men and women who deliver it.

AFSA must do more. We all must do more. I have served as your vice president at AFSA for the past nine months. Perhaps my most important achievement was to negotiate a "due process" records and files reform with HR, and I made significant improvements in our communications with you, e.g. FOCUS Group. I ask for your support to continue the job. In the coming term I will concentrate on critical issues of

career and quality of life. AFSA, to remain relevant, must more effectively take on such issues: locality pay for overseas employees, post hardship differentials, medical coverage overseas, promotions and assignments, the proposed EER system, and maximizing AID's rich and varied workforce at all levels are only a few.

The issue of merger of AID into State is fundamental, and I have led the fight within AFSA to defend the agency's integrity. This is a ploy by isolationists to abolish foreign assistance, and AID/AFSA must continue to speak out and work vigorously to protect the agency. No other country delivers foreign assistance as effectively as AID. No other U.S. agency supports programs, people and accounts for funds in the way AID does. At no time in our history has sustainable development been so important a component of U.S. foreign policy, and this aspect of U.S. presence abroad must not be jeopardized. I have worked in solidarity with AID leadership to protect and defend the agency in these very tough times. We need a strong and experienced vice president to carry the fight to the Hill, the press, and the American people. I pledge to you that I will continue to work vigorously to defend the integrity of the agency and the Foreign Service if I am elected as your vice president.

I urge you also to support our colleagues Gail Lecce (Treasurer), James Washington, Gregg Baker (AID Reps), Kevin Kelly and Dennis Chandler (Retiree Reps).

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CANDIDATES' STATEMENTS

VICE PRESIDENT FOR AID

MATTHEW HORWEEN
(INDEPENDENT)

These are times of rapid and sometimes wicked change. Like all of you, I'm tired of AID employees taking a back seat in the foreign affairs community. You need an AFSA representative up to the task of aggressively looking out for the interests of all AID officers.

My name is Matt Horween, and I am a candidate for the position of AID vice president on the AFSA Governing Board. My career encompasses both private sector and U.S. government experience. I've been a financial management officer at AID since 1981, serving in Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. AFSA members at post elected me post AFSA representative in Ouagadougou, and I am now the post AFSA representative in Bridgetown. During this time I've seen AID continue its second class status at the foreign affairs table, both at the department level and in AFSA. I am running to stop this sorry state of affairs.

I seek to:

- Bring AID to the table as an equal partner.
- Stop the inequity in the allocation of AFSA resources between the grades of Foreign Service officers and represent ALL grades equally.
- Make it mandatory for local post management to negotiate with AFSA before making changes in local working conditions for U.S. direct-hire employees.

- Promote greater incorporation of AID reinventing of government improvements and efficiencies into the total management of a post.

- Fight the State ruling that each ambassador has the right to amend the Standardized Regulations to reduce benefits for all employees at post.

- Make AID management reveal AID's reduction-in-force (RIF) rules and severance pay formula for AID Foreign Service personnel.

- Convince Congress as to the inequity and negative operational aspects of not granting locality pay to Foreign Service personnel overseas.

- Restore adequate post differentials for AID personnel who disproportionately serve at unhealthy and dangerous posts.

The time is now for a new generation of AFSA leadership! It's time for Matt Horween to fight for ALL AID employees for a change!

RETIREES' NOTICE

An election campaign meeting will be held May 15 at 12 noon on the second floor at AFSA.

Candidates for president, retiree vice president and retiree representative will speak, followed by questions from the audience.

VICE PRESIDENT FOR USIA

BRUCE K. BYERS
(INDEPENDENT)



We in the Foreign Service face unprecedented change in fast forward. Everything we do in Washington and overseas is under scrutiny. Management at the foreign affairs agencies is called upon repeatedly to justify all activities.

I have been involved in AFSA/USIA since my return from Poland in August 1993, and I have witnessed the accelerated pace of change we face in USIA. Early on, I participated as an AFSA representative on one of the teams which helped to design the initial architecture of the new Bureau of Information. Later I worked on the USIA Joint Partnership Council's Streamlining and Training and Transition Teams and helped to write the Streamlining report.

I have not been hesitant about getting involved in changes within USIA because I believe that we in AFSA play an important role in shaping the dialogue about change. To date we have been involved increasingly in different fora within USIA and between USIA and State in discussing fundamental issues about the future of the Foreign Service in USIA. Generally, we have been welcome in these discussions, and we enjoy a positive, constructive relationship with USIA management. I want to continue this and expand it.

structure relationship with USIA management. I want to continue this and expand it.

In January 1995 I worked with other AFSA Standing Committee members in USIA to draft a cable soliciting FSO comments on the current performance evaluation and assignments processes. I helped to collate the responses, and I drafted the AFSA report which was distributed for comment to overseas posts in March.

In all of these activities and in attendance at almost all AFSA Board meetings and numerous vice president's meetings (during the period when AFSA/USIA Vice President Raz Bazala was on TDY) I have taken a proactive approach to making AFSA/USIA concerns known. Likewise, I have actively worked with Raz Bazala in discussions with agency management on performance evaluation precepts for the current rating year. I have discussed with the chief of USIA's Congressional Liaison Office developments on the Hill, and I have kept abreast of legislative issues affecting the Foreign Service.

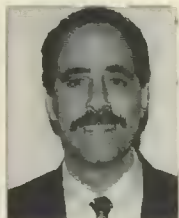
During my current tour I have learned much about key issues affecting FSOs and their careers. As AFSA/USIA vice president, I will continue my proactive role, seeking to recruit more members and making all FSOs in the USIA bargaining unit aware of fundamental issues. As a 24-year career FSO I have been and will continue to be a strong voice for AFSA/USIA and for all USIA FSOs at a time when our voice must be heard.

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CANDIDATES' STATEMENTS

VICE PRESIDENT FOR US&FCS

PATRICK SANTILLO
(INDEPENDENT)



I am pleased to have this opportunity to run for vice president in our first-ever US&FCS AFSA elections. We have covered a lot of ground since our establishment nine months ago. I found it extremely rewarding to have played a role in our formation, and I am looking forward to the challenges and opportunities we face in our future.

US&FCS Foreign Service employees voted overwhelmingly to have AFSA serve as our exclusive bargaining agent, and we immediately formed a standing committee to develop a Partnership Council agreement with US&FCS management, and to guide the position we would take in discussions with management. AFSA has drafted a Collective Bargaining Agreement, and we expect to finalize it with management in the near future. We conduct regular meetings with US&FCS management to address the issues of concern to our members.

In today's global economy, it is clear that U.S. commercial and economic security is part and parcel of our national security. With our business backgrounds and interest in commercial activities, US&FCS Foreign Service employees are uniquely positioned and qualified to carry out the role of advocate for and

promoter of U.S. business interests. Based on the many responses I have received over the past several weeks, it is clear to me that our members believe that a focused, highly specialized work force dedicated to the promotion of U.S. exports is the best way to support the U.S. business community.

I know that there are also many issues regarding our conditions of employment as Foreign Service employees that concern you. We will continue to ensure that these concerns are raised with and addressed by management. As you know, US & FCS/ AFSA represents the Foreign Service perspective in discussions with US&FCS management on the all-important issue of integration of the overseas and domestic operations, and will continue to champion our members' interests. In addition, I believe that it is imperative that US&FCS/AFSA advocate for a stronger training program to advance the abilities and performance of all of our employees. I also plan to continue to work closely with the other members of the AFSA board to represent the interests of the entire Foreign Service community to key decision makers here in Washington.

Few other professions have as profound an effect on an employee's personal and family life as does a career in the Foreign Service. I look forward to continuing the work we have begun to establish a partnership with management and to taking an active part in making the decisions that will shape our futures.

VICE PRESIDENT FOR RETIREES

EDWARD M. ROWELL
(BUILDING UNITY FOR STRENGTH)



Our country desperately needs a top quality, professional Foreign Service that makes full use of America's rich diversity. Chotic challenges assailing us from every quarter impose the need. The career Foreign Service is the answer, the front line in protecting our citizens and defending their interests.

A robust and aggressive AFSA, drawing on the united will of all Foreign Service professionals from all the concerned agencies, must carry this message to Congress and to our compatriots across the nation. They should know about the dangers and sacrifices of Foreign Service. They must understand that a lean Foreign Service, relieved of extraneous administrative burdens and focused on our nation's interests, is the best and most cost-effective investment they can make in their own defense. They should feel proud that governments and people around the globe respect us as the best.

AFSA will have to add even more vigor to its campaign to protect the hard-won benefits that make a gifted and diverse Foreign Service possible. In particular, we must defeat ill-conceived proposals to renege on well-earned retirement benefits, including some suggested cuts in income for retirees' survivors.

Foreign Service retirees, AFSA's largest constituency,

are a critical resource. Scattered in communities across the nation, they are already informing local electorates, sharing accumulated years of expertise with students and businesses and prodding Congressmen and Senators. The AFSA retiree vice president's actions to mobilize retirees are already paying off.

We have to do even more. If elected, I will be a hub for communications between retirees, AFSA, and the administration and Congress. I will work vigorously to enhance both the means of communication and the content of information and resource materials flowing to retirees. I will carry their concerns and suggestions in Washington and will help them to participate directly in the Washington scene whenever they feel they can. I will work actively with the entire AFSA board to advance the interests of both active and retired members and to preserve the lean, dedicated, loyal and professional Foreign Service that America deserves and needs.

I retired last year after 38 years in the Foreign Service, the last nine years as chief of mission in South America and in Europe. I have benefitted from the advice, friendship and collaboration of talented Foreign Service professionals in every field, including development, commerce, press, culture, administration, anti-narcotics. We stood together in tiny posts and large ones, often in hardship. Many of those colleagues have now retired after years of dedication, loyalty and integrity. I am committed to protect their interests and to sustain the high quality Foreign Service to which they gave so much.

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CANDIDATES' STATEMENTS

VICE PRESIDENT FOR RETIREES

DANIEL A. O'DONOHUE
(LEADERSHIP SLATE)

WILLIAM S. SHEPARD
(INDEPENDENT)



We must strive to prevent any diminution of the Retirees' contract with the United States government. When our careers began, we made that contract in good faith. Now there are those who would abrogate it. It will be my highest priority to protect our retirement system, as it was in 1993 when I went on television and authored articles to prevent the proposed 10 percent cut in retirement survivor benefits.

Our outreach to the Congress needs depth and allies. I will continue present efforts to energize retirees around the nation, and will strengthen the effort through timely talking points and draft correspondence for our retired community to use in approaching the Hill. As a long-time member of the National Association of Retired Federal Employees (NARFE), I will build coalitions with NARFE and other interested groups on issues of mutual concern.

I hailed the creation of the Foreign Service Reserve Corps as a fine and timely idea. Now it is moribund, and that is a disservice to the nation. We must see how we

can utilize the talents of retirees who wish to serve for specified periods in areas of their expertise.

Beyond issues of immediate concern to retirees are the broader matters of consolidation and professionalism that concern us all. We must face the fact that the "best and brightest" are no longer in many cases seeking foreign affairs careers in government service. The profession continues to be eroded. Professions seem stagnated, and now, with a stroke of the pen, the examination process itself has been halted for a year.

It doesn't have to be like this. Retirees are in an excellent position to take an active role in strengthening the profession. That is why I want to consolidate the fine work that AFSA Vice President Don Norland has undertaken to strengthen the retiree voice in AFSA policy and representations. And so I am running to succeed him as AFSA vice president for retirees.

I retired from the Foreign Service in 1985, following service in Singapore, Vietnam (twice), Hungary, Greece and France. A Congressional Fellowship with current Majority Leader Senator Bob Dole began my interest in politics, and I may be the only retired Foreign Service officer ever to earn a major political party's nomination for statewide office - in my case, as the Republican nominee for governor of Maryland in 1990.

Please give me your vote. I look forward to using political skills in political Washington in support of our profession.

DONALD NORLAND
(BUILDING UNITY FOR STRENGTH)



Reflecting four years on the AFSA Governing Board, two as retiree vice president, I want simply to highlight this board's past achievements and to stress the importance of pursuing its pro-active policies in the future.

Beginning with the board's first deliberations in the summer of 1993, there was unanimity on one point: The imperative of strengthening AFSA's organization and outreach at a time of major changes in the world and in Washington. In a word, AFSA needed clout; in practical terms, this meant expanding our membership and speaking out strongly. So we enlarged our rolls, e.g., through elections at the FAS and US&FCS. Our public posture was heightened by energetically pursuing carefully crafted positions on issues of deepest concern to members as foreign affairs professionals and as employees.

The list of the issues the board has addressed is long and impressive, including unprecedented testimony to Congress opposing unqualified political appointees and unjustified budget cuts. The result was enhanced respect and gratitude. AFSA also sounded the alarm and joined others in beating back an attempt to change Foreign Service survivors' benefits.

SECRETARY

This board embraced the concept of "partnership" in labor-management relations while vigorously opposing unilateral changes in hardship differential payments and medical provisions.

Meanwhile, AFSA multiplied its public outreach, organizing an unprecedented Smithsonian "Campus on the Mall" program to demystify diplomacy. It created a Coalition for American Leadership Abroad with more than 24 other internationalist-minded organizations. AFSA luncheon speaker and Friday Forum programs were expanded.

Businesses were courted through the AFSA conferences and International Associate events. To take AFSA's message to the grassroots, we developed a Legislative Alert Network (LAN) of retirees strategically located across the country, encouraging them to "carry the flag" by opposing neo-isolationism and to weigh in with the media on both foreign policy issues and the vital importance of diplomacy. These achievements owe much to Tex Harris' spirited leadership, supported by a dedicated Governing Board and a skilled supporting staff. Tex is willing to continue his energizing efforts by organizing an outstanding successor team dedicated to "Building Unity for Strength."

Our objectives are clear: to vigorously promote AFSA's influence and outreach. We need your continued support.

ROBERT GODEC
(LEADERSHIP SLATE)

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CANDIDATES' STATEMENTS

TREASURER

SANDRA A. CRUMPTON
(LEADERSHIP SLATE)

GAIL LECCE
(BUILDING UNITY FOR STRENGTH)



During the past year that I have served as AFSA treasurer, my principal focus has been on maintaining fiscal discipline, as increasing needs for AFSA services create new demands on our budget. After struggling with alternatives to the on-going funding drain caused by the Foreign Service Club, I advocated biting the bullet on this seemingly irresolvable problem and recommending to the AFSA membership that the club be closed. Once the board had agreed to this extreme measure, however, the current management company came in with a surprising new offer which cut our losses significantly. Although it is unlikely that any other savings of such magnitude can be achieved in the next few years, if reelected I would continue tight oversight of the budget.

I also advocated giving the budget closer programmatic scrutiny this year, in addition to the normal fiscal review. Since many of our programs are self-financing, it is often too easy to approve them at budget time, without reconciling our total agenda against the limited staff resources and board time we have to devote to it.

Finally, I asked that some of the individual programs provide written budget requests that more clearly identify their needs and projections for the future, so that we can ensure that our extraordinary fund-raising drives target our most essential needs, and also so that we can ensure that we ask our membership for additional contributions only when absolutely necessary. If reelected, I would provide continuity in the diligent management of AFSA funds.

I am running with Tex Morris on his Building Unity for Strength (BUS) slate because I strongly believe that the candidates on that slate have a vision of the Foreign Service that affords equal respect to all the agencies represented by AFSA. As the board has struggled this year over issues such as the future of the Foreign Service and potential consolidation of agencies, it has become increasingly apparent that the strength of AFSA, not only as a professional organization but also as a union, depends on the ability of its leadership to provide the "big tent" that can encompass the views of all its members.

Currently the assistant general counsel for Contracting and Commodity Management, I joined AID's Office of General Counsel in 1979. I have served in Costa Rica as regional legal advisor for Central America and in El Salvador as head of the Democracy Office, and returned to Washington in 1991.

STATE REPRESENTATIVES

NANETTE KRIEGER
(BUILDING UNITY FOR STRENGTH)



Nanette Krieger is on FP-1 currently serving as the regional director of the Department of State's Diplomatic Security Operations in Latin America. Since joining the Foreign Service in 1975, she has been assigned to Vientiane, Buenos Aires, Tokyo, Warsaw, Kinshasa and Tegucigalpa, as well as several domestic positions.

Nonette is particularly interested in quality of life issues and all matters affecting Foreign Service specialists. She is concerned that all avenues of participation and communications with management be used to get AFSA members' messages across as decisions about change are made.

Specialists are critical to the effective and secure operation of America's diplomatic missions throughout the world. The environment, skills and tools with which specialists work are changing rapidly with increasing requirements for continued training and better career development. The State Department has been slow to respond to the challenges its key specialists face.

MARY TARNOWKA
(LEADERSHIP SLATE)

MARSHALL CARTER
(LEADERSHIP SLATE)

PAMELA BATES
(BUILDING UNITY FOR STRENGTH)



I am a candidate for State Representative of the AFSA Governing Board because I seek to improve the Foreign Service of the future. I am especially dedicated to representing junior officers and to focusing attention on the issues that most concern them: the tenuring and coning process as well as the increasing amount of time spent on consular work in the first four years. I will undergo tenuring and coning in June, and will bring a first-hand perspective of the process to AFSA. Also, I have just completed a four-month semester at Brazil's diplomatic training institute as part of my first tour. The experience of working inside another, professional diplomatic corps has given me some fresh ideas to share with our community.

As your representative, I would also look forward to hearing from you. If elected, I would encourage you to contact me at my Internet address: pamelo.bates@dos.us-state.gov.

I am currently a first-tour officer in Brasilia, going to a second tour in Washington in June. I am a graduate of Bowdoin College in Maine and have a Masters in International Relations from The Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS).

AFSA ELECTIONS • 1995

CANDIDATES' STATEMENTS

STATE REPRESENTATIVES

ANGELA R. DICKEY
(LEADERSHIP SLATE)

GREGORY D.S. FUKUTOMI
(BUILDING UNITY FOR STRENGTH)



Junior officers find themselves in a period of flux, many unable to predict nor understand where their careers begin or lead. The end of 1994 saw a spike in junior officer resignations and early statistics for 1995 are not encouraging. Difficult issues surrounding coning procedures persist, raising anxieties and doubts. A reduced junior officer intake will funnel many from this current generation into a single functional area, preventing experience in others before tenuring. Time alone will not eliminate these problems. We need to be actively engaged now.

The concerns of junior officers must be heard. When State representatives pull up a chair to resolve issues with management, the BUS slate will ensure junior officers have a seat and a strong voice at the table.

Greg is currently special assistant to Ambassador James Blanchard in Ottawa and will be a desk officer in the South Asia Bureau in July. He holds a B.A. degree from Stanford and an MBA and a Ph.D. (ABD) in management from Columbia and worked as a management consultant before entering the Foreign Service in 1992. Greg is dedicated to use his professional experience in management techniques to improve the Foreign Service.

ROSEMARY O'NEILL
(INDEPENDENT)

The issues which will confront AFSA in the next year will be among the most important in its history as the State leadership tries to streamline the Department of State, and as both the executive and the Congress try to downsize the foreign affairs agencies.

As these agencies are reorganized, it is essential that their basic functions in serving the American public by advancing foreign policy goals are strengthened and not diminished.

If elected as one of the AFSA State representatives, I will use my many contacts in the executive branch and in Congress to maintain the Foreign Service and the foreign affairs agencies as strong tools of U.S. foreign policy.

As a former chair of the Open Forum, I am intimately familiar with the need to make known to the public the issues at stake. I will dedicate myself to publicizing the vast contributions of the Foreign Service and the foreign affairs agencies to the American public.

In campaigning for this position, I bring 30 years of experience in foreign service, including public relations work in developing public affairs programs, and political work in areas such as the Middle East, Central America and the successor states to the Soviet Union.

I ask for your support for my candidacy as one of the State Department's representatives on the AFSA board.

VALENTINO E. MARTINEZ
(LEADERSHIP SLATE)

TODD KUSHNER
(BUILDING UNITY FOR STRENGTH)



My voice on the AFSA board will be a strong one on behalf of mid-level officers. I will work hard to push the department to develop and articulate a clear vision of the Foreign Service's role in today's world. We deserve State's commitment to support the men and women of the Foreign Service as professionals and human beings. Our families deserve a commitment

from the department, as well. In a time of restructuring and downsizing, those of us who are obligated to leave the Service should depart with dignity and the fullest benefits possible. The assignments and promotion systems need to be made more fair.

I am an FS-3 economic officer and a member of AFSA and the Service for 10 years. I am currently serving on AFSA's State Standing Committee, Great Deeds Committee, and as the AFSA liaison to Secretary Christopher's "Overseas Presence" working group. My assignments include the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, Intelligence and Research, Belgrade and Lagos.

FRANCIS T. "PACO" SCANLAN
(LEADERSHIP SLATE)

USIA REPRESENTATIVE

JESS L. BAILY
(INDEPENDENT)

Today, the foreign affairs community is scrambling to change, to reinvent and to redefine how our government makes and carries out foreign policy. This is a healthy exercise that USIA FSOs should not fear.

As the independent voice for our professional concerns, AFSA must ensure that the administration, Congress and USIA management understand the vital role played by USIA's Foreign Service professionals. We must do this vigorously and realistically, in concert with our Foreign Service colleagues from other agencies. We need to focus the debate on the critical role of public diplomacy and how best to conduct it. We must go beyond protecting our turf. Consolidating foreign affairs agencies is not,

however, the best answer. Moving boxes on a flow chart will not necessarily increase the secretary of state's leadership. Already, USIA follows the policy direction of the president and secretary; we work well at the country team level overseas and through the interagency process here. Yes, we should identify and cut duplicative or obsolete functions. But creating unwieldy bureaucracies and dismantling USIA's integrated approach to public diplomacy will neither enhance national security nor save the taxpayer's money.

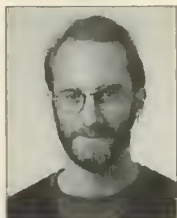
We cannot wait for others to be our advocates. All of us need to be involved. As a mid-career officer and half of a USIA tandem, I have a big stake in the outcome of this debate. That's why I want to join it as USIA's representative on the AFSA board.

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CANDIDATES' STATEMENTS

AID REPRESENTATIVES

GREGG R. BAKER
(INDEPENDENT)



At a unique time in our history when the role of government is being reexamined and debated, the very existence of the Foreign Service is at stake. Also at stake is the kind of Foreign Service we envision as we move quickly to the next century. I am proud to serve in a Foreign Service that recognizes the importance of long-term sustainable development to the U.S. national interest. I want to assure that this important work continues, that the integrity of this mission is not compromised, and that we find ways to more effectively share our experience with domestic social investment organizations engaged in similar work. I also want to see us make full use of our diverse and highly skilled Foreign Service workforce at all levels. I will work closely with Garber Davidson, Jim Washington and all AFSA members towards these ends.

Gregg R. Baker is an Economist currently assigned to the Asia/Near East Bureau, Strategic and Economic Analysis Office. He joined AID in 1990 after working as a research faculty member at the University of Maryland. Gregg served in Niger from 1991 to 1993, where he was the AFSA representative.

JAMES R. WASHINGTON
(INDEPENDENT)



I have used my experience to help AFSA better represent its member's interests during the past two years. If re-elected, in addition to using my broad development experiences to fight for the very life of the agency, I will draw upon my advocacy experience to help make our Foreign Service more reflective of the diverse society we represent. In a period of declining budgets and increasing global and domestic challenges, it is imperative that we make better use of the combined assets of our entire workforce. A vote for me will help ensure progress towards these ends. If re-elected, I will work enthusiastically with Garber Davidson, Gregg Baker, Kevin Kelly and Dennis Chandler to continue representing AID.

James Washington, a senior FSO, is currently assigned as senior advisor to the assistant administrator, Bureau for Africa. He joined AID in 1970 and later served on AID's labor relations staff, where he had the dubious distinction of representing AID management in negotiating the first labor contracts with AFGE and AFSA. He has served in three African posts.

James Washington has contributed immeasurably to promoting career advancement of minorities and women by advocating gender and ethnic diversity in the workplace. He is also participates actively in the agency's reengineering efforts.

US&FCS REPRESENTATIVE

TOM KELSEY
(INDEPENDENT)



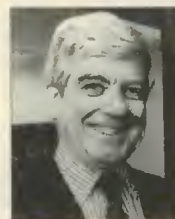
Here within the Beltway, we daily hear and read about such terms as the reinvention of government, consolidation of the Foreign Service agencies, and integration within the US&FCS. What does it all mean for you, and how are you going to be affected?

My platform is straightforward - as your representative to AFSA, I will keep you posted on a timely basis as to the pertinent issues, and I will seek your input and guidance in order to formulate the best decisions for us, the US&FCS, within the context of our bargaining unit. I view my role as a moderator and spokesperson, working closely with our first vice president, learning and contributing as I go. AFSA is now our organization as well, and it is not only our right but also our responsibility to play a proactive role in the current debate. Having just returned to a Washington assignment after three international assignments, my memories of overseas concerns and issues are still fresh, and I will strive to maintain that perspective.

I joined US&FCS in 1986 after working in management consulting. Tasks include Mexico City, London, senior commercial officer at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and now, the same job at the World Bank.

RETIRED MEMBER REPRESENTATIVES

AURELIUS FERNANDEZ
(BUILDING UNITY FOR STRENGTH)



AFSA's elected board represents and defends the professional and career interests of the Foreign Service community of all agencies. In these times when our existing foreign affairs structures are under serious attack, and we move toward reform, we need to build on our common core of values, experience and wisdom. We need to guard against a mechanical amalgamation of roles and functions of

the Foreign Service community. The reckless calls for simple budget cuts without clear strategic priorities and goals - beyond "saving" money - must be challenged.

The diverse and specialized talents of the community must be brought to bear to address issues, including those of special interest to retirees. It is for all these reasons that I accepted the invitation from Tex Harris to join the BUS slate, representing the professional and career interests of our entire retiree community.

Aurelius Fernandez served in Santiago, Bucharest, Vienna, London and Paris in public affairs positions. Executive director of the International Media Fund, he is active in the AFSA Retirees Committee, the AFSA International Associates program and COLEAD.

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CANDIDATES' STATEMENTS

RETIRED MEMBER REPRESENTATIVES

ARTHUR A. HARTMAN
(LEADERSHIP SLATE)

WILLIAM HARROP
(LEADERSHIP SLATE)

DENNIS M. CHANDLER
(BUILDING UNITY FOR STRENGTH)



I am pleased to present my candidacy for the position of a retired member representative on the board of AFSA. The major issues of concern to the AFSA retired members include the protection of benefits for the Foreign Service retiree and his/her family, consistent with the contract we all entered into when we were employed in the Foreign Service; continuing opportunities to work actively on selected issues, drawing on the vast reservoir of talent among retired Foreign Service members; and the opportunity to apply this wealth of experience in the retired Foreign Service community to many of the current issues confronting the foreign affairs agencies.

If elected, I would bring to this position the perspective of 30 years of experience with AID, the Department of State and the Department of Labor. This service was split evenly between overseas and Washington, working on programs in Asia, Africa and the Near East. Before retiring last year, I served as AID's acting assistant administrator for the Near East and the agency's special coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process. I was earlier mission director in Maracca and in Zaire.

WILLARD DEPREE
(BUILDING UNITY FOR STRENGTH)

Willard (Bill) DePree retired in 1993 after 38 years in the Foreign Service. His service overseas included tours in Cairo (consular), Nicaragua (economic), Accra (political), Freetown (DCM) and Moputa and Dhaka, the last two as ambassador.

In his last ten years in Washington assignment he worked almost exclusively on management issues. As director of Management Operations, executive assistant to the under secretary for management and senior inspector, he was actively engaged in many of the same management policy issues in which AFSA now negotiates regularly with senior management, e.g. personnel reform, budget trade-offs, overseas versus Washington staffing, medical benefits and workforce planning. DePree's management background should prove most useful to AFSA in these negotiations.

The big battle for AFSA - and the foreign affairs community - over the next few years will almost certainly be over resources. While AFSA has become more active under Tex Homis' leadership, it will have to become even more aggressive and proactive if the foreign affairs agencies are to be spared devastating cuts.

Given this climate, DePree believes that it is critical that AFSA place highest priority on protecting and strengthening the area, language and substantive skills of Foreign Service personnel. This is where the foreign affairs agencies make their greatest contribution to the conduct of diplomacy. This is what we're all about.

RETIRED MEMBER REPRESENTATIVES

DENNIS KUX
(BUILDING UNITY FOR STRENGTH)



The past two years have been extraordinarily difficult ones for the Foreign Service. Thanks to Tex Homis' energetic leadership, AFSA has come to life again, working vigorously to preserve professional integrity and member interests. AFSA hasn't always succeeded - no one could have - but it has tried hard. I welcome a chance to work further with Tex and the BUS slate as a representative of AFSA's retirees.

Dennis Kux retired from the Foreign Service in 1994. He is currently a research associate at The George Washington University. During his 39-year Foreign Service career, Kux served as ambassador to the Ivory Coast, deputy assistant secretary for Intelligence Coordination, director of the Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs, deputy director of Management Operations, political counselor in Ankara, and country director for India, Nepal and Sri Lanka. During his career, Kux received State's Superior and Meritorious Honor Awards, the National Intelligence Distinguished Service Medal, and the Defense Department Distinguished Civilian Service Award.

Kux served as an AFSA

State representative from 1993 until his retirement. He was also chairman of the Senior Foreign Service Association from 1992-94.

KEVIN KELLY
(INDEPENDENT)

Rather than a vision far how to conduct foreign policy in a post-Cold War world, the desire to reduce budget deficits is the driving force behind the current push in Congress to reshape the foreign affairs agencies. Retirees are as threatened as active Foreign Service members by this new environment. Past attempts to modify key elements of the Foreign Service contract, including health care and retirement packages, will undoubtedly be renewed. AFSA must be prepared. Speaking with their force of numbers, Foreign Service retirees can and must be ready to influence the current debate and be persuasive in the defense of existing benefits. An articulate and concerned participation on the AFSA board will help assure proper attention is given to retirees' concerns.

Kevin Kelly served in AID for 21 years, mostly in an overseas capacity. His final assignment was as Mission Director to Panama. He remains closely associated with foreign affairs issues through his current position as an adviser in the Democracy and Governance office of AID's ENI Bureau.

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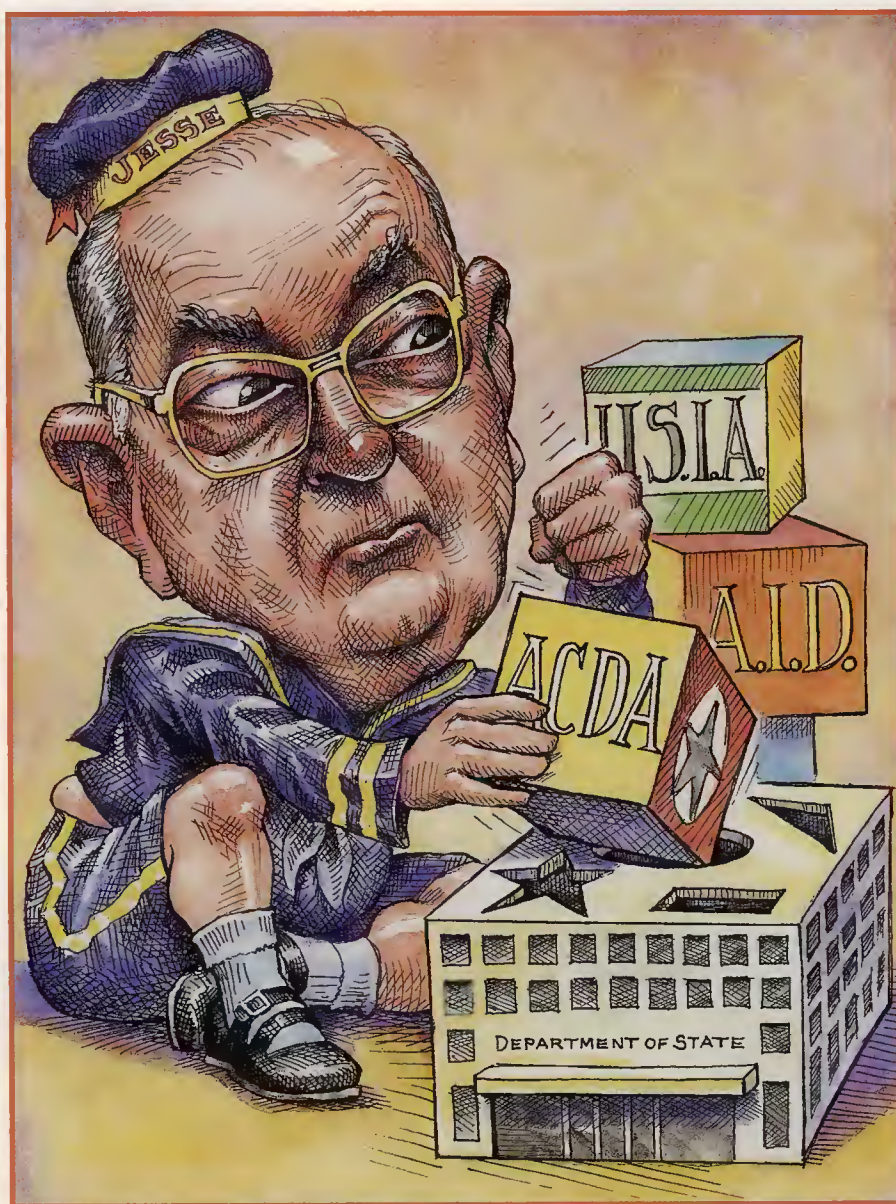
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THE CONSOLIDATION GAME



*Helms' Reorganization Gaining Advocates on Hill,
As Agencies Prepare for Slow, Long Legislative Dance*

By KAREN KREBSBACH

Sen. Jesse Helms' proposed reorganization of the foreign affairs agencies, if passed, would be an historic first, since the legislative branch would be mandating major changes in the executive branch without its consent.

Helms' plan to consolidate the three major foreign affairs agencies into the State Department, which he claims will save up to \$6 billion over five years and which is being backed by powerful GOP voices such as Senate Majority leader Bob Dole and House Speaker Newt Gingrich, would be the most dramatic consolidation plan of the agencies in half a century. Observers agree the changes, most likely to be made by 1997, may not dramatically change the practice of diplomacy, but will significantly alter the organization of the agencies and the Foreign Service itself.

Critics, including Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Vice President Al Gore, say each agency has a distinct mission and consolidating them into a super State Department would dramatically reduce American influence and effectiveness abroad as well as minimize America's role as a world leader. "The U.S. spent trillions of dollars to defend the free world during the Cold War," warned Christopher in an early attack on the plan, which he called an exercise in "moving boxes. ... It would be an historic mistake if we now refused to spend a tiny fraction of that sum to consolidate the remarkable gains we have made."

Currently, two draft bills are circling congressional halls — one from the office of Rep. Benjamin A. Gilman (R-N.Y.), Helms' counterpart as chairman of the House International Relations Committee, and a longer, more detailed one from the office of Helms, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (SFRC); both envision a joint authorization/reorganization proposal to be voted on as a package. The House Budget Committee earlier had announced plans to cut between \$2 billion and \$4 billion from the international affairs' 150 account, which funds both foreign aid and the operation of U.S. diplomatic posts. The 150 account represents only a fraction — about 1.3 percent — of \$1.6 trillion in total federal spending proposed by the administration for fiscal 1996.

Gilman's bill, radically renegotiated in late April with Speaker Gingrich's staff, would promise to cut no more than

\$1.5 billion from the international affairs 150 account, in return for an executive branch reorganization plan by mid-1996 that would follow Helms' original proposal's framework, including consolidating the Agency for International Development (AID), the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) into State, sources say. If the consolidation is not completed by October 1997, the foreign affairs agencies would face larger, retaliatory budget cuts the following fiscal year. Gilman's behind-the-scenes compromise package, which sources say has "overwhelming bipartisan support" in the House, indicates his attempt to be a moderating influence between the disparate aims of Sen. Helms and the State Department.

The Senate bill reflects Helms' original proposal to:

- Abolish three agencies: AID, USIA and ACDA, consolidating their functions into a restructured State Department.
- Create a unified Foreign Service among the reorganized State Department, the Foreign Commercial Service (FCS) and the Foreign Agricultural Service (FAS). Helms, who had initially proposed folding FCS and FAS into State, has reportedly acquiesced to intense pressure from the Senate Banking Committee and many U.S. corporations who urged him to keep the two agencies independent. Helms' original request to combine the Foreign Service and the Civil Service also appears to have been dropped. However, the personnel system of FCS and FAS would be administered under State, allowing FSOs in those agencies to bid on jobs elsewhere within the service.
- Create an International Development Foundation, also under State, to take over many of AID's functions. Sources say many programs most popular with Americans, such as immunization, women's and children's health and food funding, are not expected to be cut. However, other ongoing AID projects would be analyzed on "an assessed risk basis" and with a "profit motive" in mind, and would be recommended for funding through non-government agencies (NGOs) and development banks, instead of direct federal monies.
- Create an Agency for Export, Trade Development, Investment & Promotion, under State, administer the Overseas Private Investment Council (OPIC), Export-Import Bank and the Trade and Development Agency (TDA), which all will remain quasi-independent.

■ Mandate that all government foreign policy, including aid and arms control activities, would flow through 20 assistant secretaries of State and five under secretaries of State: policy; public diplomacy; international security; management; and export, trade, economics and business. The public diplomacy unit would handle all government international broadcasting, including Voice of America and Radio Marti. The under secretary for global affairs, created last year to handle environment, population control and narcotics, would be eliminated; the two positions of U.N. ambassador and assistant secretary of state for International Organizational Affairs would be merged. Currently, there are five under secretaries and 25 assistant secretaries at State alone.

"Let's not mince words. Our foreign policy institutions are a complete mess," Helms said in a March 15 Capitol Hill press conference when he announced the details of his proposal. "Over the past four decades, key foreign policy functions have been spun off into a constellation of money-absorbing, incoherent satellites, each with its own entrenched, growing bureaucracies and its own bureaucratic interests. The result has been an incoherent mishmash, which no one policymaker can control."

Whether Congress adopts the North Carolina Republican's bill or a compromise, sources say chances are good that the bulk of Sen. Helms' proposal — to merge AID, USIA and ACDA into a restructured State Department — will eventually be adopted. After a long, slow dance, the eventual bill before Congress will probably be negotiated between authorizing committees during the first weeks of this month, with a final bill out of conference sometime this summer. A final bill will probably be voted on by both chambers before the congressional session ends this fall. Since the heads of the major foreign affairs agencies have already testified, they're not expected to be invited back before Congress again to plead their cases.

The foreign affairs community has been particularly demoralized by the relative silence from both Secretary Christopher and President Clinton on the consolidation effort.

Another Hill GOP staffer claims the State Department has been not only mum publicly on the reconsolidation, but "virtually silent" privately as well; she accused Christopher's staff of "stonewalling" and ignoring numerous requests for information and meetings with GOP staffers. She said she suspects State's strategy is to "not give aid to the enemy," hoping that any bill before Congress would die due to inaccurate information or because it would be unworkable

because it is laden with directives. Most observers agree President Clinton would probably not veto a bill that mandates a consolidation plan.

Publicly, State's primary strategy has been to actively oppose the consolidation on the grounds that the same savings would be seen under Vice President Gore's "reinventing government" project, according to Robert Hopper, in the Bureau of Legislative Affairs at State. "Our strategy is that we're already doing it in practice," he said in an interview. "Congress doesn't need to mandate against the will of the executive branch to reach a goal that we're all trying to reach anyway."

"Everyone agrees, that given budgetary restraints and the end of the Cold War, there are organizational changes required. ... However, there is nothing at all that says the American people want to abandon their leadership and responsibility in the world. But there's a price for leadership."

Hopper argues that a consolidation of the agencies at this point would actually negate some of the progress made through the "reinventing government" process. "To burden [the agencies] with trying to consolidate and become this huge agency while they're still coping with improving their management is silly," he said. He also argued that folding the three main foreign affairs agencies into State would only solve half the duplication problems at embassies, since foreign affairs agencies account for only 50 percent of the personnel of federal agencies using the diplomatic infrastructure abroad.

One key GOP Hill staffer said, "The State Department keeps saying, 'Bear with us, SMI is coming,' but they don't realize that [consolidation] is a concept whose time has come."

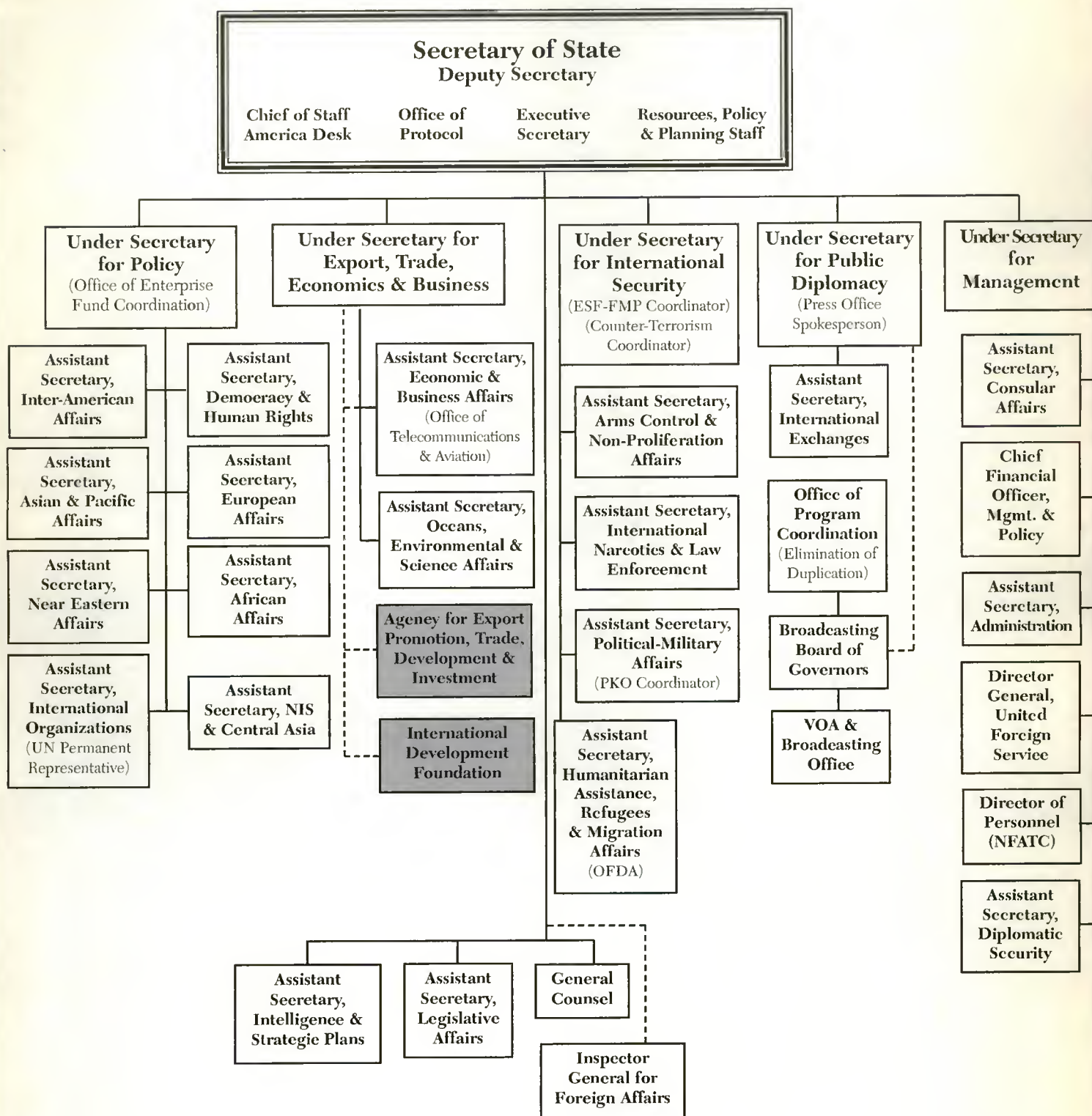
Christopher outlined the Strategic Management Initiative (SMI), State's response to Gore's "reinventing government" initiative, in a March 20 speech to State employees, saying that it will "remake the State Department from the bottom up." The five principles of SMI are: making better use of teams to formulate and implement U.S. foreign policy; reducing the distance between action officers and decision-makers and increasing accountability of all by further layering; improving administrative efficiency; aligning overseas presence with priorities; and refocusing reporting and analysis.

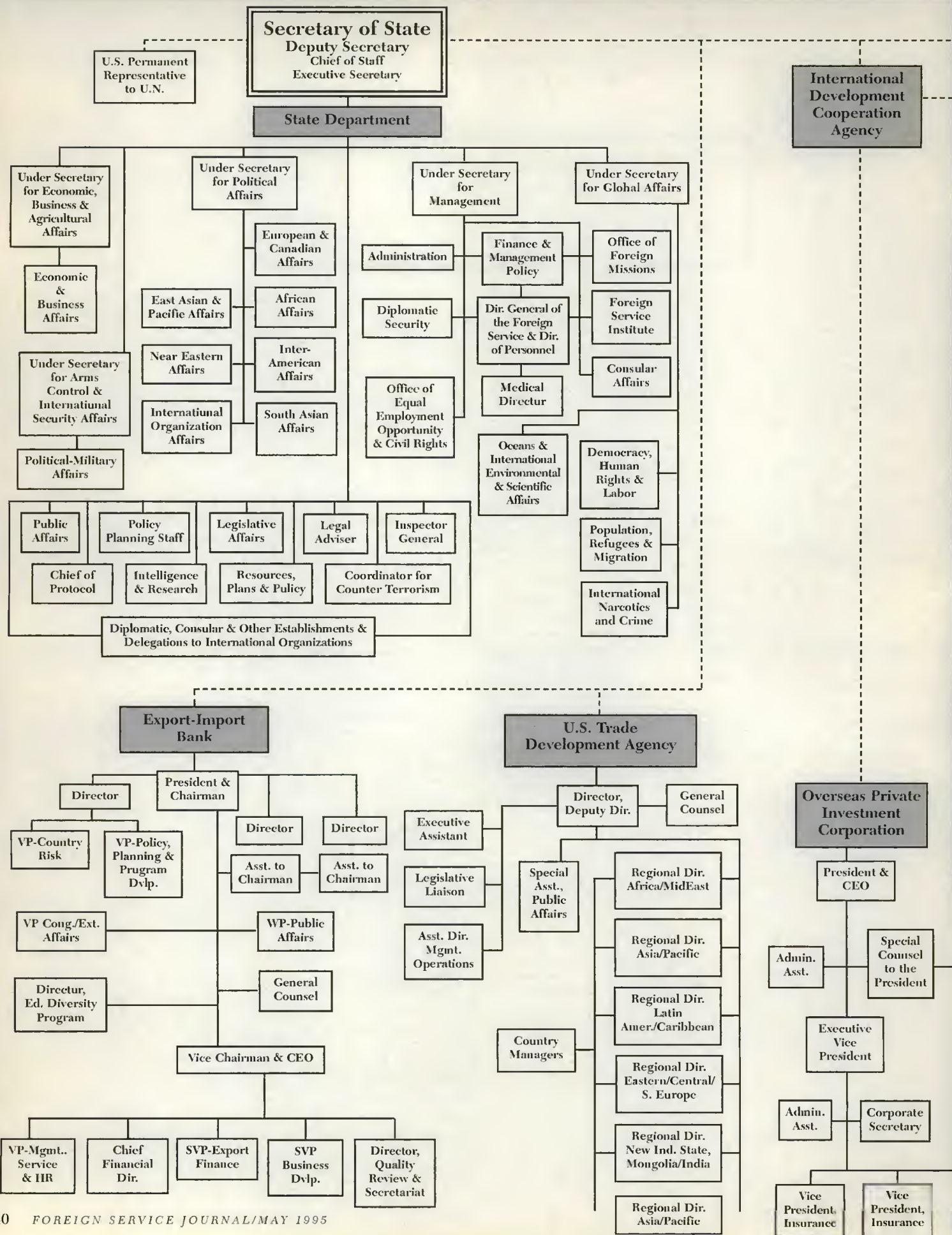
But the GOP Hill staffer said that the foreign affairs agencies' "reinventing government" downsizing efforts would actually complement and "set the stage for" a successful consolidation plan. "SMI is not a reason to not support consolidation," she said. "Consolidation would only enhance SMI." In contrast, Senate GOP staffers said they have had "many discus-

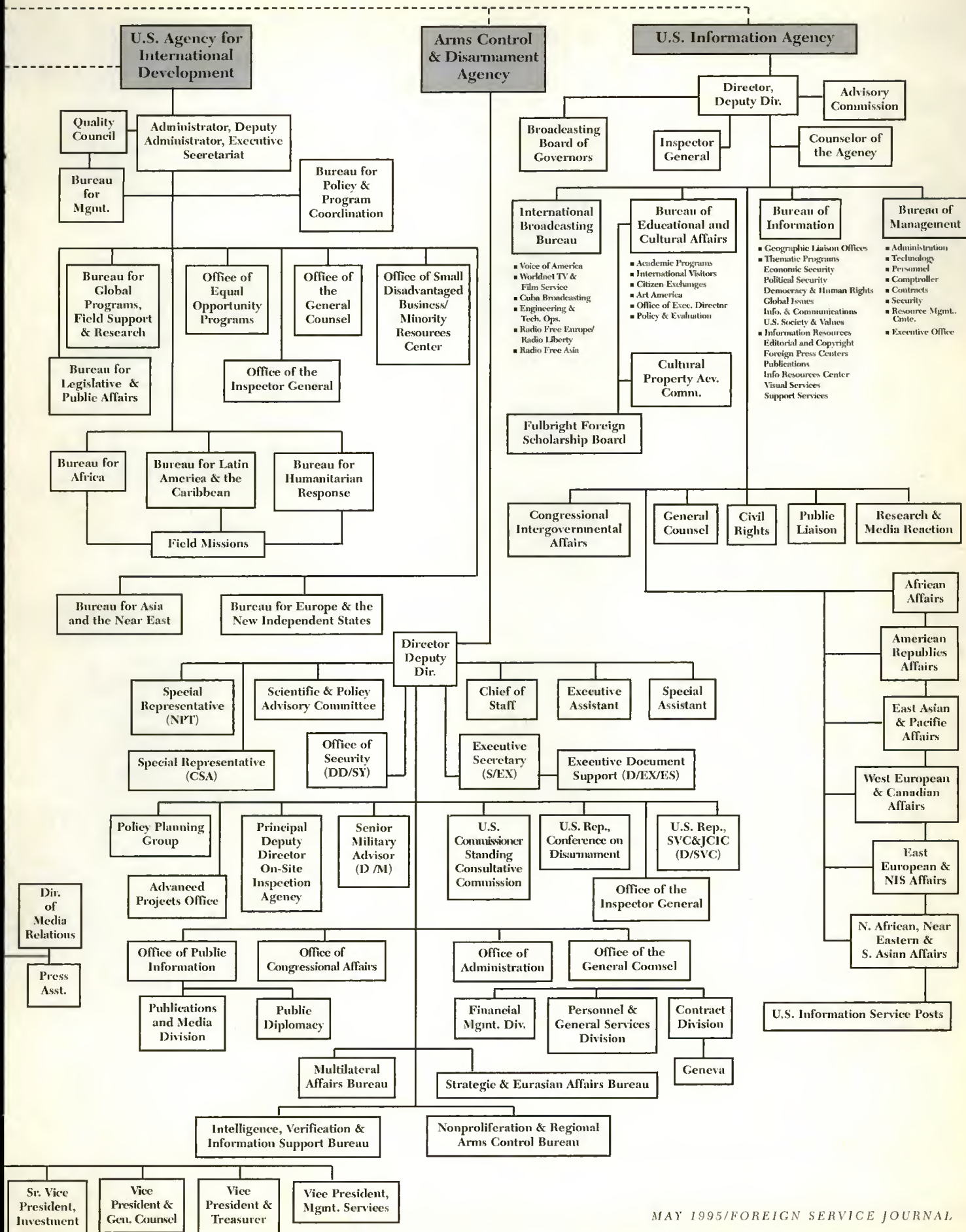
Continued on page 42

HELMS' PROPOSED REORGANIZATION OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AGENCIES

E. ALLAN







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Continued from page 38

sions" with Vice President Gore's office, though the vice president has publicly said he opposes consolidation.

Although Christopher has testified on the Hill 11 times in the last few months, Hopper said the perception that Christopher isn't vocal enough is inaccurate, and he's actually been active behind the scenes. Staffers from the foreign affairs agencies have a joint conference call nearly every evening "to exchange notes, to plan and to make sure we don't fall prey to easy paranoia," Hopper said. "There's the suspicion that we're not doing enough, that unless we're issuing a hundred press releases a day, we don't fear for our institutional survival. That's just not true."

Christopher's office had offered an initial plan to study consolidation in response to Gore's "reinventing government" initiative, but the vice president rejected the plan.

Helms' strategy of portraying Christopher as the original architect of the consolidation concept — even though he was only suggesting the idea be studied — was seen as clever maneuvering that helped strengthen bipartisan support for the proposal, which has won endorsements from former secretaries of state Lawrence Eagleburger, James Baker and George Shultz. All testified, in person or via letter, that USIA, AID and ACDA have outlived their usefulness as agencies created to counter the Soviet threat during the Cold War.

Christopher, who was traveling, was unavailable for an appointment, although Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott agreed to be interviewed. (See "Talbott: We Have Our Own Plan," page 43.)

Clearly the most energetic, vocal opponent of consolidation has been AID Administrator J. Brian Atwood, who has 15 staffers working on the legislative effort. He also has been outspoken in various op-ed newspaper pieces and in several appearances on Sunday morning Washington talk shows about the negative effects of consolidation. This is no doubt because, of all the foreign affairs agencies, Atwood's unit faces the most dramatic losses from consolidation — in personnel, funding and policy independence.

Atwood has long argued that the biggest revolution among foreign affairs agencies in the "reinventing government" initiative has been at AID, where he has imposed administrative reforms, streamlined management and cut field staff and the number of countries served. In fact, AID has been downsizing for years, most recently taking a 20 percent hit in fiscal 1994, reducing foreign assistance from \$8.1 million to \$6.5 million.

AID's current plan includes closing 21 missions by

September 1996 and another six after that, saving \$15 million annually by fiscal 1997 and cutting staff from 10,600 to 9,400. It is also refocusing its program on five objectives: creating new markets for U.S. goods and services; addressing population, health and environmental issues; helping emerging democracies protect individual freedom and free markets through rule of law; responding to victims of natural and man-made disasters; and maintaining the U.S. leadership role in international affairs. AID has terminated 144 projects in the last year alone because "measurable results" were not achieved, Atwood said in his SFRC testimony. In addition, AID is making a greater effort to spend AID funds in the United States: Some 79 percent of its 1995 budget will be spent on U.S.-made goods and services.

The GOP is expected to argue that AID spends \$600 million in operating funds to administer only \$2.4 billion in discretionary aid — not enough bang for the buck in today's world. Yet Atwood remains adamant that foreign aid is not, as Helms has claimed, "international welfare," reminding critics that 43 of the top customers of U.S. agricultural products were once foreign aid recipients. He also promises that an AID-assisted Africa will eventually buy an annual \$50 billion in U.S. exports over the next three decades. Although Atwood was traveling and unavailable for an interview, he argued in his SFRC testimony that, "our new post-Cold War foreign assistance program isn't about charity. It is about U.S. self-interest."

Atwood argued that Helms' proposed International Development Foundation would eliminate the facet of AID that has been its greatest strength: its field missions, which allow long-term relationships to be formed with local counterparts, who have been instrumental in producing "significant institution-building and policy reform successes, with benefits accruing over decades."

USIA, which also has been at the forefront of government reinvention, has one of the most difficult arguments to make against consolidation, given that many legislators believe it was created as a Cold War fighting machine. USIA's downsizing and reorganizing has already "produced savings of hundreds of millions of dollars," according to USIA Director Joseph Duffey.

"I'm prepared to do less — better," said Duffey in a recent interview. While he doesn't support consolidation, he realizes it might be inevitable in the current climate. "I doubt that reorganization will save money," he said. "And I cringe at the idea of doing more with less. Not everyone is prepared to accept a smaller foreign affairs community. But if you are headed that way — and I think we are — you also have to address morale."

Duffey said Helms' proposal to create an under secretary

TALBOTT: 'WE HAVE OUR OWN PLAN'

Strobe Talbott is deputy secretary of State.

Q THE STATE DEPARTMENT BELIEVES THAT SEN. JESSE HELMS' CONSOLIDATION PLAN WOULD BE HARMFUL TO THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS AGENCIES, RIGHT?

A We think it's not the way to go. We have a quite different view about how to make sure the department is organized as efficiently and effectively as possible for the 21st century. It's another plan. We do not support Sen. Helms' consolidation plan. The Strategic Management Initiative (SMI) is quite different. The ACDA, USIA and AID all have their own reinvention efforts, all under way for quite some time. There's been coordination among the four agencies, but there not only is no plan for nor intention to do a consolidation of all the agencies into a new agency, but we have made a decision as an administration to leave those four agencies as separate entities. ... The directors recognize that Secretary Christopher is the president's principal policy adviser.

Q SO YOU BELIEVE YOU'VE ALREADY STARTED THE PROCESS, AND THAT YOU HOPE TO ACCOMPLISH THE SAVINGS — THOUGH NOT THE CONSOLIDATION — AMONG THE AGENCIES, WITHOUT HELMS' PLAN?

A I'm not going to compare the two. The thrust of your questions is to establish a connection between what we're doing and what Sen. Helms has proposed, and that doesn't exist. It is quite common, in our form of government, as you know, for members of Congress to have their own ideas and their own proposals. Sen. Helms' is an example of one that doesn't happen to square with one that we think is the best way to go.

Q THE DIFFERENCE IS THAT SEN. HELMS' PROPOSAL MAY ACTUALLY HAVE THE VOTES TO PASS. DOES STATE HAVE A STRATEGY TO FIGHT HIS PROPOSAL?

A We are navigating here against a couple of fixed points. National interest is the first one, making sure that the United States has the best possible foreign

affairs agencies, that we make the best possible use of the taxpayers' money, and that we are equipped as we move into an increasingly complicated world with lots and lots of challenges — and to maintain and enhance American leadership in the world. ... Now, obviously there's a lot else going on out there, but we're not proceeding with an eye so much toward what is in Congress, so much as to an eye toward the challenges and opportunities as we see them.

Q YOU MEAN THERE'S NO STRATEGY? NOT EVEN TO TRY AND MAINTAIN A CERTAIN SUM IN THE 150 ACCOUNT?

A We're not. I don't mean to be pedantic, but the phrase I have problems with, and the way you pose the question is, "the consolidation plan." We've been embarked on the Strategic Management Initiative since 1993. Sen. Helms' plan came out at the beginning of this year or the end of last year. We're not designing our approach in response to his plan or anyone else's plan. We have our own plan.

Q DO YOU THINK WITHIN THE NEXT YEAR THERE WILL BE ANY MAJOR CHANGES IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE?

A It's not only [a] tough [question], it's inappropriate. The Secretary is expected to announce in the fairly near future, is going to be considering some recommendations, and I don't want to anticipate either what the recommendations are going to be — and, by the way, the recommendations are coming to him through a process that involves the Foreign Service and the Civil Service very, very heavily — and I certainly don't want to anticipate what decisions he might make, which recommendations he might make to the president. But please do not interpret that to be a long-winded and veiled "yes" to your question. It is not. It is simply a statement that there are proposals and recommendations in the works, that the plan itself is still a work in process. I would think the secretary would certainly be making some recommendations to the president by the end of the spring. ■

—K.K.

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for public diplomacy "appears to be no more than a resurrection of the former State Department Bureau of Cultural Affairs, with a dotted line to broadcasting. The hard edge of advocating U.S. policies abroad to a foreign public whose opinions are studied and understood is entirely missing. Today's foreign policy concerns are varied and fast-moving requiring specialized expertise. The consolidation proposal moves in exactly the opposite direction."

Proponents of ACDA, created in 1961 when the Soviet Union dominated the national security agenda, has little ammunition against consolidation; the tiny agency, with only 251 employees, already works out of State. "The U.S.-Soviet arms race is over," ACDA Director John D. Holum admitted in SFRC testimony this spring. "But given the remaining dangers of Russian overarmament, and the new dangers of the post-Cold War, ACDA is a 'relic' today only if weapons of mass destruction are a rumor and proliferation is a myth."

"What ACDA brings to the table is an expert and unconflicted arms control perspective," he said, pointing out that

the agency's independence status is critical. "And quite often that differs from the viewpoint of ... State."

The ending of the four decades of the Cold War has forced all three traditional components of the national security triad — diplomacy, defense and intelligence — to rethink their goals, strategy and organizational structures. But while there may be consensus on the need to downsize and restructure the foreign affairs agencies now that the former Soviet Union has disintegrated, consolidation critics argue that a proposal this drastic should be studied longer before being put to a vote.

The Defense Department was studied for several years before the Goldwater-Nichols Act of 1986 helped establish joint commands to better address how the United States prepares for and conducts war. President Clinton recently created the Aspin Commission, headed by former defense secretary Les Aspin, to complete a 13-month study of whether to reorganize the U.S. intelligence agencies, including the CIA, created in 1947 to help the U.S. combat the ideological and



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military threat posed by the expanding Soviet regime.

Critics say Helms has spearheaded an effort to restructure the foreign affairs apparatus in only three months — and with no intensive study. Yet legislators say the agencies have been studying restructuring for decades — prompting little action. In Christopher's March 20 speech to State employees, he pointed out that the SMI was the 90th report since 1946 directed at restructuring and improving the State Department, many of which he admitted were "gathering dust in file cabinets."

America's presence in the world has grown dramatically since World War II. Today, only about two dozen countries have no on-site U.S. embassy, mission or consulate. Each U.S. direct-hire position at the estimated 260 U.S. foreign posts costs taxpayers an average of \$228,000 for the first year (including security, transportation, hardship costs and other allowances). U.S. missions employ a total of 37,800 direct hires and 18,870 Foreign Service Nationals (FSNs) in 1994, according to a General Accounting Office (GAO) report released in April. Of the 18,900 U.S. direct hire employees at diplomatic posts, State accounts for 38 percent, Defense, 36 percent; AID, 7 percent; USIA, 5 percent; and Justice

and other law enforcement agencies, 5 percent — but growing rapidly. Other agencies account for a total of 9 percent.

In the past decade, the number of posts has increased 12 percent, from 233 in 1984 to 260 in 1994, and the number of U.S. direct hires has increased by 19 percent, with most of the growth in nonforeign affairs agencies, said the report, which noted that it costs two to three times more to assign an employee overseas than in Washington.

What is happening to America's foreign affairs agencies surprises few in private industry, where U.S. corporations have been downsizing and restructuring for years, eliminating many middle managers and giving line employees broader authority to carry out company objectives. And many of the resulting leaner, meaner companies are healthier than ever.

Whatever shape the foreign affairs agencies take when the dust settles, observers agree the conduct of diplomacy will continue even if its managing apparatus looks nothing like it does today. Unfortunately, for the Foreign Service community, the price to be paid in effectiveness, scope of action, career adjustment and personal sacrifice may be very high indeed. ■



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DOING MORE WITH EVEN LESS



*For Years, State Has Been Shaken Down
To Meet More Priorities With Fewer Dollars*

BY GEORGE GEDDA

F O C U S

It didn't take the Republican-controlled Congress long to strike down unfunded mandates — those federal directives to state and local governments to address social needs without providing federal help. Governors and mayors chafed under the expense, and Congress outlawed the mandates shortly after reconvening. Now, it seems, the only unfunded mandates left are the ones handed to the State Department; these carry a heavy price tag as well, but there's been no serious discussion about outlawing them yet.

Each year, the State Department finds itself having to respond to new priorities that were never before on the budgetary screen. The breakup of the Soviet Union led to the opening, in short order, of 17 new posts in the region. Starvation in Somalia produced a massive U.S.-led rescue operation. Last year, Rwanda and Haiti were targets of emergency assistance efforts.

With some exceptions, each crisis brings an orgy of budgetary reprogramming. It has cost the department \$200 million to provide the physical facilities for all the new embassies and consulates operating in the former Soviet Union, not to mention \$37 million in additional operating costs. To pay for the rescue of Haiti, the department had to gut assistance programs for Turkey (\$29.2 million), for the drug war (\$16.2 million) and for pro-democracy programs in Africa (\$9 million). Contributions to peacekeeping operations in other areas were slashed by \$27.2 million. In these austere times, the notion of Congress approving a contingency fund for emergencies is almost laughable. Indeed, the prospect is for spending cuts. The budgetary fallout of unfunded mandates is but one symptom of a grim and growing reality: The State Department, cockpit of the free world, proud architect of communism's demise, has a cash-flow crisis.

George Gedda is the diplomatic correspondent for the Associated Press.

It's hard to say whether foreign policy is being conducted on the cheap or whether inefficiencies are the root cause. There is no disagreement, though, that making ends meet is an increasing challenge.

The \$270 billion earmarked for the Defense Department is 15 times larger than that of the State Department. The international affairs budget, projected at \$21.2 billion for fiscal 1996, is only 1.3 percent of the total federal budget and only 56 percent of what it was in 1984 in constant dollars. In the late 1940s, when the Marshall Plan was instituted, one federal dollar in six was spent on foreign affairs; now it's one in every \$85. In addition, the CIA receives about \$27 billion.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher projects that the international affairs component of the overall budget will decline to about 2/10ths of 1 per cent of the federal budget within the next five years, compared with 1.3 percent today. "The United States will be spending a smaller percentage of its budget on international programs than virtually every other western industrialized power," he says.

No one argues that assistance levels appropriate during the Cold War era should be maintained under the radically different circumstances of today. The U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) spends 20 percent less today than it did in 1993. AID-managed programs were \$9.2 billion in 1993, but represent only \$7.3 billion this year.

Discretionary funds for military assistance dropped from \$1.5 billion in 1986 to \$11 million this year. For economic support funds, the decline was from \$2 billion to \$196 million. Military aid to Latin America fell from \$250 million four years ago to \$20 million today. But nowadays it seems that almost everything is fair game for budget cutters. Proposals to wipe out the entire \$800 million aid program for Africa are getting a serious airing on Capitol Hill.

There is also a move to emasculate the \$275 million aid program to Jordan, threatening a U.S. commitment that was part of the inducement for King

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Hussein to reach a peace settlement with Israel last year. The Russian aid program also is under fire, but for reasons related more to Russian military behavior in Chechnya than budgetary considerations.

There are all kinds of explanations for the State Department's financial woes: mismanagement, bureaucratic overlap, pre-emptive capitulation to Capitol Hill budget hawks, inadequate articulation of needs by State Department officials. When it comes to asking Congress for money, State may be a harder sell than the CIA or the Pentagon, which may both sway legislators with apocalyptic warnings about annihilation if Congress doesn't come up with \$270 billion for defense. Arguments in support of State's activities carry less emotional throw weight, and the short- to medium-term prospects for relief are not good.

In the quest to make do, almost nothing has been spared. More than 100 senior diplomats have been forced into retirement since 1992. In the two-year period ending this October, the State Department work force will have been trimmed by 1,300. For every two voluntary retirees, only one has been replaced. Special pay increases and awards for senior officers have been eliminated. At one point, according to a congressional source, these awards enabled 100 senior officers to earn more than Christopher. There also has been a dramatic decrease in security costs associated with new posts abroad.

The slimming-down process includes the cancellation of the 1995 Foreign Service examination for new recruits — 200 have already passed the exam and are waiting to be assigned posts. In Europe alone, plans are afoot to cut 660 embassy positions over the next four years — 250 Americans and 410 local hires or Foreign Service Nationals (FSNs). Since the collapse of European communism and the Soviet Union, 24 new posts have been opened in the area including the 17 in the former Soviet Union, as well as in the former Yugoslavia and Albania. However, the number of State Department officials stationed in the Europe-New Independent States area has remained the same, at 5,000 for diplomatic, administrative and technical personnel.

Some 500 foreign employees at U.S. embassies and consulates worldwide have been laid off in recent

years. Hundreds of others have not received promised pay increases. The savings achieved by the closing of 20 posts have been more than offset by the creation of 29 new ones elsewhere in the world. An additional 15 posts face elimination over the next two years. There has been a now-you-see-it-now-you-don't quality to the U.S. presence in some countries. U.S. embassies were opened in the Comoros Islands and the Solomon Islands in the 1980s, only to be closed several years later.

Ideas abound on achieving further savings. One is to have more personnel based in Washington, where per-capita costs are about one-third those of overseas positions. General Accounting Office figures show that the U.S. government employs about 18,000 U.S. citizens at its embassies and consulates, each costing the government about \$352,000 a year when all expenses for security, transportation, housing and school allowances, hardship pay and other stipends are included. There also has been a fresh look at the "regional embassy" concept, whereby groups of neighboring countries would share an embassy based in one of them. In the early 1960s, that idea was considered so untenable that a deputy assistant secretary who advocated it was banished to Iceland for 6 1/2 years.

The cuts to date have been felt in large ways and small. In Jamaica not long ago, the embassy ran out of scratch paper. As a temporary solution, officials converted used legal pads into smaller pads, then wrote on the backs of the sheets. For a time, the embassy had no copier paper, and for a three-year period, there were no replacement refrigerators or freezers for embassy staff. Globally, magazine and newspaper subscriptions at embassies are being cut. In Israel, a three-person translation team was laid off, preventing the embassy staff from receiving timely English-language access to the Israeli press. Overseas phone calls also are being discouraged. If a commercial attache in Brazil has a tip for a New York business owner about an export opportunity, he has to send word to the owner to call him.

At home, the State Department's aging computer system suffers frequent breakdowns. A congressionally sponsored study indicated that 80 percent of the

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agency's computers are obsolete. Some 15 years ago, Pentagon officials envied the State Department's state-of-the-art Wang system, but Christopher says spare parts are no longer available for the aging dinosaurs. Ironically, the official who prepares charts for Christopher showing State's declining spending levels has to design them on his own computer because the department is too poor to buy him one.

Some posts lack e-mail. Don't tell consular officers in Shanghai about the high-tech wizardry of the modern age: They're still using microfiche. "There's light years of difference between what the Department of Defense has and what we have," moans Under Secretary for Management Richard Moose. At the Pentagon, the e-mail system hums efficiently. At State, delays in receiving e-mail, snidely referred to as "snail mail," can run two to three hours. *The New York Times* reported in March that a computer crash almost caused a moment in history to be delayed: the Israeli-Palestinian agreement signed at the White House in September 1993 was held up for the printing of final documents.

Only 50 percent of language-designated positions abroad are filled to the required competence level. The shortage of language specialists has sometimes forced the State Department to cancel meetings with foreign visitors in Washington. More than 75 percent of telephone equipment at foreign posts is outdated. U.S. embassies are asked to make do with cars for 10 years instead of the preferred three to five years. Recently, Edward E. Elson, the U.S. ambassador to Denmark, was embarrassed by his breakdown-prone, eight-year-old Cadillac. The State Department suggested he rent a car for the 10 months it would take to have a replacement delivered. Elson, a wealthy Atlanta businessman, decided to buy a made-in-Denmark Chrysler for \$27,000. Since the State Department's spending limit was \$19,000, he paid the difference out of his own pocket. He promises to donate the car to the U.S. government when his tour of duty is over. Aging vehicles are a problem throughout Europe. U.S. officials have been reduced to scavenging U.S. military surplus depots in Europe for replacements. Also on their shopping list are generators for posts where blackouts are common.

In some countries, the State Department is forced

to work under difficult conditions because of a housing shortage. The State Department, because of budget cuts, is forced to rent housing. If housing compounds were built, there would be long-term savings, but existing construction funds fall short of demand. In Tajikistan, U.S. officials have been living and working in a hotel for two years. Tensions run high because the Russian Embassy, one floor down, is sometimes the target of sniper fire. A U.S. official described the working conditions for harried Americans there as among the worst in the world. In the eastern Russian port city of Vladivostok, U.S. officials have been living and working in two-room hotel suites for 30 months.

To add insult to injury, the State Department on Jan. 22 imposed a 5 percent reduction in the hardship allowance at 67 percent of the 227 overseas hardship locations, a sign to Congress that State was serious about cutting costs. For many diplomats, a generous post differential is one of the few redeeming factors at such locations. About 40 years ago, Western European countries constituted almost one-third of all posts worldwide. Now they are but a tiny fraction, and most of the additions since then can only be described as backwaters. At the embassy in Mongolia, for example, the temperature inside embassy offices and the residence rarely rises above 45 degrees Fahrenheit through a winter that lasts from August until May. Other posts are disease- or crime-ridden or face terrorist threats, and some employees are deeply demoralized by the hardship pay cut. One Foreign Service officer in Qatar complained that the action was "nothing short of a breach of contract." In a similar vein, an officer in Abidjan accused the department of "breaking the bonds of trust with its employees." The American Foreign Service Association (AFSA) said those responses were part of an "avalanche of outrage." But senior management officials at State said AFSA was exaggerating and that the overall response to the cuts was one of widespread understanding and acceptance.

Many department officials complain about the dominant presence in embassies of personnel from other agencies, including Defense, Commerce, Agriculture, Energy, Labor and a myriad of law enforcement agencies. By one count, there are 30

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agencies represented at the embassy in Athens alone. Time and again, officials charge that the State Department, its presence dwarfed by other agencies, fills a "concierge" role at some embassies and little else.

In some countries, the State Department presence is overwhelmed by other agencies. In Saudi Arabia, the second largest diplomatic post in the world, the 65 State Department employees are outnumbered 20-to-1 by those from other agencies. In Egypt, the ratio is more than 4-to-1 and in Germany, 3-to-1; there are no fewer than 804 non-State Department Americans working in Germany alone. State Department budget experts say the two highest priorities these days are computer modernization and ensuring that companion agencies pay a greater share of the costs of running an embassy.

Under Secretary of State Richard Moose noted in congressional testimony that a recent GAO report indicates that employees of State overseas amount to

about one-third of the total of U.S. government staffing, yet State shoulders about two-thirds of the total administrative costs.

Moose estimates the State Department owns, leases or maintains about 14,000 office and residential properties worth more than \$10 billion, most of which are shared with some 38 other U.S. agencies. "But all of the maintenance, utilities, where there are utilities, and most of the guard costs are paid for out of the State Department's budget," Moose says. Some officials use the term "deadbeats" to describe these other agencies.

In almost any large bureaucracy, examples of opulence or extravagance live side by side with poverty. The three-year-old embassy in El Salvador, its windows sealed shut to deter terrorists, costs \$1,000 a day to air condition. The Summit of the Americas, held last December in Miami, would have cost \$3 million to \$4 million less if it had been held in Washington.



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F O C U S

And many question the need for large advance teams to prepare for high-level missions abroad or for those ubiquitous embassy political and economic reports that, many say, are never read.

No one doubts that savings can be achieved at the margins. The larger question is whether genuine savings are possible without impairing the overall mission of the State Department and its companion agencies. If a way can be found to focus on high priority areas while eliminating superfluous activities, then all the cost-cutting pressures from Congress and the public at large will have been worth it. If a way can be found to do more with less, everybody wins. But if less really is less, if vital activities are sacrificed in the name of austerity, then everyone loses except the Iraqs and Libyas and others who would like nothing more than to see the United States reduced to second-rate status.

Former ambassador Brandon Grove, who retired from the Foreign Service last year after a long, pro-

ductive career, says he is worried that the gratification derived from short-term savings could have negative consequences over the long run. "If ever we needed diplomacy, to understand other cultures and languages, the time is now," he says.

Defending the administration's budget request, Christopher spoke in a similar vein when he testified that the November elections "were not a license to lose sight of our global interests or to walk away from our commitments. This budget that we put forward advances those interests and maintains our commitments. Approving it, Congress will be facing a stern test of our willingness to dedicate the necessary resources to protect the security and prosperity of the American people." And if Congress does go along, the State Department faces its own stern test of finding ways to concentrate on priorities and dispense with the rest. As things stand now, there are too many people uncomfortable with the status quo. ■

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WHADDYA BID FOR THIS?



*Forget Fattening the Budget, Let's Auction Off
Embassies, Bureaus and Ambassadorships*

BY FRANK MCNEIL

It is idle to speculate on why so many, from the managers of the Department of State to the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, spend so much time arguing over a corpse, the institutional arrangements within the foreign affairs community and the State Department. Whatever the cause, the spirit which motivated stewards to rearrange chairs on the Titanic has taken possession of the protagonists and the media who indifferently report this debate.

The State Department, the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) — and the Foreign Service, which is their principal resource — far from being ripe for joining at the hip, are archeological curiosities. If a Wizard of Oz were to transport them alive to the 21st century, they would be no more useful than analogue TV, artifacts from a time when diplomacy mattered.

The end of the Cold War and the onslaught of the "Third Wave" described by the Tofflers make inevitable a Revolution in Diplomatic Affairs (RDA). Revolutions cannot be made without breaking eggs and, as the reader will understand, the rice bowls of the foreign policy establishment. This modest proposal is as breathtaking in its simplicity as it is visionary in conception.

The times demand nothing less than abolition of the traditional foreign policy apparatus, the eradication of State, AID, USIA and the Foreign Service. Neither radical downsizing, nor reinvention will do for an enterprise whose product — foreign policy — no longer has buyers in this country. Compassionate business practice calls for orderly liquidation of assets and the layoff of employees, using buyouts, retraining and modest unemployment compensation.

RDA will take place in three stages, during which the Department of State (except for vestigial functions, e.g. keeper of the Great Seal, declassification), AID, USIA and the Foreign Service will cease to exist:

Frank McNeil, a former ambassador to Costa Rica, is director of the Strategic Studies Group at the Naval War College. His latest book, Democracy in Japan, was recently released by Crown Publishers.

First, termination of entitlements: the entitlement of experts to be heard in foreign affairs discussions and the entitlements of foreigners, who pay no taxes, to AID's economic assistance and USIA's cultural and educational exchanges and public information programs.

Second, privatization of State Department and Foreign Service functions, an approach experimentally validated by successfully selling a limited number of ambassadorships over the past several decades.

Third, devolution of residual reporting and analysis to the CIA, an approach inspired by the pioneering work of William J. Casey with his "off-the-shelf" enterprises.

The heart of privatization lies in auctioning off, as the FCC auctions frequencies, entire embassies and State bureaus. It is easy to foresee that the automobile industry would be the highest bidder for Tokyo and that coffee importers would contest with fruit companies for certain embassies in this hemisphere. And one might expect that a defense industry consortium would buy the office which deals with export controls on weapons and munitions.

There would be surprises. The Ford Foundation might bankroll a coalition of environmental groups for the embassy in Brasilia. Venture capitalists might take a flyer on Russia. A prestigious winery might find the Office of Protocol an attractive property if State's 8th-floor reception areas were thrown in to sweeten the deal.

Some units will be a hard sell. The Voice of America (VOA) will be put on the market, but it is unrealistic to expect heated bidding for such poor demographics. The VOA's audience is outside of major ratings markets and is composed of foreigners, most of whom do not speak English, looking for news. Perhaps the VOA could be hawked as multilingual infotainment, a sort of Geraldo in 30 languages.

China is so huge that anti-trust considerations will force the breakup of our diplomatic and consular establishment and require separate buyers for the embassy in Beijing and each of the consulates, much as occurred with the formation of the Baby Bells. For some countries, providing the SEC and the Fed approve, one might start a modest venture in derivatives; futures contracts for embassies in Cuba, Iran and Iraq. A bidding war for the

F O C U S

embassy in Cuba would erupt in the resort industry and the petroleum majors would bid for Teheran and Baghdad.

The end result will be billions of dollars for Treasury and a welcome diversity in foreign policy not seen since the days when State, the Pentagon and the CIA each pursued different policies toward the Panama of Gen. Manuel Noriega.

Devolution is less important but will be sticky. Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan advocates abolition of the CIA and transfer of its functions to State. But he has it backward. The CIA is adaptable, with a track record in intelligence about widely separated cultures, e.g. the Iranian moderates, the Guatemalan military, Southern Africa and Haiti. The agency is known for its ability to predict the past, as in the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

The CIA is not afraid of innovative research, exemplified by its recruitment of a cultural attaché from Colombia, the wife of master spy Aldrich Ames. Last but not least, the agency has a durable formula for dealing with Congress, an apology coupled with a promise to mend its ways followed by an offer for a bells-and-whistles brief of the latest over-

head photos of the polar ice cap.

It is no contest. The State Department conducts highly public post-mortems, as it did with respect to its conduct prior to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and human rights issues in El Salvador. This will not do. Reporting and analysis must be removed from public scrutiny, to facilitate the no-regrets diplomacy required by the RDA.

Space does not permit explication, but these measures clear the way for a paradigm shift to a "Fourth Wave" drawn from scientific observation, that one wave follows another. In the "Fourth Wave," the Foreign Service's core capabilities, knowledge of foreign cultures, economies, politics, history and language are sans relevance. Futurists have demonstrated that attention to such grubby matters is "old think," which distracts from the task, creation of a seminal vision, scaled to a 30-year time frame, to ensure forgetfulness by the time the visionary moment is reached. The next Kissinger will be a diplomancer, a surfer on the wave of virtual diplomacy. ■

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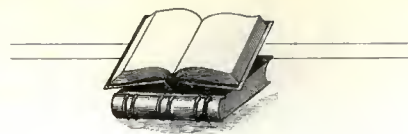
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BOOKS

BIGGEST DRAGON IN THE EAST: CHINA

China in the World Economy

Nicholas R. Lardy, *Institute for International Economics*, 1994, soft-cover, \$16.95, 156 pages.

BY DAVID REUTHER

In the 1842 Treaty of Nanking, the intruding Western powers forced China to open four ports to international trade. But 127 years later Beijing grabbed the initiative to encourage trade and attract direct foreign investment by opening five special economic zones. This experiment expanded to 14 cities and Hainan in 1988. China accomplished on its own what developmental economists urged for decades: Search out one's comparative advantage, use trade as an engine of growth and let market mechanisms direct economic expansion. Nicholas R. Lardy, director of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington and one of the premier researchers on China's economy, has produced a must handbook for policy wonks who want an excellent outline of the performance, problems and prospects of China as an international trader. Given the recent debate about Most Favored Nation (MFN) status, this book is timely.

Lardy's main conclusion is that the Chinese economy is more open and more intimately linked with the global economy than those of Japan, Taiwan or South Korea at comparable

stages of development. He argues that China's export mix follows a pattern consistent with the principle of comparative advantage, which is also why China's trade is balanced on a global basis and why the ratio of exports is a smaller percentage of its total economy than in Japan or the small dragons.

The author summarizes a stunning story. Before the Dengist reforms, China's economy ranked 30th as a world trader and, as a percentage of world trade, China's best year until recently was 1927. By 1992, however, China's share of world trade made it the world's 10th largest exporter. Even more significantly, China attracted more direct foreign investment than any other country (\$25.75 billion in 1993) and was the single largest borrower from the World Bank, while raising large additional sums selling bonds on world markets. Lardy adds pointed perspective by noting that China's economy far outperformed India's, which in 1992 received 1/100 of the direct foreign investment that flowed into China. Russia, for which economic assistance from Western governments is economically and politically crucial, has nowhere near China's success in economic reform, trade growth or at attracting foreign investment.

China's is a large continental economy, but Lardy is conservative in his estimates. He argues that China's per-capita income was \$1,000 in 1990. Lardy's calculations still make China the world's third-largest economy, but well behind the United States, with only two-thirds

the GNP of Japan. Even assuming optimistic rates of growth, he does not believe China's GDP will match that of the U.S. until 2040.

Finally, he argues that because China's economy is so intimately linked to the global trading system, the consequences of the United States withdrawing MFN would be wide-ranging. Such a move would not only severely damage China's economic performance, and perhaps the political commitment to market reforms, but also would imperil Hong Kong, which now trades more with China than the United States. Lardy stresses that, in moving toward a market economy and becoming a major world trader, China's economic health is now important to the economic expansion of its neighboring trade partners.

China's current integration into the world's trading structure brings Lardy to the prescription that the U.S. should encourage China's participation in GATT as soon as possible. With well-documented arguments, the author illustrates that China's economy has travelled further down the road of market reform than many other economies when they joined GATT. He also assures readers that GATT rules already provide remedies for prospective problems.

Furthermore, economic theory explains well why a country that has a concentration of labor-intensive exports can have an imbalance in bilateral trade statistics. Lardy makes the reader focus on China and under-



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BOOKS

stands that it is not Japan — and that the United States' problems with Japan are not duplicated in China.

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

SEARCH FOR ETHICS IN '90s STATECRAFT

**Idealism without Illusions: U.S.
Foreign Policy in the 1990s**

George Weigel, William B. Eerdmans
Publishing Co., 1995, \$16.99, paper-
back, 254 pages.

BY DANIEL O. NEWBERRY

Nearly a century ago, the British Realist philosopher G.E. Moore found that in ethics, difficulties and disagreements are mainly due to the attempt to find answers without knowing exactly what the questions are. Author George Weigel would no doubt agree with Moore, but would surely add that, in foreign policy, follies are often committed because key players fail even to ask the right question.

The illusions that Weigel examines, at times brilliantly, are such fondly held dogmas as those of the Eleanor Roosevelt/Jimmy Carter flanks of the human rights debates, for example, or of Pat Buchanan's New Isolationism. Weigel reserves special scorn for those naive advocates of increasing aid to Third World countries, who seek to enshrine the "right to development" in international agreements without insisting on recipients' responsibility to get results.

If one begins to suspect that George Weigel is a conservative thinker, that would be right. He quotes at length from Paul Johnson, the English historian and Margaret Thatcher supporter. Indeed, Weigel calls Johnson's analysis the single best

overview of the cycles of history in this century. Nor does Weigel dissemble his own Roman Catholic training and conviction. He cites the Roman Catholic Church of today as "the world's foremost institutional defender of basic human rights." Let the reader be reassured: Weigel is no knee-jerk conservative: He decries at length the baneful influence of Hans Morgenthau, the apostle of twentieth-century realism in diplomatic doctrine.

Much of Weigel's catalogue of illusions is presented in a highly reasonable, even witty manner. He is in earnest, however, in holding to his faith in America's destiny as a leader on the world scene. He, like many other commentators of the past five years, comes full circle to the consideration of national interest, which has to be reexamined in the search for what has been called a "catalogue of values." In that effort George Weigel is an effective proponent of what a recent *Foreign Service Journal* article referred to as the "moral dimension of statecraft."

Daniel O. Newberry is a member of the Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board.

A MUSLIM ANCHOR OF NATO IN EUROPE

Turkey: The Challenge of a New Role

Andrew Mango, *The Center for Strategic and International Studies*, 1994, \$12.95, softcover, 144 pages.

BY WILLIAM E. RAU

While the United States and Russia struggle to redefine themselves in terms of the post-Cold War denouement, a ripple effect is occurring in the many nations that played supporting

BOOKS

roles in this century's great drama of East-West confrontation. Not the least of these redefinitions is taking shape in Turkey, a country whose geography, history and political predilections once helped create its particular Cold War persona: the southeastern anchor of the NATO alliance.

In a monograph published by the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Andrew Mango tries to predict exactly what Turkey's new international role might be. He speculates that Turkey, as the world's most successful Muslim democracy, could become a major player in at least two regional scenarios: one made up of the fledgling states of the former Soviet Union, the other of the Islamic nations of the Middle East. Before assuming this new role, however, Turkey must solve the thorniest of its own domestic problems.

In nine concise chapters, Mango focusses on these problems, of which the Kurdish insurrection is foremost, at least in terms of worldwide media attention. Neither autonomy nor a semi-independent federal system are viable solutions, in Mango's view. The Kurds are too dispersed and too divided among themselves to form a nation; moreover, the economic resources of the region they would occupy are simply too meager to support an independent state. Instead, the author believes the Turkish government must offer enough freedom and policy reform to silence the irredentist voices within the Kurdish minority.

A second roadblock to Turkey's regional leadership is persistent runaway inflation, which threatens the well-being — indeed, the very existence — of the middle class. Mango sides with those that see the solution to hyper-inflation through reducing the public sector deficit via a widespread privatization program to eliminate public sector enterprises.

Mango is somewhat less alarmed by the threat posed by religious extremism, though he notes that fundamentalists captured the mayorships of Istanbul and Ankara in municipal elections last March. An even more sobering note is sounded in the book's foreword by Heath Lowry, who points out that three out of 10 Turkish voters opted for extremist parties in the last five years and that further political fragmentation could produce a victory for the radical right in the next scheduled national elections.

Turning to current international relations, Mango points out that the contretemps over Cyprus remains Turkey's primary foreign policy headache, and one that seems to defy solution. He does not believe that greater contact and intermingling between Cypriot Greeks and Turks will reduce the mutual hostility; rather, he favors a continuation of the current policy of ethnic separation.

In spite of the Cyprus impasse, Mango concludes that Turkey's international future could include the two roles he has described at the outset: one as a model for the newly independent Central Asian states; the other as the major supplier of water to the Middle East, surely the key to the area's future economic development. Such regional preeminence, however, will be achieved only if and when Turkey meets the challenge of its own domestic difficulties. Mango offers a number of practical solutions, and his book is a welcome addition to the literature on contemporary Turkey.

William E. Rau, a retired Foreign Service officer, served for eight years in Turkey, including his last position as consul general in Istanbul. He was the director of the Turkish-U.S. Business Council and is now a member of the Global Initiative.

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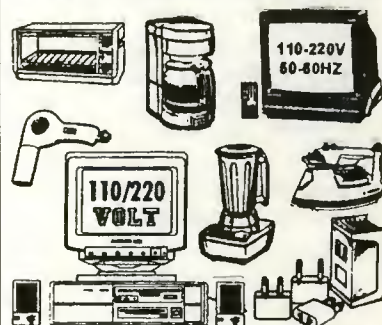


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A JAPANESE FAMILY CHANGES A STUDENT

Rising Sons and Daughters - Life Among Japan's New Young
Steven Wardell, Plympton Press
International, 1994, \$13.95 softcover, 289 pages.

BY JACK H. SHELLENBERGER

Steven Wardell's chronicle of his two-month stay as a 17-year-old with the Ando family in Olta City on the southern Japan isle of Dyushu is a lively account. As a Youth for Understanding exchange student, Steve did not lack for infrastructure. The Ando family and the community were not hosting an itinerant. And his regime, including classes at a public

high school, was well vetted.

His observations include: "I devised a theory that school seats in Japan are designed so that a student can't lean far forward or backward. They also have a narrow base so you can't slump effectively.

"In America students mess up the school and janitors clean it. In Japan, the students have to clean the school during a 15-minute cleanup period, so they don't dirty [the school]."

Steve had his puzzlements. Shoe etiquette was a constant; when to doff, where to doff. And, of course, the bath, banning soap inside the tub; and the proposition that winning on the playing field has less merit than equity among the participants.

Amidst the good feelings, clashes arise, not so much due to cultural differences, but to the vagaries of ado-

lescence. Substance abuse, sexual promiscuity and gang violence — constants at U.S. high schools — are absent from this account. They simply were not encountered.

As Haru Reischauer noted in her foreword to the book, Wardell discovered a wide gap in understanding between himself and his adopted siblings. Yet the Ando family, with four children, all teenagers, are depicted as a highly integrated unit with individual traits and appetites. This, it seems to me, is what the book is all about: a vibrant Japanese family interacting with a foreign guest in ways more natural than either anticipated. ■

Jack Shellenberger, a retired USIA Foreign Service officer, is president of the Japan-America Student Conference in Washington, D.C.

Wary Partners: Diplomats and the Media

David D. Pearce

Diplomats and journalists can and should work together; foreign correspondent turned Foreign Service officer David D. Pearce explains why and how in *Wary Partners: Diplomats and the Media*.

A practical, hands-on book sponsored by the Georgetown University Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, *Wary Partners* tells each side how the other works, and identifies pitfalls and opportunities.

Pearce explains the impact on policy making of communications with the public and the media, offering diplomats ground rules on managing media relations. For journalists, he explains how the State Department is organized to deal with the media, what sources at various levels are likely to know, and how embassies are equipped to help reporters.

Wary Partners outlines media mechanics and the changing nature of diplomacy, distilling lessons learned by dozens of veterans and providing guidelines for practitioners on both sides. Amb. Thomas Pickering calls it "an excellent guide for all of us in dealing with the press."

Also of interest from the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy:

Inside an Embassy: The Political Role of Diplomats Abroad, by Robert Hopkins Miller

A former U.S. ambassador examines how diplomats gather, analyze, and report political information and looks at clandestine collection.

Wary Partners: Diplomats and the Media

David D. Pearce

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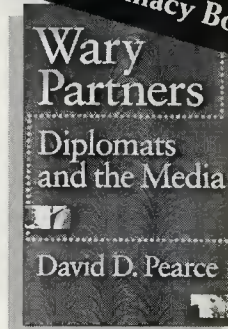
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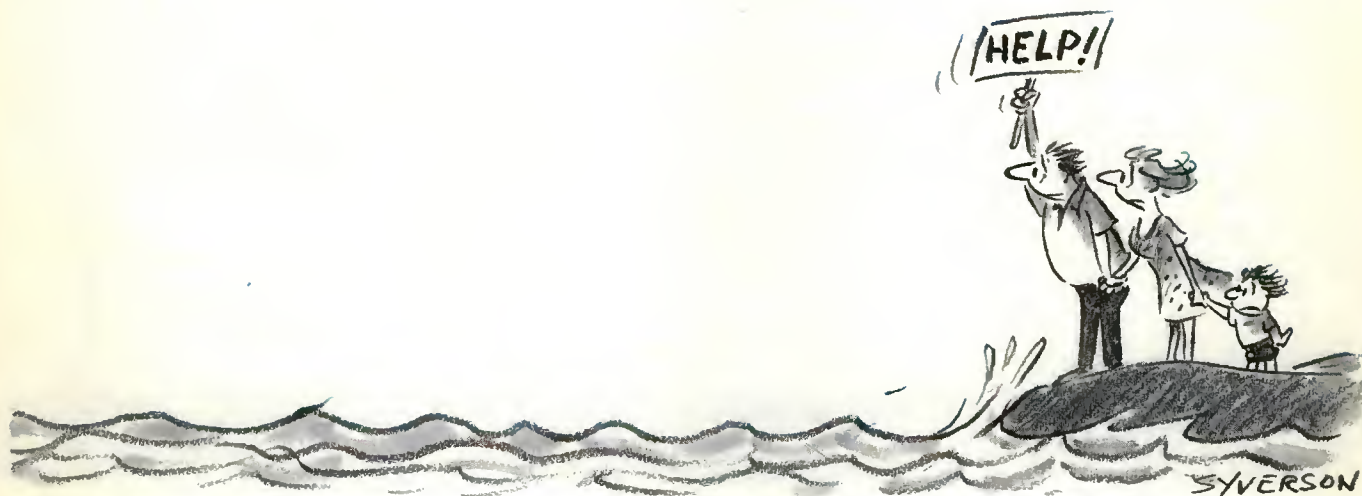
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WHICH SUMMER CAMP IS RIGHT FOR YOUR CHILD?

By DAN KUBISKE

This spring, millions of families with small children will be poring over brochures featuring canoeing, hiking and living in the great outdoors. Why? Because spring is the time when parents decide which summer camp is right for their child.

Each year, some 5 million children aged 5-16 attend camp programs that range from one week to a month. Traditional summer camps offer swimming, hiking and arts and crafts. Beginning in the 1980s, however, many camps began to focus on the special needs of the children of baby-boomers. Tennis and computer camps became popular.

According to the American Camping Association (ACA), many more camps are now offering the traditional camping experience along with special skills training. The newest trends in camps include bicycling and spelunking.

With more than 8,000 camps from which to choose, how do parents select a camp that is right for their children? "One of the most important things," says Shirley Boltz,

Dan Kubiske is a freelance writer in Northern Virginia.

*'Make sure the camp
is a good fit for the
child. Otherwise, we
will not have a
happy camper.'*

— SHIRLEY BOLTZ,
PUBLIC RELATIONS MANAGER,
AMERICAN CAMPING
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public relations manager for the ACA, "is to make sure the camp is a good fit for the child."

The first step in selecting a camp, says Boltz, is to sit down with your children and find out if they want to go to a camp. Boltz stresses that the child must be involved in the decision-making process. "Otherwise," she says, "we will not have a happy camper."

Among the issues to discuss with your child are: Is s/he more comfortable with a day camp or a resident camp? Does s/he like large or small groups? Do you and your child want a camp that stresses active competition? How far away is the camp? Does your child have special interests or needs?

The ACA sells a book that lists 2,100 camps, all accredited by ACA on topics such as covers health and safety as well as adherence to the ACA professional standards by the camp staff. Camps are evaluated annually by an ACA board of camp owners, counselors and directors. The guide to camping costs \$12.95 and is updated every January. Copies can be purchased by calling the ACA at (800) 428-CAMP (2267). ■

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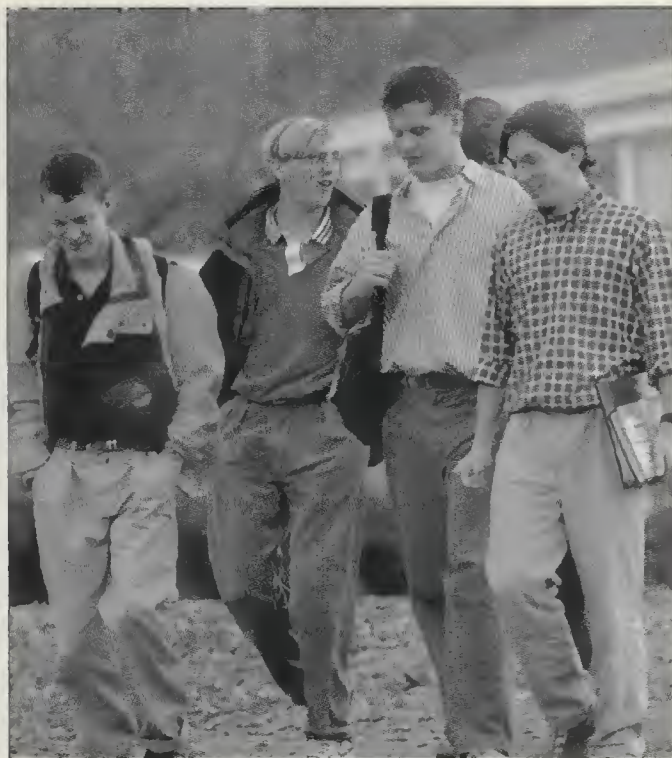
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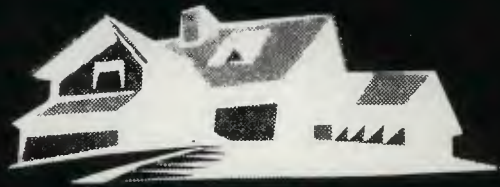
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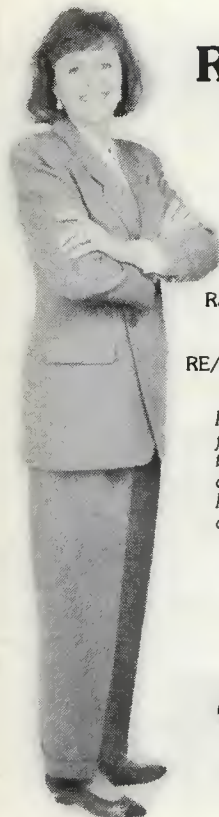
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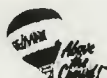
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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

Gifts from the Heart of Côte d'Ivoire

BY JEFF HAWKINS

As a first-tour political officer in a West African post, I have learned how we in the Foreign Service touch people and their lives. During a recent trip into the interior of Côte d'Ivoire to inspect small-scale development projects vying for funding by the embassy's Special Self Help Fund, I learned that even at the most micro level, we can make a difference.

The journey was relatively mundane. There was none of the drama associated with the problematic Liberian border, none of the French colonial architecture under breezy palms found along the coast, none of the centuries-old mud mosques rising out of the dirt and heat seen in northern Côte d'Ivoire. The projects were all off the beaten track, located in simple farming villages among the ragged remains of what must have once been an impressive and dense forest.

What was truly exceptional was the reaction of the Ivoirians to the presence of a lone Foreign Service officer — bearing only the possibility of a modest gift from the U.S. government. A new school classroom, a well or a rice huller may not sound like much, but these people were thankful for outside help. And they knew how to show it.

The first village I visited was just outside the small town of Sinfra, where the embassy would fund a \$10,000 addition to a primary school, which was now just a collection of wood and mud huts for more than 100 students. I

Jeff Hawkins is a junior officer at U.S. Embassy Abidjan.

*Ivoirians' reaction to
the presence of a
lone Foreign Service
officer was
heartwarming.*

stopped first to pick up Boti Bi Zan, the region's National Assembly representative, who was the project sponsor. As we arrived in the village there was a confused scramble as people made a dash for the village center. I couldn't see why at first, but it became clear as we came into the heart of the town.

The entire village had assembled in a long, swaying line of dirty t-shirts and brightly dyed cloth, and the villagers were singing. Their haunting, rhythmic chants were filled with harmony. I turned to the deputy to ask what the words meant. He said that the song was one of welcome and had been written especially for my arrival.

After visiting the school, we took our places under the palm-fronded shelter specially built for my visit. First, we greeted the village elders and the traditional chiefs. After much hand-shaking and head-nodding, I made some short remarks in French about how much importance we Americans attach to helping others, and how much we hoped that we could work with the people of the vil-

lage. After I sat down, the deputy translated my remarks into Bete, the local language, which, given typical Ivoirian eloquence, lasted five times as long as the simple French version.

As the festivities drew to a close, the deputy pointed out that it was Ivoirian custom to offer the weary traveler a drink, and that it would be rude to allow him to depart without gifts. The drink, unfortunately, was a tepid glass of 150-proof palm wine. The simple gifts were touching. First, I was wrapped in a colorful, checkered *pagne*, or hand-woven cloth. Next, I was handed a five-kilogram bag of rice. Finally, with a flourish, the deputy proudly held up not one, but two, loudly squawking chickens. Try as I might, there was no graceful way to bow out of the gifts, and the chickens and all were duly packed into the back of my car. As I left the village, the villagers gathered again to sing.

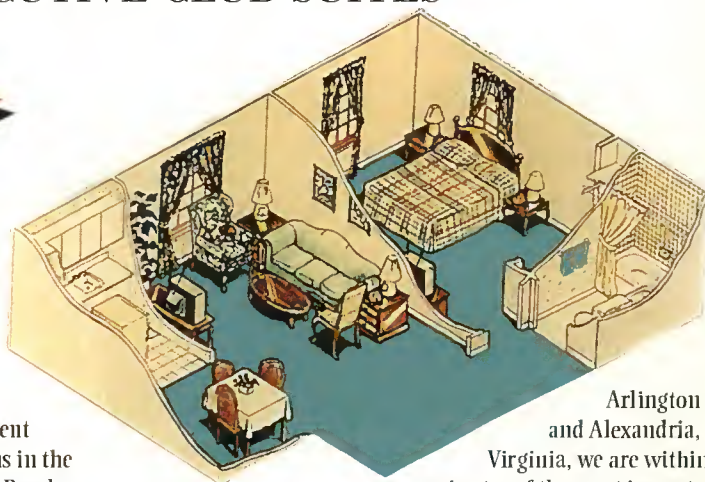
The reception in each of the villages was the same. Simple people gathered to welcome the stranger that came to help, and at each stop I was offered hospitality, no matter how poor the village, and often some modest, hand-made gift. At the next town, where the embassy was planning to finance the building of a small market, the village chief stopped me just before I left. He insisted that custom required the people to present me with something to remember his village.

"What it is it?" I quipped, "A live chicken?" The chief looked at me quizzically. "How did you know?" he asked. ■

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