

# FOREIGN SERVICE

JOURNAL

THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS

\$3.50 / JULY 1996



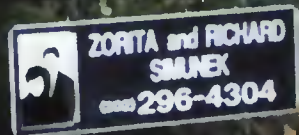
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## THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS

Foreign Service Journal (ISSN 0015-7279), 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20037-2990 is published monthly by the American Foreign Service Association, a private, non-profit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the views of the Journal, the Editorial Board or AFSA. Writer queries are invited. Journal subscription: AFSA Members - \$9.50 included in annual dues; others - \$40. For foreign surface mail, add \$18 per year; foreign airmail, \$36 per year. Second-class postage paid at Manchester, NH, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to Foreign Service Journal, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037-2990. Indexed by Public Affairs Information Service (PAIS). The Journal is not responsible for unsolicited manuscripts, photos or illustrations. Advertising inquiries are invited. The appearance of advertisements herein does not imply the endorsement of the services or goods offered. FAX: (202) 338-8244 or (202) 338-6820. E-MAIL: journal@afsa.org. TELEPHONE: (202) 338-4045. © American Foreign Service Association, 1996. Printed in the U.S.A. Send address changes for the Foreign Service Journal to AFSA, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037-2990.

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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *The Honor of 'Responsible' FSO Dissenters and Legislators*

BY F. A. "TEX" HARRIS

Each June the American Foreign Service Association proudly honors several FSOs who have risked their careers to fulfill their professional responsibilities to the country they serve. They have ignored political unpopularity. They have given their best, carefully reasoned advice. They have upheld the laws they are sworn to defend. They have met grave ethical dilemmas with intelligence, diligence and great skill.

AFSA recognizes these people, who have dissented against U.S. policy or their ambassador's policies, to fulfill its responsibility to support the professional integrity of the Foreign Service. Integrity is the keystone of all aspects of modern diplomacy: dealing with international organizations, caring for citizens abroad, protecting investments, promoting exports, gathering essential information, communicating effectively with foreign decision makers, practicing public diplomacy, and heading off serious threats with focused political, economic, development and humanitarian assistance.

Addressing another responsibility, the AFSA Governing Board recently established the Committee on Professionalism to ensure that the Service fully reflects America's rich diversity, its commitment to excellence and its respect for professional performance. Those tasks get harder with each blind slash of the budget, each layoff.

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

*Congress and the  
White House share  
the responsibilities  
of the secretary.*

This spring, House Appropriations Chairman Robert Livingston (R-La.) dropped in when Secretary of State Warren Christopher was testifying before the Commerce, Justice, State Appropriations Subcommittee. His sober message: What the secretary is doing is important, but there's not enough money to fund his budget at the requested levels. The Office of Management and Budget plans to take half-billion-dollar bites out of the overall international operations (150) account in each of the next few years underscore the point.

The responsibilities of the secretary of State, the director of the U.S. Information Agency and the administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development are important ones. As their resources increasingly shrivel, they will have to decide new priorities, some of which may pose greater risks to American lives, businesses and values. Do they skimp on Korea? China? Russia? South Asia, perhaps, or the Middle East? Or maybe in Africa, facing new threats of genocide and plagues.

Congress and the White House share the responsibilities of Secretary Christopher and his colleagues. When one of these new budget-driven risks erupts in bloody conflict or diplomatic crisis, the public will demand answers. There also will be a frantic, absurdly costly effort to recover. What's left of the professional Foreign Service will be among the first to deal with the shock of the crisis. But only inappropriate, or marginally appropriate, tools will be available. Taxpayer dollars will be lavished on military forces or on dispatching people who lack language skills or an understanding of the local political actors.

Many legislators understand the full breadth of their responsibilities. Yes, they bear a heavy burden on the budget. But Congress knows it's also responsible for the effects of budget cuts. That's why it has decided not to cut, but to increase spending on defense, intelligence, the FBI and Border Patrol. Each of these helps to protect America. However, none of them is much use in anticipating, preventing, disarming and resolving most of the risks in the world's current and future hot spots. Some congressional planners have suggested that the next Congress combine Foreign Operations (USAID) and State/USIA appropriations into a new International Activities Committee, and stop forcing the minuscule foreign affairs structure — 1.2 percent of the whole budget — to compete with giant domestic agencies for funds.

That is a responsible approach. ■

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# LETTERS

*To the editor:*

The *Journal* erred. Instead of printing the agreed version of my essay on the need for diversity in foreign affairs, ("Speaking Out," May *Journal*) which I presented to the managing editor in January, the *Journal* printed an earlier working draft which I had shared with the editors in November.

I am embarrassed by the *Journal's* error, especially since the working draft contained speculative comments about the attitudes of black American leaders towards U.S. participation in World War I and the Gulf War. My subsequent research undermined these comments, which I expunged from my final draft. Equally important, [my] approved version, titled "Looking, Seeing and Thinking Like America," is more coherent and more relevant to current challenges facing the foreign affairs community.

*Journal* readers can secure the authoritative version of my essay by calling me at (703) 532-3108 or writing to me at 3021 Sylvan Drive, Falls Church, Va. 22042.

*Kenneth Longmyer  
Retired FSO  
Falls Church, Va.*



*Editors' Note: The editors regret they were unable to use the updated piece. However, the version published was the fifth one submitted by Mr. Longmyer, and he unfortunately submitted the sixth version after the magazine's deadline for that issue.*

*To the editor:*

While I heartily applaud Kenneth Longmyer's efforts in promoting a more diverse Foreign Service, I have a problem with one of his principal arguments.

He states that personal experience influences the formation and execution of American foreign policy. A necessary corollary, according to his reasoning, is that minorities have particular sensibilities that come to play when foreign policy involves ethnic or racial matters. He cites his personal experience in Jerusalem. The inevitable inference is that non-minority FSOs lack this perceptiveness and, consequently, overlook aspects of a situation the ignorance of which often can have a negative impact on America's best interest.

This has not been borne out in my own experience and, I surmise, that of former colleagues and current FSOs. One might extrapolate the view, following Mr. Longmyer's thesis, that, to take one example, a Japanese-American FSO, clearly a racial minority, would have the edge over a Caucasian FSO in understanding and interpreting Japanese culture and society and its impact on U.S. foreign policy. An Edwin Reischauer, not to mention a whole slew of non-Japanese American diplomats serving in Japan, many of whom I encountered in my 10-years service there, clearly undermines this tenet. Too many other factors besides race are at play here.

We need more Afro-Americans and other minorities in the Foreign Service, not because they possess unique qualities but because the

Foreign Service should present a demographic configuration that mirrors the make-up of the U.S. today if it is to be an effective democratic institution. And FSOs should be chosen because they are intelligent, articulate, sensitive, and attuned to political, social and cultural differences, regardless of their national or racial origins.

*Albert Ball  
Retired FSO  
Corte Mendoza Temecula,  
Calif.*



*To the Editor:*

Kenneth Longmyer's article and C. Patrick Quinlan's letter on State's equal opportunity program in the same issue were of very special interest to me. Way back in the late '40s, I was involved in an instance of racial discrimination in the Foreign Service that caused quite a rumpus. I thought you might be interested in the story.

It started this way. I was very junior, the desk officer for Portugal; Clifton R. Wharton was the consul in the Azores; we needed a new consul general in Lisbon; I suggested to Ambassador Lincoln MacVeagh that we recommend Cliff for the job. He agreed I put in the request.

Mr. Longmyer's article shows how racial discrimination in the Foreign Service has continued comparatively unabated for over 50 years and more, unto this very day.

And what do we hear about it today? The director general says, "We

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## LETTERS

will be carrying out some really substantial reforms in the personnel system so we can train our supervisors to manage a diverse work force." Imagine saying such a thing in April 1996! Where have this man and his predecessors been for the last 50 years? Those "really substantial reforms" should have been made decades ago and we should have had in place long since "supervisors to manage a diverse work force." Imagine — we are just getting around to training them now! Why train them? Get the people who already know how to do the job.

I suppose it is symptomatic of the state of mind that still seems to exist in the Foreign Service that the *Journal's* page, "President's Views," has never been used as a bully pulpit to press insistently for an end to the racial discrimination that so sullies the American Foreign Service.

*William B. Dunham  
Retired FSO  
Annapolis, Md.*

To the Editor:

I thank you for publishing my essay on the closing of Consulate Bilbao ("Eulogy for a Consulate," *May Journal*), but credit must be given where due.

Text in the essay regarding Bilbao's American revolutionary pedigree and its first consul is the result of the *Journal* editors' first-rate detective work. It added fascinating background to the essay, and I am grateful.

*Richard J. Douglas  
Attorney  
Washington, D.C.*

To the Editor:

Joel Ehrendreich's "Of Consuls and Umps" (*April Journal*) draws some

## LETTERS

interesting analogies between baseball umpiring and visa interviewing. He might also have mentioned the times when the consular officer has determined that the applicant has swung, missed and been declared out (214B). I believe that the phrase is "stee-RIKE three, y'er out!" In consular speak, that's "We regret to inform you that you have been unable to demonstrate sufficient ties to your country of residence to compel a return home after a short stay abroad." Or words to that effect.

It is at this point, in baseball as in interviewing, that the drama can begin. Struck-out batters have been known to protest the umpire's decision, and are occasionally supported in their objections by their manager, who is the moral, so to speak, equivalent of the aggressive immigration attorney or U.S. relative brought in to argue the case.

Particularly aggrieved batters have been known to engage in spitting rages against umpires, voicing recriminations against their character and eyesight. It is occasionally thus on the visa line, and, like umpires confronting gesticulating hysterics, the visa officer must (also occasionally) raise his or her voice to gain a hearing, and, in order to give others their turn and let the game proceed, eject the offender with a sternness that matches the recalcitrance and decibel level of the applicant. This may appear rude and callous to the rejectee, to legal counsel and to the relative. To others waiting their turn, it is a courtesy. It's also part of the game.

Michael Mates  
Vice Consul  
Canberra, Australia

To the editor:

I was disheartened to read in the "Clippings" section ("Promotions Dwindle As FS Anxiety Soars," April

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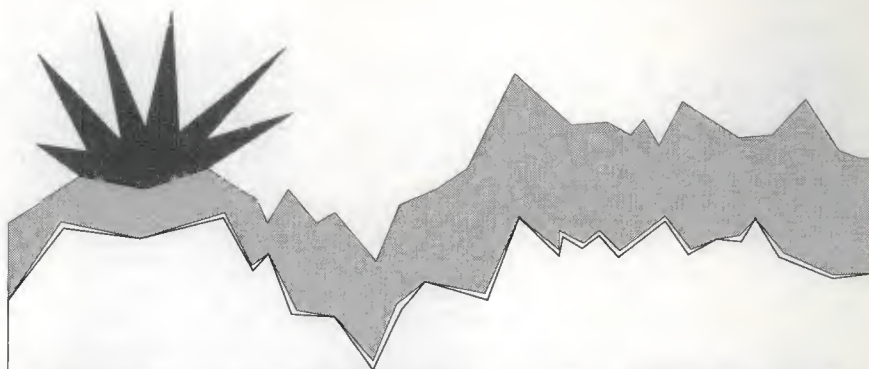
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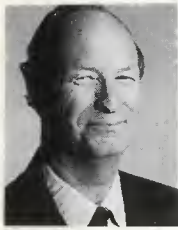
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*Journal*), which quoted Under Secretary of State for Management Richard Moose as saying, "We will have to get away from the notion that the Foreign Service is a lifetime vocation. There will be more good 20-year careers."

I am a junior officer candidate on the Foreign Service Register, and it has always been my dream to make the Foreign Service my lifelong career. The thought of searching for a new job in 20 years is very discouraging. It is common knowledge that promotions in the Foreign Service are limited and highly competitive, but I truly had no idea how difficult it has become to spend your entire career in the Service. Statements like these made by Moose could drive many of the best people away from serving their country in the Foreign Service.

*Andrea Brouillette  
Rodriguez  
Minneapolis, Minn.*

*To the Editor:*

Though commendable in many ways, [Smith Hempstone's] "Democracy in Africa" (*May Journal*) is incredibly eurocentric. "It is arguable that the colonial period in Africa was too short," he wrote. "From the colonial powers, Africa inherited constitutions, parliaments and bewigged judges — but not the culture of democracy." He says the continent has endured "three decades of corruption, misrule and authoritarian abuse."

Ambassador Hempstone seems to believe that colonialism was a positive influence, or at worst, a benign institution. Did it not create the example — far before the three decades of independence — of corruption, misrule and authoritarian abuse? Did it not establish the "post-war economic weaknesses" a direct result of colonial

## LETTERS

insistence on economies promoted to satisfy European needs, e.g. single crop production of cocoa and coffee beans, rather than promotion of agricultural self sufficiency? Did it not deny Africans access to their own beaches, many schools and other institutions established for Europeans? Did it not supply the very example of living lip service to the principle of democracy? What fairy book version of life under colonialism has Ambassador Hempstone read?

The author makes it sound as if the colonial system was perpetuated for beneficent, altruistic purposes and with more time, would have prepared them for Western democracy — as if it were philanthropy which attracted and maintained the colonialists. The millions of dollars extracted from trading in African gold, diamonds, mahogany, ivory, uranium and other natural resources had nothing to do with their presence.

He also seems to infer that the role of the United States and former colonial powers has been primarily to promote democracy. Who put the Mobutus of the world in their position of power, not only allowing them to exist but financing their journey to the top? Though Africans cannot be let off the hook of responsibility, it is rather hypocritical to sanitize our own involvement in Africa and act as if our only sin is one of nonfeasance. Have we forgotten the U.S. quick switch in alignment from Ethiopia to Somalia or our long standing support for apartheid South Africa before deciding to oppose it? Examples abound of our chameleonic approach to African policy.

“Democracy in principle only” is not an African innovation. It is in the eye of the beholder.

Economic progress and independence must go hand in hand with democratization. We are still ambivalent in our policies. Be self-sufficient, devalue your currencies, discourage

dependency upon imports — except for American products. People who can't eat are not concerned about voting. I take exception with the tone and the assumptions that permeate the article. I do agree, however, with many of its conclusions. Smaller is better. Africa needs viable programs to encourage self-sufficiency, economic progress and the creation of a strong middle class, all of which were thwarted by colonialism and the lack of prepared transition which followed it. The Western societies helped create a monster. Now, we must assist in the transformation.

*FSO Judy Francis  
Poison Fellow  
Free Trade Alliance  
San Antonio, Tex.*

*To the Editor:*

In all fairness I should say that now and then you print an article of true scholarly value. I'm keeping the February 1996 issue for an article on Mark Twain by Rhoda Newman. Superb! Pax vobiscum!

*Dorothy M. Weaver  
Retired FSO, USIA  
Portland, Ore.*

*To the Editor:*

The picture drawn of John Foster Dulles in “Historic Dynasties” by Ellen Rafshoon (May *Journal*) are an example of what the *Journal* does not need more of.

My first job was in the Secretary of the Navy's office in Washington, D.C. Battle-worn Navy officers would quip, “Dull — Duller — Dulles!”

They loathed the swivel-chair warriors!

*Dorothy M. Weaver  
Retired FSO, USIA  
Portland, Ore. ■*



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# CLIPPINGS



*“The U.S. Foreign Service constitutes the essential backbone of American foreign policy. It is the country’s eyes and ears to the world.”*

— EDITORIAL,  
THE MIAMI HERALD,  
MAY 7

## AMBASSADOR KRUEGER WARNS OF MASSACRES

The outgoing U.S. Ambassador to Burundi Robert Krueger cabled a dire warning to his staff, only weeks after he was reassigned after eight months in the tiny African country, according to an article by Thomas W. Lippman in the June 10 *Washington Post*. Burundi faces “a greater chance for major conflagration, than at any time in the last two years,” he said in his cable from Washington to embassy staffers in Burundi.

Krueger, a former Democratic senator from Texas who was presumably pulled from Burundi for being too outspoken, said that the same proportion of people was being killed daily in this country of 6.2 million as was killed in the 1995 Oklahoma City federal building bombing, in which 168 died.

“The capacity of the Burundi populace to absorb horrendous punishment and yet to persevere is awesome, but not infinite,” Krueger said, according to Lippman. “I don’t know the trigger point of national rage.”

Krueger, who is awaiting Senate confirmation as U.S. ambassador to Botswana, warned that Burundi’s populace is being slaughtered by the violent conflict between rival Hutu and Tutsi tribes, the same tribes responsible for hundreds of thousands of deaths and refugees in Rwanda in 1994.

“This cable is a reminder,” Krueger wrote, according to Lippman, “that in an obscure country in the heart of Africa, the killing is proportionately vastly heavier than what the cameras are covering [in Lebanon], or indeed, than in almost any place else in the world. And as the protagonist of Arthur Miller’s play, ‘The Death of a Salesman,’ said, ‘Attention must be paid.’”

## 90,000 FULBRIGHTERS CAN’T BE WRONG

More than a quarter million Fulbright scholars, 90,000 of them Americans, have traveled the world as unofficial U.S. ambassadors through the Fulbright scholars program, the *Phoenix Gazette* said in a May 10 editorial titled, “A masterful stroke: J. William Fulbright thought the world would be better if young scholars traveled to other countries. He was right.”

“Does not our national pre-eminence in world affairs, in diplomacy, economic trade and development, in prestige and scholarship, owe something to the opportunities made available through the Fulbright program?” asked the *Gazette*. “Does not the pervasiveness of American culture and ideas, indeed the aspirations of democracy, freedom, progress and market economies, owe something to this program that has introduced countless foreign students to our national ideals?”

The Fulbright program, which celebrates its 50th birthday this year, “has helped to form wiser, more knowledgeable and more sensitive citizens here and abroad,” noted the editorial. “The Fulbright program, which continues today at a reduced budget, has been arguably the most masterful stroke of our nation’s postwar foreign policy. Its alumni ... pay enormous dividends on our investment.”

## FROM SEN. DASCHLE, APPEAL TO ‘GET REAL’

In the post-Cold War era, the foreign policy debate “is largely consigned to the periphery and engaged in by policymakers and members of the media elite,” pointed out Senate minority leader Tom



## CLIPPINGS

Daschle (D-S.D.) in the Summer 1996 issue of *Foreign Policy*.

"At the same time, protectionist, nativist and isolationist slogans, shouted at political rallies, are bringing increasing numbers of Americans to their feet. This is a disturbing and potentially dangerous turn of events."

Notes Daschle, "The imminent threat of nuclear war has passed. ... Our task now is more subtle — to answer the questions, 'What is America's role in this new world, and is America equipped to assume it?'"

Democracy and prosperity have been America's "inheritance," he says. "It is for us now, as the one remaining superpower, to do our best to nudge the rest of the world toward greater liberty, wealth and security — to expand the reach of democracy and prosperity as mutually reinforcing values that can lift the lives of everyone on the planet."

One of the biggest obstacles to having a sound foreign policy, argues Daschle, is the sound-bite culture of America, which trivializes important foreign policy issues and which contributes to "a sense of complacency or disinterest among average citizens."

What does he propose to fix the problem? A bipartisan approach to build a "safe harbor where we blunt the hard edges of rhetoric and campaign attack ads and bring our creative spirits and intellects to bear on issues that need less partisanship and more good ideas," he says.

He urges this harbor to be built around three key principles, that bipartisanship must be part of the policy development phase; that foreign policy should focus on national security threats; and that there is a need "to check rhetoric against the obvious reality."

### DID CIA CHIEF SPY ON US ENVOY IN CROATIA?

Congress is soon expected to launch a probe investigating allegations that the CIA station chief in Croatia improperly spied on Ambassador Peter Galbraith in 1994, *The Washington Post* reported June 2.

Reporters Walter Pincus and David B. Ottaway reported that the unidentified CIA station chief, concerned that Galbraith and other U.S. diplomats might be covertly aiding the flow of Iranian and other arms through Croatia to neighboring Bosnia, began filing reports on his conversations on the subject with Galbraith.

State Department officials have complained that Galbraith and fellow embassy diplomats "were spied upon, while CIA officials have responded that their man was doing his duty reporting on" the arms flow, which violated a U.N. arms embargo, the pair reported.

The spying apparently was sparked by the Clinton administration's "quiet decision" in April 1994 to "turn a blind eye to a covert [arms] flow," the *Post* reported.

According to the report, "Some members of Congress have been told the CIA reports could have a negative effect on future promotions of some diplomats involved. ... One diplomat said the embassy has been in a state of paralysis. State department personnel are unwilling to say anything controversial at meetings, fearing the station chief would report them to Washington."

*The Post* quoted an unidentified intelligence official who pointed out that the station chief and his superiors were "coming out of the Iran-contra era," when CIA officials were criticized — and some prosecuted — for not reporting what they later admitted were questionable activities.

## 50 YEARS AGO

"Early this year, an American senator, concerned with a possible violation of Siamese sovereignty in the peace treaty between the U.K. and Siam, requested a State Department copy of the treaty," noted a non-bylined article in the July 1946 *Journal*, entitled, "Post-War Diplomacy on a Shoestring: Inadequate Appropriations Hamper U.S. Diplomacy in the Face of Increased Commitments — Entire State Department Budget Less Than Price of Single Battleship."

Continued the article, "He was informed by an official that the full text was not yet available, but that *The New York Times* had a cabled copy on file. The senator called the *Times* and was promptly supplied with the complete text.

"The simple explanation was that *The New York Times* had sufficient funds for the cable transmission of the document, while the State Department had not." ■

## CLIPPINGS



*"Diplomacy  
is the art  
of saying  
'nice doggy'  
until you  
can find  
a rock."*

— ANONYMOUS  
INTERNET MESSAGE,  
POSTED MAY 29

### RATING 'CNN EFFECT' ON FOREIGN POLICY

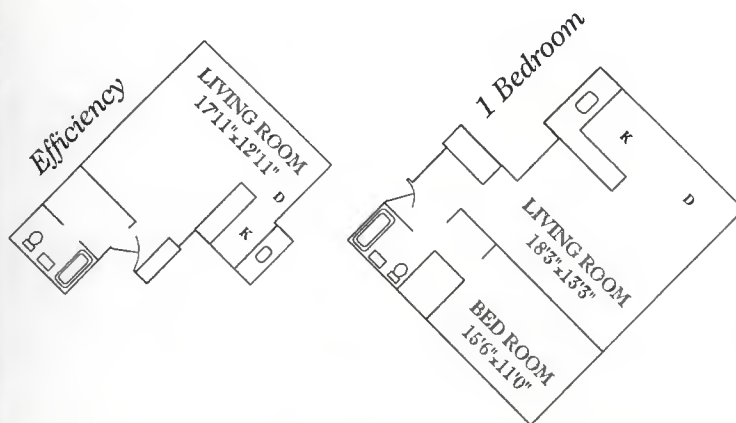
Now that two generations have grown up with CNN, the 24-hour cable news channel, policymakers "are becoming more adept at dealing with the CNN factor," says Defense Department spokesman Kenneth Bacon, in an interview in the May issue of *American Journalism Review*.

"The closer one looks at those incidents that supposedly prove a CNN Effect, where dramatic and/or real-time images appear to have forced policymakers into making sudden changes, the more the Effect shrinks," observes reporter Warren P. Strobel, "but no one is arguing that CNN has had no effect on journalists, government officials and the way both conduct their business."

With CNN, government officials have many chances throughout the day to try to reshape public perceptions sparked by television reports, says Strobel. "Because of its speed, CNN provides a convenient way for administrations to leak new policies in the hope that they'll define the debate before political opponents do."

Noted one of Strobel's interviewees, ABC News' "Nightline" host Ted Koppel, "To the degree ... that U.S. foreign policy in a given region has been clearly stated and adequate and accurate information has been provided, the influence of television coverage diminishes proportionately." Or, as Strobel's spin on Koppel's comments noted, "The news media fill a vacuum, and CNN, by its reach and speed, can do so powerfully and quickly." ■

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# SPEAKING OUT

## *Foreign Service Should Recruit and Train More Managers*

BY PAUL A. FOLMSBEE

Resource management in the Foreign Service has always taken a back seat to the high art of diplomacy. This lack of high-level attention to resource management is appropriate up to a point; after all, we're not in that business. We do diplomacy. Unfortunately, we live in a finite world of resources and, to our detriment, we have a tendency to neglect controllable resources.

Additionally, management skills are lacking among FSOs, compared to the large number of talented reporting officers developed through the exam process: The entrance exam works well at pinpointing good diplomats, but is not so successful at selecting potential managers. Unfortunately, due to this imbalance, the Foreign Service today needs talented managers more than more reporting officers. While the U.S. Foreign Service's diplomatic successes might be legendary, its inability to manage resources is equally noteworthy.

What's the problem? The Foreign Service has done a good job of recruiting talented diplomats, but it has made little or no effort to recruit talented managers. More importantly, the Service has never recruited talented people who want a serious career in State Department management. FSOs have always been so arrogant about being generalists that they assume man-

*Paul A. Folmsbee, an FSO, is the supervisory general services officer at U.S. Embassy Colombo. His previous posts have included Libreville, Washington, Nairobi and Geneva.*

*Many FSOs believe management and administration are issues for simpletons, while they handle the Bosnia crisis.*

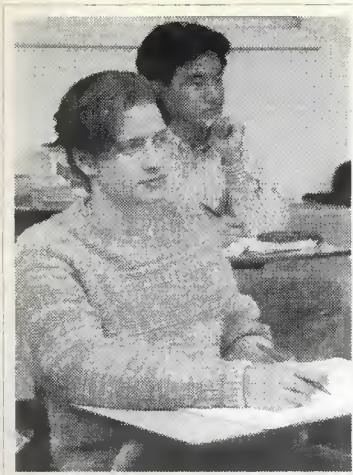
agement problems can be dealt with in their spare time. Unfortunately, real understanding of resource management and management issues has yet to grip the Foreign Service.

To be fair, much has changed in recent years and the Foreign Service has made some attempts to improve officers' management skills, such as by implementing the multi-functional career cone. There are other initiatives such as the promising International Cooperative Administrative Support Services Program, but it appears to be years away from implementation. While ICASS purports to change the way diplomats do business by reappportioning costs among U.S. agencies at an embassy, reading the latest e-mail messages on ICASS makes me wonder if it's really a change or just the

renaming of what's already being done.

The Foreign Service seems to lack an understanding of resource management. FSOs believe management and administration are issues for simpletons, while they handle the Bosnia crisis. Many have expressed little real interest in management and administration, perceiving that FSOs who specialize in management, principally administrative officers, are second stringers. A sub-culture thrives in the State Department whereby administrative officers and even consular officers are seen as inferior to the "substantive" officers who do all the really important stuff — the political officers. A recent poll of incoming FSOs noted that roughly 70 percent want to be political officers, while only 10 percent want to be administrative officers. But there aren't enough political jobs to keep everybody happy, and there are too many administrative jobs to fill.

The sad truth is, there are many talented managers in the Foreign Service, but, I would argue, there are many more managers who have no management skills, including new deputy chiefs of mission who have never supervised anything larger than a three-person political shop. The two-week course for deputy chiefs of mission at the Foreign Service Institute doesn't provide nearly enough background. By the time the green DCM gets to post, he still needs to be reminded that he can't use post funds to rent a bigger house — since rent comes out of a different appropriation. He should have been encountering this kind of information repeatedly dur-



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in the right direction."*

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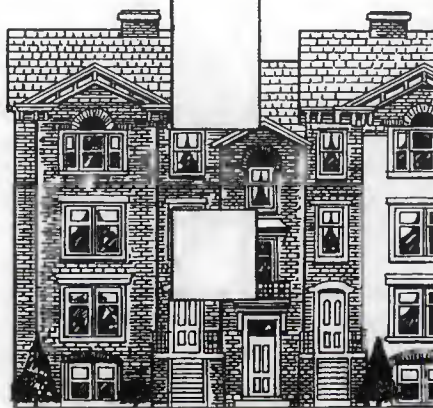
## SPEAKING OUT

ing previous assignments, not only because he would be dealing with the issue operationally at his new posting, but because he might one day testify before a congressional subcommittee or battle the Office of Management and Budget for extra embassy funding. The new DCM shouldn't be seeing his first \$5 million budget a few hours after he gets off the plane at his new post. We shouldn't be pretending that he knows how to effectively manage that much money and that many resources, let alone confront all the other inter-agency personnel and financial issues. In all likelihood, he will spend the next few years learning about resource management, but never understand very clearly how things actually work. He will dabble in management only when relevant papers manage to creep into

his in-box. At the end of his tour, he will be certified as an experienced manager.

Understanding management, including all the details, is not rocket science. It isn't too much to ask FSOs to become intimately familiar with how the budget process works, not only at the post level, but also at the appropriations level. Everyone needs to be better qualified. Never before has the Foreign Service's inability to match resources with program priorities haunted it like today, as budgets are slashed and resources drained. In this unstable post-Cold War era, diplomacy is as vital to our national interest as ever. To ensure adequate resources, the Foreign Service needs to do better, and it can do so by improving its grasp of management. The Service has a responsibility to preserve as much

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## SPEAKING OUT



funding as possible to protect the infrastructure of U.S. missions abroad.

I believe one of the most important changes to be made is improving hiring practices. We need to recruit quality personnel genuinely interested in resource management. We also need to improve FSOs' management skills.

What needs to change? First, the Foreign Service needs to hire ambitious people who like the administrative field, offering them a competitive career track. More needs to be done with specialization. The State Department does not offer productive, competitive careers for administrative specialists. Typically assigned to generalist positions throughout their career, they are never accorded equal status with their administrative generalist colleagues, often despite

superior qualifications and performance. Promotion rates for specialists are roughly half those of generalists, despite often similar kinds of assignments. Assignments for specialists are made usually for positions that generalists are not willing to take, such as administrative officer at an African post. This situation is unhealthy, granting rewards not based on performance but on status.

We need to make room for highly talented administrators and managers. We should recruit people who have MBAs, degrees in public administration and solid job experience, and present them with real Foreign Service career opportunities. These would be people who don't want to be an ambassador to France, but who aim to be an assistant secretary for administration. These would be potential specialists not limited

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## SPEAKING OUT



to sub-categories of general services, personnel and budget for promotion purposes. The parallel I propose is the management track the British Foreign Service uses: During a normal career span, resource managers can expect to serve not only as general services officers or financial management officers, but also as administrative officers. These specialists would be integrated with a limited number of generalists with proven aptitude and interest in management.

Finally, another area the Foreign Service can improve is to upgrade the management skills of all FSOs. Not everyone needs to be a management specialist, but everybody needs to understand that management skills are necessary and important. Although many generalists are quick to point out

they were not hired to lease houses in Rome or buy cars in Lilongwe, in fact, a diplomat's job requires those kinds of flexible resource management skills. It goes with the territory. If you want to be an FSO, you'll have to do some resource management. In reeruiting generalists, the Foreign Service should emphasize management experience and make sure that incoming diplomats understand the job might include being the housing officer in Lagos.

I have no false expectations that hiring people with management skills and MBAs will solve all the management problems in the Service. To a certain extent, many of these skills are learned on the job and can't be taught. Yet, putting people pre-disposed towards management into an organization where they are valued and remain rea-

sonably competitive for good positions, would improve the management of U.S. embassies. This would mean that generalist officers would need to make room for new competitive colleagues. Overseas management issues at a U.S. embassy are not so unique that a qualified, trained manager couldn't step in.

The often-invoked claim that a DCM, the master of all trades at the embassy, is the toughest job in the Foreign Service might be true in a few cases, but I would argue it's much tougher to be either the general services officer or the administrative officer, people who manage the embassy's resources. Unfortunately, it doesn't have the prestige of the title of DCM, because, once again, it's management. It's time to change conventional thinking and give management issues their proper due. ■

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# REDEFINING ISLAM

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AS 'CULTURAL BULLY,' AMERICA  
KEEPS REWRITING MIDEAST HISTORY

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BY CAROL MADISON GRAHAM

**T**he academic field of Middle East studies has become as much an area of conflict as the region itself. Many historians debate whether the "coming of the West" in the early 19th century precipitated or merely influenced the development of Middle Eastern societies. Given the continuing influence of historical perception on diplomacy and media coverage of the Middle East, it is important for diplomats to understand the tremendous changes in Middle East historiography.

Classical historians such as Hamilton Gibb believed that Middle East cultural, economic and political development came to a grinding halt at some point before the appearance of the West. Most historians of this school also argue that the Middle East was somehow rescued by western imperialism. This "coming of the West" argument sees the contact between Middle Eastern culture and Europe as a kind of Sleeping Beauty story, in which a society that lay dormant

is offered an opportunity for renewed life by Western technology, by political culture and by the example of secular citizenship. In this paradigm, those people who help to bring about the transformation act as a cultural bridge between East and West, becoming the vanguard of the new society, to be praised, worked with and supported. Other elements of the society whose orientation is East rather than West, religious rather than secular, cloaked rather than miniskirted are referred to as "conservative" and "traditional" — often a euphemism for "backward."

These conservative elements of society are supposed to imitate their more progressive fellow citizens, or at least avoid politics and remain anonymously folkloric. In other words, these conservative elements have no place in the "coming of the West" explanation of Middle East society except as a drag on progress. This point of view, so well presented in academic works, was not confined to academic circles alone. It found its way into the wider public sphere and has been accepted in the minds of many people in Europe, the United States and the Middle East.

**F**undamentalism, as such a phenomenon, is deemed incomprehensible to many. Many Americans were and are taught to equate theocracy with medievalism and medievalism with

---

*Carol Madison Graham is a former FSO who left the Foreign Service in 1988 after eight years at the U.S. Information Agency. She served in Tunis, Beirut, Paris and Abu Dhabi. She now lives in London, where she is a doctoral student in Mideast history and a professor of Mideast politics at Richmond College.*

backwardness and intolerance. Fundamentalist or so-called Islamic movements are, by definition, according to classical western historians, backward-looking. And to many people — especially Americans — the idea of history moving backwards is irrational. It is as if after being kissed, Sleeping Beauty rolled over and closed her eyes again. People, once exposed to new ideas, are supposed to discard old ways of thinking. Classical scholarship, steeped in ideas of western superiority and “progress” and influenced by social Darwinism, was unable to account for modern movements advocating an Islamic resurgence. Faced with the problem of having to explain the refusal of Islamic societies to consign Islam to the political sidelines, as was done with Christianity in Europe, some have clung more to the old historiography and sought answers there. The fundamentalists, we are told, wish to return to the glory of Harun al Rashid.

But fundamentalism makes more sense with regard to the 19th and 20th centuries than to the 9th or 10th centuries. Classical Western scholarship of the Middle East treats the period of Western imperialism as one which, on balance, was beneficial to the development of those societies. According to this tradition the Middle East was in a period of such deep stagnation that it required a rude awakening to move it toward the future. We have no way of knowing what course their history would have taken had European powers not politically dominated the Middle East in the 19th century.

However, we do history a disservice by ignoring the ugly truths of the era. Never mind the elegant colonial lifestyle portrayed ad nauseam in movies and miniseries. History tells us that the imperial powers forced their way into these countries and ran the political systems and economies to their own advantage. They murdered or exiled opposition leaders and limited educational opportunities. Finally, they denigrated the religion and culture and placed foreigners and foreign interests in a separate legal universe, which made them unanswerable to local authority in

personal matters and in business affairs. It's worth remembering that, while we preach democracy and secularism to these countries, most of these “foreigners” were natives of the country who were removed from the legal authority of the local power by the European imperial powers because they were non-Muslims. Not to mention that all major European powers claimed to be protecting religious minorities, thus reinforcing the concept of non-secular citizenship.

As we seek to use history in our understanding of the region we might consider that the Western rather than the Arab imperial past has been the major influence on fundamentalists as they fight their political-cultural war. And there is no hiding that the United States is tainted by that legacy in the eyes of many in the Middle East. Indeed, what is seen as a change in world leadership from colonialist Europeans to democratic Americans, others may see as continuity under a different flag. For example:

■ The replacement of the centuries old British-Russian rivalry in the Middle East and elsewhere with the U.S.-Soviet rivalry.

■ The accumulated debts of the mid- to late-19th century, in particular, of Middle Eastern rulers owed to European banks compared with the tremendous debts now owed to the United States and institutions where the United States is prominent.

■ Bickering between Americans and Europeans over contracts in Kuwait following the Gulf War, which bore an uncomfortable resemblance to the centuries-old conflict among Europeans over capitulations in the Ottoman empire with which they also had a protective relationship.

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*As the new Middle East history shows us, religion is an important part of culture and that it's constantly changing, even though fundamentalists support their position by calling upon "tradition."*

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*I have been licensed to act as a Standard Agent since 1985. In 1992 I was certified by the Northern Virginia Board of REALTORS® to act as a Buyer's Agent. In 1993 I was certified by the National Trust for Historic Preservation to deal knowledgeably with historic properties. I became a member of the Million Dollar Sales Club (a milestone recognizing an exceptional level of successfully completed real estate transactions) in 1994. To further improve the quality of service I provide to my clients, I completed the rigorous requirements for the Virginia Real Estate Broker's license.*

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The merits of these comparisons are less important than that past events appearing to have contemporary parallels influence the perception of the United States in the area. There is no question that all Arab countries harbor some form of anti-Americanism. In many cases it is officially sanctioned — even by governments friendly to the United States — to preserve governments from unflattering comparisons with the vulnerability of their 19th-century predecessors. In that sense, America's strength is also its weakness, for if the United States was a lesser power, governments would be less anxious about whether cordiality will be interpreted by political enemies as a display of weakness. A corollary to this somewhat defensive attitude is the admiration in the Middle East for stridently anti-American leaders. The idea is that, however oppressive they are, such leaders represent the desire to “stand up to the United States.” A desire intensified, in their eyes, by American support for Israel over the years. One of America's diplomatic difficulties is cutting through this perception. Only bullies need to be “stood up to” and Americans do not see their country as a bully. Moreover, U.S. policy of helping to spread democracy has overall made little impact in the Middle East. It is a source of frustration that Islamists continue to gain ground.

Although skirmishes continue to occur, Islam — though not fundamentalism — has a respected place in Western scholarship. Interest in Islamic legal opinions and court decisions is spreading rapidly and solidifying the argument of scholars who claim that the Middle East was developing fine, even without the West. Documents, such as court records dating from

the period before Western penetration, show that women had control over economic resources, engaged in business relationships and created client networks just like the men did. Recent works also indicate that Jews and Christians had business partnerships with Muslims. Such research supports the view that Islam was, as a system, flexible, rather than inflexible.

It is certainly important for the United States to have friends in the Middle East, but is it really useful for U.S. diplomats to engage in hand-wringing over how to influence those cultures to their advantage? The United States is neither the demon nor the bully that it has been made out to be in many Arab countries, but, on the other hand, the attitude of some Middle East diplomats and historians is not one of total respect for Middle Eastern societies. All too often, so-called “experts” try to dictate to Muslims what their religion really requires in obligations and duties. As an example, in writings against fundamentalism, Arabs generally come in for the greater share of censure, in part because many detractors of Islam write off the Shi'a sect as an aberration or just a minority in Islam. But historians are beginning to question the usefulness of the rigid Sunni-Shi'a division, given the number of the societies in which both were present. The same is true for the four main schools of law. The desire to control and define Arabic culture is part of Arabs' residual superiority complex inherited from the era of imperialism, which impairs America's ability to sift information properly and to treat people with respect.

Americans must also seriously ask themselves if the frustration in the United States over Islamic movements does not in part stem

from anxiety over the increasing visibility of Muslims in Western countries. Overseas the United States preaches secularism and encourages others to place religion in the private not public sphere — but in the United States, Christian groups challenge the notion of separation of church and state. Certainly secularism is not everyone's creed in America. One of the ambassadors I worked for held official prayer breakfasts. His wife began a "Jump for Jesus" aerobics class at the residence that she advertised on the embassy bulletin board. I was stunned, but someone explained, "don't think of it in terms of church and state, think of it as American." And she was right, of course.

Official U.S. culture, like the official cultures of many countries, is often at odds with "the people," and in many societies, including America, the popular culture is becoming more and more official. As the new Middle East history shows us, religion is an important part of culture and the strength of culture is that it is constantly changing, even though fundamentalists seek to support their position by calling upon "tradition." This is a fascinating and complicated process which is at the moment overturning once obvious truths about the meaning of progress and modernization.

The complexity of issues involving tradition vs. modernization was recently demonstrated in France, where three Muslim girls were expelled from school for refusing to remove their scarves, which were banned in school because they were considered religious symbols. There was a television discussion with one of the expelled girls, another Muslim immigrant girl who had renounced the scarf, and a Frenchwoman married to a Muslim,

who now wore a scarf. The scarfless immigrant girl, after listening to much praise by the host and other French panelists for her "courage," admitted that she stopped wearing the scarf because none of her French classmates would speak to her. The Muslim husband of the French Muslim woman tried to talk but could not get a word as his wife argued for traditional values in Islam, including the woman remaining in "her place." The girl who had refused to remove her scarf was asked what she wanted to do with her life. With great dignity, she replied that she had plans to become a doctor and that she had the full support of her father. No one bothered to ask the other girl her plans, perhaps because she was wearing jeans and a T-shirt and so clearly was "modern."

If Americans can learn to stop trying to explain other people to themselves, to stop telling others how to practice their religion and to divest ourselves of 19th-century ideas about what is "modern" and what is "backward," they might alter their image abroad of being a cultural bully. Better yet, Americans might begin to better understand what is happening in these countries. A rereading of Middle East history can help Americans stop putting people in categories that mean nothing to them.

At the very end of the French television discussion, the father who had insisted his daughter wear her scarf to school finally spoke up. He looked entirely bewildered by the proceedings and said in a pleading voice, "Everyone keeps calling me a fundamentalist but I don't belong to any political group. I'm just trying to raise my daughter. Why does everyone keep calling me a fundamentalist?" Why, indeed? ■



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# WELCOMING VIPs

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FROM ROCKEFELLER TO REAGAN, USIS FSO RECALLS  
JUGGLING PHOTO OPS, MOTORCADES, UNRULY CROWDS

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By RAY BURSON

**Y**ou're saying the secretary has canceled his visit?" an Australian official exclaimed into his cellular phone as we walked toward the tarmac at the Cairns International Airport on a warm August afternoon in 1993. We were 24 hours away from Secretary of State Warren Christopher's arrival and our small press advance party was making a final check on arrangements for the standard airport photo opportunity. But the Middle East peace process was at a delicate stage and Christopher had decided to fly directly from the Singapore ASEAN talks to Washington, thereby putting the annual Australia-U.S. ministerial talks on hold.

In more than 29 years in the Foreign Service with the U.S. Information Agency, I participated in a number of summits and presidential and "SecState" visits, but this was the first that had been canceled. I was one of those left to pick up the pieces, which was much easier than the visit would have been.

As the State Department advance team from Washington prepared to flee on the first available commercial flight, the four-member USIA team dismantled the mini-press center and I spent an hour explaining what had happened — via fax and phone

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*Ray Burson, a former FSO now living on an ashram farm in Doniphan, Mo., retired from USIA in 1994. He served in Bogota, Asuncion, La Paz, San Jose, Madrid, Copenhagen, Canberra and Washington, D.C.*

— to the Australian and visiting foreign press. Then it was off to Barnacle Bill's seafood restaurant for a representational dinner to soothe some of our disappointed Aussie counterparts. The next morning we assembled early and were told that our hotel would not refund room costs. Therefore, we had the tough choice of staying another day in the balmy Great Barrier Reef resort city and taking another vacation day — or departing for wintry Canberra as soon as possible. Nobody made a move toward the airport.

Looking back, that non-event was not the public relations disaster it could have been, considering the paucity of contentious issues between the United States and its ally down under. The "AusMin" talks eventually got back on track, and the secretary's contribution to Middle East peace would soon result in the historic Arafat-Rabin handshake at the White House.

High-level visits and summits are supposed to be tidy affairs with everything carefully worked out in advance. The final "joint communiqué" is usually already hammered out, the schedule finalized, the speeches written, toasts agreed to and press pools decided. The events themselves are a masterful exercise in public diplomacy, the centerpiece of bilateral relations. However, the unexpected does occur. Usually it's behind the scenes and the result can vary from unpleasant to hilarious, often winding up as fodder for the Foreign Service lore exchanged among colleagues.

My first experience with a VIP visit came when New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller made his tumult-

tuous tour of Latin America in 1969 to discover "the quality of life" among our Latin neighbors. Just the name Rockefeller was enough to galvanize leftists throughout the continent. I was director of the Paraguayan-American Binational Center (BNC), and even in sleepy Asuncion, under the iron hand of Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, local university students managed to demonstrate. About two blocks from the BNC, they put up a roadblock of sawhorses and old tires and set it on fire. Since the street paralleled the Rockefeller motorcade route from his hotel to the embassy, I thought it prudent to phone in a report to the embassy control office. At the same time several truckloads of "workers" from the utility company — Stroessner's hard-hat goons — arrived. Using whips and clubs they quickly broke up the demonstration. I was back on the street watching them dismantle the roadblock when one of our official vehicles flying the American flag drove up. The driver and the passenger, members of the Secret Service detail, emerged and shook hands with the Paraguayan secret police colonel who was supervising the road cleanup, apparently congratulating him for a job well done. It was the perfect photo opportunity for our Marxist adversaries, but thankfully the heavily censored Paraguayan press was nowhere in sight.

Photo opportunities are an essential part of any high-level visit and are usually well-staged in an appropriate setting. For example, when presidents Francois Mitterrand and George Bush strolled the sloping beach in Martinique in 1991, the shorter French leader was given the higher side so the world could see that the two heads of state were equal — at least in physical stature. President Jimmy Carter's arrival in Madrid in the 1980 election year was carefully timed to coincide with the opening moments of ABC TV's "Good Morning America."

The Carter visit to Spain was my first experience with a presidential-level event. One scheduled meeting viewed with little enthusiasm by our Spanish hosts was President Carter's encounter with opposition Socialist Workers' Party leader Felipe Gonzalez. Feeling on safe ground — the meeting would be at the ambassador's residence adjoining the embassy —

I volunteered to be the control officer for the photo-op. It looked easy. There was plenty of room on the front lawn for the press. Gonzalez's car would head up Avenida La Castellana, pass through the gate, circle the drive and stop under the portico, where the president would be waiting. A warm *abrazo* and a handshake would follow. A 10-minute job for me, and perhaps one of those peanut-colored Jimmy Carter ball point pens that would be passed out at the end.

The Spanish press, now vigorous after years of Francisco Franco's censorship, appeared in full force outside the ambassador's gate. I looked in vain for a Spanish government counterpart, but authorities had no intention of helping provide publicity for the opposition. I was on my own.

President Carter's motorcade arrived, with the U.S. press pool mini-van bringing up the rear as usual. An angry White House press officer leaned out and screamed, "They didn't obey the pool numbers at the last stop! I'm taking our 12 [reporters] in and that's how many [Spanish reporters] you can let through the gate!" The van zoomed through the gate, with the Spanish press, all on foot, surging after it. Suddenly I found myself in the middle of a rugby scrum, with the Secret Service pushing on one side of the gate, and Spanish journalists, camera crews and photographers shoving on the other. I managed to get about 40 of our journalist friends in before the gate closed, almost taking my coat with it. The rest of that occasion was uneventful and I had another story to add to the lore of the Carter visit.

An important and impressive part of any VIP visit is the motorcade. Little did I realize that it would be part of a motorcade that would one day propel me into the White House inner circle. It was Sydney, Australia, New Year's Eve, 1991. President George

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*High-level visits and summits are supposed to be tidy affairs with everything carefully worked out in advance, masterful exercises in public diplomacy — the centerpiece of bilateral relations, at least sometimes.*

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Bush had just landed on the start of a four-nation Asia-Pacific tour. The White House press corps and accompanying officials arrived at the hotel, eager to begin sleeping off the jet lag of the 20-hour trip. No New Year's Eve party for them.

I, however, had an invitation to the reception Ambassador Mel Sembler was hosting for the first family, the secretary of Commerce and an entourage of CEOs from leading U.S. corporations. The location was the swankest hotel in posh Double Bay. After the White House press corps went to their rooms, I stepped outside to look for the one official car of the U.S. Information Service. An alert Australian driver came up and said, "Sir, your car's right over here." Though surprised at being recognized, I went over to the car, got in, and gave directions to the driver.

I was worried about getting into the party because I didn't yet have the special lapel pin that would allow me near the president. I doubted that a mere press staff credential and an invitation would be enough to get me past the imposing White House security. As we approached the hotel, I dismissed the driver, knowing that the party would be a long one and I could return in a cab.

I had steeled myself to face the security detail guarding the hotel entrance, and I felt a certain tightness as I started up the steps. Glancing back at my official car, I noticed a white sign taped inside the windshield, saying in bold, black letters, "White House Deputy Press Secretary." The Secret Service agents stepped back discreetly as I passed between them, and the hotel manager came forward to greet me warmly and direct me to the reception.

Even though the President didn't make an appearance, it was a memorable party. Secretary of Commerce Robert Mosbacher and his coterie of CEOs were in good spirits, and I

exchanged words of wisdom with Assistant Secretary of State Richard Solomon, the National Security Council's Doug Paal and others. It was very, very comfortable in the inner circle.

On New Year's Day I was up bright and early for another trip to the same hotel. Being the ambassador's speech writer had earned me an invitation to his breakfast for Gen. Brent Scowcroft and Australian and U.S. business leaders. I wasn't going to press my luck this time, so I asked about our car at the USIS reception desk. "It's at the end of the line and they are putting soft drinks in it for the motorcade," I was told.

I had no sooner stepped out of the hotel and headed toward the end of the motorcade than my driver from the night before hurried from across the street. "Sir, sir," he said, "you're going the wrong way. Remember, I'm your driver and your car's over here."

I looked at my watch. It wasn't yet 7 a.m. Surely the deputy press secretary was still fast asleep. My version of "Trading Places" wasn't over yet, so I said, "Right, thank you. Please take me back to the Ritz and this time you can wait for me."

It went just like the night before, and the breakfast was quite elegant. Sitting next to me at breakfast was the chief of station of the "other agency." He complained about how difficult it was going to be to get back to his hotel. It had taken him a long time to get a cab last night. I gave him a ride back and told him how I came to have a car and driver. He was most grateful, and I, in turn, had a witness who could appreciate deception.

I caught up with the deputy press secretary in Melbourne two days later, but somehow I didn't feel a compelling need to thank Roman Popaduk for the use of his car and his title. For one brief, shining moment, I had known what it was like to walk on the far side and it had been fun. ■

# AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association



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## Dissenters Win Top AFSA Awards

**F**our Foreign Service officers who conscientiously followed their instincts and courageously dissented on foreign policy issues received AFSA awards for 1996. The awards for "extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and constructive dissent" were presented June 21 at a ceremony of the Department of State. They were accompanied by checks for \$2,500.

Two senior officers, **Dennis Hays** and **John P. Treacy**, shared the Christian A. Herter Award.

Hays received the award for his handling of a change of policy on Cuban refugees. While working as director of the

office of Cuban Affairs, Hays learned of high-level, secret negotiations aimed at reversing long-standing policy granting asylum to Cuban refugees. Although Hays' office was not included in discussions, Hays, as director, would have been responsible for defending and implementing the new policy. He worked strenuously to change the new policy, but was unsuccessful. Deciding that he could not, in conscience, administer a policy with which he strongly disagreed, Hays requested a transfer. He was moved to the Department's office of Mexican Affairs as director in June 1995. During the press and pressure group atten-

Continued on page 4

## • AFSA Dateline •

• AFSA welcomes Michael Triplett and S. Timothy Min to the Labor Management staff. Triplett, a second year student of American University law school, is the new labor management representative. Min, who attends American University Law School, is AFSA's law clerk.

• AFSA needs representatives in the following posts: Algiers, Boko, Bonjul, Berlin, Bishkek, Bujumbura, Cotonou, Hong Kong, Jerusalem, Johannesburg, Karachi, Kigali, Luondo,

Monomo, N'Djamena, Niamey, Ouagadougou, Port Moresby, Rabat, Riyadh, Quito, Rongoon, Santiago, St. Petersburg, Suva, Sydney, Tashkent, Tbilisi, Vienna, Vilnius, Wellington and Zogreb.

• A memorial fund has been established for Stephen Kominski, the Commercial Service officer who died in the crash of Commerce Secretary Ran Brown's plane. The fund will help pay for the education of Kominski's 12-

Continued on page 3

STATE  
**V.P. VOICE**  
• BY AL LAPORTA •

## AFSA Gains Ground With State

The Leadership slate took office a year ago with a pledge of activism, integrity and professionalism.

Many of our goals have been met. As we renew the membership of the State standing committee and appoint two new governing board members to replace those departing, it is time for a mid-term accounting.

First, our achievements. Most important, we gained recognition of our career issues negotiating agenda with State management. We presented management with comprehensive concept papers on the main issues. The director general's office has agreed to begin discussions with us in July on multi-functional assignments and competition and related work force planning issues. This will clear the way for discussions in early October on time-in-class (TIC) and retirement. Our aim is to develop proposals for the next administration's transition team after the November election.

Last September the State standing committee reached agreement with management on new core precepts and common performance standards for promotions. We helped secretaries to obtain a more open system for competing for promotion and assignment and we have streamlined skill code conversions. And we have improved the 1996 selection board procedures to be more responsive to AFSA concerns, such as recusal.

AFSA has taken strong positions on junior officer issues. We are pleased that generalist intake will increase this fiscal year to about 120 officers from the much too low number of 90. Inadequate intake of both generalist and specialist officers to maintain minimum career structures concerns us, however. Also, management has not been sufficiently responsive in discussing other key issues, such as progress toward resuming coming-upon-entry, cone changes and assignment patterns.

We are supporting mid-career officers by advocating more openness and integrity in the assignment process, seeking to improve bidding procedures and spotlighting abuses. Also, AFSA encourages innovations such as "bid express," the new computerized bidding system, and efforts to simplify travel orders. Though by law not obliged to consult with us on RIFs, management has been open to changes in the point system for retention, although there could have been further improvement. During the government shutdowns in December and January, AFSA worked constructively with management on furlough implementation, including pay and other concrete problems referred to us by members.

Apart from personnel operations, AFSA has adopted strong policy positions on reductions-in-force (RIFs) and budget priorities, "reinventing" official travel, developing a forward-looking consular strategy, and intelligence community roles and missions.

Important priorities remain:

-We need to convince management that open and cooperative consultation before decisions are made benefits both employees and management. Of course, full labor-management partnership in decision-making at all levels would be even better.

-We must keep the pressure on diplomatic security compensation and career issues, bring the "Secretary of the Future" process to fruition, and work to resolve information management and other specialist assignment, training and promotion problems.

-We need to encourage professionalism, improve recruitment and examination, emphasize management and skills training and overcome divisions within the Service.

-We must ensure that management deals more openly on equal employment and diversity issues, making the Equality Council work for all

## AFSA and WWW

BY SUSAN REARDON  
Executive Director

Now, with a modem and a little patience, you can get information on AFSA, the Foreign Service and foreign affairs. AFSA has gone on-line.

AFSA's "home page," or address, on the internet is [www.ofsa.org](http://www.ofsa.org). Dial it and you can access information on AFSA scholarships, membership, insurance and educational programs. For foreign policy addicts, the home page also includes articles from recent issues of the FSJ and conference report highlights. "Diplomacy Today," a department of AFSA's web site, features foreign affairs articles and speeches from various sources. There are also easy directions for accessing AFSA's "gopher" site, which contains detailed documents of interest to members, including correspondence with management and minutes of meetings.

A useful feature of the World Wide Web is AFSANET, an electronic mailing list. It helps members subscribe to four different areas of interest. Subscribers also receive periodic messages. Here are AFSA's e-mail addresses:

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## AFSA DATELINE

Continued from page 1

year-old daughter, Christina. Donations should be made payable to the Steve Kaminski Memorial Scholarship Fund. Mail to Keith Curtis, Office of International Operations, USFCS, Room 3122, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C. 20230.

• Nine summer interns are learning about foreign policy in all its aspects at the AFSA Washington office. Paul Delaney, a Yale University student, is working in congressional affairs. Kristen Halverson, from Wheaton College is working in Public Affairs. A journalism major from the University of Texas, Michelle Renee Tatum, is an intern on the *Foreign Service Journal*. The four Corporate Relations interns are: M. Suzanne Archuleta, a graduate student from Syracuse University; Anna Averina, an Edward S. Muskie Fellowship student from Russia at Bowling Green State University; Matthew J. Finn, a junior at St. Lawrence University; and Evely Maria Tollinche, a junior at Harvard College. Stephanie E. Wang is the intern in Labor Management and COLEAD. COLEAD's other intern is Nancy Elia from the University of North Carolina.

### CURRIE, SAN JOSÉ JOIN FSJ

Two staffers have joined the *Journal*, replacing managing editor Nancy Johnson, who has retired after eight years, and advertising and circulation manager Janet Emery, who left to pursue work in NYC.

Kathleen Currie, the *Journal's* assistant editor, has been a freelance journalist and editor. She recently returned from Almaty with her FSO spouse. Since returning, she has produced a radio series on Central Asia for Voice of America. In Kazakhstan she was special assistant to Ambassador William Courtney. Before her husband's overseas assignment, Currie was editor-in-chief of Words by Wire, a national syndication service. She also conducted interviews for the Washington Press Club Foundation's oral history project on women journalists.

Maria I. San José is the advertising and circulation manager. A graduate of St. Paul's College in Manila, San José has worked as an account executive and advertising manager at several Washington publications, including *The Hill*, *The Washington Times* and *Legal Times*.

# USAID V.P. VOICE • BY FRANK MILLER •

## USAID COPES WITH CUTS

Three areas of crucial concern to USAID have had AFSA hard at work. We were involved in reviewing RIF plans, participated in the design of the Career Transition Assistance Program (CTAP) for employees who will lose their jobs, and lobbied Congress to support the Clinton administration's request for \$495 million in USAID operating expenses. At the same time, we have opposed further cuts in foreign affairs funding.

AFSA has monitored both USAID's compliance with published RIF rules and its workforce planning exercises. As we reported earlier, we had mixed participation in the process. For example, we participated in analysis of field operations, but had no voice in analysis of USAID Washington. We believe that management missed an opportunity to involve employees as full partners in this downsizing exercise.

However, we are happy to report that management is finally taking some important steps toward becoming full partners. AFSA reviewed bureau, management and human resources recommendations for downsizing in both the field and Washington. Management and human resources recommendations are lower than reductions proposed by bureaus. They kept the recommended number of RIFS at 200, the same target number proposed by the administrator. The cuts are consistent with the 1997 reduced operating and expense budget and reviews done by bureaus during the past year, including the same primary skill codes selected for cuts.

Full collaboration and partnership is taking place in the design of the Career Transition Assistance Program (CTAP). The Administrator promised to

provide employees the best outplacement service available. AFSA, the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) and management are working together to design a job search program that specifically meets the needs of USAID Foreign Service and Civil Service employees. Many employees expected to participate in the highly regarded State Department Career Transition Program. However, the July program is full. As a former design and program officer, I think the USAID Career Transition Assistance Program (CTAP) may be better. The CTAP contractor, the USDA Graduate School, has hired a group of professionals with impressive credentials to lead the course. Classes will be limited to 25 participants, while the State Department classes have from 50 to 100. Participants in the CTAP program will be trained on the Internet and the latest computer software packages, invaluable help for writing resumes and searching for jobs. (Internet is not available from the State Department program.) AFSA, AFGE and management will cooperate to help design this training. Ken Martin, a former USAID Foreign Service officer now working on the State program, will participate in the final design to ensure that appropriate lessons from the State program are incorporated into the CTAP.

AFSA is also lobbying to head off attempts in the House of Representatives to cut the administration's \$495 million budget request for 1997. If cuts to the budget go deep, there could be further RIFS. To date, the lobbying campaign has included visits to Capitol Hill by AFSA representatives and representatives from non-governmental organizations. We've also sent over 600 faxes and letters and placed hundreds of phone calls to Senate and House leaders.

## DISSENTERS WIN AFSA AWARDS

Continued from page 1

tion which followed the revelation of Hay's move and the reasons for it, he refused to comment on the public debate and maintained professional silence.

Hays joined the Foreign Service in 1976. He has served in Kingston, in Bujumbura as deputy chief of mission, and in Georgetown as deputy chief of mission and charge d'affaires. He was coordinator of Cuban affairs from June 1993 to May 1995. He served as AFSA president from 1982-85. In March 1996, President Clinton nominated Hays as ambassador to the Republic of Suriname.

Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Hays worked on the staff of Rep. Charles E. Bennett (D-Fla.). He earned a bachelor's degree in American studies from the University of Florida and a master's in public administration from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He also attended the National War College. He has been awarded the superior honor award four times, and a meritorious honor award once.

John P. Treacy, who shares the Herter award with Hays, won for the courage he displayed in defending his dissenting views on granting a visa to Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams and on other policy issues in regard to Ireland. Treacy, former public affairs officer in

Dublin, used official channels to voice his concerns to U.S. policy-makers.

Until recently, Treacy was deputy director of USIA's Office of Citizen Exchanges. He is currently on detail to the faculty of the National War College. He joined USIA in 1970, and has served in Portugal, Brazil, Spain, Togo, Guatemala and Ireland. He received meritorious honor awards in 1984 and 1990 and a meritorious service award in 1985. Treacy holds a bachelor's degree from Fordham University and a master's degree from the New School for Social Research. He served in the U.S. Army from 1965-67.

**James P. Callahan**, former consul general at U.S. Embassy Dublin, received the William R. Rivkin Award for mid-level officers for his stance on visa issues. While serving in Ireland, Callahan opposed issuing a visa to Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams on the grounds that doing so would violate long-held standards for issuing visas to individuals with ties to terrorist groups. The ambassador and other officials strongly supported Adams' visit to the United States on the grounds that it would improve prospects for peace in Northern Ireland. Still, Callahan stuck to his conscience and displayed integrity and moral courage, using official channels to express his opinion. Callahan also resisted pressure to reduce the visa refusal rate for Irish citizens in a manner he felt would be contrary to law and regulations.

Callahan joined the Foreign Service in 1978. Prior to his posting in Dublin, he served in Maracoibo, Lima and Toronto. Since August 1994, he has been deputy to the consul general in London. He has also served in Washington, D.C., on the INR watch and in the visa office, as consular affairs press officer, desk officer for El Salvador and congressional fellow. He holds bachelor's and master's degrees in education from Florida State University. Before joining the Foreign Service, Callahan was a Peace Corps volunteer in Korea. He also worked with returning Peace Corps volunteers at the Action Agency. He holds a superior honor award and other group awards.

USIA FSO **Phillip Emanuel Wright Jr.** was runner-up for the Rivkin Award. Currently a USIA watch officer, Wright was recognized for his service as branch public affairs officer at the American consulate general in Guangzhou, China.

**Andrew J. Schofer** is the 1996 winner of the W. Averell Harriman Award for junior officers. As a political officer in Bahrain, Schofer argued that demonstrations by increasingly large numbers of unemployed youth represented a significant challenge to government authority and American interests. At first, the ambassador and other country team members disagreed with Schofer. Still, he pursued contacts among the demon-

Continued on page 5

## LIFETIME CONTRIBUTION TO DIPLOMACY AWARD



CARLUCCI

Former FSO **Frank C. Carlucci** has won the Award for Lifetime Contribution to American Diplomacy in recognition of his physical and moral courage. During a career which has spanned several decades in government and the private sector, Carlucci has been known for his principled stands and ability to defend his views in the face of strong opposition. Carlucci was also recognized for his management skills, including the ability to bring disparate foreign

affairs agencies into the policy process.

As a young FSO posted to Africa, Carlucci saved other Americans from an angry Congo mob. Later, as ambassador to Portugal at a time when that country was turning from socialism to democracy, Carlucci overcame suspicions in Washington and brought Portugal firmly into the western alliance. As secretary of

Defense, he organized Operation Earnest Will to protect shipping in the Gulf from Iranian attacks. He faced strong congressional opposition, but his perseverance helped bring an end to the Iran-Iraq war.

Carlucci entered the Foreign Service in 1956. During the 1950s and early '60s, he was posted to the hot spots of Africa, including the Congo. Since then, he has had an outstanding career in both government and the private sector, including appointments in both Democratic and Republican administrations. He has served as assistant to the president for national security affairs, deputy secretary of Defense, deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency, ambassador to Portugal, under secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and both associate and deputy director of the Office of Management and Budget. Most recently, he served as secretary of Defense under President Ronald Reagan. Carlucci has also been president of Sears World Trade. After leaving government service, he became vice chairman of the Carlyle Group, a leading investment bank. He has been chairman since 1993.

## DISSENTERS WIN AFSA AWARDS

Continued from page 4

strators' sympathizers, human rights lawyers, merchants and other diplomats. His reporting illuminated the situation, prompting others to adopt his point of view.

Mr. Schofer is currently a special assistant in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR). He joined the State Department in 1989 as a presidential intern and was assigned to INR's office of analysis for the Near East and South Asia. He later moved to the Office of Strategic and Proliferation Affairs. He also served rotational tours with the Standing Consultative Commission in Geneva and the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. After joining the Foreign Service in 1991, Schofer was assigned to Kuwait, where he served in the consular and political sections. In 1993 he transferred to Manama as political officer. Schofer, who speaks Arabic, was born in Athens, Ohio, and holds a bachelor's from Yale University and a master's degree from the Columbia University School of

## AVIS BOHLEN AWARD

The Avis Bohlen Award is given yearly to a Foreign Service family member who has done the most to advance American interests in the foreign community at post. The award was established by Pamela Harriman, now ambassador to France, in honor of the late Avis Bohlen, spouse of Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen. This year the award was won by **Elizabeth Frank**, a spouse at U.S. Embassy Warsaw. Frank founded "American Friends in Warsaw," an organization which provides social and educational programs, and sponsors charitable projects, travel opportunities and other activities to help create a sense of community within the embassy. Frank also founded Horizons, a non-



FRANK

profit organization which develops practical programs to help people adjust and thrive in an overseas environment. Frank received a State Department mental health grant to develop the program for the American embassy. Its activities have expanded to include Warsaw's larger international community. Frank is also the author of two books which help expatriates settle into life in Warsaw.

Born in Hobart, Indiana, Frank graduated from Michael Reese Hospital and Medical Center School of Nursing in Chicago. She is married to Foreign Service officer W. Douglas Frank. She has been posted with him in Madrid, Laos, Calcutta, Bonn, Cairo and Washington, D.C. Frank has worked as a nurse in several posts, and was CLO for three years in London. After home leave, the Franks are headed for Beijing.

Runner-up for the Avis Bohlen Award was Melanie A. Kerber of U.S. Embassy Kingston.

## M. JUANITA GUESS, DELEVAN AWARDS

The M. Juanita Guess Award is given each year to a community liaison officer "who has demonstrated outstanding dedication, energy and imagination in assisting the families of Americans serving at an overseas post." This year the award was won by **Suzanne Lundin-Ross**, CLO at the American Embassy in Almaty since 1995. The first CLO at this rapidly growing hardship post in the former Soviet Union, Lundin-Ross helped families by creating services to meet their needs. She organized a sponsorship program for new arrivals, wrote a weekly newsletter, organized cultural activities for the embassy community and provided families with information on school options. As the first CLO, Lundin-Ross had to create most of these programs for the first time. Lundin-Ross was "relentlessly upbeat and untiring in her quests for new events and activities that would appeal to a community increasing in size and diversity," according to Jane Benton Fort.

Lundin-Ross was born in Chicago and

holds a master's degree in art education. She has taught art and art history at the Atlanta College of Art, Spelman College and Clark-Atlanta and Morehouse universities. She is interested in the influence of African art on U.S. culture. In Almaty, she helped establish a cultural foundation.

The runner-up for the Guess Award was Stephanie Salmon in Guangzhou.

**Elizabeth M. Slater** has won the Delevan Award for extraordinary contributions by a Foreign Service secretary. Slater is secretary to the Deputy Chief of Mission at Embassy Freetown. She won for her contributions to the embassy, both in and out of the office. In addition to her secretarial duties, Slater, as assistant security officer, revamped the military student orientation procedure. In addition, she took over and completed a lagging school construction project, and, as backup to the mission information program officer, helped to keep the communications cen-

ter functioning. Slater still found time to devote to community activities. She organized a golf tournament, headed the annual Combined Federal Campaign, and made helping the embassy's Marine security guard detachment a priority.

Born in Rhodesia to Scottish parents, Slater studied secretarial skills and accounting. She accompanied her FSO husband on tours to Mauritius, Grenada and Malawi, working as a secretary. After a divorce, Slater joined the Foreign Service. She served in Harare before her current posting.

Runners-up for the Delevan Award are Patricia McCarthy of Embassy Lagos and Penny Payne of Embassy Accra.



SLATER

## AFSA Achievement Awards



MARCUS

Each year AFSA achievement awards are given to one active duty and one retired member who have done the most to contribute to AFSA's goals.

**Randolph Marcus**, deputy chief of the political section and labor

attache in Buenos Aires, received this year's active duty award. Marcus was selected for his thought-provoking cable on the principles which should govern official travel in a time of downsizing and tight budgets. Marcus conferred with other colleagues of past and the cable. It sparked an AFSA paper on the subject, which, in turn, led to public debate over travel policies.

Marcus entered the Foreign Service in 1969 and served for two years as an economic development adviser in South

Vietnam. Other foreign assignments were as economic and consular officer in Rome and political officer in Brasilia and Mexico City. Domestic assignments have included educational and cultural affairs officer for East Africa, desk officer for several Central African countries, economic affairs adviser in the U.S. Mission to the Organization of American States, coordinator for Latin America in the Office of Counterterrorism, and Bolivia desk officer. Prior to entering the Foreign Service, Marcus was a Peace Corps volunteer in Ethiopia. He holds a bachelor's degree from the City College of New York and a master's in public administration from Harvard University.

Retiree **Joseph M. Kemper** was honored for establishing groups in Northern Virginia and Maryland to help retired Foreign Service officers. Kemper, who is retired from AID, helped other retirees gain regular entry to the State Department, access to military retirement communities and many other benefits. In

addition, he was a tireless promoter of AFSA among the retirees.

Kemper served overseas in Liberia, Korea, Somalia, Tunisia, Senegal and Kenya. He also served as deputy to the administrative counselor in Zaire and administrative counselor in the Ivory Coast. After retirement, he worked for Ingersoll-Rand as senior administrative and personnel manager of a plant in Algeria that manufactured compressors and compressors for the North African market. He left that job in 1987. Recently, Kemper has been a consultant in Armenia, Kazakhstan, Russia, the Ukraine and Zimbabwe. He is a graduate of the University of Maryland and a past member of the Governing Board of AFSA.



KEMPER

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USIA  
**V.P. VOICE**  
• BY BRUCE K. BYERS •

## AFSA Negotiates First FS RIF

As AFSA-USIA vice president and chief negotiator I signed an agreement on May 28 concluding impact and implementation negotiations of the first-ever Foreign Service RIF among the foreign affairs agencies. When I assumed my office in July 1995, AFSA was already working on developing its response to USIA Foreign Service RIF regulations required by the 1994 amendment to the Foreign Service Act of 1980. However, at that time in AFSA-USIA and the other AFSA constituencies, none of us could yet envision that the spectre of RIF would become reality so soon.

Throughout the three months of pre-negotiation meetings and more than two months of formal negotiations, AFSA's goal remained constant: save as many Foreign Service jobs in USIA as possible and accept no agreement which would adversely impact on the American Foreign Service in all of the foreign affairs agencies. As the mediator from the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service who assisted AFSA and the management negotiators in USIA's International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB) in reaching an agreement pointed out, AFSA-USIA took on one of the toughest tasks any employee representative can face—negotiating job cuts—and acquitted itself very well.

Ultimately, AFSA saved 6 FSO jobs; management wanted to cut 15. We also successfully negotiated the possible rehiring without a break in service for 2 more FSOs. AFSA presented numerous proposals and draft agreements in an effort to get management to achieve its bottom line without a RIF. When management presented counter

*"Ultimately,  
AFSA saved 6  
FSO jobs;  
management  
had wanted to  
cut 15."*

proposals, AFSA responded with detailed analysis showing that through normal attrition and retirements and other means, IBB could reach its lower staffing needs. Regrettably, AFSA was unable to persuade management to abandon the RIF in its entirety and save FSOs in the Office of Engineering and Technical Operations will lose their jobs. AFSA then aggressively advocated the interests of those few FSOs who would be separated and negotiated an agreement on career transition programs and a priority rehiring plan.

Furthermore, AFSA forcefully advocated for the Foreign Service without destroying its ongoing relationship with USIA management. While AFSA fought to save Foreign Service jobs and to protect FSO rights, it did not treat the negotiations as an "us versus them" situation. Instead we worked from principles of interest-based bargaining and strived to achieve the closest possible win-win agreement. We think we have done that. I and my Foreign Service colleagues owe thanks to our negotiating team members — Tam Allen and Bill Cavington in USIA-IBB and Carol Lutz and Calleen Fallon of AFSA — for their outstanding work. Their efforts led to fewer jobs being lost than would otherwise have been the case.

More than thanks, AFSA needs the active support of its members. This is the first Foreign Service RIF; it won't be the last. Finally, I call upon all of you to reach out to those FSOs in IBB who, through no fault of their own, will be separated from the service in what is the ugliest form of career transition, a RIF.

## *In Memory*

**Ronald H. Brown**  
**Secretary of Commerce**  
**1941-1996**

Secretary Brown made the Commerce Department what it was meant to be -- an instrument for realizing the potential of every American by generating good jobs for the American economy. As secretary, Brown fulfilled President Clinton's promise of giving Commerce a powerful role in revitalizing the American economy. But he went beyond that, to forge public-private partnerships, which helped create millions of American jobs. Since January 1993, Brown worked tirelessly, shoulder to shoulder with American business, to eliminate trade barriers and to open new markets for U.S. products around the world.

Through his inspiration, action and vision, Brown underscored again and again that the mission of the Department of Commerce is to ensure and enhance economic opportunity for all Americans. That was the goal he set for himself and his department, and, as President Clinton has said, "Brown never stopped working to achieve that vision."

- AFSA Editorial Board

# 1996 AFSA/AAFSW ACADEMIC MERIT

Cosponsored by the AFSA Scholarship Fund and the Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW), the scholarship program recognizes academic and artistic achievement of high school seniors, all children of FSOs, living with their families in the United States and abroad.

This year, 20 Academic Merit Awards of \$1,000 and 12 Academic Merit Honorable Mention Awards of \$100 were won by 22 students. Other awards were given for best essay and community service. Erin-Elizabeth Todie, who also won an Academic Merit Award, received the Art Merit Award, given for the first time this year.

For more information about how to apply for an Academic

Merit Award, on Art Merit Award or on Financial Aid Award, contact Lori Dec, scholarship administrator, at AFSA (202-944-5504). Application deadline is Feb. 15.

## Community Service

**Gina Cabrera**, also a Best Essay Honorable Mention winner, won this year's Award for Community Service.

## Art Merit - 2nd Place

**Kimberly Phillely** - Graduate of Washington-Lee High School, Arlington, Va.; daughter of Michael (USAID) and Susan Phillely; attending Maryland Institute, College of Art.

## Art Merit - 3rd Place

**Brierley Ostrander** - Brierley is also an Academic Merit Award winner.



**Allison Bomes** - Graduate of American School in London, daughter of Richard (FAS) and Faye Bomes; Monroe Scholar at The College of William and Mary; attending University of Virginia.



**Andrew M. Bowen** - Graduate of Thomas Jefferson H.S., Alexandria, Va.; son of John (State) and Mary Bowen; National Honor Society; MVP of HS varsity basketball team; attending University of Virginia.



**Sean Brennan** - Graduate of St. Anselm's Abbey School, Washington, D.C.; son of Martin (State) and Giavanna Brennan; Century III Scholars Scholarship; has applied to two schools.



**Erik Gardner Brown** - Graduate of Wolf Whitman H.S., Bethesda, Md.; son of David G. (State) and Erna P. Brown; National Merit Commended Scholar, 1995 Ben Quinn Football Award recipient; attending Princeton University.



**Jennifer Christenson** - Graduate of T.C. Williams H.S., Alexandria, Va.; daughter of Richard Christenson (State) and Hwo Yang Chung; Moth Honors Society; editor-in-chief of school newspaper; attending University of Virginia.



**Catherine Newby Crump** - Graduate of Thomas Jefferson H.S., Alexandria, Va.; daughter of Frank (State-Rel.) and Donna Crump; National Merit Scholar; Model U.N. club president; attending Stanford University.



**Tiffany A. Elkins** - Graduate of Intl. School of Kenya, Nairobi, Kenya; daughter of Tim (USAID) and Conni (State) Elkins; National Honor Society; participant in Model U.N. conference; attending Rice University.



**Kate McCreary** - Graduate of Intl. School of Islamabad, Pakistan; daughter of Jock (USIA) and Carol McCreary; AP Scholar with Distinction; National Merit Scholar; attending Stanford University.

# IT AND ART MERIT AWARD WINNERS



**Christopher T. Miller** - Graduate of Thomas Jefferson H.S., Alexandria, Va.; son of Richard (State) and Deborah Miller; National Merit Scholar; U.S. Presidential Scholar Semifinalist; attending California Institute of Technology.



**Karen Mu** - Graduate of American School of Japan, Tokyo, Japan; daughter of Winifred and FSO George Mu (US&FCS); National Honor Society; John Philip Sousa Band Award; attending the University of Washington.



**Brierley Kate Ostrander** - Graduate of Alexander M. Patch American H.S., Stuttgart, Germany; daughter of Frank (State) and Bannie Ostrander; National Merit Commended Scholar; attending Bryn Mawr.



**Jason S. Pielemeier** - Graduate of Sidwell Friends, Washington, D.C.; son of John (USAID-Ret.) and Nancy Pielemeier; President and founder of Sports Debate Club; scholar athlete in soccer; attending Northwestern University.



**Samantha Radearmel** - Graduate of Walworth Barbour American Intl. School, Kfar Shmiryahu, Israel; daughter of David (State) and Cynthia Radearmel; attending The College of William and Mary.



**Scott Edward Saiers** - Graduate of West Patamac H.S., Alexandria, Va.; son of Larry (USAID-Ret.) and Nancy Saiers; Advanced Placement Scholar; attending University of Virginia.



**Nicole Utama Sharma** - Graduate of James W. Robinson, Jr. Secondary School, Fairfax, Va.; daughter of Dennis (USAID) and Anita Sharma; National Honor Society; National Merit Scholarship; attending Duke University.



**Carolin Elizabeth Spiegel** - Graduate of George C. Marshall H.S., Falls Church, Va.; daughter of John (State) and Linda Spiegel; National Merit Scholarship Finalist; National Honor Society; attending Williams College.



**Virginia Ruth Stewart** - Graduate of Yarktown H.S., Arlington, Va.; daughter of David (State) and Katrine Stewart; Advanced Chair president; Student of the Year; attending University of Virginia.



**Erin-Elizabeth Conil Tadie** - Graduate of The Potomac School, McLean, Va.; daughter of Gene Tadie (State) and Virginia Conil (USA); Advanced Placement Scholar with Distinction; Who's Who in American High School Students; attending Yale University.



**Yuri Waldo** - Graduate of Georgetown Preparatory School, Bethesda, Md.; son of Jeffery Walda (State) and Jacqueline McKennan (State); National Commended Scholar; National Honor Society; attending Duke University.

Photos were unavailable for the following two winners:

**Elizabeth Diffily** - Graduate of Acalanes H.S., Lafayette, Calif.; daughter of Linda de Sola and FSO J.A. Diffily (State); National Merit Finalist attending Brandeis University

**Gwendolyn Sedney** - Graduate of Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.; daughter of Diana and David Sedney (State); National Merit Finalist; has applied to Bates and Princeton University.

OUTSTANDING MERIT AWARD  
**BEST ESSAY**

• BY KATE McCREARY •

**How have your goals been shaped by your family's Foreign Service experience?**

This July, I researched American press coverage of Pakistan for a summer school presentation on "Life as a Foreign Service kid." Of 14 major *Time* and *Newsweek* features published between January and June of 1995, 13 featured what I would call "hysterical" headings along the lines of "Enter the Barbarians," "The New Terrorism," and "Benazir [Bhutto]'s Time Bomb."

Infuriated by such biased coverage, I ended up structuring my talk around a defense of my host country. I could sympathize with the Pakistani viewpoint, because I grasped the economic and social roots of each crisis. Furthermore, as the dependent of a federal employee, I was also familiar enough with U.S. foreign policy to realize America was to blame.

The talk was an eye opener. I was thrilled to be able to make a good case for Pakistan, but I resented having to defend it so strenuously. I realized that most Americans, with no opportunity to explore on their own, are forced to take such skewed media conceptions for granted. By the end of my 20-minute speech, I was on the verge of tears - tears of frustration, but of joy. Until then, I don't think I ever understood how fortunate I was to have been raised abroad.

I am not oblivious to the occasional drawbacks of diplomatic life. In the wake of the March fiasco in Karachi and a November car bomb at the Egyptian Embassy here in Islamabad, my family's house has been under 24-hour surveillance and my school bus has been trailed by police cars.

Pakistan has its share of generic Third World problems - electricity failures, septic tap water, rabid dogs and the like. Brand names are scarce, as evidenced by the popularity of local "Burgers King" and "McDonalds" eateries. Bureaucratic

*Kate McCreary, a graduate of Intl. School of Islamabad, Pakistan; daughter of Jack (USIA) and Carol McCreary; AP Scholar with Distinction; National Merit Scholar; attending Stanford University.*

confusion is epic. Driving is terrifying, what with burned-out headlights, wild boars in the roads and Afghan bandits waiting to ambush mountain travelers. Since my father was partially paralyzed in a 1994 collision with an unmarked roadblock, I haven't been able to view the prevailing disorder with much levity.

I've seen six countries, nine cities, and 13 schools. May's graduation ends our longest continuous posting - just over four years. Mobility hasn't been a strain on relationships. I know where to find my Stateside friends, and a sedulously updated Christmas card list takes care of the rest. In fact, it's often easier to lose track of the countries than the people. My childhood homes of North Yemen and Iraq have gone up in flames, each within two years of my family's departure. It was difficult to feel proud about being an American as CNN broadcast the image of crosshairs over my family's Baghdad neighborhood.

Indeed, the greatest challenge of living abroad has been resolving issues of nationality and identity. American expatriates must shoulder the cultural baggage of an entire nation. As envoys, we must consider how our actions reflect not only on ourselves, but on the 250 million citizens we represent. I've often resented this.

My father made a conscious trade-off between personal freedom and a promising Foreign Service career. I never had a choice, yet my rights of expression are as limited as his. In the long run, I've concluded that this is a small price for the chance to grow up abroad. Nowadays, when I'm asked how I can stand to move around so much, I reply that I couldn't imagine my life any other way.

**Best Essay - Honorable Mentions**

**Gina Cabrera** - Graduate of The Intl. School of Kenya, Nairobi, Kenya; daughter of Carlos (USAID) and Carmen Cabrera.

**Jonathan Rickert** - Graduate of St. Andrew's School, Middletown, Del.; son of Jonathan (State) and Gerd Rickert.

**MERIT HONORABLE MENTIONS**

• **Ethan Alter** - Graduate of Hong Kong Intl. School, Hong Kong; son of Bernard (State) and Patricia Alter.

• **Michael Arellano** - Graduate of The American School in Guatemala City, Guatemala; son of Adolfo and Hilda (USAID) Arellano.

• **Jillian Bandler** - Graduate of The American School of Paris, Saint-Cloud, France; daughter of Donald (State) and Jane Bandler.

• **Megan Graves** - Graduate of West Springfield H.S., Springfield, Va.; daughter of Earl and Jackie Graves (State).

• **Jennifer Johns** - Graduate of Walt Whitman H.S., Bethesda, Md.; daughter of Bernard (State-Ret.) and Lynn Johns.

• **Maggie Kettering** - Graduate of James Madison H.S., Vienna, Va.; daughter of William (State) and Marion Kettering.

• **Katherine Kowalchek** - Graduate of John F. Kennedy H.S., Silver Spring, Md.; daughter of Kenneth Kowalchek (State) and Elizabeth Montgomery.

• **Catherine Livingston** - Graduate of James Madison H.S., Vienna, Va.; daughter of Richard (State) and Judith Livingston.

• **Alexandra Pastic** - Graduate of Chantilly H.S., Chantilly, Va.; daughter of Joseph (USAID) and Carol Pastic.

• **Jeremy Somers** - Graduate of Taipei American School, Taipei, Taiwan; son of Harvey (State) and Janya Somers.

• **Michael Williams** - Graduate of Thomas Jefferson H.S., Alexandria, Va.; son of Aaron (USAID) and Rosa Williams.

**AFSA Creates 2 Awards**

Upon the death of FSO Walter K. Schwinn, his estate established a perpetual scholarship for college students. Having joined the Foreign Service in 1946, Schwinn's overseas posts included Poland, Singapore, Malaysia and Saudi Arabia. He received the Medal of Freedom for his work during World War II, the Foreign Service Commendable Award and the Meritorious Service Award.

The family of the late FSO Horace Nickels has created an annual scholarship in his memory. Nickels entered the Foreign Service in 1945 and served in various positions in Washington, France, Germany and Austria. He taught at Colgate College and George Williams College and was a visiting professor at Howard University. After retiring in 1965, Nickels was active in the library advisory committee in his hometown of Rockville, Md. He died in 1992.

# Donators to AFSA Legislative Action Fund

Thanks to each of you who donated to AFSA's Legislative Action Fund in 1995, either by making a contribution through the Legislative Action Appeal or through your membership renewal invoice. AFSA is committed to representing your concerns and interests on Capitol Hill with every resource we can muster. Your contributions have made a major difference in the way AFSA fights to maintain funds for international affairs and to keep the Foreign Service strong.

With your help, in 1995 AFSA raised \$80,158 to help carry the Foreign Service message to Capitol Hill. AFSA successfully explained the need for a skilled, well-educated, professional Foreign Service abroad, distinctly separate from Civil Service. AFSA fought for higher funding levels for operating funds of the foreign affairs agencies, and helped stave off planned cuts to these areas. We made our case for personnel policy changes to both the administration and the Hill — and won most of the issues. We worked in coalition with federal retiree organizations to maintain federal retirement benefits.

For the first time in the history of the Foreign Service, we convinced Congress to officially designate the first Friday in May 1996 as American Foreign Service Day. And we served as an independent voice telling Foreign Service employees and other interested parties in the United States and around the world what was happening in legislation on the Hill during the 1995 congressional assault on the five foreign affairs agencies. Please know that each one of you was a part of AFSA's battles fought and victories won.

However, it's not all over with the change of the calendar. These battles continue, including defending U.S. engagement abroad, fighting for more resources and protecting Foreign Service personnel policies and federal benefits. But we're ready to take them all on, although we will be looking to each of you for help in winning these battles.

— Ken Nakamura  
Congressional Coordinator

## **BENEFACTORS**

Lester Anderson  
William Anderson  
Julio Arias  
Elizabeth Bollmann  
Charles Brayshaw  
Patricia Byrne  
John Caswell  
Judith Chidester  
Leslie Dean  
Paul Du Vivier  
Richard Fischer  
John Hafeurichter  
William Harrop  
William Hill  
Kay Dulaney Hunter  
Stephen Johnson  
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## DISSENT IN DUBLIN

**L**ooking back, some might see the event as simple and uncomplicated—just another visa to be adjudicated. Yet it was not, and it sparked one of the most public and controversial FSO dissent cases in recent times.

The appearance of Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Féin, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army, in the consular waiting room of U.S. Embassy Dublin in January 1994 was an epochal moment in the recent history of “the troubles” in Northern Ireland, one that would lead to a major shift in U.S. foreign policy and invigorate, at least temporarily, the Anglo-Irish peace process.

It was also an event that would thrust two FSOs into the maelstrom of Irish-American politics and generate retribution against them by their ambassador, a member of America’s most prominent Irish-American family. Finally, the episode prompted an investigation and report by the State Department’s Inspector General’s Office that was scathingly critical of Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith, a political appointee, and her second-in-command, Deputy Chief of Mission Dennis Sandberg, a career diplomat.

Curiously, FSOs John Treacy and James Callahan say their dis-

sent cable wasn’t challenging an aspect of U.S. foreign policy, as has usually been the case with past dissenters, but was defending U.S. policy and laws against what they believe was a conscious cabal by Smith to reshape U.S. policy in Ireland.

The FSOs’ case also spurred the State Department to strengthen language that regulates the disciplining of those who retaliate against Dissent Channel users.

**A**dams’ presence in the U.S. Embassy Dublin that day, visa application in hand, was not haphazard, but part of a calculated plan to breathe new life into the stalled Northern Ireland peace process. Adams’ request for a U.S. visa was the culmination of an intense two-year campaign on both sides of the Atlantic that involved some of the most important names in Irish and American politics.

Key players in the effort included former Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds and John Hume, a member of the British Parliament and the well-connected head of Northern Ireland’s nationalist Social Democratic and Labour Party. But there were others. In his 1995 book, *The Troubles: Ireland’s Ordeal 1966-1995 and the Search for Peace*, Irish historian and political insider Tim Pat Coogan says, “The other pivotal figure [was] Jean Kennedy



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FOR 2 FSOs, CABLE  
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BY RICHARD GILBERT

## F O C U S

*It was also an event that would thrust two FSOs into the maelstrom of Irish-American politics and generate retribution against them by their ambassador.*

Smith, whose nomination as American Ambassador to Ireland was announced by President Clinton on St. Patrick's Day 1993. Behind her stood her brother, Sen. Ted Kennedy, the man who, after President Clinton himself, had most influence over Irish policy in America. The alignment of forces on the side of Irish nationalism had suddenly achieved a coherence and an influence which was unparalleled in historical terms."

Advocates of a visa for Adams had been seriously dismayed when his applications for U.S. travel, submitted at U.S. Consulate Belfast shortly after President Clinton's inauguration in 1993, were twice denied under U.S. legal provisions barring those suspected of having ties to terrorist organizations. An outlawed paramilitary organization, the IRA has been waging war since 1969 to end British rule in Northern Ireland and reunite the province with the Republic of Ireland. Thus far, Adams had been refused admittance to the United States eight times over two decades. All those seeking to breathe new life into the search for peace believed that a U.S. visa for Adams, which would boost his credibility both in Ireland and in the United States, was a key element in the effort.

To some Irish nationalists and their American supporters, the refusals were not surprising. The State Department was regarded, as Coogan points out, "as being so Anglophile" that some Irish-Americans described the personnel there as "Brits with American

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*Richard Gilbert, a freelance writer, is a former FSO with the U.S. Information Agency who served in Thailand, Romania, Finland, Liberia and the former Soviet Union.*

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*John Treacy was recently named co-winner of the Christian A. Herter Award, given annually to a senior FSO by the American Foreign Service Association for constructive dissent. James P. Callahan was awarded the William R. Rickin Award, given annually to a mid-level FSO by AFSA for constructive dissent.*

accents." Similar sentiments were often directed against U.S. embassy staff in Dublin. Many of the players involved in Irish-American relations reportedly preferred to deal directly with the National Security Council where Nancy Soderberg, former aide to Sen. Kennedy for Irish issues and Clinton liaison with Irish-American voters during the 1992 campaign, had landed as the No. 3 official.

As 1993 drew to a close, two events altered the political atmosphere surrounding a visa for Gerry Adams. The first was the Downing Street Declaration, a dramatic but vague declaration by which Ireland and Britain agreed to certain fundamental principles in their approaches to uniting Ireland democratically and to ending the political stalemate.

The second event was a visit to Dublin by the senior senator from Massachusetts, best described in Coogan's book: "Ted Kennedy took a hand. He came to Dublin with his wife Vicky to see in the New Year with Jean, and to make his own soundings on the visa question. ... After landing, he drove first to the U.S. residency for a shower, and then straight out to my house for lunch with Jean. ... We had a Homeric interlude. In dark moments later, when the peace process appeared to be floundering, I used to comfort myself with the thought that if the visa question could survive that lunch, it could survive anything."

Two weeks later, Gerry Adams arrived at the U.S. embassy on Dublin's Elgin Road where, away from U.S. Consulate Belfast, he had every reason to anticipate a newly favorable response to his latest request for a U.S. visa. This time, he requested permission to participate in a New York City conference on Northern Ireland on Feb. 1, barely two weeks away.

**T**he embassy staff had been forewarned. Already there had been discussions in meetings about the appropriate action to take on an Adams application. For many FSOs, there was lit-

## F O C U S

tle to discuss. Adams was in the department's computerized worldwide "lookout system" and was automatically ineligible under Section 212 of the Immigration and Nationality Act. It was clear to all that Ambassador Smith, in a policy departure apparently designed to jump-start the peace process, favored issuing a visa to Adams and would so recommend to the department. Country team members who opposed the move, but had no opportunity to meet with the ambassador to present their views, asked DCM Dennis Sandberg to ensure that their opposition and reasons be noted in any cable recommending the visa be granted.

However, the ambassador's cable recommending the Adams visa contained only a cursory mention about "dissent within my country team over this issue," according to the OIG report. Treacy and Callahan, who read the cable after it was sent, were unable to confront Sandberg, who had just left for a 10-day trip abroad. At that point, four officials from U.S. Embassy Dublin — including Treacy and Callahan — acting under State dissent regulations, drafted and signed a formal dissent cable explaining why they believed Adams should not be issued a visa. In the Jan. 14, 1994, cable, the four noted that a visa for Adams would impair U.S. global credibility in the struggle against international terrorism, would strengthen the IRA politically and would compromise U.S. dialogue with Ireland's Protestant population. In particular, they believed no visa should be issued to Adams until he renounced violence unambiguously. Anything else, one participant noted, was "putting the cart before the horse."

It would be the beginning of the end for Treacy and Callahan. John Treacy clearly recalls the signers' motivations: "We felt we had a duty, a duty to give the president and the secretary of State our best opinion," he said in a recent interview. "We believed we had a unique perspective to give that opinion. The fact that we gave it is not remarkable; what's remarkable is the response that it inspired."

In Washington, where the health care debate was raging, the question of a visa for Gerry Adams suddenly became highly charged politics. Some 40 members of Congress, including senators Kennedy, Daniel Moynihan (D-N.Y.) John Kerry (D-Mass.) and Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.) publicly urged President

Clinton to grant the visa. *The New York Times* editorialized in support of Adams' application. In this politically charged environment, the department equivocated and announced that a visa for Adams would be issued only if he renounced violence, though officials did not specify whether it should be a public announcement. To many, this sounded like yet another bureaucratic death knell for an Adams visa. On Jan. 28, Adams met in Belfast with Consul General Val Martinez, who posed carefully worded questions. Two days later, stretching to find "newly conciliatory comments" about renouncing violence in what Adams said in the Belfast meeting, the White House announced that a visa waiver would be granted to allow Adams a two-day visit to the United States as of Jan. 31.

In a Feb. 2 article, *The Times'* R.W. Apple provided fresh insight into the government's decision to issue the visa, noting, "British and American officials familiar with the results of the meeting hotly dispute [the White House version of the Belfast meeting], asserting that Mr. Adams merely repeated ambiguous formulations in answer to precise questions. ... Discussing the process by which Mr. Adams was granted a waiver ... a top State Department official said that, after the Friday meeting, the Department concluded that what Mr. Adams had said 'did not clear the bar, as far as we were concerned,' and Secretary of State Warren Christopher so informed Mr. Clinton. But after a lengthy discussion between the two, he was overruled and told to recommend the issuance of the visa to Attorney General Janet Reno."

Meanwhile, at U.S. Embassy Dublin, the impact of the dissent cable, which had had no apparent effect on White House policymakers, was beginning to be felt by its signers, particularly Treacy and Callahan, who had been pegged by the front office as the cable's instigators. What would later be described by State Department investigators as "a clear pattern of retaliation" had begun against the two.

U.S. Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith presented her diplomatic credentials to Irish President Mary Robinson on June 25, 1993. The ceremony took place 30 years — almost to the day — after Smith had accompanied her brother, President John F. Kennedy, on a visit to Ireland, the ancestral home of

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*It is impossible to underestimate the Irish people's affection for the Kennedys. Few ambassadors arrive at post as familiar with the political ground as Jean Kennedy Smith.*

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the Kennedy family. She would later remember the trip as "one of the most moving experiences of my life." Almost immediately after presenting her credentials, she set out to travel to County Wexford and the city of Cork, tracing her brother's footsteps of 30 years earlier, a powerfully symbolic reminder of who she was and a deliberate stoking of still-strong Irish memories. It was a homecoming and widely viewed as such by the Irish.

In the United States, Smith is best known as the founder of Very Special Arts, an arts learning program for people with disabilities. The organization is active throughout the United States and in 86 countries abroad, including Ireland. In 1993 Ambassador-designate Smith was involved in bringing a well-received play, written under the Young Playwrights program of Very Special Arts in Ireland and originally produced at Dublin's Abbey Theater, to New York's off-Broadway.

It is impossible to underestimate the Irish people's affection and respect for the Kennedys. Few ambassadors arrive at post as well-connected or as familiar with the political ground as did Jean Kennedy Smith. Few envoys enjoy the kind of political access extended to a Kennedy in Ireland. More importantly, few ambassadors can command the kind of key Americans' support for pet issues or projects available to a Kennedy, especially one who is the sister of a powerful senator and aunt to two U.S. representatives.

It quickly became apparent to the Dublin embassy staff that Ambassador Smith practiced the kind of hectic, high profile, highly personal "action diplomacy" associated with the Kennedy family. She had little patience with the forms and norms of conventional diplomacy and certainly did not need the services of the career embassy staff to introduce her to the Irish political or cultural scene or to open all the right doors. As ambassador, she was determined to avoid policy confrontations with the Irish government and to elimi-

nate "irritants" from the U.S.-Irish relationship. She was also determined to bring fresh initiatives to help solve the agonizing problem of Northern Ireland.

Not long after presenting her credentials, she planned her first trip to Northern Ireland, travel that did not sit well with U.S. Embassy London and which appeared to go beyond the bounds of her job. On the eve of that visit, it fell to Callahan, as acting DCM, and Treacy to advise the ambassador of the long-standing U.S. no-contact policy with Sinn Fein, guidance that she reportedly received with stony silence. As a consequence, a lunch with the Derry City Council, organized for the ambassador by her old friend John Hume, had to be hastily rearranged to keep a correct diplomatic distance between the American ambassador and Derry's Sinn Fein counselors, at least while TV cameras were present.

By the beginning of 1994, Embassy Dublin was a changed place, tense and troubled. Ambassador Smith chaired few meetings, and carried on her activities with little input or participation from the career staff. The result of her "perceived management style," the OIG would later report, "was a sense by staff of a distant, aloof and uncaring Chief of Mission."

**T**he department's dissent channel was established in 1971, prompted by widespread dissent in the Foreign Service toward U.S. policy during the Vietnam War. "Department principals want to hear significant views and recommendations including those not sent forward through regular channels," notes the relevant section of the Foreign Affairs Manual. Regulations state that any foreign affairs agency employee "may use the dissent channel without fear of pressure or penalty."

But what happened in Dublin was quite different, according to the OIG report and to several of the principals involved. Neither Ambassador Smith nor DCM Sandberg responded to repeated oral and written

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requests for interviews. And, as the *Journal* went to press, the department had not responded yet to a Freedom of Information Act request for a copy of the Dublin dissent cable.

The cable dissenting from the ambassador's recommendation on Adams was sent as U.S. Embassy Dublin and Washington closed for a three-day holiday weekend. On the next business day, a clearly troubled Smith met with the dissent cable's four signers, including Treacy and Callahan. The names of the other two dissenters have not been made public.

During the meeting, the four repeated their arguments against the visa and emphasized the important role of responsible dissent in the policymaking process. As the meeting ended, it appeared to Treacy and Callahan that the ambassador had "grudgingly accepted" their role in drafting the dissent message. Several days later, however, matters took a more ominous turn.

Treacy was told by an aide to the ambassador that Smith had raised the issue of the dissent channel message in a telephone conversation with Sen. Dodd. Treacy, mindful of Dodd's role in the blocking of FSO promotions in 1988 because of disagreements over U.S. policy in Central America, took this information very seriously and considered it an attempt to intimidate him and the other cable signers.

Two days later, concerned about the raising of Dodd's name, Treacy asked to meet with the ambassador. The OIG report contains Treacy's version of the meeting, in which Smith mentioned "a lack of support at post for her decisions" and told Treacy that she considered the dissent cable "an unhelpful attempt to undercut her with the department." She termed Treacy and Callahan "the instigators" of the dissent and said she believed they had "pressured the other signers to go along." She couldn't run an embassy, she said, "if her employees were to contradict her policy decisions, and she made it clear that she expected her officers to support her decisions," according to the OIG report. After the meeting, Treacy said, his relationship with the ambassador began deteriorating rapidly.

Meanwhile, DCM Sandberg — absent from post

when the dissent cable was sent — had returned. He advised Treacy that the ambassador, still angry over the dissent cable, had ordered the DCM to arrange Treacy's immediate transfer. Sandberg also told Treacy that he had erred when, as acting DCM, he authorized transmission of the dissent cable without first showing it to the ambassador. The FAM encourages, but does not require, senders of dissent cables to share them with supervisors.

Based on conversations with Treacy and Callahan, the OIG's report would later find that "Sandberg's ill-advised and improper criticism of Callahan and Treacy for their use of the dissent channel violated both the letter and the spirit of the FAM."

**T**he broad issue of visas for Irish applicants, outside of waiver cases like that of Gerry Adams, represents an important context in which to view the operations of U.S. Embassy Dublin during this period. Visas to the United States, specifically the refusal of visas, have long been a flash point in the U.S.-Irish relationship. Visas are a constant irritant between American and Irish diplomats; U.S. officials have long noted the large number of Irish travelers overstaying their visas and the relatively high visa refusal rate at U.S. Embassy Dublin. Irish parliamentarians send a steady stream of letters to the U.S. embassy, endorsing the applications of their constituents or protesting their denials.

In Washington, Congress had been generous in attempting to resolve the status of Irish illegal aliens and to make larger numbers of U.S. immigrant visas available to Irish applicants. Legislation passed in 1986 and 1991 that helped ease restrictions on Irish immigration to the United States was warmly welcomed in Ireland.

For her part, Ambassador Smith was especially concerned with the troublesome question of visas. Compounding the problem in 1994 was that the United States was hosting the World Cup, and thousands of Irish soccer fans were expected to travel overseas to watch the Irish matches. Unfortunately, the "nuances of U.S. immigration law" were reportedly not topics that engaged her for long, according

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to her staff. The ambassador strongly believed that U.S. law should be changed to include Ireland in the Visa Waiver Pilot Program, which exempts tourists and business travelers from applying for U.S. visas. According to the OIG report, she had made such views clear to the department, the government of Ireland and the Irish public. The result was enormous pressure on embassy consular officers to bend the rules, to give visa applicants "the benefit of the doubt" and to reduce the refusal rate.

The OIG later found that "the Ambassador viewed the consular section, and clearly Consul General Callahan, as obstacles to one of her priority policies — to reduce visa friction and bring Ireland under the visa waiver program."

In the weeks and months that followed, both Callahan and Treacy say they were subjected to various forms of retribution that effectively ended their effectiveness at U.S. Embassy Dublin. Both were virtually excluded from guest lists for the ambassador's representational events. Access to restricted cable traffic was withdrawn. By March, Smith was actively seeking Callahan's transfer, according to the OIG report. In the embassy, officials were bypassing him for sensitive consular cases in favor of a subordinate, and the front office was reversing his management decisions. Callahan meanwhile stood tenaciously by his belief that the elimination of the visa requirement for Irish visitors would eventually increase illegal U.S. immigration. Both officers were having serious difficulties as the DCM prepared their annual efficiency evaluations (EERs). The DCM told Callahan, as early as Jan. 31, according to the OIG report, that he would be receiving a negative report and suggested he request to have his three-year assignment curtailed. Later, the OIG inquiry team would determine that "Callahan's highly negative EER represents retaliation by rater Sandberg and reviewer Smith as a result of Callahan's participation in the dissent cable."

Meanwhile, the State Department was finishing up its annual publication, *Patterns of Global Terrorism*. In the report, issued April 1, 1994, the department called the IRA "the most active and lethal terrorist group in Western Europe."

Treacy was allowed to finish his tour in Dublin, and left in June 1994. In the words of an embassy colleague, Treacy's last months were "a professional hell." In mid-June, exercising his rights under the FAM, he notified the department in writing of the reprisals following the dissent cable in January. His annual evaluation report, for the period that ended May 15, 1994, arrived in Washington four months late, after the USIA promotion panels had completed their work, which delayed his chances for promotion in a highly competitive "up or out" personnel system. Callahan finally requested that his Dublin tour be cut short a year and, in August 1994, he transferred to London. In November, he contacted the State Department's OIG with an account of retaliatory actions against him in Dublin.

The letters of Treacy and Callahan led to a two-month OIG investigation in early 1995. The report, highly critical of Ambassador Smith and DCM Sandberg, was completed in December 1995. And last spring, more than two years after Treacy and Callahan had signed the dissent cable, Smith was "formally reprimanded" in a letter from Secretary of State Warren Christopher, according to press reports.

A few days after the reprimand became public, Ambassador Smith and her brother attended a New York City dinner. Smith and Sen. Kennedy escorted President Clinton to the dais where, before an audience of 500 Irish-American leaders, he accepted an award as "Irish-American of the Year."

Both Callahan and Treacy were successful in having the irregular evaluation reports withdrawn from their performance files. In recognition of the resulting gap in Callahan's file, the department extended by a year his allowed "time-in-class," the period during which he must be promoted or take early retirement. To date, USIA has not extended a similar benefit to Treacy.

In an interview in his Washington office, Treacy admits he has no regrets about sending the cable, which he says he signed because he was "worried about the effects on ... morale" of other young consular officers at U.S. Embassy Dublin. "Carceralism is the end of integrity. When we enter the Service, all we have is our honor and our integrity and we shouldn't have to compromise it just because we're in the Foreign Service."

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Would he do it again? "I think there would be no choice if I felt strongly about something," he says. "But you know you also have to have a sense of perspective. I was a soldier in Vietnam and, in the broad spectrum of sacrifices one can be called upon to make for one's country, having a gap in your performance file is not that significant. After all, I have my arms, my legs. Let's keep this in proportion."

**M**eanwhile, on Aug. 31, 1994, the IRA announced an "open-ended" ceasefire in its armed struggle against Irish Unionists and the British. In a statement, President Clinton called the IRA's decision to join the political process a "beginning of a new era." A few weeks later, Gerry Adams received his second U.S. visa, this time for two weeks and, building on the media blitz that marked his first visit, traveled across the United States from Hollywood to the State Department for public and

private meetings widely covered in the media. In Washington, President Clinton announced an end to the U.S. ban on contacts with Sinn Fein, and on Oct. 3, Vice President Al Gore telephoned Adams with the latest good news. It was a local call: Adams was staying with Ethel Kennedy at her home in McLean, Va. In November, Adams received his third U.S. visa, this one a 90-day multiple entry visa that allowed him to enter and leave the United States at will.

St. Patrick's Day 1995 in Washington was an Irish-American revel, even louder than usual. Trying to generate momentum in the stalled Anglo-Irish talks on the weapons issue, President Clinton used the occasion to lift the ban that had prevented Sinn Fein from raising funds in the United States. Gerry Adams was invited to the annual White House St. Patrick's Day reception and, at a luncheon on Capitol Hill, stole the limelight by shaking hands with Clinton. In a statement at the White House Shamrock Ceremony,

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Irish Prime Minister John Burton applauded Clinton for "the willingness that you have shown, Mr. President, to take risks, to do things that many of us might have thought were foolhardy at the time — like granting a visa to Gerry Adams. You have been proven right. You made the right decision." According to Irish author and politician Coogan, "St. Patrick's Day at the White House was a night to remember." In his version, one guest at the raucous affair asked another: "Do you think the State Department will get the message now?"

Almost unnoticed in the hoopla was President Clinton's announcement that, beginning April 1, 1995, Irish business and vacation travelers would no longer require visas to visit the United States, thanks to legislation sponsored by Sen. Kennedy. "This step is another demonstration of our confidence in the future of Ireland and the strong ties between our nations," the president said. On Nov. 30, President Clinton became the first U.S.

president to visit Northern Ireland. The following day, with U.S. Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith at his side, Clinton made a triumphant visit to Dublin.

Two months later, on Feb. 9, the "hooded ones" of the IRA announced plans to resume their armed struggle against the British after the 17-month ceasefire. Within hours, a 1000-pound bomb ripped through London's Docklands section, killing two and injuring 43. Days later, in the middle of London's crowded theater district, another bomb was found but successfully dismantled. Two days later, a third bomb exploded aboard a London bus near Covent Garden, killing the presumed bomber; a fourth bomb exploded at a Manchester shopping center on June 15, injuring 200. The IRA claimed responsibility for all four.

On March 17, the White House pointedly excluded Gerry Adams from St. Patrick's Day ceremonies, proving that American support could be a two-edged sword. ■

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## DISSENT ON CUBA

**I**f ever an FSO could choose a career path after dissenting against U.S. policy, he'd probably choose the direction followed by Dennis Hays.

Indeed, only a year after Hays asked to be transferred as coordinator of Cuban Affairs at the State Department, deciding he "could no longer be effective" carrying out President Clinton's new policy of repatriation of Cuban refugees, his career is really taking off.

Hays, a senior FSO who transferred in June 1995 to director of Mexican Affairs at State — hardly a demotion considering the importance of Mexico to the United States — is now awaiting Senate confirmation as ambassador to Suriname. Observers outside the Beltway might be wondering whether the dissent, which became public shortly after his May 2 transfer request, actually helped nudge him up the career ladder.

But Hays swears it's all one big coincidence. "No one is more surprised than me," he said in an interview. "I certainly wouldn't say I was rewarded for [my dissent], but it's clear I wasn't punished."

Not only did a "gracious" Secretary of State Warren Christopher phone him with words of understanding about his decision, but he received more than a hundred calls of support from colleagues and contacts at the White House, Capitol Hill and State Department. "Everyone understood

why I did it, though I had no idea what a positive reaction there'd be," he said. "But I think part of that was because President Clinton is a person who believes that diplomacy should be as open as possible, that there should be as many viewpoints as possible."

Despite Hays' remarkably favorable treatment, he said he still learned a few valuable lessons from the experience. "I think it's important to know what your core values are before something happens," he says. "You shouldn't wait for a crisis to find out what they are. And find ways to make your voice heard."

Few can argue Hays hasn't paid his diplomatic dues: In his 20-year Foreign Service career, he has served in Kingston; as deputy chief of mission in Bujumbura and

Georgetown; and in several jobs during Washington stints. He's also won the State Department's Superior Honor Award four times and its Meritorious Award once.

"The consensus among those of us in the Foreign Service is that generally we agree with what we're doing in foreign policy: democracy, human rights, economic issues," Hays said, pointing out that he backs "98 percent" of the Clinton administration's

foreign policy. "As a disciplined, professional Foreign Service, we have an obligation to carry out the policy of the United States." And for two years as the Cuban Affairs director at the State Department, Hays did just that.



MARCI WOLF-HUBBARD

FOR SENIOR FSO,  
TRANSFER REQUEST  
SPARKED WIDE SUPPORT

BY KAREN KREBSBACH

## F O C U S

*Not only did a "gracious" Secretary Christopher phone  
Dennis Hays with words of understanding about his decision,  
but he received more than a hundred calls of support.*

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But on May 2, 1995, when President Clinton announced a 36-year policy reversal to forcibly return future Cuban refugees to the Communist island nation, Hays said he knew he could no longer head the Cuba desk, which would require him to explain and enforce the new policy. He also didn't believe that returned refugees could be effectively monitored by the U.S. Interests Section in Havana to ensure they were not punished or jailed for their escape attempt, noting that the new policy failed to include adequate safeguards for their safety.

Hays said he had no problem with other aspects of the new Clinton policy, such as granting U.S. asylum to all 21,000 Guantanamo Bay refugees, who the Pentagon had complained cost \$1 million a day to house in Cuba. The refugees, admitted in 1995 and this year, are being counted among the minimum of 20,000 Cubans allowed U.S. visas per year, a limit set in a fall 1994 agreement with President Fidel Castro, who in return has pledged to halt uncontrolled migration. And, although press reports indicated Hays was also upset about the secret pre-policy reversal talks in April 1995 in New York between Under Secretary of State Peter Tarnoff and Cuba Parliament head Ricardo Alarcon, he said in the interview that he "did not dissent against the meetings. I understand the need for high-level confidential talks." Clinton said his policy reversal was prompted, in part, by Pentagon intelligence warnings that the rage building among the Guantanamo Bay refugees could soon erupt into violence.

Since President John F. Kennedy's administration, the United States had maintained a policy of granting asylum to refugees fleeing Cuba — special treatment, say

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*Karen Krebsbach is the editor of the Journal.*

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*Dennis Hays was recently named co-winner of the Christian A. Herter Award, given annually to a senior FSO for constructive dissent by the American Foreign Service Association.*

Republicans — on foreign policy and humanitarian grounds. The policy reversal has been interpreted as a betrayal by the Cuban-American exile community, especially since the State Department did not first consult Jorge Mas Canosa, chairman of the powerful Cuban-American National Foundation.

Meanwhile, the State Department recently announced it will be warning a handful of foreign companies with Cuba-based operations that their executives may be denied visas to enter the United States. This is the administration's first move toward carrying out the Helms-Burton law, which President Clinton signed reluctantly in March amid public outrage over Castro's downing of two Miami-based planes. Implementation of the law, sponsored by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) and Dan Burton (R-Ind.), is designed to discourage foreign companies from investing in Cuba. However, its passage has drawn heavy criticism from Canada, Mexico and Europe, who all argue the law violates international norms because it penalizes foreign firms who do not abide by the U.S. embargo on Cuba.

**D**ennis Hays still clearly remembers May 1, 1995, the day before President Clinton announced his new Cuba policy, the same day he and deputy Naney Mason were briefed on the president's two-pronged policy change. "I found out about it at noon or so, and I thought about it all day," he said, including grappling with the issue during the ride home with Mason, also his carpool partner. "I thought about it that night, but I had pretty much decided what to do, and I slept quite soundly, thank you."

The next morning, during the ride to work, he and Mason realized they had independently reached the same decision: Both would ask for a transfer out of the bureau. Mason is now DCM in Uruguay.

Hays said he never considered resigning or seeking early retirement from the Foreign Service. "I love the

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Foreign Service and I knew I could still make a contribution, so I wanted to continue," he said. And although some colleagues suggested that he could have been more effective in affecting U.S. Cuba policy if he remained in his job on the desk, he says he was "never convinced."

"I did consider that I could do more from inside," he said. "Some people argued I should reconsider, but that was never a convincing argument to me. I felt if I took that route I would lose my credibility and I wouldn't be able to carry out my mission as a Foreign Service officer."

Looking back on his experience, Hays observes that the system is probably more "forgiving and flexible" for those in the Senior Foreign Service than for junior or mid-level FSOs. And, he concedes that working in Washington was probably more advantageous than filing a dissent message from post, where he said the chain of command is more "streamlined." It was precisely because he was in Washington, with daily access to policymakers, that he didn't use the dissent channel to vent his disagreement with Clinton's new policy. Though Hays says he's "a big believer of the dissent channel," he said it wasn't the right forum for his issue, in part because his views were so well-known among his superiors. "But if I had been at post and I felt this way, I certainly would have used the dissent channel," he said.

What would he advise a junior officer at post to do in a similar situation? "I would advise him to go to his supervisor, and tell him he felt uncomfortable," he said. "And then I would hope they work it out."

Now that Hays finds himself headed for a top embassy supervisory role, does he still believe dissent has a role in the Foreign Service? "I think it's absolutely vital, especially to the extent that [the Foreign Service is] a closed organization," he said. "It's one of the dynamics necessary for the continued health of an organization that puts great confidence in people who speak out, if they think they need to. Generally, it [dissent] forces a reexamination of the issues."

**W**hen Hays is asked if his dissent on repatriation of Cuban refugees made any difference in modifying U.S. policy, he asks to abstain from answering, saying "I'm too close to the situation." However, Cuba observers in Washington and New York disagree on the answer.

Ernest Preeg, a retired FSO, former U.S. ambassador to Haiti and author of a 1993 book on Cuba, is now an asso-

ciate with the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. He said Hays' dissent "did not make any difference [in U.S. policy on Cuba] since the policy was adopted and changed by the time he found out about it. ... It was after the fact, a done deal, a package deal. ... The Dennis Hays of the world have to say to themselves, 'What is the alternative?' Not to have cut this deal means that Cuban [refugees] would still be coming into the United States."

Joan Caivano, an associate at the Inter-American Dialogue in Washington, pointed out that Hays' dissent ironically focused on "one of the highlights of the Clinton Cuba policy that's really working."

"When you're talking about two countries that have no diplomatic relations, this policy has actually normalized our relationship with Cuba. After all, we're just treating Cuban immigrants the same as all other illegal immigrants who come to the United States. Do we accept wholesale immigrants from China?"

The policy change succeeded in "stopping the flow of immigrants to the United States, which wasn't in the national interest of either the U.S. or Cuba," Caivano said. "This is what professional Foreign Service officers are supposed to be doing, finding common ground between two countries."

Among those who disagree with that opinion is Arthur C. Helton, director of refugee programs at the New York-based nongovernmental organization, Open Society Institute, one of several NGOs monitoring the U.S.-Cuba migration accord.

"Hays' dissent on this issue and that of others in the U.S. government have encouraged more scrutiny of the repatriation program and more interest in the monitoring of reprisals," he said, something that his NGO has urged repeatedly. "But the ultimate outcome, of course, was to fortify the policy approach."

Since the new policy went into effect 14 months ago, more than 250 new Cuban refugees have been returned to their homeland, according to State Department officials. However, Helton notes that the new policy is problematic, since it discourages "genuine refugees from making their claims. There is a conspiracy of interests between the U.S. and Cuba that serves to keep these issues off the screen. Both sides, for differing reasons, want to maintain the agreement."

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Even though there have been "serious problems in reprisals against refugees, it has not been enough to upset the accord," he said. "The governmental interests involved are powerful."

In a recent letter to Tarnoff, Helton wrote that "the compulsory return program ... fails to take into account the reprisals, particularly respecting employment over which the Cuban state has a monopoly, that the authorities may take, and indeed have taken, against rafters. Inadequate consideration is given to the granting of refugee status, as reflected in the case of a returned Cuban who has been jailed for a previous attempt to leave the country."

Other "inadequate safeguards" include a lack of legal counsel, limited interviews and administrative review of refugees' status, and the poor treatment of returned refugees, according to the letter, which noted that Cuba has "denied that reprisals have occurred." In fact, one of the

more persistent problems for refugees intercepted at sea is that upon repatriation, if it is not their first escape attempt, they can be jailed for "attempting illegal exit after repatriation," since it's not considered a new attempt, but "the continuation of an old one," the letter said.

"Absent comprehensive independent monitoring," warned Helton in the letter, "the entire repatriation enterprise becomes compromised and suspect," noting that Cuba rejected a May 1995 U.S. request for monitoring by an international organization, underscoring that there had been no reprisals.

"Since the migration emergency has passed, the United States should strengthen its efforts to differentiate between refugees with a well-founded fear of persecution and rafters seeking only economic opportunity, without worrying that a mass influx will result" concluded the 10-page letter. "Fairness and principle demand nothing less." ■



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# DISSENT IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE

**D**issent is to the Foreign Service what canaries were to coal miners at the turn of the century. Dissent lets Foreign Service employees know how breathable the air is where they work.

Every effective and well-run organization needs a method of protest, such as an accessible dissent channel that can sometimes change the way business is done. The republic itself is driven by the greatest dissent channel of all: Every four years, we, the people, send a message of assent or dissent to Washington about whether we believe our affairs have been well-managed.

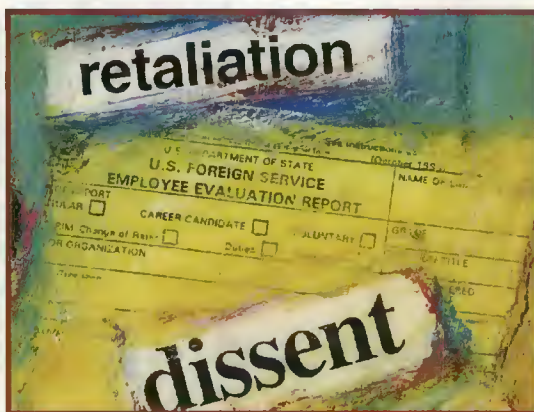
What is dissent, however, in the Foreign Service context? Should dissent remain within the Foreign Service? How do FS employees feel about dissent that becomes public through the media?

The concept of "constructive dissent" is a very American one. Few governments permit — much less encourage — complaints to a Cabinet member by his subordinates. Nevertheless, Secretary of State Warren Christopher has done just that, urging the free exchange of ideas and criticism among his staff and employees. The secretary recently reminded FSOs that when the routine method of speaking up to

their supervisor about their opposition to U.S. policy fails — either because of the seriousness of the issue, or because of a perceived inattention to alternatives — FSOs can send a cable directly to senior policy-makers via the dissent channel.

"Constructive dissent," however, presumes the professionalism of those who use the dissent channel, which was created in 1971 by Secretary of State William Rogers in recognition of wide protest among employees of the foreign affairs agencies over U.S. military involvement in Vietnam. Since that year, more than 250 dissent messages have been recorded through the channel, predominantly on policy-related issues, from all five foreign affairs agencies, according to State Department officials.

To be truly useful and heeded, the channel should not become a vent for the employees' discharge of hot air. It shouldn't become the sole possession of those who can't see the forest for the trees, for the intellectually self-righteous, or for those swept along by the strong emotional currents produced during highly visible crises. Accordingly, proper use of the dissent channel requires intellectual honesty and objectivity; it also requires that bosses apply similar standards to themselves. They should presume the dissenter is acting in good faith and in the service of



MARCIE WOLF-HUBBARD

SINCE SERVICE'S CREATION,  
CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM  
HAS BEEN THE AMERICAN WAY

*By HUME HORAN*

## F O C U S

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*Few governments permit, much less encourage, complaints to a Cabinet member by his subordinates. But Secretary Warren Christopher has done just that.*

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his country and should respond promptly and directly to the issues raised. Humility and even, maybe, some sense of humor should be welcomed on both the sending and receiving side of the channel. Not every dissenter is necessarily right, nor is every controversial position or U.S. government policy necessarily wrong.

What about service discipline? How do the two imperatives of discipline and open communication interact in the professional lives of FSOs? What should a dissenter do, when his dissent has run its course, but he remains unsatisfied with the policymakers' answer? He's left with three choices. Either, he can resign from the Foreign Service and directly submit alternative policy recommendations to the public and the media. Some of the most honorable and honored FSOs chose this course during the Vietnam War, such as Anthony Lake, Roger Morris, Charles William Maynes and Don McHenry. Or, he can stay at his job, satisfied he received a fair hearing and an honest answer from management, and try to loyally implement that policy. Or, he can request a transfer to another post, to prevent damaging his professional integrity.

This second option might have been the approach taken by some of the 50 FSOs who, in April 1970, protested against the impending U.S. incursion into Cambodia. The group's internal memo to Secretary Rogers was leaked to the press and carried globally.

One of the dissenters, Donald Strasser, would write in a later memoir in the *Foreign Service*

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*Hume Horan, a career minister, is diplomat in residence at Howard University in Washington, D.C. He has served as U.S. ambassador to Cameroon, Sudan, Saudi Arabia and the Ivory Coast.*

*Journal*, "I personally believe that if you can express your opposition from within, and stay to fight another battle down the road, you can be more useful inside than outside the system. A Foreign Service employee has many opportunities to be a voice of conscience. There are almost daily battles over questions of honesty and proper judgment. As wrong policies often are an accumulation of incorrect decisions, it is important that those motivated by idealism, principle and morality not quit ... [and] before resigning, the dissent channel mechanism should be used to the fullest."

To the credit of Secretary Rogers and Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs U. Alexis Johnson, the pair refused to supply the protesters' names to President Nixon, who had ordered them all fired "by 8 a.m." the following day. Thanks to bureaucratic delaying tactics by Rogers until Nixon's resignation in 1974, the dissenters were not fired, and in time, their careers resumed a normal course.

An unsuccessful dissenter, however, must never shoot from cover. He should not, by one stratagem or another, carry his disagreement to the public while remaining ensconced in the chain of command. Some years ago, a former *New York Times* reporter who joined State's Bureau of Political-Military Affairs was revealed during a department staff meeting, to his extreme embarrassment, to have been the anonymous source quoted in a *Times* piece on bureau infighting.

Nor should a dissenter go through the motions of carrying out a policy he opposes. FSOs are disciplined and under authority. And any government policy, even one objected to by a government employee, deserves to be carried out with all one's heart and mind, particularly once his reservations have been duly noted. Johnson made this point in

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September 1984, when he wrote in the *Journal*, "I always considered it my duty as a Foreign Service officer to serve the president as he chooses to be served."

The point was underscored more dramatically in 1947 by then-Director for Near Eastern and African Affairs Loy Henderson. At the time the U.S. government was moving toward a policy that would support the partition of Palestine and the creation of Israel. Henderson dissented from the proposed policy, and on Sept. 22, 1947, in a top secret memo to Secretary of State Dean Acheson, he wrote, "I consider ... that it is my duty to point out [why] it would not be in the national interest of the United States to advocate any kind of a plan at this time for the partitioning of Palestine or the setting up of a Jewish state in Palestine."

But in transmitting the above memo, Henderson added a truly Roman postscriptum in the accompanying cover letter. It said, "I wish to assure you that, in spite of the views expressed in this memorandum, the staff of my office is endeavoring loyally to carry out the [Sept. 15] decision ... and unless informed otherwise by you, will continue to endeavor to execute that decision in a manner which will minimize as far as possible the damage to our relations and interests in the Near and Middle East."

It is a memorable phrase: "It is my duty." Henderson's bosses knew right away something bad was coming, but they could not have been surprised. Henderson always spoke his mind and never sought popularity among his supervisors. However, because of his views on Palestine, he was accused of anti-Semitism and became unpopular with the White House.

**T**oday's civil wars in the Balkans have prompted the principled resignations of some of the best young officers of the current generation. They are the true successors, in terms of professional quality, honesty and integrity, to those FSOs who resigned during the Vietnam era. George Kenney, a former acting Yugoslav desk officer, and two former Bosnia desk officers, Marshall Harris and Stephen Walker, were all highly able officers and well-regarded — until they saw up close the failed U.S. policy in the escalating conflict. In 1993, the trio resigned over the State Department's policy of minimal U.S. involvement in the Balkans, which they believed was too weak to end hostilities or to spur warring parties toward signing a peace agreement.

Walker, in a November 1993 *Journal* interview, said, "I was very happy throughout with the progress of my career. I got the assignments I wanted."

Noted Kenney, "I had, relative to my own cohort, a fast-track career." But Harris perhaps spoke for all three, when he said, "If they [State Department principals] cannot handle a simple and straightforward case of Serb aggression in Bosnia, there's no reason to think that they are going to be able to handle the more difficult problems that we're facing today."

Can exception be taken to their judgment? In July 1993, about the time Harris and Walker resigned, statesman George Kennan wrote in his book about the Balkans conflict, *At a Century's End*, "The ... situation is primarily a problem for the Europeans. It is their continent, not ours, that is affected. They have the physical and military resources with which to confront the problem. And if they claim, as many of them do, that they lack the political unity to confront it successfully, the answer is that perhaps this is one of those instances ... where one has to rise to the occasion." Kennan might have seen U.S. intervention in the Balkans as another example of, as he wrote in the book, "[the] domestic political self-consciousness of the American statesman ... that [causes U.S. diplomacy] to degenerate into a series of postures struck before the American political audience [before] particularly aggressive and vociferous minorities or lobbies."

I confess I'm inclined to the Kennan view: On Sept. 9, 1993, I cabled my own dissent message about the Balkans war through the dissent channel. The subject of the message was "U.S. foreign policy — in search of solutions." In the summary, I wrote, "American foreign policy has not downshifted, as it could and should have, with the end of the Cold War. Instead the pace, range and intensity of our foreign policies continue undiminished. The consequences might embroil us where we needn't be, and could weaken public support for foreign involvement where a U.S. role is really needed. Two places where we should be much more discriminating, or much less involved, are the Balkans and Somalia."

But the issue here is not whether the dissenters, Kennan or even I were right, even though in the last three years U.S. government policy has moved much closer to the resigned FSOs' views. Rather, the issue

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*On strictly foreign policy issues, dissent is often ineffective and only heard by policymakers after the fact. During crises, decisions are often made in haste by a small group.*

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is, "Were we all heard? Was our dissent treated respectfully, collegially? Did the system try to get even with us? Were our lives and careers pulverized, as were those in the 1950s case of the China hands — John Paton Davies, Jack Service and John Carter Vincent — who were eased out of the Foreign Service amid accusations of disloyalty to the U.S. government and its China policy. Whether diplomats agree that the China hands' issue was really about dissent, the truth is they showed true courage in telling the truth about the strength of the Chinese Communists and the weakness and corruption of Kuomintang — and were punished for it.

By such a measure, all parties to today's incidents of dissent look pretty good. Noted Harris in the *Journal* interview, "We were heard ... we were dissenting openly every five minutes, not to mention the formal dissents we made. [But] I don't know if I was listened to, if I may make that distinction." And when the Bosnia dissenters submitted their letters of resignation, the State Department offered them reassignment instead, but they all chose to resign anyway.

**I**s the apogee of high-profile, principled dissent to foreign policy in the Foreign Service's past? Is the Service likely again to see foreign policy heroes dissenting over epic questions such as China, Vietnam or the Balkans, or will tomorrow's issues seem routine — with the U.S. public remaining uninterested? In the past 10 years, the United States has more or less unilaterally intervened in many parts of the world: Panama, the Persian Gulf, Somalia, Haiti and now the Balkans. Except for Desert Storm, and the tragic finale to Somalia, none of these interventions seems to have deeply stirred FSOs or the public. Looking ahead to potential policy disagreements over NAFTA, or intellectual property rights or even Rwanda, many will be pre-

pared to say, "Ich kann nicht anders," or "I can do nothing else"?

On even major foreign policy issues, moreover, dissent is often ineffective and only heard by policymakers after the fact. During crises, important decisions are often made in haste and by a small circle of principals — who may be tired, opinionated and unfamiliar with important nuances of an issue. Major decisions, in other words, are often made at the capstone of the pyramid, and exclude the expertise available lower down. One recalls the Nixon's surprise move of 1972 — where even Under Secretary for Political Affairs U. Alexis Johnson had less than a day's advance notice of President Nixon's speech recognizing the People's Republic of China.

Wrote Johnson in the *Journal*, "I agreed wholeheartedly that the time had come to normalize relations with China. But the way [Nixon and Kissinger] did it unnecessarily damaged our relations with Japan." He adds: "After this Nixon shokku, there has never again been the same trust and confidence between our two governments." Johnson observes that the whole process "was a good demonstration of our propensity often to pay more attention to our enemies than to our friends."

And transcending all of these limits on citizens' voices in decisions, is a democracy's occasional vulnerability to hysteria, to a dominant idea, to a mood, to the *Zeitgeist* — against which no dissent channel or any other process offers much protection.

If Foreign Service people ever find themselves caught in such an undertow, nothing at that moment may truly help. Let them appeal, however, to the dissent channel, do their duty and be confident that in time the system will find ways to say: "You were right. We're sorry." A Foreign Service that has said so to its China dissidents, its Vietnam dissidents and to its Balkan dissidents, is an unusual, self-renewing organization. It's one still worth working for. ■



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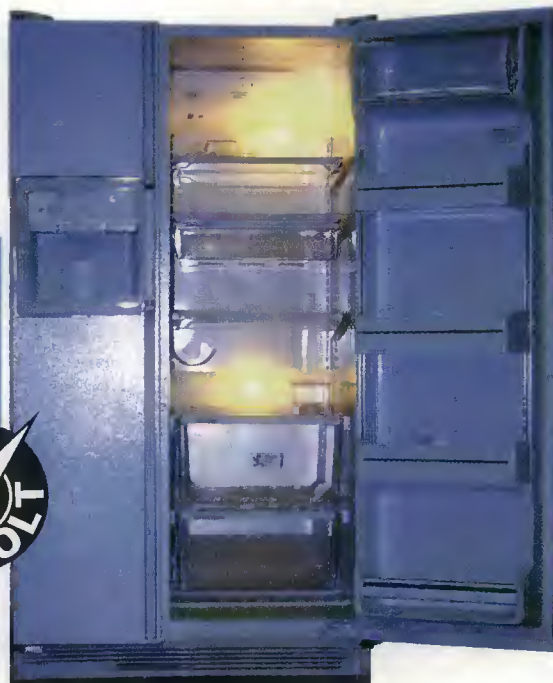
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## BOOKS

### DIPLOMATIC LESSONS FROM 2-TIME MASTER

#### Talking to Strangers

Monteagle Stearns, *Twentieth Century Fund, Princeton University Press, 1996, softcover, \$24.95, 201 pages.*

BY ARNOLD SCHIFFERDECKER

How well equipped, managed, led and deployed is American diplomacy for the 21st century? Retired two-time ambassador Monteagle Stearns looks back for historical context, comparing U.S. diplomacy with its European counterparts and drawing on his 30-plus years of experience to answer that question. His findings are predictably unsettling, yet modestly encouraging. Despite flawed management, awkward coordination, and a predilection for simple, one-shot solutions, American diplomacy may finally be coming into its own, Stearns believes.

Surveying the roots of U.S. diplomacy from founding fathers Benjamin Franklin and President Thomas Jefferson to the present, Stearns identifies the distinctively American diplomatic style that is essentially pragmatic, largely reactive and frequently in conflict with American moral values. Against the U.S. preference for independence is its impulse to assert moral doctrines, if not to promote U.S. values abroad than at least to sell a particular decision to a skeptical Congress or public. Stearns, a retired FSO, main-

tains that America does not need a post-Cold War doctrine or a new world order strategy to guide foreign policy. Rather, he advocates that the United States needs to define its interests more clearly, to anticipate potential problems better and to articulate U.S. policy through continuous dialogue and negotiation abroad, rather than to indulge the American preference for crisis diplomacy and summitry.

Arguing for a stronger and more reliable State Department and Foreign Service, Stearns points out that the Service has become overly timid and inward-looking. This is largely the result of the law of unintended consequences: the well-intentioned reforms of the Foreign Service Act of 1980.

The information revolution has negatively affected the quality of U.S. diplomatic communication. He notes that, for American diplomats, the business of talking to strangers involves communicating as much among themselves as with foreigners, and that much of this lateral communication is the product of an interminable policy formulation process in Washington, fed by an overabundance of factual, sometimes contradictory and often under-analyzed Foreign Service reporting from abroad. Adding to the overload is a swelling tide of distracting administrative and career-related messages, resulting in a clouding of diplomats' understanding of events.

Stearns's advocacy of a more disciplined, professional diplomatic apparatus begins with personnel reform. More incentives for training and assignment abroad would end the

growing practice of rewarding promising talent through prolonged staff assignments in Washington. More discipline is needed in the assignment process, and the "up or out" provision of the 1980 Act should be eased to prevent losing diplomats with skills that can only be acquired with long experience. Stearns would also make better use of incoming FSOs' language skills and regional expertise, rather than fit them all into the cookie cutter mold that prevents them from choosing a career path for five years while they are doing consular work.

Among bureaucratic reforms, Stearns would place the foreign policy planning function in the National Security Council, reducing its operational role, and would strengthen the secretary of State's role to provide the focus that U.S. foreign policy now lacks. It's time once again, he believes, to reinforce and strengthen the authority of ambassadors, restoring their primary role of conducting U.S. diplomacy abroad in place of Washington's emphasis on quick fix and crisis diplomacy. To assure qualified ambassadors, Stearns says he would revive the Carter administration's idea of an independent panel of professionals both inside and outside government to vet proposed candidates.

In the State Department, Stearns would decentralize the top-heavy 7th Floor and allow the secretary and his deputies more accessibility to the bureaus and ambassadors. He would establish a permanent under secretary, backed by a Board of the Foreign

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## BOOKS

Service with statutory powers, to restore the vitality and professionalism of the career service. He would relax the rigidities of the cone system and set up a diplomatic ROTC program to recruit FSOs, which he says would achieve a more representative Service without discarding the merit principle.

For FSOs, Stearns also would strengthen specialized training, including more language, area, science and technology courses, backed by enforced incentives. He would place greater emphasis on multilateral and conference diplomacy skills, arguing that while bilateral diplomacy is not fading, the future of international affairs demands personnel policies that reward diplomats who specialize in this expanding diplomatic arena.

Not everyone will agree with Stearns's proposals to revitalize the U.S. foreign policy apparatus, but his reasoned analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of U.S. diplomacy make a persuasive case that reform is needed to prepare the United States for the 21st century.

*Arnold Schifferdecker, a retired FSO who has served in South Asia and the Middle East, is a member of the Journal Editorial Board.*

## JUST A LITTLE HELP FROM A LATE FRIEND

### A Pocket Mirror for Heroes

Baltasar Gracian,  
*Currency/Doubleday, 1996, hard-  
cover, \$20, 193 pages.*

BY JAMES E. PATTERSON

FSOs in search of personal excellence can add another book to their library. Note that I didn't say another new book. It isn't often that a newly

published book comes with personal recommendations from the likes of Arthur Schopenhauer, Friedrich Nietzsche, Voltaire and King Philip IV of Spain. However this book of stratagems for achieving excellence in a competitive world, written by a 17-century Spanish Jesuit priest, comes with such recommendations.

Readers may recall the 1992 publication of *The Art of Worldly Wisdom*, a book of aphorisms on prudent behavior first published in 1641, and also written by Father Gracian, who lived from 1601-58. This classic, all but forgotten for 300 years, became a *New York Times* best seller. Now this suitable companion volume follows. In fact, *A Pocket Mirror for Heroes* could just as well be titled *In Search of Ancient Excellence*, or *Searching the Ancients for Excellence*. It is worth a spot on the Foreign Service bookshelf, perhaps alongside contemporary books on excellence by authors such as Tom Peters.

First a bit of background, courtesy of the author's translator, professor Christopher Maurer of Vanderbilt University. Gracian was born in north-eastern Spain and took his vows as a Jesuit priest in 1634, spending the rest of his life in various professions, including professor of theology and philosophy, preacher, administrator and writer. Gracian used his sharp wit and writing talent to highlight the human nature of various European kings and other nobles, which made his Jesuit superiors uncomfortable. His writings were revered by many philosophical luminaries of later centuries, especially Schopenhauer and Nietzsche.

The small book, which does actually fit in a pocket, is a three-part collection of Gracian's writings from 1637-57. The first section, titled "The Hero," is adapted from two of Gracian's early works, *The Hero* of 1637, and *The Discreet* of 1646, the latter a continua-

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tion of ideas presented in the first. *The Hero* was Gracian's response to Machiavelli's *The Prince*, a book the priest despised. In fact, Gracian had written that *The Prince* was better suited for "governing a stable than a state."

In *The Hero*, Gracian outlined qualities needed to reach "heroism" in any occupation or profession. This section contains 21 brief, concise stratagems for achieving heroism; readers of contemporary books on personal excellence will devour this section rapidly. Typical entries include "The Excellence of Being First" and "Winning from Others."

"The Beveled Edge," the second section, is drawn predominantly from Gracian's famous allegorical novel *The Critic*, published in 1651, 1653 and 1657, and less from his treatise, *Wit and the Art of the Intellect*, published in 1642 and 1648. Readers will relish this section of 33 amusing and insightful observations of such timeless subjects as life, nature and virtue. The most thought-provoking section, "Duped by Nature," explains the role of fortune in life. Without fortune, Gracian notes that life is nothing more than misery that "begins with the screams of the mother who gives it, and the weeping of the child who receives [it]."

The introduction does not clearly indicate which of Gracian's works the final part, "The Better Part of Discretion," is drawn from, but it contains detailed observations on character, intellect, authority, gallantry, discretion and knowledge. He also touches on issues of contemporary interest, such as time management, personal choices, and personal and professional satisfaction. In the section on choice emerges this idea, which has become a favorite in my office: "How well a bee chooses, how badly a fly! In the same garden, one sips on nectar, the other on dung." Gracian also recounts the time Julius Caesar stumbled and fell when

he touched African soil. Caesar saved face by proclaiming, "I hereby take possession of you!"

A *Pocket Mirror for Heroes* embraces Gracian's philosophy that life's mirror reflects "the person you are and the one that you can be." Although brief, Gracian provides a vivid image of ethical and moral perfection to which all can aspire. Overall, Gracian's wisdom is as applicable today as it was 300 years ago.

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*James E. Patterson, an FSO in the Foreign Agricultural Service, is the agricultural attaché at the U.S. embassy in Mexico City.*

## GETTING TO KNOW COUSINS IN THE EAST

### From Da to Yes: Understanding the East Europeans

*Yale Richmond, Intercultural Press,  
1995, paperback, \$17.95, 343 pages.*

BY ROGER KIRK

The author admits his purpose in writing *From Da to Yes* is to introduce readers to the cultures and customs of the varied countries of Eastern Europe, to encourage readers to visit the region and to make visitors' stays more productive. It's a useful introductory handbook for those traveling and working in this region, especially in the Baltics, Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova.

If I were visiting one of the countries covered in this book, I would read this book. It's of less value for the general reader, except to the extent that it underlines the distinctions among the various countries, which many people tend to lump together merely as "Eastern Europe" or "the Baltics."

Author Yale Richmond's penetrating and informative commentary is drawn

from his 30 years of experience with people-to-people exchanges within this region for the State Department, the U.S. Information Service, the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the National Endowment for Democracy. He admits that some may question whether a country can have a national character, persuasively pointing out that they can, and that they do and that the visitor would best be forewarned about how to cope with those characters.

Richmond includes specific information on negotiating styles, emphasizing, for example, the importance of making a personal connection before discussing business; the tendency of some people to agree merely to avoid saying no; and the relative importance of oral and written agreements in various countries of the region.

The book opens with a brief introduction covering the importance of history to the region's peoples, the attitude towards friendship and hospitality, and the role of women, business practices and crime. After a brief review of the geography and ethnic and religious make-up of the area, the book changes to a country-by-country format, discussing each one's national characteristics, history, religion, customs and attitudes toward food and drink.

Material on each country's negotiating styles and business practices is followed by a review of its connection to the United States, particularly emigration to the United States. An appendix provides useful information on U.S. and Eastern European sources for helping readers trace their family roots in the region. ■

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*Roger Kirk, a retired FSO and ambassador to Romania from 1985-89, has done extensive consulting in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.*

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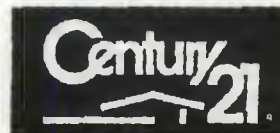
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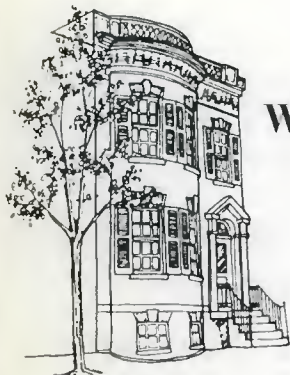


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# POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

## *End of the Donor Era in Kenya*

BY LAWSON R. WULSIN

I ducked out of soccer practice early yesterday, told our coach I had a "meeting." The truth was my wife and I were going to a reception at the house of the U.S. Ambassador to Kenya Aurelia Brazeal, but I didn't try to explain this to anyone on the team, most of whom are young Kenyans hungry for jobs, food and any break they can get. This past month, three have asked me to find them jobs.

I knew I was stretching my luck to play soccer immediately before the reception, but with a towel and a quick change as I drove, I could be on time and looking sharp when I picked up my wife at her office at the U.S. Agency for International Development. Our boys could fix their own dinner at home.

I had all but my shorts and one soccer shoe off, and I was cooling and drying myself with the window down by the time I hit the traffic jam at the Ring Road Westlands roundabout. But I was still too sweaty to put on the fresh shirt. It's a big roundabout and traffic was thick. One shoe and six minutes later, I'd barely made it to where the flower hawkers pounce.

As I crept along, in the middle of this grassy roundabout I watched a well-dressed young man facing a line-up of 10 scrawny boys in ratty clothes

---

*Lawson Wulsin, a professor of psychiatry at the University of Cincinnati, is the spouse of Victoria Wells, who is the HIV/AIDS adviser for Eastern and Southern Africa for USAID in Nairobi. Wulsin is on academic leave in Kenya this year.*

*He said, "Can  
I have money  
for bread?"*

and no shoes, boys about the same ages as our four sons at home.

Several sweet smelling bouquets came at me. "Pole sana," I said, throwing up my hands. "No shirt, no money."

One of the hawkers laughed and said, "Swimming?"

"No," I said. "Football."

"Ah, that's good." I crept along, glad for escape and a laugh.

I managed to get my shorts off during the next stall of traffic. Just as traffic opened, I embarrassed another hawker by showing him I was hiking up my pants. I was late. Time to get my shirt on, time to move.

Then ahead I saw a boy with his hand out, shuffling toward me easily in the traffic. He was young, maybe 10, light-skinned, maybe Kikuyu, his shorts and shirt dirty, stretched and torn. When he got to me, we were eye to eye. His nose was crusted. His voice came out deep and hoarse.

"Can I have money for bread?"

I inched ahead. He trotted along.

"No," I said. "Sorry."

"Just change, for bread, Father."

The traffic stalled. I remembered something Ambassador Brazeal had

said recently, "The donor era is over." Other foreign diplomats and key Kenyan government officials have been singing the same song. It's good news for me. It gives my conscience a rest every time I read it. Maybe the politicians mean they wish the donor era were over, or that they're trying to end these paternalistic handouts that perpetuate Kenya's dependence on the United States and other donor countries. Meanwhile, donor aid still makes up 12 percent of Kenya's government spending and an equal amount goes to its nongovernmental organizations.

I dug in my pocket, found only one coin — too little for even him — but I laid it in his dry hand, without looking at him, still inching my ear forward.

"The other pocket, Father, please, for bread," he said, in a clear, voice.

He was right. I did have several loose bills in the other pocket, but they were 200- and 500-shilling bills, worth about \$4 and \$10, respectively.

"Two hundred," he said.

"No," I said. I could give a dollar, maybe two, but isn't \$4 or \$10 overdoing it? I was late, had no shirt on, no seat belt on. And my door was unlocked. "Too much, too much," I shouted. Traffic opened. I hit the accelerator.

"Father, please."

He ran. But I accelerated, angry and ashamed. I thought he might follow me, but I never saw him again.

I heard him, though. I heard that boy's voice again at the ambassador's house, and later that night as I lay sleepless. Even today, I still hear that deep hoarse voice saying, "Father, please." ■

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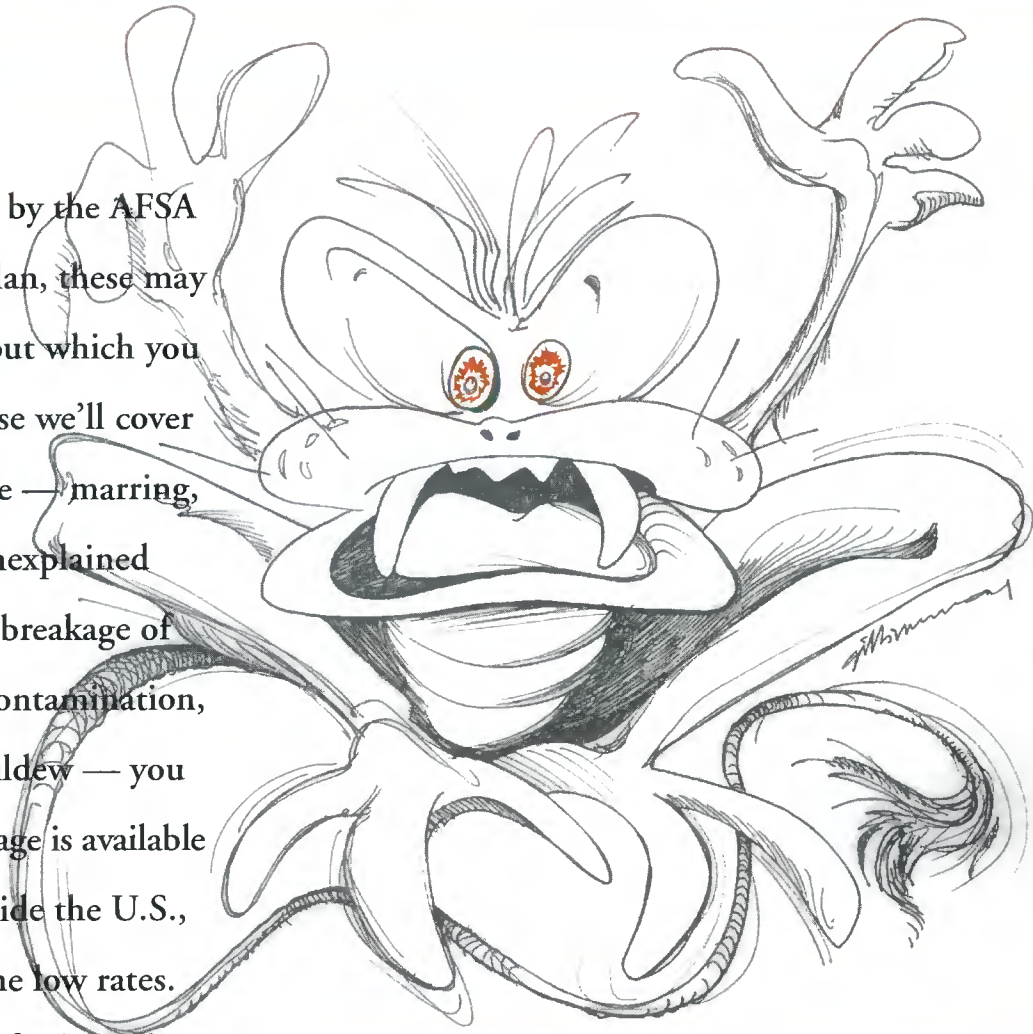
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