

MR. ZERO ■ CIRCUMCISION PARTY IN TURKEY ■ ARMS CONTROL IN LATIN AMERICA

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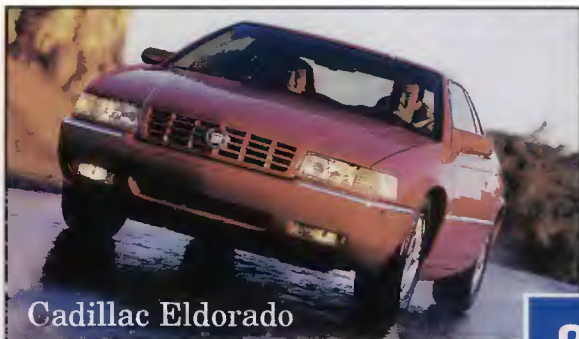


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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Resurrect Ambassadorial Advisory Board

BY F. A. "TEX" HARRIS

The former staff director of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee described the problem clearly: About a third of a president's non-career ambassadorial appointees were well qualified and did an excellent job. The middle third were smart and dedicated enough to perform well after a year or so on the job. But the final third came to the job unqualified and remained so throughout the term.

This nation cannot field its international team with many posts led by rookies and unqualified envoys. There are real costs to U.S. security and prosperity. In no other area of American public life is the appointment of underqualified leaders so routinely accepted as in choosing diplomatic representatives. But now, given more complex demands on U.S. missions and shrinking resources for diplomacy, each ambassador must pull his own weight from the start. America deserves to be represented by its very best. How will they be chosen?

First some background. The Constitution states that the president "... shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors." From Thomas Jefferson to Ulysses S. Grant, the spoils system flourished broadly, but public outrage led to the creation of the Civil Service in 1871. The Civil Service system was formed to make merit, not patronage, the basis for

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

During the Carter administration, the system weeded out the weakest of the politically generous.

appointments to positions in the federal government.

However, with ambassadorial appointments, merit is talked about but not guaranteed. Fanfare over the outstanding top-tier political ambassadors masks the rest of a process, which quietly and simultaneously grants missions to less-gifted major fundraisers, donors and the politically well-connected. "Ambassador" is one of the few coveted titles this nation bestows. The reluctance to end this vestige of America's spoils system is understandable, as the benefits go to the political parties and the costs are borne by the nation. America, however, cannot afford any patronage "clunkers" in the lineup.

An effort from 1983 to 1991 by the American Academy of Diplomacy to certify the qualifications of ambassadorial nominees faltered. Thus, the White House's nomination process continues to be not just a search for the "best," but an effort to repay the party's politi-

cally deserving. The political staff in the White House Office of Presidential Personnel now decides which posts are filled by which ambassadors. The secretary of State occasionally intervenes, but the process puts politics first.

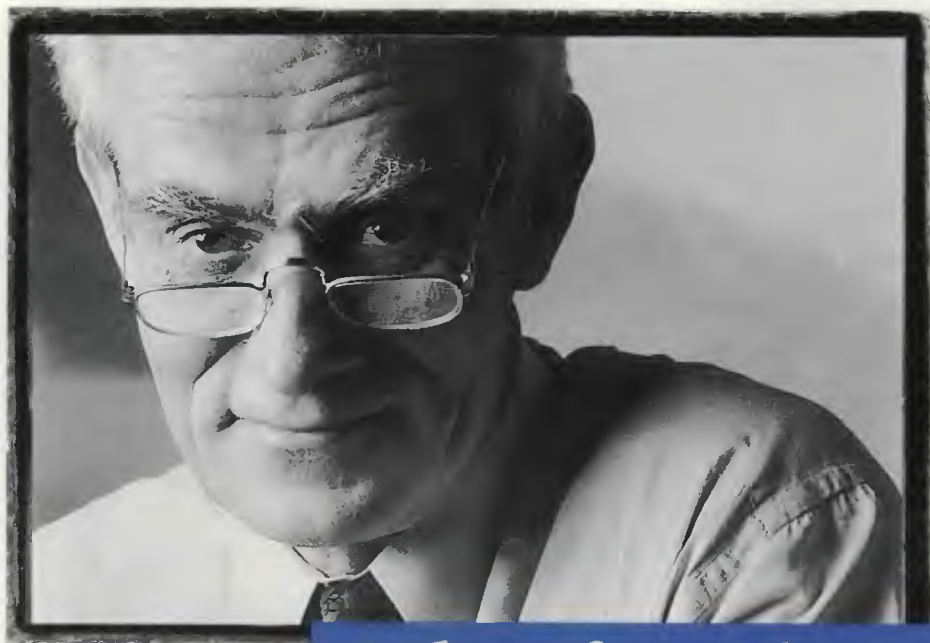
The Senate's "advice and consent" to ambassadorial nominees focuses most often on the overly generous and underqualified political nominee and consequently filters out but a few of the "worst."

Two immediate actions are needed. First should be the reestablishment in the White House of a Presidential Advisory Board of distinguished members to review the qualifications of all political ambassadorial nominations, a system that worked well in the Carter administration to weed out the weakest of the politically generous. It also broadened the pool of candidates by attracting excellent talent from outside the government.

Secondly, President Clinton and Congress need to reexamine whether the current system of filling 30 percent of ambassadorships with non-career appointees meets the nation's needs. During the Reagan administration, then-Sen. Al Gore led a fight on the Senate floor to lower the non-career portion of ambassadors to no more than 15 percent to ensure that America was well-represented abroad.

For these and other efforts to have this nation send its very best to head its missions around the world, the Foreign Service must participate in the debate, speaking truth from its principles and experience. ■

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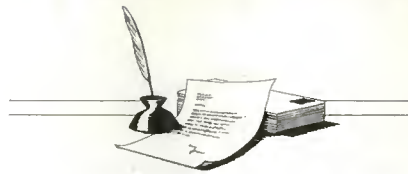
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¹HEALTH Magazine, OCTOBER 1993

²Business Week, MARCH 7, 1994

³AMERICAN HEALTH CARE ASSOCIATION, "QUALITY CARE FOR LIFE," MAY 1993



LETTERS

To the Editor:

Your recent article on pets in the Foreign Service, "Diplopets," (March *Journal*), reminded me of the cost of shipping our boxer, Tallulah Bankhead, from Washington to Bonn in the early 1950s. After considerable expense and travail to send her by a freighter, I resolved thereafter to own air-transportable pets only.

A bachelor at U.S. Embassy Bonn during the early 1950s had a somewhat larger pet and considerably greater inventiveness. His pet was a horse. When it became time to return to the United States, he tried, unsuccessfully, to have the horse considered a dependent, pointing out that it would cost the government considerably less to ship the beast than it would to ship a wife, children, and attendant baggage.

When the department ruled against dependent status for the horse, my friend resorted to hardball. He was leaving the Foreign Service and returning to his home in Seattle. In poring over arcane government travel regulations, he found that the U.S. government still paid per diem and mileage for

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travel by horse, apparently to cover federal employees in remote areas but without geographic or other restriction.

My friend had his travel orders written in general terms to travel in accordance with the regulations. He paid ocean freight on the horse to New York with the intent of riding it across the United States. When he left Bonn in June, he was elated at a lovely cross country ride at government expense. The only catch was he couldn't find a current mileage rate for a horse. As none of us heard from him, I can't say how the story ended. Perhaps someone who was in the Travel Audit Section from a half century ago can help.

*Melville E. Blake Jr.
Retired FSO
Bethesda, Md.*



To the Editor:

I disagree with Jonathan Henick's suggestion that junior officer positions be contracted out to save money ("Contracting 'Traditional' JO Jobs Could Save \$16 Million Annually," SPEAKING OUT, March *Journal*). Eliminating the JO stage of an officer's career would mean losing touch with what we supervise. It is also questionable that we would save money through replacing all JOs by contractors.

The chief advantage of the current JO system is that consular and administrative officers receive the front-line

experience they need before they can effectively supervise others at the mid-grades. As the chief of a consular section, I use my JO experience every day in supervising both my officer and Foreign Service national staff, and administrative officers tell me that it is no different for them. Also, for political and economic officers that become deputy chiefs of mission, JO tours give them their only hands-on exposure to the consular and administrative sections they oversee. All of my DCM supervisors have worked as consular officers, and I know they have drawn upon that experience in assessing my section's performance.

As to \$16 million in savings, there are many points in Mr. Henick's analysis that bear closer scrutiny. A significant proportion of every entering JO class comes from the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, and so do not have their housing and living expenses paid during training. Many JOs serve in posts where they do not receive differentials, cost-of-living allowances, or rest-and-relaxation flights – or at least not all three.

I think Mr. Henick underestimates the difficulty of integrating a new corps of contractors into a Foreign Service personnel system that is already too complex. Also, some JOs are doing important work in difficult places where there can be real trouble getting a contractor without a career incentive to go. Finally, when I left the Personnel [Bureau] two years ago, I recall seeing figures

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LETTERS

showing little difference between current and past JO attrition rates. Unless this has changed, replacing JOs with contractors is likely to create more problems than it solves.

Ted Halstead
Consul
U.S. Embassy Brussels

To the Editor:

Once again, in urging the waiving of diplomatic immunity for the Georgian diplomat who may have been drunk when his vehicle was in an accident that resulted in a death, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* took up a cause which was irrational, but popular ("Waiver of Immunity Sought For Envoy," "CLIPPINGS," February *Journal*).

Possibly this exception to diplomatic immunity, at least to some degree, may have increased the risk to U.S. diplomats, but what purpose did it serve?

Was it deterrence? We had the opportunity to send the Georgian home and never let him enter this country again. If we could do that with every drunken driver, wouldn't that be wonderful?

Would it deter other diplomats from doing the same thing? Of course, this Georgian didn't intend for the accident to happen. Further, there is no assurance that other countries would waive immunity for their diplomats as Georgia has done.

Then it must be that punishing the Georgian would make the victim's family feel better. We were told in law school that criminal laws were designed for deterrence, not for vengeance or punishment. I realize that this may no longer be the case, but if punishment be the purpose of prosecuting this Georgian, what cri-

teria do we apply? Should it be execution? Or should it be, as it probably will be if he is found guilty, a few months to a year or so in an American jail, and then back home?

What purpose will it all have served?

David B. Ortman
Retired FSO
Washington, D.C.

To the Editor:

A month or so after my family and I arrived in Conakry, you published "Guinea on My Mind" (POSTCARD FROM ABROAD, October *Journal*). I was dismayed, to say the least, to read such a negative missive about my new home! The author of the article departed before I arrived, so I do not know him or the specifics surrounding his tenure in Conakry. I do, however, feel it necessary to counter-balance the negative viewpoint he set forth.

I delayed writing until I hit the six-month mark, feeling anything written before that time would be, at best, premature. I'm confident, though, that I now can give a relatively informed newcomer's view of Guinea.

My first impression of Guinea was predominantly positive. While Conakry's architecture and infrastructure are nothing to write home about, the beautiful sea views, lush foliage, heavily burdened fruit trees and gorgeous sunsets are. As with most tropical locations, Conakry assaults every sense. You can smell the scent of the tropics: fruit trees, tropical flowers, wet grass, burning fields, and, unfortunately, at times, garbage. The warm, humid air is reminiscent of New Orleans or Washington, D.C., in August; everyone glows. Fascinating sights

LETTERS



abound, from watching people carrying improbable loads balanced on their heads to mango pickers armed with long bamboo poles to the beautifully attired people walking the streets.

Don't get me wrong. Conakry has plenty going against it. Traffic is abysmal and shopping is tedious, though not the harrowing experience it is in some other countries. Few aggressive beggars or merchants bruise you with their enthusiastic attempts to attract your attention. Phone service is poor; embassy residences are just now getting telephones. Medical care outside of the health unit is basic.

However, the thrill of overcoming the challenges and the rewards of living in such an interesting culture far outweigh the negatives. The interagency community is warm and welcoming – a most congenial group – which helps to mitigate many adjustment problems.

Finally, Conakry is not all that Guinea has to offer. Trips to the interior are incredibly interesting, offering various landscapes and opportunities for recreation.

In short, while Conakry deserves its hardship differential, to paint it as the most odious place on earth is unfair. My family and I have enjoyed our time here and look forward to another 18 months of getting to know Guinea and its people.

Kate Raynor
FS Spouse
U.S. Embassy Conakry



To the Editor:

Just to show you that I read your fine publication with care, if a trifle late, in Moscow, I noticed that the Russian flag on the upper left of your September cover has the

stripes of color juxtaposed ("US Foreign Policy in 1997: A Look at the Candidates' Views, Records on World Affairs"). I believe the stripes go down as white-blue-red.

Nathaniel Davis
Fulbright Scholar
U.S. Embassy Moscow

Right you are, Mr. Davis. Thanks for letting us know.

– The editors

CORRECTION

Due to incorrect information provided by a source, the article, "Looking to the Future: Are Criminal Trials Effective Tools for U.S. Diplomats?" (December *Journal*) misstated several facts on genocide in Cambodia. The Khmer Rouge was in power between 1975-1979, and only governments – not organizations – are authorized to bring cases before the World Court. The *Journal* regrets the errors.

AN INVITATION FOR FICTION

The *Foreign Service Journal* is seeking works of fiction of up to 3,000 words for its annual fiction issue. Preference will be given to pieces with Foreign Service settings, situations and characters. A small honorarium is offered.

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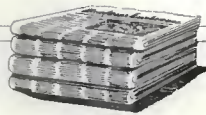
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I have been licensed to act as a Standard Agent since 1985. In 1992 I was certified by the Northern Virginia Board of REALTORS® to act as a Buyer's Agent. In 1993 I was certified by the National Trust for Historic Preservation to deal knowledgeably 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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CLIPPINGS



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flinch either,
because I
wasn't hostile.
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respectful, but
firm, you can
get a long way
talking with
the Chinese."*

*—HOUSE SPEAKER
NEWT GINGRICH (R-
GA.), ON HIS RECENT
TRIP TO CHINA DURING
WHICH HE CHATTED
WITH CHINESE OFFI-
CIALS ABOUT WHETHER
THE UNITED STATES
WOULD AID TAIWAN IF
CHINA INVADES.*

—THE HILL, APRIL 2

STATE TO ABSORB USIA AND ACDA

After more than four years of hemming and hawing about the reorganization of the foreign affairs agencies, President Clinton made it official on April 17.

Under the plan, designed by Vice President Al Gore under pressure from Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Sen. Jesse Helms, the State Department would absorb the U.S. Information Agency and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, according to an April 18 article in *The Washington Post*.

The plan also requires the director of the U.S. Agency for International Development to report directly to the secretary of State, but it would remain a separate agency. The director, currently J. Brian Atwood, under law now reports directly to the president.

Helms (R-N.C.) had threatened to block a treaty banning chemical weapons from coming to the floor of the Senate in late April, according to reporters John F. Harris and Thomas W. Lippman. "Reshuffling the nation's foreign policy bureaucracy and persuading Helms not to unilaterally torpedo a treaty he adamantly opposes was not part of an explicit bargain," the pair reported.

Legislation for the reorganization has not been drafted, and officials did not say how many jobs would be eliminated. Sources told the *Post* that "the experiences of Haiti and Bosnia convinced the president that it is time to streamline the foreign policy apparatus. In those countries ... relief work, development assistance, diplomacy and the distribution of accurate information all had to be conducted simultaneously."

THE HUGE 'GLOB' THAT ATE TOKYO

Former Vice President Walter Mondale must have felt he was being held captive in a bad Japanese monster movie while serving his three-year term as U.S. ambassador to Tokyo. Why else would he have named the State Department bureaucracy "the Glob?" "[Mondale's] years as a senator from Minnesota and vice president of the United States were not enough to prepare him for the State Department bureaucracy," reported the *Washington Times* in its "Embassy Row" column of April 15. Mondale, speaking at Georgetown University, reported that State's "impersonal personnel system" and Washington budget cutters were his major nemeses as ambassador. The examples he cited were numerous: Just before a visit by President Clinton, Mondale's top administrative officer was transferred out of Tokyo; just as critical auto trade talks were about to begin, embassy experts were reassigned to another embassy; a young diplomat who had just become proficient in Japanese and was sorely needed at the embassy was transferred to Washington to learn Russian.

Reporting on further bureaucratic bungling, Mondale noted that the Japanese were "stunned" by closures of U.S. consulates in Kyoto and Sapporo, and that they even offered to pay expenses to keep the Sapporo office open. "It is certainly important to get our nation's fiscal house in order, but dismantling our diplomatic capabilities is like taking stones from the foundation to repair the roof," said Mondale, reminding the audience that 30 embassies and consulates have been closed in the last three years. "We are the only nation powerful enough to lead on the great challenges facing the world. But we simply must understand that diplomacy by tin cup will not work."



CLIPPINGS

TRADE WAR SPARKED BY CLASH OF VALUES

The war over U.S. trade policy is set to erupt once more, predicts *Los Angeles Times* columnist Ronald Brownstein, but this time the battle won't be over jobs, as it was during the NAFTA debate. "Now the principal focus is on values," he wrote on April 15. "Trade politics is shifting toward issues like human and labor rights and religious freedom."

Countries with emerging markets, like China, Mexico and Indonesia, do not have the same notions of individual freedom as Westerners, so the clash of values between these countries and the United States is forcing human rights higher on the trade agenda, he said. It also pits supporters of expanding U.S. commercial interests abroad—the "mercantilists"—against "moralists," those who say the United States should use its commercial weight to advance its moral values abroad.

The two camps are already gearing up for a fight in Congress over two key issues in the months ahead: President Clinton's decision on MFN trading status for China and, later, his request for additional negotiating authority to expand NAFTA into South America. "Americans have never supported a foreign policy based on interests alone," he wrote. "They've always demanded that it embody American values as well. In the years ahead, that demand is likely to become increasingly inescapable for the architects of American trade policy."

HEY, BERLINER, CAN YOU SPARE A DIME?

Instead of becoming the site of a gleaming new U.S. embassy, the small plot on the Pariser Platz near the Brandenburg Gate will probably remain vacant when

Germany moves its capital to Berlin in 1999, Alan Cowell reported in *The New York Times* on April 7.

The United States simply doesn't have sufficient funds to pay for construction of its new home in the reunited German capital at the site, which is the same one occupied by the U.S. embassy before World War II. "The plan has been to finance the embassy's construction from the sale of other American-owned properties in Germany, but money from the other transactions has been trickling in slowly," writes Cowell.

The embassy's financial embarrassment prompted some Berliners to write local newspapers suggesting that if the United States needs help, Germans should pass the hat to repay U.S. support during the Berlin airlift of 1949. The suggestion "drew skeptical responses from other Berliners and Americans alike," Cowell reported.

American diplomats will not be homeless—they can still use the former U.S. embassy in East Berlin until the new building is complete—but they will miss the important symbolism of being ready for the German government's historic move back to its former seat of government. "Arguably, American diplomats say, the affair is just one more spinoff of State Department cuts over the last decade that have slashed spending and representation abroad—the same austerity that underlay the plan to generate money for the new embassy without a congressional appropriation," he wrote.

SAYS GLOBE: ALBRIGHT 'GETS THE JOB DONE'

More striking than her being the first woman to serve as secretary of State is Madeleine K. Albright's status as a Clinton administration Cabinet member who "excels at getting the job done," opined the *Boston*

50 YEARS AGO

"A successful U.S. representative abroad should be not only better educated with respect to the world outside the borders of the United States, but he should also have an exceptional understanding of his own country." FSO George F. Kennan wrote in an article, "University Education and the Foreign Service," which appeared in the May 1947 issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*.

"He should be better equipped than is the average American college graduate in all those things which contribute to his ability to observe and interpret a foreign environment."

His education should prepare him "to observe and interpret a foreign environment," he wrote, especially those "things that appeal to the eye and ear: architecture, applied arts, industrial processes, methods of agriculture . . . all those things that make up the outward expressions of custom, tradition and belief."

CLIPPINGS



“A
man-of-war is
the
best
ambassador.”

— OLIVER CROMWELL,
17TH-CENTURY
ENGLISH
GENERAL
AND DICTATOR

Globe in an editorial on April 1. The *Globe* praised Albright's ability to “get straight to the international heart of the matter, whether it's with [Sen. Jesse] Helms, hard-line chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, or the Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat.”

The plain-spoken Albright is exactly what is needed to melt indifference to foreign affairs in the United States. “She attracts attention, and people who take little notice of world events stand to notice her,” the *Globe* said.

USAID NMS SYSTEM DECLARED ‘DISASTER’

It seems that Everette B. Orr, assistant inspector general for audits at the U.S. Agency for International Development, has made official what everyone at the agency has known for a year: The NMS computer

system installed worldwide by the agency last October is “a disaster.”

“Orr, in a draft memo to USAID management boss Larry Byrne, says the IG's office has reviewed the much-maligned, \$100-million-and-counting NMS computer system and has found it doesn't work too well,” Al Kamen reported in his March 31 “In The Loop” column in *The Washington Post*.

Orr's report further reminds Byrne that USAID deployed the system against the best advice of the IG's office. According to the report, USAID's “decision to deploy NMS before it was capable of operating effectively has disrupted operations, increased vulnerability to fraud and abuse, wasted resources, and created morale problems,” Kamen reported. USAID Administrator J. Brian Atwood says the agency had anticipated problems with the system, but he still believes it will prove an asset to the agency. ■

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SPEAKING OUT

More Orderly Selection Process for Foreign Affairs Team Needed

BY CHARLES A. "TONY" GILLESPIE JR.

President Clinton has moved swiftly to put into place the top-level players on his national security team, yet there has been almost no followup. Key foreign affairs posts are vacant or about to be and it may be many months before they are filled. No good will come of that. Several reasons can be cited, but one is clearly a lack of system or orderly process in the selection and nomination of the American men and women who must shepherd vital U.S. national interests around the globe.

Well before his second inauguration, the president announced his new national security team. The Senate quickly confirmed Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and Secretary of Defense William Cohen. Commerce Secretary William M. Daley and U.S. Trade Representative Charlene Barshefsky, whose roles in America's international relations have become increasingly visible in recent years, are now on board. There is a reasonable expectation that the next director of Central Intelligence, George Tenet, will be

Charles A. "Tony" Gillespie Jr., a retired FSO, served as ambassador to Chile, Colombia and Grenada and as special assistant to the president for Latin America and the Caribbean on the National Security Council. He is now a senior associate at the Forum for International Policy in Washington, D.C.

*President Clinton
should establish
a coherent,
expeditious
process
for selecting
foreign affairs
appointees of the
highest quality.*



confirmed soon. It's about time, but it's not enough.

This nation's interests cannot easily sustain further delay in the nomination and confirmation of the sub-Cabinet officials who manage foreign affairs, oversee day-to-day diplomatic operations, and represent the United States in foreign capitals and with international organizations.

Neither the president nor the secretary of State can stay on top of all the issues all the time. For most foreign governments, the under secretaries and regional assistant secretaries of State are the State Department and the primary points of executive branch contact. American ambassadors and their embassy

staffs are the United States for billions of the world's people. The quality of the president's choices for these positions, and the interest he demonstrates in their speedy confirmation by the Senate, will be important signals of his seriousness about foreign policy in his second term.

The overseas travels of the president, the vice president, the secretaries of State and Defense, and the speaker of the House and other congressional delegations attest to the fullness and complexity of U.S. international relations. Global leadership makes it so. To sustain that leadership, American diplomacy must be at work around the world, around the clock, on issues as diverse as the promotion and preservation of democracy, making and keeping peace, ethnic conflicts, massive refugee migrations, trade and investment, human rights, illegal narcotics, international terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the environment. America must deal with such complexities as a transforming Asia, the dynamics of the Korean Peninsula, the durability of economic and political reform in the Western Hemisphere, how religious fundamentalism affects Middle East politics, and prospects for stability east of the Urals. The United States maintains diplomatic relations with more than 175 nations and is represented at many international organizations. American

SPEAKING OUT



interests today are touched by decisions taken by governments in familiar capitals as well as in places considered remote, even inconsequential, just a few years ago.

The Americans the president chooses and the Senate confirms to manage U.S. foreign relations in Washington and at diplomatic missions overseas will operate in a challenging environment. New realities complicate America's traditional diplomacy. Absent Cold War pressures and the leverage of a rich purse, the United States can no longer simply transmit its views and expect other countries to fall in line.

Washington most often knows what it wants, but does not always know how to get it. Technology is shrinking the globe, but that makes our diplomatic agenda more, not less, complex. As information becomes more readily available, the need for discerning judgement about what is important grows apace. An effective ambassador can provide crucial insights, put events in perspective, and suggest whether, how and when to act. Often the most fruitful question the president, his secretary of State or his national security adviser can ask is, "What does our ambassador think about this?"

Whether that question is asked, and the weight given to the answer, largely depend on the ambassador's knowledge, judgement and access. Foreign governments apply similar criteria as they evaluate the credibility of the president's envoys. An American ambassador who cannot get to, and then inside the heads of, the leaders of the government to which he or she is accredited (and often its opposition) adds little value, at home or abroad.

In addition, American embassies today encompass a dozen or more federal agencies, each of which wants the local government to respond to its sometimes parochial, albeit important, demands. Ambassadorial leadership is essential to make sure that the priorities are right and the policy is coherent. And ambassadors must have Washington backstopping to be effective.

As of March, key under secretary positions in the State Department are vacant or about to be: Economic, Business and Agricultural Affairs; Political Affairs; Arms Control and International Security Affairs; and Management. Among regional assistant secretaries, only the Latin America incumbent, Jeffrey Davidow, will remain. All the others – Europe, Asia, the Middle East, Africa and South Asia – are vacant or will be soon. Moreover, President Clinton needs to select new envoys for scores of countries this year. Each choice will be significant: As events in Africa, the Balkans, the Middle East and the former Soviet Union have recently shown, no country remains unimportant to the United States. Nonetheless, capitals such as Bonn (vacant for nine months), Brussels (and the European Union), London, Moscow (vacant), Ottawa (vacant for a year), Paris (vacant), Tel Aviv, Tokyo (vacant), and Mexico City are in a special category.

Washington also needs to know more about, and pay closer attention to, developments in Turkey, whose geo-strategic importance has grown since the Cold War ended; Brazil, already flexing its political and economic muscles in the Americas; Egypt and India, both key states; and pivotal South Korea.

All these posts are about to become vacant – South Korea already is – and vacancies do make a difference. Although capable, experienced FSOs routinely fill the gap when no ambassador is assigned, presidents and prime ministers do not deal with an interim charge d'affaires as they do with the president's representative. President Clinton would be well advised to have first-rate envoys ready to move into these crucial posts as soon as possible.

The president proposes and the Senate disposes. How promptly the president announces his nomination, as well as how promptly the Senate acts to give its advice and consent, are further indicators to the world at large of a country's importance to the United States. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee correctly must give serious, deliberate, but timely, consideration to the president's ambassadorial nominees. Delays for political reasons, especially when they are essentially domestic, confuse other governments, interfere with the operations of our own, and are counter to the nation's interests.

As the challenges to America's global leadership proliferate, the president and the country need help to identify and to meet them. President Clinton should direct Chief of Staff Erskine B. Bowles and Secretary of State Albright to establish a coherent, expeditious process for selecting foreign affairs appointees, whether career or non-career, of the highest quality. Just as important, he should work with the Senate to obtain action on his nominations without delay. By so doing, the president will help establish the conduct of foreign policy as a clear priority. America's interests demand no less. ■

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THE FUTURE OF WORLD AFFAIRS

The collapse of the Soviet empire at the end of the 1980s produced a wave of forecasts and scenarios speculating on the future of the post-Cold War world. Now that the world has traveled more than five years into that future, some of those original speculations are holding up pretty well, while others are proving to be wide of the mark. What is the outlook for international relations and the role of the U.S. Foreign Service as the world family of nations prepares to enter the 21st century?

Because the collapse of imperial communism occurred, coincidentally, at the same time the United States was entering one of those temporary downturns that free-market economies occasionally experience, analysts and editorial writers at the beginning of the 1990s began speculating on a post-Cold War world in which neither of the principal powers of the old bipolar international system would retain a dominant role.

As an historic metaphor, the image of two giants battling to mutual exhaustion over control of the world had truly mythic appeal. The presumed resulting power vacuum would wipe the slate clean, so to speak, inviting the emergence of a "new world order." Experts offered up a wide variety of visions for the future of this world system, ranging from one dominated by the newly reunited Germany to a world run by multinational corpora-

tions. George Bush sought to make the Persian Gulf War a kind of formal ceremony to usher in a new world order, but despite all the fanfare, none has yet arisen.

The principal reason why there is no new world order is that most people believe it may not be necessary. The most commonly voiced post-Cold War scenario envisions a global community dominated by economic development and commercial enterprise accelerated by free trade, in which political considerations play a shrinking role

in international relations. This vision is a logical extension of the core wisdom embodied in current governmental reforms throughout the industrial economies, such as downsizing, deregulation and privatization. Critics of such an economics-driven, laissez-faire future complain that unbridled development inevitably produces excesses and abuses that lead to environmental, cultural and social degradation. The defenders of laissez-faire reply that, "We'll deal with those things like we always have—as they happen, if they happen."

ART LANDERMAN



**HUMAN SUSTAINABILITY,
ENVIRONMENT, TRADE
TO TOP GLOBAL AGENDA**

*BY DAVID PEARCE SNYDER
AND
GREGG EDWARDS*

In this business-booster view of the future, the principal function of government will be to serve the citizenry — including corporate citizens — directly and tangibly. This applies to the Foreign Service as well as all domestic public services. Certainly, a growing function of U.S. embassies and consulates around the world will be dealing with matters arising from international trade and commerce. Moreover, the fastest-growing

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*Unless some new ideologic schism redivides the family of nations,
the natural progress of events makes the sustainability of
humankind the organizing principle of international relations.*

sector of free-market commerce world-wide is expected to be travel and transportation services, and tourism is expected to double during the next 10 years, with commensurate workload implications for embassies and consulates. And, since more than half of all international travelers will be carrying a wireless telephone within 10 years, stranded tourists will be able to call the embassy no matter where they are.

So far during the 1990s, the forces of free trade have moved relentlessly forward. Global commerce and economic output have grown robustly and, according to recent U.N. and World Bank figures, the benefits of this expansion have finally begun to reach the poorest one-third of the world's population. Moreover, the cultural modernization that accompanies economic development – family planning and higher education, income and employment levels – has helped reduce global fertility rates more rapidly than before 1990. As a consequence, the United Nations now forecasts that world population will peak and stabilize at 10 billion by 2075, down from the 11.6 billion estimated only five years ago.

While the long-term outlook for world population may have become more manageable in the past five years, near-term expectations have remained distinctly problematic. Between now and 2025, the number of human beings sharing planet Earth will grow from 5.8 billion to 8 billion. The tasks of housing, feeding and meaningfully involving these fellow terrestrials in the collective human enterprise will constitute the most compelling force for economic development during the next quarter century, transcending all other motivations.

Of course, just as expected, rapid economic growth – both in developed and developing countries – has caused, and will

continue to cause, serious problems. The world's big cities, which are predominantly in developing nations, are growing by more than a million people a week, most of whom are unable to find jobs or housing, creating a politically volatile pool of over 1 billion ill-served, under-employed urban dwellers. Unprocessed sewage and industrial waste from new Third World cities are polluting their rivers and ground water just as the industrial cities of the West did during the preceding century.

Meanwhile, in cities new and old, traffic gridlock is degrading local air quality and adding to global warming. Global warming, in turn, combined with anticipated increases in intercontinental travel and shipping are widely expected to accelerate recent increases in the worldwide spread of communicable diseases and pests affecting humans, livestock and vegetation. Just like domestic threats to public health, such as e-coli and salmonella, even suspicions of imported sickness can provoke boycotts, embargoes, hearings, lawsuits and quarantines. Great Britain's "mad cows" caused all that and more.

The universal struggle to ameliorate the negative physical and social effects of economic development will, of course, be fought primarily at local and national levels. But the causes and consequences of global warming are international, and will provoke a growing clamor for concerted international action. An increasingly rich body of data amply document a continuing rise in the mean temperatures of the Northern Hemisphere. As global warming manifests itself in the form of more super-storms, droughts, floods and spreading tropical diseases, public opinion and political expediency will put control of greenhouse gas emissions at the top of the international relations agenda within five years.

Negotiating a worldwide system of agreements to reduce both new and existing carbon dioxide emissions while permitting continued rapid economic growth for developing nations and continued material comforts for industrialized societies will require considerable diplomatic craft as well as creative

David Pearce Snyder is lifestyles editor of The Futurist Magazine, the journal for The Futurist Society in Bethesda, Md.; Gregg Edwards is director of the Academy for Advanced and Strategic Studies. This focus section launches the first of the Journal's bi-monthly series, "The Future of the Foreign Service."

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technical intellect. Under a global carbon-emissions trading system, first proposed by the Dutch in 1989, less developed nations would "cede" their future unused per-capita entitlements to emit carbon dioxide to the developed nations in exchange for advanced infrastructure technologies that will permit continued economic development without contributing to global warming.

The combination of macro-political, geo-economic, techno-tropospheric factors involved in framing such a universal protocol is so complex that diplomats would almost certainly choose not to address global warming at all were it not for mounting pressure from the world's finance, banking and insurance industries, who put governments and the United Nations on notice last year. If the frequency and severity of weather-related damages to the environment continue to grow as rapidly in the next decade as they have in the past decade, underwriters will no longer insure factories in high-risk areas, and banks will no longer finance their replacements when destroyed. Governments, as well, are increasingly hard-pressed to replace infrastructure lost to floods, wildfires and

storms. And, of course, with a 40 percent global population increase expected over the next 25 years, there will simply be more people on the face of the earth in the path of any and all weather that occurs.

Thus, unless some new ideologic schism redivides the family of nations into confrontational camps once again, the natural progress of events seems set to make the sustainability of humankind the organizing principle of international relations. Conventional wisdom in international politics is that capitalism has triumphed over all other political ideologies and now unifies the world, more or less. Even the nation-state is widely seen as destined to slowly shuffle off into the dustbin of history, to be replaced by regional trading blocks which will, in turn, evolve into supra-nations.

The presumed ascendancy of regional economic unions as the next frame of organization for international relations is challenged by at least one group of critics who believe that historic fractures in the architecture of human civilization are already reopening along cultural lines.

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Ethnographer Joel Kotkin at Pepperdine University argues persuasively that, in the end, xenophobia will keep a limited Europe from becoming a working reality. And Harvard's Samuel Huntington makes the Bosnian carnage a metaphor for a future world festering with many ancient racial and religious wounds. These ethnic and sectarian conflicts, suppressed by colonialism in the 19th century and then subsumed into the ideologic wars of the 20th century, are now free to re-emerge, and constitute, in Huntington's view, the natural, historically grounded basis for a stable, long-term organization of international relations. Because of this, he asserts that the major powers should refrain from intervening in conflicts not involving their own cultures, so that the boundaries of these natural hegemonies can resolve themselves.

While few practitioners in the international community subscribe to the culture wars scenario and its lethal implications, it is important to understand that the regional integration scenario is by no means an inevitable one. While there has been substantial movement toward regional economic integration in the 1990s – the EU, NAFTA, Mercosur – cultural

differences among the individual participants in these hypothetical homogenations remain deep enough that it is as yet unclear how fast or how far regional political integration will actually go. Certainly, the inability of Europeans to mount an effective intervention in Bosnia makes it clear that the EU, which is the most mature of the new regional economic unions, is not yet able to govern its own destiny. If the old international order – the Cold War – has ceased to exist, and a new order is not yet ready, then a power vacuum does exist in the world of international relations, and a culture-wars scenario for the global future remains entirely possible and plausible.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the U.S. economy was faltering while other mature industrial economies were robust. Today, the situations are reversed. While the European and Japanese economies stagnate, with rising debt and unemployment and falling property values, the U.S. economy is creating high-value jobs and expanding without inflation. What is at work here is not merely the vagaries of



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national economic cycles, but a genuine technologic revolution in which the United States and Canada are ahead of other mature industrial economies by five to 10 years. In particular, because the United States invented, experienced and perfected computer applications before other countries, it has become the first to understand how to use them to continually improve decision-making. Historically, it appears to take two generations, 60 to 70 years, for an entire national economy to fully assimilate a fundamental new technology, like steam power or electricity. Moreover, during the first half of these transitional periods, general levels of economic performance and prosperity temporarily stagnate or decline, as the marketplace experiments with immature technologies. Eventually, of course, the new technology matures and becomes more useful and efficient. More importantly, through experience, we learn how to prepare and organize people to make productive uses of the technology. When this stage of a technologic revolution arrives, the rising tide begins to lift all – or at least, most – of the boats.

The United States appears to have reached the “takeoff” stage of the Information Revolution. During the last 24 months, wages and benefits have begun rising for all types of workers, both permanent and part-time. For the first time since the beginning of the 1990s, family income is rising, the number of people on welfare is falling, and the percentage of Americans below the poverty level is declining. What’s more, this rising tide does appear to be lifting all the boats, with real income rising for the young and the elderly, and for all minority groups. Perhaps most significantly, the income gap between America’s poorest and richest households has begun to narrow for the first time since the early 1970s.

It will take a long time, probably another 10 to 15 years, for the United States to reach its 1960s level of general prosperity. But, at least, America has now entered the creative stage of what the Austrian-American economist, Joseph Schumpeter, called the “wave of creative destruction,” which accompanies the adoption of a new technology. All of the other mature industrial economies, by comparison, are just entering the most destructive stage of the Information

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Revolution. They have just begun massive downsizing of their private- and public-sector bureaucracies, privatizing government monopolies, re-engineering corporations and reinventing their social welfare systems. The resulting social turbulence, financial uncertainty and political extremism will temporarily reduce both domestic consensus and discretionary resources among European and Asian industrial economies, slowing regional integration, and strengthening the hand and increasing the responsibilities borne by the United States in the international arena.

It now seems apparent that, quite the opposite of being past its prime, the United States is – and will remain – the world's largest, most prosperous economy for the foreseeable future, wielding the globe's most powerful and effectively managed armed forces. There will be no shift in the locus of moral and monetary leverage in international politics, either to a newly unified Europe or to a latter-day Asian "Co-Prosperity Sphere." For better or worse, America will enter the 21st century as the de facto paterfa-

miliars of the world family of nations. In this context, the underlying strategic issue for America – and U.S. foreign policy – becomes: How can the United States best use its power and stature to the general benefit of humanity, now that the simple good-vs.-evil ideologic criteria of the Cold War no longer apply?

It has been almost 200 years since a single nation possessed both the stature and the military power to be the dominant actor in the international arena. Great Britain played that role during the first century of the modern nation state, from the end of the Napoleonic Wars to the beginning of World War I (1814 to 1914). It is important to remember that the 100-year Pax Britannia, as it is called, was not the product of a British activist policy to use military power to keep the peace by intervening in local conflicts. To the contrary, a succession of British governments diligently sought, with some success, to avoid getting militarily involved in the world's numerous local quarrels.

Certainly, Great Britain, along with the United States, was the leading proponent of peaceful resolutions to

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international conflict throughout most of the 19th century. In diplomacy, the British counseled mediation and negotiation, and offered themselves as guarantors of local peace settlements. There were, however, three international issues with respect to which established British policy, British public sentiment and the other great powers coincided sufficiently to condone unilateral British military intervention. They included the suppression of piracy; the suppression of slavery; and the suppression of despotism. By undertaking foreign military initiatives only in pursuit of long-established, narrowly focused policies that had both domestic and international support, Britain was able to demonstrate both its military power and its willingness to use that power to promote its policies. This selective use of gunboat diplomacy gave considerable added weight to all of Whitehall's policies with relatively little actual military combat.

In some respects, U.S. post-Cold War foreign policy appears to emulate the Pax Britannia gambit. Certainly, the United States is committed to a limited number of specif-

ic issues, such as the suppression of terrorism, international drug traffic and public corruption. While all three causes no doubt meet the criteria of broad consensus support, they are not easily resolvable by a couple of precision airstrikes and an off-shore bombardment. Even despots today are largely exempt from gunboat diplomacy, so wary have modern sensibilities become about intentionally killing people for public policy purposes.

By comparison, environmental sustainability is likely to become an increasingly actionable area of policy consensus in the international arena, not just because of global warming, but because of the expected growth in population, and because of growing knowledge about how ecosystems work. In the past 18 months, the U.S. military agreed to use its spy satellites and undersea sensing monitors to gather data for environmental researchers that will vastly increase our understanding of Earth's habitat systems and of humankind's impacts upon those systems.

As civilization grows in scale and inter-activity, and as technology increases in power and complexity, the probability of

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serious dysfunction rises. There will be more fissionable materials shipped, toxic wastes to be disposed of, communicable diseases to be quarantined, copyrights to be protected, pollution to be prevented, contraband to interdict, terrorist plans to thwart, plagues to suppress and tens of millions of refugees to be resettled. Even without global warming, management oversight of enterprise earth will become an increasingly pressing need. And the United States, by virtue of its size and success, will find itself involved with much of it.

Science historian and futurist James Burke postulates that climatic dysfunctions and other global degradations will have become severe enough by the year 2000 that the international community will create a Planetary Management Authority to monitor pollution and to enforce compliance with increasingly stringent international environmental regulations. Such an operation, independent of the United Nations, could reasonably be expected to eventually incorporate disaster relief, pollution cleanup, epidemic control and routine peacekeeping and to absorb a

substantial portion of the world's military facilities, equipment and soldiers.

Conventional wisdom today is that an organization should attend to its core functions and competencies, while contracting out to other parties things that others can do better. Using this approach, the State Department would make ever-greater use of contract consultants for everything from policy analysis and post reports to treaty negotiations, and career FSOs would add value through their interpersonal skills, political savvy and experienced judgment. FSOs would remain the knowledgeable generalists in the Foreign Service tradition. To do this, the department would need to invest in a library of databases, expert systems, simulations and web services, plus cybrarians and knowledge managers to design effective decision-support systems.

Meanwhile, as the U.S. State Department and millions of other public- and private-sector institutions worldwide reinvent themselves over the next 10 to 15



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years, it seems unlikely that any sort of definitive new world order will crystallize in so turbulent an environment. Although most economists continue to express confidence in the economic-regionalization scenario, some analysts are concerned that the consolidation of the global marketplace from 200 largely independent nations to 10 or 12 integrated regional trading blocs would involve a considerable amount of rule-making, standard-setting and long-term resource allocation at a time when information technologies will be making entirely new, superior institutional and decision-making arrangements possible.

Moreover, in *A Vision for the World Economy*, author Robert Lawrence shows that, while regional trading blocks do serve to expand international commerce, their energies are concentrated on integrating regions' internal economies. In practice, regional trading blocks do not foster truly global economic integration so much as they set the stage for future, inter-regional trade wars. While such excess regulation does serve to improve productivity, product quality, worker health and safety and consumer protection, it discourages inter-regional trade and relations. They also reduce innovation, diversity and entrepreneurship, and over time, economic growth and vitality.

In fact, just at this moment in history, the notion of transnational institutions establishing regionwide international standards of professional, technical or managerial performance that supersede hundreds of individual national and local codes and regulations seems directly contrary to the current conventional wisdom with respect to reforming our existing institutions. Indeed, a broad body of research indicates local governance is superior to centralized governance, with few compelling exceptions. Regional economic integration should almost certainly not become the organizing framework for the world political system; certainly not while the world is also going through electronic information and cultural modernization.

For the vast, unstructured remainder of international relations, these changing times require an agile Foreign Service operating almost continuously on-line, and developing expert systems and computer simulations that will enable highly mobile careerists to quickly develop in-depth savvy to deal simultaneously with a continuously changing mix of local, regional and global realities.

Within five years, there will be at least two competing satellite telecommunication systems serving every square millimeter on the globe. Conversational computing and instantaneous electronic translation will be commonplace in 10 years. As once fundamental barriers of distance and language become immaterial, the global village will become a social reality, and attempts to control or regularize the resulting transactions will only serve to constrain the creative potential of multi-cultural collaboration.

In particular, the ease with which people in similar circumstances living in different cultures will be able to share observations and develop insights about common problems in farming, manufacturing, home-building and other issues, will so accelerate worldwide economic growth and productivity for all cultures that the promotion of a low-cost, universal, local-access web hookup should become an act of faith commitment for U.S. foreign policy, equivalent to and concurrent with human rights. Where local governments establish cost barriers and service limitations upon their citizens' access to the I-Way, the United States should offer some form of direct satellite link, perhaps an "Ear of America" instead of a "Voice of America."

Even better, a "virtual U.S.A." could serve as a melting pot of ideas in resolving the inevitable cultural conflicts in a more densely populated world. In particular, a robust electronic dialogue among the citizens of the industrialized nations and those of developing nations will be instrumental in defusing the only kind of conflicts left to fear: generic war among the many traditional cultures of the world and the advancing, all subsuming progressive or modern culture.

To accelerate the emergence of a global culture, American foreign policy and the U.S. Foreign Service should foster grassroots affiliations of all sorts, "clubs," as Brookings' Lawrence calls them, to explore issues, to set and test standards, to identify markets and develop products, and to compare experiences and discover solutions to international problems: a sort of bottom-up, populist diplomacy. Just as NGOs are mobilizing to handle an ever-larger share of the details of domestic enterprise in the post-industrial nations, so too, will emerge new global institutions capable of engendering the kind of deeper cultural integration necessary for a successful and prosperous global village to prosper. ■

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THE FUTURE OF DIPLOMACY

If words of foreign policy advice were dollars, the State Department would not have a budget crisis. The beginning of the second Clinton administration, with a new secretary of State, combined with the end-of-the-Cold-War budget crunch, has created a blizzard of foreign policy studies of well-meaning, well-considered prescriptions. They range from the blue-ribbon, nonpartisan proposals for foreign affairs reorganization by the Brookings Institution and the Council of Foreign Relations to the decidedly partisan work of the Nixon Center.

They cover the general, such as America's changing role since the end of the Cold War and the budget crunch, to the global, such as how the United States should deal with those rapidly changing issues like the environment. They also deal with the specific, including a major analysis of where the United States should be going in the Middle East and whether a different kind of U.S.-European partnership is needed. Together, they represent a polite clamor of well-moderated, experienced voices, all hoping to catch an influential ear at a time of great expectations. Whatever their differences in view, they have several things in common:

■ The theme of all the studies, even the friendly ones, is disappointment with President Clinton's first administration over a lack of leadership in policy and in dealing with the reality of a shrinking federal budget.

■ The thinking, for the most part, tends to be conventional and establishmentarian, reflecting the reputations of the seasoned contributors.

Suggestions for change concentrate "on the margins," to use a favored phrase of the various panels, rather than changing core policies. A superpower does not have the luxury of suddenly switching directions, as Portugal did in the 1970s when it abruptly dumped all its colonies or as Britain did when it withdrew its naval forces from the Persian Gulf in 1991.

■ Although ostensibly about budget issues, the end of the Cold War and the developmental aid crisis, the studies are really about the future direction of U.S. foreign policy and what is possible politically. One of the more daring studies, from the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, suggests a relatively painless reduction in aid to Israel.

■ The relationship of the authors with each other and the State Department is familiar and comfortable. Most had a relationship with State in previous career incarnations and are part of the inner circle of the foreign policy establishment. The quintessential figure might be Max Kampelman, former ambassador to the Madrid conference of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and general handyman for special missions for GOP and Democratic administrations. He is a main-spring for a plan to seat a bipartisan commission to study State Department problems.



ART LANDERMAN

NEW GLOBAL ISSUES, BUDGET CUTS PROMPT FLOOD OF STUDIES

By JIM ANDERSON

F O C U S

Together, the studies represent a polite clamor of well-modulated, experienced voices, all hoping to catch an influential ear at a time of great expectations. Their thinking tends to be conventional.

The only monkey-wrench throwers in how smoothly these studies' recommendations will be incorporated into the foreign policy machine remains Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), occasionally joined by Rep. Benjamin Gilman (R-N.Y.), chairman of the House International Relations committee. The duo is the polar opposite of Kampelman, internationalist and liberal to the core.

Helms, as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, remains the State Department's worst nightmare. He survived cancer surgery and reelection, and now he must be dealt with. Ironically, Helms, a confirmed conservative, and United Nations-phobe, may spark the delayed rethinking of U.S. foreign policy, as thorough and upsetting in its way as was George Kennan's "X" article, which established the "policy of containment" toward the Soviet Union and communism.

Of course the rethinking itself was spurred by Republican-led cuts in international affairs funding, in response to perceived U.S. voter impatience with the price of world leadership. Some of those cuts are expected to be restored as sort of a honeymoon bonus for Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, who has gone out of her way to befriend and outmaneuver Helms; for example, she recently traveled to the Jesse Helms Center, at Wingate University, to give a speech undercutting the senator's position on the Chemical Warfare Convention.

The most far-reaching blueprint for that reworking of U.S. diplomacy may be the joint study by the Brookings Institution and the Council on Foreign Relations, a group which gives the term "blue-ribbon panel" new meaning. All the usual suspects, all white males, all from the foreign policy establishment are there, including David Abshire, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Richard Burt, Frank Carlucci, Robert Ellsworth, Dante Fascell, Richard Haass, Max Kampelman, M. Peter McPherson, Richard Moose, Richard Pipes, Brent Scowcroft and George Shultz.

Although still a work in progress, the basic starting points of the panel have been laid out in a framework paper that

Jim Anderson, a correspondent for DPA, the German Press Agency, has covered 11 secretaries of State.

was ramrodded by Richard Moose, until recently under secretary of State for Administration. The starting point, Moose says, is that "business-as-usual is unacceptable. The foreign affairs establishment has to be more efficient in light of today's responsibilities."

In a recent interview, Moose said the group decided it was necessary to work with Congress, to go to the Hill with some constructive ideas for cooperation rather than to use the Nancy Reagan "Just say no" approach, something Warren Christopher had done with limited success. It was now time to concede that some changes were necessary but to try to influence the shape of those changes. "The task force concludes that the cuts already made in the international affairs discretionary accounts have adversely affected, to a significant degree, the ability of the United States to protect and promote its economic, diplomatic and strategic agendas abroad," the framework document said. "Unless this trend is reversed, American vital interests will be jeopardized." This does not differ much from what Albright has been saying repeatedly but it gives her some underpinning. The task force calls for an increase in foreign affairs spending from \$19 billion to \$21 billion in the next fiscal year.

The blue-ribbon report differs from the administration's view by acknowledging that the restructuring of the foreign affairs agencies is needed, a bow in Helms' direction. The study suggests a bipartisan commission to develop a solution which, as it happens, dovetails neatly with an idea being pushed by Kampelman, U.S. Institute of Peace President Richard Solomon and others. Moose agrees such a commission would be fine but it's not the only possibility.

The idea of forming a prestigious bipartisan panel already suggests an acceptance, as well as an impatience, of a certain level of conventional wisdom and evolutionary approach. As Kampelman put it in an interview, "Things are floundering. There is no understanding in Congress about foreign policy and we have a president mainly interested in domestic policy. There is no consensus in the public mind." There are two ways of naming such a commission, either legislatively or through the private sector. Kampelman would accept either. The legislative commission would have

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11 members, with the president picking three and party leaders in both houses of Congress each picking two members who are not now holding public office. The private-sector variation would be larger, perhaps 25-30 members, but the chairman in either case would be of "presidential stature," perhaps a former president or someone like George Shultz.

The commission would examine such basic questions as:

■ Is the U.S. government equipped to carry out the foreign policy that the president and Congress appear to want? If not, what would be required?

■ How do we deal with the CNN effect, unpredicted events happening in real time on television screens while diplomats struggle to anticipate or even keep up with them?

■ Is the organization of the State Department and related agencies outmoded? Does the computerized, fragmented, unpredictable world of the 21st century require a different set of instruments to carry out a workable national security policy?

The budget crunch has also been the inspiration of some academic thinking, such as "U.S. Foreign Affairs Resources: Budget Cuts and Consequences," by Casimir Yost and Mary

Locke of the Georgetown University Institute for the Study of Diplomacy. The study says the consequences of arbitrary whacks at the foreign affairs budget "are cutting essential features of U.S. national security strength." Blame is laid equally on "a president who refuses to make the case for – and fight for – international programs and a Congress that is more focused on short-term costs than long-term value."

The study suggests the administration take "a broad, comprehensive view of U.S. global interests and a decision to back up those interests with adequate resources." With its thorough documentation, it offers a dispassionate view on exactly what has been cut and the foreseeable needs of diplomacy.

Georgetown University, the academic home of Albright, is also the birthplace of the just-published "Eagle Adrift: American Foreign Policy at the End of the Century," part of a widely influential series of essay-studies that have been read by international affairs students for 18 years. The latest in the quadrennial "Eagle" series links the end of the Cold War and the budget crisis as two sides of



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the same dilemma. The study notes that one of the characteristics of a problem-solving organization, like the Foreign Service or the March of Dimes, is that when the main problem (the Cold War or polio) is solved, the organization has eliminated its principal reason to exist. As victims of their own successes, the organizations need a new problem to solve, or will shrink or disappear altogether. In "Eagle Adrift," contributor William Schneider observes that the last time the U.S. national security establishment faced this kind of changing environment was in 1947, when President Harry S Truman "articulated a rationale for the United States to assume the burden of leading the free world. That was the Truman Doctrine. So far, there has been no Clinton Doctrine."

That point is made bluntly in a more partisan study by Peter Rodman of the Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom, "America Adrift: A Strategic Assessment," which also boasts a foreword by Henry Kissinger. "There is a profound intellectual problem in American foreign policy today," the former secretary of State writes. "In the absence of a single overwhelming threat like that which galvanized us during the Cold

War, our policy lacks a sense of direction. Our familiar categories of thinking no longer apply. We seem unsure of where we want to be, and even of where we are." Rodman believes "the expansive humanitarianism of the early Clinton years is now discredited" and conservatives have tried to fill the vacuum with a variety of intellectual alternatives including the false option of isolationism. The Nixon Center, which pursues a strategy that might be called "Republican interventionism" advocates relying on traditional alliances, plus building that favorite of the Reagan years, a ballistic missile defense.

The study puts some of the blame and some of the responsibility for a cure on congressional Republicans, whose unruliness and sense of escapism compounded the lack of policy coming from the executive branch. The task, says Rodman, is to define the responsibilities "in a way that renders them achievable and sustainable." No prizes, given Rodman's former career as Kissinger's assistant, for guessing which former secretary of State's policies come closest to dealing with the post-Cold War world in Rodman's view.

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Also coming from right-of-center is a report put out by the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Although published last year, the policy recommendations in "Foreign Policy into the 21st Century: the U.S. Leadership Challenge" are still relevant, given Clinton's reelection, since it deals with his policy, its virtues and shortcomings.

The bipartisan panel of foreign policy luminaries (Brzezinski, Lee Hamilton, Richard Lugar, Richard Burt and Robert Zoellick, to name a few) starts with two premises: "The first order of business should be to define what those U.S. interests are and to identify our national priorities," the report notes, something that requires separating the vital from the merely beneficial and suiting American actions to the magnitude of the problem. "The second goal ... is to call to the attention of policymaker and the public alike those significant but 'nonvital' issues [often global in nature] that, if left unattended today, could become the 'vital' problems of tomorrow."

Thus, the CSIS study suggests, foreign policy leadership will require more effort to win public approval for policies. This implies a reliance on public diplomacy and congression-

al relations that Warren Christopher never appeared to enjoy. Already Albright appears to be more savvy, promising to be a more frequent traveler to Capitol Hill, rather than Damascus.

The CSIS study is detailed, another good analytic starting point for further study. Apart from stressing the historic folly of the United States turning inward in the absence of a looming national security threat, however, it offers no prescription for getting around the budget problems.

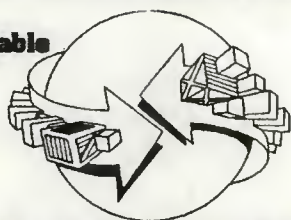
There has been little movement yet on President Clinton's April 17 decision to reorganize the foreign affairs agencies, in which the State department would absorb USIA and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Under the proposal, USAID Administrator J.Brian Atwood would report directly to Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright.

Even with such breakthroughs in organization, there are plenty of think tanks grinding away on more substantive matters, including the increasingly influential Washington Institute for Near East Policy. The study by the institute, a spinoff of the American-Israel Public Affairs



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AFSA NEWS

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AFSA Helps Save Jobs at USIA

By Jess Bailey
USIA Vice President

The Foreign Service RIF at the USIA's International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB) came to a close on a positive note: In late March, management rescinded separation notices of the three Foreign Service radio engineers who were serving an one-year extensions after receiving RIF notices last summer.

This concluded AFSA's negotiation and implementation of the first RIF under the 1994 amendment to the Foreign Service Act. In all, AFSA was able to save the jobs of 10 out of 16 Foreign Service specialists slated for RIF and, for the affected six, assist in their separation with extensions, priority re-hiring, and job search assistance.

The process began back in December, 1995. With the ink barely dry on USIA's Foreign Service RIF regulations, IBB notified AFSA of its intention to RIF Foreign Service specialists in the Office of Engineering and Technical Operations. Four types of Foreign Service specialists operate and manage IBB's network of relay stations which beam the signals of the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and Radio Free Asia. IBB management argued that reduced budgets and changed staffing needs as a result of new technologies required the RIF.

AFSA immediately swung into action with a negotiating team made up of then USIA Vice President Bruce Byers, Labor Relations Specialist Carol Lutz, Staff Attorney Calleen

Continued on page 4

Candidates Set for AFSA Elections Campaign Coverage Starts on Page 2

• AFSA Dateline •

• On March 25, just prior to a hearing before an administrative law judge, USAID agreed to enter into a settlement with the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board in the Unfair Labor Practice (ULP) case filed in July by AFSA. The ULP charge resulted from threats made by USAID Assistant Administrator for Management Larry Byrne to Tex Harris. The settlement requires USAID to post a notice that it will not threaten the union or interfere with, restrain, or coerce employees in the exercise of their rights. The language of the notice was originally rejected by USAID, but AFSA believes the Agency accepted it to avoid Byrne's testifying under oath.

• AFSA has been meeting with key staffers on the Hill to apprise the State Department's efforts to undermine the authority of the Foreign Service Grievance Board (FSGB). The department is seeking to limit the remedies the FSGB is authorized to award based, in large part, on the award of double damages to a Diplomatic Security (DS) special agent who won a grievance for overtime pay under the Fair Labor Standards Act. Some 400 DS employees have filed grievances with the FSGB, seeking back pay and double damages.

• In an important victory for the plaintiffs, on April 7, the Washington, D.C. District court

Continued on page 7

V.P. VOICE

• BY ALPHONSE F. LA PORTA •

Admin Challenges Ahead

In mid-March, I was fortunate to be able to meet with administrative officers from our embassies in Latin America. Hearing the views from the field, supplementing what we hear from our admin colleagues in Washington, led me to two observations: well-motivated officers are doing the job - very well by all accounts - of delivering administrative and logistical support to Foreign Service personnel overseas; and most of the problems they have emanate from Washington.

The International Cooperative Administrative Support System (ICASS), which replaces a woefully inadequate reimbursement system, is working well, by and large, at our overseas posts. Employees are involved in developing proposals for the mission ICASS councils, although they are denied direct representation in those managerial bodies. AFSA will, nevertheless, continue to press for employee inclusion in the ICASS councils. Employees are the ultimate consumers of admin services in the ICASS customer-driven system.

So, who's the boss? The chief of mission, who may delegate management authority to deputies, or the ICASS council. Ambassadorial authority remains intact, but basic decisions are increasingly made in the councils, and State has only one vote. This debate will continue as ICASS emerges from its trial year.

State officers, meanwhile, are concerned about the ICASS councils' prerogatives to evaluate them, the main service providers at posts. Regional bureaus are concerned that the full cost of support services may not be assessed and that side deals with

some agencies may limit cost recovery. Another Washington issue is the serious risk that several agencies may opt out of ICASS because of high

costs or because some of their practices may be constrained. On the Hill, AFSA has emphasized that ICASS should be given a fair trial, which requires that agencies with personnel overseas should stay in the system for several years.

Lastly, AFSA is worried that low officer intake and the TIC system, which separates officers regardless

of performance, will leave State without the managerial talent to properly staff ICASS. We are short of junior admin officers now and the upper ranks are being decimated. The TIC rules and very low promotions under current projections will result in the premature retirement of most current senior admin officers by 1999.

State's administrative disabilities require remedies: expedited admin case intake; more specialist hiring; revised assignment patterns for entering admin officers; increased skill code conversions; more flexible assignment policies for class 1 and senior specialists; increased promotions and retention of our best officers; and, in some cases, limited intake at the class 3 level of experienced and well-qualified outside hires.

Better work force planning is required before State can fulfill its ICASS responsibilities. We urge the Under Secretary for Management, the Director General and central management to act now to head off major staffing shortages and further decline in services to the ultimate consumers - our Foreign Service personnel.

"... AFSA has emphasized that ICASS should be given a fair trial ..."

Candidates Set for AFSA Elections

Ballots will be mailed on or about May 15 to each person who is an AFSA member as of April 30, 1997. Members will vote for a new Governing Board and will decide upon proposed bylaw changes discussed in the February AFSA News. Statements supporting and opposing the bylaws amendments will be circulated with the ballots. Completed ballots must be received by June 30.

Candidates are listed by position, with the order of the names under each position determined by lot where there is competition. Members of the one slate in the election, the Leadership Slate, are indicated by an asterisk.

- President:** Alphonse F. La Porta*
Vice President for State: Daniel Geisler*
Vice President for USAID: Frank Miller
Vice President for USIA: Howard Shapiro, J. Riley Sever
Vice President for CS: Thomas Kelsey
Vice President for FAS: Maggie Dowling
Vice President for Retirees: Edward M. Rowell*
Secretary: Aurelius Fernandez*, Tex Harris
Treasurer: Thomas Boyatt*
State Representatives (five positions): Natalie Brawn*, Marilyn Bruno*, Steve Ramero*, Christopher Sandrolini*, Gregory Stanton*
USAID Representative: Janina Jaruzelski
USIA Representative: Victoria Rose, Susan Havanec
CS Representative: Keith Curtis
FAS Representative: no candidate
Retired Member Representatives (four positions): Garber Davidson*, Willard DePree*, William Harrop*, Clyde Taylor*

Campaign statements begin on page 9.

CORRECTION

In April the Suzanne Marie Collins Perpetual Scholarship was created. The announcement should have read that it was established by John Douglas and Mark Olshaker, coauthors of *Mindhunter* and *Journey into Darkness*, along with others associated with the publication of these books.



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USAID
V.P. VOICE
• BY FRANK MILLER •

The Troubled Office of the IG

The need for professional, objective investigative and audit support for the Foreign Assistance Program has been recognized both inside and outside USAID since long before the Office of Inspector General (OIG) was established. Our programs operate in areas of the world where bribery and fraud are everyday business practices. The OIG staff have been a valuable resource in preventing and detecting these unsavory activities. Recent dramatic reorganizations and personnel reductions demand that USAID and OIG employees overseas be more vigilant than ever. As long as USAID remains an overseas development agency, it must have an experienced, committed overseas audit and investigative staff to remain accountable to the American taxpayer.

Decreased Overseas Presence. Since the appointment of Jeffrey Rush Jr. as USAID Inspector General (IG) in October 1994, there has been an outright assault on the OIG Foreign Service staff. The OIG U.S. direct hire overseas presence was cut by 40 percent, all Foreign Service national (FSN) professional auditors and investigators were dismissed and senior investigators were recalled to Washington. More than 40 FS positions have been converted to lower-graded Civil Service positions, severely limiting the ability of the OIG to provide audit and investigative services overseas. The OIG's capacity to carry out its mission, as envisioned by Congress, is significantly impaired.

Decreased Productivity. The OIG's productivity has diminished. Criminal and civil convictions dropped from 12 in FY94 to 6 in FY96; similarly, monetary recoveries resulting from investigations fell from \$5.64 million in FY94 to \$2.65

million in FY96. Audit results are also languishing, with an alarming drop in the number of audits conducted from 546 in FY94 to 263 in FY96 - decreases far beyond what can be attributed to staff reductions. And the drastic decline in audits has led to a striking productivity decline. For example, costs questioned in audit reports dropped an astonishing 68 percent, from \$52.84 million in FY94 to \$16.70 million in FY96.

The removal of senior investigators from the field has also reduced the OIG's ability to simply answer

questions and give overseas employees advice on fraud prevention and detection. Mission employees now have to call Washington for answers. Decreased overseas direct hire staffing and greater reliance upon contractors and private organizations make the need for sound advice on stopping fraud greater than ever.

In spite of ever-worsening productivity, the IG continues his focus on organizational change. He has set his sights on the Foreign Service investigators, whom he has sought to forcibly convert to Civil Service. In August the IG announced a reduction-in-force intended to eliminate all Foreign Service investigators, who would then be allowed to "apply" for lower-graded Civil Service positions. He rescinded the announcement when AFSA-generated questioning of this drastic action without prior consultation caused strong objections from the Hill. This ill-conceived and possibly illegal action would have cost the U.S. taxpayer more than \$800,000 in severance payments, not to mention the damage to staff morale.

Overseas staffing cuts and the focus on U.S.-based investigations limit the

*"The OIG's
capacity to carry
out its mission ...
is significantly
impaired"*

Continued on page 6

FAS
V.P. VOICE
• BY WILLIAM WESTMAN •

Spring Report Card

With springtime bursting forth, it is time to reflect on FAS/AFSA's activities during the past year, to evaluate our efforts and to develop a work plan for the next 12 months.

This self-assessment should consider our recent learning experiences as members of the FAS Partnership Council (PC) and what lies ahead following the 1997 AFSA elections. Regardless of your position or opinion, the PC has become an important policy-making advisory group for FAS on a spectrum of personnel issues affecting the FS careers of our officers. The annual lateral entry process is now cleared by the PC. Certainly the PC consensus agreements on the Personnel Systems Working Group's recommendations and the Mansfield Fellowship Program have forced the AFSA representatives to the PC to learn the hard way. We approached these agreements with the goal of improving management of the two services and striving to increase opportunities for all employees and to improve relations with our CS counterparts. In hindsight, perhaps we have learned and have a better understanding of our role on the PC and responsibilities in representing FSOs in this agency.

For example, let's study the new and improved 1997 Washington Placement Plan (WPP). Ideally, this new system identifies positions in FAS/W which will come available during the summer rotation. WPP is intended to allow for CS and FS officers to compete for vacant positions. In a perfect world, the best qualified candidate would win. In 1997, however, the rush to announce position vacancies before the WPP cut-off date for openings has left few assignments available to returning FSOs at the higher grade levels. The justification for this sense of urgency seemed fairly weak. Why not wait until the summer cycle when you would have the maximum number of

candidates to draw from in selecting the most qualified officer? The solution is to move the deadline for announcing positions, to be filled prior to the WPP, back until no later than January 1.

Must fill positions can be handled through temporary assignments between January 1 and the summer cycle. This system seemed to work in the past. Another example is the management of the Mansfield Fellowship Program. FAS/AFSA participated in the PC deliberations, in the spirit of partnership, to make training opportunities open to both services. Well,

that was fine until the 1996 Mansfield ended with the appearance of an onward assignment in the embassy for the CS candidate. Additionally, our PC counterparts claimed that this was part of the agreement. Whoo. If PC consensus agreements are interpreted to fit the need of the time, we'd better step carefully. One side note, after hours and hours of deliberations on the '97 Mansfield (with no agreement reached) the program was announced and no one applied. Go figure.

We have held the line on opening the FAA positions to competition from both services. Your responses to this were clear: 67.5 percent of respondents voted to limit these positions to FSOs only; on additional 30 percent want FSOs or CS with a minimum of four years overseas experience. This was a clear mandate from the membership which we have maintained (despite a full barrage from our PC partners) in the PC. However, we should be aware of what happens when FSOs fail to bid on positions in FAS/W or overseas. This could occur sometime in future to the FAA jobs. Finally, the report card on our actions and agreements in the PC tells us to tread lightly in the pasture. Your continued participation and input are vital to this journey.

"... the PC has become an important policy-making advisory group for FAS."

AFSA Saves Jobs at USIA

Continued from page 1

Fallon and engineering specialists Tom Allen and Bill Covington. In its own analysis of the workforce, AFSA concluded that IBB could meet its need for a reduced American presence in relay stations through projected voluntary and involuntary retirements. Moreover, AFSA questioned the advisability of relying on contractors and Foreign Service National employees when IBB is still bringing on line new facilities and setting up an untested remote monitoring system. After three months of meetings, AFSA could not convince IBB management to abandon its intention to conduct a RIF.

Formal negotiations began in March, 1995, and lasted more than three months, with AFSA's goal being to save as many jobs as possible, assist in the transition for any separated employees, and force strict adherence to the regulations. After numerous proposals and counter-proposals, AFSA and management were able to reach agreement on a number of points. On three issues, however, there were substantial differences whose resolution ultimately required assistance from the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

Finally, AFSA and IBB signed an agreement on May 28, 1996. The agreement saved seven jobs outright, ensured compliance with RIF regulations and restricted management's ability to convert functional specialties or change tenuring status and grades during a RIF. Ultimately nine Foreign Service employees received RIF notices in August, 1996. Of those, four worked in functional specialties that were abolished. For those employees, AFSA negotiated year-long extensions to allow adequate time for separation, priority re-hiring, and job search assistance. Additionally, IBB terminated the excursion tours of seven Civil Service employees as required by USIA RIF regulations. Some were separated and others had reemployment rights into the Civil Service.

Of critical relevance to the three engineers serving on extensions, AFSA also negotiated a provision that called for the rescission of two separation notices if voluntary attrition reached a certain level. This provision tested AFSA's and management's projections of attrition. But it also meant that AFSA had a lot more work to do after separation notices went out. Over the

Continued on page 6



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RETIREE V.P. VOICE

• BY ED ROWELL •

The Budget and Your Retirement

When we joined the Foreign Service, we accepted a contract which required us to make **after-tax** contributions to a retirement system which offered protected annuity values in return. (Today's federal employees make **pre-tax** contributions to their main retirement vehicle, the Thrift Savings Plan, while their after-tax contributions qualify them for Social Security — an option that was denied to most of us who are already retired.)

The arrangement under the old retirement system is again being challenged in the name of budget balancing. President Clinton's budget says federal civilian retirement programs should cover \$6.255 billion of the savings needed. This would be achieved by increasing employee (one-half percent of salary) and agency (1.5 percent) contributions to the retirement system and by reducing payouts on cost-of-living adjustments (COLAs).

The President proposed that federal civilian retiree COLAs, but not Social Security or military retiree COLAs, be delayed three months in each of the next five years. The National Association of Retired Federal Employees (NARFE) says the delay would cost an annuitant currently receiving \$18,816 about \$726 over the five-year period. Tex Harris and I met earlier this year with NARFE's president who testified to Congress against the proposal because no other group of older Americans is being asked to share this burden. Since then key senators and representatives have publicly agreed it is unfair to impose the delay only on federal civilian retirees.

Two other proposals are on the table to hold down COLA costs. One is to means-test the COLAs (particularly favored by some Democrats). The other is to hold the COLA below the Consumer Price Index (CPI) or to reduce the CPI itself by some politically or budget-driven amount such as 0.8 or 1.0 percentage point. This latter approach gains support from the widely accepted notion that the CPI overstates inflation and the Baskin Commission report (sharply questioned by many economists and the Bureau of Labor Statistics)

that the CPI as it is currently developed runs about 1.1 percentage points higher than inflation.

Means testing would eliminate COLAs for portions of annuities that are above a given level — say \$50,000. An alternative means-related device would calculate a flat-rate COLA based on the CPI (or CPI minus 0.8 percentage point) times the average annuity of each retirement group (military, social security, civil service, foreign service, etc.). The resulting flat dollar amount would be paid to each annuitant. According to NARFE, had this formula been applied to the average federal civilian annuity of \$16,428, each annuitant would have received a COLA of \$476 this year. The increase would have been less than 2.9 percent for anyone with an annuity greater than \$16,428.

Unless we counter the assumption that federal retirees, especially civilian retirees, are fair game, Congress and/or the White House will be sorely tempted to keep going after our retirement.

"... the old retirement system is again being challenged."

AUSA Saves Jobs at USAID

Continued from page 4

course of the next six months, AUSA argued forcefully for a liberal policy on buy-outs and other measures that would mitigate the effects of the RIF quite concretely. And, since some RIFed engineers might have their separation notices rescinded, AUSA had to ensure their fair treatment in other areas of the personnel system. Most notably, promotion panels had to review the files of three employees whose careers had a chance of continuing.

AUSA's persistence, vigilance and forward thinking paid off. One radio engineer scheduled for RIF was promoted. And, thanks to the rescission of his RIF notice, he will serve at his new grade without a break in service. IBB management also demonstrated its willingness to mitigate the effect of the RIF by rescinding the notices of three engineers - one more than called for in the agreement.

According to the mediator from the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, negotiating a RIF is one of the toughest tasks any employee representative can face. AUSA did well. It saved jobs, helped people and upheld principles. As importantly, we maintained a constructive dialogue with management to avoid an "us versus them" posturing during the negotiations. This was critical because RIF is a drawn-out process and, while it is now over, AUSA must maintain an ongoing relationship with management to deal with new issues.

The Troubled Office of the IG

Continued from page 3

OIG's ability and willingness to respond to USAID and embassy requests for assistance. Among potentially serious cases in which requests for investigations were declined was the theft in Mozambique of 1,400 tons of a PL 480 foodstuff shipment. Despite repeated pleas from the Embassy for investigative support - including a personal appeal from the Ambassador - Mr. Rush declined to send an investigator. The IG is reported to have stated, "We're not a 911 for the Embassy!" Weeks later, after the trail was cold, the IG finally agreed to send auditors to verify the thefts.

The IG's refusal to send an investigator may have been a reaction to the mission's unwillingness to accept previous audit concerns about port security, but wouldn't

a more helpful response have been to both investigate and stress that the auditor's concerns should have been heeded? After all, the end result was that food needed to feed starving families displaced by civil strife was lost.

Repeated OIG denials of assistance caused one senior mission director to suggest that USAID highlight the OIG's inability to respond to criminal allegations in its annual vulnerability assessment. Another volunteered to explore the possibility of using trust funds to hire FSN staff members for the OIG field office in his country. He was concerned because the dismissal of the OIG FSNs meant that the OIG office now has no professional staff members who can read documents or conduct interviews in the language of the country.

Reorganizing the OIG to mirror domestic OIGs totally ignores the unique requirements of USAID's mission of effectively delivering foreign assistance. It also violates the letter and the spirit of the Obey Amendment, which mandates a Foreign Service personnel system for USAID because it is the best way to maintain and manage the kind of workforce needed to implement USAID programs around the world.

The OIG Civil Service conversions and the significant withdrawal of OIG personnel from overseas posts have not been studied or examined in any detail or discussed with employees in any participatory manner. So much for empowerment! Rather, conversions are the result of the IG's personal preferences because of his lack of knowledge and appreciation of the Foreign Service and the unique blend of skills and experiences we bring to bear on advancement of American foreign policy objectives. Past experience - ignored by the IG - has shown such actions to be harmful to the OIG's ability to help protect the integrity of our foreign aid programs. In the early 1980s several OIG overseas offices were closed and the investigative function was controlled from Washington with the same disastrous decline in productivity now being experienced.

Are the Auditors Next? AUSA has received many calls from OIG Foreign Service auditors who are concerned that Mr. Rush will focus his reorganization and conversion ideas on them after he has finished downgrading and demoralizing OIG Foreign Service investigators. Needless to say, morale is at an all-time low in the OIG.

Continued on page 7



*"Something about this place
pushes you
in the right direction."*

His family's *moves* meant Sam had attended several different high schools.

His *grades* had been "bad" in those where there were large classes and he was lacking *self-confidence*. After he

and his parents visited five local independent schools, Sam chose *Chapel Hill-Chauncy Hall School* because he liked its campus and friendly *atmosphere*. Once enrolled, his *attitude* changed. "I started getting good grades in English class, and that boosted my *confidence*." He also began to *participate* in sports. "I'd never liked sports before, but I tried sooner and became captain of the JV team." Sam made the honor roll for the first time and began writing poetry and short stories and keeping a journal in his spare time.

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The Troubled Office of the IG

Continued from page 6

Reinvention OIG Style: A New Grievance System. The Clinton-Gore administration has taken huge steps to make the federal government smaller by eliminating over 255,000 jobs to date. Steps have been taken to eliminate needless duplications and bloated headquarters bureaucracies. Mr. Rush, however, has decided to swim against the reinvention current. After years of relying on the USAID Office of Human Resources for personnel support, Mr. Rush has decided to take over all personnel functions, including his own grievance system for OIG employees. The OIG stated that they want to be in compliance with the best practices followed by other OIGs. AFSA and OIG employees question whether a separate OIG personnel and grievance system that duplicates the already existing USAID system is wise or necessary. Employees question whether there could be fairness and due process in a grievance system in which the responsible grievance official will be the Deputy Inspector General (DIG). Since the DIG is the alter ego of the IG and is involved in all major personnel and operational decisions, most employees believe that there will not be an adequate distance between the grievant and the IG and his DIG. Employees also question whether there are enough grievances to warrant the expense of setting up a separate grievance capacity. AFSA is concerned that the new system creates a perception in the minds of employees that the IG wants to "control" the grievance process to obtain the "results" he is after. Is this what reinventing government is all about?

Agency Response. Administrator Atwood has taken a hands-off approach to Mr. Rush's actions, attributing his passivity to the OIG's "independence." However, a number of senior USAID managers who feel the impact of what the IG is doing, or not doing, have strongly voiced their concerns over OIG management decisions and actions. In particular, senior USAID officials have been very vocal about the precipitous decline in OIG overseas presence, an ironic twist given the agency's historic passion to attempt by the previous IG to increase his overseas staffing.

Conclusion: We Need Congressional Action. Inspector General Rush apparently believes that the Inspector General Act

gives him the independence to interpret his role as he sees fit, regardless of other legislation such as the Foreign Service Act and the Obey Amendment. The time has come for congressional oversight committees to review Mr. Rush's actions and to consider whether the Inspector General Act does confer the virtually unlimited power that he believes it does. If the committees do not act quickly, the dismemberment of the USAID Office of Inspector General will be complete and there will be little left to use in rebuilding it.

Dateline

Continued from page 1

certified as a "class action" the age discrimination lawsuit filed against USAID as a result of the 1996 RIF. The judge's ruling will allow the case to proceed on behalf of more than 90 FS employees age 40 or over who lost their jobs during the RIF. Had the court not certified the case as a class action, it would have proceeded only on behalf of the 36 named plaintiffs who filed the suit in December.

- Testifying before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, State and the Judiciary on April 17, Ambassador Ed Rawell, AFSA Vice President for Retirees, described how the lack of resources has meant lost opportunities to protect and advance national interests and has led to a crumbling diplomatic infrastructure. The Subcommittee, chaired by Congressman Hal Rogers (R-KY), appropriates funds for the State Department, USIA and ACDA. Ambassador Rawell discussed the need for management improvements and urged that the Administration's funding request be met, at a minimum, but preferably increased. AFSA provided testimony to the Senate counterpart appropriations subcommittee in March.

- AFSA has experienced a number of personnel changes recently. Kristina Kreamer has joined AFSA as Communications Coordinator. Tara Fisher left the Journal for a graphics job in a printing firm in Vienna, Virginia. Office Manager Dianna Dunbrack resigned to join a telecommunications company in Vienna, as well.

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FOREIGN SERVICE
JOURNAL

Letters

To the Editor:

In the section on State Pension and Annuity Tax in the AFSA Tax Guide for 1996 (February AFSA News), your article stated that Georgia exempts up to \$11,000 for those 62 years or older and permanently disabled.

In fact, Georgia law provides a retirement income exclusion of up to \$12,000 per taxpayer provided the taxpayer is 62 years of age or older or is totally and permanently disabled that he or she cannot work at all. [This information is found in the Georgia Tax Form 500 Instruction, page 5.]

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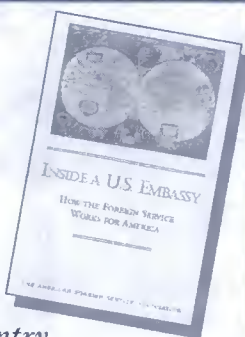
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— Jim Lehrer

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AFSA ELECTIONS 1997

THE LEADERSHIP SLATE

The Leadership Slate will provide AFSA with responsible and finely focused leadership. AFSA must redouble efforts to address key issues and concerns. It must be vigorously proactive. The Leadership Slate will build on the work of the Governing Board in the past two years regarding AFSA's labor union responsibilities, public outreach and Congressional relations. The work of the State Standing Committee and Labor-Management Office will be strengthened regarding Junior Officer coning and appeals, Mid-level multifunctional program reform, Senior time-in-class, and promotions for all classes. We will pursue key issues affecting our secretarial, security, communications, medical and other specialists.

I. RESOURCES

The sufficiency and use of personnel and financial resources for diplomacy, including development assistance, public diplomacy and export development, remain of cardinal concern. The Leadership Slate will:

- Broaden contacts with the Congress, in particular newer members, and like-minded organizations to project diplomacy's essential role in national and economic security.
- Deepen relations with key Congressional authorizing and appropriating committees.
- Work strenuously within the Administration to ensure sufficient budget request levels and to achieve better resource management.
- Press for effective work force planning, further development of the overseas staffing model, and a domestic staffing review.
- Intensify public outreach through COLEAD (Coalition for American Leadership Abroad) and other affiliations.

II. PROFESSIONAL AND CAREER INTERESTS

We reaffirm the Mission Statement for the Foreign Service approved by the last Governing Board. AFSA will:

- Insist on the highest standards of integrity, discipline and performance as hallmarks of the commitment of the Foreign Service to our nation's interests.
- Maintain the personnel strength and quality of the Foreign Service, including the Senior Foreign Service, at levels sufficient to fulfill the nation's foreign affairs functions.
- End the drain of badly needed talent and experience from the upper ranks of the Foreign Service because of the

KEY VALUES

- *Commitment to non-partisan public service and pursuit of U.S. interests and foreign policy goals.*
- *Integrity and excellence in performance.*
- *Professionalism in developing and using area, language, intellectual, functional and inter-cultural skills.*
- *Courage in giving professional advice and promoting sound management and institutional reform.*
- *Equity, teamwork and open, collaborative management.*

"stealth RIF" caused by the TIC system, shifting to the egress of lesser performing officers instead.

- Restore promotion opportunities for Mid-level and Junior Officers to serve full and rewarding careers.
- Correct coning, assignment and intake dysfunctions at the Junior level, while ensuring equity for all groups of officers.
- Promote specialist interests in assignments and promotions.
- Work toward optimal intake levels of generalist and specialist officers in the most needed skills areas.
- Negotiate further improvements in the performance precepts and open assignment procedures and greater transparency in personnel operations.
- Defend the examination and selection system against political influence and expediency by upholding merit based career entry.
- Insist on fully funded and adequate levels of training and institute management training at all levels.

III. FOREIGN AFFAIRS AGENCIES

Aware of the intensity of the debate and the many different approaches to structural realignment, AFSA will:

- Preserve the essential functions of bilateral and multilateral diplomacy, including development assistance, public diplomacy, business advocacy and export promotion.
- Preserve the human resources and skills necessary for the conduct of diplomacy in all of these respects.
- Ensure fairness to all Foreign

Service employee populations in any realignment of agency mandates.

IV. EMPLOYEE AND FAMILY FRIENDLY POLICIES

The Leadership Slate, working with AAFSW and others, will:

- Promote enlightened leave, assignment and transfer policies and benefits, including streamlined travel rules and accounting.
- Harmonize family member employment programs, including selection, salary, benefits, training, advancement and transferability of employment.
- Adopt more flexible career policies ("Flex-Career" and "Flex-Tour"), in addition to flexibility in the work place.
- Work for adequate hardship and other allowance levels, more flexible housing policies, child care facilities at home and abroad, and other forms of humane treatment by Management.

- Redress the inequality and disincentive of locality pay.
- Restore quality medical care, improve attention to environmental health, reduce health risks and hazards, and meet the needs of employees and family members requiring special accommodations.
- Strengthen employee rights in investigations and improve employee grievance and appeals processes.

V. RETIREMENT

Today's benefits are incomplete without providing for well-being and security tomorrow. AFSA will:

- Work closely with federal employee and professional organizations to maintain adequate annuities, benefits, health care and post-retirement job apprenticeship programs.
- Ensure that AFSA's insurance and other member services fill serious gaps and are leading-edge and competitive.
- Support programs for those in need, such as the Foreign Service Senior Living Foundation.
- Encourage greater retiree participation in AFSA and associated programs.

VI. COMMUNICATIONS

The Leadership Slate is committed to openness. Building on recent achievements in electronic communications, AFSA will:

- Deal with members on the basis of candor, always striving for equity.
- Refine AFSA's Internet communications to better target audiences and disseminate information more effectively.
- Develop new information-

Continued on page 10

AFSA ELECTIONS 1997

THE LEADERSHIP SLATE

gathering techniques to sample member opinion quickly and respond as promptly as possible to communications sent to us.

VII. LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

In light of the weakness of labor-management cooperation in most foreign affairs agencies, AFSA will:

- Insist on genuine pre-decisional consultations at all levels as a condition of effective partnership.

- Advance employee interests and professional goals using federal labor-management procedures until full partnership is attained.
- Establish a consultative body of non-union employee organizations to communicate AFSA views and to obtain inputs for AFSA positions.

CANDIDATES

President: Alphonse F. La Porta, FE-MC, currently State Vice President, extensive management experience, "State 2000" contributor, former office director, DCM and principal officer in EAP, served in New Zealand, Indonesia, Turkey and Malaysia.

Secretary: Aurelius (Aury) Fernandez, incumbent AFSA Secretary,

retired USA officer, served in Santiago, Bucharest, Vienna, London and Paris, for-



Officers: (left to right) Aury Fernandez, Al Lo Porto, Tam Boyatt

mer executive director of International Media Fund, member of Foreign Service Journal editorial board, active in COLEAD.

Treasurer: Thomas D. Boyatt, incumbent AFSA Treasurer, retired State officer, former AFSA president, ambassador to Colombia and Upper Volta and recipient of State Department Award for Heroism.

State Vice President: Daniel F. Geisler, FO-2, APEC desk officer in EAP, staff officer

for Strategic Management Initiative (SMI), served in Zaire, Jamaica and Malaysia, State Standing Committee member.

Retiree Vice President: Edward M. Rowell, incumbent Retiree VP, retired

State officer, ambassador to Portugal, Bolivia and Luxembourg, former senior deputy assistant secretary for Consular Affairs, also served in Argentina, Brazil and Honduras, now consultant on European Union business and investment.



State: (left to right) Steve Ramero, Greg Stanton, Don Geisler (VP Candidate), Natolie Brown

State Representatives:

Natalie E. Brown, FO-3, desk officer for Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger, served in Operations Center, Addis Ababa and Conakry, member of State Standing Committee.

Marilyn Bruno, FO-4, economic and environment officer in San Jose, Costa Rica, AFSA Rep in Athens and San Jose, former private sector business trade consultant.

Steve G. Romero, FP-2, security engineering officer, served in New Delhi and Bonn, member of State Standing Committee.



State Rep Candidate
Marilyn Bruno



State Rep Candidate
Chris Sandrolini

Christopher J. Sandrolini, FO-2, India desk officer, served in Bratislava, New Delhi and Santo Domingo, advanced economic training, executive exchange officer with U.S. West telecommunications.

Gregory H. Stanton, FO-4, human rights officer, served in U.N. Political Affairs and Bangkok, former law professor and anthropologist, AFSA Harriman Award winner in 1995, State Standing Committee member.

Retiree Representatives:

Garber Davidson, incumbent Retiree Rep., former USAID vice president, retired USAID officer, now consultant in democracy and rule of law programs, served in Syria, Jordan and Bolivia, former attorney/legal adviser in several USAID bureaus, active in COLEAD.

Willard (Bill) De Pree, incumbent Retiree Rep, retired State officer, former director of Management Operations and Senior Inspector, ambassador to Bangladesh and Mozambique, served in Cairo, Nicosia, Accra and Freetown, leader of foreign affairs Elderhostel program.

William C. Harrop, incumbent Retiree Rep., retired State officer, former AFSA



Retirees: (left to right) Garber Davidson, Ed Rawell (VP), Bill DePree, Clyde Taylor, Bill Harrop

chairman, ambassador to Israel, Zaire, Kenya, Guinea and Seychelles, Inspector-General, recipient of Presidential and State Department Distinguished Honor Awards.

Clyde D. Taylor, incumbent Retiree Rep, retired State officer, ambassador to Paraguay, assistant Inspector-General, deputy assistant secretary for International Narcotics Matters, served in Panama, Australia, El Salvador and Iran.

AFSA ELECTIONS 1997

CANDIDATES' STATEMENTS

Vice President for USAID

Frank Miller

Almost one year ago I was selected by the AFSA AID Standing Committee and the Board of Directors of AFSA to complete Garber Davidson's term of office as the AFSA Vice President for USAID. Little did I know that I was stepping into a contentious reduction in force (RIF).

In response to a 200-person RIF, AFSA worked to soften the blow for affected employees. We participated in the design and implementation of a special outplacement program for RIFed employees. We contacted scores of firms that work in the development field and helped to obtain leads for employees. With only a few exceptions, former employees actively seeking jobs secured them in a timely manner. In a related RIF issue, AFSA joined forces with a private law firm to file an age discrimination suit against USAID on behalf of 36 RIFed employees.

AFSA has also increased its efforts to lobby Congress against additional downsizing as a result of further cuts to our operations and expense account. Over 500 letters, faxes and phone calls were sent to the Hill on your behalf to support a \$495 million level for the FY 1997 operations and expense account. Unfortunately, for FY 1998 the Administration requested a lower level - \$479 million. We have been told that further RIFs are not necessary, but we must remain vigilant.

We are currently engaged in two unfair labor practices (ULPs) which AFSA filed against the Agency regarding (1) threats to AFSA and the Foreign Service and (2) failure to bargain

on the new employee evaluation program (EEP). The first ULP has been settled by the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board. The Agency agreed that it will not make threats against AFSA or the Foreign Service. On the second ULP, AFSA will continue to seek solutions to problems with the evaluation system which will lead to fairness and due process for employees.

For the next two years, I plan to continue to strive for a change in our work environment. We need to move away from a hierarchical command-and-control structure, where management makes decisions and employees implement them, with no questions asked. We want an environment where labor and management cooperate and employees will not fear speaking out on USAID policies and practices. We want to end the current reign of terror and intimidation. Management cannot empower employees if they do not trust them and treat them as an enemy or adversary. We also need to develop workforce planning. We need a clear sense of where the Agency is going and the workforce needed for the future. We need to develop a workable field mission model that is flexible enough to fit the needs of the countries we are trying to assist. Strict adherence to three calumn inflexible menus does not work.

I need your vote, help and participation in this effort to turn things around in our Agency so that we can get back to what we enjoy and signed up to do. We need to get back to development.

Vice President for CS CS Representative

Joint Statement

Tom Kelsey Keith Curtis

Elections in our country generally give the constituents a choice among candidates or options; the winner(s) receives a mandate from the electorate to be their representatives, to express their views and to continue the labor-management dialogue. We seek that mandate from our colleagues in the Commercial Service.

The basketball tournament is in full swing as I write this and it's an apt analogy. The Commercial Service, the plucky underdog, has defied long odds and is still in the game - we have not (yet) been dissolved, dismantled, reorganized or consolidated - and we believe that it's in large part due to all the hard work by our active members around the states and around the world.

We seek your vote to continue the work in progress. What will we accomplish during the next term?

Our new Collective Bargaining Agreement gives us a framework upon which to build. Immediate issues are to re-work our precepts and the management performance and appraisal system, taking into account our increasing number of domestic and non-traditional assignments.

With our rating period nearly half over, we need to ensure that the lessons from last year are not forgotten.

Budgets are not growing and the pressures to combine units will only intensify. We will redouble our efforts to keep the Commercial Service intact and

undiluted. Our strength, and sometimes our Achilles heel, were it not for e-mail, is as a field-driven organization, and Keith and I count upon your input, support and ideas over the next term.

Remember, this is your organization, both as a professional association and a union.

Encourage your colleagues to be active participants and not free riders. We serve at your pleasure.

Vice President for FAS

Maggie Dowling no statement

FAS Representative

no candidate

Exercise your
membership
rights
by voting
in this
election.

AFSA ELECTIONS 1997

CANDIDATES' STATEMENTS

VICE PRESIDENT FOR USIA

Howard Shapiro

That the last two years have been trying for USIA and its officers is an understatement; to expect a dramatic reversal of fortune in the next two is overly optimistic. Friends have suggested that my desire to represent USIA's officers at this particular moment must be based on masochistic tendencies. Just why have I chosen to run?

There are several reasons. I believe that I understand well the priorities our vice president should have as we negotiate the difficult terrain that lies before us. I've had a good deal of experience dealing with the various groups - not merely management - to whom we must make our case and seek understanding. I am sympathetic to how downsizing, reorganization if you will, caused by declining real budgets has affected them and I have the communications and interpersonal skills to effectively represent our interests.

Just what are these interests? In truth, we cannot assume that all AFSA members would deal similarly with the issues facing an organization which serves as both our professional organization and labor union. Two class-one officers with twenty years of experience may see the issues rather differently; a class-four and a member of the Senior Foreign Service are even more likely to view events through a different lens.

Thus, at the macro level, my priority will be to increase participation in AFSA at all levels. It is essential that we increase membership, encourage members to communicate their views on issues of importance to the

Agency and their careers, enhance participation in AFSA committees and partnership councils within the various bureaus; in short, to give those of us who are currently most active in the organization the benefit of the experience and wisdom of the broadest possible group of our colleagues. Logic tells me that two heads are indeed better than one and the greater the participation, the wider the variety of options to be considered and the greater the likelihood of hitting upon the most effective strategies for action. Too, we have greater moral authority when our representatives truly speak for a wider constituency.

My other top priority will be to work tirelessly to represent the concerns of individual members of our organization - generalists, specialists, IBB personnel - who may need the kind of help only the union can provide. Frankly, I joined the Standing Committee upon my return to Washington because of the invaluable assistance I had received from AFSA in dealing with a particular problem of mine. I wanted to give something back to the organization. Now I'd like the satisfaction of being of assistance to those who need advice and help. The difficult days ahead only serve to magnify the consequences for those whom the system may have hurt inadvertently.

Five hundred words isn't much. Please do read the AFSA mailing you'll receive, which will give more information on the background and views of the candidates. Further, I urge you to vote and to continue to give us the benefit of your thoughts.

J. Riley Sever

For the past few years it has seemed that the pace of change in the U.S. foreign affairs agencies was accelerating so rapidly that we, the Foreign Service officers, felt as if caught on the end of a bureaucratic game of "crack the whip." We have all watched as programs and colleagues have fallen away while the need for downsizing, reinventing, consolidating and merging was used to explain what was happening. Although the motivation and goals for these changes are not always clear, it is obvious that this process will continue and probably intensify in the near future. It is also likely that at least one or more of the foreign affairs agencies will disappear during this period and that the structure and organization of Foreign Service work will be quite different when the next AFSA election is held.

The role of AFSA is particularly critical in this current process of change. It is the only voice for foreign service officers and consequently crucial to our very existence. It would be unrealistic to pretend that AFSA would be able to stop the process of change which appears to have gained momentum in the past few years. However, we have a responsibility to remind those demanding change as well as those mandated to carry out this change that the foreign service is composed of



experienced professionals who can contribute to this process and deserve to be consulted. AFSA should and can be the voice for our officers as well as our profession.

My credentials to represent USIA in AFSA include serving more than two decades as a Foreign Service Officer with tours in Brazil, Indonesia and Greece. I've worked with exchanges, speakers, seminars and the press, as well as served in an area office and the I Bureau. I also spent more than two years in the Office of Personnel as a career counselor for junior officers. Because I know the Agency well and believe that the work we do is important, it will be easy for me to be an advocate for the concerns and the needs of my colleagues. I can also guarantee that I view this position as a two-year commitment and, if elected, will serve the full period in order to provide the continuity that I believe will be required in the coming years.

Statements regarding the bylaws amendments will be circulated with the ballots.

AFSA ELECTIONS 1997

CANDIDATES' STATEMENTS

SECRETARY

Aurelius Fernandez
(Leadership Slate)

Tex Harris

Thank you for the great privilege of serving as AFSA President for the past four years. It has been a time of great challenge to the Foreign Service and great change within AFSA. We are a stronger organization today with new capacities - thanks to your efforts - to tell the Congress and the American people about the vital work the Foreign Service does for America.

I am asking for your support to continue to serve as AFSA's Secretary to focus my energy in two key areas: strengthening communications among AFSA's members around the world and around the nation and leading an effort to reform the spoils system of appointing American Ambassadors.

AFSA now has the technical capacity through the Internet to bring together a Foreign Service spread out around the globe and throughout our nation into a virtual community. Most importantly, AFSA has the ability to present key issues to its members and act directly on their instructions. Almost every active member has access to e-mail and increasingly AFSA's retirees are on line or on fax. There is an ongoing vital tension regarding the role of AFSA's Governing Board, as in many democratic organizations. Same, led by myself, favor an AFSA Board which strives for a direct representational (town meeting) model in which decisions are discussed

with and mandated by the impacted AFSA members. Others see themselves as experienced, knowledgeable, elected representatives (Congressional model) with the responsibility to make decisions for the group which elected them while communicating with them generally. Given the growing ability of the Governing Board to represent its members in all constituencies directly, I believe that AFSA members, the Foreign Service, and AFSA will be much better served by working towards a direct representation. This means a commitment from AFSA members to participate and from its Governing Board to faithfully represent. A vote for me is a vote for increasing your direct participation. Please join me in a two-way commitment. Direct representation will be especially critical as the active Foreign Service faces major re-engineering and Foreign Service Retirees face major threats to the benefit package that they earned through years of dedicated service.

I am running as an independent. Al La Parta, if not taken away to run an Embassy during his term, has the potential of being an excellent AFSA leader. I am running to do a job; not against my friend Aury Fernandez. Aury has done an outstanding job in leading AFSA's public affairs efforts and I hope would continue in that post in one of the newly created Board positions. I look forward to continuing to serve AFSA's members, but in a more concentrated way than my current 60-70 hour work week.

USIA REPRESENTATIVE

Victoria Rose



After 23 years of USIA work on three different continents (Africa, Asia, Europe), and active participation in Montgomery County, Maryland, civic organizations and executive boards, I wish to use my experience to advance the professional interests of FSOs for the next two years, during which time downsizing and reorganization will challenge the Foreign Service community as never before.

Susan Crais Hovanec



A Foreign Service officer for 20 years, I would bring considerable and relevant experience to the AFSA board. In addition to serving overseas in Belgrade (1980-84), Mexico City (1985-88), in Zagreb as PAO (1992-95) and in Kinshasa in 1977, I have honed my **people** and **cross-cultural** negotiating skills in several challenging Washington positions. From

1988-90, as a Career Counselor and Area Personnel Officer, I guided more than 350 officers through the assignment process. This experience, plus 14 years as a supervisor and promotion panel chair, has given me a comprehensive perspective of personnel and labor union issues. A detail at the State Department Bureau of International Organization Affairs (1995-96), likewise, gave me a better understanding of how foreign policy is formulated. If elected, I will work to regain public and congressional support for the foreign affairs agencies. With Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright at the helm, we have a good chance to have resources restored and to regain respect on the Hill and abroad. Finally, as a union member my entire career and a long-time AFSA volunteer, members would find me an informed and forceful advocate for employee rights.

AAFSW BookFair '97

The Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW) is collecting books, artwork, collectibles and foreign stamps and coins for its **BookFair** October 16 through 26. If you would like to donate items, please call Rabin Janes at (202) 223-5796. All donations to **AAFSW** are tax deductible and the proceeds from **BookFair** benefit a scholarship program and local charities. Donations will be accepted through August 31.

AFSA ELECTIONS 1997

CANDIDATES' STATEMENTS USAID REPRESENTATIVE

Janina Jaruzelski

I currently serve as the USAID Representative on the Board and look forward to continuing to represent USAID employees in that capacity.

It is no secret that the challenges facing USAID and the Foreign Service are daunting. The Agency's budget has been under severe attack and its future organizational structure is in question. Last year, we underwent a RIF, during which many talented and dedicated people lost their jobs through no fault of their own. Meanwhile, the Agency has also been undergoing major internal changes, some of which have been positive and some much less so. The Foreign Service has been under a variety of assaults ranging from erosion of medical and other benefits to budget-driven proposals to extend tours unilaterally and reduce the number of positions overseas,

regardless of program needs. I have fought these changes and will continue to do so.

I have worked closely with Frank Miller and the USAID Standing Committee to ensure that USAID management was made aware of employees' many concerns regarding the RIF, the new evaluation system, inadequate workforce planning, and the continuing reduction of our overseas presence. As indicated by Frank's statement, we have continually challenged management to live up to its publicly-stated commitment to maintaining a genuine partnership with the employees who have committed themselves to a long-term career as Foreign Service



professionals at USAID.

I have also worked to ensure that the views of USAID employees are heard clearly within the AFSA Governing Board as the Board chooses what issues to address and how. Recognizing that AFSA's strength is in unity, we must focus on those issues that unite us across Agency and other lines, rather than the handful of issues upon which we are deeply divided.

In these efforts, the USAID team on the Board has been helped immeasurably by constant input from both Washington and field offices. Frank and I appreciate your support, cooperation and commitment. By working together we can make the changes needed to preserve our Agency and make a real difference in development.



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ADST executive and research offices are on the fifth floor of the Old Main building of the National Foreign Affairs Training Center. Expressions of interest should be sent to the Presidential Search Committee as soon as possible, and by May 30, 1997 at the latest. A c.v. or biographical resume should be included. The Committee may be contacted at the address and numbers above.

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Committee. The study has some relatively startling recommendations and others not so radical. Among the more arresting is the statement: "The most urgent change needed in U.S. Middle East policy is to take steps that hasten the demise of Saddam Hussein's regime while preserving Iraq's national unity and territorial integrity." The report does not advocate a covert operation to unseat Saddam, although it comes close.

Another suggestion in the institute study is that the American economic support for Israel be phased out, as painlessly as possible but nevertheless reduced, and be spread out to other Middle East recipients, including diverting some funds to Israel's peace partners, Jordan and the Palestinians, if they continue to cooperate. Another key new study, so far unnamed, was announced in mid-February by a conglomerate of thinkers from a dozen think tanks—including Brookings, CSIS and the Stimson Center—on the evident mismatch between the administration's policy on nuclear weapons and the post-Cold War climate. This group began with the idea that the number of U.S. and Russian nuclear warheads—now about 38,000 total—is a greater danger than

protection to U.S. national security. They need to be reciprocally reduced, if only because the Russian nuclear command-and-control system is deteriorating like the rest of the former Soviet military forces, and it is only a matter of time before an accidental launch that would trigger American retaliation. Russian forces are on a launch-on-warning mode, which leaves open the possibility that Russian radar could mistake a flock of geese for a missile attack, which would spark a sequence ending in nuclear holocaust in a world ostensibly at peace. The final report should be in by the end of this year but the preliminary study appears to have influenced a U.S. proposal to take ballistic missile warheads off their launchers.

Such studies come during a fecund season in U.S. foreign policy, with a new secretary of State, a continuing budget crisis, an embattled Foreign Service and a president focused on domestic matters. It's an ideal environment to plant a host of foreign policy studies, with the hope that some ideas will grow into stout oaks of national policy. ■



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THE FUTURE OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Some observers argue that embassies, diplomats, even governments themselves, have lost relevance, supplanted by modern communications technology; multinational corporations and non-governmental organizations; growth in international trade and investment; proliferating parallel lines of transnational communication among specialists and a trend toward decentralization of authority.

This view does not withstand analysis. Despite such accelerating change, the nation state will remain the dominant international actor for the foreseeable future. Governments will retain jurisdiction, however imperfectly, over their citizens and territory. They will monopolize deployment of military force and the capability to exact economic punishment. Governments will negotiate treaties and regulate international economic activity. And governments, including the U.S. government, will continue to rely upon national representatives in the field.

Diplomats will not be replaced by CNN, e-mail or telephone calls between political leaders. Human contact and informed analysis on the scene will remain essential to making and implementing foreign policy. The new international agenda will place greater premium than before on professional skill in cross-cultural communication, negotiation and coalition building. However, the changed international

context, reinforced by budget pressure, imposes reform in the way America conducts diplomacy, and it is time for a hard look at the nature and role of the Foreign Service of the future.

Resources for diplomacy have become inadequate. For fiscal 1998, the Clinton administration has requested restoration of some cuts, but further reductions in subsequent years proposed by both the administration and Congress will, if enacted, cripple America's ability to promote its international interests. For budget purposes, diplomacy must be addressed for

what it is: a central component of our national security. At present, the State Department and its related agencies, lacking domestic constituency, are treated as part of President Clinton's discretionary budget. Unlike the Pentagon and CIA, they are unsheltered from debilitating cutbacks and must compete for funds directly with popular domestic programs.

During the half-century of Cold War, every international crisis seemed a manifestation of the U.S.-Soviet confrontation, such as conflicts in Korea, the Congo, Cuba, Vietnam, Angola, Ethiopia and Afghanistan, the several Middle East wars, and even Third World poverty and instability in general. The bipolar stand-off was frightening, but in retrospect, foreign policy decisions look to have been simple. America could apply its superior economic and military power to good effect, and did so repeatedly.



ART LANDERMAN

FS AGENCIES NEED
UNIFICATION, MORE FUNDS,
FSOS LITERATE IN ECONOMICS

BY WILLIAM C. HARROP

F O C U S

*Specialist and functional training will remain necessary,
but higher priorities will include geographic area and economics
expertise and communication skills, along with managerial capability.*

The United States no longer confronts a superpower rival, but the issues faced are more frustrating, more technical, more diffuse. Americans will be concerned primarily with challenges that must be addressed by coalitions of nations, often in multilateral forums. Most of these issues are not susceptible to unilateral American action. These issues include proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; access to foreign markets and enforcement of trading rules; international crime, especially drug trafficking; regional conflicts; refugee migrations; natural disasters and epidemic diseases; the global environment; human rights; terrorism; and management of international rules and norms in hundreds of areas, such as air traffic control, telecommunications, food and drug inspection, space exploration, extradition and pollution.

Three conclusions can be drawn from this partial list of America's new international agenda:

■ The intensive dialogue required to address technical subjects demands the expert knowledge of specialists. The experience and training of FSOs will frequently not provide adequate technical expertise.

■ Most federal agencies are now responsible for issues with an international dimension; they have a necessary and legitimate interest in foreign policy as it affects their particular domains. Their experts must be involved.

■ These experts cannot be expected to have a broad view of U.S. foreign policy interests, of other subjects on the bilateral or multilateral table, of historical relations with other governments concerned, nor of the techniques of crosscultural communication and negotiation. This is the realm of the Foreign Service.

The mission of the Foreign Service will thus extend beyond its traditional responsibilities. Since the national interest calls for coherence and balance in foreign policy, another central role of the Foreign Service becomes clear: to coordinate and guide American specialists from a variety of agencies,

William C. Harrop is a retired FSO who served as chief of mission in five countries under four administrations.

and sometimes the private sector, in the international dimension of their work. In fact, foreign affairs experts will sometimes find they must mediate among conflicting domestic points of view to arrive at consensus on national positions. International negotiations on specialized issues will commonly be conducted jointly by professional diplomats and the experts concerned.

Meanwhile, congressional insistence upon extreme budget reduction has moved America toward the elimination of bureaucratic redundancies and a more unified Foreign Service. President Bill Clinton may decide, both for efficiency and political bargaining, to consolidate the foreign affairs agencies in all or in part, without a legislative mandate. Whatever the mix of congressional motives, and despite the disruption and individual hardship that change always brings, consolidation will eliminate lower-priority activities. Consolidation of bureaucracies and unification of the Service will provide a solid platform for building a new and leaner 21st-century diplomatic system.

For now, the Foreign Service is confused and demoralized by the seemingly mindless slashing of its budget and the apparent absence of support from the public, Congress and the administration. It is also weakened by its own fragmentation among agencies.

What might be done to undergird the Foreign Service and amplify its contribution to U.S. interests?

■ First, reinforce its distinctive strengths. Among major Washington agencies, only the State Department, the U.S. Information Agency and the U.S. Agency for International Development, apart from the CIA, are organized essentially on a geographic basis. This is a special asset in dealing with foreign governments. The desk officer keeps abreast of developments affecting bilateral relations with his country of responsibility, and is expert in the history of those relations. On a multilateral footing, the same is true of officers responsible for regional and international organizations. Such knowledge is

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precious, and the participation of these FSOs is nearly essential to effective negotiation and to design of effective policies.

In recent years, however, the functional rather than geographic bureaus of the State Department have been expanding on the grounds that so many functional and global issues have been added to the international agenda. Specialists have been appointed and officers trained at considerable expense in technical disciplines. This is a misreading of public administration, of bureaucratic politics and of national interest. The State Department can rarely compete in expertise with government departments devoted to technical subjects, nor should it attempt to do so. Its officers need sufficient specialized knowledge to deal intelligently with issues while benefiting from the deeper training of true specialists.

Would it make sense for each domestic federal agency to replicate the State Department, to train its own corps of language and area specialists, its own separate and competing diplomatic corps? In personnel recruitment and training, as well as in organization and allocation of resources, State and USIA should emphasize languages and regional expertise and generalist diplomatic skills. This is their arena of comparative advantage, of utility and of special relevance. The case of USAID is perhaps more nuanced due to the nature of its mission, although many development projects have succeeded or failed due to country and cultural sensitivity, or lack of it.

This argument is particularly important now when resources are critically short; how well it is understood by managers will influence the contribution of the Foreign Service in the 21st century. This is not to say that specialist or functional training can be eliminated. It will remain necessary, but higher priorities include geographic area expertise and communication skills, along with, of course, managerial capability. The area expert is also a specialist, after all, but one peculiar to the Foreign Service.

■ Second, emphasize economic literacy. U.S. international interests are now heavily economic. The United States is the world's largest economy and largest trading nation. All FSOs should be educated in economics, trade and finance. Current budget stringency provides good excuse for an action long overdue – to raise levels of economic and language qualifications to enter the Foreign Service. Tax dollars should not need to be spent on basic training in economics and world languages when there are 75 candidates for each FSO opening.

■ Third, respond systematically to inescapable resource pressures. The foreign affairs agencies have a duty to conserve tax dollars in any case. Reduced appropriations dictate a

review of priorities, leading inevitably to consolidation of functions and agencies.

Although disruptive in the short term, consolidation should permit greater coherence, efficiency and economy in American diplomacy. Since development assistance, public diplomacy and arms control, however important, are aspects of foreign policy rather than discrete ends in themselves, these functions can appropriately operate in one organization under more direct supervision from the secretary of State. If the campaign to treat the State Department as a “national security agency” prevails, then the functions of foreign assistance and public diplomacy would properly be included.

Although the Foreign Service personnel systems of State, USAID, USIA, Commerce and Agriculture all flow from the same Foreign Service Act, they operate with substantial individual differences. To reap its potential benefits, consolidation must be managed with wisdom and vision. FSOs at USIA, USAID and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency are apprehensive that, once they become more closely attached to the State Department, their functions will have less priority than more traditional diplomatic activities, or that they will be pressed to allot exaggerated weight to short-term political purposes. These fears are not unjustified, and such an outcome must be guarded against. However, these agencies must understand that their work, while important to the national interest, is a part of foreign policy. That is why re-consolidation of functions separated out during the Cold War makes sense.

A panel of respected officers of the agencies concerned, reinforced – preferably directed – by knowledgeable outsiders, should be appointed to oversee consolidation, with mixed subgroups of specialists providing detailed plans for particular functions. The opportunity should be seized to review critically each function of State, USAID, USIA and ACDA from a zero-base perspective, and in relation to similar functions elsewhere in the government.

This review should disclose redundancy. Opportunities for economies and improved efficiency can be anticipated in areas including public affairs, congressional relations, arms control, economic analysis, legal counsel, policy planning, research and analysis, promotion of democracy, environmental and human rights matters, audits/inspections/investigations, diplomatic reporting and, of course, management and administrative support.

Two areas of great replication are the geographic divisions and administration/management. The geographic organization and vocation of the foreign affairs agencies constitute their distinctive strength. Great care must be exercised to see that

THE FSO OF TOMORROW

BY MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT

The fundamental purpose of America's foreign policy is to protect our citizens, our territory and our friends. As we look ahead, and we know that increasingly, this will require an effective response to problems that extend far beyond our borders. To function successfully in this diverse, fast-paced and rapidly changing environment, we will need women and men trained to deal with the world not as it was, but as it is, and as it will become.

We will need people who can find the needle of information that counts amidst the haystack of data that do not. We will need people who can function in partnership with those from elsewhere in our government, in other governments and from the private sector. We will need people who can think and act globally -- because that is what the American interests require. We must try to improve our record of recruiting qualified women and minorities.

Here at FSI, we will need more focused training in issues such as trade, climate change, refugee law and information management, while maintaining a high standard on cultural studies and language skills. I have asked Deputy Secretary [of State Strobe] Talbott to develop a strategy that will help ensure that FSOs with backgrounds in global issues reach senior levels.

While so doing, we cannot and will not ignore the more traditional aspects of diplomacy. We will maintain our focus on key alliances and relationships around the world.

But we also know that, in the future, our FSOs and other professionals will be asked to range far from the bargaining tables and communication centers of our largest embassies. They will be asked to promote a mix of economic, agricultural and social policies that will ensure greater food security in Africa. They will be visiting factories to ensure that intellectual property and

copyright restrictions are being respected. They will be working with public and private sector representatives who are striving to stabilize population growth, prevent complex humanitarian emergencies and care for the new international homeless--displaced persons and refugees.

And they will be helping to establish police training programs, negotiate extradition agreements and review bank secrecy laws to combat international crime wherever and in whatever form it appears.

Now there is a theory that advances in information technology have made the State Department obsolete. The State Department personnel are proving every day that the human factor still counts.

Consider what Ambassador [William Lacy] Swing and his team have done to promote human rights in Haiti, what Ambassador [Donald K.] Steinberg has done for the cause of peace in Angola and what Ambassador [Richard] Holbrooke did in Dayton. We could not claim to be the indispensable country if we did not have indispensable diplomats applying their skills, their contacts, and their dedication every day. Nor have I ever seen a peace process that could be managed by e-mail from Washington.

The same is true for the management of our most effective assistance programs, from fighting desertification in Mali to supporting a regional coalition to save the Aral sea.

And I doubt that the Americans and others who found themselves trapped in Albania a few weeks ago would have traded Ambassador [Marisa] Lino and her country team for CNN's Christiane Annonpour.

Today, the greatest danger to America is not some foreign enemy; it is the possibility that we will ignore the example of the generation that founded FSI; that we will turn inward; neglect the military and diplomatic resources that keep us strong; and forget the fundamental lesson of this century, which is that problems abroad, if left unattended, will all too often come home to America.

This an edited excerpt of Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright's keynote address at the 50th anniversary of the Foreign Service Institute on April 9.

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this asset, much needed by the nation, is maintained and reinforced. Consolidated geographic bureaus must be strengthened in proportion to the functions being brought together.

The duplication of overseas administrative support by U.S. government agencies is wasteful. This function should be consolidated without delay. The new International Cooperative Administrative Support System, expected to calculate the costs of overseas administrative support among agencies overseas, is promising. Since the secretary of State has overall responsibility for foreign policy and for coordinating the international activities of the government, unified administrative support must be under the State Department, and, in the field, under the authority of the chief of mission. Never mind lamentations about the Foreign Service and State becoming "hotel keeper" to other agencies; this chore is central to maintaining effective leadership.

■ Fourth, attend to the Foreign Service personnel system. Building a Foreign Service of gender equality and representative racial diversity must remain a firm goal, but not at the expense of the high standards of merit, professionalism and discipline prescribed in the Foreign Service Act of 1980.

In the last decade there has been slippage in the implementation of career standards. In particular, there has been attenuation in worldwide availability, in assignment discipline and in merit-based retention. The foreign affairs agencies, most notably the State Department, have leaned heavily upon automatic time-in-class provisions, rather than performance, as the basis for early retirement. At the same time, State has failed to prepare the annual systemic, long-term projection of personnel flows and needs required by law since 1980 as the platform for planning recruitment, promotion, career development and egress. The absence of this essential rolling guideline goes far to explain recurrent problems in the structure of the Foreign Service at State.

For example, USAID management, exercising its right to draw upon the personnel authorities of the Foreign Service Act, has strayed from merit principles. The justification usually given is the special, technical nature of USAID's mandate. However, USAID's FSOs, like their counterparts in other agencies, should be international affairs professionals and managers rather than technical specialists. There is no competitive entrance examination

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for a USAID career. When he assumed office, Administrator J. Brian Atwood decided to reduce staff at senior levels and forced many of those in the agency's Senior Foreign Service into early retirement, in a procedure apparently based more upon subjectivity than impartial evaluation of merit. In workforce management, USAID and the other foreign affairs agencies must be guided by hard-headed assessment of skills requirements; they must take care not to terminate individuals with needed expertise and experience to lower overall personnel costs.

The budget-driven trend toward amalgamation of foreign affairs functions should help Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright realize her charge under the act to "consider the need for uniformity of personnel policies and procedures and for consolidation ... of personnel functions among agencies" using the Foreign Service personnel system. In the 21st century, a unified Foreign Service will be better able to conduct the nation's international business, including support of American business, and will be more effective in Washington's bureaucratic, political environment.

Finally, a word about the chief of mission as an institution. If the United States is to have a coherent foreign policy, the chief of mission must lead and coordinate all official U.S. activity in the area of jurisdiction. This has been well recognized by Congress, but the authorities available in law and regulation must be exercised. Historically, some chiefs of missions, both career and non-career, have failed the test. In government, as in human endeavor generally, leadership vacuums get filled. The success of increasingly complex U.S. foreign policy depends in good part upon the judgment, determination and strength of character of ambassadors. The experience, skills and training of appointees – professional as well as political – need betterment.

Foreign Service professionals have the requisite training and experience and so should be appointed to the great bulk of these positions of high responsibility. But to earn a "right" to the preponderance of ambassadorships, the Foreign Service must maintain the highest standards of performance and of effective, disciplined national service. It must do the same to earn the respect of the public, Congress and the president, and to merit a central role in the conduct of American international relations. ■



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THE GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY

IN WAKE OF LIFTING BAN ON WEAPON SALES TO LATINS,
'RESPONSIBLE' REGIONAL ARMS CONTROL TREATY NEEDED

BY ALFRED R. BARR

President Clinton's recent decision to reverse a 20-year ban on U.S. arms sales to Latin America is the strongest indication yet that his administration is moving toward more equality in hemispheric relations.

The April 3 decision to allow U.S. companies to bid on the Chilean military's request to modernize its fleet with 18 U.S.-made F-16 aircraft – for which French and Swedish manufacturers will also compete – seems to clear the way for Brazil and Argentina to purchase sophisticated fighter aircraft. Peru has made a deal to buy 18 Russian MIG-29 fighters and Brazil has also begun shopping to replace its obsolescent aircraft.

Clinton's decision, made to comply with the Chilean deadline for F-16 technical data, was no doubt prompted by pressure from American manufacturers as well – political pressure that has been characterized by some critics as reckless. With Pentagon spending down with the end of the Cold War, U.S. manufacturers are looking for new customers.

Alfred R. Barr, a retired FSO, worked in political-military affairs in Brazil, Honduras and Nicaragua. During his 30-year career, he also served in Vietnam and Morocco.

Latin America was a very different place in 1977, when Jimmy Carter signed the presidential directive banning U.S.-manufactured arms to the region. Military regimes, or civilian regimes with heavy military influence, were the norm, and they continued throughout the Cold War through the '80s, as the communist threat gave the militaries an excuse to remain heavily armed.

Border wars were common, as was the necessity to patrol border areas to prevent – or allow – the creation of sanctuaries by guerrilla forces. Honduras protected the Nicaraguan contras; Mexico gave sanctuary to the Guatemalan guerrillas; Salvadoran guerrillas operated out of Honduras; and Honduras and Costa Rica provided sanctuary to the Sandinistas in their fight against the Somoza regime. And there were territorial rivalries as well: The Brazilians kept their largest army group on the border with Argentina; the Argentines and Chileans jealously eyed each other; and the flames continued to be fanned between Peru and Ecuador over a territory dispute.

The Carter administration believed arms sales to military regimes were anti-democratic because they signaled U.S. government support for the military and its influence in society. However, the scorecard on U.S. arms transfer policy is a mixed one. In the '70s, American-made F-5 Freedom Fighter aircraft were delivered to Brazil's military

government, and in the '80s, exceptions were made to allow F-5s to be sold to Mexico and Honduras, and F-16s to Venezuela.

Because of U.S. opposition to sales, Peru bought Soviet-made aircraft in the '70s and Russian-made MIGs via Belarus last November. Ecuador, Chile and Colombia bought French-made Mirages; Honduras purchased French-made Super Mysteries via Israel; and Argentina bought French-made Super Entendard aircraft and the Exocet missiles used to such stunning effect in the Falklands War. Hence, the choice of U.S. companies selling arms to Latin American governments rather than European firms is hardly a false one. The U.S. government can choose to stay aloof and practice feel-good diplomacy, but it cannot avoid the bottom line: The Latins have the choice to buy arms elsewhere if they so insist. The Clinton administration can choose to engage Latin America on the issue, and it can choose to be flexible – as it should be.

Editorial-page commentary generally has opposed the lifting of the arms sales ban. In a recent *Washington Post* op-ed piece by Bernard Aronson, the former assistant secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs argued against the new policy. Noting that democracy is ascendant in the hemisphere, he criticized the Clinton administration for presupposing that the transformation had already taken firm hold. He argued that regional democratization remained in a "delicate" phase, and the balance of civilian-military power has begun only recently to tilt toward the civilian side. Lifting the ban would upset that balance, he said, adding that no nation in the region can afford sophisticated arms. Most importantly, he called for U.S. leadership in endorsing and supporting a growing civilian call for regional arms control.

Many agree that if Clinton's decision to lift the ban is to be a responsible one, he should urge Latin American leaders to move on negotiating and signing a regional arms control pact. Allowing U.S. manufacturers to compete for

weapons contracts without one, they argue, would only raise the specter of an arms race in the hemisphere.

While the call for regional arms control now appears seductive, given the present state of civil-military relations in most of the hemisphere, we probably can't get there from here. A crucial political step needs to be taken first.

Although civilian regimes now rule in Latin America, that military-civilian balance of power is not yet consolidated and is indeed "delicate," as Aronson claims. It is delicate because it is largely a facade, and will remain one until these countries have completed the debate about the role of the military in a democratic society. That discussion includes the responsibilities of civilian leaders to provide just and fair government free of corruption, and capable of deciding what is required for national defense. To try to deny, at this juncture, the ability of Latin militaries to procure equipment they believe necessary to remain viable and credible in defending their countries' national sovereignty would be seen as an attempt by the United States to interfere in this debate.

Latin militaries would have seen a continuing arms ban as a great power imposition and an affront to their dignity and national pride; such a step would be antagonistic and counterproductive. The militaries would try to assert their traditional (and often constitutional) role in those societies by determining on their own where their national security interests lie. Civilian democratic forces in society would not be able to resist the nationalistic feeling set loose, which would set back the movement

*The U.S. government
can choose to practice
feel-good diplomacy,
but the Latins can
buy arms elsewhere.
The Clinton adminis-
tration can choose to
engage Latin America
on a regional arms
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toward civilian-led democratic societies sought for so long by U.S. administrations. Better to let sleeping soldiers lie.

The Clinton administration should continue to facilitate the civil-military dialogue in the hemisphere, and support confidence-building measures already proposed by the Organization of American States. Latin American armies know full well that modern arms are expensive, and sophisticated arms more so. They understand their societies can ill afford military spending sprees if their countries are to remain politically cohesive and economically competitive. They also know what the world thinks of a military institution that would go to war over who controls some remote patch of jungle. What is more, they know that democratic government is in fashion in the Euro-American political culture, and authoritarian military regimes are a throw-back and an embarrassment.

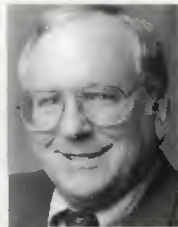
A difficult piece of the civil-military dialogue, however, is the problem of what becomes of the colonels and the armies they lead? The military has long been a way out of poverty and into influence for poor people in these societies. Some armies are making adjustments, some are downsizing, and they wonder what is to become of them, as the civilian-military dialogue determines their new, likely reduced role, and until expanding economies signal sufficient alternative employment opportunities. Economic adjustment is painful, and it is more so where opportunities are fewer. The Latinos need to answer these questions for themselves before the gringos try to impose a civil-military solution by denying their access to arms.

A continuing arms ban is a unilateral declaration, an imposition, a diktat. And the word “impose” is in-



Everard S. Taylor

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appropriate to the language of the mid-1990s; it is time that America stops thinking about imposing things on its Latin American neighbors. It is patronizing and inappropriate today, when America is no longer interested in being the region's patron. Therefore, to hang some of American hopes for strengthening democracy in Latin America on the weak reed of a continuing arms ban would be at this point a negative and counterproductive policy.

The proposal to initiate a regional arms control regime now is a good idea. An attempt to do so was first made in the mid-'70s, but proved to be an idea before its time. It would now be appropriate for the United States to lead the hemisphere in partnership towards a regional arms control regime as it lifts the unilateral sales ban and engages the Latins on national security requirements.

Such an agreement could forestall a potential arms race, if signatories could agree on regional or sub-regional armament levels. The obvious incentive towards reasonable and collective decisions is that an arms race would cripple Latin American economies.

The United States needs to get on with its relations with countries in the hemisphere on the basis of political equality and closer economic ties. The president cannot ask Congress for fast-track trade talks in the region while continuing an arms ban that tells Latinos and the world that America doesn't trust them to decide on their own their national security requirements.

President Clinton can continue with his planned visits to Latin America this year confident that he has removed one vestige of the unequal and paternalistic relationship that the United States has long had with Latin America. ■



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THE CIRCUMCISION PARTY

IN DIFFERENT KIND OF DIPLOMATIC RECEPTION,
MALE RITE OF PASSAGE CELEBRATED IN '74 TURKISH GALA

BY BILL HALLMAN

Sometimes common sense cuts through hundreds of years of custom, and I witnessed that in Turkey in 1974, the last summer I lived in Adana.

In the Muslim world, young boys are circumcised as an acknowledgment of their masculinity. Usually, the procedure occurs when young males are old enough to recognize the importance of the rite, between ages 3 and 11. Relatives shower the boys with gifts to distract them from the discomfort of the procedure. In Turkey, circumcision is a family affair, but with uncles, aunts, grandparents and collateral kin, the list can get out of hand — and expensive. A big man in a small village might feel he needs to invite everyone to the feast.

The festive day usually starts with some special treat. When I lived in Turkey in the 1970s, a common sight everywhere was little boys, dressed in white with a sash of red silk and a fez-like red hat with *mashallah* spelled out in sequins, being paraded through zoos, parks, cafes and other public places. *Mashallah*, Turkish for “what wonders God has willed!” is routinely repeated at celebrations. The little victim is supposed to be having fun during this special celebration, but I never saw a boy on his way to or from the *sunnetci*, the professional circumciser, who looked as though he was enjoying himself.

Bill Hallman is a retired Foreign Service officer who, in his 25-year career, served in Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, El Salvador, Argentina and Mexico. He now lives in Austin, Texas.

As with bar mitzvahs in the United States, families expect to spend more than they can afford on their sons' coming-of-age celebrations, but poor families may only have enough money to entertain the little boys with brief rides in honking taxis through town. Still, by tradition, every circumcisee receives a celebration.

During the summer of 1974 in Adana, one of the members of the Turkish Defense Workers Union at the Incirlik Air Base, which Turkey and the United States operate jointly, suggested circumcising the eligible sons of all union members at once, and following it with a huge, memorable party. Fifty-six boys aged 3 to 11 were found eligible for the operation, the celebration was planned and the invitations were sent out. As U.S. consul, I received an invitation for myself and my wife, Eileen, as did six American Air Force colonels stationed at Incirlik and their wives. We were to gather at 8 p.m. on a Saturday in late August in the walled garden of union headquarters, which was in an old cement, stone and stucco house in the heart of town.

The Americans, for whom this was no ordinary event, were concerned. What, the women wanted to know, should they wear? Everyone wanted to know if there would be, well, blood. It was up to me to get the answers to these questions. “Good heavens, no, there will be no blood,” the head of the organizing committee assured me, explaining that the 56 operations would take place in the late afternoon, hours before invitees were due to arrive for the festivities. Dress, we learned, would be standard Adana summertime attire: cotton dresses for women, slacks and short-sleeved shirts for men.

I arrived at the party a little late to find the American colonels and their wives, sitting at the front-row table and drinking orange soda, eyeing me with hostility because I had suggested they arrive exactly at 8 p.m. Seated at dozens of other tables, scattered among the tall cinar trees that provided cover from the stifling heat, were some 300 Turkish guests.

The "Mashallah Boys," as I called them, were well out of sight. The boys' fathers had disassembled their own matrimonial beds at home and brought them to the garden, where they'd set them up again lined around the wall of the compound. The little boys were snoozing or moaning under covers on mattresses and pillows brought from home, attended by women of all ages who fanned them with newspapers and wiped their little brows with damp cloths. Never have guests of honor been so miserable or so much on the periphery of their own celebration.

The center of attention for guests was a six-inch-high slab of cement, which was being used as a stage on which a variety show was beginning. The union committee had outdone itself finding talent. There were entertainers from as far away as Istanbul and Ankara: singers, bird-callers, belly dancers, magicians, contortionists, standup comedians and two bands, one that played Turkish music and the other that played rock-and-roll and Western favorites.

Eventually, the colonels and their wives forgave me as we joined the festive celebration, drank more orange soda, and elapped and hummed to the music with our Turkish hosts. Everyone was having a good time.

At 10 p.m., the master of ceremonies unceremoniously snatched the microphone from the hand of a Junoesque brunette. He wanted to make an important announcement. "Ladies and gentlemen," he said. "You've all been asking what happened to our brother Osman Karaosmanoglu." There were murmurs. People had indeed been asking about his absence. "Now we know that he took little Mehmet and all the family to the beach. On the way back, Brother Osman's car broke down, but now the whole family has arrived!"

Heads turned, and sure enough, a large family — more numerous than any normal auto would hold — was making its way to the stage. Women guests greeted the newly arrived women demurely. Among the men there were hugs and backslapping. From the band

came a kind of fanfare, and the audience gave a little round of applause.

Everyone seemed to know what would happen next, though it took some time to get organized. Someone brought a bentwood chair and set it in the middle of the dais and a burly, dark man, Mehmet's uncle, sat in it facing the audience, ready to act as a kind of godfather.

Then, as Brother Karaosmanoglu ascended the dais with his stunned 8-year-old son, the audience applauded and whistled. He positioned Mehmet, standing and facing the audience, between the outspread legs of his uncle. He then withdrew to the side of the dais as the snare drummer began a long, dramatic roll and the *sumetci*, a tall, lanky, average-looking man dressed in a coat and tie, appeared. I saw a flash of something metal in his hand as he approached the boy. The drumming became louder and faster.

It was all over in about 20 seconds. Positioning himself so as to create a discreet screen between the boy and the audience, the *sumetci* took a swift whack, and, as the percussionist crashed his cymbals together, all the partygoers let out a great cheer.

Little Mehmet's uncle pulled up the boy's pants, pointed him toward his father and gave him a little push. Proud Osman Karaosmanoglu moved a little closer to his son, and when the stunned child had taken four tottering steps toward him, he reached down and scooped the boy into his arms like a puppy. At this the crowd really let go, and little Mehmet was carried offstage to loud cheers and applause. The band revved up and the entertainment started again. But the party had peaked. The crowd began to thin a little, and the Americans decided to say goodnight. As we left, the Mashallah Boys, who had fallen asleep and were no longer moaning, were carried away by their parents toward cars and pickups. It was the antielictic moment like the one that follows the fireworks at a Fourth of July picnic, particularly for American guests whose social customs don't extend in this direction. ■

The Americans, for whom this was no ordinary event, were concerned. What, the women wanted to know, should they wear? Would there be, well, blood?

MR. ZERO'S 3 CALLINGS

DIPLOMAT ABANDONED PROMISING CAREER IN 1907
TO AID, COUNSEL, EDUCATE NEEDY IN NYC'S BOWERY

BY PIERRE SALES

Urbain Ledoux, who at 21 became the youngest person ever appointed to the U.S. Consular Service, would probably rather have been known for his humanitarian efforts than his diplomatic accomplishments. Nevertheless, to his "fans," the homeless and destitute of New York City in the early part of the century, he preferred to remain anonymous, to be known only as "Mr. Zero."

Born in 1874 to French-Canadian parents, Ledoux moved with his family three years later to Biddeford, a small town in southwest Maine about 25 miles from the Canadian border. His father, Joseph, had been lured to Biddeford by the prospect of a job at the town's cotton mill, the area's largest employer, and the family rented a small wooden house next to the Catholic church. Shortly after the move, however, Joseph Ledoux suffered a back injury and was forced to abandon his mill job. He set up a

Pierre Sales is a retired FSO who, in his 24-year career, served in Vietnam and several African posts. He was posted with the United Nations for eight years, with assignments in Vietnam, Zaire and the Secretariat in New York. This article is based on an unpublished manuscript by William Woolfsen, an academic, humanitarian and friend of Urbain Ledoux.

shop selling religious books, Bibles, and rosaries, and the young Urbain attended school in the basement of the church. But the family's debts mounted, and as the only son, he was determined to help feed his parents and three sisters. Against his father's wishes, he quit school at age 9 and took jobs delivering milk and sweeping the floor at the mill. In his spare time, he tried to educate himself, becoming an avid reader in French, mostly of religious works. Every morning, he served as an altar boy at Mass.

At age 15, he decided he wanted a proper education and sought the advice of the parish priest, who suggested he study for the priesthood. With funds provided by an aunt, he left for St. Marie de Monnoir Seminary in Quebec, where he became enraptured by his new calling, as if the doors of heaven were opening to him. He was soon at the head of his class, becoming the inspirational spiritual leader of a group of youths.

To his delight, Ledoux was given free access to the school's library, where he read every book in the collection. His appetite for learning was insatiable, and he digested scores of thick philosophical and theological tomes. Two years after he entered the seminary, however, he accidentally stumbled across a priest molesting an altar boy, and, when the angry priest sought his reprimand, Ledoux decided to abandon his studies and return home. In his

disillusionment, he reflected to himself that even "the most godly refuse to be God-like."

Back in Biddeford, Ledoux involved himself in church and community activities and tried another brief stint in the seminary, but once again he became disenchanted with theological life. He remained determined, however, to continue his education.

At age 17, Ledoux heard another calling, this time for the diplomatic service. His interest was sparked by an article in a local newspaper noting the appointment of the first American French-Canadian as U.S. consul to Trois-Rivière, an industrial city on the northern bank of the St. Lawrence River.

He had no illusions about his lack of qualifications for the U.S. Consular Service, and was aware he needed not only a broader education but also political support. He began focusing his personal studies on law, and obtained a job at a local law office, where he availed himself of its library. Concurrently, he began to lay the groundwork to secure political backing in the region. Over the next three years, he launched two French-language publications, the first of their kind in his district; wrote articles for American journals on politics; drafted speeches for local politicians; became the leader of the Republican Party in his ward; organized political clubs among French-Canadian farmers and mill workers; and addressed groups on politics throughout New England. In the process, he became acquainted with many politicians and came to the attention of area legislators – and even Secretary of State Elihu Root.

In 1895, Ledoux learned that the one-man office of the U.S. consular post at Trois-Rivière was about to become vacant again. He resolved to be selected for the job, and left immediately to Washington via train, armed with a letter of endorsement from House Speaker Thomas B. Reed and accompanied by Maine Sen. William P. Frye, who was also the Pro Tempore chairman of the Senate. When

President William McKinley signed Ledoux's appointment papers that year, Ledoux was 21 years old, the youngest American to serve in the U.S. Consular Service.

He was married soon thereafter to Carmaline Painchaud, the daughter of a wealthy and socially prominent Maine family, with whom he would have two daughters and a son, and plunged himself fervently into civic affairs. One of his first moves was to raise money from the region's wealthy merchants and farmers to upgrade Trois-Rivière's small library.

He also began preparing himself for a longer career in diplomatic service. His reports to Washington went well beyond traditional consular affairs and included detailed surveys on the pulp and paper industry; he also cultivated contacts with American industrialists and publishers. With the news in 1901 that President McKinley had been assassinated, Ledoux was graciously received at the White House by his successor, Theodore Roosevelt, to talk about his next assignment and, perhaps, a promotion. From 1903 to 1906, he was posted to Prague, then the capital of Bohemia; in light of the post's importance as a hub for regional trade for the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Central Europe, Ledoux was given a "semi-diplomatic" ranking.

He was a huge success in the capital and fell easily into the social milieu, making fast friends at all levels and becoming immersed in a variety of diplomatic tasks, including arbitrating disputes between the area's two rival factions, the Austrian-German and Czech groups.

Ledoux's star rose quickly at the State Department. He undertook an intensive study of American trade in Europe; developed a

*With messianic zeal,
Ledoux's crusade to
help the poor, the
homeless, the friend-
less, the jobless, the
crippled and the ill
restored their dignity
and morale.*

cross-index file on U.S. representatives on the continent; and provided a reference service for the American business community. Foreign diplomatic schools sent personnel to study his color-coded index filing system of import-export data, which was praised for its efficiency by both Dunn's International Review and the Library of Congress. Secretary Root commended him for his reports. In 1906, Ledoux was invited to attend the Congress of European Chambers of Commerce in Brussels to discuss his proposal for the creation of an International Chamber of Commerce, which was subsequently endorsed by the group.

In 1907, Secretary Root informed Ledoux he was being promoted to consul-general at Santos, Brazil, but he felt nothing but disappointment, worried he

would be confined to a desk in the small city and be unable to continue his proven talent as an internationalist. After all, he thought, the world was his sphere of influence. Abruptly, he decided to resign, notwithstanding a request from the secretary to reconsider.

For the third time in his life, Ledoux sensed an inner voice drawing him toward another calling, this time for humanitarian service. He and his family returned to the United States and Urbain accepted a job as field director at the Philadelphia Commercial Museum, with New England as his territory. In Boston in 1910, he chanced across a newspaper article about publisher Edwin Ginn's \$1 million donation to found the International School for Peace in Brussels, later to be renamed the World Peace

Foundation. It was Ginn's conviction that the business community had the potential to stop all wars, a belief that mirrored Ledoux's own thoughts.

He quickly wired the benefactor, who invited Ledoux to join the movement as a field worker, which he accepted. During his extensive travels nationally and abroad, he gave a series of lectures at Harvard University, sponsored the creation of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Washington, and actively participated in preparations for the 1912 London Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce.

In 1912, the foundation hired Ledoux to recommend a site for an international city, and on a visit to Brussels, he addressed the city's Chamber of Commerce on the impact the business community could have on maintaining world

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peace. While the audience applauded with enthusiasm, he was startled to hear a Belgian nobleman shouting that the goal was unrealistic, to which Ledoux responded, "He who wills it, can!" That night, he prayed for spiritual guidance.

The next morning he shocked his colleagues by forecasting a world war, and he urged them to appeal to the masses rather than to political leaders and, when questioned about his abrupt turn-about, he responded, "It is written in infinity. ... I have heard the word." He then declared that he was resigning from the foundation to seek "peace through war on war."

As he was returning to the United States, Ledoux intensified his prayers, and recalled an inscription he had seen at a great temple at Delphi in Greece:

"Know thyself." Back in Maine, between stints as an adviser to international businessmen, Ledoux read the Bible incessantly. When World War I erupted in 1914, he dove into what he called a "service in reality," immersing himself in religious studies and launching his "war on war" campaign by lecturing throughout the United States, wherever he found an audience.

In 1917, at age 43, Ledoux made a decision that would turn his life once more in a different direction. His focus was New York City, which he called "ostensibly the most thickly populated city where the greatest extremes of wealth and misery exist." To him, it was where his "loving service" was most needed, particularly on the lower East Side's Bowery, which he called the

"Street of Forgotten Men." With his wife and daughters adequately provided for in Maine, he packed his bags for the city.

Understanding he would have to live among the poor to understand and help them, he distributed his fine clothes and belongings among them. Now wearing a dilapidated suit and carrying only a handkerchief, a toothbrush, a safety razor and a small comb, he roamed among his "brothers." He was penniless, cold and hungry, just like them.

Over the next 20 years, Ledoux pursued with messianic zeal his crusade to help the poor, the homeless, the friendless, the jobless, the crippled and the ill. While the Bowery occupied most of his attention, he traveled all over the country countless times to help the needy and offer them succor. His was not a program of

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handouts, but one of restoring dignity and morale and inculcating a benevolent spirit by employing the downtrodden.

On the Bowery, Ledoux opened restaurants for derelicts where a penny or nickel would buy a hot meal or an overnight stay; he built lodgings in abandoned warehouses and slum areas; and he rescued discarded equipment, bedding, food, tools and other items from various sources. Throughout the two decades, he continually solicited financial and other support from churches, police departments and small businesses.

Despite his success in his work, Ledoux suffered his share of personal loss. His beloved wife, who had moved with their children to New York City to be closer to Ledoux years earlier, died on Aug. 30, 1923.

Ledoux refused to personalize or commercialize his efforts. At one point, in January 1925, a delegation of brothers who knew him only as "Brother Urbain" asked for his full name. Startled at first, Ledoux responded by paraphrasing a quote from the Bible, "I am nothing to you but bread and butter. You were thirsty and I gave you drink. You were hungry and I gave you something to eat. That's all." The answer so surprised the men that they stood silently until a tall Irishman called out in a rich brogue, "I've got your number. Nothing, you're zero, that's nothing." The following day, a newspaper reporter approached him, saying he was writing a story about him and wanted to know his name. Responded Ledoux, "I have no name. Ask the men." The Irishman responded, "He's nothing. He's Mr. Zero." Picked up by the wire services, the story on Mr.

Zero was carried all over the country.

By Sept. 21, 1925, Ledoux had raised enough funds to open Hobo University on the Bowery, which offered courses on political economics, sociology and comparative religion. The university's benefactor, James Eads Howe, known as the "millionaire hobo" because he had once been destitute and homeless himself, encouraged the "students" to tell their stories publicly.

In winter of 1927 Ledoux earned another sobriquet, the "Snowman," given to him by New York reporters who found him regularly out in snowstorms, pushing carts loaded down with gloves, overcoats, bread, and thermoses filled with coffee, oatmeal and soup. That spring, he dramatized the plight of the poor by organizing a special Easter Parade. Leading 100 poor men in dilapidated high silk hats, spats and white gloves, Ledoux marched down Fifth Avenue, himself garbed in a ragged, swallowtailed topcoat. The newspaper publicity only drew more contributions to his cause and helped make the parade an Easter Sunday event for the next three years.

Ledoux was hard-pressed for funds some years, of course, such as in 1929 when the stock market crashed, but even that year he was able to raise sufficient funds to feed 5,000 people on Thanksgiving Day. As a matter of principle, he refused to beg for money, always believing unsolicited donations would come forward to ease his debts. Another difficult period was during the Depression, but even then his meager funds were sufficient to help house, feed and clothe thousands of desperate

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people. In 1930, he hit upon another novel idea, "The Plebeian Senate," which provided a voice to his brothers' and sisters' suggestions on improving the welfare system. Little happened until Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected president in November 1932, and he launched a number of measures to help the poor and needy, many of which had been suggested by the Plebeian Senate. Fearing the president's program would become bogged down in red tape, Ledoux worked more feverishly than ever.

The next summer, Ledoux held a hunger strike in front of City Hall, representing "a new Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Men," though he was forced to abandon his efforts after he became critically ill from lack of food. Months later, he decided to run for mayor of New York City on a platform to reduce taxes, cut high

city salaries, and eliminate public graft. The emblem of his party was a shoestring. Coincidentally, Fiorello La Guardia, who also once served as a U.S. consul, in Fiume, Italy (now Rijeka, Croatia), presented himself as the leader of the new Fusion Party, promising to resolve the unemployment problem. Ledoux decided to withdraw his candidacy to support his friend La Guardia, who became mayor in November 1933.

Easter Sunday in 1936 saw the last of Ledoux's parades. With New Deal measures to aid the needy on a steady course, Ledoux's brothers and sisters now were receiving much of the assistance they needed from the government. His work was done.

Now 62 and married for the second time to the well-known actress Mary Hall, Ledoux moved to Argentina to live for

several years with old friends. Late in 1940, at the age of 66, he became seriously ill with cancer and decided to return to his beloved New York City. Ledoux died the following spring, with his wife at his side, ironically on Easter Sunday eve. He was 67. Some 600 former "brothers" and "sisters" passed before his bier to say goodbye.

His death was reported throughout the United States, and his life was periodically written about for several years thereafter. Yet, in spite of the brief publicity of his humanitarian efforts, Ledoux's name has never been mentioned in history books. The most recent magazine article on his work appeared in 1941. Perhaps the answer is reflected in his adopted name and in his desire to remain anonymous, to be remembered only as "Mr. Zero." ■

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\$27, 293 pages.

BY CAROLINE MEIRS

Much has been written about how Germany deals with its past in the present, so finding something new to contribute to the ongoing discussion is no easy task. *New Yorker* writer Jane Kramer has taken another look at nationalism in the old/new unified Germany, grappling with the question of Germany's identity since unification. In doing so, she takes on issues that have fascinated and puzzled scholars and policymakers for decades.

Kramer states her goal this way: "I wanted to look at the specifically German conditions for setting oneself beyond morality, or decency, or friendship. They were really the old conditions, resurfacing even, and maybe especially now." To achieve this, she applies the question "How German is it?" to current problems, such as right-wing violence, in an attempt to discover whether it grows from the same roots as Nazism and the Holocaust.

Her book includes separate *New Yorker* pieces about the trashing of a Berlin restaurant named Maxwell

(November 1988); Peter Schmidt, an aimless, passive teenage refugee from East Germany (June 1990); Berlin, the impact of unification on Germany's capital (November 1991); STASI, the effects of pernicious spying by communist Germany's Secret Police (May 1992); and Skins, violence by Skinheads and similar gangs (June 1993). The final chapter, "The Politics of Memory" (August 1995), deals with attitudes toward Jews in Germany and appropriate commemoration of the Holocaust there.

Germany's problems, historic and contemporary, are undeniable and it behooves Germans to remain conscious of past violence, anti-Semitism and xenophobia and to be alert to signs of similar trends today. Although Germany has come a very long way since 1945, it's clear there is ample room for improvement. For example, Germany needs an enlightened policy that eases the path to citizenship for residents of non-German origin. Tougher prosecution of violent antisocial elements requires particular attention. It is deeply troubling that Germans in the GDR were taught a myth that absolved them as "victims" of Hitler. This distortion of history needs to be addressed, since it is a major faultline in the format of a new identity for a unified Germany.

Kramer's picture of Germany and its people today is flawed because of its incompleteness. She focuses almost exclusively on violence and xenophobia, writes about one alienated youth as if he embodied the essence of all

eastern Germans and describes the process of unification in a one-sided fashion. She brushes over, ignores or looks for the negative in achievements of the Federal Republic, such as its commitment as a partner in Western institutions, its democratic system, its admirable social safety net, its strong economy and its vibrant cultural institutions. More thoughtful analysis of contemporary Germany finds that democratic culture has taken such deep root in the two-thirds of the Federal Republic that constitute its western (old) states that the country can never return to the errors of the Third Reich.

Yet Kramer sharply questions even the motives of the German majority who condemn violence, seek to come to grips appropriately with Germany's past, or look for answers to very complex and intransigent social problems. In some cases such a critical evaluation is surely deserved, but Kramer never gives credit for sincerity even where merited. The reader is left with the impression that pervasive cynicism colored the author's choice and treatment of subjects.

Kramer believes, quite rightly, that unrealistic expectations were raised for German unification and that there has been much disillusionment in both Germanys, old and new states. Not only the economic but the human costs of unification were greatly underestimated and eastern Germans have borne the brunt of the socioeconomic upheaval. The restructuring of the economy in the

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BOOKS

new states has been far more difficult than anyone could have imagined and the psychological, social and cultural rift produced by decades under different systems will take generations to heal.

With the benefit of hindsight on unification, however, Kramer judges many people and events too harshly and her book contains many oversimplifications. She returns constantly to the economy, as if it were the sole issue: "The East fell because the state was bankrupt." Thoughtful, articulate Germans from the eastern states tell the story differently. They say that their state was bankrupt not only economically, but socially, morally, spiritually and politically as well.

This book would have benefitted from a greater understanding of just how complex and difficult the unification process has been, a recognition that German society is undergoing the temporary disruptions of a major transition and a more generous view of the motives of Germany's chancellor in taking advantage of a brief historical opportunity. Sound bite comments such as "Helmut Kohl bought East Germany from Mikhail Gorbachev" are gross oversimplifications which do nothing to further comprehension.

It is unfortunate that reprints of Kramer's earlier *New Yorker* pieces constitute the body of the book. Fresh writing in light of subsequent developments could have produced a more coherent volume and better overall analysis.

It has been said that those who try to understand Germany are condemned to heartbreak, yet there is always room for thoughtful analysis of this key U.S. partner. Kramer's book, despite its shortcomings, makes American readers aware of how important it is to concern ourselves with developments in

Germany. It accomplishes this by offering a provocative view of the meaning of memory in a Germany that is being asked to shoulder greater international responsibility while recalling the lessons of its past.

Caroline Meirs is a retired FSO for the U.S. Information Agency who served in Berlin from 1974 to 1976 and from 1988 to 1992, including two years as director of Amerika Haus, the U.S. cultural and informational center. Her other posts included Italy, Finland, Peru and Colombia.

TREATING WAR LIKE DISEASE

Preventive Diplomacy: Stopping Wars Before They Start

Kevin M. Cahill, M.D., Ed., Basic Books, 1996, \$25, 343 pages.

BY ROY HAVERKAMP

If the techniques and practice of preventive medicine spare us from illnesses, why not apply them to inter- and intra-state conflicts that can cause death, injury, illness, displacement and other forms of human misery? *Preventive Diplomacy* tries to answer this question in a series of essays, some outstanding for their information, analysis and insights, all worth reading. Dr. Cahill collected them from eminent diplomats, scholars, medical practitioners and others. There are too many entries to list here, though it's worth mentioning U.N. Secretary General Kofi A. Annan's essay, "The Peace-keeping Prescription," in which he qualifies many current so-called conflicts as "not really ethnic conflicts, but political conflicts in ethnic clothing."

BOOKS

There is general agreement among contributors on the tools needed to practice preventive diplomacy, such as the means for early detection of identifiable risk factors likely to result in conflict and precipitate its catastrophic human consequences, a process for coordination between the United Nations and its member agencies, as well as with governments, regional non-governmental organizations and, not to forget, the press. This should produce agreement on the assistance needed to prevent conflict, resolve it or to move on to stability and development. It could involve many tools – from offers of good offices through humanitarian and/or economic assistance to peacemaking or peacekeeping forces.

While the U.N. role is most often critical, it is handicapped by the organization's inability to become involved until invited by the affected state or until it accepts U.S. offers of assistance. Greater emphasis could have been placed on the secretary general's ability to take action and to use the office as a bully pulpit, as Boutros Boutros-Ghali did over Somalia early in his tenure. In the Somalia intervention, there is consensus among contributors that its failure was due to a lack of understanding of the relationship between humanitarian action and military force.

Internally displaced persons or refugees fleeing their own government, but who have not left its territory, have forced a rethinking of the traditional concept of the inviolability of state sovereignty, as well as of the role of force in international humanitarian operations. The justification offered for changing this concept of sovereignty is the spillover effect across borders of violence and its offshoots, particularly refugees.

Triage and the role of force in humanitarian crises, as discussed in this book, need more refinement. Both call for moral courage that political leaders are not frequently ready to exercise fearlessly. (Triage in medicine is no less complex.) Since the world is not ready nor willing to intervene in all humanitarian crises, what mix of criteria should be applied in the decision to intervene? Some applicable standards do not give an automatic answer: degree and kind of need, opportunity costs for required forces and materials, possibility to achieve a clearly defined purpose, necessary public support – including willingness to bear the human and material costs, and national interest defined broadly or narrowly. Crises in Somalia and Bosnia, which required military force to carry out the humanitarian assistance program, were not new.

An essay on economic sanctions raises another unresolved aspect of the use of force in connection with conflict resolution, with the qualification that sanctions are a tool for resolution, but only when used in "conjunction with, rather than as a substitute for, military force." A critical issue on the use of force not raised is how much is needed. This is critical because less than enough force to deter or defeat armed elements or fleeing rioting civilians would be disastrous. While it presents no problem to fire on armed soldiers or rebels attacking an intervention force, firing on civilians is an ever present danger any democratic government would wish to avoid.

The essay, "Diplomatic Implications of Emerging Diseases," while bringing together the dominant concepts of the book, presents a rational and frightening picture that this threat presents to humankind. Contagious pandemic plague and the

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reemergence of diseases like tuberculosis through "the microbes' potential to adapt and mutate in the face of the antibiotic assault" are readily conceivable by experts. Overcrowded cities and refugee camps characterized by poverty, poor housing and inadequate medical care will be the vectors.

One clear, overwhelming conclusion from these convincing studies is that none of the tools in the gamut necessary for preventive diplomacy, and least of all the diplomatic tool, can be underfunded if it is to be useful. The diplomatic tool is essential for gathering, evaluating and analyzing essential information, for controlling coordination of all the tools and for negotiating humanitarian intervention, ceasefires, peacemaking, peacekeeping, ultimate stability and development.

Roy Haverkamp is a retired FSO who, in his 37-year career, has served in Korea, Sweden, Tokyo, Congo, Zaire, Cambodia and Benin.

BRITONS WEIGH IN ON SUMMITS' VALUE

Diplomacy at the Highest Level: The Evolution of International Summitry

David H. Dunn, Ed., St. Martin's Press, 1997, \$69.95, 279 pages.

BY ROY A. HARRELL JR.

In the vast amount of literature devoted to international relations, almost no attention has been paid to the general subject of summitry or, more specifically, the relationship between domestic and foreign policies of particular countries. Though

this tome seeks to remedy this situation, it falls far short of its goal.

Since World War II, summits have been held on a variety of topics, including economic, diplomatic, trade and scientific matters. Usually the term "summit" applies to those personal diplomatic exchanges between heads of governments, or their chosen agents, which may accomplish a variety of objectives.

The first international meeting of minds that was termed a "summit" was the Geneva Summit of 1955. Summits have even become vogue during state funerals. While some meetings are window dressing and have predetermined outcomes, others are designed to be more free-wheeling and promote goodwill, such as one in the '50s called by Winston Churchill in an attempt to ease Cold War tensions. Other meetings have been devoted to German reunification, European security, disarmament, and cultural and economic relations between East and West.

The analyses of contributors – all British – vary greatly, such as the extent to which summits are symbolic or goal-oriented, and to what extent something of substance transpires. Some summits are undertaken for specific domestic – as opposed to foreign policy – reasons, such as to discuss water flow and runoff from Canada into Lake Michigan. Others, like economic summits, have become institutionalized. There is little consistency on issues among authors: Some subjects are addressed in detail by a few writers and some are totally ignored by others.

Interestingly, none of the writers discusses the summits behind the summits, in which small nations try to resolve minor issues connected to the larger ones for which the summit was convened; such issues can include

the environment, energy supplies and trade.

Contributors also make no effort to delineate the fine line between summitry and negotiations. Negotiations are usually an outgrowth of a broader conflict in which one party, the claimant, tries to persuade another party, the respondent, to take an action or series of actions against his will. Claimants may employ a script-driven sequence of tracts and constantly change approaches until the conflict is resolved or negotiations are abandoned. Not one author pointed out the importance of the element of fragility in relationships after the summit, when countries may tend to emphasize flexibility over firmness.

While this book is a treasure trove of incisive thinking about the past, present and, possibly, the future of summitry, the preoccupation with the procedural (briefing papers, logistics, etc.) to the exclusion of the substance detracts immeasurably from the book's digestibility. So densely packed with facts, footnotes and references, the book is difficult to read, and perhaps should have been divided into two volumes.

Though its value as an exploratory work may be a lasting one, the volume has such a proliferation of errors on the U.S. government's organization and its diplomatic efforts – including the assertion that political ambassadors need to pass the Foreign Service exam – that it is of little use to scholars of American summitry. A good and factual account remains to be written.

Roy A. Harrell Jr. is a retired FSO who served in the Foreign Service for 24 years, from 1961 to 1985, worked in 35 sub-Saharan African nations. He now lives in Ozona, Texas.

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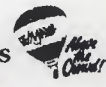
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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

Rickshaw Art in Dhaka

BY SALLY E. COGHLAN

Art doesn't have to be at the Louvre to coax a deep emotional response. As any parent knows, a child's finger painting can inspire the same awe as the Mona Lisa. My favorite form of art, however, is the alternative designs appearing on the back of bicycle rickshaws, which remain the most popular means of transportation in Dhaka, the world's 10th-largest city.

Half bicycle, half carriage, rickshaws carry up to two passengers for fares of between 9 cents and \$2 each, depending on the length of the journey and the operator's negotiating skill. Whatever the agreed-upon sum, foreigners can expect to pay 25 percent more than locals. An alternative to the human-powered rickshaw is the "baby taxi," a three-wheeled motorized vehicle with a seat that doesn't tip and a driver who doesn't work as hard. Both kinds of rickshaws act like rolling art exhibits, whose canvases are designed to charm art lovers and commuters alike.

The brightly colored, almost garish, paintings, whose primitive style reminds me of a Rousseau, have been one of the few constants in my frequent trips to Dhaka over the last 10 years. I first started noticing the artwork as a harmless form of entertainment invented to entertain myself during the long, exhausting commute through treacherous gridlock to my work at a health clinic in the old town area.

Sally E. Coghlan, a health contractor who has worked for the U.S. Agency for International Development, lives in Chatham, Mass.

Viewing the artwork became a harmless form of entertainment to occupy myself during the long, stressful commute through treacherous gridlock to my job.

Passage through the maze of city buses, trucks, cars and rickshaws is so stressful that this little occupation is a bit like strolling through an outdoor art exhibit. Well, almost, if you discount the air pollution, noise and dirt. Country officials have considered banning rickshaws to ease the traffic, but the idea was abandoned after they realized 1 million rickshaw *wallahs* would be left unemployed. And so, we commuters now have more time to appreciate this unappreciated art form.

These street artists' subject matter is astounding, ranging from favorite ani-

mals like colorful parrots, cavorting dolphins and teeth-baring Bengali tigers, to detailed drawings of the Parliament building, designed 25 years ago by world-renowned architect I.M. Pei. Another popular subject is the Fallen Martyrs monument that honors Bangladeshi patriots of the 1971 War of Independence.

Bangladeshis are proud of their modern legacy and both monuments remind citizens of their history, which includes 200 years as a domain of the British empire. After the British withdrew from India in 1947, bloody wars broke out and two countries were created: India, with a predominantly Hindu population, and Pakistan, with a predominantly Muslim population. Pakistan was further divided into two regions, West Pakistan and East Pakistan, on either side of India. In 1971, East Pakistan became independent from West Pakistan after a bloody civil war that claimed the lives of 1 million. Thus was the birth of Bangladesh.

Still, not all rickshaw art depicts animals or historical subjects. Some pictures resemble travelogues of far-away places, featuring an alpine village nestled beneath snow-capped peaks, an erupting Mount Vesuvius, the famed Sydney Opera House or India's Taj Mahal.

No doubt Dhaka's imaginative folk artists are using their artistic vision to capture images of places and animals likely never to be seen by most, as commuters make their way across the dirty, gritty city that is their reality. ■



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