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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

The Incredible Shrinking Foreign Service

BY ALPHONSE F. LA PORTA

A brief incumbency as your president calls for a modest valedictory. During my time with AFSA, first as vice president for the State Department constituency and later as president, we have explored and pronounced on a wide range of professional and career issues. But there is persistent and troubling evidence that the Foreign Service is fast becoming a pale shadow of itself — an institution that is increasingly incapable of meeting U.S. needs and interests.

Recent analysis by AFSA labor-management officer Richard Scissors provides strong evidence to verify, yet again, what AFSA has said for many years: U.S. foreign policy is endangered by a shrinking Foreign Service and one that is being deprived of essential competencies. This unhappy trend over the past five years has resulted from increased separations as a result of the time-in-class system ("death by TIC" or the "stealth RIF"), budget reductions, presidentially-mandated streamlining and very low intake levels.

Witness: With a base of some 8,000 State Foreign Service employees in 1992, we have shrunk to about 7,000. Within this group, there has been an 11.26 percent reduction in specialist ranks, while the number of generalist officers has declined by 7.4 percent.

Alphonse F. La Porta recently relinquished the AFSA presidency to become ambassador to Mongolia. This column was written before his Oct. 21 confirmation by the U.S. Senate.

*The Foreign
Service is fast
becoming a pale
shadow of itself.*

Moreover, there has been a serious impact on overseas staffing. Data indicate there are nearly 4.6 percent fewer generalist positions overseas today than in 1992 — basically reversing the junior reporting officer "build-back" of 1983-1985 — while overseas specialists have declined by nearly 10 percent.

Specialist reductions have been heaviest among secretaries, information-management personnel, security engineers, nurses and physicians. Some of the infrastructural contraction can be attributed to the repatriation of functions to the United States, such as the centralization of "rover" positions and the transfer of functions to the Florida regional center, but there are worries that the administrative base overseas is not robust enough to sustain new requirements under the International Cooperative Administrative Support System for sharing support costs.

AFSA is naturally concerned with this debilitating trend:

■ The secretary of State and the political leadership will not have the skilled personnel to carry out new

initiatives of national importance. When new missions arise, the cupboard will be bare.

■ Staffing reductions have not been taken as a result of work force planning but have been arbitrary, indiscriminate and shortsighted. We do not know how many people we truly need at all levels, what the optimum grade and skill levels are, and we have not calculated losses in terms of experience and performance criteria, only numbers.

■ This is a Foreign Service based on knowledge and experience. It takes a long time to rebuild expertise and to reinstall professionalism in the ranks. By its attitudes and actions, State management has conveyed that a Foreign Service career is not worth pursuing and that people are not an investment to be protected and nurtured.

While these observations apply directly to the State component of the Foreign Service, AFSA has witnessed similar developments in the other foreign affairs agencies.

Only strong action by Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, Under Secretary for Political Affairs Thomas R. Pickering and Director-General Edward "Skip" Gnehm can begin to redress the balance in favor of maintaining a Foreign Service of which the nation can be proud. The battle for adequate budgetary resources cannot be lost in the breach, and work force planning, organizational reform, and responsiveness and productivity in administrative operations must be instituted. ■

J. KIRBY SIMON FOREIGN SERVICE TRUST

AN INVITATION TO PROPOSE PROJECTS FOR FUNDING BY THE J. KIRBY SIMON FOREIGN SERVICE TRUST IN 1998

The J. Kirby Simon Foreign Service Trust is a charitable fund established in the memory of Kirby Simon, a Foreign Service Officer who died in 1995 while serving in Taiwan. The Trust is committed to expanding the opportunities for professional fulfillment and community service of active Foreign Service Officers and their families.

During its early years, the Trust is principally engaged in the support of projects that are initiated and carried out, not in an official capacity and not on official time, by Foreign Service personnel or members of their families, acting alone or in collaboration with others. Although it is expected that most of the Trust's projects will be undertaken by FSOs or their family members, the Trust will consider proposals from other Foreign Service personnel and from U.S. Government employees, regardless of nationality, employed at American diplomatic posts abroad.

For 1997 the Trust made seven grants ranging in amount from \$500 to \$4000, for a total of \$14,750. These grants supported the following projects (further described in a Trust announcement entitled "Grants Awarded in 1997"):

- Two summer day camps for children of Embassy or Consulate personnel in Caracas, Venezuela and St. Petersburg, Russia, organized by Foreign Service family volunteers.
- A prose and poetry writing contest "to encourage the development of a written tradition" among the young people of Djibouti, organized by an FSO stationed there.
- Installation of an alternative energy system using ocean waves — developed by an FSO in Guatemala — that will provide lighting after dark for local fishermen and will have other uses for village power generation.
- Provision of school supplies, bus tickets, clothing, shoes and meals to enable Roma (gypsy) children to get to school in Krakow, Poland, under a support program organized by two FSOs at the Consulate.
- A variety of educational activities and services at the West Bank's only nonsectarian, coeducational and multi-language (Arabic, Hebrew, English) school, provided by 15 American volunteers organized by two FSOs stationed in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, Israel.
- Resources needed to expand the circulation of *The Sun — The Spouse's Underground Newsletter*, "a grass roots publication written by and for Foreign Service spouses," published on a nonprofit basis by two Foreign Service spouses.

The Trust now invites the submission of proposals, for support in 1998, that advance the purposes of the Trust. It is anticipated that most of the new grants will fall within the same funding range as the 1997 awards and that the total amount of grants will approximate the 1997 total.

It is expected that projects assisted by the Trust will reflect a variety of interests and approaches, some of which are illustrated by the 1997 grants. Other possible projects include, for example, studies of governmental policies affecting FSOs' professional achievement and personal well-being; measures to increase public awareness of the work of the Foreign Service and the lives of its members; programs to expand knowledge and stimulate thought, on the part of Government personnel, concerning critical foreign affairs topics (including human rights and environmental issues).

Grants provided by the Trust can be used to defray a wide range of project expenses, such as acquisition of equipment and materials (e.g., books, tapes, sports supplies, musical instruments), travel and data collection costs, fees to non-Foreign Service personnel for research or other assistance, and dissemination of materials. Grant funds from the Trust, however, cannot be used to pay salaries or other forms of compensation to U.S. Government employees or their family members. Because of the limited resources available to the Trust, it is not in a position to support projects that, in the view of the Trustees, have reasonable prospects of obtaining the funds they need from other sources, or propose to conduct activities closely similar to those undertaken by other public or private programs, or cannot be carried out effectively with Trust-size grants.

A proposal should include a description of the project, what it is intended to achieve, and the role to be played by the applicant(s); a preliminary plan for disseminating the products of or lessons learned from the project; a budget; and a brief biography of the applicant(s). Proposals should not be longer than five double-spaced pages (exclusive of the budget and biographical material).

Proposals for projects to be funded during calendar year 1998 must be received by the Trust no later than Friday, January 30, 1998.

Proposals should be sent to: J. Kirby Simon Foreign Service Trust, 82 Edgehill Road, New Haven, CT 06511, U.S.A, FAX: 203-432-0063
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LETTERS

To the Editor:

Three major groups of readers will thoroughly enjoy Marshall Green's book, *Pacific Encounters* ("Books," October *Journal*): those who know or know about Marshall Green; those who are interested in Asia, foreign affairs, and the Foreign Service; and those with a sense of humor. These are not at all mutually-exclusive characteristics, and the greatest enjoyment will be gained by readers who benefit from all three.

On the other hand, *Pacific Encounters* may disappoint anyone expecting a profound, in-depth, or historical treatise on events in the South Pacific from 1939 to 1979, to which Ambassador Green was a witness or in which he was a player. He does not ignore them, nor fail to place them in the appropriate perspective from both operational and bureaucratic viewpoints, but his serious writings on the region appear elsewhere. This book's subtitle, *Recollections and Humor*, clearly states his intentions, and he has managed to fit a considerable quantity of each category into a slim volume.

No one has ever doubted the seriousness with which Mr. Green has handled his responsibilities, which

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increased exponentially over the years, in large measure because of the serious application of his dedication, intelligence, competence, courage and energy. Through it all, however, he never lost his ability to perceive the humorous — or his judgement as to when and how to use it. In our rather stodgy subculture, his successes are extraordinary.

Even in high-level, high-stakes diplomacy, as he has proven again and again, there are times when laughter can be employed to promote the objective, and there is little doubt that his wide-spread reputation as a punster and storyteller did a great deal to facilitate productive relations with those on the other side of the table. His sense of humor, the external manifestation of an extremely sharp, clear and facile intelligence at work, was as notable as his achievements. The ability to exercise the former without losing sight of the latter is the hallmark of his approach.

There are very few who would contest Marshall Green's ability to use words to convey his message. That he often chose puns as the primary vehicle for his humor is a tribute to the pleasure he derived from that ability. His poetry, most evident in the examples of those he wrote for his wife, Lisenard, over the years of their marriage displays a pervasive love of the language to match his evident love for her, for the Foreign Service life they shared, and for life itself. The book is a gem from that perspective alone.

*Edward Peck
Retired Ambassador
Washington, D.C.*

To the Editor:

I object to [Refugees International's President Lionel A.] Rosenblatt's denigration of the superb performance of American diplomat [acting Deputy Chief of Mission] Peter Whaley, just because Rosenblatt disagreed with policy decisions made in Washington or events in the field not susceptible to U.S. manipulation ("Letters," September *Journal*). I welcome the opportunity to put some clear facts on the table.

Refugee numbers. U.S. Embassy Kigali has argued for years that the U.N. refugee count in Zaire, which was never more than an estimate, was inflated by a factor of about 25 percent. Once refugees started to move as a result of rebel pressure in 1996, overhead surveillance of the U.S. Air Force tended to support the contention that refugee numbers were less than that claimed by the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees. At the end of August, the UNHCR asserted there were fewer than 17,000 refugees remaining in Congo. While the number of people who may have perished during the course of the rebellion is not yet precisely known, it is certainly way below the number of 200,000 "missing" refugees earlier alleged.

Atrocities. We do not deny — and never have — that atrocities occurred in Zaire during the fighting. In fact, as soon as the first reports of attacks on camps were received in early November 1996, U.S. Embassy Kigali sought in vain to deploy U.S. and U.N. personnel to investigate. During the

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continued course of the conflict, we repeatedly stressed to Rwandan and alliance leaders the need to observe strictest standards of comportment vis-à-vis refugees. The belated U.N. investigation now under way will seek to arrive at facts regarding what may have transpired during the conflict.

Multilateral force: Our advice to Washington was that a multilateral force would not be effective unless it had the military authority to confront forces of ex-FAR/Interahamwe, a Hutu group holding refugees hostage. In fact, the international community's refusal to authorize such rules of engagement was the stumbling point that prohibited deployment of the force. Given that constraint, the decision not to deploy was the correct one. It was, of course, made in Washington, not in Kigali.

Rwandan involvement: As to Rosenblatt's charge that we concealed Rwanda's role in Zaire, we reported faithfully and accurately the information available from Rwanda. Despite our offers, we were not authorized to travel into Zaire to report on events there. Under instructions, we repeatedly warned Rwandan authorities about suspected involvement, but aside from admissions of sympathy for the rebels and acknowledgement of training support for Zairian Banyamulenge and Banyamasisi soldiers, we generated no hard evidence of Rwandan Army involvement. The after-the-fact admission by Vice President [Paul Kagame] regarding Rwanda's more active role confirmed earlier suspicions.

In closing, I note that although the change was traumatic, the situation in the Great Lakes region of Africa has much improved during the past year. One and a half million refugees are safely home — and off the international dole. The despot [Mobutu Sese Seko] has been removed from power in Zaire, which gives the Congolese peo-

ple a new opportunity for democracy and prosperity. Finally, peace — a long-sought commodity in this genocide-afflicted, war-torn region — is largely re-established. We at U.S. Embassy Kigali are proud of the role we played in securing these achievements.

Robert E. Gribbin
Ambassador
U.S. Embassy Kigali



To the Editor:

What's up with trying to get the State Department to recognize "domestic partnerships" as "family" for purposes of travel authorizations, etc.? What's the point? And what does the American Foreign Service Association hope to gain for the Foreign Service by pushing such an initiative?

This appears to be another case of American society opting to avoid having to make decisions and commitments. Take the case of a single, male FSO with a girlfriend. Under the AFSA proposal, the guy would get all the benefits of a legal marriage, with none of the obligations. Why should he? If he wants the State Department to pay for her extras, he should marry her, and undertake the obligations that entails. If he doesn't want to marry her, he should not get the benefits of marriage.

Read the Vienna Convention with respect to your proposal on diplomatic immunity. It applies to family members of those on the diplomatic list, not live-in girlfriends. You can change the definition of "family," if you want, but it doesn't change the reality.

If the proposal is aimed at giving family status to gay and lesbian partners, it has the same problem. The United States does not yet recognize same-sex marriages for legal purposes. Until such time as it does, the State Department should not, either. If a gay guy wants to bring his partner to

LETTERS

post, that's fine, but it should be at his own expense.

With the real issues facing the Foreign Service, this proposal is a loser that will gain nothing for State. Don't squander what little political capital AFSA has on nonsense like this.

*Name Withheld
at Author's Request
FSO
Washington, D.C.*

To the Editor:

I would like to say a few words about Bob Barnett, whom we lost in July ("Obits," September *Journal*). Bob was my close friend and an invaluable Foreign Service colleague from the time we met in 1947 at the Far East Commission on Japan to the last year of his life, when he struggled against overwhelming physical obstacles to record for history some of the key negotiations in which he played a prominent role.

As I recently wrote to his dear wife, Joan, Bob struck me as a modern-day Renaissance man — he was an outstanding Rhodes Scholar, internationalist and economist, as well as an author, cellist and athlete.

Both in the State Department and later working for the Asia Society and for Carnegie, Bob gave strong encouragement and support for Japan's overseas economic assistance programs and for its concept of comprehensive security. Meanwhile, he had been in the forefront of efforts to normalize relations between Washington and Beijing.

But Bob's greatest professional triumph related to Indonesia. There he masterminded an international settlement of Indonesia's huge debt (contracted during Sukarno's wasteful rule), thus eliminating a major obstacle to Indonesia's creditworthiness

and paving the way for its remarkable economic growth. Equally important were his successful efforts toward the establishment of an international donor's group for Indonesia, consisting of 14 countries and five international organizations, including the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank, as well as his population stabilization efforts.

There was a humanistic core to Bob's temperament, and he always gave due attention to the cultures, interests and circumstances of the countries with which he was dealing. Thoughtful and attentive to the views of others, he had an unusual capacity for making friends. This prominently included a new breed of Asian pragmatists and modernists who were coming to the forefront.

Bob was a man of vision, but he was no visionary. He recognized the limitations of American power and bounty, and the consequent need for our allies and friends to assume greater responsibilities for their own security and advancement, working with the United States and others. This was to become embodied in the Nixon Doctrine.

In sum, Bob Barnett's life career was dedicated to working relentlessly for the benefit of humankind, always pursuing his goals with modesty, mutuality and multilateralism.

*Marshall Green
Retired Ambassador
Washington, D.C.*

To the Editor:

This letter is in response to Lewis Ellinger's article, "End Bidding War Politics," ("Speaking Out," August *Journal*).

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former career development officer and assignments officer — I feel better able to comment on Mr. Ellinger's article. He's mostly right. The very existence of direct authority of the director general recognizes the right of department principals to reward their favorites. A DG's refusal to "direct" may just mean that the under secretary for Management, or even the deputy secretary, does it instead.

The personnel process is set up to be as fair and clear as possible. But we aren't dealing with Olympic racing results here — defining the criteria — already all subjective — is tough, but applying them consistently is even tougher. Let's look at the selection committees for the deputy chief of mission and principal officers. First, we have two kinds — for regular posts and those for Special Embassy Program posts. Second, we have the State Department's agreement to work toward gender ratios set by the women's class action lawsuit. We have long-standing, high-level statements on the need to be representative and diverse. We say merit would prevail, all other things being equal. Equal? How? I haven't yet seen two performance records that were equal. The committees operate with highly subjective criteria, which may follow the personnel fashion du jour, and then apply it to comparing apples, oranges and horse chestnuts.

Furthermore, each assignment is supposed to fit your career path by developing your skills. Why else would a Japanese-speaking financial economist get a tour as a political-military officer in Vienna? Finally, even when the DCM Committee comes up with an impeccable, stellar, fair, diverse short list — the final choice depends on the ambassador or, in his absence, the bureau's assistant secretary. No one can be forced to accept someone on the short list — all may be rejected until the "right, golden one" is included.

The best efforts may only yield results that look like a lottery from afar, since each of us, were we on the committee

LETTERS

and operating by the same criteria, could end up with vastly differing short lists.

Elbinger's comments on abuse of stretches that can deny at-grade officers opportunities are right on the mark. It can really look like that from the outside. The most egregious ones are the most notable ones. The rest, which allow ambitious lower-grade officers to take challenging, but unpopular assignments, don't receive much attention. Also, no one can tell from the outside if the assignment was directed or whether the DCM Committee played dirty pool. Because there is no "shoot-out" procedure where a panel can vote on the merits of each candidate for DCM/PO selections, no one knows why the committee chose the short list — making it easy to see it as truly unfair. I believe the unfairness comes from the overall subjectivity of the criteria, the performance files, and the perceptions of individual committee members more than from significant high-level favoritism.

The proof is in the results. Has the current process produced disasters? Except for the usual rumor, word of mouth and hallway gossip, no one really checks. Would one of those who lost the chance have done any better? There are in-cone, at-grade, selections that still turn out badly.

The current up-or-out personnel system is by definition a "Peter Principle" operating system: One receives better and better assignments and fast promotions until he blows it. If State produced cars the way it selected DCMs, we'd still be building each by hand via committee.

Speak up. You'll make the system better and maybe, just maybe, give the more deserving — if less favored — officers a chance.

Teresa Jones
FSO
Classification Reviewer
State Department
Washington, D.C. ■

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GEORGIAN JAILED AFTER GUILTY PLEA

A Georgian diplomat who pled guilty to involuntary manslaughter in the death of a 16-year old Maryland resident in January will be jailed until his Dec. 19 sentencing, *The Washington Post* reported on Oct. 9.

Gueorgui Makharadze, the Georgian embassy's second-in-command who has been free since the car accident, was stunned when D.C. Superior Court Judge Harold L. Cushenberry refused to release him once again on personal recognizance, Bill Miller reported. "I take full responsibility for what happened," said Makharadze, 35, who pled guilty to one count of involuntary manslaughter and four counts of aggravated assault — all felony charges. Four people were also injured in the Dupont Circle crash that killed Joviane Waltrick. The guilty plea was an emotional victory for the victim's family members. "He's going to jail!" exclaimed a friend of the family.

The accident sparked much debate on the issue of diplomatic immunity and prompted Rep. David Drier, R-Calif., to introduce a bill as part of the Foreign Policy Reform Act of 1997 that would make diplomats more accountable for their actions. Drier's bill would require the State Department to provide Congress with information on incidents involving foreign and American diplomats and urges the president to ensure that diplomats who commit crimes in the United States stand trial either in America or in their own countries.

"I deeply regret the pain I have caused in this country and in my beloved Georgia," said Makharadze, who faces up to 70 years in prison, according to the *Post*. "I will bear the pain of having caused the death of Miss Waltrick for the rest of my life."

Tedo Japaridze, the Georgian ambassador to the United States, said in a statement that Makharadze's early jailing "seems extreme," the *Post* reported, adding that Makharadze's "recent activities have been attending weekly prayer breakfasts, meetings with his attorneys and daily helping with the embassy as best he could."

WAS WELD A MAN BEHAVING BADLY?

The line that divides diplomacy and politics is a fine one, but President Clinton's failed nominee as ambassador to Mexico may have crossed it, opined senators Rod Grams and Craig Thomas in a Sept. 15 op-ed piece in the *Washington Times*.

Bill Weld quit his day job as governor of Massachusetts to pursue his confirmation, which was so opposed by Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms that he refused to schedule the issue for discussion. Helms claimed his opposition to Weld stemmed from, among other things, his "soft" stance on drugs — a critically important issue between Mexico and the United States.

The pair, both SFRC members, noted they were "dismayed at the way Weld has continued to politicize his nomination." Weld, they claimed, was more interested in promoting discord within the Republican party than in serving his country abroad. "Gov. Weld's decision to exploit his nomination is more than a personal challenge to Sen. Helms. It is unprecedented."

In addition, they characterized him as undiplomatic. "[Weld] has engaged in behavior inappropriate for a U.S. ambassador," they said.

Grams and Craig suggest that Weld would have done more for his nomination



CLIPPINGS

had he worked quietly behind the scenes, like all other nominees, to persuade lawmakers to give their seal of approval. "Instead, he chose to declare ideological war ... and dismissed concerns about his drug record as 'phony baloney,'" they wrote.

With his nomination in the trash, Weld may have learned that what works in Boston won't work in Washington.

HOW TO TALK TO A DICTATOR

No one can accuse Bill Richardson of being a slow learner. Though he's only been U.S. ambassador to the United Nations for 11 months, Richardson has developed a knack for going after what he wants — and getting it. His years as a congressman and diplomat have helped him amass a small collection of diplomatic victories that have earned him a reputation as one of diplomacy's winningest tough guys.

"Richardson's people skills and diplomatic risk-taking have made him President Clinton's favorite troubleshooter and, as a member of the Cabinet, an influential foreign-policy advisor," noted reporter Tad Szulc writes in the Sept. 14 issue of *Parade Magazine*. His accomplishments include spearheading successful talks with North Korean officials to gain the release of two U.S. airmen captured in the demilitarized zone; securing a promise from Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to allow Serb refugees back to their homes in Croatia; and convincing longtime Zairian strongman Mobutu Sese Seko to resign gracefully while keeping human rights and economic reforms at the forefront of talks with rebel leader Laurent Kabila. He's also warned the hearts of two of the world's last dictators:

Saddam Hussein and Fidel Castro.

According to Szulc, Richardson's chameleon-like diplomatic style has worked small wonders, able to talk tough when needed and to break the tension with a little humor. His methods have certainly made a difference in many negotiations. "My nature is open and gregarious," adds Richardson. "I kid people. And it works, because it establishes a personal connection."

JANE AND JANE DOE AND BABY MAKE 3

In these days of PC behavior, consular officials at U.S. Consulate General Toronto could be forgiven for being a little confused. After all, when is a father not a father? When she's a second mother.

Recently an American woman living in Canada asked U.S. consular officials in Toronto that her newborn child be registered as a U.S. citizen. However, when she asked that her domestic female partner be registered as parent in lieu of the child's biological father, the mother drew surprised stares from the American officials.

"I didn't want to push it," the unidentified woman told *The Washington Blade* in a story published Oct. 5. Consular officials, who did not flatly refuse, told the mother that the document specifies that the biological father's name appear — and no one else. The woman, however, insisted her partner had adopted the child under Canadian law, and was, therefore, a legal parent. Officials and mother agreed to a series of typed dashes in lieu of a name. Law experts, however, say that U.S. consular officials should

50 YEARS AGO

"That ancient fable about the blind men and the elephant applies with singular aptness to the American Foreign Service," Washington Post reporter Marquis Childs wrote in a piece that was republished in the November 1947 issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*. "The average American traveling abroad is likely to form his general impression from the few individuals he meets in the Service.

"He is hard working, knowledgeable, with acute political and intellectual curiosity. He looks at the country in which he is serving not through any haze of longing for a past that can never be restored, but with keen realism. [Or] he may encounter quite another type .. who regards himself as very much of a privileged personality — first as an American and then as a member of the rare and special caste of diplomat."



"A diplomat is a person who can tell you to go to hell in such a way that you actually look forward to the trip."

— 20-CENTURY
AMERICAN WRITER
CASKIE STINNETT

have reeognized the woman's domestic partner as the other parent. "It appears that the laws of Canada reeognize two women of the same sex as coparents," according to Michael Maggio, a Washington, D.C., attorney who specializes in immigration law. "For this reason, the name of her female partner should be listed on this document." Judy Hartman, an officer with Ontario's Office of Registrar General, said that Ontario's highest court requires the names of both adoptive parents on a birth certificate, even if they are of the same sex.

Maria Rudensky, a spokeswoman for the State Department, said that U.S. Foreign Service posts eall for recognition of adoptions approved by foreign governments, so in this case, both women's names should have been written on the document.

AMBASSADOR TO SPAIN BLASTS BUDGET CUTS

"Diplomaey by fax simply doesn't work," says Richard N. Gardner, until recently U.S. ambassador to Spain.

America needs to make ambassadors and embassies a higher priority, Gardner noted in an article in the inaugural issue of *The Foreign Policy Forum*, the magazine of the New York-based Foreign Policy Association. "U.S. embassies serve as essential delivery systems to implement foreign policy," he wrote. "Not only are ambassadors responsible for maintaining bilateral relations with other countries, but more importantly, they form a critical piece of the U.S. foreign policy puzzle."

Gardner blames the White House for being "oblivious" to the critical role embassies and ambassadors play in implementing foreign policy. ■

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SPEAKING OUT

Why Is the EST Cone Being Cut?

BY PETER HUMPHREY

As early as 1992, the prestigious Carnegie Commission called for more U.S. government expertise in science and technology, especially at the State Department, noting that "very few talented career Foreign Service officers have had experience with science and technology and there are very few science officers abroad. ... The number of science officers at embassies must be increased." The report made clear the need for more aggressive and extensive recruiting of officers with technical backgrounds and proposed enhanced incentives for FSOs pursuing international science and technology careers. The report observed that ambassadors who are asked to cut personnel will always view the environment, science and technology position as expendable, and that the State Department culture rejects — or at least resists — transplants with technical skills. Since the report, the world, if anything, has become more technological, not less.

The commission presbyopically noted that there are technical dimensions to almost every component of U.S. foreign political, economic and social policy, and the U.S. government is poorly equipped to cope with these trends, which is leading to lost opportunities and, occasionally, failure to heed warning signs. The report concluded with a plea: As the science and technology component of foreign policy increases through the 1990s,

Peter Humphrey, an FSO, is the State Department's Iraq analyst.

*Kill the science
cone and the
range of State's
professional
competence is
narrowed.*



the nation can no longer afford to pay this price. The Foreign Service needs more EST officers.

But what has happened since 1992? Did science suddenly become less important on the world stage while I wasn't looking?

This year, the State Department decided to phase out the EST cone by officers by 2004, moving its function to economics offices or regional environmental hubs. If your assignment is to be a half-time science officer and a half-time economics officer, there's no mystery which "half" of your portfolio will require more of your time and be evaluated as more important on your EER.

The U.S. government employs some 35 science and technology officers in Washington, D.C. and some 40 officers overseas, including key posts in Tokyo, Beijing, Moscow, Vienna and

Mexico. Since the 1992 report, EST jobs decreased, and an entire EST section at U.S. Embassy New Delhi has been wiped out. In addition, over the next six years, as EST slots are eliminated altogether, former science officers will be absorbed into other cones.

Science officers are important to U.S. foreign policy because of their expertise. The large majority of EST officers have a science background and related professional experience. Most EST officers at embassies, with some rare exceptions, are also FSOs, making them doubly valuable to their posts.

When Mexico realized that the northern Yucatan had been the site of the meteorite whose impact killed the dinosaurs 65 million years ago, it was a science officer who made sure the U.S. research community was fully integrated into the science story of the decade. Mexico had been excluding the larger scientific community, but because of an alert EST officer, U.S. scientists were brought in on the discovery early. This is but one example of how EST officers serve the large U.S. community.

When Popocatepetl, a volcano southeast of Mexico City, started to erupt in 1994, threatening the world's largest city, it was a science officer who made sure the city had access to the best U.S. seismic monitoring technology. It was a science officer who joined astronauts and cosmonauts in the decades of the '60s and '70s in the former Soviet Union, setting the stage for U.S.-Russian cooperation on the space station Mir. And it was a science officer



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SPEAKING OUT



who served as a back channel with a pariah state and clipped the wings of a potentially devastating world-wide plague. It was a science officer who reported the sudden appearance in Latin America of rather impoverished Russian nuclear physicists, who presumably would have been vulnerable to offers from countries whose interests are at odds with the United States, because he understood the importance of their background when presumably, a generalist FSO might not have noticed. It is science officers who routinely beat the technical journals with the latest news, and science officers who send up red flags on technologies of concern.

Only the most myopic observer of global trends could deny that ever-increasing chunks of our foreign presence, such as the economics of technology issues, will be partially or completely dependent on science, or fail to recognize that these issues are best tracked by those who know this scientific vocabulary well enough to engage overseas scientists.

Why? The United States is ignoring major technological issues in the world. If nuclear materials show up in Yekaterinburg or Vladivostok, for example, only an EST officer could best explain the urgency to the United States. Also, there is only one EST officer in the Middle East — in Egypt — and no consulates have EST officers.

Someone once defined a Renaissance person as a "jack of all trades, master of none," as a man or woman who can bear any burden, suffer any indignity, go any place anytime to fulfill the needs of the Foreign Service — which may or may not be the same as the needs of the taxpayers. The Foreign Service prides itself on recruiting and cultivating generalists, not specialists

SPEAKING OUT



such as EST officers — so much so that it may be enslaved by its own noble dogma.

A science officer is a jack of all trades, master of one: Think of her as a generalist with a little something extra. She, too, passed the recruiting exams, which are geared to recruit bearers of arcane knowledge; it is all the more miraculous when she joins the ranks of the lawyers, MBAs, teachers and foreign policy wonks who pass with regularity.

Exactly what are global issues? The really nasty stuff — the smuggled isotopes, the potent pestilence, the stolen patents, the eroding genetic resources, the environmental toxins, the infowar terrorists, the chemical weapons and the biological bombs — is not truly accessible to generalists. These issues are as much a part of


America's national security as radar and anti-submarine warfare.

And these issues are most accessible to scientists, who may be doing a tour at U.S. Consulate Yekaterinburg when the local news reports a little nuclear-smuggling incident, or in Afghanistan, when a new mahdi invokes biojihad against the decadent West, or in Cameroon when a volcano emits an unknown gas that kills thousands, or in Zambia when genocide refugees intersect a new Ebola outbreak, or in India when its government pleads for instantaneous assistance during a horrific chemical spill. There is great benefit in having technical competence, recognizing it as such, and diffusing it widely.



These issues won't go away, and will probably increase geometrically — if not exponentially — in the future. If State doesn't begin taking






these issues seriously as foreign policy challenges, other agencies — perhaps intelligence or an enhanced Environmental Protection Agency — will. And State will have accomplished little more than shoveling even more of its ever-decreasing mandate over, once again, to other government agencies.

Kill the science cone and the range of State's professional competence is narrowed even more. Only the most self-deluded could argue otherwise. The State managers who engineered this will be gone in a couple of years, but the Foreign Service will be scarred for decades — or until some inevitable disaster finds the Service caught short and Congress hauls it back to the future once again. Why must the Foreign Service always be reactive instead of anticipatory? ■



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IMMIGRANT DREAMS

As population growth continues to outpace economic development throughout much of the Third World, immigration in many developed countries — particularly the United States — is emerging as a post-Cold War national security issue, a growing headache for foreign policymakers, and a focal point for increasingly polarized domestic politics.

Senior European defense officials worry that a population explosion in North Africa poses a security threat to NATO's southern flank, *The Washington Times* reported in 1995, quoting an unnamed senior NATO official from southern Europe: "The geographical conflict in the future will be aligned along meridians [north-south lines] and not along [east-west] parallels. Given the demographic gap, the eventual outcome is predictable. The West is destined to succumb."

The domestic political tensions created by immigration are likely to worsen in coming years as economic and population forces increase the human wave migrating legally and illegally across the planet. Some 500 million people are currently unemployed or underemployed in developing countries, and 30 million more are entering the job market each year, according to the United Nations Population Fund.

Although birth rates are falling, the world's population is growing

faster today than ever before and many experts doubt that capital and technology can be created fast enough in poor countries to keep up with the demand for jobs. Even allowing for a continued drop in birth rates, the world's population of 5.6 billion people may rise to between 10 billion and 12.5 billion by the year 2050. By then, Mexico will have 150 million people and Brazil 246 million. The U.S. population is expected to grow 29 percent by 2025, while in Mexico and Guatemala growth will be 63 percent and 135 percent, respectively. Together, Europe and North America, which in 1950 had more than 22 percent of the world's population, will contain less than 10 percent by 2025.

Authors Matthew Connelly and Paul Kennedy described, in a 1994 *Atlantic Monthly* piece, the world's future migratory pressures:

■ 95 percent of the world population increase will be in developing countries that lack the infrastructure and institutions to handle the load.

■ In absolute numbers there will be far more poor people on earth than ever before in the early 21st century.

■ Within the Third World, a greater percentage of the population is drifting from the countryside into gigantic cities of shanty houses.

■ The composition of these societies is increasingly adolescent, but chances that their resource-poor governments will be able to provide education and jobs for hundreds of millions of teenagers are remote. The gaps between rich and poor countries are widening, not closing.



EVAN-LIOTTA JANSSEN

AMERICANS AMBIVALENT ABOUT DOMESTIC POLICY ON LEGALS, ILLEGALS

BY JOHN P. SWEENEY

Although Americans cherish the belief that their nation is a "melting pot" of immigrants, they have historically been ambivalent about newcomers.

While European NATO officials worry about population growth in North Africa, the European Union is designing and implementing new visa regulations, immigration laws, and asylum rules to keep out people. These tougher rules come in response to growing EU fears of a looming immigration "crisis." In countries like France and Germany, immigration has emerged as one of the most contentious issues in domestic politics. Six million Africans now live in France and Germany alone, adding to the existing burden of absorbing refugees from the former Soviet bloc, Turkey and Asia.

Among the wealthy industrial nations of Europe, population increases lie behind significant new social tensions and the growth of right-wing and nationalist political movements. In France, where one of every four French citizens can trace his ancestry to at least one grandparent born abroad, the National Front political party of Jean Marie Le Pen wants to expel foreigners. In 1993, Charles Pasqua, the hard-line Cabinet minister then in charge of security and immigration affairs, declared that France would henceforth become a "zero immigration" country, reversing a 200-year-old policy of offering asylum, Pasqua said.

The French, writes Jim Hoagland of *The Washington Post*, "have fused race and immigration into an existential issue that now dominates their politics. Many French believe — in the face of evidence to the contrary — that clandestine immigration is the prime factor in their country's record-high unemployment, and in spreading crime. In this they do not differ greatly from many Americans."

From a historical perspective, there is nothing unusual about America's current wave of anti-immigrant sentiment. The United States has

John Sweeney is a Washington-based policy analyst on trade and Latin American issues and a weekly commentator for CNN In Espanol.

always been ambivalent about immigration. Although Americans cherish the belief that their nation is a "melting pot" of immigrants from all corners of the world, throughout America's history its citizens, themselves descendants of earlier immigrants, have frequently opposed the admission of new immigrants for ethnic, cultural and economic reasons.

From 1870 to 1917, for example, the U.S. Congress targeted Asians for exclusion by passing a succession of laws banning migration from the Asiatic Triangle — a region extending from the Straits of Bosphorus to the Hawaiian Islands.

The wave of Irish who migrated to the United States in the mid- to late-19th century were discriminated against for their Catholic faith. The arrival after 1880 of millions of new immigrants from southern Italy and eastern Europe coincided with the emergence in American political debate of Social Darwinism, which dismissed these Italian, Slavic and Jewish immigrants as biologically inferior, uneducated people who would never be assimilated and would undermine American democracy.

After World War I, U.S. immigration policy tied the number of immigrants from any one country to the number from that same nation counted in the U.S. census of 1890. Subsequently, this quota system was pushed back to the number from that country counted in the U.S. census of 1790, and culminated in 1924 with the National Origins Quota Act, which restricted immigration from eastern and southern Europe, while assigning a large quota to immigration from Great Britain. The National Origins Quota Act remained in effect for more than four decades, although Congress passed legislation in 1948 that admitted about 500,000 refugees from eastern Europe.

Congress established the present immigration system in 1965, after the civil rights movement challenged immigration laws that discriminated on the basis of race and ethnicity. The Immigration Reform Act of 1965 ended preferences for western Europeans, creating instead an

annual limit of 290,000 immigrants, with no more than 20,000 from any single country. The IRA also assigned the highest priority to foreign-born relatives of U.S. citizens, the second priority to immigrants with needed skills, and limited immigrants from Canada and Mexico to 120,000 immigrants annually.

From the 1960s until the end of the Cold War, U.S. immigration policies became increasingly influenced by the central U.S. foreign policy goal of containing the spread of communism. Hundreds of thousands of Cuban refugees were admitted to the United States in the early 1960s after Fidel Castro installed a communist regime in Cuba. During the 1970s and 1980s, refugees from Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Russia, Nicaragua and El Salvador were also admitted by the hundreds of thousands.

In theory, the Immigration Reform Act of 1965 was intended to make the immigration system more democratic and efficient, but in practice the U.S. government soon dropped any pretense of enforcing the law's quota system. Instead, pressured by domestic political pressures and foreign policy considerations, successive U.S. governments have increased the number of immigrants allowed into the country with the possibility of becoming U.S. citizens after five years.

Since 1968, legal and illegal immigration has grown rapidly, peaking at 1.8 million in 1991 and subsequently averaging about 1.1 million to 1.2 million annually during the 1990s. In 1994, for example, some 800,000 immigrants were admitted legally to the U.S., including 252,000 non-quota relatives of U.S. citizens, 212,000 family-sponsored quota immigrants, 123,000 employment-based quota immigrants, 136,000 refugees and asylum seekers, and 81,000 more under other categories.

In addition to ignoring the quota established by the IRA, successive Democratic and Republican administrations failed to control the admission of illegal immigrants to the United States — roughly 300,000 illegal immigrants have entered the country each year since 1968 — and ignored America's wide-open, 2,000-mile border with Mexico, which exists on maps but not in reality.

By 1986, the Immigration and Naturalization Service estimated that 6 million immigrants were living illegally in the United States. Faced with a problem for which there was no practical solution, Congress fudged the issue politically by approving the Immigration Reform and Control

Act of 1986. The IRCA, which gave more than 3 million illegal immigrants a one-time opportunity to legalize their status, had several unintended consequences. It prompted many illegal workers who migrated between homes and seasonal jobs in the United States to settle in America. Many sent for their families, adding more stress on schools, public health care and other services. Worse, the IRCA did not halt illegal immigration. According to the INS, illegal immigrants now account for about 2 percent of the U.S. population, or about 5 million people. Anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States during the 1990s has grown apace with the increase in annual immigration, particularly from Latin America and Asia.

As a wedge issue, immigration turned out to be a self-inflicted wound for the Republican Party, as voiced by former presidential candidate Pat Buchanan, who urged a five-year moratorium on legal immigration. Incensed by what they perceived as anti-Hispanic bias in the GOP, Hispanic-Americans voted Democrat by a ratio of 17-to-1.

In 1994, voters in California approved Proposition 187, restricting the provision of state — or taxpayer-funded — public health care and education services to illegal immigrants and their children. In the 1996 elections, the immigration issue divided the Republican Party internally. Texas Senator Phil Gramm criticized Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole for not being tougher on denying social welfare benefits to legal immigrants who are not yet citizens, but he attacked California Governor Pete Wilson for proposing a constitutional amendment to deny citizenship to children born in the U.S. to illegal immigrants.

Meanwhile, Pat Buchanan promised to “stop this massive illegal immigration cold.” If elected president, Buchanan vowed, “I’ll build that security fence, and we’ll close it, and we’ll say, ‘Listen Jose, you’re not coming in!’” He also called for a five-year moratorium on legal immigration.

A 1995 survey by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations on U.S. public opinion and U.S. foreign policy, found that 72 percent of the American people believe that “controlling and reducing illegal immigration” should be “a very important” goal of the United States.

The anti-immigrant sentiment articulated most virulently by Buchanan has a broad audience in America. Moreover, although the immigration card backfired on Republicans, the Clinton administration and Congress have moved since 1994 to strengthen border controls, and toughen U.S. immigration rules.

THE NEED FOR REFORM

BY REP. LAMAR SMITH

What John F. Kennedy wrote 35 years ago is no less true today: "We no longer need settlers for virgin lands, and our economy is expanding more slowly than in the 19th and early 20th centuries." When he wrote that, immigration levels were one-third of what they are today.

Some partisans raise the misleading argument that "absolute" numbers do not matter because as a percentage of overall population, today's immigration flow is less than in the early part of the century. "Per-capita" measures of immigration, however, do not adjust for past or present economic and social conditions. Today's per-capita rate of about 3.5 new immigrants per 1,000 current residents means little to the individual states and cities that experience a disproportionate share of the immigrant flow. For example, in California, the per capita ratio is 6.5 per 1,000; in New York, it is 8.3.

The "per-capita" argument also obscures burdens imposed on American society by the sheer size of the current immigration flow. The debate over immigration reform is not about the admission of several thousand Ph.D.s and other immigrant "superstars" each year. Rather, it is about the 40 percent of immigrants over age 25 who lack a high school diploma. This is not an era, as previously existed in this country, where such workers can be absorbed into heavy industry, agriculture and other labor-intensive enterprises.

Mass immigration is not merely a statistical phenomenon. It imposes undue burdens on taxpayers, particularly in high-immigration states, causes a surplus of low-skilled labor, and undermines the integrity of U.S. immigration laws.

Yet, mass immigration is not an inevitable phenomenon. Balanced reform of legal immigration policy, along the lines recommended by the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform and considered by the 104th Congress, can maintain America's tradition of welcoming immigrants while preserving vital national interests.

The commission's proposed reforms, originally issued

in 1995 and reiterated in its final report on Sept. 30, should be the blueprint for future discussions of immigration policy. Under this blueprint, the permanent legal immigration system would admit 550,000 aliens per year. Highest admission priority would be given to spouses and minor children of U.S. citizens, with next priority to the parents of citizens and the spouses and minor children of lawful permanent residents.

Eliminated would be categories for the admission of adult children and adult siblings. The reason for this trade-off is clear: The current backlog for admission of the nuclear family — spouses and minor children of lawful permanent residents — is well over 1 million. The resulting wait for admission is close to five years. In the meantime, the United States admits more than 100,000 adult extended family members, including 65,000 adult siblings every year. These latter categories clearly do not have the same claim on our system as the need for unification of the nuclear family.

As a temporary measure, the commission recommended that 150,000 visas be available each year to clear the backlog of spouses and minor children of legal permanent residents. The commission's reforms would change remaining immigration categories to focus on the admission of highly-skilled workers, eliminating the controversial unskilled worker and diversity categories. Finally, the commission calls for expanded U.S. leadership in the area of refugees, including encouragement of other nations to share more in the burden of refugee resettlement.

RAND's study, released in September, recommends reducing current immigration to between 300,000 a year (the 1970s average) and the current baseline of more than 800,000 annually. Within this limit, the study calls for reformed admission criteria that will increase the percentage of immigrants with higher skill and education levels. Finally, RAND called for tighter controls on illegal immigration as essential to the credibility of the overall system.

Immigration reform is not a "nativist" enterprise. If Americans do not learn to set and enforce priorities in immigration policy, the consequences will be the result not of accident, but of deliberate inaction. ■

Rep. Lamar Smith, R-Tex., is chairman of the House Subcommittee on Immigration and Claims.

The 1996 Immigration Reform Act made major, massive changes to the way illegal immigrants are managed in the United States. Immigration inspectors at the border and at airports now have the authority to ban people from entering the country for five years if they lack the proper visa or if the inspector believes they misrepresented themselves in any way. There is no judicial review or appeal. The 1996 act also increased the INS budget by 20 percent, allowing the agency to double the number of agents and inspectors, and provide new equipment enabling the deportation of at least 93,000 illegal immigrants and the "voluntary" departure of another 100,000 immigrants during the 1997 fiscal year.

Still, these efforts to toughen America's immigration laws are not likely to have much effect in terms of reducing illegal immigration and managing legal immigration more efficiently.

On Sept. 30, the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform concluded a five-year study with the release of a report entitled, "Becoming an American: Immigration and Immigrant Policy." Among its key recommendations, the commission's report called on the U.S. government to:

- Dismantle the INS to "increase the efficiency and integrity of the naturalization process," shifting its functions to the Justice, State and Labor departments.

- Develop a comprehensive strategy to deter illegal immigration and expedite the removal of criminal aliens.

- Create a new bureau for immigration enforcement in the Justice Department.

- Consolidate employer immigration hiring enforcement in the Labor Department.

- Place authority for all citizenship applications and other immigration-related services in the State Department.

- Establish a new agency for immigration review to hear all legal reviews of immigration-related decisions.

- Promote the "Americanization of new immigrants" and "the rapid acquisition of English as the paramount goal of all immigrant language-instruction programs."

The commission's strong emphasis on the need to "Americanize" immigrants more effectively reflects broad national concerns that they are not assimilating quickly enough, and that the U.S. education system is failing to teach immigrants basic English skills needed to be productive in the U.S. economy.

As the U.S. government seeks to raise the bar for immigrants wanting legal admission to the United States — while closing the door on illegal immigrants — the immense wave of migration that followed Congress's passage of the Immigration Reform Act of 1965 has changed the demography and politics of America in fundamental ways.

The total foreign-born population of the U.S. is steadily rising. In 1996, it reached a record 24.5 million, or 9.3 percent of the total population. And Hispanic immigrants are leading the way. Growing three times faster than the national rate, Hispanic populations today constitute the largest minority group in many major cities, including Los Angeles, San Jose, San Antonio, Miami and Houston — and will pass the number of blacks in New York by the end of this decade. The Hispanic population is now growing at the rate of 900,000 a year, including net immigration of 350,000 annually. By 2009, the U.S. Census Bureau predicts Hispanics will be America's largest minority group.

Moreover, Hispanics and Asians will account for over half the growth in the U.S. population every year for the next half century and beyond, according to bureau statistics. The total U.S. population of 262.8 million as of July 1, 1995, is projected to reach 393.9 million by 2050, with a growth rate of less than 1 percent annually, the lowest rate since the Great Depression of 1930s.

The U.S. population is now 73.6 percent white, 12 percent black, 10.2 percent Latino, 3.3 percent Asian and 0.7 percent Native American. By 2050, the Census Bureau predicts that the United States will be 52.8 percent white, 24.5 percent Hispanic — predominantly Mexican, 13.6 percent black, 8.2 percent Asian and 0.9 percent Native American.

The biggest expansion of Asian and Hispanic immigrants will occur in California, Florida, Texas, New York, Illinois, New Jersey and Massachusetts, all swing states in American presidential politics. California's population is now 52.5 percent white, 29.8 percent Hispanic, 10.7 percent Asian, and 6.9 percent black. The most recent state forecast for 2040, issued in 1993, estimates a California population that is 49.7 percent Hispanic, 32.4 percent white, 11.8 percent Asian and 5.9 percent black.

Does the changing demographic face of America ultimately threaten national unity and identity, as nationalists like Pat Buchanan warn? No.

F O C U S

From the 1960s until the end of the Cold War, U.S. immigration policies were influenced by the central U.S. foreign policy goal of containing communism. That's not true anymore.

Throughout its history, America has suffered periodic flare-ups of anti-immigrant sentiment, but successive waves of immigrants have assimilated into American society and culture. It may be more difficult for older immigrants to learn English and adapt to American culture and social mores, but younger immigrants and the American-born children of immigrants Americanize very quickly.

In 1908, residents of Chicago — then the second largest city in America — spoke more than 14 languages, published newspapers in 10 languages, and conducted worship services in 20 tongues. Measured by the size of its communities, Chicago was the second-largest Bohemian city in the world, the third-largest Swedish, the fourth-largest Polish, and the fifth-largest German. New York was a larger Italian city than Rome, and also was the foremost Jewish city in the world with a population of no fewer than 800,000 Jews. There were more than two-thirds as many native-born Irish in Boston as in Ireland's capital city of Dublin.

Will efforts to toughen America's immigration laws reduce illegal immigration? Certainly not. America's open economy and borders will continue to facilitate the entry of illegal immigrants via commercial airline, seaport, or land crossing. Cheap and plentiful immigrant labor provides benefits to American businesses and consumers, and that fact alone drives a goodly portion of the political disinclination to really clamp down tight on illegal immigration.

Will immigration become a larger foreign policy concern? It already has. NAFTA was sold in part to U.S. public opinion as a way of reducing illegal immigration to America. The argument was fallacious, of course, but it underpinned a long-held U.S. foreign policy concern about Mexico: Economic or political instability in that nation might translate into massive illegal migration to the United States.

President Clinton articulated that concern when he defended his bailout of Mexico following the collapse of the peso in December 1994. In August of that year,

he also reacted to the Cuban rafters crisis, and to gubernatorial election pressures in the state of Florida, by terminating a 30-year policy of automatically admitting all Cuban refugees to the United States. President Clinton also sent U.S. troops to Haiti with the twin goals of restoring democracy and easing pressures on Haitians to migrate illegally to the U.S.

Will immigration affect American politics? It did in the 1996 elections, when Hispanic-Americans voted overwhelmingly for Democratic candidates to protest what they perceived as racist, anti-Hispanic sentiment by Republican candidates. In the longer term, the emergence of Hispanics as the largest ethnic minority in America may have a fundamental impact on how the entitlement pie is carved up between American society's various ethnicities. Hispanics and blacks mainly vote Democrat, but the similarities end there. A growing Hispanic population will mean more political competition, and possibly more friction between Hispanics and blacks.

The growth of the Hispanic population, in particular, may also influence the outcome of national and state elections as soon as the middle of the next decade, since they tend to establish themselves in the states with the largest number of electoral college votes, which coincidentally happen to be the states with the largest Hispanic enclaves. The Democratic Party clearly hopes to build a new Hispanic-American constituency for the coming decade, while Republicans — with some exceptions — are trying to avoid being branded as anti-immigrant.

More than 200 years of experience should have taught America that controlling immigration is far more complex than just kicking out the illegal immigrants and closing down the border. Immigration issues will remain contentious in American politics as long as the U.S. economy leads the world, while smaller economies struggle to emerge from the poverty that traps two billion human beings around the world. ■

REFUGEE DREAMS

Madeleine Albright is the prototypical refugee. As a child, she and her family fled to the United States to escape communism in her native Czechoslovakia. For that family and hundreds of thousands of others who deserted communism, safe repatriation was not possible because communist regimes tended to hang around indefinitely. Recognizing this, the United States granted asylum to those able to flee.

The overwhelming majority of refugee admissions over the years have involved victims of Marxist rule. So it comes as no surprise that with the decline in the number of totalitarian regimes, the number of refugee admissions has dropped. In fiscal 1992, 132,000 refugees were admitted, mostly Russians claiming religious persecution and Vietnamese boat people. Given the declining backlog of such cases, refugee admissions reached a nine-year low in fiscal 1997 of 78,000. The administration is recommending a similar figure for fiscal 1998, halting, at least temporarily, the five-year downturn.

Admissions are based on State Department country-by-country allocations. Applicants must convince U.S. authorities they have a "well-founded fear of persecution

based on race, religion, membership in a particular social group or political opinion."

The end of the Cold War has touched off a debate as to which direction the U.S. refugee program should take. Some groups argue admissions should be based on numerical ceilings. Others say the current system of criteria-based admissions should be maintained. Sen. Spencer Abraham, R-Ala., who chairs a Senate subcommittee that oversees refugee programs, says the administration should admit more refugees. His predecessor as subcommittee chairman, Alan Simpson, R-Wyo., wanted fewer.

The estimated 14 million refugees worldwide is roughly the same as it was during the Cold War era, and some groups are alarmed at the plummeting admissions. They point out that current admissions represent an infinitesimally small percentage of the total. Australia, Canada and some Scandinavian countries admit a higher percentage than does the United States.

Other groups argue that too many undeserving aliens are granted refugee status. They worry that the United States has opened a Pandora's box by admitting foreign homosexuals who allege governmental persecution, or HIV/AIDS victims who hope to gain access to American health care, or Chinese nationals who object to their country's one-child-per-family policy.

Decisions on whom to admit as refugees and whom to deny



EVAN-LOTTJA JANSSON

U.S. ASYLUM REFOCUSSES
ON BOSNIANS, GAYS,
RUSSIAN EVANGELICALS

BY GEORGE GEDDA

F O C U S

To advocacy groups, the 40 percent decline in U.S. refugee admissions since 1992 suggests a mean-spiritedness on the part of a country that sees itself as a haven for the oppressed.

can be highly subjective. Undoubtedly, many who have been admitted over the years should have been turned away because they used fraud or deceit to beat the system. Others who had a credible case have been rejected because they weren't persuasive enough when applying.

Americans can feel flattered that so many foreigners want to start a new life in the United States. But any such situation entails risks. Take the case of Gazi Ibrahim Abu Mezer, 23, a Palestinian who sneaked into the United States from Canada last January and has asked for political asylum. After withdrawing the application later on, he was freed on \$5,000 bond with an agreement to voluntarily leave the country by Aug. 23. But it turned out that Abu Mezer was a terrorist. In early August, he and a fellow Palestinian were caught plotting to bomb a New York City subway station and other locations. The immigration service said there was nothing in Mezer's background to suggest he was a terrorist.

There are other kinds of risks in admitting refugees or asylum seekers. Will they become welfare cases? Do they have a criminal past that they have been able to conceal from U.S. authorities? Do they adhere to values not shared by Americans? Can they be assimilated? The answer to the last question is: not always. Last year, many citizens in Fresno, Calif., were outraged when a Laotian refugee had a puppy clubbed to death in the belief that the sacrifice would cure his wife, a diabetic. The dog was sacrificed only after two years of failed rituals, including the burning of money and the slaughter of chickens and a pig. The man pleaded no contest to charges of animal cruelty.

George Gedda is the diplomatic correspondent for the Associated Press.

In 1995, a dispute arose over the program under which Iraqis who had fled their homeland during or after the 1991 Gulf War were admitted to the United States. Several were discovered to have committed crimes of a sexual nature after their arrival. A memo to Secretary of State Warren Christopher from U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia Raymond Mabus Jr. urged the administration to seriously consider ending the program.

Mabus took particular issue with a cultural orientation program designed to make clear to the refugees U.S. standards for appropriate behavior. "I do not see how 'cultural orientation' can modify criminal behavior; and frankly do not see how such a program is defensible," the memo said. The State Department response was that the number of Iraqi offenders represented only a tiny percentage of the overall total. The program has been allowed to continue.

No refugee issue has caused greater anxiety for policymakers than Cuba. Jimmy Carter will forever be remembered as the president who unwittingly allowed the admission of thousands of criminals and mentally deranged people from Cuba in 1980 during the Mariel boat lift. Seventeen years later, some have been repatriated, but not all. The real villain, of course, was Fidel Castro, who emptied his prisons and mental hospitals and sent the inmates and patients to south Florida along with more legitimate candidates for refugee status.

President Clinton moved aggressively in 1994 to block an attempt at a Mariel rerun, ordering the Coast Guard to pick up fleeing Cubans and deposit them at the Guantanamo Naval Base. Given the political mood in Florida in opposition to yet another disruptive boat lift, Clinton had little choice but to act as he did.

F O C U S

Almost all of the 30,000 Cubans sent to Guantanamo eventually were allowed to emigrate to the United States even though U.S. officials had categorically ruled out that option at the time they were sent there. The policy change was based on the assessment that the desperation level at the base was such that there was a strong possibility of riots and American military casualties at the base. Some of the Cubans had injected diesel fuel into their veins in hopes of being evacuated to the United States. Others drove tent stakes into their limbs.

Most refugees are not nearly so fortunate as those at Guantanamo, almost all of whom were allowed to depart for the United States after only a little more than a year's stay there. Elsewhere, refugees often face the grim choice of staying in the countries to which they have fled or returning to the land from which they were uprooted.

To refugee advocacy groups, the 40 percent decline in refugee admissions since 1992 suggests a mean-spiritedness on the part of a

country which likes to see itself as a haven for the oppressed. "The world is awash in refugees," says Arthur Helton, migration expert at the Open Society Institute in New York. "The United States could sustain the admission of well over 100,000." InterAction, the umbrella group for a number of private volunteer agencies, says the declining numbers are threatening America's leadership role and preventing thousands from having the opportunity to begin new lives in the United States. The group recommends admissions in fiscal 1998 of 110,000.

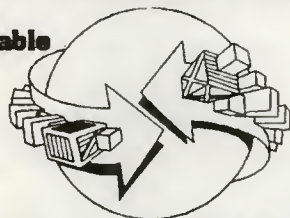
Helton and others believe the United States should be far more generous towards African refugees. He insists that "a world-class refugee crisis" persists in Central Africa, affecting "many millions." He says the U.S. resettlement policy ignores the issue and he recommends an international conference to resolve it. John Fredericksson, of the U.S. Committee for Refugees, agrees with Helton that the United States should be admitting more than the 7,000 refugees contemplated for Africa in fiscal 1998. That figure, he says "is absolutely way too low." He advocates a ceiling of 15,000.



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F O C U S

One reason for the declining admissions, Clinton administration officials say, is that refugees nowadays are not fleeing tyranny but anarchy, often a temporary phenomenon. Once calm is restored, people usually can safely be repatriated. As an example of the ephemeral nature of some conflicts, nearly 1.8 million expatriated Rwandans returned home within a few months last year, most with United Nations help.

Is U.S. refugee law relevant to Rwanda-like situations? No, says Phyllis Oakley, the outgoing assistant secretary of State who deals with refugee issues. "Our law is not constructed for victims of conflict and anarchy. It is built on presentation of persecution personally directed at people."

Some analysts believe all grants of asylum and refuge should be temporary. John Tanton, editor and publisher of *The Social Contract*, a public policy journal, says that under a system of temporary asylum, "the understanding would be that when things settle down sufficiently for a safe return, individuals would go home to help their own countries and societies make progress."

Most refugees never even come close to being granted refugee status in the first place. An example is Liberia, from which huge numbers fled because of a civil war that ended in 1996. At the time a newly-elected government took office last August, there were still about 651,000 Liberians living in neighboring Ivory Coast and Guinea. U.S. officials are operating under the assumption that with peace and democracy restored in Liberia, there is no reason to accept large numbers of Liberians as refugees.

Too often, refugees are portrayed by government officials and the media as mere statistics and not as people who have suffered the almost indescribable anguish of being driven from their homes. For some refugees, the forced exodus is only the beginning of their problems. A Human Rights Watch report noted that hundreds of thousands of Somalis fled to Kenya earlier this decade to escape violence in their war-torn homeland, only to face similar abuse on arrival. The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees documented close to 300 rape cases among these mostly-female refugees. Most were victimized by bandits. "Somali

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F O C U S

women as old as 50 and girls as young as four have been subjected to violence and sexual assault," the Human Rights Watch report said. "Most of the women whose cases we investigated were gang-raped at gunpoint, some by as many as seven men at a time."

Despite these abuses, UNHCR believes that for the large majority of refugees in Africa and elsewhere, the goal should be repatriation and not resettlement. Exceptions involve those cases in which there is reason to believe that a particular group would suffer persecution because of its ethnic roots. One such case involves a Somali group known as the Bravens, many of whom have been recommended for resettlement elsewhere. To help refugees survive the rigors of camp life, the United States contributes about \$475 million annually; well over a third goes for African refugees.

Traditionally, the United States has been generous toward people for whom life has become impossible because of their close association with the U.S. government. There is no better example of this than Vietnam

and, to a lesser extent, citizens of other countries involved in the Indochina War. More than 1.1 million East Asians, mostly Vietnamese, have been admitted to the United States since the end of the war, by far the largest number of any region worldwide. Nowadays, the backlog of applicants from Vietnam has been reduced to a relative trickle. This past year, about 6,500 Iraqis, mostly Kurds opposed to President Saddam Hussein, were admitted to the United States because of their ties to U.S.-backed efforts to depose Saddam, perhaps the world's premier tyrant.

In fiscal 1998, the biggest supplier of refugees, under the administration's proposal, will be a country that did not exist until less than six years ago: Bosnia. The State Department has set aside 25,000 slots for Bosnians in that fiscal year, more than a quarter of the worldwide total. Given the bleak conditions and continuing ethnic hatreds in Bosnia, there is little argument over the disproportionate number allocated for that country.

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F O C U S

In Russia, the backlog of Russian Jews seeking admission to the United States as refugees is down, but there is growing concern about the fate of other religious groups. In late September, Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed a bill that makes Russian Orthodoxy the country's pre-eminent religion and limits the practice of many others, particularly those seen as "alien" religions. The legislation represents a backlash against Evangelicals and other religious groups which began to flourish after religious freedom was established following the fall of communism. Islam, Buddhism and Judaism are exempted from the restrictions. President Clinton and other senior officials had lobbied hard for Russia to uphold the concept of religious freedom but to no avail. Approval of the legislation is certain to be a source of friction in U.S.-Russian relations — and could drive up the number of refuge-seekers.

The legislation forbids religious groups with fewer than 15 years in Russia from publishing or distributing religious literature or from inviting foreigners to

preach. They cannot hold worship services in hospitals, senior citizens' homes, schools, orphanages or prisons. The Heritage Foundation's Ariel Cohen says the legislation is nothing less than "an assault on religious freedom."

Even before the bill became law, a bipartisan group of senators recommended an increase of 9,000 in the administration's refugee admission proposal for fiscal 1998 to 87,000. All of the increase would be applied to nations of the former Soviet Union to benefit "victims of religious persecution."

As examples of such persecution, Sunday church services at the largest Pentacostal church in Moscow have been routinely interrupted by bomb threats. The church pastor, Alexander Purshova, regularly receives death threats and his office has been burned. A church vehicle was sprayed with bullets. Beyond these incidents, the Russian Orthodox Church often has used its influence to prevent Evangelical churches from renting public buildings for services.

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While wishing to assist Russians who suffer such discrimination, U.S. officials are aware of the potential for abuse. "The longer a refugee program goes on, the more fraught they are with fraud," an official says. In the Russian case, consular officials must be permanently on guard against "stairway conversions" — bogus claims of religious persecution by Russian non-believers who arrive at the U.S. consular office in Moscow insisting they are entitled to refugee status. A related concern not only in Russia but elsewhere is the development of entire overseas industries that specialize in the invention of false asylum claims and in the manufacture of false-entry documents.

Fraud also is routinely committed by aliens who manage to make it to the United States and claim they would be persecuted if they return home. William Chip, legal counsel for the American Federation for Immigration Reform, says foreigners not selected for admission under the refugee program sometimes try to make an "end run" by entering the country illegally and applying for asylum. "Even worse," he says, "aliens who are not refugees at all can use the asylum procedure as a de facto immigration lottery, betting the price of a plane ticket and a counterfeit visa on their chances of hoodwinking an asylum officer or disappearing into the woodwork while their claims are being adjudicated."

Groups such as AFIR are worried that gay rights organizations and other groups have been able to exploit vague wording in the Immigration and Nationality Act to their advantage. Writing in *The Social Contract*, James Robb notes that "membership in a particular social group" is grounds for granting refugee status. On that basis, the INS granted asylum in 1994 to Jose Garcia, a Mexican national who said he was a homosexual and who claimed he could not return home for fear of mistreatment. Alarmed by the ruling, Robb asks: "Couldn't America be deluged with persons demanding gay asylum?" In Garcia's case, he claimed that in Mexico, he had been taunted by fellow Mexicans, falsely arrested and sometimes raped by police. Robb dismisses these claims as uncorroborated.

One expert who rejects the notion that the United States is too indulgent toward asylum seeking aliens is Jennifer Harbury, the Harvard-trained lawyer who gained attention in recent years from her efforts to learn the whereabouts of her Guatemalan husband, a guerrilla fighter.

Living in south Texas during the 1980s, Harbury became aware of the thousands of Central Americans who swam the Rio Grande to escape massacres and death squads in their homelands. Their claims of repression were dismissed by immigration authorities, who ordered them repatriated. Harbury said these decisions were politically motivated because the Reagan administration was intent on maintaining military aid to the countries from which these migrants had fled. Granting the migrants political asylum could have led to the designation of their respective governments as human rights violators — and a congressionally-mandated cutoff of military assistance. Harbury recalled in her book, *Searching for Everardo*, the case of a "man covered with acid-burn scars, fresh from the torture chamber where his brother had died, was declared to have no reasonable fear of persecution should he be deported."

It is also true, of course, that immigration officials allowed hundreds of thousands of Central Americans to remain in the United States for years beyond the expiration of their visas. There was a recognition of the need to permit calm to return to the region and to avoid overwhelming the area with job seekers at a time of severe economic deprivation. Many thousands of others were allowed to remain in the United States permanently.

One overlooked option for the oppressed peoples of the world is to stay and fight the repressors. The role models for Tanton, of *The Social Contract*, are Poland's Lech Walesa and Czechoslovakia's Vaclav Havel, either of whom, he says, "would have been readily accepted as a refugee and perhaps even feted with a ticker-tape parade to congratulate ourselves on our magnanimity.

But they chose to stay and fight for what they believed in, and made a better life for themselves and their countrymen in this and future generations." ■

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Foreign Service Journal Intern

For today's consular officer, deciding whether a visa applicant is a potential terrorist can be a career-threatening decision. But, like physicians and lawyers, AFSA members who are active FS employees can now buy liability insurance to protect themselves from mistakes made in their professional capacity.

AFSA, through an affiliation with its long-time insurance administrator, The Hirshorn Company, is now offering professional liability insurance to protect its members. "We're creating a professional insurance program that is both broader in coverage and less expensive than anything currently available elsewhere," says Kathy Hubby, administrator for AFSA's insurance program at The Hirshorn Company.

"This new insurance is customized for all members of the FS," says AFSA executive director Susan Reardan, who noted that many

members have been requesting this type of coverage.

In April 1994, Congress amended the 1980 Foreign Service Act to hold consular officers responsible for issuing visas to persons who "commit terrorist acts." Although the provision applies only to consular officers, labor-relations attorneys worry that other Foreign Service personnel might be held accountable for errors made in their professional capacity. This is an issue that so far is untested in the courts, according to Ken Nakamura, AFSA congressional affairs director. Legal representatives at Justice and the State Department have said unofficially that individual FS employees cannot be personally sued under the provision.

Separate limits of coverage will apply for administrative legal defense costs and monetary penalties arising from internal agency disciplinary actions, accountability review boards

Continued on page 4

• AFSA Dateline •

- Edward W. Gnehm Jr. was sworn in as Director General of the Foreign Service by secretary of State Madeleine Albright on Sept. 19.
- Charles Kestenbaum and Geoff Walser have replaced Tam Kelsey and Keith Curtis as Commercial Service vice president and representative, respectively.
- "The help-wanted sign for a new [AFSA] president is huge," wrote Al Kamen in the Sept. 22 issue of "In the Loop," in *The Washington Post*, "because the vacancy occurs during major change for the members." Kamen mentioned the imminent departures of AFSA president Al La Porta and secretary F.A. "Tex" Allen to Mangalia and Australia, respectively.
- Grievance attorney Audrey Chynn resigned from AFSA recently to join the legal staff of the Small Business Administration.

Suzanne Brennan, a recent graduate of Catholic University Law School, has replaced her. A native of New Jersey, Brennan was a clerk at a labor and employment law firm before coming to AFSA.

• AFSA scholarship applications are now available. FS children who are graduating high school seniors or college undergraduates may apply for merit and financial aid scholarships for the 1998/1999 school year. To receive an application, call Lari Dec at (202) 944-5504, e-mail her at scholar@afsa.org or download the applications from www.afsa.org, AFSA's web page. Application deadline is Feb. 6.

• Those interested in participating in the 1998 American Foreign Service Retiree Home

Continued on page 4

STATE
V.P. VOICE
• BY DAN GEISLER •

Minimizing Uncertainty at New State

My USIA counterport, Riley Sever, whose article also appears in AFSA News, and I have been working together closely to implement the Administration's decision to reorganize our foreign affairs apparatus. In addition to swapping information about State and USIA's personnel systems, we have been battling one of the big enemies of a smooth transition: Uncertainty.

If there is one thing that every business person understands, it is that uncertainty costs money. The greater the uncertainty about your future financial prospects, the more you pay for a business loan. Knowing what will happen tomorrow reduces the cost of doing business today. There is a parallel in human resources management. If there is one thing that every re-engineering guru preaches, it is the need to minimize the uncertainty that your employees face when big organizational changes are afoot. We have asked management to sign with us a framework documenting some of the areas where we have agreement, subject to passage of the necessary legislation. The aim is to give FS personnel a clearer picture of their near-term future. It would, for instance, confirm that USIA officers will be brought into the State Department in a newly-created fifth cone, "public diplomacy." It would provide for cross-bidding by USIA executive officers and State administrative officers in the current assignment cycle. And it would ensure full State-USIA cross-bidding by the summer 1998 assignment cycle.

In addition to these broad elements, there are several nuts-and-bolts decisions to be made. State and USIA have different time-in-class and time-in-service systems which we must harmonize. For example, USIA has no "six year window" at the FS-01 level, as State does. State officers operate under the "six

year rule" copping consecutive years in Washington. USIA officers simply adhere to the statutory eight year limit.

There is another area where we need to harmonize: Differences between our evaluation systems will affect future promotion panels which will receive files with a mixture of EER forms, completed by rating and reviewing officers operating under different promotion precepts. The quicker we address this situation, the better prepared our people will be to work productively in the combined new State Department.

One area of uncertainty that is not subject to labor-management negotiations is the status of the Smith-Mundt Act and the Zorinsky Amendment. That is up to Congress. These two pieces of legislation prevent USIA from distributing materials here at home and from spending money that would go toward domestic public relations. Congress may choose to reaffirm one or both of these provisions in the pending State Department authorization bill or by some other legislative vehicle. But restrictions on the use of appropriated funds are nothing new. The new State Department will be able to administer public diplomacy funds to meet congressional requirements and this should not be seen as a barrier to amalgamation.

I have written previously on the need for a thorough integration of USIA FS personnel into the new State Department. That still holds true. Anything less will do a disservice to the many talented people with whom we have worked for years. They must become a vital element of our common, restructured organization. We need to establish the ground rules for this integration as soon as possible to minimize the uncertainty that is now taking its toll on our FS personnel.

"We need to establish the ground rules for this integration as soon as possible ..."



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Inside

THE FOREIGN SERVICE COMMUNITY

AFSA Members in Action

- Farmer ambassador and now United Nations Association president **Alvin Adams** appeared with Judy Woodruff on CNN's Sept. 22 "Worldview." On the occasion of President Clinton's address to the United Nations, Adams discussed the importance of the United States' relationship to the international organization.
- **Mark Jacob's** first novel, *Stone Cowboy* (Soha, \$24), received a stunning review in the Sept. 30 *Bank World* in *The Washington Post*. Jacobs serves with USIA in Madrid.
- Retired FSO **Bob Krill** recently left his position as AFSA Corporate Relations Director to join Westor Group, Inc., as senior project manager.
- In a Sept. 29 ceremony, the library at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center was named in honor of former ambassador and retired FSO **Stephen Low**, who recently retired after a five-year stewardship of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training.
- The USIA Alumni Association recently installed **Hal Morton** as president, **Len Baldyga** as vice president and **Gloria Kreisher** as secretary. **Carolyn Mitchell** is a new board member.
- Former ambassador **John D. Negroponi** has been named vice president for global markets of the publishing house McGraw-Hill Cos. During his diplomatic career, Negroponi was an effective supporter of U.S. commercial development abroad.
- State AFSA Representative **Steve Romero** and his wife, **Susie**, are the proud parents of Maya Inez, born Aug. 23 at Reston Hospital in Reston, Va.
- Retired career ambassador **Frank Wisner** has joined the firm of American International Group, Inc., as director and vice chairman for external affairs.

Do you have news about a recent accomplishment of an AFSA member or news of an event of interest to the FS community? Fax it to (202) 338-8244.

USAID V.P. VOICE

• BY FRANK MILLER •

AFSA Progress on EEP

AFSA has been negotiating with the Management/Human Resources Bureau for the past five months on a revised employee evaluation program. These negotiations are almost completed and AFSA is proud to report that a revised EEP is on the way which eliminates, or at least ameliorates, most of the problems with the EEP.

As you may recall, one of the major problems was that the Annual Evaluation Form limited the rater's ability to adequately portray accomplishments. The selection boards found that absent the additional narrative in the Supplementary Evaluation Form (which was written only for those recommended for promotion or those in the Senior Foreign Service), the AEF did not provide enough information to allow board members to feel comfortable in judging on employee's performance.

This problem should be resolved by a new performance narrative section, which is one page in length and contains no space-limiting boxes for each objective. This section will focus on the employee's role in the organization, his or her performance against work objectives and performance measures and will address the "what and how" impact of an employee's performance. A second one-page narrative will focus on overall performance, skill areas, potential and areas for improvement. The separate SEF will be abolished, allowing the same treatment for all employees.

Regarding the employee's right to review the AEF before it goes to the appraisal committee, management would not budge on this issue. Instead, management will allow employees who believe their AEFs are inaccurate to request changes by the rating officers or the AC. While this is not ideal,

it does provide far more opportunity to appeal inaccuracies, thus allowing far more due process for the employee. We are concerned, however, that this procedure will add additional time to an already lengthy evaluation process.

Another improvement is a change in the manner in which 360 degree feedback is carried out. Under the new system there is a requirement that the rater and the rated employee agree on at least three 360 degree sources. We hope this will avoid the problem that resulted from same raters who did not request sufficient 360 degree sources or requested sources that had little direct knowledge of the rated employee's work.

Appraisal committees will be required to play a central role in the evaluation process. They will need to assure that evaluations are accurate and that employees are provided a fair hearing if the accuracy of an evaluation is questioned. This should entail contacting 360 degree sources and possibly reviewing some work product. ACs will also be responsible for reporting to the principal officers of the organizational unit raters who do not follow the evaluation guidelines and who do not meet deadlines. Supervisors will be held accountable for fair and timely evaluations.

While AFSA requested further reforms, the major changes described above are a great improvement which will better serve our employees. We plan to monitor the implementation of this revised system closely.

Please note that the objectives and performance measures already established for the current rating cycle will not change under the revised evaluation system. I will appreciate your comments by e-mail (fmiller@usoid.gov) or by phone (202) 647-8160.

"AFSA is proud to report that a revised EEP is on the way ..."

RETIREES
V.P. VOICE

• WELCOMES EDWARD DILLERY •

Voicing Alumni Concerns

AFSFA welcomes new Retiree Vice President Edward Dillery, who was appointed by the Governing Board in September to succeed Edward Rowell. Dillery joins retiree representatives Gorber Davidson, Willard DePree, William Harrop and Clyde Taylor, Board members who speak directly for AFSA's retirees.

Retirees make up 38 percent of AFSA's membership. Their continuing interest in the agencies in which they spent their careers and their identity as a separate constituency give them a significant place in AFSA's activities. They volunteer to serve in key roles in support of AFSA's advocacy for the interests of the Foreign Service as a whole, including as reorganization task force members, as the current treasurer and secretary of AFSA and in book-stopping our legislative liaison. In addition, their particular concerns as alumni provide a valuable dimension to the AFSA agenda.

How are these concerns conveyed? Through a variety of ways. Individual alumni needing assistance on retirement matters can turn directly to their Board representatives or to staff member Word Thompson, AFSA retiree liaison. Alumni views on subjects ranging from retirement benefits to foreign affairs agency issues can also be

forwarded via the Retiree Standing Committee. This committee, chaired by Vice President Dillery, is open to any retiree who wishes to participate. Its agenda for the coming year will focus on several key issues: Expansion of retiree membership, guidance to the Board on AFSA representation of Foreign Service interests with the agencies and on Capitol Hill and recruitment of alumni volunteers for AFSA activities.

An important aspect of alumni input to AFSA is the involvement of many retirees in AFSA-sponsored outreach programs. These include the speakers bureau, the electronic Diplomats Online, the media initiative "Putting a Face on the Foreign Service" and a series of Elderhostel courses on the Foreign Service organized by Bill DePree and other alumni. The experience of the FS retiree community is reflected in the contributions made to Board deliberations by all of the retired members on the Board, who currently include State, USAID and USIA alumni. These members welcome comments and questions from all AFSA retirees. Please write, send e-mail to us at retirees@ofso.org or call us toll-free at 1-800-704-AFSA to express your views.

Dateline

Continued from page 1

Exchange Program should contact Peter Frost at P.O. Box 374, Ligonier, Pa. 15658, phone: (412) 238-6299, before Jan. 20.

• The second edition of Jock Rower's *The Absentee Landlord's Survival Guide* is now available. This valuable resource for FSOs may be purchased from Mellwood Publishing, P.O. Box 222624, Chontilly, Va 22153. Phone orders: (202) 408-8842 or (800) 728-5315; fax orders: (202) 408-8156.

Liability insurance available

Continued from page 1

or special investigative committee hearings. "The State Department will only provide legal counsel to its employees under limited circumstances, so we recommend that employees seriously consider adding this type of insurance coverage," says Janet Hedrick, AFSA member services director, "especially those working in a supervisory capacity, working in consular affairs, as GSOs, and as financial management officers."

The new professional liability insurance would cover wrongful acts, errors or omissions committed or arising within the scope of an employee's government service. That would include bodily injury, property damage, discrimination, harassment, wrongful imprisonment, invasion of privacy, obstruction of justice and acts without appropriate authority. The insurance also covers related defense costs in addition to the liability coverage limits.

The insurance is underwritten by the Admiral Insurance Company, rated A++, which is offering protection for both professional liability and administrative legal defense.

Three premium levels are offered, each with a deductible. For an annual \$200 premium, members would receive \$1 million of professional liability coverage and \$100,000 of administrative legal expense coverage. Limits of \$2 million/\$200,000 would cost \$360 a year, while limits of \$3 million/\$300,000 would carry an annual premium of \$460. Coverage includes a five-year discovery period, as well as protection for most prior acts. However, the plan will not cover expenses or fines incurred in a case where criminal intent is determined.

The insurance program, available exclusively to AFSA members worldwide, is guaranteed to renew or the same premium for five years. Call (800) 242-8221 or e-mail AFSAinfo@hirshorn.com for more information.

MACOMBER'S BOOK ON DIPLOMACY NOW AVAILABLE

Former ambassador William Macomber has issued a revised paperback edition of *The Angels' Game*, his book on modern diplomacy. Intended primarily for young people considering or recently embarked upon a diplomatic career, it focuses on some of the personal qualities and professional skills, both old and new, required of a modern diplomat. It also discusses some of the problems and satisfactions the officer is likely to encounter along the way. The book is not for sale but comes with the author's compliments, along with the hope that its new owner will, in turn, consider making a \$5 to \$10 contribution to the AFSA Scholarship Fund. Write or call the author at 27 Monomoy Road, Nantucket, MA 02554, phone (508) 228-0594 to order the book. Contributions may be made by check to the AFSA Scholarship Fund (with a memo noting *The Angels' Game*) and mailed to AFSA, 2101 E St. NW, Washington, DC 20037.

The illusion that times that were are better than those that are,
has probably pervaded all ages. —Harace Greeley

Call for AFSA Award Nominations

IN THESE CHALLENGING TIMES FOR THE FOREIGN affairs agencies, it is more important than ever to recognize the traditions of excellence and integrity that are the hallmark of the FS and that characterize our contribution to our nation.

AWARDS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE DISSENT: These three awards for FSOs are aimed at encouraging those who take chances – even risk their careers – to advocate a position they believe in though it may differ from the views of their supervisors or from conventional wisdom. These awards go to FSOs "who have exhibited extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and constructive dissent." The **Christian A. Herter Award** goes to a Senior FSO, the **William R. Rivkin Award** to mid-career officers (FS 1-3) and the **W. Averell Harriman Award** to a junior officer (FS 4-6).

AWARDS FOR EXEMPLARY PERFORMANCE AND PROFESSIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS: The **Delavan Award** recognizes a FS secretary "who has made an extraordinary contribution to effectiveness, professionalism and morale." The **M. Juanita Guess Award** is conferred on a CLO "who has demonstrated outstanding dedication, energy and imagination in assisting the families of Americans serving at an overseas post." The **Avis Bohlen Award** recognizes the accomplishments of "a member of the family of a FS employee whose relations with the American and foreign communities at a foreign post have done the most to advance the interests of the United States."

Awards include a cash prize of \$2500 and a ceremony honoring award winners at the State Department.

Award nominations should include the name of the award and the following: I: Nominee's name, grade, agency, and position (or family relationship). II: Nominator's name, grade, agency and position, and a description of the nominator's association with the nominee (200 words). Part III: Justification for the nomination (500-700 words), i.e., the actions and qualities which qualify the nominee for the award, with specific examples of accomplishments that fulfill the criteria.

Nominations should be sent via pouch or mail by Jan. 31 to AFSA Awards Committee, 2101 E St. NW, Washington, DC 20037, faxed to (202) 338-6820 or e-mailed to prof@afsa.org. Direct questions to Professional Issues Coordinator Richard Thompson, at (202) 338-4045 ext. 521, or by fax or e-mail as stated above.

USIA V.P. VOICE

• BY RILEY SEVER •

A Fifth Cone. Not a Fifth Column Nor a Fifth Wheel.

We need to minimize the uncertainty of the integration for FS personnel, as State V.P. Dan Giesler points out in this issue. He accurately describes areas AFSA can and will be addressing. For USIA officers, however, a more disturbing uncertainty remains: What is the conceptual basis of the public diplomacy cone?

Consensus across all parties to create a "fifth cone" for public diplomacy does not adequately resolve the issues raised by the absorption of 720 USIA FSOs into a "new State." (Yes, the numbers are dropping because each elimination of an overseas or domestic position diminishes the need for officers and shortens the promotion lists. And isn't it time that we acknowledge that TICs are de facto RIFs?) Can we avoid the fifth cone from being viewed as a fifth column or a fifth wheel?

Everyone seems to agree that public diplomacy officers will have a job after Oct. 1, 1999. Nevertheless, there are many views as to the exact nature of the work they will perform. USIA FSOs believe that jobs will be much the same, yet have a different name. State officers clearly see this as an opportunity to expand the department's public affairs efforts. Congress, which advocated the merger as an effective way to incorporate public information skills into State, doesn't want it to go too far. I am afraid that it is possible that the focus of the public diplomacy cone could remain vague even after the merger because of political sensitivity involved in too clear a definition.

Discussions with State AFSA colleagues have convinced me that to be a viable career option, the public diplomacy cone must offer a career track that provides ample, clearly identifiable positions with a public diplomacy or public affairs focus or a combination of the two, including those at the senior level. This

option is complicated by the Congressional concern that USIA materials, programs and staff not be involved with a domestic audience, except in the case of the Fulbright and similar programs. Existing legislation – Smith-Mundt for programs and materials and the Zorinsky Act for staff – prohibits domestic activity. Unfortunately, members of Congress seem to feel that these restrictions, particularly Zorinsky, are necessary to avoid losing public diplomacy cone officers on the American public to explain an administration's foreign affairs positions which might differ from their own. Do they fear that the fifth cone could become an administration's fifth column?

Informal discussions indicate that Congress may retain Smith-Mundt and Zorinsky and insist that funding continue to be designated exclusively for overseas purposes. Therefore, public diplomacy cone officers would be paid from this fund when overseas or assigned to a domestic position dealing with cultural and educational exchange or international information. They would be paid from the State salary fund when doing public affairs work or filling positions with a domestic component. Since not all positions are so clearly divided between domestic and international audiences, many of the benefits of merging the two organizations will be lost if the focus is placed on monitoring the audience for the public diplomacy officer's work. For public diplomacy to be a viable and successful cone in State and not a fifth wheel, no distinction should exist in salary source. There should be ease of access between public diplomacy and public affairs positions and full integration of public diplomacy throughout State. Having gone so far to encourage integration, shouldn't Congress remove the Zorinsky restrictions and allow the full benefits of the reorganization effort to be realized?

"What is the conceptual basis of the public diplomacy cone?"

American and Foreign Diplomats Honored for Promoting International Business

More than 200 diplomats and national and international business representatives were guests of AFSA and the Washington Export Council (WEC) at a reception on Sept. 16 in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room at the State Department. The event honored U.S. and foreign diplomats, recognizing their unique contributions to the promotion of international business.

Stuart Eizenstat, under secretary of State for economic, business, and agricultural affairs, addressed the gathering, as did AFSA president Alphonse La Porta and WEC chair and director of international affairs at GTE Gary Krach. Joseph Edmunds, Saint Lucian Ambassador to the United States and Vice Dean of the Washington Diplomatic Corps, accepted the award on behalf of foreign diplomats for their contributions to the promotion of international business. FS Director General Edward Gnehm Jr. accepted the award on behalf of American diplomats, remarking that "we must find new ways in which business and government can work together dynamically to realize the potential offered by growing international acceptance of market economic forces."

Since 1989 AFSA has been working closely with American business through its International Associates program. The WEC is comprised of more than 30 companies with international trade interests.



Saint Lucian ambassador to the United States Joseph Edsel Edmunds, acting assistant secretary of State Vonya B. McCann, WEC chair Gary Krach, FS DG Edward Gnehm Jr., former WEC chair Melanie Carter-Maguire and AFSA president Alphonse La Porta are pictured after the awards ceremony.

VARIED, VIABLE AND VITAL:

QUINTON ON THE FUTURE OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE

*"At the end of the day, the viability of our Service will not rest on better public relations and a sense of corporate history, nor on tinkering with the personnel system, nor on augmented benefits, nor on greater flexibility; it will depend on the dynamism and success of our foreign policy and the commitment to service which underlies it."**

*In a Sept. 25 luncheon address to AFSA members of the Foreign Service Club, former director general of the Foreign Service Anthony C. E. Quinton reflected on the strengths of the Foreign Service and the challenges to its traditions. Read the transcript of his presentation on AFSA's web page: www.ofso.org, click on AFSA gopher site, click on AFSANET chron file of key documents, click on 092597 Anthony Quinton's speech.

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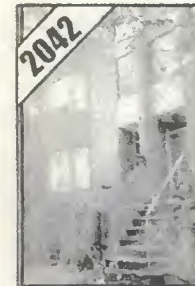
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MEXICAN DREAMS

EL PASO, Tex. — On the dusty levee bordering the Rio Grande, a sodden pile of discarded clothing near an irrigation ditch bears witness to one hopeful struggle to build a new life in El Norte. Nearby, armed guards stand watch while children play along the banks of the river, a natural divide that is gentle and waist-deep in some places, swift and dangerous in others. So far this year, dozens have drowned negotiating the river, which is 30 to 50 feet wide.

Originally called El Paso del Norte, named for an ancient Indian mountain pass, the city owes its very origin to migration. Today, an average of 163,000 people cross from Mexico into El Paso daily — most legally armed with 72-hour “border passes” — clogging all three of the city’s bridges with vehicle and foot traffic.

This city of 515,300 is the fourth-busiest crossing point for illegal Mexicans along the 2,000-mile border, after San Diego, Brownsville and Tucson. This illicit traffic of humans has created a political divide between the two countries. Although a bi-national study released last month indicates the number of Mexicans entering the country illegally is much lower than previously believed — an average 105,000 per year com-

pared to the 1 million annual estimate of earlier years — immigration issues remain at the forefront of bilateral diplomacy.

“We were getting a lot of complaints for not doing enough on one side and of being overly aggressive on the other side,” says Doug Mosier, the public information officer of the El Paso sector for the U.S. Border Patrol, which is administered by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Four years ago, El Paso was the No. 1 point for illegal crossings, but in a 1993 crackdown, the Border Patrol doubled the number of guards along the border from 200 to 400, posting them as close as 100 yards apart. The results of “Operation Hold the Line” were impressive. Arrests of illegal immigrants in the sector, which includes two counties in west Texas and all of New Mexico, immediately dropped about 80 percent, from 1,400 per day to 300, says Mosier, who notes that the rate has stayed steady since.

“Crime, congestion, loitering and other quality of life offenses also went down,” says Mosier. Local officials estimate crime has dropped an average of 15 percent since 1994 and as much as 40 percent for offenses such as auto theft.

The key to securing the border is having sufficient resources for personnel and technology to patrol the vast and difficult terrain, says Mosier. Agents use light-



EVAN LOTT/JANSSON

AT TEXAS BORDER TOWN,
POLICE CRACKDOWN SLOWS
ILLEGAL MIGRANT FLOW

BY KARA SISSELL

F O C U S

Economic desperation motivates most illegal immigrants.

Consider Armando Espinoza, whose family in Chiapas pooled their money to pay a 'coyote' to take him to California.

ing, feneing, all-terrain vehieles and seismic sensors, as well as horse patrols, aircraft surveillanee and dog teams. Nonetheless, "Our bread and butter is the line wateh," says Mosier, who claims agents eatch four out of every five illegal aliens.

Swimming the Rio Grande and crossing the border hidden in a vehicle are by far the most common ways illegal immigrants enter the United States from Mexico. Officials believe some 1.2 million undocumented Mexicans are living in the United States — one-fourth of the total of 5 million illegal immigrants. Living predominantly in Texas, California and New Mexico, one out of every four has arrived since 1993. California has the largest number of illegal immigrants — 2 million, or about 40 percent of the total.

Mexicans account for the largest percentage of legal U.S. immigration as well, or roughly 18 percent in fiscal 1996. However, the statistics are telling: Of the 163,562 Mexicans who immigrated that year, only one-third — 52,625 — filled out their visa applications at U.S. Embassy Mexico City or one of the eight U.S. consulates in Mexico — the preferred method. The remaining 110,937 arrived and remained in the United States with non-immigrant visas, later successfully "adjusting their status" by applying for and being granted immigrant status. And it's all perfectly legal, say officials. That same year, for example, U.S. Embassy Mexico and eight U.S. consulates issued 508,432 non-immigrant visas, most predominantly border-crossing passes, tourist visas and student visas.

Border Patrol crackdowns on crossings simply push the migrant flow towards more distant and unprotected crossing points. "Coyotes," the guides hired by illegal immigrants, continue to find new routes, and

Mosier says attempts to cross the border have increased in Ysleta, east of El Paso, and in New Mexico, where land borders are harder to patrol. By 1998, agents expect Tucson, Ariz., and Brownsville, Tex., to be hotspots.

But the Border Patrol has had its successes. In September, agents arrested 10 suspects in the "biggest international smuggling organization I've ever seen," says Mosier. For two years, the ring allegedly smuggled 500 to 600 illegal aliens per month at \$750 to \$1,000 a head. The immigrants headed to points north, such as Dallas and Albuquerque, where the dangers of being caught are much less than in border towns.

"Our anti-smuggling unit was able to infiltrate the organization and, after eight months of investigation, we were able to gather enough information to take it down," says Mosier. "Even the investigators were surprised by how vast the network was."

Although most of the estimated 13,000 aliens smuggled in were Mexican, the alleged ring had contacts with as many as 12 countries including Morocco, Russia, Timisia, Australia and Brazil.

"The cycle of exploitation is very upsetting," says Mosier, who says the ringleaders had crammed dozens of people into 18-wheelers, often accompanied by only one jug of water. "It's a major international alien smuggling ring that is profit driven where [the suspects] have very little regard for the passengers which they exploit," he said. If convicted, each suspect could serve a maximum of 10 years in jail and receive a \$250,000 fine.

Mosier believes the suspects were using a legitimate trucking company to export the undocumented immigrants to the Dallas and Albuquerque centers, where they were divided up and shipped to 20 different states, including California, Florida, Illinois and New York. Coyote fees were being paid primarily by U.S. residents trying to reunite their families.

Kara Sissell is a New York-based freelance writer who specializes in Mexican affairs.

F O C U S

The guides who make their living off hopeful immigrants give them a wide range of options. For as little as \$5, coyotes will toss an inflated inner tube attached with rope into the Rio Grande; several thousand dollars can arrange one immigrant's passage to a safe house in Chicago or Los Angeles. Like any illicit trade, however, there is no quality control, no guarantees — and no refunds.

If Border Patrol estimates are accurate, four out of five times, coyote fees are wasted. If apprehended, illegal immigrants are jailed, fingerprinted and returned to Mexico. Many try again. "People spend their life savings for this one shot at getting across the border," says Carmen Martinez, a clerk in El Paso. "And most of the time they are sent back within days."

Operation Hold the Line, a model for initiatives now under way in San Diego and Brownsville, was the brainchild of former Border Patrol chief Silvestre Reyes, now a Democratic congressman. Reyes strongly backs the disbanding of the INS, recommended in September by the U.S. Commission on Immigration. The panel also suggests the INS's visas and benefits services be administered by the

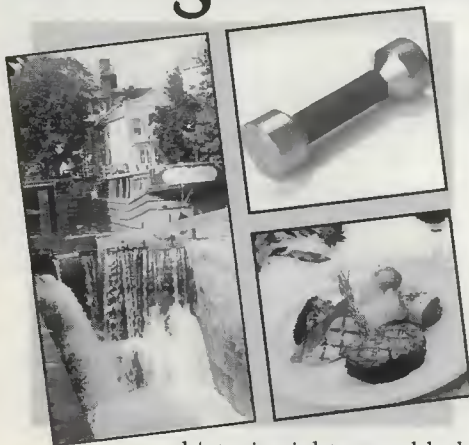
State Department and the Border Patrol's enforcement duties be folded into the Justice Department.

The crackdown hasn't changed life much at U.S. Consulate Ciudad Juarez. Michael Regan, chief of the immigrant visa unit, says the United States has actually increased the number of immigrant visas issued in the last two years. In fiscal 1997, the consulate issued 56,246 immigrant visas. In fiscal 1996, it issued 52,670 visas and refused 8,900; in fiscal 1995, those figures were 47,751 and 9,623, respectively.

Regan says he expects the consulate's workload to increase in April, when it takes over issuing border crossing cards, or the "day pass," from the INS's district office at the border. By September 1999, the consulate is also required to replace the cards with a "more secure" pass, he said.

As efforts to curb illegal immigration intensify, activists say fatalities are on the rise. Immigrant rights groups are pressuring the Border Patrol to use less aggressive tactics.

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F O C U S

Criticized for their presumed role in the fatalities, Border Patrol agents try to cast their jobs in a more humane light. In September, the Border Patrol issued a press release after immigration agents helped rescue five people who, trying to cross the border through a drainage pipe, became trapped by rising water during a flash storm.

If attempts to cross the border smack of desperation, a trip across the bridge joining El Paso and Ciudad Juarez, a teaming metropolis of 789,000, is a quick lesson in cross-border envy. Officials say economic desperation motivates 99 percent of illegal immigrants.

Consider the issue from the viewpoint of Armando Espinoza, a 22-year-old Mexican from Chiapas, the poorest state in Mexico, who crossed the border at Ciudad Juarez and made his way to San Diego. "I am a lottery ticket," Espinoza told the *Orange County Register*. His entire extended family in Chiapas — parents, cousins, aunts — scraped together enough money to send him on this dangerous mission to slip into the United States, find a job and send back half his paycheck to his village. He has to be a winning number.

Life for Texans in El Paso is visibly better. Nonetheless, the city's economy is inextricably linked to Juarez. Though American passport holders can cross the border without restrictions, Mexicans must have a visa or a "day" pass, which allows holders up to 72 hours to visit family, do business or shop, as long as they don't stray more than 25 miles from the border. The economic crisis that hit Mexico after the December 1994 peso devaluation, the country's worst in more than 60 years, has taken its toll on both cities. Stepped-up immigration enforcement efforts may have helped reduce petty crime, but they also reduced the flow of people across the border and have devastated the service economy.

In the longer term, however, a significant part of America's illegal immigration problem may solve itself. Mexico's birth rate is finally declining, which in 10 to 15 years should start to relieve the demographic pressures that compel Mexicans to migrate to the United States in such large numbers. Within two decades, Mexico's economic transformation should be complete, which should also help reduce immigration pressures. ■

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VISA DREAMS

The job of the U.S. consular officer has probably never been so demanding. As ever-larger migrant flows criss-cross the globe in search of economic and political refuge, America is more inviting to foreigners. "It is often said that consular officers are the first line of defense in the context of immigration," noted B.J. Harper, a retired FSO who authored the 1975 book, *Immigration Laws Of The United States*. "[But] consular officers are not cops. Rather, they are akin to judges, evaluating both evidence and facts in the light of immigration and nationality laws."

Since the War Measures Act was passed in 1917, U.S. consular officials overseas have been charged with determining the eligibility of applicants for what now total 56 types of non-immigrant visas and 87 types of immigrant visas. But it took 77 years for Congress to pass a law that legal experts say holds consular officers responsible for their mistakes, specifically if they issue visas "to those who commit terrorist acts." An amendment to the 1980 Foreign Service Act, passed by Congress in 1994, states that, "If the consular officer fails to follow the procedures in processing the application required, ... [his] failure shall be made a matter of record and shall be considered as a serious negative factor in the officer's annual perfor-

mance evaluation." Though the amendment does not state specifically that consular officers can be held personally liable, employment-law attorneys say it has yet to be tested in court. Nevertheless, the law's passage has prompted many FSOs to begin protecting themselves with professional liability insurance.

That professional responsibility can be a headache. Last year, consular officers around the world issued six million NIVs to foreigners, ranging from students to tourists to businesspeople and temporary workers. Some 25 percent of the eight million NIV applications submitted worldwide in 1996 to the United States were turned down — or roughly two million — one of the world's highest visa rejection rates.

With an estimated one million foreigners waiting in their homelands for some 290,000 U.S. immigrant visas allotted annually, the typical waiting period is four years for those with applications on file, and those who apply now can expect to wait a decade or more. No more than 20,000 immigrant visas can be issued per nationality during a given year.

In the future, the State Department's role in immigration issues is destined to become even greater. In September, the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform called for dismantling the INS and distributing its functions among the State, Justice and Labor departments.

For most consular officers, fraud is a constant worry, particularly in posts with



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FOR CONSULAR OFFICERS,
PASSPORT AND VISA FRAUD
LOOMS AS LARGER THREAT

BY STEVEN ALAN HONLEY

F O C U S

With an estimated one million foreigners waiting in their homelands for some 290,000 U.S. immigrant visas allotted annually, the typical waiting period is four years.

high visa workloads. In fiscal 1996, the top cities for NIV requests and issuances were Seoul, Taipei and Sao Paulo, Brazil. In terms of IVs that same year, the highest number of applications were in Manila, Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, and Santo Domingo; of these three cities, Manila had the highest rejection rate.

The State Department's Consular Affairs Bureau's top 10 spots for visa fraud include the Russian Federation and the former Soviet Union, due to the power of the Russian mafias; China and Mexico for smuggling undocumented aliens; Nigeria for drug trafficking; the Philippines and Pakistan for document fraud; Canada and South Africa as transit countries for drug traffickers; Iran and Iraq for terrorists; and India for its employment and investor visa fraud involving people who lie about having commercial assets in the United States.

Visa fraud has been around as long as visas have. A retired FSO who served in Hong Kong in the early 1960s recalls a consular fraud report that began, "If every Chinese woman who claimed to have given birth in the U.S. prior to 1906 — when the great earthquake and subsequent fire in San Francisco destroyed all records — had actually done so, each would have had to have produced [more than] 600 children in order to account for all the citizenship and immigration claims currently on file."

Still, for most consular officers, the presumption of "guilty until proven innocent" is the norm. In issuing NIVs consular officers must be convinced the applicant intends to return to his homeland when he fulfills the purpose of his trip. The officer generally has less discretion to refuse immigrant visas, since most IVs are issued on evidence of a bona fide relationship, either by blood or marriage, to a U.S. citizen or legal permanent resident. Mexico, China and Italy account for the highest numbers of both legal and illegal immigrants to the United States,

Steven Alan Honley, a freelance writer and musician, was an FSO from 1985 to 1997, serving in Mexico City, Wellington and Washington, D.C.

a fact that makes the fraud issue even more challenging for consular officers serving in those countries.

The two most common immigration law violations today are alien smuggling and marriages of convenience, both of which are prosecuted by the INS, with assistance from the State Department and other federal agencies. The first is relatively easy to prove; the second is not. But the most common type of visa fraud is submitting false documents — typically employment-related letters, pay receipts, bank statements, school transcripts — especially for NIVs. This technique is especially prevalent in high-volume, high-fraud posts like Manila and Mexico City, where applicants gamble that visa officers are too overworked to thoroughly interview candidates and review accompanying documents.

Take the case of Haitian-born Jacques Michel of Spring Valley, N.Y., who served six weeks for immigration fraud in 1978 for helping Haitian immigrants file false documents to obtain resident alien status. Now running for mayor of his town, Michel himself came to the United States on a tourist visa in 1963 and stayed on, eventually becoming a citizen in 1990.

There is apparently no limit to the ingenuity and deviousness of those involved in visa fraud. Take these examples:

■ In the so-called "Russian maid" scheme, some of the many American agencies supplying Russian domestic servants for U.S. clients, advertise for women seeking "a great deal of money working as cooks, nannies, maids or housekeepers." The local agents of these organizations throughout the former Soviet Union coach respondents for visa interviews and supply them with fraudulent employment invitations and other supporting documents.

■ At U.S. Embassy Beijing, investigators in search of patterns of investor-visa fraud in China sampled a collection of applications from the coastal city of Tianjin near the capital. Of the 77 requests from 60 companies for "L" visas, which allow Chinese employees to be transferred from their home offices to U.S. branch offices — only

F O C U S

one was legitimate. Investigators found that 49 of the 60 firms did not even exist; of the remaining 11, six claimed no knowledge of the visa applicant or application; and four were petitioning on behalf of unqualified employees.

■ At a Central American embassy this spring, an FSN duped the general services officer into approving stacks of visa referrals for so-called "family members" who were each paying the FSN as much as \$3,000.

■ At U.S. Embassy Manila during one two-week period last summer, investigators uncovered a collection of high-quality fraudulent documents, including nine counterfeit immigrant visas; 10 photo-substituted machine readable visas; and seven photo-substituted U.S. passports. Even more disturbing, the phony IVs were being used by both Filipinos and PRC Chinese.

How is the State Department combatting visa fraud? Although the number of cases being investigated has dropped from 294 in 1993 to about 200 in 1996, these statistics are deceiving, according

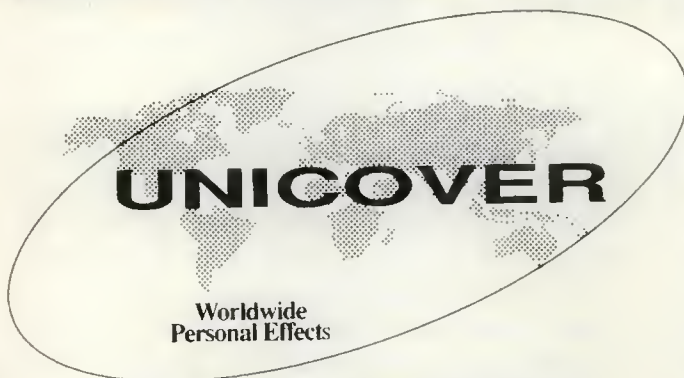
to Joe Davison, chief of the Visa Fraud Prevention Branch of the Diplomatic Security Bureau. "The cases we have now are much more complex, more sophisticated and involve more U.S. agencies than in previous years," he said. "Now we're taking on the [visa rings of the] Russians and Nigerians, and if things go well, we'll go after the Chinese."

Indeed, a special contractor and his assistant have been hired this year specifically to track Russian organized crime connections to visa fraud, he said. The pair join the seven agents and Branch Chief Davison. When he took over the job in 1992, the branch only had five agents who worked on smaller cases, he said.

DS's Visa Fraud Prevention Branch, created when Diplomatic Security was founded in 1985, is investigating fewer cases every year at embassies, according to Davison. State's other weapon against visa fraud is CA's 11-year-old Office of Fraud Prevention Programs, whose original mandate focused on what was then the most common form of consular fraud: fake passports. However, the use of machine-readable passports and document scanners,

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phased in over five years beginning in 1992, has helped INS officials more accurately spot fake passports at ports of entry. Consequently, FPP now concentrates on training consular officers to detect visa fraud, predominantly with the use of two databases: CLASS (Consular Lookout Automated Support System) and DNCS (Distributed Name Check System). Davison also credits computer-based investigation advances, improved interagency cooperation and heightened border security with helping to solve more visa-fraud crimes.

The penalties for visa and passport fraud are quite stiff: Those convicted face up to 20 years in prison and \$250,000 in fines for severe offenses, such as terrorist-related ones, and up to 10 years in prison and \$50,000 in fines for less-severe cases. In the vast majority of cases, however, FSNs are simply fired or asked to quit. The rare FSO who is fingered might be allowed to take early retirement to avoid prosecution.

Nevertheless, in the United States, one is innocent until proven guilty. Take 57-year-old John Adams. On

March 7, the former deputy assistant secretary for visa services and consul general in Manila was acquitted of committing visa fraud after a three-day jury trial in Concord, N.H. He was the highest-ranking diplomat to ever be charged with visa fraud.

Since Davison took over DS's fraud division in 1992, no FSO has been convicted. However, one Civil Service employee at U.S. Consulate Tijuana, one FSN at an undisclosed Central American embassy, and four other foreigners have been convicted of visa fraud in U.S. courts. Statistics from previous years were unavailable. In the Tijuana case, the consulate employee was convicted of bribery of a U.S. government official, receiving five years of supervised probation and a \$1,350 fine. She is also barred from U.S. government employment for life.

Since corruption is endemic to so many countries, examples of true bribery can be difficult to distinguish from "business as usual." To help consular officers handle the ambiguities, DS and CA collaborated

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on a brief training video, "When The Offer Is Made," which depicts a number of variations on this theme. The video, shown in the obligatory ConGen Rosslyn course at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center, urges collaboration with the host government when bribery can be proven.

Once DS decides it has enough evidence, it works with State's Office of the Legal Adviser and Office of the Inspector General, as well as the INS and U.S. Attorney's Office, to arrest and convict suspects. In an average year, only 15 foreigners — the majority of whom are FSNs — are tried and convicted of visa fraud in their home countries' courts, which can cover offenses ranging from improper visa referrals to unauthorized issuance or sale of visas, most commonly NIVs.

Still, criminals always seem a step ahead of investigators, who are increasingly confronting entire overseas industries specializing in manufacturing false entry documents. Operating most aggressively in Russia, Asia, Nigeria and Colombia, these rings

use sophisticated technology that enables them to create, market and sell convincing travel documents. FPP's five-year-old Russian Business Investigation Initiative uses data compiled from visa applications to quash efforts of crime syndicates trying to obtain U.S. entry for people who will help them launder their funds in American banks.

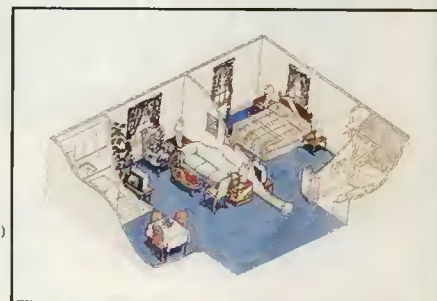
But FPP's staff is limited, with only 17 full-timers in Washington, D.C.; a dozen more in high-fraud posts such as Bogota, Kingston, Lahore, Manila, Mexico City, and Santo Domingo; and 10 regional consular officers in Africa, Germany (to cover Russia) and Saudi Arabia (to cover the Middle East).

In America's politically-charged anti-immigration environment, the mere mention of visa fraud can elicit strong reactions. The Federation for American Immigration Reform has called for the abolition of the U.S. visa-waiver program, which Congress passed in 1987 to allow tourists and busi-

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F O C U S

nesspeople from certain countries — mostly in Western Europe — to visit the United States without a visa. Congress has continued to add countries to the program, most recently in 1994, and now 26 countries are eligible. Although consular officials cannot estimate the number of visa-less visitors who stay on illegally in the United States, FAIR cites the high potential for abuse. One of the more troublesome members of this group is Ireland, whose residents are notorious for misusing the program to immigrate illegally.

Then there are those foreigners with NIVs who claim simply to have changed their minds about going home. While not technically considered fraud, this method of taking advantage of the INS system is a common way many immigrant visas are granted, say officials. The foreigner on a tourist or student visa who overstays his term limit and “adjusts” his INS status so he can marry an American or legally work is technically within the rules, say officials — but only if his decision to stay was not premeditated. Yet how

could a consular officer have intuited the applicant’s real plans?

On one hand, there is little doubt that many NIV-holders unfairly use this shortcut to obtain immigrant visas without waiting in their home countries, and begin petitioning the INS to bring over family members as soon as they become permanent residents or U.S. citizens. On the other hand, adjusting immigration status with the INS is a technically legal avenue.

Visa fraud will always be a consular concern, and no amount of resources, vigilance and dedication will enable the United States to detect and eliminate it all. In the future, interagency cooperation will be even more crucially important. Observes FPP Office Director Edward Vasquez, “Immigration fraud increasingly involves issues that cross the traditional boundaries of Foreign Service work. Confronting it requires the awareness and cooperation of consular sections, law enforcement agencies, U.S. intelligence agencies, and political and economic officers. It is preeminently a global issue.” ■



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DIPLOMACY'S BAD DEAL

WILL RECENT BUDGET AGREEMENT ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
FORCE MORE U.S. FLAGS TO BE LOWERED ABROAD?

BY HARRY C. BLANEY III

The Clinton administration and the Republican congressional leadership signed a budget deal in August that provides a declining U.S. role in the world for the next five years. The choices made have everything to do with the worst elements of narrow political goals and least to do with how to make this nation more effective in dealing with its challenges abroad. The budget deal should have been about how this nation can be made more safe and prosperous, and how people the world over can be drawn out of poverty and despair and brought into the growing world economy. It should have been about how to conquer disease, hunger and hate. It should have been about how to make the world more prosperous, democratic and humane. But it was none of these.

The budget agreement should not have been about — first, last and always — how to balance the budget. Making this nation and the world better and more secure is, after all, what many Americans believe this nation is about.

Harry C. Blaney III is a retired FSO and a former staff member of the White House and of the secretary of State's Policy Planning Staff. He is president of the Coalition for American Leadership Abroad (COLEAD).

The budget cutters talk about safeguarding the next generation, but what good would it do to have a balanced budget if it means greater poverty for our children and the world? What good is it if it brings a world of racial and ethnic conflict, overpopulation and environmental degradation? And what good is a budget that makes the rich richer and the poor poorer at home and abroad?

The raw statistics speak for themselves. After many speeches by both President Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright about how funds for U.S. diplomacy are dangerously inadequate, the administration and Congress have agreed to a budget deal that requires major cuts in almost all U.S. international programs over the next five years. In the 1960s the foreign affairs budget — or the "150 account" — amounted to 4 percent of the federal budget; in the 1970s it was about 2.5 percent; in the late 1990s it is about 1 percent; and in 1998, it will be about .88 percent.

Even before the deal was cut last May, foreign affairs funding was expected to be reduced in 2002, to .5 percent by the administration's projection and to .3 percent by the House Republican Budget Committee's projection. This means that not only will funding for international programs drop faster than cuts in the overall budget, but in real dollar terms, it will drop faster than most other discretionary

accounts, too. This was an account the administration called "important."

The budget agreement provides just \$19 billion for foreign affairs for fiscal 1998, but it will be reduced each year in actual dollars, and in 2002, it will be \$18.2 billion – or, in deflated dollars, – only \$16.4 billion. This greatly reduced level is a disaster for an effective American presence in world affairs. In contrast, the Defense Department's fiscal 1998 budget will be \$269 billion, and will increase to \$289.6 billion in 2002.

This kind of funding makes military spending a higher priority than diplomacy, which can be a preventative to war. In its recent Quadrennial Defense Review, the Defense Department states that in the future, "U.S. interests will continue to be challenged by a variety of transnational dangers, and the lives of U.S. citizens will often be placed at risk, directly and indirectly ... [including] the potential for further spread of intercontinental ballistic missiles and weapons of mass destruction."

If the world is so dangerous that defense dollars must be increased, should not even more resources be funneled into preventive diplomacy? The Quad report even acknowledges that, "If the United States were to withdraw from its international commitments, relinquish its diplomatic leadership, or relinquish its military superiority, the world would become an even more dangerous place, and the threats to the United States, our allies, friends and interests would be even more severe."

These depressing budget numbers do not tell the whole story. Within the 150 account, certain programs are securely protected, and will remain roughly at their present funding levels, including aid funds to Israel and Egypt, the childhood-survival account and radio broadcasts to Cuba. Together, all these programs amount to between \$7 billion and \$8 billion, forcing all other 150 account programs to take even greater disproportional cuts than the steep decline for the account as a whole.

Other nations and U.S. allies which have followed America's active lead are now beginning to copy its withdrawal from world affairs. Without U.S. action, the Europeans would not have persisted in Bosnia, yet American soldiers could soon be withdrawn from this anguished place and with them go U.S. allies and hope for a peaceful outcome. Continued cuts in U.S. aid programs, already the most poorly-funded among advanced countries, mean others will follow that tragic path. The Japanese, who have the world's largest assistance program, plan a 35 percent funding reduction. At the United Nations, America's refusal to pay its legal dues has reduced U.S. influence in that key body and further threatens to undermine its leadership.

If nothing is done, major areas and programs of vital concern to America will be decimated over the next five years. Other mindless efforts are being made to impose even more draconian cut-backs. The recent House Foreign Affairs Authorization bill had an amendment to eliminate the entire budget of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the first of the two agencies being integrated into the State Department. The process, which will eventually include integration of the U.S. Information Agency into State and reorganizing of the U.S. Agency for International Development, has already meant cutting back on vital non-proliferation and weapons-inspections work, even though Albright has said those issues are among the most important items on her agenda.

The foreign affairs account has already been cut about 50 percent, after inflation, from its high point a decade ago. In the last five years, the United States has closed or scheduled to close 36 diplomatic or consular missions, 10

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USIA posts, and 28 USAID missions. And the American flag will likely come down in even more places around the world should the budget cutters get their way.

But this problem needs to be seen in a wider context. We in the diplomatic and larger foreign affairs community need to see these problems as part of changes in American society, values and public debate. Too often, we thought we could remain immune from the impact of politics on society. Too often we isolated ourselves from effective engagement in society's larger issues. We are too often indifferent to the need to explain or educate the public about the importance of the world beyond U.S. borders, and we are aloof from the debate about domestic issues like the role of government, fairness of taxes, quality of education, or budget

balancing. We are now reaping the consequences of such myopic and narrow perspectives.

In this century, America fought aggression and authoritarianism twice in great wars. America saved Europe from despair and ruin after the last war, creating programs of assistance to the poorest nations, creating institutions to serve peace and build international cooperation. America bound the wounds of many in hundreds of tragic places over this century, even feeding the Soviet communists in the 1920s and the Germans and Japanese even though they were enemies in war. America created new institutions, such as the United Nations and NATO, to build international cooperation around the world.

At home, America gave to its own people, through the GI Bill, Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid and Head Start so that the old, the young and the poor

would not suffer. America enacted laws to make the nation fairer to all and built schools and other infrastructure so that all children could fulfill their potential and keep this nation modern.

In short, America was a shining light to the world of what a nation could do, not only for its own people but also for the world. That is no longer the case. Actions, such as this budget compromise, will undo all that has been done so that a few very rich people will become richer by unconscionable tax cuts. The budget battle and its outcome are really about how to tear down much of the good that government has done at home and abroad since Franklin D. Roosevelt.

This multi-year budget, if implemented, will fundamentally change the face of American society and the world, mocking the very idea that government might accomplish collective good.



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Congress, with the agreement of the administration, wants to reduce U.S. assistance to the world's poorest. The big lie of this political season is that big money can be given to the very rich via tax cuts, that the government can be cut drastically, and that all U.S. functions safeguarding Americans at home and abroad can be maintained. No one will say that this emperor has no clothes.

Democrats and Republicans alike have descended to the level of big lies — or just silence. Like many congressional Republicans, the administration is leading America away from funding programs that have been the heart of America's engagement in world affairs for decades. With the exception of such bipartisan voices as Sens. Paul S. Sarbanes, D-Md., Richard D. Lugar, R-Ind., James M. Jeffords, R-Vt., and Patrick D. Leahy, D-Vt., both the Democratic

administration and congressional Republicans are planning long-term cuts in assistance programs to the poor abroad, including education and training, environmental protection programs, sustainable development, health, international exchange programs, democracy building, population-reduction activities, as well as efforts against non-proliferation and preventive diplomacy.

All of these efforts shape the world toward a direction that is safe for Americans and others. Where were considerations of how to make these efforts better and more effective in either the recent long-term budget cutting debates or in the so-called "re-organization" exercise?

Slowly but surely, the politics of greed has transformed this nation. It has happened not in some fit of oversight or neglect, but deliberately with malice aforethought.

Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, House Speaker Newt Gingrich and President Clinton are all in on it. The "new" establishment has set its sights on tearing down the notion that government can serve the common good. In its place, they have raised up their favorite idol, that of the survival of the fittest (read: the richest) as the ultimate in American society's values. Money in politics has had its way. We in foreign affairs have reaped the bitter fruits of such simplistic and crass thinking.

A major change in American values and in the willingness of leaders of all parties to enunciate policies that really solve problems and act for the common good must occur if effective solutions are to be found for international challenges. The foreign affairs community has a role to play in this debate, and it needs to learn how to do it. ■



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THE FENG SHUI WAY

THE CHINESE ART OF BALANCING ENERGY
UNSEEN PLAYER IN U.S.-CHINA DIPLOMACY

By JOSÉ ARMILLA

With the number of power seekers in Washington, America's leaders have not been shy about attempting any way to concentrate their power, such as seeking the advice of astrologers or psychics. And now, enter *feng shui* (pronounced "fung shoo-ay"), the ancient Chinese art of balancing environmental energy with a person's flow of *ch'i* — the human spirit. *Feng shui* reflects the Tao precept that the art of living is to achieve a well-balanced *ch'i*, which will attract good luck.

For centuries, *feng shui* masters were consulted by Chinese emperors to determine which direction to face to achieve the most control and moral authority over their people. In the modern era, these masters have advised those in the Oval Office on how to position themselves to best develop a coherent national vision. Earlier this year, *Time Magazine* reported that *feng shui* master Pun Yin had urged President Clinton to move from the Oval Office to a rectangular one "where straight walls would provide spiritual support and enhance feelings of control."

Before President Ronald Reagan readjusted his view of the Evil Empire in 1983, Master Lin Yun advised him to move his desk forward four to five inches because he was sitting with his back too close to the wall. "This will not only improve his reputation and

power — help his *ch'i* rise — but also will widen his perspective, opening his mind to new ways to solve the nation's problems," *The Washington Post* reported.

The Oval Office has always perplexed *feng shui* masters. The pumping of *ch'i* to an office's interior can be aided by doors and windows, but too many openings — seen as mouths voicing different opinions — can lead to indecision. The best power spot for a desk in an office is catty-corner to the door. Since the Oval Office has four doors and, of course, no straight walls, the auspicious catty-cornered desk placement in relation to the main door is impossible.

Feng shui cures are also known to raise a nation's *ch'i* as well, and indeed, U.S.-China history is full of examples of how the art form played a role in diplomacy between the countries.

For example, in 1844 President John Tyler — no doubt unwittingly — ensured the success of one foreign policy initiative by scheduling the signing at a high-energy area in Portuguese-ruled Macao. The site? A Taoist temple on Avenida do Coronel Mesquita, which was not on Chinese soil.

In 1843, Tyler appointed prominent Massachusetts politician Caleb Cushing to lead the first U.S. diplomatic mission to China that July with a U.S. Navy flotilla boasting 200 guns. The firepower was impressive.

The Chinese believed the Americans' arrival on Feb. 27, 1844, announced with a burst of gun shots, unbalanced their *ch'i*. Chinese authorities feared that the positive and smooth *ch'i* of the realm could be

José Armilla, a retired FSO for the U.S. Information Agency, served in Vietnam, Chile and Hong Kong.

blasted away. On instructions from the Imperial Court, the governor was to "soothe and stop" the Americans in Macao, where the mission waited in vain for clearance to proceed to Beijing.

In Canton, a second incident that unsettled the Chinese *ch'i* during that episode was inadvertently created by Cushing. The American envoy had brought a new flagpole, topped by an arrowed weather vane, to be installed at the American consulate. The vane, which the Chinese viewed as an American attempt to direct negative energy toward them, so angered the Chinese that a riot erupted within the consulate compound. The mob's ire was directed at the weather vane, "which shot to all quarters, thereby causing serious impediment to the felicity and good fortune of the land," according to the Chinese report, as reported in the 1923 book by Claude Fuess, *The Life of Caleb Cushing*.

Indeed, shifting wind directions — underscored by the darting movements of the weather vane — made every Chinese neighborhood's *ch'i* vulnerable to its negative influence. After 200 Chinese soldiers arrived at the U.S. consulate on orders of the governor, Consul Robert Forbes removed the offending arrow and order was restored.

The Chinese made Cushing wait four months. On June 18, 1844, he met Imperial Commissioner Ch'i-Ying, who made an official call at the American headquarters in a rented house in Macao. Riding on a sedan chair carried high on the shoulders of bearers, the commissioner was flanked and followed by Tartar troops. Leading this procession was the grand marshal, brandishing a fan — not a sword — to indicate the commissioner's high rank. The fan, a Taoist symbol of smooth *ch'i* circulation, signaled that the Chinese were ready to begin friendly negotiations.

The hard-driving Cushing, who expected to be received at the Imperial Court in Beijing as the U.S. envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, was persuaded by Ch'i-Ying to negotiate a treaty at a Taoist temple in the obscure village of Wangxia, just outside the city wall but within Macao's borders.

Known as the Temple of the Goddess of Compassion Kuan Yin, this auspicious location was greeted with bemused irony by Cushing, who realized he would negotiate the first U.S.-China treaty

without setting foot on Chinese soil. The Chinese used another tactic that Cushing found humorous: On the pretext of cramped space, they asked the Yankee lawyer to sit on the sacred spot from which the supreme Taoist god's image had been temporarily removed. *Feng shui* supposes there was a *ch'i* transfusion through Cushing's spirit to steer him to an agreement with the Chinese. Despite the initial American perception of the Chinese diplomatic behavior as convoluted, noncommittal and dilatory, substantive negotiations lasted only two weeks, from June 19 to July 1.

The signing ceremony, set for July 3, 1844, was classic *feng shui*. Within the temple compound, the Chinese selected a windowless 30-foot by 10-foot room with one door. An elevated platform, with a table catty-corner to the door, was at the far end. Cushing and Ch'i-Ying sat behind this elevated table. Two Tartar officers stood by carrying the Imperial Seal of the Great Ching Emperor.

Eight copies of the treaty were laid out on the table, four in English and four in Chinese. The principal negotiators signed the copies and the Tartars stamped each copy with the Imperial Seal. At the conclusion, the Americans cheered as they rushed to the door. This upbeat reaction confirmed to the Chinese the wisdom of their chosen *feng shui* tactic — rectangular room, one door, no windows — to assure consensus.

The Treaty of Wangxia was a foreign policy success for President Tyler. The Americans came home with four treaty ports besides Canton in their pockets — Ningbo, Shanghai, Amoy and Fuzhou — and introduced the "most favored nation" clause to benefit the United States in case of future Chinese concessions to other powers. They also gained "extraterritoriality," the privilege of trying a U.S. citizen accused of a crime on Chinese soil in a U.S. consular court, instead of a Chinese court. The agreement led to a boom in bilateral trade.

Feng shui masters would have been pleased. ■

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THE ENVOY & THE CLERIC

DID BENJAMIN FRANKLIN INFLUENCE VATICAN
IN CHOOSING FIRST U.S. CATHOLIC BISHOP?

BY ROBERT F. ILLING

Benjamin Franklin's accomplishments in securing American independence by obtaining aid from France and negotiating peace with Great Britain are well-documented, but less well-known is his diplomatic role in helping formulate a legal structure for the American Catholic Church.

As America's first ambassador to France from 1783 to 1784, Franklin helped the Holy See define an independent structure for the American Catholic Church, which became one of his most important diplomatic successes.

When the American Revolution began in 1775, only about 25,000 Roman Catholics lived in the 13 colonies, most in Maryland and Pennsylvania, and a handful in New York. There were no local bishops and British Bishop Richard Challoner, based in London, was recognized by the Vatican as the official "vicar apostolic" of American Catholics. Then, as now, it was standard Vatican practice not to alter church boundaries or governance without a signed treaty, so it was not until the American colonies had won their independence and were negotiating a peace treaty with Britain in 1783 that the Vatican would consider the fate of American Catholics. The

groundwork for those discussions was laid in 1779, when Pope Pius VI asked the papal nuncio, Archbishop Giuseppe Doria Pamphili, to request a copy of the Declaration of Independence from Franklin. When the Treaty of Paris, the peace agreement's formal name, was signed in 1783, the Vatican gave the nuncio the green light to discuss the issue with Franklin.

Doria Pamphili engaged Franklin to earnestly explore ways to break away the governance of the American Catholic Church from British control. The Vatican realized the French were ideally placed to help in the matter and that the French minister to the United States, Chevalier de la Luzerne, was able to provide guidance on circumstances in the new republic. What evolved was a three-way discussion, involving Franklin and John Adams, the future president who was on Franklin's Paris staff, for the United States; Doria Pamphili for the Vatican; and French Foreign Minister Charles Gravier, the Comte de Vergennes and the bishop of Autun for the French.

From the Vatican's perspective, the task ahead consisted of laying the legal groundwork on ecclesiastical matters between Rome and the American Catholic Church, of naming a leader for the American community and of training of future American clergy. At this point, the Vatican's office of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, which dealt with missionary churches, came into the picture.

Robert F. Illing is a retired FSO who served in Oporto, Portugal; at the Holy See in Rome, and in Belgrade and Mexico City.

Heretofore, the church had been used to dealing with two distinct situations: either reasonably friendly Catholic powers like France, or hostile non-Catholic states like England. The Vatican assumed the Americans would take a strong role in forging a formal relationship with the Vatican because most nations preferred a formal relationship with Rome. The United States proved to be the first exception to that rule.

The essential first step for separating the American Catholic Church from England was for Rome to designate a cleric with episcopal powers to live in America, who would have the power to ordain priests and conduct Confirmation rites for children.

On July 28, 1783, Archbishop Doria Pamphili advised Franklin in France that having the American Church governed under the London-based bishop "can no longer exist," noting that American Catholics needed their own bishop. He urged Franklin to seek Congress's approval for the Holy See to designate a suitable American priest and city in North America. Archbishop Doria Pamphili opined that, since a foreigner would probably be chosen, it was best not to name a full bishop at the outset, suggesting instead the naming of an apostolic vicar or a prefect, prelates with partial episcopal powers. If no appropriate American was available, Congress should allow the candidate to be chosen from among the subjects of a foreign power friendly to the United States.

The desire of the Holy See to sound out Congress probably stemmed from its general experience and practice of leaving no major question unanswered with government officials. The Holy See preferred all aspects of such bilateral relationship to be in writing. Moreover, in his professional astuteness, Doria Pamphili perceived that American representatives were operating in somewhat uncharted territory. The way America acted on a given issue was not prophetic of its actions on other issues, no matter how similar. For in America, he realized, there was often no precedent. For some time, Doria Pamphili pressed Franklin for Congress's approval, obviously considering it normal that the U.S. government wanted an

active role in deciding the future of its Catholics.

August and September 1783 were months of frequent discussions between Franklin and the nuncio. In mid-August, Doria Pamphili reported in his diary, "On a recent occasion presented to me to see and speak to Mr. Franklin, I took advantage to inspire and impress on him, as I previously had done, the favorable impression made on our court by their [Americans'] desire to cooperate in the propagation and free exercise of the Roman Catholic faith in the domains of his new republic."

The previous two months of conversations were reported in Doria Pamphili's detailed dispatch to Rome on Sept. 1, 1783, in which he noted Franklin's view that the "Court of Rome on its own could take all those measures useful to the Catholics of America without offense to the Constitution, and that the Congress will not fail to approve tacitly any choice of a French ecclesiastic that Propaganda Fidei, in concert with the Minister Plenipotentiary of United States will make." He also reported Franklin's recommendation that American priests be trained in France, but not at seminaries where Englishmen were also being educated. Finally, the nuncio reported that Franklin had said "it was absolutely useless to submit anything to Congress because their rules and the Constitution do not permit any involvement in religious affairs, this being reserved to the various states." Each state constitution, moreover, said Franklin, "is obliged to guarantee religious tolerance and protect the members of all religions in the free exercise of their faith as long as they do not trouble the public order."

In his dispatch of May 27, 1784, Doria Pamphili informed the Vatican that Franklin was favorable to naming as vicar apostolic in Maryland, the ex-Jesuit John Carroll, from one of the colonies' most prominent families and who would in 1786 found Georgetown University. In 1773 the Pope had sup-

Five years after John Carroll had become head of the U.S. Catholic Church, the pope named him bishop of Baltimore, creating the first full diocese in the United States.

pressed the Jesuit order, halting the order worldwide for more than 30 years. During that period, former Jesuit priests, such as Carroll, continued to be priests — but not Jesuits. Though the American Catholic clergy had petitioned in 1783 to name a relatively unknown local priest, Archbishop John Lewis, as head of the American Catholic Church, the pope appointed Carroll on June 9, 1784.

Benjamin Franklin and John Carroll had met in 1776 when both were sent by the Continental Congress to Canada to negotiate a neutrality pact with French Canadians during the American Revolutionary War. The mission failed, but, as a result, Carroll won Franklin's respect and friendship. Franklin had told the nuncio about his mission to Canada with Carroll, and the nuncio reported that Franklin believed the choice "would be very pleasing to many members of Congress and in particular to Benjamin Franklin, who has strongly recommended him."

The Vatican wasted no time. On July 1, 1784, the nuncio called on Franklin to say that, on his recommendation, the pope had appointed Carroll as "superior of the Catholic clergy in America," which carried many powers of a bishop, indicating that he would probably be made a bishop before the end of the year.

On May 11, 1784, Congress finally issued the long-sought instructions to Franklin, which read as follows: "Resolved, that Dr. Franklin be desired to notify to the apostolic Nuncio at Versailles, that Congress will always be pleased to testify their respect to his Sovereign and State; but that the subject of his application to Dr. Franklin being purely spiritual it is without the jurisdiction and powers of Congress who have no authority to permit or refuse it, these powers being reserved to the several states individually." Franklin sent a copy of these

instructions to the nuncio under cover of his diplomatic note of Aug. 18. When the nuncio forwarded this long-awaited reply from Congress to his superiors in Rome, they expressed surprise and satisfaction that a government could exist that was interested neither in meddling in religious affairs nor in hindering them.

Franklin's diplomatic overture was most certainly the first time in the Catholic Church's long history that it had met with genuine religious freedom. Likewise, it was also probably the Vatican's first experience in dealing with the separation of church and state.

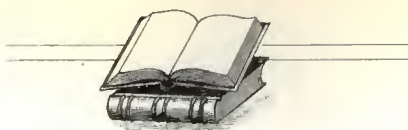
It is natural to assume that a man like the nuncio, a conservative Catholic who represented the most traditional power in Europe, could have been distressed over the reality of the United States, a rebellious country whose proclaimed republican principles left no room for kings, nobles or established churches. While the Holy See no doubt recognized the inherent threat in the existence of such a republic, like France and Spain it acknowledged the advantages in supporting the Americans. More than any particular interest in helping the American cause per se, was an overriding desire to weaken the power of that arch-heretical country, Great Britain. Another hope might have been to provide breathing space to the Catholic Spanish colonies throughout Latin America. There was also the possibility of Catholicism flourishing better in a country free of British domination. In any case, the gamble was made.

The nuncio's final report on his contacts with Franklin is dated Aug. 23, 1784. In it, he comments that, "It is not sure that the American Republic will with time continue to be grateful for the singular services and favors given them by France and they might fall into a revolution similar to Canada. It would be convenient to be satisfied

with what one can get and for the future submit to what God will be good enough to grant." A more pessimistic — and prophetic — sentiment was reported at the same time by the Spanish ambassador to France to his foreign minister in Madrid. Jose Monino y Redondo, the Conde de Floridablanca, foresaw that, "this tiny infant republic, which we now aid in its birth, may some day grow to be a colossus and turn on those who are now its benefactors." How true that appeared in 1898.

How important was Franklin's recommendation of John Carroll to be the local head of the American Church? Given that the American clergy, with Carroll's participation, had forwarded to Rome their recommendation that Archbishop Lewis be chosen instead, there are no grounds for suspecting that the Holy See's choice would have fallen on Carroll had Franklin not strongly supported him. As the nuncio was willing to accord Franklin considerable influence in American church affairs, Franklin could just as easily have blocked Carroll's candidacy or proposed someone else. It's entirely likely, however, that Franklin did not know any other American priests. Therefore, it seems safe to conclude that Franklin was uniquely responsible for Carroll ending up as the first Catholic bishop in the United States.

Thus ended a little-known but rather interesting episode from the infancy of American diplomacy. That a free-thinking, former grand master of the Masonic Lodge of Pennsylvania and venerable of the Lodge of the Nine Sisters in Paris should have played such a clearly sympathetic role in the establishment of an independent Catholic Church in America is surprising; that he worked so well with such an unlikely counterpart as Archbishop Doria Pamphili is, if anything, intriguing. ■



BOOKS

MEMOIR RECALLS 2 SOVIET GIANTS

My Years with Gorbachev and Shevardnadze — The Memoir of a Soviet Interpreter Pavel Palazchenko

Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997, hardcover, \$35, 394 pages.

BY R.T. DAVIES

There seems to be no end to the parade of books about the final years of the Soviet Union. Now comes Pavel Palazchenko, until now best known as the man in the middle between Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev, and George Bush and Gorbachev. He has written much that will be of interest, primarily to specialists, but the generalist who sticks with it will find this a testimony of significant witness to history.

The book is a striking advertisement for the Soviet system of selecting and training interpreters.

Palazchenko's primary interest is in exploring what went wrong with Gorbachev's Sisyphean effort to transform the Soviet Communist Party into a social-democratic party, reform the Soviet economy, and, most of all, turn the USSR into a normal and respected participant in the international community. Operating from within the belly of the beast has not prevented him from criticizing the blunders, hesitations and wrong turns of his bosses, whom he treats

with such objectivity and judiciousness that they remain colleagues. Justifiably, Gorbachev is his central figure, while Eduard Shevardnadze is affectionately presented as a strong supporting player.

Palazchenko is critical of President Bush for failing to help Gorbachev more, particularly during the end-game in 1991. He regrets the lost opportunity to introduce an international politics based upon greater reliance on the rule of law following Gorbachev's revolutionary speech to the United Nations in December 1988 — a regret eloquently elaborated upon by a Democrat, Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, in his 1990 book, *On the Law of Nations*. Instead, the newly-elected Bush declared a hiatus in U.S.-Soviet relations that lasted nearly a year. When the relationship was resumed, any chance that existed for a fruitful partnership had been lost. Bush was lacking the "vision thing" in 1989, and was under no pressure to strengthen the authority of international law until the following summer, when Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait.

The official disfavor that now envelops Gorbachev is so strong and popular indifference to him so pervasive that this thoughtful and quietly passionate book has not yet been published in Russia. It should be. A peerless translator is immediately at hand: Pavel Palazchenko.

R.T. Davies, a retired FSO and former ambassador to Poland, worked in U.S.-Soviet and U.S.-Eastern European relations from 1947-1980.

GERMAN PSYCHE BEFORE HITLER

Unavoidable Germans: Art vs. Politics and the Consequences

John Mosher, University Press of America, 1997, hardcover, \$49.50, 402 pages.

BY PIERRE SHOSTAL

How did a country like Germany, home to some of Europe's best-educated and brightest thinkers, succumb to Adolf Hitler's lunatic ideology? The political and economic steps in his path to power have often been charted, but Germany's rich intellectual climate before World War II is not as well known in this country. John Mosher, a businessman who directed overseas cultural and policy programming at the U.S. Information Agency during the Reagan administration, analyzes how three German intellectuals shaped their countrymen's attitudes toward Hitler in *Unavoidable Germans*. In sketches drawing extensively from published works, Mosher explores the legacies of poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, composer Richard Wagner and writer Thomas Mann, with a revealing side excursion into philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche's influence on the latter two. A complex figure who often changed his views during his long life, Goethe belongs — in Mosher's view — to the German tradition inspired by the Enlightenment and its faith in reason.

BOOKS

Though much of Wagner's work was composed before German unification in 1871, his emotionally evocative music filled a German desire for a common past. Wagner was not the first German composer to appeal fundamentally to emotion; Ludwig van Beethoven, who personally rejected Napoleon in his "Eroica" symphony, paved the way for Wagner by breaking away from the classical musical style that Austrian composer Franz Joseph Haydn had created in the 1700s. As Mosher describes the process: "[Beethoven's] conflict with reason, this need to destroy the logical, socially-accepted forms which had been created over decades of musical history and handed down from the 18th century, stands at the outset of a movement in German spiritual history which culminated in the 1920s and 1930s, in a national philosophy rejecting intellect

and intellectuals for the rule of unbridled instinct. With the birth of German music, the German spirit began actively separating itself from reason."

But it was Wagner who built the emotional bridge between music and politics, which was distorted and exploited by Hitler. As Mosher notes, Wagner's influence became so great that "one's position toward German music could be regarded as a test of one's politics or nationality."

Mann, an opponent of Hitler and an apostle of European unity, succumbed in his early years to the twin temptations of German nationalism and adulation of Wagner's musical portrayal of it. By the time the horrified Mann began in the late 1920s to realize the consequences of a nationalist appeal to unreason, it was too late and Hitler's rise to power shortly became unstoppable.

Mosher intends this book to be a cautionary tale. He sees nothing unique to Germany about the vulnerability of democracy. "Any country, including the United States, can deteriorate into demagogic rule the moment its people cease to insist — daily, as Goethe has Faust point out — on defending their basic freedoms vigorously."

Though stimulating, the book has its shortcomings. A map would have helped readers track the journeys of its main figures. Rather than a tomrummy account of East German travels, a discussion of Germany's cultural stand today between reason and unreason would have been more satisfying. ■

Pierre Shostal, a retired FSO who teaches at FSI, headed State's German desk from 1987 to 1990, and was consul general in both Hamburg and Frankfurt.

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IN MEMORY

Karl D. Ackerman, 70, a retired FSO, died Sept. 21 at his home in Bethesda, Md.

Mr. Ackerman joined the Foreign Service in 1949, and served in Paris, Taipei, Oslo and Bangkok. Before his retirement in 1982, he was assistant secretary of State for security. His earlier Washington positions included executive director of the bureau of Inter-American Affairs and director of FS assignments and career development.

Born in Bellevue, Pa., Mr. Ackerman graduated from the University of Notre Dame and attended the business graduate school of Stanford University. He served in the Navy Reserve during World War II.

Survivors include his wife of 44 years, Marjorie Ackerman, of Bethesda; six children, Stephen of Bethesda; Karl of Charlottesville, Va.; Terri Hollrah of Glenwood, Md.; Kristin Carroll of Austin, Texas; John of Bellevue, Wash.; and Paul of Columbia, Md. He is also survived by two sisters, a brother, and 16 grandchildren.



Carl Frederick Bartz Jr., 75, a retired FSO, died of a stroke on Sept. 4 at his home in Winston-Salem, N.C.

A native of Dallas, Texas, Mr. Bartz graduated from Harvard University and received a doctorate in Far Eastern history and politics at the University of California at Berkeley. His overseas assignments with USIA included Korea, Japan, Burma and Pakistan. Following his retirement in

1983, Mr. Bartz continued to work part time in public affairs with the State and Defense departments.

Mr. Bartz moved to Linden, Va., in 1973 and settled in Winston-Salem 20 years later.

Survivors include his wife of 50 years, Patricia, of Winston-Salem; two daughters, Ann Potter of Pilot Mountain, N.C., and Isobel Bartz of Greensboro, N.C.; a brother; and two grandchildren.



Henry S. Bashkin, 78, a retired Commerce Department official, died of prostate cancer on Aug. 30 at the Hospice of Washington, in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Bashkin began his government career in 1941 at the War Production Board. After serving in the Army during World War II, he joined Commerce where he worked as an economist, industry analyst and international trade negotiator.

A native of Brooklyn, N.Y., Mr. Bartz graduated in 1941 from the City College of New York.

Survivors include his wife, June, of Washington, D.C.; a brother, Stanley, of Tucson, Ariz.; and two sisters, Helen of Washington, D.C., and Gladys of Denver, Colo.



Roger A. Cowell, 81, a retired Voice of America correspondent, died Aug. 14 at Washington Hospital Center,

Washington, D.C., after a heart attack.

Mr. Cowell was born in St. Paul, Minn., and graduated from the University of Minnesota. He served in the Army during World War II and was a radio reporter and editor in Minneapolis before moving to Washington, D.C. Mr. Cowell joined VOA in 1951 as a newswriter in the International Broadcast Service. He later covered the White House, the United Nations and the Six Day War and the Vietnam War, and was chief of correspondents in Europe and Asia.

Following retirement in 1976, Mr. Cowell lived in Clearwater, Fla., and 20 years later settled in Arlington, Va.

Mr. Cowell's first wife, Grace, died in 1966.

Survivors include his second wife, Sheila, of Arlington; two children from his first marriage, Diane Cowell Chun of Gainesville, Fla., and Robert of Waldorf, Md.; a stepson, Dan Boor, of Washington, D.C.; a brother; three grandsons; and one great-grandchild.



Millan Ludmil Egert, 87, a retired FSO, died of sepsis, pneumonia and renal failure on Aug. 26 at Holy Cross Hospital in Silver Spring, Md.

Mr. Egert joined the State Department in 1947, working with the UNESCO until 1956. His overseas posts included Rome and Kabul. In Washington he served as assistant to the secretary of State for administration and as executive director of the bureau of Near Eastern and South

Asian Affairs. During World War II, he was attached to the British Army as deputy director of a refugee camp in Germany.

Mr. Egert's wife, Lillian Hanscom Egert, died in 1993. He is survived by his son, Timothy, of Bethesda, Md.



Robert Eugene Gray, 67, a development resources officer at the Foreign Agricultural Service, died of cancer on Aug. 23 at his home in Fairfax, Va.

A native of Snyder, Texas, Mr. Gray graduated from Texas Tech University, where he also received a master's degree in agricultural education. He earned a doctorate in agricultural economics at Michigan State University.

Mr. Gray began his career in the 1950s as a country agent and agricultural instructor in Texas, later joining USAID and serving in Paraguay, Kenya and at State's Latin America and Caribbean Bureau. He then joined the Agriculture Department, where he worked in the Africa Bureau and in Inter-American and International Programs.

Survivors include his wife of 42 years, Nancy Ann O'Kelley Gray, of Fairfax; two daughters, Kelley Snyder of Westminster, Md., and Cristina Carlisle of Arlington, Va.; and a sister. A son, Robert Earl Gray, died in 1986.



Constance Ray Harvey, 92, died at her home in Lexington, Va., on Aug. 3, following a long illness. Ms. Harvey had a long and distinguished career in the Foreign Service, beginning in 1930 as the sixth woman ever commissioned as an FSO.

Born in Buffalo, N.Y., Ms. Harvey was educated in France and Switzerland. She graduated from Smith College in 1927 and received a master's degree from Columbia University in 1930.

Ms. Harvey received the Medal of

Freedom for her "outstanding contribution to the Allied causes during World War II," a reference to her clandestine activities while serving from 1941 to 1942 as a neutral diplomat at Lyon, France, during the Vichy regime. Ms. Harvey was interned for 13 months with other Allied diplomats in Vichy and, later, Baden-Baden, following the Allied invasion of North Africa in November 1942.

Ms. Harvey's other overseas assignments included Ottawa; Milan, Italy; Basel and Zurich, Switzerland; Athens; Bonn; Edinburgh; and Strasbourg, France; in Washington, D.C., she worked in the offices of Italian-Austrian Affairs and European Affairs.

Ms. Harvey is survived by several second cousins.



Coulter Dunham Huyler Jr., 85, a retired FSO, died of pneumonia on Sept. 4 at the Potomac Valley nursing home in Rockville, Md.

Mr. Huyler joined the Foreign Service in 1946 and served in The Hague, with NATO and with UNESCO.

A New York native, Mr. Huyler graduated from Princeton University and worked for the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency as a young man. He served in the Army in the Middle East and India during World War II.

After retirement, Mr. Huyler operated his Hagerstown farm, where from 1984 to 1994 he ran a bed and breakfast. He was also a hospice volunteer.

Mr. Huyler's first wife, Lola Ann McFadin Huyler, died in 1957, and their daughter, Margaret Lee Huyler, died in 1960. His marriage to Sarah Huyler ended in divorce.

Survivors include two children from his first marriage, Coulter Dunham Huyler III and Anne Huyler Baker, both of Bethesda, Md.; a brother; and three grandchildren.

Harry Z. Kakkikian, 75, a retired Army major and FSO, died on Aug. 27 at Inova Fairfax Hospital in Fairfax, Va., following a stroke.

A Fresno, Calif., native, Mr. Kakkikian's military career included service in the Army Signal Corps in Europe during World War II and in the Korean War. He served in Germany and Guam before retiring in 1965.

Upon his military retirement, Mr. Kakkikian joined the Foreign Service, serving as a telecommunications officer with assignments in Beirut and Accra. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1986.

Survivors include his wife of 47 years, Gladys, of Annandale; three children, Gary of Castle Rock, Colo., Debra K. Barker of Springfield, Va., and Robert of Fairfax, Va.; a sister, Queenie Avakian, and a brother, Edward, both of Fresno, Calif.



John Marshall Leddy, 83, a retired official of the State and Treasury departments, died of lung and kidney failure on Aug. 31 at Inova Fairfax Hospital, Fairfax, Va.

Born in Chicago, Mr. Leddy graduated from Georgetown University. Before beginning his government career, he was chief of the economic information division at the Pan American Union.

Mr. Leddy joined the State Department in 1941, participating in international trade and economic initiatives. In 1951 he became director of the International Trade Policy Office and, two years later, was appointed deputy assistant secretary of State for economic affairs, and later as special assistant to Under Secretary of State C. Douglas Dillon. From 1961 to 1963, Mr. Leddy was assistant secretary of the Treasury for international affairs and later served as ambassador to the OECD in Paris before retiring in 1969.

Mr. Leddy's wife of 43 years, Louise Crawford Leddy, died in 1978. Survivors include his wife, Margaret

Hardy Potter Leddy, of McLean, whom he married in 1983; a son from his first marriage, Thomas, of Vienna, Va.; and two granddaughters.



Stewart W. Macdonald, 68, a retired FSO, died of cancer in Austin, Texas, on July 22.

Born in Providence, R.I., Mr. Macdonald joined the State Department as a cryptographer in 1955 and later became a general services officer. His 25-year career included postings in Britain, Paraguay, Spain, Pakistan, Liberia and El Salvador. Mr. Macdonald took a medical retirement in 1980 due to complications from diabetes.

Mr. Macdonald's first wife, Mary Ann, died in 1982. Survivors include his wife, Jo, whom he married in 1987; a son; a daughter; two brothers; and two granddaughters.



Harry J. Morris, 75, a retired FSO, died Sept. 27 at his home in Bethesda, Md., after a heart attack.

Mr. Morris joined the Foreign Service in 1949, serving as a consular officer in Europe and the Far East. After retirement from State in 1974, Mr. Morris lived abroad with his wife, FSO Mildred V. Morris, until they retired to the Washington, D.C. area in 1988.

A Connecticut native, Mr. Morris graduated from Quinnipiac College and served with the Army Air Force during World War II.

Survivors include his wife, of Bethesda; a son, John W., of Fairfax Station, Va.; two sisters, Evelyn O'Neill and Sophia O'Neill, both of Branford, Conn.; and a granddaughter.



Albert V. Nyren, 77, a retired FSO, died Aug. 4 at Howard County Community Hospital in Columbia, Md., following a stroke.

During his 20-year career at the State Department, Mr. Nyren served in Belize, Barbados, Belgium, Italy, Australia and Turkey.

Born in Boston, Mr. Nyren graduated from Boston College in 1941. During World War II he served in Europe with the Signal Corps.

Survivors include his wife of 51 years, Genevieve, of Columbia; two sons, John A. of Boulder, Colo., and Philip E., of Aurora, Ill.; six daughters, Patricia Marchetti of Gaithersburg, Md., Claire Mann of Sterling, Va., Sheila Green of Potomac, Md., Barbara McCowat of Lake Forest, Calif., Rita Nyren of Columbia and Mary Jane Gutkowski of Clifton, Va.; a brother and 15 grandchildren.



Euna Scott Johnson Palmer, former wife of retired FSO Ronald D. Palmer, died Sept. 28 at the Rockville Nursing Home after a long illness.

Mrs. Palmer accompanied her husband to Foreign Service postings in Jakarta, Kuala Lumpur, Copenhagen and Manila.

Born in Spokane, Washington, Mrs. Palmer married Preston C. Johnson Jr. during the war.

Survivors include a son, Derek, of Los Angeles, Calif.; a daughter, Alyson, of New York; and a brother, Herbert Williams, of Portland, Ore.



G. Edward Reynolds, 75, a retired FSO, died of pulmonary disease Sept. 20 at his home in Chevy Chase, Md.

Mr. Reynolds' 30-year career included assignments in Hungary, Germany, France, Czechoslovakia and Canada. Before his retirement in 1973, he was consul general in Tokyo.

A native of Rochester, N.Y., Mr. Reynolds graduated from the University of Toronto and received a master's degree in German literature from American University. He was flu-

ent in five languages.

Survivors include his wife of 50 years, Ilona Vertesy Reynolds, of Chevy Chase; two children, Mary Jane Miltner of Vienna, Austria, and Nicholas Reynolds of Arlington, Va.; and three granddaughters.



Edward T. Stever Sr., 79, a retired FSO, died Aug. 8 from cancer and heart disease at Inova Fairfax Hospital in Fairfax, Va.

Mr. Stever was born in New York City and graduated from George Washington University. He joined the State Department as a procurement officer before serving in the Philippines and New Guinea with the Army in World War II; he rejoined State after the war. Mr. Stever's assignments included Tokyo, Frankfurt, Bonn and Lagos.

Survivors include his wife, Madge, of Annandale, Va.; two sons, John of Manassas, Va., and Edward T. Jr. of Falls Church, Va.; a brother, James, of Fredericksburg, Va.; a sister, Helen, of Leesburg, Va.; and three grandchildren.



Andrew Bowie Wardlaw Sr., 84, a retired FSO, died Aug. 14 in Charleston, S.C.

Mr. Wardlaw's 25-year career included postings in Canada, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Spain, Guatemala, Paraguay and Japan.

Mr. Wardlaw was born in Greenville, S.C., and graduated from The Citadel in 1934 and received a master's degree from Georgetown University.

After retiring in 1975, Mr. Wardlaw was adviser to the Regional Organization of Central America and Panama.

Survivors include his wife, Frances Blakeslee Wardlaw, of Summerville, S.C.; a son, Andrew B. Jr., of Columbia, Md.; a daughter, Frances Day, of New York City; and two grandchildren. ■

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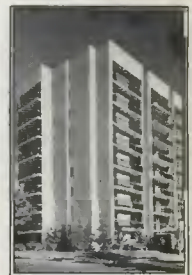
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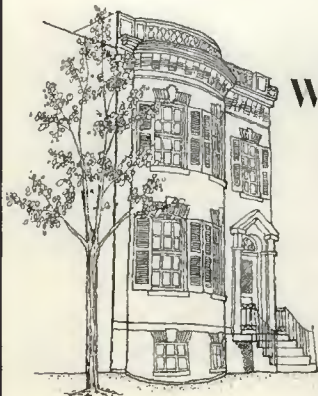
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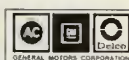
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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

In Search of Kafka's Prague

BY ERNEST G. WIENER

In only a half century, Czechoslovakian writer Franz Kafka, dead since 1924, has gone from outcast to icon in his native land.

In the 12-century town center in Prague, posters honoring the Czech writer line the streets and vendors hawk T-shirts emblazoned with his face. During a recent visit to Prague, I toured his birthplace, a yellowish masonry house in the old city's central square, which bears a plaque with his likeness. I have always felt a strong connection to Kafka since I, too, was born in Czechoslovakia. As a young man, I met the Kafka family and, indeed, we are still in touch.

The Franz Kafka Society, revived in 1991 following the fall of communism, flourishes in two rooms of a renovated 18th-century building, which was donated to the society by the government of Czechoslovakia. President Vaclav Havel is an honorary member of the 2,000-member group.

In 1996, Voitech Saudek, Kafka's great-nephew through the eldest daughter of his youngest sister, Ottila, edited a Czech-language version of Kafka's letters to Ottila and other family members. Ottila Kafka David, who like the rest of the Kafka family was Jewish, divorced her Christian husband during the Nazi occupation to save her daughters from a concentration camp. After the divorce, the daughters were consid-

Ernest G. Wiener is a retired FSO whose 19-year career with the USIA took him to Brazil, Moscow, Berlin, Bonn, Vienna and Geneva.

*Czechs' obsession
with Kafka is ironic:
His writing was
banned by both the
Nazis and the
Communists.*

ered Christian, and survived. Ottila herself died at Auschwitz in 1943, and her two other sisters also perished in concentration camps.

Since Kafka wrote in German, Saudek's book, *Franz Kafka: Letters to Ottila and Family*, was the first time his letters have appeared in Czech, and it became an immediate best-seller. Ottila's daughter, Vera Saudek, has translated several books from German to Czech and is working on a collection of Kafka's correspondence with his publisher and best friend, Max Brod.

This obsession with Kafka is ironic, considering his writing was banned in his native land under both the Nazis, who occupied Czechoslovakia from 1939 to 1944, and the Communists, who ruled until the country achieved its independence in 1989. During "the thaw," a brief period following the 1953 death of Soviet leader Josef Stalin, when Nikita Khrushchev was leader of the Soviet Union and

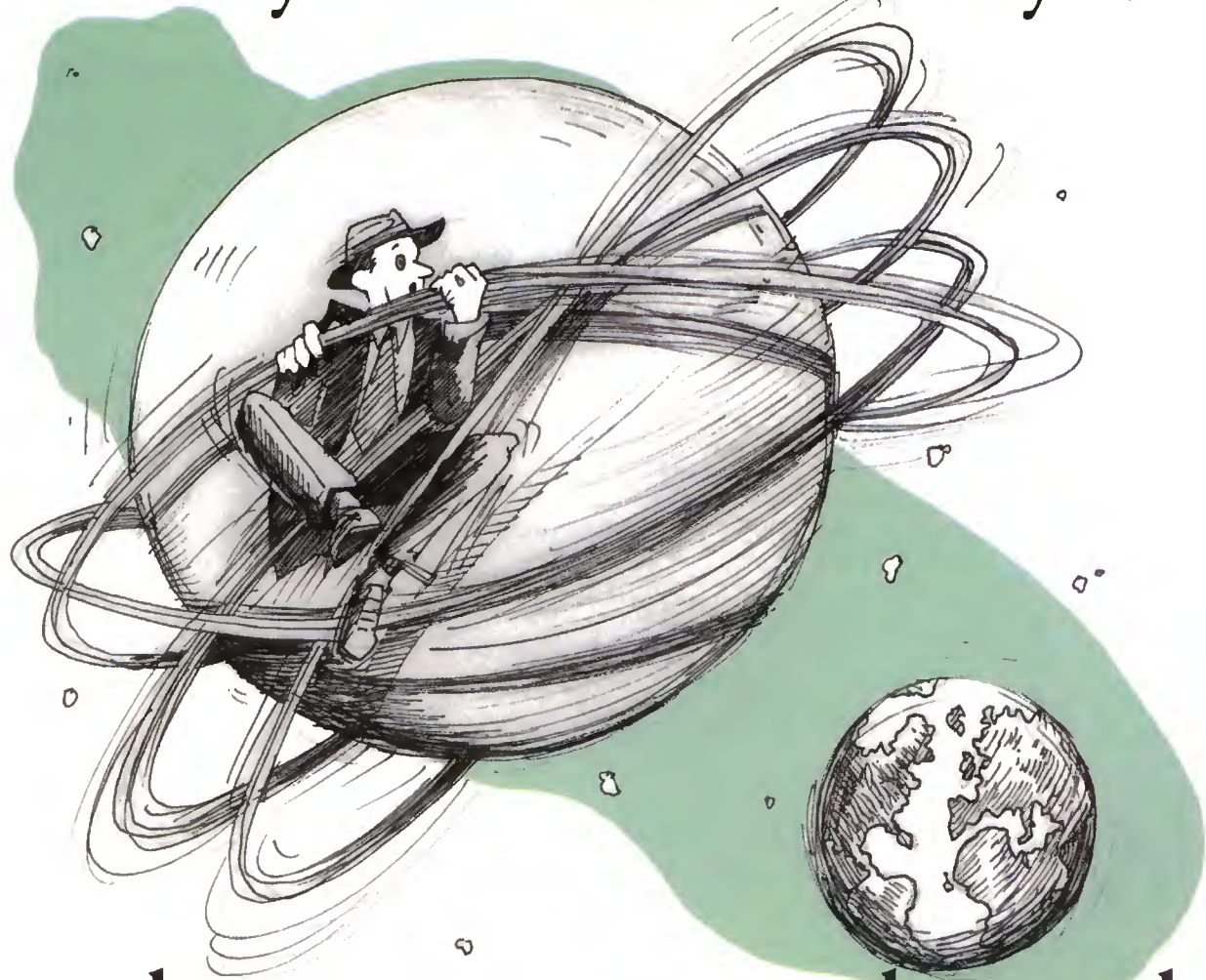
reformer Alexander Dubcek headed the Czech Communist Party, joint conferences on Kafka's work were held in Prague and Moscow.

Interest in Kafka's work was revived by French writer and Communist Jean Paul Sartre, who spoke admiringly of him on a lecture tour of Moscow in 1963. As a result, Kafka's short story, "In The Penal Colony," whose theme is the struggle between bureaucracy and individualism, was printed in the highly-regarded Russian literary magazine, *Foreign Literature*. That same year, Russian poet Andrei Voznesensky published his poem, "Oza," which contained Kafkaesque references. His work was also available during the brief reform movement of 1968, the "Prague Spring," which dissolved when Warsaw Pact troops invaded.

At the end of 1989, the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe began to unravel, and in Czechoslovakia, Vaclav Havel, a playwright who admires Kafka's work, became its elected president. Indeed, shortly after taking office in 1990, when Havel received an honorary degree from Hebrew University of Jerusalem, he referred to Kafka: "I always found in Kafka a reflection of my own experiences in this world." Kafka influenced Havel's politics and writing.

Perhaps Havel was referring to Kafka's uncanny portrayals of the methods used by the totalitarian regimes in *The Trial* and *The Castle*. Today in Prague, on a street preserved from the Middle Ages, Kafka's former writing studio sits in the shadow of the castle he once wrote about. ■

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