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FOREIGN SERVICE

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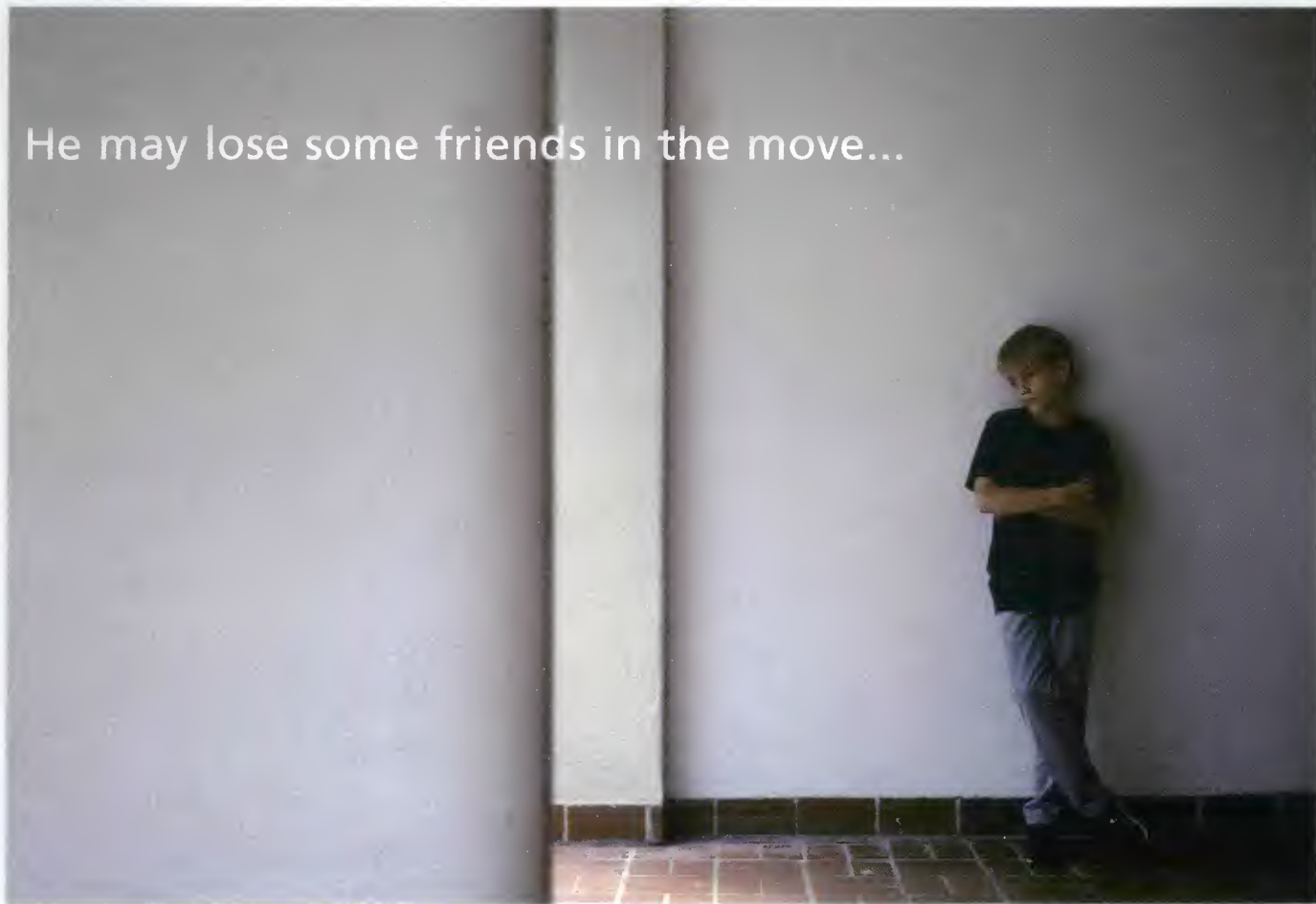
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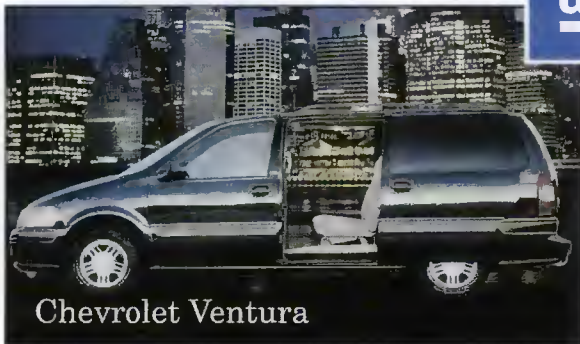


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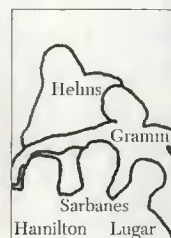
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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Big Ticket Professional Items on 1998 Agenda

BY DANIEL F. GEISLER

There are a number of big ticket professional items on AFSA's 1998 agenda.

Consolidation: Congress recessed without passing legislation which would combine the State Department with USIA and ACDA.

State Department management has not announced plans for consolidation, but we assume that the Clinton administration will propose a consolidation plan, then seek legislation on Capitol Hill.

Assuming that USIA and State will eventually consolidate, AFSA will make harmonizing the two agencies' personnel regulations a priority. For example, USIA's rating cycle for performance reviews and promotions is different than State's and USIA has a standard four-year tour to non-hardship posts, while State's is three years. These discrepancies should be easy to align.

Other regulations will have larger implications with consolidation. For example, regulations regarding promotions into the Senior Foreign Service will affect the movement of personnel in unidentified ways. AFSA has an opportunity to extract the best elements of each system and devise new rules for a better Foreign Service.

Daniel F. Geisler, former State AFSA vice president and deputy director of the Office of Economic Policy, Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, assumed the AFSA presidency Jan. 1.

*The State
Department has
failed to keep pace
with advances in
technology.*

Reorganization: Remember reorganization? FSOs and FS specialists are understandably uneasy about each reorganization announcement *du jour*. Changes will not necessarily lead to fundamental restructuring, which would require the personal commitment of Secretary of State Madeleine Albright.



Information technology requires significant attention at the foreign affairs agencies. There was a time when the State Department's worldwide communications system gave it a critical edge. The State Department has failed to keep pace with rapid advances in technology, falling behind the private sector and other government organizations. The appointment of a chief information officer at the State Department has not yielded tangible results for those who use communications technology. Information is the Foreign Service's stock-in-trade. Without the tools of that trade, we will find it more and









more difficult to answer the question, "Why do we have embassies?"

Communications: AFSA will continue to deliver authoritative information on critical personnel and administrative issues to Foreign Service employees. Just as important, AFSA will share members' concerns with management. The foreign affairs agencies' teams charged last Spring with planning consolidation and reorganization would have been nearly devoid of Foreign Service officers or specialists without AFSA's initiative. AFSA's regular reports on the teams were the chief source of information about impending changes. AFSA reports can be delivered directly to unclassified or personal computers by signing on to AFSANET. See page 6 of this month's *AFSA News* for more information.

Member Services: Revised Foreign Service evaluation procedures for identifying low performing employees have led to an increase in grievance cases. AFSA provides free counseling to all members who believe their rights have been violated in this and other instances, but our dedicated staff does more than provide counseling in troubled times. The labor-management staff can answer any number of questions, which anyone, including management officials such as chiefs of mission, might pose.

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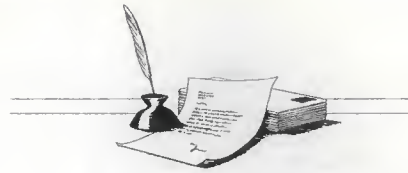
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LETTERS

To the Editor:

There is a case to be made for Congress' voting more resources for foreign affairs in the "150 account," but Harry Blaney's approach is not the way to do it. ("Diplomacy's Bad Deal," November *Journal*). His emotional railing against a greedy American nation and its mindless representatives in the Congress is wrong-headed and counterproductive. Invidious comparisons of foreign affairs spending today to that at the height of the Cold War are not convincing. Neither, unfortunately, are grandiose pleas for the United States "to conquer [global] disease, hunger and hate." Such rhetoric is a turn-off to honest debate about what our foreign affairs programs should be when some pressing domestic needs remain on hold, the Soviet Union is no more and our major challenges lie in murky areas such as ethnic war, terrorism, drugs, immigration and commercial competition.

I agree with Mr. Blaney that FSOs should not be aloof from U.S. domestic issues. Although since we pay U.S. taxes, periodically use U.S. public schools and are paid to interpret the United States to foreigners, I doubt

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many—if any—of us are aloof. Ironically, his piece shows little sensitivity to real pressures at home which help create the situation he decries. These are important issues. If the *Journal* wishes to influence them, it should solicit contributions which treat the debate with more dispassion and thoughtfulness than does this piece.

*Mark Lore
Retired FSO
Vienna, Va.*

Harry Blaney Responds:

I am glad that Mark Lore accepts the possible need for more resources for foreign affairs, but I can't accept the notion that we are not motivated by greed. Our new laws are favorable to the upper brackets this last decade and the poor have gotten poorer and the rich richer. Those with the most money to contribute get the most back.

Conquering disease, hunger and hate are legitimate, even vital goals, for America. Should we contribute instead, as Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.) tried to do, \$50 billion for the tobacco companies responsible for millions of deaths here and abroad, while denying decent health care to our poor at home or health programs abroad that save millions of young children by inexpensive medicines?

America is very rich, richer than decades ago. We are less generous. Our assistance to poor countries is the lowest of any industrialized

country. We should address our domestic ills, but not at the neglect of our world responsibilities. The true burden of my article was to say we can and should do both.

*Harry C. Blaney
Retired FSO
Washington, D.C.*

To the Editor:

"Where Have the Arabists Gone?" (October *Journal*) reminded me that one of the most astute pieces about the Middle East peace "process" was written by the late dean of Foreign Service Arabists, Parker T. Hart. His article, "Shifting Alignments in the Middle East," was included in the *Foreign Service Reader*, published by AFSA and DACOR in 1997 from an article which appeared in the March, 1978 *Journal*. It has enduring textbook quality and should be reread by anyone concerned about the United States' stake in the region.

*John Reed
Retired FSO
Chevy Chase, Md.*

To the Editor:

It was indeed a pleasure to read Harold Jones' "Focus on Returning to Post: USAID New Delhi" (October *Journal*). I was especially interested in hearing about Rafiq Kahn, who was our driver, interpreter and friend during a 1964 tour of duty. I have not



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LETTERS

seen him since I visited India in 1974. I well recall the many hot and steamy nights we drove through the countryside and he told me of his culture, religion and childhood in Bhopal at the palace of the nawab (viceroy) where his father was the chief shikar (hunter).

While in New Delhi, I was privileged to share information on nutrition and provide outreach treatment with quinine from the embassy and antibiotics from physicians in the United States. I was called the "White Mother Doctor."

My husband and I also had the privilege of visiting our maharani (princess) and maharajah (prince) friends in their palaces and reciprocating their invitations. Although our main interest was our four children and an American International School boarder from Bangkok, our lives were greatly enriched by our time in New Delhi.

*Mary S. Stickney
Spouse of a Retired FSO
Atlantic Beach, Fla.*

To the Editor:

I read Liisa Ecola's thoughtful article on her resignation days after I, too, had decided to resign ("Speaking Out," October *Journal*). I thought about writing such a piece, but Ms. Ecola identified the problems so clearly that a second article would have been redundant. I disagree, however, that her reasons for leaving "had little to do with the standard ones that prompt most FSOs to leave prematurely." I believe almost all officers are quitting because the Department can be a crummy place to work and Ms. Ecola clearly identifies six major areas for improvement.

I have one addition to Ms. Ecola's list of shortcomings: The

Department lacks strategic vision. AFSA's mission statement tried to define State's activities, but the final document was descriptive rather than prescriptive. Someone, perhaps the Secretary with input from the White House and Congress, needs to clearly define State's *raison d'être*, then drag the organization kicking and screaming into the modern world.

*L.A. Eldemir
FSO
U.S. Consulate Istanbul*

To the Editor:

To say that I read Liisa Ecola's article with interest would be an understatement. Many of her complaints about the Foreign Service could apply to any government department. It seems she entered the Service without a clue as to what would be expected of her and what her work and living conditions would be like.

It is hard to tell what she did expect. She says she "grew tired of being a 24-hour-a-day representative of the U.S. government." Isn't that the very core of being a diplomat?

She was "tired of living in the fishbowl of overseas life." Of course one is going to be visible and observed.

Did Ms. Ecola join the Foreign Service to meet the man of her dreams? She does not appear to have any respect for "women who don't want their own careers" or "foreign-born wives." I happen to fall into both categories. She denigrates those dedicated FSOs and wives who have served and are serving their country by stating, "a person satisfied by Foreign Service life would no doubt spout the clichés about tradeoffs."

She obviously had no communication with anyone in the State

LETTERS

Department. Otherwise, how could she be so ignorant of life overseas? The Foreign Service is all about commitment and dedication to one's country and government. Ms. Ecola seems to have overlooked these purposes. She's right. She was "never cut out to be an FSO." Her bleatings make her sound like a spoiled brat. The State Department is better off without her.

*Barbara Grant
Spouse of
Retired FSO
Arlington, Va.*

To the Editor:

I must take exception to Liisa Ecola's comments on "the Foreign Service's reluctance to acknowledge that FSOs no longer fit the model of male officers with dependent, female spouses." Does she mean to suggest that female dependent spouses want less or are entitled to less than male dependent spouses? If so, she is espousing the same conservative, sexist and narrow-minded thinking she decries in an otherwise on-target treatment.

*Tamar Donovan
Spouse
U.S. Embassy Ankara*

To the Editor:

Thank you for addressing the elimination of the Environment, Science and Technology cone ("Speaking Out," November *Journal*). As an EST officer in Moscow, I know how important science and technological issues are to U.S. foreign policy success. Nuclear smuggling, global warming, space cooperation and radioactive waste are some of the vital

issues we are engaged in here and around the globe.

After spending years going over the bureaucratic hurdles to become an EST officer, I could complain about my personal situation, but I really have no complaints. I've had a year of training at George Washington's International Science and Technology Policy Center. I've been involved in Arctic policy and I now have one of the most interesting portfolios in the Foreign Service working on nuclear issues in Moscow. I plan to remain engaged in these issues.

I won't even complain about the Department losing credibility as a player in EST issues. If we remain engaged and properly-trained officers, we can come from any cone. I believe the most serious damage is that we are losing a tool. I am thinking of the recruiting trips I took to Carnegie Mellon and George Mason universities. I met with students getting ready to graduate from the sciences. Some of them weren't sure they wanted to spend their careers in the laboratory. One student came up to me after my explanation of the EST cone and said she had heard from dozens of companies, but when she heard my discussion of the State Department's work on environmental and science issues, she decided that was what she wanted to do with her life.

By cutting the EST cone the State Department will lose the opportunity to recruit from a very talented pool of dedicated students in the sciences. They have broad interests in the most important issues of the day and could make a real contribution to U.S. foreign policy. They will now look elsewhere. That is a shame.

*Tom Armbruster
EST Officer
Embassy Moscow* ■

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- JOE KLEIN, THE
NEW YORKER,
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ALBRIGHT COVERS UP AND SPEAKS OUT

When Secretary of State Madeleine Albright travelled in the Middle East in late November, she bowed to local tradition by wearing a hat and long trousers, reported the Dec. 1 issue of *Newsweek*. Still, at a meeting with Middle Eastern foreign ministers about Iraq, she challenged the Arab leaders’ record on women. “How many women do you have in your cabinets?” she asked. According to the newsweekly, the ministers responded to the secretary’s query with diplomatic aplomb, telling her that time in the Middle East is judged by a different clock than that used in America. “You must be patient,” said Saudi Arabia’s foreign minister.

“I will not be patient,” replied Albright.

It appears that even diplomatic courtesy has its limits.

STATE SUED FOR DEATH IN CAIRO

The husband and brother-in-law of Nancy Ferebee Lewis, a USAID executive assistant who died from pesticide poisoning after her embassy-owned and -maintained apartment was sprayed for a moth infestation in 1993, have filed a \$2.2 million wrongful death lawsuit against the State Department, according to an article in the Nov. 17 *Federal Times* by Lisa Daniel.

Lewis’ husband, Mustapha Ennaboulssi, and her brother-in-law, Rachid Ennaboulssi, who was a guest in the Lewis household at the time of the spraying, were also violently sick following the fumigation by an embassy contractor. In their lawsuit, the Ennaboulssis allege that the embassy

allowed the contractor to use a phosphine-gas pesticide, which is not approved for use by the Environmental Protection Agency.

According to the *Federal Times* article, investigators said they could not pinpoint the exact cause of Lewis’ death, but it could have included pre-existing conditions. The Ennaboulssis’ attorney, Ralph Martin, rejects this argument, saying that the State Department should be held responsible for Lewis’ death, even if a pre-existing condition contributed to her death. In that case, State is expected to argue that the contractor and not the agency should be held liable in the death.

WEIRD SCIENCE: STATE CUTS EST

While the entire world is rushing to embrace science and technology as the wave of the future, the State Department is pushing it away, according to Daniel S. Greenberg, writing in *The Washington Post* on Nov. 28.

According to Greenberg, several studies show that technological illiteracy reigns in Foggy Bottom. At State, if an issue doesn’t mean a treaty or an alliance it can be declared *persona non grata*. Issues like global warming, population control and water shortages have never been hot topics. But things have gotten much worse lately with the reduction in numbers of an already slim roster of scientist and engineer FSOs and with the elimination of the position of Deputy Assistant Secretary for Science, Technology and Health.

The history of science at State has not been a joyous one, with indifference characterizing much of it. In 1950, a small scientific office was established and a few scientific attachés were sent overseas, but



CLIPPINGS

they were greeted mostly with yawns. An attempt to revive a serious science initiative was next made in 1973 with the establishment of the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs, but that also languished. In 1975, a study headed by veteran diplomat Robert Murphy reported that "the Department of State must significantly improve its capability to deal with the foreign policy aspects of economics, business, science, energy, transportation, food, population, development and related issues." State chose to ignore the study's findings.

By 1992, another panel of foreign policy specialists and scientists was convened by the Carnegie Commission on Science, Technology and Government to address science at State. This time the report was considerably less diplomatic. "It is only fair to acknowledge again the deeply ingrained cynicism, perhaps hopelessness...about State's growth potential in science and technology," the panel reported. The panel also recommended the creation of a new office — the Office of Science and Technology Counselor to the secretary of State — which, predictably, never came to be.

In the five years since the last scientific panel issued its report, the frail scientific presence at State has become bedridden, a situation that can only be termed "bizarre," writes Greenberg.

AMBASSADOR TO REST IN PEACE?

Most dead people have little impact on the daily Washington grind, but when the word of a former ambassador buried in Arlington National Cemetery is questioned, it's bound to be top national news.

The ambassador in question is Larry

Lawrence, a large donor to the Democratic National Committee, who was named ambassador to Switzerland by President Bill Clinton. He died in 1996 while serving in Bern. According to an article in the Dec. 1 *U.S. News and World Report* by Jason Vest, Lawrence's eligibility for burial in Arlington was based not on his diplomatic service, but on his alleged Merchant Marine service.

That claim was later disputed, as military records did not confirm his wartime service. During Lawrence's vetting by diplomatic security for his ambassadorship, the discrepancy was noted, but apparently ignored. This controversy has renewed questions about the quality of State Department background checks, particularly in regard to political appointees such as Lawrence. Stephen Barr's Dec. 11 *Washington Post* article reports that the issue was dropped when DS focused instead on Lawrence's complex financial and legal dealings. State Department officials familiar with the 1993 probe told Barr, "Because we were able to go to an array of people who gave us glowing recommendations, it mitigated against having to go back and chase ghost records of Merchant Marine service."

Although other ambassadors who died on duty are interred in Arlington, this doesn't appear enough of a connection to satisfy Lawrence's critics, who say that he received his last exclusive address because of years of faithful contributions to the DNC.

The matter may be resolved by a change of address. *The Washington Post* reported on Dec. 9 that Lawrence's widow had asked President Bill Clinton to remove his body from Arlington so that it could be transported to California, where he could at last rest in peace.

Meanwhile, Leonard Larsen, a columnist for the Scripps-Howard News Service,

50 YEARS AGO

"Of all the problems confronting the [State Department] at the start of the new year, none is greater than the need for greater liaison with Congress," says a Jan. 1948 *Foreign Service Journal* editorial. "This is no new story. To start with, let it be acknowledged frankly that there is a lack of sympathy or understanding on the part of one side for the other.

"Each side needs and deserves to know the other better. Each represents the people...and endeavors to serve the people's interest. Quite rightly the department does not and cannot lay bare the bones of its negotiations with foreign governments for critical debate in Congress. Quite rightly [members of Congress] seek to be fully informed of the conduct of foreign relations, which in the end cannot fail to affect even the smallest community in the United States."



"Policy is the substance of foreign relations; diplomacy is the process by which policy is carried out."

-J. RIVES CHILDS,

20TH CENTURY

DIPLOMAT AND AUTHOR

weighed in with another view of the Lawrence controversy on Dec. 11. "If it's scandalous that rich and undeserving Americans are buried at Arlington, isn't it also scandalous that rich and undeserving Americans are appointed as ambassadors to represent this country in foreign capitals around the world?" asked Larsen.

TRAVEL WARNINGS TURN TOURISTS ON

The newest, hottest destinations for tourists bored with Paris and jaded by treks in the Andes are the world's nastiest hot spots. These are destinations for tourists turned on by dictators, enticed by civil wars and thrilled by State travel warnings.

This adventure travel with a sick twist is the subject of a popular new Fielding's travel guide, *The World's Most Dangerous*

Places, researched and written by Fielding's president, Robert Young Pelton. The most desirable destinations of these new tourists include Bosnia, Afghanistan and Rwanda, according to Joshua Levine, writing in the Dec. 15 *Forbes* magazine, but the guide also has tips on touring civil war-torn Chechnya. Trips to this runaway republic must be arranged through the Russian government on military aircraft, which come with armed escorts and all the vodka you can drink.

One of Fielding's best-selling guidebooks, *Dangerous Places* has sold more than 80,000 copies and records 30,000 hits on its Web site each week. It includes advice on where to buy the best kidnapping insurance (Chubb), where to get Lebanon's best war reports and itineraries for all countries on State's travel advisory list. All this is useful information for the danger junkies who won't leave home without it. ■

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SPEAKING OUT

Parallel Lives: FS and Corporate Spouses

BY KATHERINE L. HUGHES

The divorce case of the Wendts, Lorna, a traditional, stay-at-home corporate wife, and Gary, a highly paid GE executive, recently brought into the nation's headlines the question of what a dependent spouse contributes to a marriage.

In a Connecticut court, Lorna Wendt claimed that half her husband's assets — including future stock options and pension compensation — should be her reward for her career as a corporate wife. She argued that she deserved a \$50 million settlement for “decades of organizing GE dinner parties and trips abroad, giving the other GE wives tips on shopping and entertaining and generally being the ‘ultimate hostess.’” Gary Wendt protested, claiming that it was he “who had worked hard and sacrificed and therefore deserved to keep a much larger share” of the couple's assets. He offered his wife of 30 years a settlement of \$10 million. Eventually, a Connecticut judge awarded Lorna Wendt half the couple's cash, stocks and other assets, plus a small portion of her husband's stock options and future pension benefits. She will receive \$20 million, less than the full half she

Katherine L. Hughes, the daughter of retired FSO Arthur M. Hughes, is a senior research associate at the Institute on Education and the Economy at Teachers College, Columbia University. Her book on Foreign Service spouses will be published by Aletheia Publications in 1998.

*The problems of
Foreign Service
spouses are not
unique, but can
be seen in the
situations of
spouses in the
corporate world.*

demand, but more than the lump sum payment and alimony her husband offered. More important, her case established the principle that a marriage is an equal partnership as binding as any corporate contract.

The arguments in the Wendt case will sound familiar to the Foreign Service community, where the role of spouses has been debated for decades. Social change in the 1960s led to the 1972 State Department directive proclaiming FS spouses — almost always wives — private persons “liberated” from embassy demands of free labor. In the 1990s, some spouses have called for official recognition of the role of the spouse and compensation for their work. Two generations ago, the

Foreign Service hired a male officer expecting to get his wife and her services for free; it was getting “two-for-the-price-of-one.” Now, proponents of compensating spouses for the work they have traditionally done for free argue that the Department can have the work of two, but only for the price of two. The problems of Foreign Service spouses are not unique, but can be seen in the situations of spouses in the corporate world.

In the 1950s sociologists began to research the role of the corporate wife. In a 1952 *Life* article, “The Wife Problem,” William H. Whyte, Jr. noted that corporations wanted the wives of their employees to be adaptable and gregarious and to realize that their husbands belonged to the corporation. They were expected to accept that whatever was good for the corporation was also good for their families and even the country. This was satisfactory to most corporate wives, Whyte found, because to them corporations provided benefits and security.

Corporations — and the Foreign Service — preferred to hire married men because that brought two people to the job: the man and his wife. This attitude promoted the concept of the “two-person career,” shorthand for the formal and informal demands that employers placed on both spouses, even when the male was the sole paid employee.

Another issue that the State Department shares with corporations is relocation problems. As in the Foreign Service, corporations are increasingly finding it difficult to transfer employees

SPEAKING OUT



overseas, as spouses balk at career-disrupting moves. The biggest reason for failure of corporate transfers overseas (meaning the employee requested a transfer back to the United States sooner than expected or performed less well than expected), reported *The Wall Street Journal* in August, 1992 was the poor adjustment of family members to the new situation, which was estimated to cost corporations between \$2 billion and \$2.5 billion each year. One study conducted by International Orientation Resources found that in 42 percent of companies surveyed, candidates have turned down positions because of issues related to dual careers.

Another issue the Foreign Service and corporations face is that increasingly the spouse is a husband. In a 1992 study conducted by Windham International and the National Foreign Trade Council, 88 percent of the respondents said that relocation problems caused by dual-career couples will become more severe as more wives join the work force. The proportion of married women employed or seeking work in the United States grew from 51 percent in 1981 to 58 percent in 1991. At the same time, the proportion of women managers grew from 27 percent to 41 percent. Since managers are usually the employees offered overseas transfers, greater numbers of male spouses will be faced with leaving a career to follow a female spouse's career.

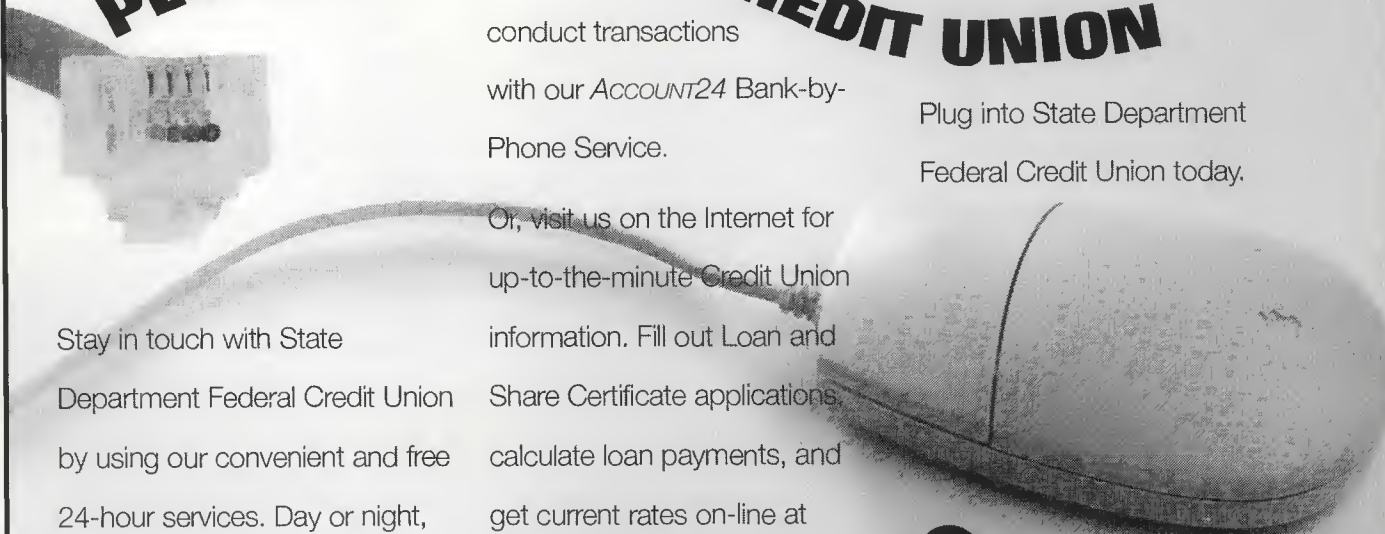
Currently, about 10 percent of Foreign Service spouses

are male. However, incoming female spouses outnumber incoming male spouses, so it is unlikely that male spouses will become the norm any time soon. Still, greater attention is being paid to male spouses. The 1989 *Report on the Role of the Male Spouse* in the Foreign Service, a survey of 221 male spouses conducted by Dick Buckley, a Foreign Service consultant and male spouse, argued that there are great similarities between the male and female spouse concerns, "especially their concerns about the need for better recognition of the contributions they have to make, meaningful employment opportunities and adequate training."

In addition, male spouses often are treated as deviants for being dependent spouses. Several interviewed for this article said they had been mistaken for the FSO, while their wives had been mistaken for the spouse. One confessed: "The men [FSOs] didn't know how to deal with me.... As soon as you tell them [you are a dependent spouse], they might ask one more question and then they're out, because they don't really know how to go into any other areas." Overall, 33 percent of Buckley's respondents said that their frustrations as spouses were having an adverse effect on their wives' satisfaction with their careers.

The parallel with corporate husbands is clear. A 1993 *Wall Street Journal* article by Joann Lublin reported on the problems faced by husbands whose spouses are among the growing number of women being relocated by their companies.

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Husbands "are finding themselves caught in an awkward sex-role reversal. The strain tends to intensify when a relocated husband can't find a new job and must depend on his wife's paycheck," she wrote. Companies are also concerned, fearing "they will lose prized fast-track women employees if career-minded husbands balk at transfers."

Addressing the problems of male spouses in the Foreign Service is particularly important because the Department of State is intent on recruiting and retaining more female officers. If there are any difficulties doing this, it may be due to the reluctance of potential and current husbands to become dependent spouses. It is telling that female Foreign Service officers are much more likely to be single than their male counterparts. Similarly, female corporate executives are much less likely to be married than male executives.

While a career in the U.S. Foreign Service affects one's spouse more than perhaps any other career, there clearly are parallels with the corporate spouse. Lifestyle transformations, brought about by changes on the societal level, create the necessity for transformations on the institutional level. Currently, business and government employers no longer expect that when they hire an employee, they are getting "two for the price of one," nor can employers expect to geographically transfer their employees as they see fit.

When there are no institutional solutions, individual couples develop their own strategies. The phenomenon of "com-

muter couples" is on the rise. As Lublin reported in a 1992 *Wall Street Journal* article, the number of global commuter marriages has increased because spouses have become less willing to sacrifice their careers for their mates. Instead of one following the other, each member of the couple follows his or her own career path, maintains a separate residence, and commutes to visit the other. The incidence of commuting has been increasing in the Foreign Service, a fact which is often bemoaned.

Elmore Rigamer, a Foreign Service psychiatrist, has written about how the presence of wives is extremely important to the quality of life at posts overseas. Some companies try to avoid problems with spouses by sending more single and divorced people overseas, but, as the Windham International study points out, "current literature on the subject suggests that most successful expatriate assignments are married couples with children and that the intact support group helps them to be productive more quickly than single people who often feel isolated and lonely." In the corporate world, as in the Foreign Service, spouses and families are seen as contributing to a community overseas which boosts the morale of the employees.

It is clear that U.S. corporations are acknowledging that when they plan for their employees they must also plan for their employees' families. To thrive, the Foreign Service must do likewise. ■

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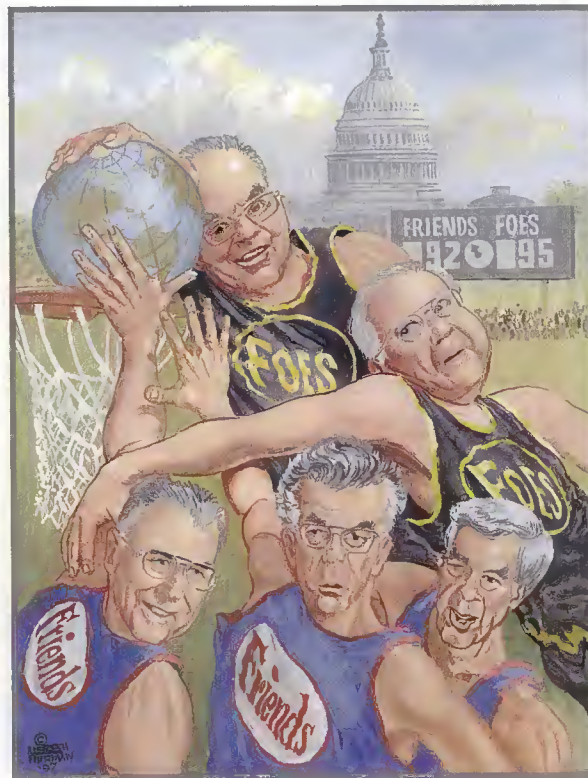
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PROTAGONISTS INCLUDE
LITTLE KNOWN, WELL
KNOWN LEGISLATORS

By Carroll Doherty

hen State Department officials travel to Capitol Hill to lobby for their budget, their first stop is usually the office of an obscure, amiable Alabama congressman named Sonny Callahan. Callahan, a Republican, isn't a fixture on the diplomatic circuit. He has no desire to hobnob with world leaders, preferring to tend to the needs of his Mobile, Ala., constituents. But as chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Callahan has more to say about U.S. foreign aid spending than just about any other lawmaker.

In the congressional debate over diplomacy and foreign affairs, many of the protagonists are national figures. First, there is Republican Sen. Jesse Helms, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and *bête noire* of the diplo-

F O C U S

Some of Congress' most influential actors on international issues seldom, if ever, appear on "Meet the Press" or write for Foreign Policy.

matic establishment. Among the most visible advocates for a strong U.S. global presence are a pair of veteran lawmakers from Indiana, Republican Sen. Richard G. Lugar and Democratic Rep. Lee H. Hamilton, who is retiring next year.

But some of Congress' most influential actors on international issues seldom, if ever, appear on "Meet the Press" or write for *Foreign Policy*. One is Callahan, the blunt-spoken congressman who is routinely courted by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and Dennis Ross, the special envoy for the Middle East. Another is Nebraska Republican Rep. Douglas Bereuter. He chairs the International Relations Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific and has quietly emerged as a leading voice on China, trade and global economics. In the Senate, Kentucky Republican Mitch McConnell, hardly a household name, chairs the subcommittee that holds the foreign aid purse strings, while little-known Minnesota Republican Rod Grams has taken a leading role in pressing for reform at the United Nations.

Just as it isn't always easy to tell the key congressional players without a scorecard, it can be difficult to clearly identify diplomacy's friends and foes in the Capitol. Hamilton has been a stalwart ally of the State Department over the years, as has Lugar. Yet McConnell, by virtue of his position on the Appropriations Committee, has probably done more to increase funding levels for international programs than either Lugar or Hamilton, often over the objections of Callahan.

Helms may appear to some to be such a perfect opponent of diplomacy that he should be fitted for a black hat. After all, he has been such a vehement critic of foreign aid and so willing to block diplomatic nominations that he earned the nickname "Senator No." Last summer, he lived up to his reputation for obdurate obstructionism

when he single-handedly scuttled the nomination of former Massachusetts Gov. William F. Weld as ambassador to Mexico.

Yet this picture is more ambiguous than it seems. Helms has an accommodating side as well, although that has received far less publicity. Secretary Madeleine Albright and Helms have developed a surprisingly productive working relationship. The North Carolina Republican has moved a huge number of ambassadorial nominees through his committee, a fact that got lost in the flap over the Weld nomination, and he was instrumental in steering through the Senate an administration-backed bill to pay off U.N. debts in return for reforms by the world body.

The biggest threat to an assertive U.S. foreign policy today comes not from known quantities like Helms, but from the scores of younger lawmakers elected to the House and Senate in recent years who have little knowledge of, or interest in, international affairs. Indeed, members of both parties appear to be more apathetic regarding international affairs and the role performed by the State Department's career diplomats than at any time in decades. Increasingly, Capitol Hill has come to be dominated by men and women who didn't serve in the military and haven't traveled widely. Just as the public has largely tuned out foreign news since the end of the Cold War, so too have most members of Congress.

During the Cold War, members used to lobby to try to win a seat on one of the foreign policy committees: the Senate Foreign Relations and House International Relations Committees. No longer. Seven of the 10 Republicans on Helms' panel are freshmen, a statistic that speaks volumes about that committee's eroding prestige. In addition, over the past two years, advocates for an activist foreign policy, like Republican Sens. Bob Dole and Nancy Kassebaum Baker and Georgia Democratic

Carroll Doherty writes for Congressional Quarterly in Washington, D.C.

F O C U S

Sen. Sam Nunn, have retired. Others, like Hamilton, will soon follow.

Many in the new crop of House members have grown frustrated over the burdens the nation continues to shoulder as a result of America's role as lone world superpower. That is reflected in the staunch opposition of many Republicans to any continuing U.S. presence in Bosnia.

It also is demonstrated in some of the proposals that have been debated in Congress in recent months. Texas Republican Rep. Ronald Paul, a self-styled libertarian, wants the United States to withdraw from the United Nations entirely. Florida Republican Clifford Stearns has come up with an unusual scheme to move the U.N. headquarters from New York to other American cities, on a rotating basis. Still other Republicans believe that various U.N. environmental programs are threats to U.S. sovereignty. Paul's move to withdraw from the U.N. received 54 votes. About the same number, more than 10 percent of all House members, would favor cutting off foreign aid.

When Helms signed on to the proposal to pay off U.N. debts, it seemed destined to become law. The feeling among many State Department officials was that the imprimatur of Helms—a fierce critic of the organization—would give House conservatives political cover to support the initiative. But the proposal was scuttled when House anti-abortion lawmakers demanded that the underlying bill include tough abortion restrictions, which the administration deemed unacceptable.

As a result of this deeply-ingrained opposition among House Republicans to overseas spending, an unlikely scenario unfolded on the U.N. funding issue. Helms, a conservative icon, took heat from conservatives in his own party for trying to broker the deal. At the same time, many House Democrats have become increasingly skeptical of the benefits from free trade. The most obvious evidence of this sentiment came when House liberals revised legislation giving President Clinton "fast track" authority to negotiate trade deals, which was arguably Congress's most important and far-reaching statement of the year on U.S. global involvement. The same phenomenon was seen as well in the large number of Democrats who opposed extending China's favorable trade privileges.

Does all this portend a growing trend toward isolationism? Probably not in the short term, because there is a

consensus among congressional leaders from both parties that the United States cannot afford to turn inward. But in the years and decades to come, as the new cohort of lawmakers assumes positions of greater power and influence, Congress might begin more aggressively to resist global engagements.

Some of the State Department's best friends on Capitol Hill, including Hamilton and Lugar, have seen their influence decline in recent years. At the same time, other lawmakers—like Bereuter and Delaware Democratic Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr.—are filling the void. The GOP takeover of Congress in 1994 cost Hamilton his chairmanship of the International Relations Committee. Since then, he has remained an effective public advocate for a strong foreign policy, but on the committee, he has been able to do little more than lead a rear-guard defense of international spending and the administration's initiatives. Perhaps not surprisingly, he opted to retire rather than continue in that role.

Hamilton's successor, New York Republican Benjamin A. Gilman, is more inclined to support aid than many of his GOP colleagues, but Gilman, a moderate, is kept on a short leash by the House Republican leadership. Earlier this year, when his committee approved his bill to boost spending on international programs, conservatives rebelled and GOP leaders embarrassed Gilman by forcing him to gut his own bill. The House International Relations Committee, like its Senate counterpart, has seen better days. But Bereuter, who apparently is heir-apparent to Gilman if the chairman retires, might be well-suited to reinvigorate the committee. He has frequently articulated the need for a robust foreign policy and has been a strong advocate for upgrading embassies and consulates.

In the Senate, Richard Lugar has encountered his own frustrations in recent years. He badly wants to reclaim the chair of the Foreign Relations Committee—a position he held during the mid-1980s—but Helms has been able to retain the chairmanship by virtue of his seniority. And as Clinton and Albright have increasingly sought to strike compromises with Helms, Lugar has been marginalized. For instance he challenged the deal on U.N. funding, arguing it would not pay off the entire \$1 billion in U.S. arrears even as it imposed Draconian conditions on the United Nations votes. Similarly, he was unable to force a committee vote on

F O C U S

Just as it isn't always easy to tell the key congressional players without a scorecard, it can be difficult to clearly identify diplomacy's friends and foes in the Capitol.

Weld's nomination. Ironically, Biden, the ranking Democrat on Foreign Relations, has wielded greater clout because, unlike Lugar, he has been willing to deal with Helms on issues like reorganizing the State Department and revamping the United Nations. Biden seldom agrees with Helms philosophically, but he has taken the view that going to war against Helms will ultimately be unproductive and leave the committee gridlocked.

With Biden's emergence, the role of other Democrats on the committee—including long-time State Department ally Paul S. Sarbanes of Maryland—has been diminished. Throughout his career, Sarbanes has taken the lead in pressing for the appointment of more ambassadors from the ranks of careerists and for more resources for the State Department. But Sarbanes, like Lugar, has been largely relegated to the sidelines by the Helms-Biden partnership.

In many ways, Callahan, McConnell and other members of the Appropriations Committees exert far more power than even Helms, simply because they must sign the checks that fund the State Department and other international programs. As Wisconsin Rep. David Obey, the ranking Democrat on the House Appropriations Committee, likes to tell supplicants for funds: "I didn't give you all the money you ever wanted but I gave you all the money you ever got."

Madeleine Albright quickly recognized this power dynamic after becoming secretary of State and has been far more effective than her immediate predecessor, Warren Christopher, in lobbying for funds. McConnell has been crucial to the success of this effort. He steered a bill through the Senate that increased foreign aid by about \$1 billion, an impressive accomplishment in these budget-conscious times. Callahan, who is more tight-fisted when it comes to sending dollars abroad, forced reductions in that total in the final bill, but it still increased funding for those programs by about \$700 million. Like Callahan, most

of the members of these committees care more about the bottom line than they do about various foreign policy doctrines.

But in their willingness to try to meet the administration's requests for international funding, the chairmen of the Appropriations Committees—Louisiana Republican Rep. Robert L. Livingston and Alaska Sen. Ted Stevens—have proven to be steady, if sometimes prickly, allies of the State Department. A few years ago, when the administration was struggling through crises in Bosnia, Somalia and Haiti, Texas Republican Sen. Phil Gramm chaired the subcommittee that funded the State Department. Gramm let it be known that he had no intention of providing increased appropriations for the State Department's "striped-pants diplomats" who enjoyed a life of ease and comfort. Those sorts of harsh attacks on career diplomats are seldom heard these days. Albright has painted such a bleak picture of the department's budget woes, with her descriptions of ambassadors washing dishes in bathtubs and antiquated communications links, that most lawmakers are generally sympathetic.

Still, there remains a stubborn gap between U.S. global commitments and the resources Congress has made available to meet them. The administration had a golden opportunity to close that gap this year, as lawmakers seemed ready to approve not only the \$819 million in back debts for the United Nations, but also a \$3.5 billion appropriation to help the International Monetary Fund deal with global currency crises, but the entire deal collapsed over the abortion dispute. The administration faces the difficult task of trying to get these requests funded by Congress next year, an election year. Undoubtedly, the House will regard these proposals with deep skepticism, if not outright hostility. And the bitter irony is that, at least in the case of the U.N. package, the proposal had the backing of Helms, the man who was supposed to be the State Department's most implacable opponent. ■

LEGISLATIVE SCORECARD



DIERSCHERMAN

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TALLYING LEGISLATORS' FOREIGN POLICY VIEWS, RANKING THE VOTES

The *Foreign Service Journal* has developed a legislative scoreboard based on selected foreign affairs votes cast by members of the 105th Congress. It is, admittedly, an arbitrary look at how legislators voted in two issue areas: how involved the United States should be in the rest of the world (engagement) and support for resources for the conduct of foreign policy (resources.)

Understanding the *Journal's* conclusions requires a few caveats. One, judgments were made using selected test votes and do not reflect legislators' complete voting records. Two, it would be impossible to give a complete picture of all the political reasons a legislator votes for or against a particular bill because votes don't necessarily mirror personal preferences.

LEGISLATIVE SCORECARD

For example, a vote can reflect support for party leadership, a trade for votes on other issues, support for constituents' positions or be a "throw away" because a legislator knows that the bill will not pass or will be vetoed by the president.

Looking at selected votes on these issues, the *Journal* assigned every member of the U.S. Congress a rating of from 0 to 10, with 0 meaning no support and 10 meaning complete support.

The Senate Votes:

The *Journal* examined 11 votes on which senators took a stand on the United States' role in the world: four votes on foreign affairs appropriations; three votes on chemical weapons bans; one vote on restructuring foreign affairs agencies; one vote on the Senate's wishes for the international conference on the environment, held in Kyoto in December; one vote limiting distribution of family planning funds overseas; and one vote on the cloture motion for the "fast track" trade legislation.

Senator:	State:	Party:	Score:	Senator:	State:	Party:	Score:
Jeff Sessions	Ala.	R	3.6	Connie Mack	Fla.	R	3.6
Richard Shelby	Ala.	R	4.5	Max Cleland	Ga.	D	9.1
Frank Murkowski	Alaska	R	5.5	Paul Coverdell	Ga.	R	3.6
Ted Stevens	Alaska	R	7.3	Daniel Akaka	Hawaii	D	9.1
John McCain	Ariz.	R	6.4	Daniel Inouye	Hawaii	D	7.3
Jon Kyl	Ariz.	R	2.7	Larry Craig	Idaho	R	2.7
Dale Bumpers	Ark.	D	9.1	Dirk Kempthorne	Idaho	R	2.7
Tim Hutchinson	Ark.	R	3.6	Carol Moseley-Braun	Ill.	D	9.1
Barbara Boxer	Calif.	D	9.1	Richard Durbin	Ill.	D	8.2
Dianne Feinstein	Calif.	D	6.4	Dan Coats	Ind.	R	4.5
Ben Nighthorse Campbell	Colo.	R	3.6	Richard Lugar	Ind.	R	7.3
Wayne Allard	Colo.	R	5.5	Charles Grassley	Iowa	R	6.4
Christopher Dodd	Conn.	D	9.1	Tom Harkin	Iowa	D	7.3
Joseph Lieberman	Conn.	D	8.2	Pat Roberts	Kan.	R	6.4
Joseph Biden	Del.	D	8.2	Sam Brownback	Kan.	R	4.5
William Roth	Del.	R	8.2	Mitch McConnell	Ky.	R	5.5
Bob Graham	Fla.	D	8.2	Wendell Ford	Ky.	D	7.3

LEGISLATIVE SCORECARD

Senator:	State:	Party:	Score:	Senator:	State:	Party:	Score:
Mary Landrieu	La.	D	9.1	Robert Smith	N.H.	R	3.6
John Breaux	La.	D	8.2	Frank Lautenberg	N.J.	D	9.1
Olympia Snowe	Maine	R	5.5	Robert Torricelli	N.J.	D	7.3
Susan Collins	Maine	R	5.5	Pete Domenici	N.M.	R	6.4
Barbara Mikulski	Md.	D	8.2	Jeff Bingaman	N.M.	D	10
Paul Sarbanes	Md.	D	8.2	Alfonse D'Amato	N.Y.	R	5.5
John Kerry	Mass.	D	9.1	Daniel Patrick Moynihan	N.Y.	D	9.1
Edward Kennedy	Mass.	D	8.2	Jesse Helms	N.C.	R	2.7
Carl Levin	Mich.	D	8.2	Lauch Faircloth	N.C.	R	2.7
Spencer Abraham	Mich.	R	5.5	Kent Conrad	N.D.	D	8.2
Paul Wellstone	Minn.	D	6.4	Byron Dorgan	N.D.	D	7.3
Rod Grams	Minn.	R	3.6	John Glenn	Ohio	D	7.3
Thad Cochran	Miss.	R	2.7	Mike DeWine	Ohio	R	4.5
Trent Lott	Miss.	R	6.4	Don Niekles	Okla.	R	4.5
John Ashcroft	Mo.	R	2.7	James Inhofe	Okla.	R	1.8
Christopher Bond	Mo.	R	5.5	Ronald Wyden	Ore.	D	7.3
Conrad Burns	Mont.	R	3.6	Gordon Smith	Ore.	R	6.4
Max Baucus	Mont.	D	9.1	Arlen Specter	Pa.	R	7.3
Chuck Hagel	Neb.	R	6.4	Rick Santorum	Pa.	R	4.5
Bob Kerrey	Neb.	D	9.1	Jack Reed	R.I.	D	8.2
Harry Reid	Nev.	D	6.4	John Chafee	R.I.	R	8.2
Richard Bryan	Nev.	D	5.5	Ernest Hollings	S.C.	D	4.5
Judd Gregg	N.H.	R	7.3	Strom Thurmond	S.C.	R	5.5

LEGISLATIVE SCORECARD

Senator:	State:	Party:	Score:	Senator:	State:	Party:	Score:
Tom Daschle	S. D.	D	9.1	Charles Robb	Va.	D	8.2
Tim Johnson	S.D.	D	8.2	John Warner	Va.	R	6.4
Fred Thompson	Tenn.	R	3.6	Slade Gorton	Wash.	R	7.3
Bill Frist	Tenn.	R	6.4	Patty Murray	Wash.	D	9.1
Kay Bailey Hutchison	Texas	R	3.6	John Rockefeller	W.V.	D	8.2
Phil Gramm	Texas	R	4.5	Robert Byrd	W. V.	D	7.3
Robert Bennett	Utah	R	4.5	Herb Kohl	Wis.	D	8.2
Orrin Hatch	Utah	R	6.4	Russell Feingold	Wis.	D	7.3
James Jeffords	Vt.	R	8.2	Craig Thomas	Wyo.	R	4.5
Patrick Leahy	Vt.	D	8.2	Michael Enzi	Wyo.	R	4.5

The House Votes:

The *Journal* looked at 25 votes in the House of Representatives: 9 votes on the United States' role in the world (engagement), 8 votes on financial support of U.S. foreign policy (resources) and 8 votes on support for U.S. involvement in international organizations (international organizations).

Representative:	State:	Party:	Score:	Representative:	State:	Party:	Score:
Sonny Callahan	Ala./1st	R	4.0	Bob Stump	Ariz. /3rd	R	2.5
Terry Everett	Ala./2nd	R	2.9	John Shadegg	Ariz./4th	R	3.7
Bob Riley	Ala./3rd	R	2.9	Jim Kolbe	Ariz./5th	R	8.0
Robert Aderholt	Ala./4th	R	2.4	J.D. Hayworth	Ariz./6th	R	4.1
Bud Cramer	Ala./5th	D	6.7	Marion Berry	Ark./1st	D	7.2
Spencer Bachus	Ala./6th	R	3.6	Vietor Snyder	Ark./2nd	D	9.6
Earl Hilliard	Ala./7th	D	8.5	Asa Hutchinson	Ark./3rd	R	3.6
Don Young	Alaska	R	2.8	Jay Dickey	Ark./4th	R	2.5
Matt Salmon	Ariz./1st	R	2.4	Frank Riggs	Calif./1st	R	4.0
Ed Pastor	Ariz./2nd	D	9.6	Wally Herger	Calif./2nd	R	4.1

LEGISLATIVE SCORECARD

Representative:	State:	Party:	Score:	Representative:	State:	Party:	Score:
Vic Fazio	Calif./3rd	D	9.6	Henry Waxman	Calif./29th	D	7.6
John Doolittle	Calif./4th	R	2.9	Xavier Becerra	Calif./30th	D	8.8
Robert Matsui	Calif./5th	D	9.6	Matthew Martinez	Calif./31st	D	7.9
Lynn Woolsey	Calif./6th	D	8.4	Julian Dixon	Calif./32nd	D	9.6
George Miller	Calif./7th	D	6.5	Lucille Roybal-Allard	Calif./33rd	D	9.6
Naney Pelosi	Calif./8th	D	9.2	Esteban Torres	Calif./34th	D	8.9
Ronald Dellums	Calif./9th	D	8.8	Maxine Waters	Calif./35th	D	8.4
Ellen Tauscher	Calif./10th	D	9.6	Jane Harman	Calif./36th	D	7.7
Richard Pombo	Calif./11th	R	2.0	Juanita Millender-McDonald	Calif./37th	D	9.6
Tom Lantos	Calif./12th	D	8.4	Steve Horn	Calif./38th	R	6.5
Pete Stark	Calif./13th	D	8.1	Ed Royce	Calif./39th	R	3.3
Anna Eshoo	Calif./14th	D	8.4	Jerry Lewis	Calif./40th	R	4.1
Tom Campbell	Calif./15th	R	4.4	Jay Kim	Calif./41st	R	3.7
Zoe Lofgren	Calif./16th	D	9.2	George Brown	Calif./42nd	D	9.2
Sam Farr	Calif./17th	D	5.5	Ken Calvert	Calif./43rd	R	5.2
Gary Condit	Calif./18th	D	4.8	Sonny Bono	Calif./44th	R	3.7
George Radanovich	Calif./19th	R	2.8	Dana Rohrabacher	Calif./45th	R	0.8
Calvin Dooley	Calif./20th	D	9.2	Loretta Sanchez	Calif./46th	D	9.2
William Thomas	Calif./21st	R	6.8	Christopher Cox	Calif./47th	R	2.9
Walter Holden Capps	Calif./22nd	D	9.6	Ron Paekard	Calif./48th	R	5.6
Elton Gallegly	Calif./23rd	R	7.1	Brian Bilbray	Calif./49th	R	3.2
Brad Sherman	Calif./24th	D	9.2	Boh Filner	Calif./50th	D	8.9
Howard McKeon	Calif./25th	R	3.6	Randy Cunningham	Calif./51st	R	2.4
Howard Berman	Calif./26th	D	8.0	Duncan Hunter	Calif./52nd	R	3.7
James Rogan	Calif./27th	R	2.5	Diana DeGette	Colo./1st	D	9.6
David Dreier	Calif./28th	R	4.0				

LEGISLATIVE SCORECARD

<i>Representative:</i>	<i>State:</i>	<i>Party:</i>	<i>Score:</i>	<i>Representative:</i>	<i>State:</i>	<i>Party:</i>	<i>Score:</i>
David Skaggs	Colo./2nd	D	9.6	Dave Weldon	Fla./15th	R	3.7
Scott McInnis	Colo./3rd	R	4.0	Mark Foley	Fla./16th	R	2.8
Robert Schaffer	Colo./4th	R	2.0	Carrie Meek	Fla./17th	D	9.2
Joel Hefley	Colo./5th	R	2.9	Ileana Ros-Lehtinen	Fla./18th	R	3.6
Dan Schaefer	Colo./6th	R	2.4	Robert Wexler	Fla./19th	D	7.6
Barbara Kennelly	Conn./1st	D	9.6	Peter Deutsch	Fla./20th	D	9.6
Sam Gejdenson	Conn./2nd	D	9.2	Lincoln Diaz-Balart	Fla./21st	R	5.2
Rosa DeLauro	Conn./3rd	D	9.2	E. Clay Shaw	Fla./22nd	R	4.8
Christopher Shays	Conn./4th	R	6.0	Alcee Hastings	Fla./23rd	D	8.5
James Maloney	Conn./5th	D	8.9	Jack Kingston	Ga./1st	R	2.5
Nancy Johnson	Conn./6th	R	8.4	Sanford Bishop	Ga./2nd	D	8.0
Michael Castle	Dcl.	R	7.2	Mac Collins	Ga./3rd	R	3.7
Joe Scarborough	Fla./1st	R	3.3	Cynthia McKinney	Ga./4th	D	7.6
Allen Boyd	Fla./2nd	D	8.9	John Lewis	Ga./5th	D	8.8
Corrine Brown	Fla./3rd	D	9.6	Newt Gingrich	Ga./6th	R	N.A.
Tillie Fowler	Fla./4th	R	4.1	Bob Barr	Ga./7th	R	4.2
Karen Thurman	Fla./5th	D	9.6	Saxby Chambliss	Ga./8th	R	3.7
Cliff Stearns	Fla./6th	R	1.3	Nathan Deal	Ga./9th	R	3.7
John Mica	Fla./7th	R	3.6	Charlie Norwood	Ga./10th	R	3.4
Bill McCollum	Fla./8th	R	4.0	John Linder	Ga./11th	R	3.6
Michael Bilirakis	Fla./9th	R	4.0	Neil Abercrombie	Hawaii/1st	D	8.4
C.W. Bill Young	Fla./10th	R	3.6	Patsy Mink	Hawaii/2nd	D	8.5
Jim Davis	Fla./11th	D	8.4	Helen Chenoweth	Idaho/1st	R	0.8
Charles Canady	Fla./12th	R	4.4	Michael Crapo	Idaho/2nd	R	3.3
Dan Miller	Fla./13th	R	4.7	Bobby Rush	Ill./1st	D	9.6
Porter Goss	Fla./14th	R	4.0	Jesse Jackson	Ill./2nd	D	8.8

LEGISLATIVE SCORECARD

<i>Representative:</i>	<i>State:</i>	<i>Party:</i>	<i>Score:</i>	<i>Representative:</i>	<i>State:</i>	<i>Party:</i>	<i>Score:</i>
William Lipinski	Ill./3rd	D	5.7	Lee Hamilton	Ind./9th	D	9.6
Luis Gutierrez	Ill./4th	D	9.2	Julia Carson	Ind./10th	D	9.2
Rod Blagojevich	Ill./5th	D	7.2	Jim Leach	Iowa/1st	R	8.8
Henry Hyde	Ill./6th	R	4.1	Jim Nussle	Iowa/2nd	R	4.0
Danny Davis	Ill./7th	D	9.6	Leonard Boswell	Iowa/3rd	D	8.0
Phillip Crane	Ill./8th	R	2.4	Greg Ganske	Iowa/4th	R	4.8
Sidney Yates	Ill./9th	D	5.7	Tom Latham	Iowa/5th	R	5.6
John Edward Porter	Ill./10th	R	7.3	Jerry Moran	Kan./1st	R	1.7
Jerry Weller	Ill./11th	R	4.0	Jim Ryun	Kan./2nd	R	3.3
Jerry Costello	Ill./12th	D	6.9	Vince Snowbarger	Kan./3rd	R	3.7
Harris Fawell	Ill./13th	R	6.8	Todd Tiahrt	Kan./4th	R	3.8
J. Dennis Hastert	Ill./14th	R	3.2	Ed Whitfield	Ky./1st	R	2.4
Thomas Ewing	Ill./15th	R	4.8	Ron Lewis	Ky./2nd	R	5.1
Donald Manzullo	Ill./16th	R	3.2	Anne Northup	Ky./3rd	R	4.9
Lane Evans	Ill./17th	D	6.3	Jim Bunning	Ky./4th	R	3.3
Ray LaHood	Ill./18th	R	4.4	Harold Rogers	Ky./5th	R	4.1
Glenn Poshard	Ill./19th	D	7.3	Scotty Baesler	Ky./6th	D	7.6
John Shimkus	Ill./20th	R	4.0	Robert Livingston	La./1st	R	6.0
Peter Visclosky	Ind./1st	D	8.4	William Jefferson	La./2nd	D	8.8
David McIntosh	Ind./2nd	R	3.7	W.J. Tauzin	La./3rd	R	3.2
Tim Roemer	Ind./3rd	D	5.3	Jim McCrery	La./4th	R	4.5
Mark Souder	Ind./4th	R	2.5	John Cooksey	La./5th	R	4.8
Steve Buyer	Ind./5th	R	3.2	Richard Baker	La./6th	R	4.3
Dan Burton	Ind./6th	R	3.3	Chris John	La./7th	D	6.9
Edward Pease	Ind./7th	R	2.0	Thomas Allen	Maine/1st	D	9.6
John Hostettler	Ind./8th	R	1.6	John Baldacci	Maine/2nd	D	9.6

LEGISLATIVE SCORECARD

<i>Representative:</i>	<i>State:</i>	<i>Party:</i>	<i>Score:</i>	<i>Representative:</i>	<i>State:</i>	<i>Party:</i>	<i>Score:</i>
Wayne Gilchrest	Md./1st	R	7.7	Dale Kildee	Mich./9th	D	8.5
Robert Ehrlich	Md./2nd	R	4.0	David Bonior	Mich./10th	D	8.8
Benjamin Cardin	Md./3rd	D	9.2	Joe Knollenberg	Mich./11th	R	6.0
Albert Wynn	Md./4th	D	6.2	Sander Levin	Mich./12th	D	9.6
Steny Hoyer	Md./5th	D	9.2	Lynn Rivers	Mich./13th	D	8.1
Roscoe Bartlett	Md./6th	R	0.8	John Conyers	Mich./14th	D	8.4
Elijah Cummings	Md./7th	D	9.2	Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick	Mich./15th	D	9.2
Constance Morella	Md./8th	R	6.2	John Dingell	Mich./16th	D	8.8
John Olver	Mass./1st	D	9.2	Gil Gutknecht	Minn./1st	R	2.8
Richard Neal	Mass./2nd	D	7.3	David Minge	Minn./2nd	D	8.4
James McGovern	Mass./3rd	D	9.6	Jim Ramstad	Minn./3rd	R	6.0
Barney Frank	Mass./4th	D	8.1	Bruce Vento	Minn./4th	D	8.8
Martin Meehan	Mass./5th	D	8.8	Martin Olav Sabo	Minn./5th	D	9.2
John Tierney	Mass./6th	D	6.6	Bill Luther	Minn./6th	D	8.4
Edward Markey	Mass./7th	D	7.2	Collin Peterson	Minn./7th	D	6.0
Joseph Kennedy	Mass./8th	D	9.2	James Oberstar	Minn./8th	D	8.8
Joe Moakley	Mass./9th	D	9.6	Roger Wicker	Miss./1st	R	3.2
William Delahunt	Mass./10th	D	8.4	Bennie Thompson	Miss./2nd	D	8.9
Bart Stupak	Mich./1st	D	8.9	Charles Pickering	Miss./3rd	R	2.1
Peter Hoekstra	Mich./2nd	R	2.0	Mike Parker	Miss./4th	R	4.1
Vern Ehlers	Mich./3rd	R	8.1	Gene Taylor	Miss./5th	D	3.4
Dave Camp	Mich./4th	R	3.2	William Clay	Mo./1st	D	8.4
James Barcia	Mich./5th	D	5.6	James Talent	Mo./2nd	R	3.2
Fred Upton	Mich./6th	R	3.6	Richard Gephardt	Mo./3rd	D	8.0
Nick Smith	Mich./7th	R	3.2	Ike Skelton	Mo./4th	D	8.5
Deborah Ann Stabenow	Mich./8th	D	9.6	Karen McCarthy	Mo./5th	D	8.4

LEGISLATIVE SCORECARD

<i>Representative:</i>	<i>State:</i>	<i>Party:</i>	<i>Score:</i>	<i>Representative:</i>	<i>State:</i>	<i>Party:</i>	<i>Score:</i>
Pat Danner	Mo./6th	D	5.6	Joe Skeen	N.M./2nd	R	5.2
Roy Blunt	Mo./7th	R	4.1	Bill Redmond	N.M./3rd	R	6.7
Jo Ann Emerson	Mo./8th	R	3.3	Michael Forbes	N.Y./1st	R	3.2
Kenny Hulshof	Mo./9th	R	1.2	Riek Lazio	N.Y./2nd	R	6.1
Rick Hill	Mont.	R	2.8	Peter King	N.Y./3rd	R	6.0
Doug Bereuter	Neb./1st	R	7.7	Carolyn McCarthy	N.Y./4th	D	9.2
Jon Christensen	Neb./2nd	R	4.4	Gary Ackerman	N.Y./5th	D	7.6
Bill Barrett	Neb./3rd	R	8.8	Floyd Flake	N.Y./6th	D	5.2
John Ensign	Nev./1st	R	3.3	Thomas Manton	N.Y./7th	D	8.1
Jim Gibbons	Nev./2nd	R	3.7	Jerrold Nadler	N.Y./8th	D	9.6
John Sununu, Jr.	N.H./1st	R	4.1	Charles Schumer	N.Y./9th	D	8.1
Charles Bass	N.H./2nd	R	4.4	Edolphus Towns	N.Y./10th	D	8.8
Robert Andrews	N.J./1st	D	7.1	Major R. Owens	N.Y./11th	D	8.1
Frank LoBiondo	N.J./2nd	R	4.4	Nydia Velazquez	N.Y./12th	D	8.4
H. James Saxton	N.J./3rd	R	7.7	Vito Fossella	N.Y./13th	R	N.A.
Christopher Smith	N.J./4th	R	4.8	Carolyn Maloney	N.Y./14th	D	9.6
Marge Roukema	N.J./5th	R	8.1	Charles Rangel	N.Y./15th	D	7.9
Frank Pallone	N.J./6th	D	8.8	Jose Serrano	N.Y./16th	D	8.4
Bob Franks	N.J./7th	R	6.4	Eliot Engel	N.Y./17th	D	9.2
William Pascrell	N.J./8th	D	8.0	Nita Lowey	N.Y./18th	D	10
Steven Rothman	N.J./9th	D	8.4	Sue Kelly	N.Y./19th	R	5.2
Donald Payne	N.J./10th	D	9.2	Benjamin Gilman	N.Y./20th	R	6.8
Rodney Frelinghuysen	N.J./11th	R	7.3	Michael McNulty	N.Y./21st	D	9.6
Mike Pappas	N.J./12th	R	4.1	Gerald Solomon	N.Y./22nd	R	1.3
Robert Menendez	N.J./13th	D	8.9	Sherwood Boehlert	N.Y./23rd	R	6.8
Steven Schiff	N.M./1st	R	N.A.	John McHugh	N.Y./24th	R	5.6

LEGISLATIVE SCORECARD

<i>Representative:</i>	<i>State:</i>	<i>Party:</i>	<i>Score:</i>	<i>Representative:</i>	<i>State:</i>	<i>Party:</i>	<i>Score:</i>
James Walsh	N.Y./25th	R	4.8	David Hobson	Ohio/7th	R	4.0
Maurice Hinchey	N.Y./26th	D	9.2	John Boehner	Ohio/8th	R	4.0
Bill Paxon	N.Y./27th	R	2.5	Marcy Kaptur	Ohio/9th	D	8.4
Louise Slaughter	N.Y./28th	D	9.2	Dennis Kucinich	Ohio/10th	D	6.5
John LaFalce	N.Y./29th	D	8.0	Louis Stokes	Ohio/11th	D	8.8
Jack Quinn	N.Y./30th	R	5.6	John Kasich	Ohio/12th	R	5.6
Amo Houghton	N.Y./31st	R	6.8	Sherrod Brown	Ohio/13th	D	9.2
Eva Clayton	N.C./1st	D	9.2	Thomas Sawyer	Ohio/14th	D	9.6
Bobby Etheridge	N.C./2nd	D	9.6	Deborah Pryce	Ohio/15th	R	3.0
Walter Jones	N.C./3rd	R	2.9	Ralph Regula	Ohio/16th	R	5.6
David Price	N.C./4th	D	9.6	James Traficant	Ohio/17th	D	2.0
Richard Burr	N.C./5th	R	2.9	Bob Ney	Ohio/18th	R	3.2
Howard Coble	N.C./6th	R	4.0	Steve LaTourette	Ohio/19th	R	4.8
Mike McIntyre	N.C./7th	D	4.8	Steve Largent	Okla./1st	R	2.4
W. G. Hefner	N.C./8th	D	9.2	Tom Coburn	Okla./2nd	R	2.5
Sue Myrick	N.C./9th	R	3.8	Wes Watkins	Okla./3rd	R	1.6
Cass Ballenger	N.C./10th	R	7.1	J.C. Watts	Okla./4th	R	2.8
Charles Taylor	N.C./11th	R	2.4	Ernest Jim Istook	Okla./5th	R	3.7
Melvin Watt	N.C./12th	D	8.4	Frank Lucas	Okla./6th	R	2.8
Earl Pomeroy	N.D.	D	9.2	Elizabeth Furse	Ore./1st	D	9.2
Steve Chabot	Ohio/1st	R	2.4	Bob Smith	Ore./2nd	R	3.7
Rob Portman	Ohio/2nd	R	4.5	Earl Blumenauer	Ore./3rd	D	8.8
Tony Hall	Ohio/3rd	D	8.4	Peter DeFazio	Ore./4th	D	6.9
Michael Oxley	Ohio/4th	R	6.1	Darlene Hooley	Ore./5th	D	9.6
Paul Gillmor	Ohio/5th	R	4.0	Thomas Foglietta	Penn./1st	D	7.2
Ted Strickland	Ohio/6th	D	8.8	Chaka Fattah	Penn./2nd	D	8.3

LEGISLATIVE SCORECARD

Representative:	State:	Party:	Score:	Representative:	State:	Party:	Score:
Robert Borski	Penn./3rd	D	9.2	John Thune	S.D.	R	4.7
Ron Klink	Penn./4th	D	7.6	William Jenkins	Tenn./1st	R	3.7
John Peterson	Penn./5th	R	3.2	John Duncan	Tenn./2nd	R	1.7
Tim Holden	Penn./6th	D	7.6	Zach Wamp	Tenn./3rd	R	6.0
Curt Weldon	Penn./7th	R	5.7	Van Hilleary	Tenn./4th	R	2.5
Jim Greenwood	Penn./8th	R	6.0	Bob Clement	Tenn./5th	D	.6
Bud Shuster	Penn./9th	R	2.0	Bart Gordon	Tenn./6th	D	9.2
Joseph McDade	Penn./10th	R	5.7	Ed Bryant	Tenn./7th	R	3.7
Paul Kanjorski	Penn./11th	D	8.0	John Tanner	Tenn./8th	D	7.6
John Murtha	Penn./12th	D	8.4	Harold Ford, Jr.	Tenn./9th	D	9.6
Jon Fox	Penn./13th	R	6.0	Max Sandlin	Texas/1st	D	9.2
William Coyne	Penn./14th	D	9.2	Jim Turner	Texas/2nd	D	8.0
Paul McHale	Penn./15th	D	9.2	Sam Johnson	Texas/3rd	R	5.6
Joseph Pitts	Penn./16th	R	4.0	Ralph Hall	Texas/4th	D	3.3
George Gekas	Penn./17th	R	4.4	Pete Sessions	Texas/5th	R	2.0
Mike Doyle	Penn./18th	D	7.2	Joe Barton	Texas/6th	R	2.1
William Goodling	Penn./19th	R	2.9	Bill Archer	Texas/7th	R	2.8
Frank Mascara	Penn./20th	D	7.7	Kevin Brady	Texas/8th	R	2.8
Phil English	Penn./21st	R	5.7	Nick Lampson	Texas/9th	D	8.4
Patrick Kennedy	R.I./1st	D	8.5	Lloyd Doggett	Texas/10th	D	7.3
Robert Weygand	R.I./2nd	D	7.7	Chet Edwards	Texas/11th	D	8.4
Mark Sanford	S.C./1st	R	3.3	Kay Granger	Texas/12th	R	4.1
Floyd Spence	S.C./2nd	R	2.9	William Thornberry	Texas/13th	R	2.1
Lindsey Graham	S.C./3rd	R	4.6	Ron Paul	Texas/14th	R	0.8
Bob Inglis	S.C./4th	R	2.5	Ruben Hinojosa	Texas/15th	D	9.6
John Spratt	S.C./5th	D	8.1	Silvestre Reyes	Texas/16th	D	8.8
James Clyburn	S.C./6th	D	9.2	Charles Stenholm	Texas/17th	D	4.8

LEGISLATIVE SCORECARD

Representative:	State:	Party:	Score:	Representative:	State:	Party:	Score:
Sheila Jackson-Lee	Texas/18th	D	8.0	Rick Boucher	Va./9th	D	8.4
Larry Combest	Texas/19th	R	2.0	Frank Wolf	Va./10th	R	4.0
Henry Gonzalez	Texas/20th	D	3.6	Tom Davis	Va./11th	R	8.9
Lamar Smith	Texas/21st	R	4.4	Rick White	Wash./1st	R	2.8
Tom DeLay	Texas/22nd	R	2.4	Jack Metcalf	Wash./2nd	R	5.6
Henry Bonilla	Texas/23rd	R	3.6	Linda Smith	Wash./3rd	R	2.1
Martin Frost	Texas/24th	D	9.6	Richard Hastings	Wash./4th	R	2.5
Ken Bentsen	Texas/25th	D	8.8	George Nethercutt	Wash./5th	R	4.1
Dick Armey	Texas/26th	R	4.0	Norman Dicks	Wash./6th	D	8.8
Solomon Ortiz	Texas/27th	D	7.1	Jim McDermott	Wash./7th	D	9.2
Ciro Rodriguez	Texas/28th	D	9.2	Jennifer Dunn	Wash./8th	R	4.4
Gene Green	Texas/29th	D	4.9	Adam Smith	Wash./9th	D	9.6
Eddie Bernice Johnson	Texas/30th	D	8.1	Alan Mollohan	W.Va./1st	D	7.3
James Hansen	Utah/1st	R	3.7	Robert Wise	W.Va./2nd	D	8.8
Merrill Cook	Utah/2nd	R	3.3	Nick Rahall	W.Va./3rd	D	6.9
Chris Cannon	Utah/3rd	R	3.2	Mark Neumann	Wis./1st	R	4.1
Bernard Sanders	Vt.	I	7.7	Scott Klug	Wis./2nd	R	5.7
Herbert Bateman	Va./1st	R	6.0	Ron Kind	Wis./3rd	D	9.6
Owen Pickett	Va./2nd	D	6.4	Gerald Kleczka	Wis./4th	D	8.4
Robert Scott	Va./3rd	D	8.4	Thomas Barrett	Wis./5th	D	5.3
Norman Sisisky	Va./4th	D	8.8	Tom Petri	Wis./6th	R	5.7
Virgil Goode	Va./5th	D	2.8	David Obey	Wis./7th	D	8.0
Robert Goodlatte	Va./6th	R	3.6	Jay Johnson	Wis./8th	D	9.6
Thomas Bliley	Va./7th	R	5.6	Jim Sensenbrenner	Wis./9th	R	1.6
James Moran	Va./8th	D	9.2	Barbara Cubin	Wyo.	R	0.8

POWER BEHIND THE SCENES



E

STAFFERS' POWER
IS COVERT, CRUCIAL
TO FOREIGN POLICY

By Miles Pomper

Earlier this year, Mark Kirk accidentally found himself at the center of an intense Bosnian power struggle. Kirk, the counsel for the House International Relations Committee, watched as forces of U.S.-backed Bosnian Serb President Biljana Plavsic vied for control of critical broadcast facilities with her hard-line rivals. NATO troops had been helping Plavsic take over television transmitters in an effort to cut public support for hardline Serbs, led by Radovan Karadzic, but despite physically occupying some of the transmitter sites, the U.S.-led Stabilization Force (SFOR) had been unable to stop the broadcasts of Karadzic's propaganda. Whipped into a fury, Bosnian Serbs at one point turned on NATO forces,

F O C U S

*The role that congressional staff play in shaping
the nation's foreign policy is one of the great untold
stories of Washington ... a secret by necessity and tradition.*

throwing stones and shouting insults. Flummoxed, military officials contemplated a series of high-tech solutions from electronic jamming to creating their own broadcast facilities.

But Kirk and a staff colleague, John Herzberg, who were visiting Bosnia on a fact-finding mission for panel Chairman Benjamin Gilman (R-N.Y.), had discovered that the problem and the solution were much simpler. Some sympathetic locals told the aides that the hard-line broadcasts were continuing because a technician inside the transmitter building had been plugging in the broadcast from Karadzic's stronghold in Pale and unplugging the feed from Plavsic's base in Banja Luka. From a hotel room, Kirk placed a call to the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington, where he also served as a naval reserve officer. Kirk briefed the Joint Chief's Bosnia liaison on the technician's actions and then faxed key diagrams to Washington, leaving a number where he could be reached before going off to dinner.

By the time he returned, he had received 13 calls from Washington and a military officer was waiting for him in the hotel lobby so he could brief local commanders. Hours later, U.S. commanders contacted another technician and the problem was solved. Kirk recalls, "It was a matter of flipping a switch." He says the story illustrates how aides have a larger impact on foreign policy than may be apparent.

In fact, the role that congressional staff play in shaping the nation's foreign policy is one of the great untold stories of Washington. Their contribution is largely a secret both by necessity and by tradition. Like their Foreign Service colleagues,

Miles Pomper, a former FSO, is a reporter for Legi-Slate News Service, the online congressional news service of The Washington Post.

staffers' jobs are to make their bosses look good without shining the spotlight on themselves. "While children should be seen and not heard," says Gerry Lipson, majority spokesman of the House International Relations Committee, "staffers should neither be seen nor heard."

Many aides demand that reporters, including this one, not quote them by name. Some only speak on condition that they not be quoted at all. Yet as Washington observers agree, staffers can shape the foreign affairs agenda to an extent only surpassed by their superiors and the president's foreign policy team. Aides draft key bills and letters to the president and other administration officials, look into the backgrounds of ambassadorial and other nominees, prepare questions and statements for hearings, round up support for their bosses' positions, and write and sometimes deliver important speeches. But just as important as these more public acts are the thousands of small, but crucial private acts, like Kirk's in Bosnia.

Day in and day out, Hill aides and administration officials engage in an endless round of phone calls and meetings to point out problems, outline possible solutions and reach compromises. These discussions occur largely outside public view and even the knowledge of most people in their organizations. Both sides can benefit from these informal discussions, administration officials and aides say. By working closely with staffers, administration officials can soften potential congressional opposition before issues become public and highly politicized. "The good ones will speculate with us, strategize with us on how to attack problems," a State Department official says of congressional aides.

These talks also help administration officials meet legal requirements that Congress be notified if the

F O C U S

executive branch wants to alter spending of any block of more than half a million dollars or if it intends to establish or end any program. Talks also help Congress get input into the administration's spending priorities and let aides participate in discussions of how best to handle relations with other countries, such as the recent crisis with Iraq. These contacts are not always translated into legislation but the aides' informal communication promotes their bosses' foreign policy objectives and gives members of Congress a heads-up on emerging issues. To gain greater leverage in these talks, some longtime staffers have set up a virtual parallel Foreign Service with direct links to foreign heads of state and their key executives, key U.S. interest groups, and the rank and file of the federal bureaucracy. Their web of relationships can prove a challenge to administration officials' efforts to promote the executive branch's agenda on Capitol Hill. "They develop confidence and a big enough Rolodex so that they can cross-check the information we give them," says an official from the State Department's legislative office.

Not that they always render the best judgments. Longtime administration officials say Hill aides are better at finding fault than proposing positive solutions. "They know how to pick on scabs," says a State Department official who works regularly with the Hill. "It's a lot easier to say 'no' and to block things."

And as even the aides themselves acknowledge, they often take an ad hoc approach to foreign affairs that gives as much weight to their personal and political considerations as to the nation's national security needs. Unlike Foreign Service officers, who may stick with a handful of issues for a few years, top congressional staffers must roam the vast foreign policy landscape, picking issues that their bosses might find important or that capture their own attention. In a given day, an Appropriations Committee staffer said, she must deal with environmental degradation in Azerbaijan, long-term strategic planning for the State Department, the structures and procedures of the Baltic Enterprise Fund and the possibilities of famine in North Korea. "I have to be an information sponge," the aide said. "You just have to wait for things to

shake out and agree in general what you want to do." Meanwhile, she says, she devotes as little attention as possible to mounting problems with the USAID computer system, because "it bores the hell out of me."

Some staffers have a deeply personal stake in particular issues. Charlie Flickner, the top Republican staffer on the House Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee, said that on most issues he is content to take a backseat to panel chairman Sonny Callahan (R-Ala.) and work through normal congressional channels. But, Flickner said, "I come out of my role" when Congress deals with issues of war and peace, when he has a greater tendency to express his own views to higher level lawmakers. "I really believe you have to have Congress and, therefore, the public behind you on these issues," Flickner says.

A Vietnam veteran, Flickner came to Capitol Hill more than two decades ago, "to figure out what made politicians do anything so stupid as [the war] we were involved in." Since then, he has helped congressional leaders respond to military interventions in Lebanon, Somalia, Iraq and Panama.

But congressional staffers do not spend most of their time on matters of life and death. Instead, they work long hours poring line by line through the accounts of State and other foreign affairs agencies, looking for poorly designed policies and programs, as well as waste, fraud and abuse. Staffers on the House Commerce-State-Justice Appropriations Subcommittee, for example, have developed legislation that they say will hand the State Department more money. It would make other U.S. government agencies, like the FBI, pay State more for the administrative costs of handling their employees at overseas posts. And the House subcommittee has sought to rationalize the size of overseas posts, trying to match the number of employees at an overseas mission with its importance to U.S. national interests. Traditionally, they said, embassy size had been decided largely on an ad hoc basis.

Staffers say they have an accessibility and openness that help them play a crucial role in pointing out what often are seen as obvious problems in the federal gov-

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association



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AFSA News Editor: Pally Gilbert

Economic/Commercial Reporting in the Info Age

THIS IS THE FIRST IN A SERIES OF OCCASIONAL
REPORTS FROM POST.

by Jahn Naland
FSO, U.S. Embassy Managua

In recent months, the economic/commercial section of the U.S. Embassy in Managua has been engaged in a major effort to make its reporting more accessible to potential users in the private sector. The flagship of this business outreach drive is our ecan/cam section Internet home page located at www.usia.gov/abtusia/posts/NU1/www.com.html. Five months after going on-line July 8, our home page was the fifth most visited of overseas Web sites hosted by USIA Washington. According to USIA usage logs of 45 posts, only the U.S. embassy home pages in Germany, Russia, Japan and Indonesia received more "hits" than ours.

Placing reports on our own home page is not, of course, our first effort to reach out to

our target audience. We routinely submit documents to the Department of Commerce's STAT-USA Internet service which provides on-line access to the National Trade Data Bank. However, as STAT-USA does not keep site-use statistics by document, we lack feedback on the number of hits we receive. Further, STAT-USA charges users for access to our reports, which leads us to suspect that a large percentage of our target audience is not being reached through STAT-USA.

Our ecan/cam home page is now getting 300 hits a week. Reports posted there have been accessed 15,000 times in the past five months. To illustrate the growth in accessibility, more than 750 users downloaded sections of our FY98 Country Commercial Guide, representing a 1,000 percent increase over the prior rate of paper distribution of that document. These figures are remarkable given that Nicaragua is only 75th on the list of U.S. trading partners.

Continued on page 5

• AFSA Dateline •

• "Each of you is contributing to the most important work in the world - building more peaceful, more prosperous societies, where little children can grow up strong, healthy and free, and where all people can look forward to a better future." This was part of Administrator J. Brian Atwood's message Nov. 25 at the Mellan Auditorium in Washington, D.C., during A Celebration of Excellence in Development, USAID's annual honor awards ceremony. A beautifully designed keepsake program featuring photographs of USAID beneficiaries around the globe listed the names of the winners, Americans and Foreign Service Nationals, both in Washington and in overseas missions.

• Jeffrey A. Bader, National Security Council Director for Asian Affairs, addressed a group of 50 corporate executives at an AFSA International Associates policy luncheon Dec. 2 at the Foreign Service Club. The former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs discussed key economic and business issues in relation to Chinese President Jiang Zemin's visit to the United States.

• The Barbara Bell Black Perpetual Scholarship Fund was established in December by Mr. Robert Black to honor his late wife. The Mattie and George Newman Scholarship was also set up through a contribution by Mr. Newman.

Continued on page 5

F A S

V.P. VOICE

• M A G G I E D O W L I N G •

We Take Our Past With Us

As the new year begins, we all begin to think about where we are going and what we would like to achieve in the coming year. The AFSA Standing Committee has already begun preparations for negotiations on our new collective bargaining agreement which comes up for renewal in May. As the need for longer and longer range plans becomes more critical for our individual careers, AFSA committee members are working to promote processes and policies that will enable members to do so with greater certainty and confidence.

As we go forward, though, we take the past with us. Farmer Administrator Raymond Laanes' (1962-1973) remarks to us last month at our holiday luncheon deepened our appreciation for the tradition and legacy of Foreign Agricultural Service. Before we jump into the New Year's resolutions, perhaps a little walk down memory lane might provide a welcome reprieve.

FAS was established June 5, 1930. At that time there were about 210 staff members in Washington and 10 overseas, covering eight attaché posts – London, Belgrade, Berlin, Sydney, Pretoria, Shanghai, Buenos Aires and Marseilles. U.S. farm exports totaled about \$1 billion. Inflow of reports covering the world agricultural situation, required and voluntary, numbered 150.

Thirty-five years later, U.S. exports had swollen to \$6 billion and we had 603 staff in the United States and 298 overseas: 95 attachés and assistants, 41 Stateside secretaries and 162 FSNs.

Today FAS staff total 923: overseas attachés and counselors, 113; foreign secretaries, 8; and FSNs 142. Exports exceed \$60 billion and reports, voluntary and required, total more than

4,500.

FAS Timeline: 1937 FAS publishes the first of several forerunners to *AgExporter*, a journal called *Foreign Agriculture*. 1941 FAS launches the journal *Agriculture in the Americas* and begins air freighting hotchery eggs to Argentina. Eyebrows are raised when

Sec. of Agriculture Henry Wallace takes Spanish lessons. 1946 FAS boasts the USDA championship bowling team. 1959 Article entitled "U.S. Agricultural Pioneers Abroad and Their Problems," notes "... these agricultural experts rarely achieved all they set out to do. True, their achievements were often incommensurate with their efforts ... but the

trials of those pioneers are still instructive ..." 1962 A Japanese couple names their store in Tokyo after the agricultural ottoché who helped them. Vice President Johnson opens the U.S. Food Agricultural Exhibition in Amsterdam. 1964 The Agricultural Attache conference is held at the 4-H Center in Chevy Chase, Md. 1965 Princess Morgoret and the Queen Mother visit FAS food exhibits in London. 1968 Agricultural attaché in Nigeria made honorary chieftain and awarded the title of "Balagun" – successful warrior. 1969 Agricultural attaché in Madrid ties with U.S. ambassador in a milking contest. 1970 Agricultural ottoché wins Conberro polo tournament. 1974 FAS's "Fighting Foreigners" softball team is 5 and 5. 1976 FAS chooses its lost "Miss FAS" and "Mrs. Cost Cutter." 1980 Fortune article reports, "FAS hired some farm boys with degrees who can sell ... probably the most highly educated cadre of line officers in the U.S. government." 1993 FAS FSOs vote for AFSA representatives. 1998 AFSA makes major gains in securing a brighter future for all FAS FSOs.

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Inside

THE FOREIGN SERVICE COMMUNITY

AFSA Members in Action

• FSOs **Walter G. Bollinger**, **Margaret Bonner** and **Charles F. Weden** received the USAID Administrator's Distinguished Career Service Award on Nov. 25.

• *Henri Queuille en son Temps (1884-1970) Biographie (La Table Ronde, 1997)*, by retired FSO **Francis De Tarr**, was awarded the Prix France-Amérique.

• "If Congress is serious about campaign finance reform, it should break the tight link between campaign contributions and ambassadorial appointments. This is in the interest of the integrity of our political system and our image abroad," wrote then AFSA president **Willard DePree** in a letter to the editor of *The Washington Post* on Nov. 18.

• The University Press of America has just published *Innocents Abroad: How We Won the Cold War* by **Mae H. Esterline** and the late retired FSO **John H. Esterline** and *Conflict and Crises: A Foreign Service Story* by retired FSO **Roy M. Melbourne**. These books may be ordered at 1-800-462-6420.

• On Dec. 3 the American Academy of Diplomacy presented its Award for Excellence in Diplomacy to **George F. Kennan** and its Award for a Book of Distinguished Writing in American Diplomacy to **Warren Zimmermann** for *Origins of a Catastrophe: Yugoslavia and its Destroyers* (Time Books, 1996).

• "The Reaction to Chaos," by FSO **Steven Mann**, appears in *Complexity, Global Politics, and National Security*, a book published late last year by the National Defense University.

• Retired ambassador **Vernon Penner** was appointed Deputy Commandant of the NATO Defense College in Rome for a three-year term effective Sept. 1.

Do you have news about a recent accomplishment of an AFSA member or news of an event of interest to the Foreign Service community?

Fax it to (202) 338-8244.

COMMERCIAL SERVICE

V.P. VOICE

BY CHARLES KESTENBAUM

Proud To Be On Board

This is my first column since assuming the role of Commercial Service AFSA vice president on Oct. 1. I am joined by Geaff Walser, CS representative to the AFSA Board, as we replace outgoing officers Tam Kelsey and Keith Curtis. My first official public comment in this newsletter must be a note of gratitude to Tam and Keith on behalf of all CS members for their outstanding work in guiding our transition from rookie member of the AFSA family to established, mature organization. While they are too modest to acknowledge it, Tam and Keith have an impressive list of accomplishments. They earned the respect of management and the admiration of their co-workers. Best of all, both gentlemen are still working at the Commercial Service headquarters and both remain firmly engaged in AFSA affairs. It is lucky for Geaff and me that they are so generous.

My initial impressions from attending AFSA Executive and Governing Board sessions are favorable. Having spent much of the past 16 years overseas, I was pleasantly surprised on my return to Washington to find just how alert our AFSA leadership is to the key issues concerning our members abroad. I discovered that I had taken for granted many of AFSA's hard-won accomplishments. I had been largely unaware of just how much preparation and hard work AFSA puts into securing the career development, personnel strategies, employee benefits and legal protection we FSOs enjoy. In future reports I will focus on specific institutional developments and issues of importance to our membership, such as integration of our domestic offices with overseas offices, the

emerging new personnel system this hybrid will spawn and the proposed reorganization of our parent International Trade Administration.

As you must be aware, the past several years have been gut-wrenching for the Commerce Department as it

has come under fire from critics in Congress, the most extreme of whom sought to shut down the entire department. I vividly remember placing a sign on our office door in Abu Dhabi that said, BY ORDER OF THE CONGRESS, THIS OFFICE WILL BE CLOSED UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE. I then said goodbye to a team of Office of Aerospace Industries officials who had

been abruptly ordered to abandon their booth at the Dubai International Air Show and return to Washington. The Commercial Service emerged from that protracted experience a stranger, more client-oriented and results-focused entity.

I like to think of the Commercial Service as a kind of living organism. Now at age 18, we are only beginning to fulfill all the vast potential as America's principal international trade facilitator. As the parent of an 18-year-old son, I also have had the unique personal experience of observing how closely the organization has developed in stages parallel to those of a human being. The similarities have at times been staggering. My son departed in September for that wonderful journey of human discovery we call college. I look forward to playing a small part, along with Geaff (and with AFSA's support), in helping the CS continue the maturation process on our own institutional journey of discovery. I share the consensus of my dedicated colleagues that our success is in the national interest.

"I share the consensus of my dedicated colleagues that our success is in the national interest."

RETIREES
V.P. VOICE
 • BY EDWARD DILLERY •

Partners in Foreign Affairs Outreach

In December I had the pleasure of addressing the monthly meeting of the Foreign Affairs Retirees of Northern Virginia (FARNOVA). This month I will attend the meeting of the Foreign Affairs Retirees of New England. I look forward to participating in gatherings of other regional foreign affairs retiree groups, as well. While I recognize and appreciate that these organizations around the country are independent of AFSA, I hope to keep AFSA communication lines open with all of them and to be available to provide any assistance we can give to you in support of their activities.

FARNOVA offers a good example of the activities such groups can pursue. Led by Dick Undeland, the organization meets every month at Fort Myer in Arlington, Va., and has had a succession of interesting speakers (the exception being their December speaker). I was most struck by the desire of its members to continue to contribute to the understanding of foreign affairs issues in their communities. They have started an imaginative program, approaching local colleges and universities to offer speakers on various subjects in the field of foreign affairs. While this effort is just under way, it clearly has great potential as an outreach program.

Dick Undeland noted to me that many FARNOVA members would like to be active, but they have difficulty finding venues in which to become involved. I'm sure that retirees across the country feel the same. Many of the messages I have already received from AFSA members indicate an interest in speaking engagements and other com-

munity endeavors. Many of you have inquired as to whether AFSA receives requests for such activities. We still keep a list of speakers for the World Issues Forum (AFSA's speakers bureau) and we respond to requests we receive from various groups, most of which are in the Washington area. But frankly, we have not been able to actively search out audiences for speaking opportunities since we lost Gil Kulick, who founded the bureau and did such a good job during his tenure. We were unable to replace him because of

money problems and, in any event, it would have been hard to fill Gil's shoes.

I feel that we retirees are excellent spokespersons for the Foreign Service and that we can do much to highlight the importance of foreign affairs issues to the country as a whole. I hope to actively generate speaking opportunities during my term at AFSA. I would greatly appreciate your comments on how we might do this job better. As you know, I can be reached at cedillery@juno.com, my e-mail address. If you send e-mail, it would be good to repeat it to retirees@ofso.org, AFSA Headquarters. Of course, Word Thompson and I also welcome written communications to us at 2101 E St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

Thanks again for the messages you have already sent. I have to confess that I have not answered all of them yet, but I will. Meanwhile, I note again that it would be great to have a good turnout at Foreign Service Day on May 8. We included an invitation request in the latest retiree newsletter. Please plan to attend.

"... we retirees are excellent spokespersons for the Foreign Service"

"Inside a U.S. Embassy should be read by every American who wonders what their Foreign Service does for them and their country abroad." -- Jim Lehrer

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Sandra Hood Counsels Others To Improve Their Lives...

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Peace Corps Service:
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I helped develop profitable
silk worm farming, taught
traditional weaving to increase
families' income, and intro-
duced health education to
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While in the Peace Corps, Sandra "Sam" Hood helped villagers in Thailand improve their lives through agriculture and better health practices. Today, thanks to her Peace Corps service, Sam is also making a difference at home. She is a successful substance abuse counselor working with "at-risk" groups in Alaska.

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Reporting in the Info Age

Continued from page 1

Success at outreach attributable to content and publicity. Our ecan/cam home page now features 40 embassy-produced documents providing local economic, trade and investment information. It also has 35 hypertext links to related sites, including those at the State Department, the Department of Commerce, U.S.D.A. and USAID. Our aim is to provide comprehensive trade and investment information to U.S. firms doing, or considering, business in this small, but potentially profitable, emerging market.

Publicity has created high visibility. Because our ecan/com page is getting three to four times as many visitors as its parent mission-wide home page, it is clear that most hits are a result of our having submitted the ecan/com page for listing on key on-line directories and search engines like YAHOO! Internet users who would never think of checking the State or USIA home pages can still find us easily on these. We have also publicized our Web site in the local Amcham magazine and listed it on our section fax cover sheet.

Demand-driven reporting. One result of putting reports on the Internet is that our audience, with each click of a mouse, can now tell us which reports interest them. For example, Web usage logs show that our Country Commercial Guide is our most popular document. In second place, however, is a summer intern's report summarizing the local business tax code. Such feedback will allow us to adjust reporting to better meet our users' needs. We plan to report more on practical "doing business" topics and on business sectors that offer the best U.S. commercial opportunities.

Another result of being on-line is the steady stream of e-mail inquiries we receive from U.S. firms. Although we have had to decline a few requests because of limited resources, this new means of communicating has allowed us to respond much more quickly than before. It is far easier - not to mention cheaper - to reply to e-mail than to format, print, and mail or fax a letter. We are encouraged by the positive response and the feedback we are getting from U.S. expatriates.

Other pleasant surprises. We are also beginning to see cost savings from having

ecan/commercial section reports on-line. Where once we faxed or mailed reports to U.S. companies, we now simply refer callers to our Web site and let them download the information themselves.

Putting fully-cleared embassy reporting on-line has also helped to advance our policy message. Nicaragua's most influential newspaper recently ran a front page financial section story summarizing our Country Commercial Guide, which the reporter had read on our home page. The article highlighted our views on the adverse impact an investment of weak protection for intellectual property rights. Not only was this article an excellent vehicle for stressing the U.S. position regarding intellectual property, but it also motivated readers to find our site.

Using funds from the State Department's Business Facilitation Incentive Fund to buy the necessary hardware and software, our ecan/commercial section has now taken responsibility for updating its home page which remains housed at, and is administered by, USIA Washington. With world-wide Internet usage doubling each year, we suspect that our on-line outreach efforts are only beginning.

Send technical questions or suggestions to Economic Officer John Naland via State e-mail or at usbusiness@omemb.org.ni on the Internet.

The Art of Coming Home

by Craig Storti

(Intercultural Press, Inc., 1997, softcover, \$9.00) and

Paper Airplanes in the Himalayas:

The Unfinished Path Home

by Paul Asbury Seaman

(Cross Cultural Publications, Inc., 1997, softcover, \$22.50),

are welcome additions to the literature on cultural re-entry, reverse culture shock and third country kids. Ask for them in your local bookstore.

Dateline

Continued from page 1

Based on a minimum gift of \$10,000, Perpetual Named Scholarships guarantee that the contribution will live in perpetuity, as only the earned interest is used to fund annual scholarships.

• FSJ staff, contributors and friends bid farewell to *Journal* Editor Karen Krebsbach at a reception Nov. 19 in the Foreign Service Club. Former Editorial Board Chair Sheldon J. Kryz thanked Krebsbach for her creative and stalwart leadership of the FSJ over the past four years. On behalf of the Editorial Board, Chair Ed Marks presented Krebsbach with the ultimate guide to New York City, a book she will need as she assumes her copyediting job at the *Wall Street Journal*.

• AFSA welcomes Robert Guldin, former editor of the *George Washington University Magazine*, who takes the reins as FSJ editor Jan. 5. Before joining GWU Magazine, Guldin was editor of *Arms Control Today*. He recently served as editorial consultant to media organizations and non-profit groups in the Urals region of Russia.

• AFSA Merit and Financial Aid Scholarship Award applications are available for Foreign Service children. Submission deadline is Feb. 6. For information, e-mail the scholarship administrator at scholar@afsa.org or call (202) 944-5504.

• The next meeting of the AAFSW FORUM will take place on Sat., Feb. 7 at 10 A.M. at the National United Methodist Church, 3401 Nebraska Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. Contact Mette Beecroft at (301) 320-7698 or Peggy McMahon at (202) 966-8247 for more information.

• FSO James G. Davis is interested in hearing from any U.S. or third country diplomats who were in Mexico City in 1968 during the student protests which culminated in the Tlatelolco massacre on Oct. 2. Mr. Davis will put respondents in touch with a well-known Mexican academic and human rights activist who is preparing a book on that subject. Mr. Davis can be reached at (202) 647-9292.

**LA PORTA
SWORN IN
AS
AMBASSADOR
TO
MONGOLIA**



Former AFSA President Alphonse F.

Lo Porto was sworn in as ambassador to Mongolia Nov. 13 in the Benjamin Franklin Room at the State Department. Lo Porto was warmly introduced by colleague and friend Edward Gnehm, Director General of the Foreign Service. Assistant Chief of Protocol for Administration Charles Kinn then administered the oath of office before a large crowd of Lo Porto's family, associates and well-wishers.

Lo Porto is shown above as he takes the oath on the Bible held by his wife,

Ann Winget Lo Porto. In remarks following his swearing-in, Lo Porto conveyed his personal commitment to Mongolian Ambassador Choinhor and his government to cooperate in peaceful political and economic development. Ambassador Lo Porto also discussed the challenges facing State of this time of reorganization (see sidebar). Following the swearing-in ceremony, the Lo Portos greeted guests at a reception they hosted in the Benjamin Franklin Room.

v e r b a t i m

Alphonse F. Lo Porto

Let me now turn to another position: State Department reform.

My work in AFSA has given me renewed determination to help promote a more vigorous diplomacy and a skilled and dedicated Foreign Service. We know the unhappy toles of foiled reforms.

Today the women and men of the Department of State, Foreign and Civil Service alike, find their chosen careers and livelihoods to be highly uncertain. There is little esprit and we hear doily of widespread disaffection by employees over travel, housing, medical and other support issues.

As a Foreign Service professional, I fully support the efforts of Secretary Albright, Under Secretary Pickering, Director General Skip Gnehm and Under Secretary Bonnie Cohen to restore the dignity of serving abroad for our country. Right now, I sadly report, the career personnel in for-flung posts, not coincidentally like Uloonbootor, are not being well served.

Urgent and real reform is needed: USIA and ACDA must be incorporated quickly and efficiently; streamlined organizational forms must result; integration with AID should also follow rapidly.

Responsibility and funding for post support must be decentralized; the operating bureaus must have more discretion to meet the real priorities, not the entrenched interests of the central system.

Above all, central management must be more responsive, remembering that employees - not agency hierarchies - are the true consumers of administrative services.

A new deal is needed for employees. All look to the top leadership of the Department to take forthright action, if not shock therapy, to promote diplomatic excellence.

Concluding, I renew my dedication to the mission of the Foreign Service of the United States of America - that means all of us, not just the State Department slice of it. I will represent our country in Mongolia to the utmost of my ability.

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F O C U S

Top congressional staffers must roam the vast foreign policy landscape, picking issues that their bosses might find important or that capture their own attention.

ernment. People feel much more comfortable discussing their ideas with lawmakers or their aides than with executive branch bureaucrats, aides say. "Nobody wants to go in and brief a desk officer, but everybody wants to have a Hill meeting," said a House International Relations Committee staffer.

In fact, the complainers are often executive branch officials themselves. With more and more federal agencies establishing an overseas presence and competing for resources and missions, congressional aides often end up sorting out the turf battles and playing the agencies against each other. "Half of my job is getting people to talk to people at the other end of the hall," says a Senate Republican staffer. As an example, she cited efforts to get officials at the Export-Import Bank to cooperate better with USAID officials on a program in Russia.

Aides see themselves as the defenders of rank and file employees against the foibles of their superiors. "There are few ways for a Foreign Service officer in the field to communicate their problems and they feel isolated and neglected," said the Senate Republican aide. "We provide them with access."

As a concrete example, a House appropriations staffer pointed to Congress' insistence on funding the bread-and-butter aspects of foreign policy at the expense of glitzy policy initiatives.

"State Department operations are at the bottom of the priority list," the aide said, "but we know that you have to retain those capabilities."

Congress can also bring attention to problems much faster, aides say. The limited size of congressional staffs and their direct access to top decision-makers give them the flexibility and responsibility to quickly institute changes resisted by hidebound bureaucracies. "You don't have a whole line of bosses that you have to deal with," said an aide who has

worked at the State Department and on Capitol Hill. That is particularly true for a select group of aides. While there are hundreds of foreign policy aides on Capitol Hill, there are probably about a dozen, many with decades of experience, who consistently affect the conduct of foreign policy. Generally speaking, at the top of the pecking order are the leading aides to House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) and Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss); the top aides on the Senate Foreign Relations and House International Relations Committees; and, increasingly, key staffers on the House and Senate Appropriations Committees and their subcommittees responsible for foreign aid and State Department operations. Other staffers on those panels, as well as aides to members other than panel chairmen, form the next rung down. At the lowest level are those aides who handle foreign policy issues for the vast majority of members of Congress who do not belong to any of these committees. But there is no ironclad hierarchy linking an aide's influence to his position; rather, as both staffers and members stress in a constant refrain, "Staffers are only as good as the member they serve."

"If a member is deeply interested and expert in foreign policy, an aide becomes an extension of those talents and makes an important contribution to the foreign policy process," says Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.), the second-ranking Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee. "But if the member is not interested or not involved in key committee assignments, he's at most an early warning signal, who takes a much more defensive role." Even those members who belong to foreign policy committees vary considerably in their dedication to international issues. Lawmakers can only devote a limited amount of time to foreign affairs, since they are busy wading through dozens of other issues, meeting their constituents and running

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their political campaigns. That means that members leave an enormous amount of discretion to their aides. Key staffers enjoy ready access to the secretary of State and other Cabinet officers, as well as to top congressional leaders. "If you don't know the majority leaders of the House and Senate and have walk-in rights to talk to them when an important issue comes up, you really don't have an impact on foreign policy," explained a leading House Republican aide.

Top staffers have often served both in the Executive branch and on Capitol Hill, have longstanding personal relationships with most of the relevant players and combine foreign policy expertise with political savvy. "Ideally foreign policy staff members ought to have a great deal of knowledge of specific countries; they ought to have a range of contacts both inside and outside the government; and they ought to have a very good sense of parliamentary procedure and where the votes are and what will be effective on the floor because that is the legislative process ultimately," said Lugar, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in the 1980s.

Moreover, observers say that smart staffers develop an intuition about their bosses' foreign policy approach. "Some go out on a limb and know that their boss will end up there," a State Department official said. "Or they go out on a limb and know that their boss will cover up for them. They can get away for a while going beyond their boss's support," he said. "But if they do it for too long, people will stop taking them seriously."

An appropriations committee staffer said that she had developed about half of the initiatives put forward by her boss, but she also noted that they had the full knowledge and support of the chairman, known for his attention to detail. "This is a partnership, not a puppet show," the aide said. But her influence and that of her chairman have grown as the role of appropriations committees has grown, while that of the authorizing committees has withered.

The authorizing committees, which include the House International Relations Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, are probably

the best known of the two types of panels and, arguably, the least influential.

Not for a lack of staff, though. Both panels have dozens of staff members. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, for example, has 44 aides. That total is down from the 63 aides employed by the panel 20 years ago, when Madeleine Albright was Sen. Edmund Muskie's chief legislative assistant. But it is about four times the number of staff that deal with foreign affairs on the increasingly influential appropriations committees. The panels' relative lack of influence can be traced to their lack of success on the legislative front. They are supposed to outline Congress' foreign policy goals and the spending ceilings it would take to meet them, but they have failed to pass legislation meeting this test in recent years.

The last time a State Department authorization bill was enacted into law was 1993, and Congress has not approved a foreign aid authorization bill since 1985. Hoping to change that trend, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's top Democrat, Sen. Joseph Biden of Delaware, met with panel chairman Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) after the 1996 elections and vowed to make the panel "relevant again" and pass the legislation.

Following his customary style, Helms then gave his aides plenty of leeway to develop proposals that would further his objectives to reorganize the foreign policy bureaucracy and reform the United Nations, while winning broad bipartisan support from Capitol Hill and the White House. His aides worked out the details of this State Department authorization bill and mapped out the tactics to gain bipartisan support, eventually winning a 90-5 Senate vote in favor of the legislation. A similar attempt fell apart in the House, however. In that body, the House International Relations Committee lacks the standing of its Senate counterpart, particularly since it does not have the power over nominations and treaties enjoyed by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

At a recent House International Relations hearing the panel's senior Democrat, Rep. Lee Hamilton of Indiana, lamented, "We've become more and more

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*Like their Foreign Service colleagues,
staffers' jobs are to make their bosses look
good without shining the spotlight on themselves.*

irrelevant." Chairman Benjamin Gilman (R-N.Y.) complained that "this committee's jurisdiction continues to be eroded." Gilman has been unable to bridge the gaps among Republicans between more traditional pro-business internationalists and so-called "evangelicals," who are more concerned with advancing moral and human rights causes than practicing realpolitik or dealing with economic concerns. So the Clinton administration has largely sidestepped the panel to cut deals directly with House leadership. In any case, the White House is generally far from eager to see authorization legislation approved, knowing that Congress will also be able to direct foreign affairs through spending bills that must be passed if the State Department and other foreign policy agencies are not to shut down. "The White House doesn't want to give Congress two bites at the apple," said a Democratic aide on the House International Relations panel.

Indeed, these "must-pass" spending or appropriations bills are now the primary legislative vehicle through which Congress affects foreign policy. And that has meant a shift in direct legislative power to four appropriations subcommittees — two in each chamber — responsible for drafting the annual spending bills. Two panels, the twin Commerce, Justice, State subcommittees, have the most direct effect on Foreign Service officers, since these panels draft the legislation that pays FSOs' salaries, maintains overseas posts and FSO housing, and otherwise takes care of the costs of operating the State Department and other agencies, aside from USAID.

James Dyer, Republican staff director for the powerful House Appropriations Committee, says that he, his colleagues, and their bosses work to convince members of Congress that spending on embassies is needed. "We try to steer as many resources to the overseas posts as we can, because we think it's important to raise the flag," says Dyer, a former acting

assistant secretary of State for legislative affairs under President Ronald Reagan. "But there is no political constituency for these people," he said of the foreign affairs community.

In an era of tight budgets, staffers say, it is hard to convince members that they should be cutting spending on highways, dams and military weapons programs that produce jobs in their districts, in order to pour resources into what an aide to Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Texas) once referred to as "diplomats in their top hats" living in "marble palaces." Nonetheless, most members pay little attention to the annual debate over nuts and bolts spending on the State Department and related agencies. They have focused their attention, instead, on the annual foreign aid bill prepared by the two Foreign Operations Appropriations subcommittees. There, a half-dozen or so aides have, for example, helped set the course for U.S. efforts to rebuild the war-torn Bosnian economy, increased aid to Jordan at the expense of Egypt and Israel, earmarked money for Ukraine instead of Russia, and held off U.S. funding for a new International Monetary Fund credit line for emergency loans for emerging market economies.

Staffers took the lead role this year in defusing a longstanding foreign policy standoff over aid to the former Soviet nation of Azerbaijan. The Clinton administration, eager to tap Azerbaijan's immense oil supplies, had been seeking to end a legal ban on all assistance to the Muslim nation. Congress, pushed by the strong Armenian-American lobby, had banned all assistance to Azerbaijan earlier in the decade after Azerbaijan and Armenia clashed over control of the Armenian enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh in Azerbaijan. Staffers worked out a compromise under which U.S. energy producers could tap into the resources of the Export-Import Bank and Overseas Private Investment Corporation to gain loans and

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investment guarantees for investments in Azerbaijan. In return, aid could flow directly to Nagorno-Karabakh for the first time. And additional money would be set aside for both Armenia and Azerbaijan if they moved toward peace. That compromise was put together by staffers for Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.), Rep. Sonny Callahan (R-Ala.) and staffers for top Democrats, who saw the dispute as a potential stumbling block to agreements on other aspects of the legislation.

In Washington, the constitutional tension between the two branches is exacerbated by partisan differences. And while it may be the president or members of Congress who herald a policy battle, it is frequently congressional staffers who are providing the ammunition. No panel has better represented the potential for both cooperation and conflict than the Senate Foreign Relations Committee under the chairmanship of Sen. Jesse Helms. When Republicans regained control of Congress in 1995, Helms laid out a general strategy of confrontation with the White House as the 1996 elections approached. But it was his staffers who mapped out the battlefield tactics. For example, the idea of folding the U.S. Information Agency, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the U.S. Agency for International Development into the State Department had been bouncing around the foreign policy community for years. But it was Helms' then chief counsel, Steve Berry, who drafted a reorganization proposal for Helms and urged him to push it through the legislative process. "Steve convinced the chairman that it would be a really good issue for him," said one of Berry's former colleagues who is still a staff member of the panel. The aide convinced Helms that it would help him be seen as saving taxpayers' money and fighting bureaucracy. Helms then held up pending treaties and the president's ambassadorial nominations until Clinton pushed Democrats to move the bill to the Senate floor.

Helms' aides are no less vital now that he has chosen to adopt a policy of cooperation in Clinton's second term. Helms' almost romantic relationship with

secretary of State Madeleine Albright and partnership with ranking Democrat Joseph Biden have captured recent headlines. But it took hundreds of hours of work by his and Biden's staffers to turn that bonhomie into legislative reality on issues such as approving the Chemical Weapons Convention, repaying U.S. debts to the United Nations and reorganizing the foreign affairs bureaucracy. While Helms, Biden and Albright worked out the broad parameters of a compromise on the United Nations and reorganization issues, their top aides were on the phone ten times a day "with the nuts and bolts activity of putting together a package," an aide said. Defying conventional wisdom, the staff was then able to draw up a bill that won wide bipartisan support.

Yet, both the appropriations and authorization committees have often found themselves paralyzed in recent years by a crippling inter- and intra-party dispute over the use of abortion as part of family planning programs overseas. Ever since Republicans gained a congressional majority in 1994, they have sought to reinstate a Reagan and Bush administration policy overturned by President Clinton. The so-called Mexico City Policy — named after a 1984 U.N. conference where the policy was unveiled — would prevent the United States from providing aid to family planning groups which perform abortions overseas or lobby to have abortions legalized abroad. On more than half a dozen occasions in recent years, Republicans, led by Rep. Christopher Smith (R-N.J.), have held up the foreign aid bill for months to try to force acceptance of the Reagan-era policy.

This year Smith and his supporters refused to support paying off U.S. dues to the United Nations, funding the new IMF facility, and reorganizing the foreign affairs bureaucracy unless the administration gave ground on the family planning issue. That dashed hopes that Congress would approve the measures before leaving for a recess in November. Smith has been buttressed in these efforts by G. Joseph Rees, staff director of the International Operations and Human Rights Subcommittee, which Smith chairs. Working with administration officials and Rees to resolve these issues have been aides to House

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Aides acknowledge that they often take an ad hoc approach to foreign affairs that gives as much weight to their personal and political considerations as to the nation's security needs.

Speaker Newt Gingrich and Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott. But staffers say that they have been stymied by the administration's inability to acknowledge the political difficulties that House Republicans face on the issue. "You can't expect to walk up to Newt Gingrich and ask him to deliver \$900 million for the United Nations — you have to work with him," said a senior Republican leadership aide.

Shaken by an aborted attempt to strip him of his post last summer, Gingrich has become less and less willing to get far out in front of rank and file Republicans on foreign policy issues, GOP aides said. But the administration keeps looking to the speaker to make unpopular concessions, as a last-gasp visit by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin to Gingrich's office revealed. Moreover, aides complain that Albright still believes that she can deal with Congress the same way that administrations did when she was on Muskie's Senate staff. "She thinks that all you have to do is convince the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and he and his staffers will pull everything through," said an aide who has known Albright for many years.

Just as important, staffers said, is that while Albright has sometimes been effective in gaining backing on Capitol Hill, she has not received sufficient support from her subordinates. As an example, a leadership aide complained that he has not had a discussion with Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative Affairs Barbara Larkin in months. Larkin did not return phone calls seeking comment. "This administration keeps Congress out of the loop as much as any administration I've seen," the aide said in frustration. In fact, in a September meeting, key lawmakers and foreign policy aides upbraided Albright and Larkin for their failure to

communicate regularly with Capitol Hill. "It was a pretty humiliating encounter," said one participant.

Hill aides complain that the State Department Legislative Affairs Bureau is rarely staffed by high-caliber talent, consisting, as one aide put it, largely of "castoff political supporters, second-rate Foreign Service officers and third-tier former Hill aides." By contrast, they say that USAID and USIA have been more effective by relying on career Civil Servants. But even with the best talent, the interaction between congressional staffers and the foreign policy bureaucracy is complex: Both sides share a commitment to the nation's security, but they clash over partisan political issues and constitutional principles.

A former Foreign Service officer and congressional staffer noted the "fear and loathing" of Hill staffers by the U.S. diplomatic corps. "They fear [staffers] in D.C. because [FSOs] are afraid they will be cut down to size, and they loathe [staffers] overseas when they show up at embassies," he said. Staffers say that this type of FSO reaction is defensiveness from a "protected class," as an aide put it. There is also a natural clash of interests built into the relationship. "Staffers want to see juicy things and the embassy wants to head them off — so there's inevitably a tension," the retired diplomat said.

But seasoned administration officials know that if they want to get their foreign policy goals accomplished, they need to include staff members and their bosses as much as possible in their deliberations. "If staffers are visiting a post, bring them to the best meetings or encourage them to give a speech on behalf of the U.S. government and they will be behind you forever," a veteran State Department official says. "Staffers can be your best friend or your worst enemy." ■

HOW CONGRESS VIEWS FSOs



HERSCH HERMAN

W

CLASHING CULTURES,
VARIED CONSTITUENCIES
MEAN MISUNDERSTANDINGS

By Marguerite Cooper

While Congress and the Foreign Service have never been buddies, their historically tense relationship has become more adversarial in recent years, with Congress putting the foreign affairs agencies through the wringer with deep budget cuts, forced consolidation of agencies and employee layoffs.

Why such a clash? A large part of the reason is that Congress and the Foreign Service have differing world views. The Foreign Service focuses on how foreign governments and international organizations can help or harm U.S. national interests, while Congress looks to the interests of supporters and constituents at home. Both

F O C U S

The Foreign Service focuses on how foreign governments and international organizations affect U.S. national interests; Congress looks to the interests of supporters and constituents.

are legitimate views and both need to be integrated into United States foreign policy.

I learned the critical importance of a domestic constituency when I worked with Madeleine Albright in 1988 on Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis' campaign. Albright was then the campaign's senior foreign policy advisor. At one point I gave her a list of foreign ambassadors who had requested appointments with her. Running off to a meeting on the Hill, she responded, "Marguerite, what can you be thinking of? There is no time now. Remember, foreigners don't vote." Her priorities, not mine, were right on target.

But it was in 1957, when I was just out of college and a newly minted FSO, that I witnessed the clashing cultures of the Foreign Service and politicians first hand. John Rooney, Democratic representative from New York and chairman of the House Appropriations Committee subcommittee that controlled the purse strings for the Department of State, routinely ran proud and able assistant secretaries down a gauntlet of loaded questions, moral indignation and ridicule. After a savage grilling on the budgetary merits of "executive" vs. "ordinary" desks and wastebaskets, my boss, Tom Estes, deputy assistant secretary for operations, returned from the Hill red-faced. The chairman, it was rumored, was settling scores because he and his wife had been snubbed by some of their Foreign Service neighbors in Georgetown.

To get a better feel for the nature and sources of friction and how to improve the relationship between the Department of State and Capitol Hill, this sum-

Marguerite Cooper specialized in South Asia and political-military affairs as a Foreign Service officer. She retired in 1987 and worked in the Dukakis and Clinton presidential campaigns, as well as in congressional races in Florida, New Jersey, Virginia and California.

mer I interviewed Foreign Service employees recently returned from a year on the Hill as Pearson Fellows, senior staff on international relations and appropriation committees and a Democratic and a Republican representative. The differences in world view, priorities and ways of handling similar subject matter will, no doubt, continue to divide the State Department and Congress. Still, State employees need to do a better job of understanding and addressing members of Congress' legitimate needs as the public's elected representatives. At the least, Foreign Service professionals can reduce the friction caused by these differences by using their diplomatic skills when dealing with sometimes testy legislators and their staffs.

Politicians whose firsthand contact with individual Foreign Service employees has been limited share many of the public's stereotypes about diplomats: Foreign Service professionals are bright, well-educated, but cautious to a fault; aloof and disdainful of the public's values and concerns. Some critics on the Hill would add that Foreign Service employees are arrogant, secretive, ponderous and effete. Hill staffers repeatedly told me about their frustration in trying to get useful and timely information from the Department of State. They feel that State employees treat members of Congress and their staffs as though Congress were meddling illegitimately in affairs of State, as though its interest was a bothersome complication, not a legitimate pursuit. No wonder Secretary Albright's promise to "tell it like it is," has been so warmly received on the Hill.

People I interviewed faulted assistant secretaries testifying before congressional committees for dull, totally scripted presentations, less designed to provide information than to withhold it. To politicians, these

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State spokespersons show a troubling inability to estimate the cost of proposed policies. One source told me that when asked about costs of policies, an unnamed assistant secretary of State appearing before the House International Relations Committee, replied, "I'm a diplomat, not a money man." So long as Foreign Service representatives convey an attitude of moral and intellectual superiority, they will prompt congressional resentment and reprisal.

According to Hill staffers, even deputy assistant secretaries and office directors seem reluctant to answer inquiries over the phone, apparently because they are afraid they might get in trouble with the secretary of State or the Bureau of Legislative Affairs. State's written responses are time-consuming and disappointingly vague. A Hill staffer recalled inquiring about a large increase in military assistance to one country and receiving this reply from the legislative bureau at State: "It was deemed to be in the U.S. interest." Period. Clearly, improved, more persuasive communications are needed from the top down.

Negative stereotypes about the Foreign Service can be erased with experience and familiarity. The Pearson Fellows who spent a year working in congressional offices reported that they were respected for their subject expertise and equally appreciated for their ability to bridge an information gap with State. "We knew which office to call to get the information needed (by the member) right away," more than one Fellow told me.

When politicians visit our posts abroad they see Foreign Service employees as real people and policies as less one-dimensional and less likely to be amenable to unilateral U.S. action. Last year's congressional delegation visit to China was cited by a recent Pearson Fellow as a good learning experience for members of Congress critical of China's human rights record and the nuclear agreement with North Korea.

To get beyond stereotypes of politicians, to learn about their culture and environment, Foreign Service professionals should look more closely at the legislators who make up the United States Senate and House of Representatives.

More than half have been elected since the 1991 dissolution of the Soviet Union. These post-Cold War legislators are younger and less experienced than their predecessors in foreign affairs. Their prior occupational experience includes the law (225 members), business or banking (214 members), public service (126 members) and education (87 members). Sixty-five per cent have advanced academic degrees. Legislative assistants and professional committee staff are also experts in their fields, and as such, often speak and negotiate for their bosses. Both legislators and their staffs believe they are serving the public interest and will respond positively to being treated with respect.

The Constitution gives Congress important powers in foreign affairs, beginning with the Senate's ratification of treaties and consent to senior appointments and including the House of Representatives' oversight role. Howard Berman, ranking Democrat on the House International Relations Committee, once emphasized the importance he attached to the House's oversight function. However, aside from those members who sit on the 35 committees and subcommittees in the Senate and 68 committees and subcommittees in the House of Representatives that deal with authorization for or funding of foreign affairs, few legislators on Capitol Hill feel they have the time or resources to devote to the serious consideration of these issues.

Most members' world views are based firmly on their home district or state. Many return home weekends to look after local interests and their political support network, to attend fundraisers and to seek media coverage. A member's world is peopled by the audiences at local chambers of commerce, senior citizen centers, PTAs, Kiwanis Clubs, church socials, American Legions, the Sierra Club, the Farm Bureau, and constituents' bar mitzvahs, weddings and funerals. Foreign affairs is not at the top of constituents' concerns and constituents' concerns are what drives Congress.

However, special interests often influence Congress' foreign policy initiatives. Pleas for visas and

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Politicians share many of the public's stereotypes about diplomats: FSOs are bright, well-educated, but cautious to a fault; aloof and disdainful of the public's values and concerns.

refugee status for family members, trade opportunities for importers and exporters and the causes of environmentalists, human rights and pro-life activists and trade union concerns are all issues that interest members' constituents. After one of Clinton's early campaign speeches extolled free trade as necessary for U.S. global competitiveness, Senator Ernest Hollings, Democrat of South Carolina, spoke out. Textile quotas, allowed the senator, were necessary to protect local jobs.

Another source of constituent pressure are large American ethnic, religious and racial populations, hoping for policies in support of their homelands. For example, Greece, Armenia, the countries of Eastern Europe, Cuba, China and Israel are all the beneficiaries of organizations composed of Americans ready to lobby Congress on their behalf.

State needs to be more aware of constituent pressures on legislators, be respectful of divergent views and recognize public attitudes and values, such as the American public's opposition to South Africa's apartheid regime. Every desk and action officer at State should be briefed on congressional members who cover their areas of responsibility, including the members' voting record on national security issues, and the members' district or state socio-economic demographics and special interests, including trade. Legislative knowledge and legislative strategies should be an integral part of the policy-formulating process.

However, there are limits to the role that public opinion plays in formulating foreign policy. Congressional and constituent ideas sometimes diverge on national security issues. Bills brought before Congress in 1993 to expand aid to Russia succeeded despite public opposition.

Peacekeeping missions throughout the world became increasingly unpopular in Congress despite strong public support. Well-organized, well-funded and assertive special interest groups can often exert great influence over legislators who worry about these lobbying groups' clout.

I was disappointed to learn in my work on presidential campaigns in 1988 and 1992 that the only international issues the campaign strategists considered of general interest were Russia, the Middle East, South Africa, defense, trade and the global environment. And in reality, only the media, special interest groups and students doing term papers were interested in the campaign position papers on these issues.

Foreign Service professionals also need to understand other aspects of the political culture: lively, sometimes brutal competition for influence and status; party loyalty and partisanship; the money chase for election expenses; the symbiotic relationship with the media. Few things so irritate a member, I was told, than to learn about crises or administration proposals from the press and then be faced with an unanticipated demand for on-the-spot comment about a possibly controversial matter. Timely consultations by senior State officers with leaders of key committees, especially on headline issues, should be an essential element of improved relations with Congress.

Politicians value "openness" and court news stories and public discussion of issues as a means of remaining accountable to their constituents. Press coverage and media attention also convey power and are necessary to get reelected. However, the media's preference for conflict over agreement sometimes skews coverage of public issues. Senator

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Gramm's September 1995 reference to "marble palaces" in the State Department's budget is a good illustration of politicians' battle for media attention and the press's interest in conflict. The senator, chairman of State's appropriations subcommittee, was looking for an issue to show his commitment to a balanced budget. He derided the State Department's expenses, and was quoted in *The Washington Post*: "... the American people are more interested in law enforcement and fighting drugs than in building marble palaces and renting long coats and high hats." The issue dropped from the *Post*'s pages only after Ambassador Bob Frasure's widow countered with a litany of diplomats' sacrifice under fire.

In contrast, State works in a world of conflict avoidance, seeking the cooperation of friendly governments away from the glare of media lights. Anonymity is also part of the State culture, as career

Foreign service personnel scrupulously avoid the appearance of self-promotion. Senior officials, including secretaries of State, often have insisted on anonymity with the press. Partisanship and political loyalty are other parts of the politicians' culture that are alien, or at least uncomfortable, to many career Foreign Service officers.

The lack of timely information is also an irritating factor in executive-legislative relations. For example, when Foreign Service personnel at Embassy Harare briefed a congressional delegation in the spring of 1997 and included a history of Zimbabwe, they left little time to discuss more current issues of concern to the visiting members. State witnesses whose oral testimony repeats verbatim the written version have missed an opportunity at persuasion and they provoke frustration and resentment. When State takes days to respond to a member's inquiry, the opportunity for a publicity-directed initiative is lost or proceeds in a more adversarial spirit. Often

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State responses start with a sea of supporting details rather than crisp conclusions.

The essential controversy is at what point in policy formulation should Congress be brought in? Does State consult or notify Congress? By the time Foreign Service professionals have negotiated with competing interests in State bureaus, other executive agencies and friendly governments, there is little wiggle room left to accommodate changes Congress might want. However, the Hill would like State to negotiate with Congress first, then go to other governments. Congress does not appreciate the difficulty of then being unable to accommodate foreign governments' interests.

State and the Hill clash over other procedural issues as well. The Foreign Service condemns Congress' tendency to assign a legislative solution — sanctions, reprisals, embargoes — to every problem. Aggravating the situation is the Hill's

method of compromise and pressure. For example, the way members of Congress do each other political favors, such as trading a vote for a park in exchange for a bridge and holding up paying arrears in U.N. dues until an abortion issue is solved. Neither promotes good domestic or foreign policy. Congress is also faulted by State for having very short time horizons, usually to the next election, that preclude long-term solutions often necessary for complex problems. Members, reflecting their constituents views, claim that Americans want immediate relief and have short memories.

The tug of war for control of foreign policy, the struggle for partisan advantage and different media goals will not go away. However, there are some things State can do to reduce friction, using its skills in diplomacy to promote better relations with Congress. As an institution and in every office, we must "think congressional" and integrate public relations into our daily routines. ■



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THE FOREIGN SERVICE
FAILS TO UNDERSTAND
CAPITOL HILL CULTURE

By William Seth Shepard

he Department of State and its professional Foreign Service pride themselves in understanding exotic cultures. Over the centuries they have dealt with monarchies, empires, tyrannies and democracies, all speaking a cacophony of languages.

Another culture just a few miles from the Department of State itself rivals all those overseas in difficulty of understanding. That culture is Capitol Hill, and to deal with it, the Department of State in 1949 established the Bureau of Legislative Affairs (the "H Bureau"), with Dean Acheson as its first assistant secretary. From Acheson through the present assistant secretary, Barbara Larkin, there have been 24 assistant secretaries, just

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Mirroring the distrust with which Capitol Hill is often viewed by State, the legislative bureau is not seen by the Foreign Service as a good place to work toward a promotion.

five of them career Foreign Service officers, the other 19 political appointees.

Despite the fact that officers in the legislative bureau enjoy their sometimes hectic assignments and their exposure to principal players in the Department, its job opportunities are not sought out by FSOs. In last year's bidding cycle — the time when Foreign Service personnel jockey for new jobs — two FS-1 legislative management, or LMO positions, attracted just 12 and 17 bids, respectively, while two lower level FS-3 staff assistant jobs got a total of just 21 bidders. Mirroring the distrust with which Capitol Hill is often viewed by State, the legislative bureau is not seen by the Foreign Service as a good place to work toward a promotion.

Foreign Service personnel fail to understand the importance of good liaison work with Capitol Hill. Inadvertent proof of this was recently provided in the *Foreign Service Journal's* October, 1997 article by Teresita Schaffer, a former director of the Foreign Service Institute. The article, "Training Tomorrow's Diplomats," mentions virtually every career specialty open to FSOs, "from environment to economics, from managing to computing." However, it fails to mention the importance of Congress or training to deal with the nation's most important legislative body, although one important training opportunity, the Congressional Fellowship program, is funded by FSI.

Critics both inside and outside State recognize that something is seriously amiss. Having worked on the Hill on a Congressional Fellowship as national security advisor to Sen. Bob Dole (R-Kan.) and later as director of congressional affairs at the Arms Control

and Disarmament Agency, I take the importance of good relations between State and the Hill as a given. The question is how to improve communication between the two, which is often perceived as too little, too late.

The Bureau of Legislative Affairs is one of the smaller bureaus at State. At full complement it would have 52 people on board, including technical and secretarial support. At 46 people, it is now understaffed. A total of 11 Foreign Service officers work in the office, plus half-a-dozen political appointees, including Assistant Secretary Larkin. Specialized offices within the bureau handle the press of business peculiar to the Hill, including the nominations process and congressional travel.

In many respects, the heart of the legislative bureau's operation is the Legislative Management Office, where 18 legislative management officers monitor issues of interest to the bureau, the secretary and assistant secretaries of State, and each regional and functional bureau in the Department. Just six of these 18 LMOs are Foreign Service officers, the remaining 12 are Civil Service employees. Although the imbalance reflects a need for continuity in dealing with the Hill, clearly more FSOs are needed in these positions for communications between State and the Hill to be effective. These legislative management positions are mainly at the FS-1 level, just below the Senior Foreign Service. Not one position is currently held by a Foreign Service officer who has worked on the Hill in one of the two programs funded by the State Department: the Pearson Program and the Congressional Fellowship Program. Indeed, in all of the legislative affairs bureau there is currently just one former Congressional Fellow and one former Pearson Fellow. Clearly the State Department is failing to maximize its investment in these programs.

William Seth Shepard retired from the Foreign Service in 1985, after serving as consul general in Bordeaux. He was director of congressional affairs for ACDA from 1987 to 1990, a political appointment, and speaks French, Greek, Hungarian and Capitol Hillese.

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As seen from the Seventh Floor, the Bureau of Legislative Affairs is the bureau that advances the congressional agenda of the president and secretary of State. Assistant Secretary Larkin and other assistant secretaries meet with Secretary Madeleine Albright on a weekly basis, and Larkin also participates in the senior staff meetings held several times weekly with the secretary, deputy secretary and under secretaries, where the congressional agenda is set and modified.

Sometimes an individual bureau's congressional priority may have to yield to an administration priority. A recent example was the Clinton Administration's full-court press for "fast track" legislative authority for trade agreements, so that they could be considered on the Hill without amendments. Some bureau priorities were sidelined in the process and inevitably the aggrieved bureau grumbled about the legislative bureau's effectiveness.

As seen from the bureaus, the legislative bureau

can impede individual bureau legislative priorities and even reflect something of the alien culture of the Hill itself. As an upshot, a number of State Department bureaus have staffed their own offices for dealing with Capitol Hill. Some of these full- or part-time arrangements are informal, while others are actual assignments. These officers liaise with the legislative bureau, in a more or less uneasy tension, with bureau offices used by the Hill as a source of supplementary information from the State Department.

Capitol Hill sees the legislative bureau as the manager of the relationship between State and the Hill and the place to go for a fully cleared, official position. However, the Bureau of Legislative Affairs is itself sometimes behind the curve. This has been the case when the president decided on a fast-breaking policy option brokered by the National Security Council. Then the NSC Office of Legislative Affairs, not State's H Bureau, was the



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place to go for information. Some Hill offices now look routinely to the NSC, rather than to State's legislative affairs bureau for foreign affairs briefings.

An example of the changing pace of news was the president's decision to announce American adherence to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty before the United Nations last fall. There was so short notice of the treaty that when officers from the Bureau of Legislative Affairs offered briefings of what was then breaking news, congressional offices replied that they could watch the news unfold in a few minutes on CNN instead.

Within the State Department, the Bureau of Legislative Affairs has the authority to task other offices for answers when an authoritative statement is needed. On the other hand, often what a Hill staffer needs is a quick substantive fix for Senator X or Representative Y. When that happens, Hill staffers are disposed to call a bureau office director directly, through the bureau liaison representative. "LMOs are great when you want

State's position on an issue, but when you want an informal, quick policy fix, they are for people who don't have State's phone directory," said one Hill staffer, who asked not to be named, explaining why and when he went directly to a bureau representative.

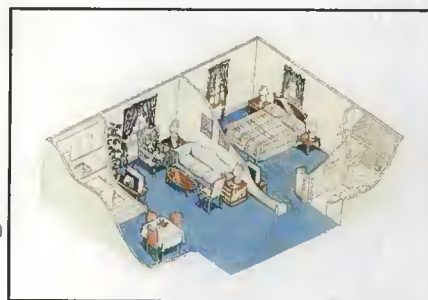
Short on resources, the Bureau of Legislative Affairs is often seen on Capitol Hill as lacking an overall strategic plan. On the Hill, thoughtful staffers sympathize with the bureau's strained resources and the need to present the official State position. They plead, however, for some understanding of Capitol Hill's legitimate interest and constitutional responsibilities in the field of foreign policy. They also point out that too often State employees approach them at the last minute, in a vote-counting effort, rather than early in the legislative process when development of a congressional constituency for a foreign policy issue should be started.

They also say that State Department legislative staffers' most frequently asked question is, "Are you

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with us on this issue?" If the legislative bureau took more pains to brief members of Congress on key evolving issues, there would be a greater reservoir of Hill support for State. Indeed, the examples of State officials who have done well on the Hill, such as former Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke and the late Ambassador Townsend Friedman, are cited for their practice of seeking opportunities to come by and brief members of Congress, keeping them generally advised of fast-breaking developments in their areas of concern.

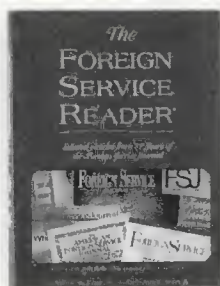
Strategic planning and briefing are a key to effective congressional relations. At ACDA, I was responsible for developing strategy for ushering through the Senate the 1987 INF (Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces) agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union on reducing nuclear arms. Sitting down, in turn, with a conservative and then a liberal senator, each retired, I asked

them how the INF treaty could be defeated. Their scenarios were remarkably similar. With their answers in mind, I was able to build a winning strategy, building coalitions in the Senate, while at the same time, running a legislative task force at ACDA that responded to more than 1,000 inquiries from senators and conducted dozens of briefings.

Much more of this strategic briefing is required if State is to develop consistent success with Capitol Hill. The legislative bureau does get high marks from many in the foreign policy authorization and budget offices on Capitol Hill. But senators and representatives who are influential members of Congress but not connected with foreign policy committees also should be sought out and briefed in order to build a foreign affairs constituency on Capitol Hill.

The Hill has its own jargon and language and that is the language of the budget, appropriations and authorization process. Like any language taught at FSI, it can be mastered over time and with practice. State

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would not generally think of proposing a career nominee who had not learned that country's language for a difficult ambassadorial post. That is part of the professionalism of the Foreign Service. Neither does it make sense to assign a Foreign Service officer to a senior position in the Bureau of Legislative Affairs — let alone to the position of assistant secretary — who had not mastered the Hill's language. That may be why 19 of the 24 legislative assistant secretaries since 1949 have been political appointees, many having a working political background.

However, many career FSOs prefer to leave legislative affairs in political hands. It cannot be an easy matter for a career ambassador to espouse the executive branch political agenda on the Hill, when in a successor administration, the same career person might have to argue a different point of view. These differences may set limits on the extent to which any ambassador will wish to become identified with the political agenda.

More than political leadership is needed to understand and promote State's agenda on the Hill. Foreign Service officers need to be trained to speak Congress's language if they are to represent our foreign policy interests effectively. In fact, FSOs are trained via the Pearson and Congressional Fellowship programs, but State then fails to use their training to advantage. Pearson Fellows spend a year on Capitol Hill working in a congressional office. Congressional Fellows have training at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, followed by service in both the Senate and House of Representatives. There are ten such fellowships available each year, generally at the FS-2 level, through the assignments process. Historically, five were for Congressional Fellows and five were Pearsons. However, State's recent budget crunch brought with it a reduction in funding congressional fellowships, each of which, in addition to the salaries of the officers selected, costs State \$6,200 for

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F O C U S

academic training, funded through allocations to FSI. As a consequence, State has gradually lowered the number of congressional fellowships available while increasing the number of Pearsons. In 1996-97, there were no Congressional Fellows. In a modest upswing, there are two for the current academic year.

No program now exists for tracking former Pearson or Congressional Fellows, and there are no tie-ins of the fellowships to onward assignments. The result is that any knowledge or expertise gained on the Hill during the fellowship year is personal to the officer and does not accrue to the benefit of the department. This is a waste that State can no longer afford. Good people with practical congressional training are not being used where their services are badly needed.

There is no instant remedy for the legislative bureau's heavy workload or easy palliative for the way that it is viewed on the Hill or within

the Department. It is important to realize that there will always be tensions between State and the Hill and that the relationship must be managed properly, not solved. To do that, our best people must be trained and engaged.

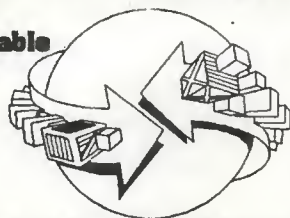
□ First, the Bureau of Legislative Affairs must become the authority on all foreign affairs matters and the primary resource for Capitol Hill. National security issues are the province of the NSC Office of Legislative Affairs. Undercutting the State Department's legislative bureau is not. If there is a mini-rivalry between these offices, it should be ended.

□ Second, Foreign Service officers who have held Pearson or Congressional Fellowships should be tracked for later service at senior levels in the Legislative Affairs Bureau. At present, the senior deputy assistant secretary is a career Foreign Service officer, and the last incumbent has been picked for an ambassadorship. Further visible rewards will give the



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F O C U S

message that the legislative bureau is a promotion-track assignment, thus enlarging the pool of experienced senior FSOs who speak the Hill's language.

□ Third, restore the Pearson and Congressional Fellowships to parity by restoring funding for training at Johns Hopkins. There is no substitute for learning the Hill's authorization and budget language and no better way to learn it than through this program. Cutting it was false economy, the equivalent of not having an entering Junior Officer class.

□ Fourth, assignments for the Pearson and Congressional Fellows programs should be tied in to immediate onward assignment to the legislative bureau. Why not follow a one-year fellowship program with an assignment as a legislative management officer in the Bureau of Legislative Affairs? That would eliminate the learning curve for LMOs without hands-on Hill experience. Graduates of the fellowship programs who did not find legislative bureau assignments might be available to brief key senators

and representatives in a pro-active way, under the assistant secretary's direction.

□ Fifth, the promotion boards should look for mention of an officer's skills in congressional relations. That could be helpful in attracting good officers and dispelling the view that jobs in the legislative bureau do not lead to promotions.

□ Finally, the legislative bureau itself must realize that it has to do a selling job within the State Department in order to improve its image. The bureau should begin by practicing the openness that other bureaus value by candidly setting forth the secretary of State's legislative priorities. After that the legislative bureau should improve two-way communication between State and Capitol Hill. If that can be done, the bureau will have gone a long way towards ameliorating its current status as State's most beleaguered office and Foreign Service officers who are trained to speak and interpret the language of the Hill will contribute to both a more effective bureau and a more informed Congress. ■

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LONG-DISTANCE DIPLOMACY

A DISTANT PLEA IN A BOTTLE FINALLY REACHES THE CONSUL

BY ROBERT E. FUERST

Today when American citizens find themselves stranded on foreign shores, they can pick up the phone and call the closest American consulate, where a consular officer can help with tickets home, subsistence allowances and a pat on the back. But in the 19th century, contacting a country's embassy or consulate for help was more difficult.

On Jan. 17, 1876, the *Peti Dubrovacki*, an Austrian ship, wrecked on the shores of St. Kilda, a remote island group in the Northern Hebrides, 40 miles northwest of Scotland, on the same latitude as Juneau, Alaska. The captain and eight of the crew members made it to shore, where the St. Kildans, who numbered fewer than 40 at the time, took them in.

The residents of the small islands had been without contact with the outside world for thousands of years, living on local livestock, a few crops and wild birds and their eggs. Life there was rugged, only for the hardy. "Nobody born in other parts of the world will choose this country for his residence," wrote British writer Samuel Johnson in his 1775 book about the Hebrides, *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*.

St. Kilda's inhabitants grew a few potatoes and oats and raised sheep and cattle for milk. They relied most heavily for sustenance, however, on Europe's

largest colony of gannets, birds who live in towering cliffs on the islands. At a young age, boys were taught to go to the cliffs in darkness, cover themselves in white and lower themselves by rope to the ledges where the birds lived. Once there, they waited for dawn, when the birds would return to the ledges and, confusing the white-camouflaged islanders with guano, which they seek, would try to land on them. This enabled the human decoys to capture the gannets and their eggs. For years, this ruse provided the St. Kildans with food for their meals, but the burden of feeding an additional nine people from the shipwreck would be almost impossible.

For a year, the islanders tried to care for the survivors. The islands' minister took in three crew members and the remaining six were rotated among other households, as the residents shared what little they had. "I saw a man take a jacket out of the box into which it had been carefully folded, and with a look of genuine pity, gave it to the mate to wear during his stay, as the young man sat shivering in his oilskins," said John Sands, who would play a major role in the life of the island, but who is described simply as a temporary resident by writer Tom Steel in his modern account, *The Life and Death of St. Kilda*.

After a year, when food supplies were dwindling to alarmingly low amounts, the islanders became desperate. Their remoteness meant they had no way to contact the outside world, except through the odd traveller or shipwrecked crew. John Sands realized that the islanders needed help, and it was he who invented the means to get it for them.

Robert E. Fuerst is a retired Air Force pilot who likes to travel to remote islands.

With the help of the shipwrecked crew, Sands constructed the island's first "mail boat." He hollowed a log, making it into a small wooden boat into which he placed a pickle bottle containing a letter to the Austrian consul in Glasgow, along with money for postage so that whoever found the bottle could mail it. The letter requested the consul's assistance for the shipwrecked crew.

Not sure that this first design would work, Sands and the sailors immediately started work on another mail boat. This time they used a life preserver rescued from the sunken ship as their "mail boat." Putting another message to the Austrian consul in a bottle, they tied it to the life preserver, attached a small sail and threw it into the sea on Jan. 30, 1877. For insurance, they also decided to launch their first design. Sands wrote "open this" on the small boat, added a sail and on Feb. 5, when the wind was blowing from the northwest, put it out to sea.

The first boat arrived in Birsay in the Orkneys, another island group off northern Scotland, on Feb. 8, nine days after being thrown into the sea. Its message was forwarded to an agent for Lloyd's of London, the world-wide insurance company, in Stromness, Scotland, and from there was dispatched to the Austrian consul in Glasgow. On Feb. 27, the second message was found by local resident John Mackenzie on a sandbank in Pooleve in Ross-shire, Scotland.

Eventually, both messages announcing the survival of the Austrian crew members reached Glasgow and the Austrian consul, who took quick action. The *HMS Jackal*, a British ship, was sent to St. Kilda, where the nine crew members and John Sands, the temporary visitor, were waiting to be taken back to the mainland.

But that was not the end of "mail boats" on the island. Having once been able to reach the outside world, the islanders continued to use Sands' invention and launched regular St. Kilda "mailboats." These boats consisted of pieces of driftwood shaped like toy boats with the centers hewn out so that they could hold small bottles. Inside the bottles were letters and pennies for stamps. The bottle mouths were covered to waterproof them, then sealed with pitch over wooden hatches. Burnt on top of the hatches with a hot wire were the words "please open." Attached to the "mail boats" were floats made of inflated sheep bladders, as well as small red flags to attract attention.

The "mail boats" generally reached shore on one of the Orkney Islands or on the west coast of Scotland — sometimes even Norway's shore. As a rule, whoever found the bottle opened it and mailed the letter, with more than two-thirds of the letters reaching their final destinations.

Although official mail service to the island was established in 1895, it only operated six times a year for 3 months, between June and August, so the islanders continued to use the locally-made boats. In 1899 a post office was opened on the island, but many residents continued to send mail unofficially via steamers, with travellers and, of course, via the home-made "mail boats."

In the early 1900s, the islanders again had to send out a cry for help from their remote island to solve a desperate situation, though this time the residents themselves were in need of assistance. During a 1912 influenza epidemic, all the islanders became ill and unable to gather food, which left them weak and starving. A traveller to the island brought the news to the mainland and a cruiser, the *HMS Active*,

was dispatched to the island carrying two nurses, medical supplies and food. Following this incident, the British government tried to evacuate the islanders, but they refused.

During World War I, a British naval base was established on St. Kilda, bringing with it outside income and food. After the war, the population thinned as young St. Kildans moved to the mainland looking for opportunities and older ones died.

From 1920 to 1928, the total number of inhabitants dropped from 73 to 37, as crops failed and famine set in. In 1930, a resident, Mary Gilles, became ill with appendicitis and even though a passing traveller took a plea for medical aid to the mainland and a boat was sent to take her to a hospital in Glasgow, she died. Her death convinced the islanders that their way of life was no longer viable. They planted no crops that year and asked the British government to find them jobs and homes in mainland Scotland. In August, 1930, they took their few remaining head of sheep and cattle and evacuated the island.

The "mail boats" of St. Kilda have also vanished, along with the islanders' way of life. ■

*Whoever found the
bottle opened it and
mailed the letter, with
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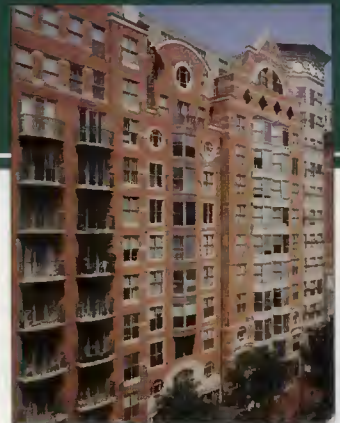
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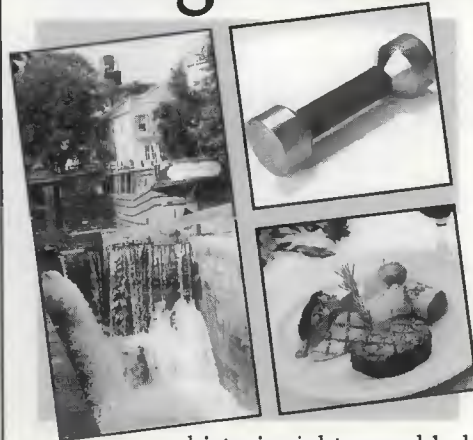


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BOOKS

ARE PARTNERSHIP DREAMS DEAD?

The Pan-American Dream: Do Latin America's Cultural Values Discourage True Partnership with the United States and Canada?

Lawrence E. Harrison, Basic Books, 1997, hardcover, \$25, 288 pages.

BY CAROLINE V. MEIRS

The United States has led several hemispheric initiatives, from Franklin Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy and John F. Kennedy's Alliance for Progress to Bill Clinton's Partnership for Development and Prosperity, which was joined by 34 nations from North and South America in 1994. Yet none of these programs has succeeded in forming sound and enduring partnerships between the United States and Latin America.

Lawrence Harrison, a former USAID mission director in five Latin American countries, believes that neither lack of political will nor economic factors can fully explain why these efforts and, more recently, the North American Free Trade Agreement, have stumbled. Instead, he believes that true partnership has been hindered by differing cultural values, attitudes and behavior, and consequently that there are different patterns of development that separate the United States from the countries of Latin America. In contrast, he holds up the "siblings, not twins"

relationship between the United States and Canada as a model for hemispheric cooperation.

In Harrison's view, ineffective policies, weak institutions, and slow development in Latin America are the result of its Ibero-Catholic cultural heritage. He believes that heritage is "progress resistant" because it focuses on "the present and the past at the expense of the future...the individual and the family at the expense of the broader society; it nurtures authoritarianism; it propagates a flexible ethical code; it enshrines orthodoxy, and it is disdainful of work, creativity, and saving." In contrast, he attributes the success of the partnerships between the United States and Canada to their "progress prone" Anglo-Protestant values, attitudes and institutions.

Harrison cites prominent Latin American intellectuals, such as the late Venezuelan Carlos Rangel, in support of his thesis. From the 1960s to the 1980s, many academics in North and South America and Europe blamed "dependency" for Latin America's slow progress. According to this theory, the United States and other industrialized nations purchased Latin American raw materials at low prices, exported manufactured goods to Latin America at high prices, made large profits and collaborated with oppressive governments in the exploitation of their people. Proponents of dependency theory are, he argues, largely responsible for the anti-U.S. attitudes which until recently hindered partnership and trade and led to inward-looking eco-

nomic policies that have held Latin America back.

Harrison offers a compelling argument to refute economists who believe that an economic environment that encourages creativity, entrepreneurship and production leads to prosperity in any culture. He points out that different ethnic groups in some societies — including our own — all receive the same economic signals, but some, like the Chinese, tend to be the highest achievers, while others are among the lowest achievers. In analyzing why Chile has progressed more rapidly than her neighbors, for example, he cites the "disproportionate impact of non-Hispanic European and other immigrants on Chile's industrialization and export surge."

Harrison identifies corruption and drug trafficking as additional major obstacles to North-South partnership. His view that these factors undermine true economic growth and democratic institutions in Latin America and threaten our own society is not a new one, but he is right to include it in his analysis.

The book has one especially glaring omission: the proclivity of the United States to make ringing pronouncements on hemispheric relations, but then fail to follow through with adequate and consistent resources, effective programs and consultations. Harrison would have served readers better if he had been more evenhanded in assigning blame for failure of these hemispheric programs.

Harrison does not ignore the role of economic and political factors in development, and he succeeds in arguing that cultural phenomena must be taken into account if development policies are to be effective. But his patronizing tone and cultural explanations are provocative and difficult to accept in a political climate that celebrates diversity. If his arguments are carried so far as to undermine mutual respect, the "Pan American Dream" will never become a reality.

Caroline V. Meirs, a retired FSO, served with USIA in Germany, Italy, Finland, Peru and Colombia.

LEAVING CAN THO: A VIETNAM MEMOIR

Escape With Honor: My Last Hours In Vietnam

Francis Terry McNamara, Brassey's, Inc., 1997, hardcover, \$21.95, 224 pages.

BY ROBERT H. MILLER

Every American who served in Vietnam has a tale to tell about his or her experiences there, but very few such tales get recorded, and even fewer Foreign Service officers get a chance to tell gripping war stories.

Francis Terry McNamara, who served as U.S. consul general in Can Tho, Vietnam from September 1974 to April 1975, has written just such a dramatic account of his escape from that city in the Mekong Delta, on April 29, 1975, as North Vietnamese forces completed their conquest of South Vietnam.

When McNamara, who also served on several provincial advisory teams from 1969 to 1970, as principal officer in Danang from 1970 to 1971 and as ambassador to Gabon from 1981 to 1984, realized that there would not be

enough aircraft to lift the Vietnamese and American staff of the consulate from the hands of the encroaching North Vietnamese, he struggled to convince American officials to let him rescue his staff by boat. When Embassy officials in Saigon finally agreed to the boat evacuation, it was with one caveat: There would be no U.S. military protection. That didn't deter McNamara, who boarded 300 Americans, Vietnamese employees and their families aboard two old World War II amphibious navy ships and set off down the Bassac River.

Most of the story is that of the dangerous and nerve-racking trip down the river and finally out to sea with McNamara, a nervous but gutsy ex-naval officer whose experience in jockeying ships was rusty, at the helm. All the while, McNamara feels responsible for the safety of his passengers and for his decision to risk their lives on a trip down the river, where they float, vulnerable, through enemy territory. In that downriver journey, McNamara and his charges are fired on from shore by Viet Cong attackers, briefly blocked by South Vietnamese naval units and soaked by monsoon rains. When they finally reach open sea they are rescued by a U.S. government cargo ship, part of an effort to rescue thousands of Vietnamese escaping the communist victors.

Like most tales of derring-do, McNamara's account has both good guys and bad guys. It is laced with the author's opinions about the Vietnam War and the performance of both American and South Vietnamese officials under stressful circumstances. He supported U.S. policy, but notes that growing opposition at home made the situation untenable. Still, McNamara has not written about policy or geopolitics and he doesn't fall into the trap of arguing how the war might have been won "if they had only listened to me." Instead, his is an absorbing human tale about Americans sent to a far-off land

by the United States to do a job that they believed in.

By talking with British diplomatic colleague Adrian Hill and others, McNamara reconstructed conversations, which enables him to recount his tale with immediacy and color. He tells of guts as well as honor, of danger as well as heartbreak, of tension and discord within the official American establishment under the terrible pressures of the final collapse of the American effort of over two decades in South Vietnam.

McNamara's account captures the sights and smells of the Mekong Delta amid the tensions of war. He skillfully weaves in background events leading up to the evacuation: his difficulties in convincing the U.S. authorities in Saigon to allow him to evacuate his staff by water; the collapse of the Thieu government's resistance to North Vietnamese forces in the areas north of Saigon and the heart-rending and chaotic evacuations of other U.S. consulates, USAID missions and civilian operations in Hue, Danang and Nhatrang.

Inevitably, McNamara has high praise for his staff who loyally stuck by him, despite their own doubts about his decision to evacuate by sea in order to save as many Vietnamese employees and their families as possible. And he has strong criticism for those who sought to thwart him, especially the local CIA station.

Escape With Honor should be appreciated for what it is: a highly personal account of one brief moment in history, a thrilling story about the Foreign Service that deserves to be read.

Robert H. Miller, a retired FSO, served in Vietnam from 1962 to 1965, as deputy assistant secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs from 1974 to 1977 and as ambassador to Malaysia from 1977 to 1980 and to the Ivory Coast from 1983 to 1986. ■



IN MEMORY

Earl A. Ambre, 68, who retired in 1995 as retirement planning and career transition programs manager at the State Department, died of cancer Nov. 12 at his home in Phoenix, Ariz.

A graduate of St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore, Md., Mr. Ambre received a master's degree in education from Loyola University in Illinois. He was a Roman Catholic priest for 15 years before leaving the priesthood and beginning a government career in 1969. He was a volunteer for the Peace Corps in Jamaica and then worked as Eastern Caribbean education officer and as a country director in Africa. He transferred to State as a personnel management specialist in 1979.

Survivors include his wife, Joan, of Phoenix; and six sisters.



David Bronheim, 65, a senior consultant to USAID, died in a car accident Oct. 20, while on assignment near Tbilisi, Georgia.

Born in New York City, Mr. Bronheim graduated from the University of Michigan and received a law degree *cum laude* from Harvard University. He held several positions at USAID before being named deputy coordinator for the Alliance for Progress in 1966. The following year Mr. Bronheim left USAID to become a fellow at the Institute of Politics at Harvard University's John F.

Kennedy School of Government, returning to USAID as assistant administrator during the Carter administration. In the 1970s, he lived in New York City, where he was executive director of the Center for InterAmerican Relations and vice president of the Dreyfus Group.

Survivors include his companion, Mary Jane Egr of Arlington, Va.; two children, Jeffrey Bronheim of London and Elizabeth Semler of New York City; and a sister.



Dwight Dickinson III, 80, a retired FSO, died of Parkinson's disease Sept. 24 in Newport, R.I.

An Annapolis native, Mr. Dickinson graduated from Harvard University in 1940 and served in the Navy during World War II. He joined the Foreign Service in 1946 and served in Latin America, Europe and the Middle East. In 1960 he was named to the U.S. Mission to the United Nations. Two years later he became the delegation's political adviser and alternate U.S. representative on the U.S. Trusteeship Council. Mr. Dickinson served as ambassador to Togo during the early 1970s.



Parker T. Hart, 87, a retired FSO, died from a heart ailment Oct. 15 at his home in Washington, D.C.

Born in Medford, Mass., Mr. Hart graduated from Dartmouth College in 1933. He received a master's degree in diplomatic history from Harvard University and a diploma from L'Institut des Hautes Etudes Internationales in Geneva. A 1952 graduate of the National War College, Mr. Hart also studied at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service. He joined the Foreign Service in 1937 as a French translator, becoming an FSO the following year. During his 31-year career he served in Vienna and Brazil; in 1944 he opened the first U.S. consulate in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, where he served as consul general from 1949 to 1951.

In 1952, Mr. Hart was named director of State's office of Near Eastern Affairs. He was counselor of the U.S. Embassy in Cairo during the 1956 Suez War and, after serving as deputy assistant secretary for the Near East from 1959 to 1961, he began a four-year tour as ambassador to Saudi Arabia. He was ambassador to Turkey from 1965 to 1968 and assistant secretary for Near East and South Asian affairs from 1968 until his appointment as director of the Foreign Service Institute in 1969. After leaving government service in 1969, Mr. Hart was named director of the Middle East Institute in Washington, D.C., and from 1972 to 1990 was a consultant to Bechtel Corporation.

Survivors include his wife of 48 years, Jane Constance Smiley Hart; two daughters, Margaret Hart Espey of Lafayette, Calif., and Judith Hart Halsema of Karachi, Pakistan; and four grandchildren.



John William Henry, 84, a retired FSO, died of a heart ailment Oct. 30 at the Winchester Medical Center near his home in Barryville, Va.

Born in Douglas, Ariz., Mr. Henry graduated from the University of Arizona and began his career in the 1930s as a congressional aide in Washington, D.C. After joining the Foreign Service in 1940, he specialized in consular affairs and served in Managua; Lisbon; Mombasa, Kenya; Toronto, Canada; Bogota; Athens; Salzburg, Austria; Liverpool, England; Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago; Vera Cruz, Mexico, and Jakarta. After retiring in 1973, he and his wife, Edith Henry, moved to San Antonio, Texas, and later to Tucson, Ariz. Mrs. Henry died in 1983. Survivors include two children, Alice Van Lunen of Springerville, Ariz., and Helen Ueltzen of Aldie, Va.; and three grandchildren.



Rosalie E. Hoffman, 89, a retired Foreign Service secretary, died Oct. 4 in Wauwatosa, Wis., following surgery.

Following a long Foreign Service career, Ms. Hoffman lived in Washington, D.C., until 1986, when she moved to the San Camillo Retirement Home in Wauwatosa, Wis.

She is survived by her sister, Levina Newman.



Kenneth D. Hull Jr., 74, a retired FSO, died on Oct. 15 at Holy Cross Hospital in Silver Spring, Md.,

from a bone marrow disease.

Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., Mr. Hull graduated from Stanford University in 1950 and later studied international relations at George Washington University. During World War II, he served in the Army. He joined the Foreign Service in 1951, specializing in economic affairs at posts in Europe and Africa, and retiring in 1972.

Survivors include three children, Edward Luekenbach Hull of Washington, D.C., Catharine Hull Fleming and Dorothy Hull Osgood, both of Santa Fe, N.M.; a sister, Shirley Huntington of Santa Barbara, Calif.; and four grandchildren.



Stephen A. Koczak, 79, a retired FSO, died from a heart ailment Oct. 15 at his home in Washington, D.C.

Born in Trenton, N.J., Mr. Koczak graduated from Harvard University in 1942 and served with the Army in Europe during World War II. He joined the Foreign Service in 1946, serving in Hungary, West Germany and Israel. Upon retirement in 1965, Mr. Koczak became research director of the American Federation of Government Employees, a position he held until the 1980s.

Survivors include his wife of 43 years, Anna Koczak, of Washington, D.C.; three daughters, Andrea Young of Chevy Chase, Md., Christina Koczak of Rockville, Md., and Gabriela Sheppard of Dallas, Texas; and 11 grandchildren.



Douglas MacArthur II, 88, a retired FSO and four-time ambassador, died Nov. 15 at Georgetown University Hospital in Washington, D.C., after a stroke and a heart attack.

Mr. MacArthur, the nephew of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, was born in Bryn Mawr, Pa.

He was a 1932 graduate of Yale University and served as an Army officer before joining the Foreign Service in 1935. Early in his career Mr. MacArthur served in British Columbia and Italy.

As secretary of the U.S. Embassy in Vichy France, he was interned with other embassy staff in Germany until their exchange in 1944. Mr. MacArthur then served as assistant political adviser to General Dwight D. Eisenhower in London and Normandy. After the liberation of Paris, he headed the political section of the embassy there until 1948.

After a year as first secretary in Brussels, Mr. MacArthur became chief of the Western European Affairs Division and then deputy director of the European Regional Affairs Office.

From 1951 to 1953, he was political adviser to NATO military chief Eisenhower in Paris. He was State Department counselor from 1953 to 1956, ambassador to Japan from 1956 to 1961 and to Belgium from 1961 to 1965. Mr. MacArthur earned the rank of career ambassador in 1966 and went on to serve as ambassador to Austria and to Iran before retiring in 1972.

Mr. MacArthur's wife of 53 years, the former Laura Louise Barkley, died in 1987. Survivors include a daughter, Laura MacArthur of Belgium; two grandchildren; and two great-grandchildren.



Walter Louis McCaddon, 84, a retired Army lieutenant colonel and former USAID employee, died of cancer Sept. 20 at his home in Washington, D.C.

Born in Zanesville, Ohio, Col. McCaddon grew up in Washington, D.C., and graduated summa cum laude from the Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. After serving in the Army during World War II, he served as

deputy chief of the Military Assistance Advisory Group in Peru and Pakistan, as an adviser to an infantry division in Vietnam and as commander of a Green Beret Special Forces Civil Affairs company at Fort Bragg, N.C. After retirement from the military in 1966, Col. McCaddon joined USAID and worked in logistics management in Europe until 1972.

Survivors include his wife of 61 years, Maria Georgina McCaddon of Washington, D.C.; four children, Valerie McCaddon-Breem of Dunn Loring, Va., Margaret Anne Keighery of Aledo, Texas, Michael Patrick McCaddon of Chantilly, Va., and Samantha Toomey of Bryans Road, Md.; and 11 grandchildren.



Ann C. Montgomery, 58, a former FSO, died Sept. 15 of a congenital heart condition.

Ms. Montgomery was born in Norfolk, Va., and graduated from Smith College. In the early 1960s she worked on the staff of the U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Relations Committee and in the 1960s and 1970s she accompanied her FSO husband, Harry Montgomery, on assignments to Haiti, Argentina, Canada and Tunisia. In 1980 she became an FSO and served in London and Washington, D.C., before resigning in 1988 and moving to London, where she operated a relocation services business.

Survivors include two daughters, Martha Montgomery and Sarah Montgomery, both of Baltimore, Md.; two sons, David Montgomery of Baltimore and Nicholas Montgomery of London, England; her mother, Phyllis Clark of Tulsa, Okla.; a sister; a brother; and a granddaughter.



William Grant Parr, 83, a retired FSO, died Sept. 11 at

Westerly Hospital in Westerly, R.I., after a long illness.

Born in Palacios, Texas, Mr. Parr graduated from the University of Nebraska and worked at the *Lincoln Journal Star* as night editor while completing his studies. He received a master's degree in journalism from the Columbia School of Journalism in 1939. During World War II he worked as a journalist for the National Broadcasting Company in Cairo, Rome and Vienna and was a Middle East correspondent for the *New York Times*. He joined USIA in 1947 and served as public affairs officer in Damascus, Syria, and Hamburg, Germany, and as information officer in New Delhi and Dhaka, before retiring in 1970.

Survivors include his wife, Penelope Parr of Stonington, Conn.; son Stevens Parr of North Stonington, Conn.; and daughter Julia Parr of Surrey, England.



Joe Adams Robinson, 85, a retired FSO, died Oct. 5 of cardiac arrest at Goodwin House West in Falls Church, Va.

Mr. Robinson was born in Union, S.C. He received a bachelor's degree from the University of Oklahoma and a master's degree and a doctorate in economics from George Washington University. He also graduated from the Industrial College of the Armed Forces and, before joining the Foreign Service, worked for the Home Loan Bank Board and the Tariff Commission.

During his 24-year Foreign Service career, Mr. Robinson was a specialist in international economics, serving as a delegate to trade and tariff negotiations in Geneva and Paris and working in the trade agreements division at State. He retired in 1970.

Survivors include his wife of 55 years, Lenore Thomas Robinson of Goodwin House West, Falls

Church, Va.; three children, Walter Thomas Robinson of Seattle, Wash., James McGill Robinson of Buderim, Australia, and Olivita Mary "DeeDee" Rodman of Falls Church; and two grandsons.



Caroline Service, 87, wife of retired FSO John Service, died Nov. 18 in Oakland, Calif.

Born in Kansas City, Mo., Mrs. Service graduated from Oberlin College. She married her husband in Haiphong, French Indo-China in 1933, and accompanied him to postings to Kunming, Beijing and Shanghai, China, as well as Wellington, New Delhi and Liverpool, England.

John Service was fired from the State Department in 1951, when, during the height of communist hysteria, Sen. Joseph McCarthy targeted him as one of those in the State Department responsible for the "loss" of China to the communist regime. He won reinstatement in 1957. Mrs. Service recounted this experience in Jewell Fenzi's 1994 oral history, *Married to the Foreign Service*.

Survivors include her husband of Oakland; a daughter, Virginia McCormick of Chevy Chase, Md.; two sons, Philip Service of Flagstaff, Ariz., and Robert Service of Washington, D.C.; six grandchildren; and two great-grandchildren.



Henry L. Taylor, 79, a retired FSO, died Aug. 25 of congestive heart failure at his home in Jacksonville, N.C.

Mr. Taylor was born in Seattle, Wash., and graduated from the University of Washington.

After joining the Foreign Service in 1943, Mr. Taylor served in Colombia, Grenada, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Pakistan and Iran. He retired to Florida in 1974.



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Survivors include his wife of 52 years, Elinor Taylor; two sons, Vaughan E. Taylor of Jacksonville, N.C. and Harold L. Taylor of Southfield, Mich.; two granddaughters; and a half-brother, Scott Taylor of Sidney, British Columbia.



Carl Frederick van Haeften, 74, a retired FSO, died of lung cancer Oct. 19 at Inova Fairfax Hospital in Fairfax, Va.

Born in Santa Cruz, Calif., to Dutch parents, he moved to Holland at the age of 14 and later graduated from the Royal College of Tropical Agriculture. During World War II he joined the Dutch resistance movement against German forces and later served as an intelligence investigator after the war. Mr. van Haeften was an agricultural training specialist and early in his career worked as a poultry producer in Maine, a foreign student adviser at the University of Maine and an adviser to the U.S. Mutual Security Agency in Paris. He later joined the Foreign Operations Administration, the predecessor of the Agency for International Development, and served with USAID in Spain, Cambodia and Morocco. He was USAID assistant director in Vietnam in the late 1960s and went on to head the USAID Latin America and Caribbean Rural Development Office, retiring in 1975. After retirement Mr. van Haeften was a consultant on international development and became an activist for Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees relocating to the Washington, D.C., area.

Survivors include his wife, Roberta Kathryn van Haeften of Falls Church, Va.; three children from his first marriage to Dorothy Wolthuis, Karel A.R. van Haeften and Linda Pearson, both of San Mateo, Calif., and Eileen Wagner of San Ramon, Calif.; a sister; and five grandchildren. ■

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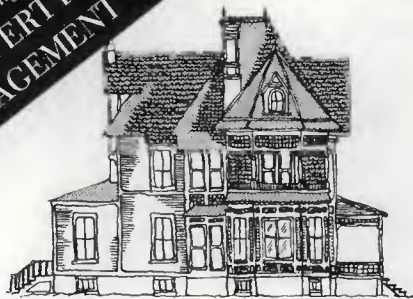
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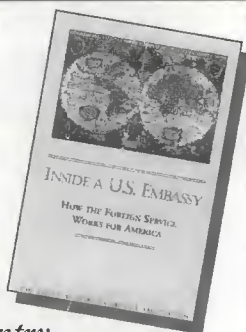
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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

Going Dutch on Cars

BY MICHAEL HAMILTON

When my FSO wife, Eleanore Raven-Hamilton, was posted to the Hague as a global affairs officer, I decided it was a good time to retire. I was 67 years old and had spent more than 40 years as an Episcopal priest, 29 of them at the National Cathedral in Washington, D.C. I was ready to give up deadlines for the novelty of watching my spouse rush off to work, while I leisurely read the morning papers over a second cup of coffee.

Soon after we arrived in the city in 1993, a governmental capital with no less than 22 parks, we were sipping an after dinner glass of wine while appreciating the picture-postcard canal in front of our 18th-century townhouse, when, feeling euphoric in our new, unexplored city, we made a careless judgement.

Before arriving in the Hague, we had agreed we would buy a safe, reliable used car. Many years before entering the ministry I had worked as a used car salesman in Toronto and I was well aware of the moral choices involved in such a profession. I felt confident that I could negotiate a good deal. Just the day before I had nearly bought a three-year-old, four-door

The Rev. Michael Hamilton is the spouse of Eleanore Raven-Hamilton, who is assigned to the International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Bureau in Washington, D.C. He has also accompanied her to Belfast. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."

*It would require
new tires and
the braking
was jerky, but
I was in love.*



Honda whose smooth steering and brakes behaved as if the gears were encased in butter.

After the glass of wine, my wife had other ideas. "Don't you think that car is a bit dull?" she asked. "Why don't we get out of our rut and buy something sexier?"

I ventured, "How about a BMW?"

No sooner had I spoken than I realized that I might be betraying my values regarding the responsible use of money, contributing to social injustice by considering a car associated with the wealthy and destroying my public image as an active liberal. Since there were no cars available for sale in the embassy community, I turned to the used car advertisements in the Dutch papers.

Eventually I found my way to a covered, eight-foot space between two houses that had been converted to a closed garage and to its proprietor, George, whose black curls, mustache

and big smile made me simultaneously like and distrust him. He showed me a dark blue 1987 BMW, one of the elderly models that looks like a box and relies on a manual handle to open the sun roof. I knew I had to have it the moment I saw it.

At first I feigned interest in other cars, but I finally took the BMW for a test drive. Despite the car's age, its six cylinders provided good acceleration. With just over 100,000 miles on it, it would require new tires and the braking was jerky, but I was in love. George and I agreed on 12,500 guilders, about \$6,000, which I considered good value. When I insisted that the sale was contingent upon the Dutch car inspectors' passing on its safety, George gave his word that he entrusted the welfare of his family to this very car, and there was no need for an inspection. However, it was required by Dutch law.

The inspection revealed that the brakes were indeed badly worn and, very reluctantly, George agreed to replace the pads. Three weeks after the deal had been sealed, when the exhaust system made bellowing noises, I returned to the fair-minded Dutch inspectors and complained that if they had caught this defect, I wouldn't have agreed to the price I paid for the car. They apologized for their inefficiency and, to my surprise, arranged for the cost of replacing the system — \$400 — to be paid by the Dutch Department of Transportation.

The BMW has been a joy to drive ever since. ■



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