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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *The Inspector General, the Senator and AFSA*

BY DAN GEISLER

This issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* focuses on the State Department Inspector General's investigatory function. Just about everyone in the Foreign Service encounters the IG's office in the course of a regular audit or inspection. About 80 percent of the State IG's resources are devoted to audits and inspections. In its audit and inspection capacities, the State IG examines policy implementation, resource management and management controls at the State Department, USIA and ACDA. (AID, FCS and FAS are not covered by the State IG.)

This is an invaluable service to our employer, the American people. The availability of informed, independent analysis is crucial to our institutional well-being and to the administration of foreign affairs.

Few of us have direct personal experience with IG investigations. In this function, the State IG's office examines allegations of waste, fraud, abuse or notorious misconduct. This kind of malfeasance is not a common occurrence. But when it does occur, the State IG launches an investigation and forwards its findings to management for any warranted disciplinary action.

The State IG has multiple roles. So does AFSA. AFSA is both a professional association for the Foreign Service and a labor-management organization which bargains collectively on

*Dan Geisler is president of the American Foreign Service Association.*

*We believe that the  
American Foreign  
Service will stand  
up admirably to  
public scrutiny of  
our integrity.*

behalf of Foreign Service personnel in five agencies. Since the State IG is organizationally independent of management, AFSA does not bargain over IG procedures. But in our role as a professional association, we have a deep interest in ensuring the integrity of the American Foreign Service. Therefore, AFSA supports the role of the State IG in her audit, inspection and investigatory capacities.

In this area, we share the same goals. We believe that the Foreign Service needs a disciplinary system that (1) safeguards the interests of the U.S. government, (2) ensures the accused's right to due process, and (3) ensures swift and sure punishment when malfeasance is documented.

We have some concerns on item two: due process. Last year AFSA testified before the House International Relations Committee about certain

investigatory practices of the State IG. A disciplinary system must guarantee that those innocent of wrongdoing are protected from harassment.

Recently, we have been confronted with concerns about item three: swift and certain punishment. In a Jan. 29 speech on the Senate floor, Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, announced his intention to "examine the numerous moral, ethical, and professional lapses of Foreign Service officers and the personnel grievance process." The senator referred to six specific cases, drawn from an OIG report, where, he alleged, corruption had been uncovered but gone unpunished. He complained that in certain cases corrupt FSOs were not only unpunished, but were recommended for promotion.

Since AFSA did not represent any of the individuals mentioned, we have no authoritative information on the senator's assertions. But we believe that such corruption is rare in the Foreign Service, and it is unfair to imply that isolated incidents demonstrate a pattern of abuse.

AFSA firmly believes that the career Foreign Service must maintain the highest standards of personal and professional integrity. We insist on appropriate disciplinary action, including, when necessary, expulsion from the service when abuses are identified. And we believe that the American Foreign Service will stand up admirably to any public scrutiny of our integrity. ■

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# DESPATCH

## *AFSA and its Free Press*

BY BOB GULDIN

In late November, after I had been offered the position as editor of *Foreign Service Journal*, I phoned Karen Krebsbach, who had just left the post and moved to New York. I wanted her opinion about the *Journal*, especially about whether AFSA was a good place to work.

"I'm thinking seriously about taking the AFSA job," I told her.

"No, it's not the AFSA job!" she said emphatically. "It's the editorship of *Foreign Service Journal*. You've got to keep that distinction clear."

Karen went on to praise the dedication, skill and personal qualities of the people she had worked with. She assured me that I would not be making a mistake to take the job. She also explained that she had fought hard and often to maintain the *Journal's* editorial independence and integrity.

As the new editor of *Foreign Service Journal*, I've had occasion to consider and reconsider Karen's assertion: "It's not the AFSA job!"

An contraire, I say: I believe it is the AFSA job.

I believe that when an organization publishes a magazine, it is only fair to expect that the magazine will strengthen and benefit the sponsoring organization.

For example, few would doubt that *Foreign Affairs* brings credit and visibility to the Council on Foreign Relations, or that *Foreign Policy* does

---

*Bob Guldin started as the editor of Foreign Service Journal in January. He can be reached at [guldin@afsa.org](mailto:guldin@afsa.org).*

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what AFSA  
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the same for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

In real life, though, the question often boils down to, "How does a publication best serve the organization that sponsors it?"

Previously, as the editor of *Arms Control Today*, and then as the editor of the magazine of George Washington University, I've had to consider that question repeatedly.

Inevitably, there are voices that will claim the proper role of a publication is to support faithfully the line of the organization — in our case, to say only nice things about AFSA, the Foreign Service and U.S. policy.

I believe, however, that such an editorial approach would be wrongheaded. It would lead to a bland, predictable journal — one that few would choose to read. Such a journal would not truly benefit AFSA or the profession.

Rather, experience shows that an organization is best served by a lively,

relevant, well-written and visually attractive publication — one that is not afraid of controversy and airs a full range of views.

*Foreign Service Journal* has been all those things and more. It's my intention to build on that foundation, and, if possible, to make a fine magazine even better. I believe and hope that by doing so, we will increase member interest and participation, thereby strengthening both AFSA and the broader interests of the foreign affairs profession.

The appointment of a new editor is a most appropriate time to take a fresh look at the *Journal* — to bring in new areas of coverage, new voices.

Here's where you come in. What would you like to see more of — or less of — in *Foreign Service Journal*?

Would you like more on personnel and promotion practices within the Foreign Service? Do you want more accounts of personal and family life overseas?

Would you like to see more practical "news you can use" in the *Journal*, such as how-to articles on personal finance, travel, computers or health?

If you have ideas for articles you would like to see in *Foreign Service Journal*, send them in. If you want to write that article, so much the better. This is *your* magazine. Both letters to the editor and informal communications are welcome.

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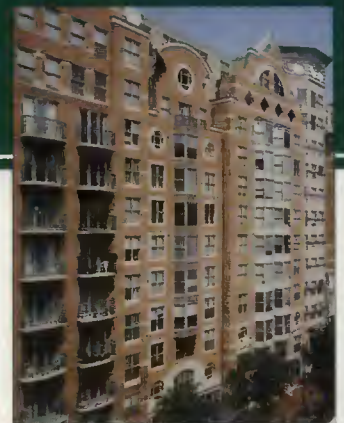
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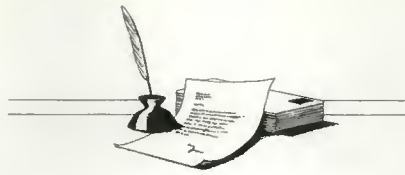
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# LETTERS

## Patronizing Latin America?

In her review of my book, *The Pan-American Dream* ("Books," January *Journal*), Caroline V. Meirs points to "one especially glaring omission: the proclivity of the United States to make ringing pronouncements on hemispheric relations, but then fail to follow through...." I believe that we can take pride in the record of U.S. policy in the hemisphere in recent decades.

We made a substantial effort in the early years of the Alliance for Progress. (This program faltered, in part, because of the spate of military overthrows from 1962 to 1965 and, in part, because the region's political, economic and social problems [many of them culturally-rooted, in my view] were much more intractable than we had realized.) We implemented the Generalized System of Preferences and the Caribbean Basin Initiative. We negotiated the transfer of the canal to Panama (for good or for bad).

The principal "ringing pronouncement" that we have not fully implemented is NAFTA expansion because of Congress' failure to approve fast-track authority, a result, in part, of the

---

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collapse of the Mexican peso, the conversion of a \$5 billion trade surplus with Mexico into a \$16 billion deficit and our heightened awareness of the seriousness and pervasiveness of Mexico's corruption and drug problems.

Meirs speaks of the "patronizing tone" of my book. The word "patronize" implies condescension, a posture commonly adopted by American intellectuals in dealing with Latin America, one that abjures criticism of Latin America (except of elements on the extreme right) and blames the United States for many of Latin America's problems. I can legitimately be accused of criticizing Latin America, above all the traditional values and attitudes I believe have so powerfully influenced its history. But that is not "patronizing."

*Lawrence E. Harrison  
Retired FSO  
Vineyard Haven, Mass.*

---

Caroline Meirs' put-down of anyone who questions the sanity of the U.S. diversity consensus — as she understands it — is an intellectually flawed postscript to an otherwise interesting review of Lawrence E. Harrison's thesis.

Meirs relies on the popular theory of cultural relativism which rejects criticism of diversity on the grounds that any element of another's culture is immune from negative analysis because it is warp and woof of a legitimate culture. Relativism, cultural or

moral, is an insidious eroder of measurable quality. A society that fails to maintain broadly agreed upon moral and cultural standards is headed toward chaos and indiscipline.

*Paul Good  
FSO  
Herndon, Va.*

---

## The Uses of USIA

I take issue with Howard Shapiro's article, "USIA Integration into State: Learning from Failure" (December *Journal*). Shapiro's focus on USIA activities is narrow and he has failed to examine critically the many achievements of USIA's Civil Service and FS employees. His criticism of USIS posts' reporting ignores the fact that the Government Results and Performance Act mandates the timely and frequent reporting of activities in fulfillment of a set of criteria applicable to all federal agencies and that GPRA reporting requirements are linked directly to congressional funding. At USIA we took the GPRA mandate seriously and were among the first to comply with it.

Shapiro criticizes the FS performance evaluation system, showing ignorance of AFSA-USIA's work in soliciting responses to its January 1995 questionnaire to FS employees, worldwide, on the performance evaluation process and, in addition, the work of the Agency's Joint Partnership Council and a special Foreign Service working group to examine the performance evaluation and promotion



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processes. Their findings reflected widespread FSO recognition that while the evaluation process has its flaws and the promotion system is not perfect, they are the best means enabling FSOs to participate in advancing their careers. The processes have not failed us, but we have a responsibility to use them more fully and effectively.

In my 27-year USIA career, I have reviewed hundreds of officer evaluation reports for inadmissible comments and as AFSA vice president in 1995-96 I worked out with management improved language for the promotion precepts and for evaluation instructions. I have been surprised at the failure of many FSOs to use the rated officer's comment section of the OER to describe personal achievements which rating officers in their limited space were either unable or unwilling to discuss.

The AFSA-USIA grievance counselor has responded successfully to many FSO complaints about unfair or poorly substantiated criticisms by rating officers and has helped many FSOs to correct their OERs or to resolve negative decisions by selection boards affecting their careers before formal grievance procedures were initiated. Shapiro ignores this substantial record of AFSA employee support and the fact that through AFSA's intercession, careers have been saved.

When Shapiro speaks of the "implausibility" of USIA goals, he fails to identify its fundamental origin. Instead, he inadvertently brands USIA's achievements as an overall failure, overlooking the countless personal contacts USIA FSOs have made with people around the world which have made the difference in the way Americans, our society and our institutions are perceived.

Failure does not characterize the

record of achievement of those who have served their people and their government at the USIA, despite increasing reductions in resources and personnel. And in an agency which has always been more innovative and open to change than most federal agencies, we have had the chance to dissent against policies and to speak out in open fora. For those who have spoken up and offered constructive criticism, there has generally been greater recognition and respect. This institutional openness and freedom of expression have given USIA strength and resilience which other foreign affairs agencies can only envy.

*Bruce K. Byers*  
FSO  
USIS Manila

The December articles urging a continuing role for USIA, juxtaposed with Howard Shapiro's courageous analysis of the agency's shortcomings in practice, revived a contrast that began to impress me early in my 33 years abroad: USIA's talent for extolling its mission versus its small impact overseas. I enjoyed knowing many USIA officers over the years and was grateful for its touring artists. Yet I saw it make a dent no larger than those made by much smaller countries using one officer or the ambassador and sometimes an institute to run corresponding programs.

The big wins in Cold War public diplomacy were scored not by the USIA, but against us by the Soviet Union, Cuba and North Vietnam. A different form of public diplomacy has helped Israel win a long series of victories in influencing U.S. policy. None of these winners used a USIA approach. We need not — probably cannot — copy their ways, but neither need we continue USIA at any-

## LETTERS

thing like current levels of overseas staffing.

I have two suggestions for new jobs that might help make USIA-in-State more useful. Get congressional authorization to turn part of USIA's effort homeward. Today it is less important that the rest of the world know more about us than that the U.S. electorate know more and care more about the rest of the world. Get authorization for State to use some USIS assets overseas as the military uses its public information officers: to produce news and features about U.S. embassies and their staffs for both hometown and national media and to develop media material to promote FS recruitment.

Both activities are at least as justifiable in light of the oft-cited poll showing Americans' exaggerated concepts of the foreign aid budget. The activities might well work wonders for State as they have for the Department of Defense. Here is a cause — relative parity with Defense in public relations — that State should fight for and the redefinition of USIA's mission could provide a context for that fight.

*George A. McFarland Jr.  
Retired FSO  
Austin, Texas*

### Why State Needs Science

I lend my support to Peter Humphrey, whose article, "Why Is the EST Cone Being Cut?" ("Speaking Out," November *Journal*) argues convincingly that it should not be.

A complementary question to Humphrey's "Why cut?" is "Why has State made use of a science function for over 50 years?" The answer is that science, technology and environment figure prominently in a host of modern foreign affairs issues. Four examples of areas in which the EST function has been decisive are nuclear energy and nonproliferation, export

controls, technology for economic development and international science cooperation.

Negotiation or monitoring of rules for export and use of nuclear materials and equipment followed complex provisions. Science officers' understanding of nuclear physics, reactor theory, metallurgy and the rudiments of weapons construction gave this country a distinct advantage. These science-driven activities successfully limited the trade in nuclear fuel and technology and the buildup of nuclear weapons.

State knows U.S. exports can improve foreign relations. The Defense Department has often opposed specific exports for allegedly passing technology of use to a potential enemy. Defense, with its S&T experts, essentially had the veto until State began to hire its own.

Technology for development — developed countries' technology to be used for economic growth of less-developed countries — was a major issue in UN agencies in the 1970s. Having the science function at State enabled the United States to take more rational positions in the debates on research quotas, research and development for economic growth, appropriate technology and even industrial policy.

Two success stories in scientific cooperation deserve mention: the cooperation agreement between Spain and the United States from 1976 to 1989, part of the incentive for Spain to permit the United States to use Spanish air bases; and science cooperation with the former Soviet Union. In the bleak days of the Cold War, which included the Soviet Union's oppression of its own scientists, the main, if not the only, contact that members of this part of the intelligentsia had with thought, life and values outside their country was

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## LETTERS



through visits and exchanges. Private organizations like the National Academy of Sciences were also instrumental, but all the exchanges came under State's purview.

The science function has provided State access to a part of society at home and overseas of importance comparable to business, manufacturing, banking, the legislature and the courts. The proved value of the science function in foreign affairs over a period of almost 60 years justifies retention of an organized cadre of science officers focused full-time on science issues.

*Robert G. Morris*  
*Retired FSO*  
*Des Moines, Iowa*

### The Abbreviated Truth

The December issue of the *Journal* carries a piece by yours truly and Gene Rosenfeld, "Learning from History." On page 26 we wrote, "The most exhaustive study, some 2,000 pages worth, was issued by SFRC." The original text read, "... was issued by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee." When I asked then-editor Karen Krebsbach why the full name of the committee was transformed into initials, she replied, "That's the *Journal's* style." As you know, the usual journalistic practice, for purposes of clarity, is to identify the full name of an organization when it is cited the first time, followed by initials in parenthesis if there is a later reference, e.g., Senate Foreign Relations Committee (SFRC). I respect that publications have their own style. However, I suggest that the concept of style should reflect flexibility so that non-members of AFSA who read the *Journal* will have improved understanding.

*Mark B. Lewis*  
*Retired FSO*  
*Chevy Chase, Md.*

## LETTERS



The editor responds:

I must support my predecessor's judgment and point out that earlier in your article, the full name of the committee appeared. The term "SFRC" in the article was therefore a second reference, so the use of an abbreviation was appropriate. Moreover, Associated Press style, which we use at the Journal, specifically discourages your suggested solution: full name followed by initials in parenthesis.

However, you have a good point. It may be better to bend the rules occasionally: When a little-known abbreviation appears long after the initial reference, it's probably clearer to give the full name a second time. ■

### AN INVITATION

for



### Summer Fiction

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

Submissions by mail, e-mail or fax may be made by May 1 to Bob Guldin, Editor, *Foreign Service Journal*, 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20037, via e-mail to [journal@afsa.org](mailto:journal@afsa.org) or via fax to (202) 338-8244. No exceptions to the deadline. The top stories, chosen by the Editorial Board, will be published in the July/August issue of the *Journal*.

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# CLIPPINGS



*"We do not accept that the only thing keeping the North [of Korea] at bay is the antipersonnel land mine."*

— NOBEL LAUREATE  
JODY WILLIAMS  
URGING THE SOUTH  
KOREAN GOVERNMENT  
TO SIGN AN  
INTERNATIONAL  
TREATY BANNING THE  
MINES, AS QUOTED IN  
THE WASHINGTON  
POST FEB. 4.

## DIPLOMATIC SECURITY BUSTS VISA FRAUD

A major visa fraud ring organized to bring hundreds of foreign nurses into the United States to work at below-market rates has been broken up by an interagency task force led by State's Diplomatic Security Service. "The probe was the largest visa fraud investigation ever conducted in the United States," reported William Branigin in *The Washington Post* Jan. 15.

"It led to guilty pleas in federal court in Lubbock, Tex. ... by five defendants, including the man at the center of the ring, Billy Denver Jewell, 54, the owner of a chain of 22 nursing homes in Texas and Oklahoma."

The ring forced the nurses, all but 40 of whom were from the Philippines, to pay thousands of dollars each in fees and kickbacks for help in obtaining H-1A visas, a special nonimmigrant category created in 1989 to help alleviate a shortage of nurses in the United States. Branigin estimates that more than 500 nurses were brought into the country and put to work at nursing homes and hospitals at salaries well below the prevailing wage for nurses. Diplomatic Security told Branigin that most of the nurses are still living and working illegally in the United States.

"Eager for high-paying jobs in the United States, the nurses were charged application fees of \$4,500 to \$7,500 each by Philippine recruiters, who would then pay Jewell \$1,000 to \$1,600 for each visa that was issued," reported Branigin. "Upon the nurses' arrival in the United States, Jewell would put them to work for \$5 to \$9 an hour, compared with the prevailing wage of more than \$14 an hour that was required under the visa program." The effect of the fraud on American nurses in

Lubbock County, Tex. was significant, with their unemployment rate increasing and an estimated loss of more than \$13 million a year in salary opportunities.

## DEVELOPMENT FUNDING IN PERIL

Despite globalization of the economy and the spread of technology, governments, private funders and the general public are backing away from their support for international development, according to a new report, *Global Interdependence and the Need for Social Stewardship*, prepared by Laurie Ann Mazur and Susan E. Sechler of the Global Interdependence Initiative of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. The report, which grew out of a meeting of foundation executives, leaders of humanitarian and environmental NGOs and officers of large multilateral institutions, cites a "serious lack of funding, commitment and vision — the resources on which effective cooperative engagement depends" as a threat "to undermine the capacity of nations and peoples to collaborate in building a just and sustainable global community."

Because of budgetary cutbacks, international spending "must compete for funds with domestic programs such as education, health care and prisons. Given the stronger constituencies for domestic programs ... policy makers often choose to cut international programs instead," write Mazur and Sechler. One of the reasons for this, they explain, is that U.S. domestic leadership has failed to develop and articulate a new vision for U.S. foreign policy. "Today's policy makers are less concerned (and perhaps less informed) about foreign policy issues than at any time in the last 20 years," they write.



# CLIPPINGS

"Leaders must appeal to Americans' interests and values, ... acknowledge the threats and opportunities that result from global interdependence, and clarify U.S. strategic interests. Americans want a foreign policy that represents their values as well as their interests," they conclude.

## ISOLATIONISTS ON CAPITOL HILL

A new, insular generation of legislators on Capitol Hill — nearly two-thirds of Congress has turned over since 1987 — cares less about the United States' place in the world than the previous generation, according to Michael Krepon, president of the Henry L. Stimson Center, writing in the Jan. 18 *Los Angeles Times*. If the present trend continues, "there will not be enough legislators with the expertise, temperament and vision to permit the United States to play a constructive role in world affairs," he predicts.

Krepon reports that members of Congress increasingly view foreign policy as an extension of domestic policy. One in three do not hold a passport and very few are eager to make overseas visits, he writes. "Elected officials such as Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.), Rep. Howard L. Berman (D-Calif.) and Rep. Tom Lantos (D-Calif.) who do serious work abroad, are an increasingly rare breed."

In addition, in the past legislators' military service helped shape their world view, but that has changed from the 1970s, when 70 percent of legislators were veterans, to today, when only 35 percent are. "In 1997, one of every eight members of the House of Representatives voted for the United States to withdraw from the United Nations, while one in four House mem-

bers — including almost half the GOP caucus — support the United Nations' relocation," writes Krepon. He warns that unless the isolationist trend is reversed, "Capitol Hill will flunk future tests of constructive international engagement, short-changing the voting public and the national interest."

## INCREASE PROPOSED FOR '150 ACCOUNT'

The Clinton administration calls its fiscal year 1999 budget request for international affairs a "bold stance in seeking resources." Supporters of foreign affairs activities are not so impressed.

The proposed \$20.15 billion budget for foreign affairs agencies and programs (Function 150) reflects a \$1 billion increase over the 1998 appropriation.

Although pleased with an increase, the Coalition for American Leadership Abroad (COLEAD) and its participating organizations, including AFSA, are urging Congress to appropriate at or above the administration's request. Foreign affairs spending has been decreasing for about a dozen years. In a letter to the Hill, COLEAD points out that such spending constituted 4 percent of the federal budget in the 1960s versus 1 percent in the current budget proposal.

"The American flag has already come down too often around the world due to budget cuts," COLEAD wrote Senate Budget Committee Chairman Pete Domenici (R-N.M.).

Some particulars of the proposed Function 150 budget include:

- \$641 million for State Department security and maintenance of U.S. missions,

# 50 YEARS AGO

"We have arrived at a point where the whole world is closely watching, not only the American government, but each individual American who works abroad. This means that his daily living is subject to constant and exaggerated pressures, unprecedented in the experience of our countrymen," wrote Eric Sevareid, chief Washington correspondent for the Columbia Broadcasting System in a guest editorial in the March 1948 *Foreign Service Journal*.

"The praise we receive is inflated; the blame is abnormal. We now occupy that hyper-intensified position Englishmen occupied fifty years ago, but it is worse for us because our margin for error is much narrower and the consequences of error infinitely more tragic. ... It seems to me that there is one thing all our envoys, however high or low their position, must now possess and that is belief in their country."

## CLIPPINGS



*“Successful  
diplomacy, like  
successful  
marriage, is  
not much  
publicized.”*

—AMERICAN DIPLOMAT  
JOHN PATON DAVIES

a 61 percent increase in funding over 1998;

- \$216 million for nonproliferation, anti-terrorism, and de-mining programs, a 62 percent increase over 1998;

- \$1.3 billion in budget authority for Sustainable Development programs administered by USAID, a 7 percent increase over 1998;

- \$1.1 billion in funding for USIA, a slight decrease (less than 1 percent) from the 1998 level.

- \$925 million in assistance to the former states of the Soviet Union, a 20 percent increase over 1998;

- \$368 million for salaries and expenses at State, up 4 percent from \$352 million in 1998;

- \$270 million for the Peace Corps, a 19 percent increase;

- \$300 million for the Global Environment Facility, a 566 percent increase over the 1998 level of \$45 million.

Decreased funding is requested for the International Development Association and the North American Development Bank, reflecting payments that were completed in 1998.

The administration's budget does not include expected supplemental requests for U.S. arrears to the United Nations or for support of the International Monetary Fund. However, the administration in its presentation of the budget predicts supplemental requests for the IMF of \$3.5 billion and \$14.5 billion.

The administration's proposed budget, of course, is only the opening salvo in a complex process. Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.) has said that he aims to get the budget resolution into final shape by the middle of March, for a floor vote at the end of the month. However, budget-resolution negotiations usually continue well into May. ■

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# SPEAKING OUT

## *The FSO Meets Eco-Catastrophe*

BY AL PEREZ

While most of us think of war as armed conflict between two states, most of the world's wars are civil conflicts. In its 1994 Human Development Report the United Nations Development Agency reported that between 1989 and 1992 only three of the 82 armed conflicts around the world involved fighting between countries. The 79 other conflicts were carried on within state boundaries. When they occur, cross-border conflicts erupt into headlines and capture the world's attention, but increasingly these are not the conflicts with which the Foreign Service should be concerned.

Why? In his prescient article, "The Coming Anarchy" about political and social strife in sub-Saharan Africa in the February 1994 *Atlantic Monthly*, journalist Robert D. Kaplan identified the key issues in intrastate conflicts: "The political and strategic impact of surging populations, spreading disease, deforestation and soil erosion, water depletion, air pollution, — developments that will prompt mass migration and, in turn, incite group conflicts — will be the core foreign policy challenges from which most others will ultimately emanate."

The role of population growth in environmental stress and political

---

*Al Perez, an FSO who has served in Rome, Madrid and Montevideo, is on a one-year sabbatical at the Population Reference Bureau in Washington, D.C.*

*The population  
explosion is not  
over yet.*

instability is under widening academic scrutiny. It should be of increasing concern to the State Department, because it may hold the key to world political stability.

There is broad consensus that the world's population will continue to grow well into the next century. Every thirty seconds 133 babies are born in the world, while only 51 people die. During a normal one-hour lunch, the world's population increases by nearly 10,000 new inhabitants, which amounts to roughly 81 million new people born each year.

According to the Population Reference Bureau's *Tipsheet*, more than 90 percent of the world's population growth will occur by the middle of the next century in the less developed countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Oceania. According to U.N. estimates, growth will be fastest in those countries classified as "poorest of the poor." Even assuming a drop in birth rate, population in these countries is expected to double from 600 million to 1,200 million by the year 2050. If birth rates do not decline, population will quin-

tuple to 3.5 billion by mid-century.

Recent claims that the population explosion has fizzled — such as those contained in neo-conservative writer Ben Wattenberg's article "The Population Explosion is Over" in the Nov. 23 *New York Times Magazine* — confuse declining fertility rates with declining population. While many countries are experiencing lower fertility, the global population will expand due to the large number of women entering childbearing years in less developed countries. In those countries, a high percentage of the population is under 15 years of age. In 1995, for example, India's under-fifteen population, 329.5 million, exceeded the entire population of the United States.

While individual women are having fewer babies, there are still more babies being born each year.

There is growing scientific consensus that population growth affects the environment, a view strongly endorsed by policy-makers. In his letter accompanying the State Department's first annual report on the environment and foreign policy in 1997, "Environmental Diplomacy: The Environment and U.S. Foreign Policy," Vice President Al Gore wrote, "Environmental problems such as global climate change, ozone depletion, ocean and air pollution, and resource degradation — compounded by an expanding world population — respect no border and threaten the health, prosperity, and jobs of all Americans."

## SPEAKING OUT



The link between population growth and environmental stress is at the heart of new academic thinking on the root causes of conflict. When population growth overwhelms environmental resources and a country does not have the capacity to deal with the resulting stress, intrastate conflicts result. Based on case studies of intrastate conflicts in Chiapas, Pakistan, Gaza, Rwanda, and South Africa, Thomas Homer-Dixon and colleagues of the Woodrow Wilson Center's Environmental Change and Security Project concluded that scarcity of renewable resources such as cropland, forests, fish, and water produce civil conflict and instability. Scarcity acts mainly by triggering social effects — such as poverty and migration — that analysts often interpret as a conflict's immediate causes.

While developed countries may have the skills and resources to deal with environmental problems, most of the developing world does not. If societies cannot adjust to environmental problems, the resulting scarcity of renewable resources will contribute to impoverishment, migrations, sharper distinctions among racial, ethnic and socio-economic groups, and to greater potential for collective violence among these groups. The conflict in Haiti is often seen as a classic example of how population growth and environmental scarcity can spark intrastate conflict, as are internal conflicts in Congo and Uganda. Even more ominous are Homer-Dixon's findings on China, a country which he says may look prosperous, but is dangerously close to exploding into conflict.

This new reality poses a different threat to world order and overturns assumptions made by traditional institutions — among them the Department of State — designed for Cold War challenges. Unprecedented in their potential effect and geographic scope, these threats increase U.S. dependence on other countries' population and environment policies and reduce U.S. leaders' unilateral policy options.

While not everyone agrees with the idea that environmental scarcity is the most important threat to global security, the president and other ranking officials find it appealing as an explanation of conflicts in less developed countries. As President Clinton remarked to an audience at the International Coral Reef

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## SPEAKING OUT



Initiative in Port Douglas, Australia in November 1996, "In too many places, including those about which we read too often now on the troubled continent of Africa, abuses like deforestation breed scarcity, and scarcity aggravates the turmoil which exists all over the world."

It is obvious that our national leaders are now considering environmental factors in explaining civil conflict, while we in the Foreign Service are not. Should it matter? A key State Department objective is to make diplomatic analysis and reporting more responsive to the needs of consumers. It behooves the Foreign Service to at least consider population and environmental factors as a source of intrastate conflict.

In its May 1997 International

Affairs Strategic Plan, State identified global issues as one of the seven "national interests linked to the fundamental interests and values of the United States." The plan explicitly recognizes that "competition for natural resources can lead to instability and conflict, threatening political, economic, and other U.S. interests." This should generate more analysis and reporting from the Foreign Service on population and environmental issues and their potential impact on political stability.

There are ample signs, however, that State, with an organizational culture rooted in the Cold War, is not moving decisively enough in that direction. A review of recent proposed issues for coverage next year from embassies in several developing countries showed no

one is targeting the link between the environment and social instability for analysis and reporting. Moreover, these issues will tend to get slipped to the bottom of the pile as embassies, strapped for resources, are forced to focus on immediate political developments.

While State's concern with traditional bilateral relationships between countries may not disappear anytime soon, senior policymakers and other experts think that threats to U.S. interests and world peace will come from a silent pooling of volatile population and environmental challenges. Foreign Service officers need to be key actors in how the U.S. government responds to this emerging challenge, or risk becoming irrelevant. ■

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# IN SEARCH OF SCAPEGOATS



## ARE IGS COMPROMISING INTEGRITY IN THEIR ZEAL TO PLEASE CONGRESS?

*By Daniel W. Fisk*

**I**n 1978, Congress mandated the creation of independent, agency-specific inspectors general to provide a means of identifying and addressing problems in agency economy, efficiency and effectiveness, as well as to prevent and detect fraud and abuse. The 1978 law also specified that IGS had two masters: the agency head and Congress.

Over the course of the following 20 years, there have been a number of investigations in which IGS have unquestionably done their job commendably. Two recent State IG investigations — into the cases involving Jean Kennedy Smith, ambassador to Ireland, and Ray Flynn, ambassador to the Vatican — were appropriate and done well. The IGS' consis-

## F O C U S

### *IGs are not infallible, and they are under pressure to find \$500 hammers and other press-release fodder.*

tently good reception by Capitol Hill is a sign that, in general, IGs have done the job assigned to them in a way that meets with congressional approval. However, if praise from Congress becomes the IGs' main objective — and if Congress wants an IG process which gives its members an opportunity to grandstand — then there is a dangerous potential for erosion of the integrity that is central to any effective policing activity. An inspector general may wind up committing an injustice in the name of ferreting one out.

This is not a call for the abolition of IGs. There certainly are enough Foreign Service officers who have stolen the silverware to merit an independent IG process in the State Department. No agency, institution, or career service is above human frailties; larcenous behavior has been found even among those who see themselves as the best and brightest. However, IGs are not infallible either, and they are under pressure from their primary client to find \$500 hammers and comparable fodder for press releases. Twenty years later, it is time to ask, who is guarding the guardians?

Moreover, faults inherent in the IG and congressional oversight process may be magnified when more than one IG is assigned to investigate a matter. Rather than offering a more thorough investigation, such a situation, with its overlapping and blurred jurisdictions, may result in conclusions that are incomplete or inconsistent. Different IGs with different agendas from different agencies may result in mismatched conclusions and misplaced accountability. This intensifies the danger of punishing those who cooperate or who have better memories than others.

---

*Daniel W. Fisk was the senior Republican staff member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee responsible for Western Hemisphere issues from July 1994 until August 1997. Before that, he served from 1993 to 1994 on the staff of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, from 1990 to 1993 in the Department of Defense Office of Inter-American Affairs, and from 1986 to 1990 in the State Department Bureau of Inter-American Affairs as the special adviser for policy to the assistant secretary. He now lives and works in Mesa, Ariz.*

In two recent instances, multiple IGs have investigated programs involving two or more agencies. In both cases, State officers have received the brunt of the punishment, raising some concern both about a process that seeks a scapegoat and about one in which State officers have borne the responsibility for programs and policies in which another agency has shared responsibility.

In October 1991, *Newsweek* reported on a U.S. program to relocate members of the Nicaraguan Resistance (popularly known as the "contras") from Miami to Nicaragua. The article reported that a covert CIA program, known as the Nicaraguan Exile Relocation Program (NERP), provided some \$600,000 over a seven-month period for about 100 Miami-based contra leaders and activists to engage in electoral activities in Nicaragua's February 1990 elections. The article quoted William Webster, who had just left the CIA as director, as saying it was "vetted with the State Department. ... This was not something we created." In response to concerns by then-Senate Intelligence Committee Chairman David Boren (D-Okla.), Webster ordered an internal audit and IG report, both of which "claimed that NERP money was used solely for repatriation." However, that didn't mean the case was closed. In 1992, NERP emerged as the central issue in the nominations of two State officers for ambassadorial posts.

In October 1991, Michael Kozak, then-principal deputy assistant secretary for State's Bureau of Inter-American Affairs (ARA), was nominated to be ambassador to El Salvador. Kozak, a career civil servant, had been acting assistant secretary when NERP was created. In February 1992, Joseph Sullivan, then deputy assistant secretary for Central American affairs, was nominated to be ambassador to Nicaragua. Sullivan, a career FSO, was ARA's Central American office director when NERP was created and implemented. The nominations of Kozak and Sullivan took NERP from the jurisdiction of the congressional intelligence committees to that of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. From the SFRC's perspective, the involvement of these two in NERP was a proper area of inquiry.

As is common practice, the SFRC requested a full accounting of the involvement of Kozak and Sullivan with NERP. Senators Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.), then-chairman of the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee, and Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), ranking Republican member, took the lead in asking State for all NERP-related documents. State's initial response was that the senators personally could review documents in the domain of the Senate Intelligence Committee. This was a non-starter for both Dodd and Helms, who requested a State IG investigation "as to any involvement that State Department personnel may have had in developing and implementing" NERP. The senators' letter expressed the concern that NERP raised "serious legal questions." Specifically, the senators had concluded that NERP funneled money to the contras at a time when such aid was restricted.

In June, State IG Sherman Funk reported to the SFRC that he found "no evidence on the part of any State Department official, including Messrs. Kozak and Sullivan, to violate any relevant law or restriction." In any number of other cases, this would have satisfied the SFRC. But not here; Nicaragua was too "hot" an issue, and the IG investigation itself added another layer of controversy to the confirmation process: the State IG had conducted his investigation without interviewing any Nicaraguans, only State and other U.S. government officials involved in the program. Adding fuel to the fire, State continued to deny SFRC staff access to the primary policy documents. Nor did it help that then-Assistant Secretary Bernard Aronson exchanged heated words with SFRC staff in a well-intentioned but misguided effort to help Kozak and Sullivan. The result: Kozak's and Sullivan's names were withdrawn, and NERP continues to haunt them to this day.

### **State Takes the Fall**

I recount this history not to question the SFRC's role. SFRC senators and staff were within their rights to inquire into the work of nominees before the committee. Nor is it my intent to question Kozak and Sullivan's role in NERP; this program was legal and consistent with U.S. policy and should not have been the basis for denying them ambassadorial posts. The questions raised by the investigations into NERP are, who was penalized for the policy, what recourse did they have, and just how open and fair is this process?

State officers were penalized for the program, and then

were denied the ability to defend themselves more effectively because the CIA repeatedly has objected to the declassification of the State IG report; it also objects to the declassification of State Department documents having to do with NERP. The CIA blames State for the policy and then controls the release of any documents. This author is not aware of NERP costing any career intelligence officer upward advancement: one CIA officer involved in NERP later was awarded a chief of station position; another officer involved in NERP left the CIA over larger management issues, not because of NERP. It was a "win-win" for Langley and Congress, with Kozak and Sullivan cast as the villains.

This is not to argue that CIA officers should have been punished instead of State officers; no one should have been. However, Congress wanted scalps. When the two IG investigations did not produce them, Congress focused on two State officers to take the "hit." The State IG did not help the situation when he initially resisted congressional calls to reopen his investigation, but then reportedly offered to do so after the 1992 election in an effort to win reappointment.

### **The Case of the Zona Rosa Killings**

A second case involving Foreign Service officers occurred following the airing of a CBS "60 Minutes" program on the 1985 killings of four U.S. Marines and two U.S. businessmen at a cafe in the Zona Rosa district of San Salvador. Gilberto Osorio, a U.S. citizen interviewed by the program, acknowledged his role in Salvador's civil war on the side of the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front (FMLN) guerrillas, including involvement in the Zona Rosa killings. As a result of congressional interest in Osorio, it was learned that another Salvadoran allegedly involved in the killings, Pedro Antonio Andrade, had been allowed into the United States.

Andrade's entry into the United States was justified by the fact that after his capture, he had cooperated with the Salvadoran and U.S. governments, revealing valuable information. He had revealed guerrilla arms caches, strategic logistical operations and efforts to infiltrate the Salvadoran armed forces — information that was shared with the CIA. Moreover, Andrade passed polygraphs regarding his involvement in the Zona Rosa killings, and the U.S. believed his life was in danger should he remain in El Salvador, especially in the climate of 1989-90.

## F O C U S

*When several IGs  
investigate a matter,  
there is a greater danger  
of punishing those who  
have better memories.*

The families of the Marines had been told nothing officially about what had happened in the 10 years since the killings; the information they eventually received came from the press, not their government. In response to the families, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI) requested four IGs — CIA, State, Justice and Defense — to conduct a government-wide investigation into U.S. government knowledge of, relationship with, and actions or prosecution against those involved in Zona Rosa, including looking into questions about Andrade's entry into the United States and any possible grounds for prosecution of Andrade and Osorio.

It was the CIA's conclusion as early as the fall of 1985 that Andrade was a significant player in the Zona Rosa killings. According to the declassified CIA IG report, "Within a week of the [Zona Rosa] murders, the Station identified Andrade (known then only by his alias 'Mario Gonzalez') as a member of the PRTC [a faction of the leftist guerrillas]." In mid-August 1985, the CIA received further information which focused on Andrade/Gonzalez: "Andrade was a target of CIA efforts to bring the perpetrators to justice." Given this, the SSCI would have been out of its mind not to raise questions about Andrade's role in Zona Rosa and about his entry into the United States.

The question that remains unanswered is whether conclusions formed in 1985 about Andrade were passed to the ambassador and other State officers at the time decisions about Andrade's entry into the United States were being made. The evidence indicates that the State officers in the U.S. Embassy in El Salvador who were involved with Andrade were never given a clear message that an intelligence judgment existed about Andrade's culpability. It was only after the fact — and after the IGs made it known in 1996 — that such a clear intelligence conclusion about Andrade was made known to State officials.

**H**ow does this involve the IG process? Didn't the system work? Family members of one of the Marine victims were constituents of the new SSCI chairman, and it appears that the SSCI staff sent a message to the CIA IG that they expected someone to be held responsible. The State IG obliged by focusing on one State officer: Rick Chidester, the embassy legal officer in

El Salvador at the time. The CIA IG was happy to let the State Department offer up the sacrificial lamb while exonerating its own officers. Thus, the investigation was as much about delivering a scalp as it was about discovering what occurred.

Further, the IG investigation itself appeared biased and seemed to have gone something like this: Whenever State officials made statements, they were met with skepticism and the need for corroboration, while assertions by the chief of station appear to have been accepted at face value — if he denied anything, or everything, then that was sufficient. The Justice IG noted that the chief of station "vacillated over the course of the interviews about the station's involvement in the parole." However, this vacillation was not highlighted in the IGs' congressional presentation, whereas Chidester's actions were, a situation that was magnified by the SSCI staff's delight in having someone to pin the blame on.

What makes the Andrade case all the more interesting is that the SSCI was prepared to accept, with encouragement from both the State and CIA IGs, the conclusion that State officers screwed up based on the following facts (all of which can be found in the declassified IG reports or public testimony before the SSCI): It was the CIA that brought Andrade to the ambassador's and State legal officer's attention; the CIA suggested that State officers interview and deal with Andrade; the CIA paid for Andrade's housing while in Salvadoran custody; the CIA suggested that the legal officer host Andrade to make him comfortable for a propaganda film funded by the CIA; the CIA financially supported Andrade's family; and gave the State officer the money to send Andrade's family to the United States; the CIA first suggested Andrade's parole into the United States; and the CIA provided the money for Andrade's airfare to the U.S.

As noted earlier, the other element that emerges from the public record indicates that the CIA had formed a conclusion about Andrade's involvement and culpability in the 1985 killings which it felt it need not provide to the ambassador or the embassy legal officer. Instead, the legal officer was left to determine Andrade's involvement in and culpability for the killings based on his own interviews with Andrade and

## F O C U S

polygraph tests, which Andrade passed. It appears that Chidester and Ambassador Bill Walker had no "need to know" intelligence judgments relevant to their responsibilities until five years after the fact.

Clearly, Andrade's entry into the United States was an appropriate target of congressional and IG interest. But the State, CIA, and Justice IGs did themselves a disservice by participating in a process that effectively singled out one person, after having identified larger communication and coordination problems. If one person was responsible, then the blame should have fallen where it belonged. In this case, there were a number of missteps, by a number of people in a number of offices; that was not the impression left with Congress by the IG. And to further eritiezize this particular IG investigation, it was learned at the second SSCI hearing on Zona Rosa in 1997 that the Justice Department had had information relevant to Andrade that it did not share with either State or the CIA, or the IG investigators.

### The Senate Gets its Scapegoat

If SSCI senators wanted a scalp for constituents, or if SSCI staff wanted one to give their new chairman, the IG process attempted to give them one. I am willing to give the senators the benefit of the doubt on this question. Staff, however, were quite happy to focus on Chidester and not pursue an equally thorough inquiry into the roles of the other agencies involved. When I asked one SSCI staffer why, he said that the CIA IG was helpful in pointing them in certain directions for inquiry, and they didn't want to hurt that relationship! Something is wrong with the system if honest inquiry and tough questions are constrained or, worse, are sacrificed for this type of relationship.

Both NERP and Zona Rosa raise another problem with the IG process, both in terms of the IG's investigation and in Congress' review. Often on both sides — the IG and Congress — there is little or no knowledge about what is being investigated and, in the ease of Congress, often little or no knowledge of how the executive branch works. There are accusations; a flurry of press releases calling for an IG

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## F O C U S

### *Congress wanted scalps, and two FSOs were well placed to take the "hit."*

investigation, followed by the formation of an IG team in which one selection criterion is that its members be ignorant of the issue, until they learn it on the job.

For example, in the Andrade case, there appeared to be little understanding of what was happening in El Salvador in 1989-90 and, in the case of the State IG, little understanding of how the entry approval process worked. Such knowledge would not have excused any misjudgments, but it would have been helpful in informing Congress of the context within which decisions were made. At the second SSCI hearing on Zona Rosa, Ambassador Bill Walker made an effort to explain to the assembled senators and staff how the State Department and an embassy work, including the visa approval process. Apparently, this was also news to the IGs. They seemed to have no comprehension of how the department they investigated operated, much less any understanding of the situation on the ground in El Salvador. Yet an understanding of the entry approval process

should have been significant in investigating Andrade's entry into the United States and evaluating the procedures used. The IG's review of NERP policy-making and, more importantly, program implementation suffered from the same lack of context and understanding of the issue.

Congress has the right — no, the obligation — to ask tough questions. Senators Dodd and Helms were right to inquire into the programs and decisions brought to their attention. But if Congress wants to rely on the IG in one instance and then shoot the messenger when it gets an answer it does not want to hear, or in another instance, demean the IG process to satisfy the need to "have done something," then the system itself should be under serious review. It may well be the case that not only do inspectors general need to be independent of the agencies they're investigating — they also need to be free of pressures from Congress itself. ■

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# REFORM THE IG'S OFFICE



## THE STATE OIG FAILS TO RESPECT EMPLOYEE RIGHTS; CONGRESS NEEDS TO ACT

*By Rep. Lee Hamilton*

**D**oes the Office of the Inspector General perform its work fairly? In the past year, the oversight practices of the OIG for the State Department, ACDA and USIA have received considerable attention from Congress. They have been debated on the floor of the House, as well as in the House Committee on International Relations and the House Government Reform Subcommittee on Government Management, and in the House-Senate conference committee on H.R. 1757, the bill authorizing funds for the State Department and related agencies. Many in Congress share my concern that the OIG has failed to balance the requirements of effective and thorough criminal investigation with a fair

## F O C U S

### *The OIG often exerts its investigative authority at the expense of the rights of State Department employees.*

process for those individuals who are the subjects of investigation.

I believe that individuals under investigation must have adequate notice about their rights. They must have both general notice in the form of up-to-date guidelines on the Office of the Inspector General and its procedures, and specific notice when they are the target of a criminal investigation. I am also concerned about the way the OIG shares information about ongoing investigations with the press.

That is why I proposed requiring the OIG to: (1) provide an updated manual on employee rights and OIG practices to all employees; (2) provide targets of criminal investigations notice prior to a formal OIG interview where officials from agencies other than the OIG would be present; and (3) submit to Congress a one-time report on its press guidance with respect to an ongoing investigation.

I have received many complaints about the investigative conduct of the OIG for the State Department, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the U.S. Information Agency — from political appointees of both parties, as well as career Foreign Service officers and Civil Service employees. Now, I understand that an agency responsible for looking into internal allegations of wrong-doing is unlikely to be very popular. And popularity should not be the yardstick to measure the success and appropriateness of OIG investigations. The complaints I have received, however, make clear that the OIG too often exercises its investigative authority at the expense of the rights of State Department employees.

Several examples of recent complaints against the OIG clearly illustrate this point.

In one case, a Democratic appointee was placed under criminal investigation and called to an inter-

view as a target, without receiving advance notice that prosecutors would be present. A federal prosecutor, rather than the OIG, conducted the interview. There was no transcript of the session, so there was no record other than the interviewers' notes to resolve questions about discrepancies or inaccuracies in the OIG's report.

The prosecutor also reported to the press that the individual was under criminal investigation. The spokesperson for the inspector general confirmed that report, despite an OIG policy of not commenting in any way on pending investigations.

In another situation, in the early part of the first Clinton administration, a Republican appointee was caught up in an OIG investigation. An independent counsel appointed by the Justice Department, upon receipt of the OIG's report, not only cleared the individual entirely in his report, but found the OIG's recommendations to be based on "often wrong and generally naive" factual conclusions.

In this case, the OIG carried out a hurried investigation of the individual's actions, reached conclusions that the individual be subject to "appropriate disciplinary action" for "serious lapses in judgment" that "helped to politicize" an otherwise "non-partisan administrative process." The OIG referred the matter to the Department of Justice, and released its report to the press. At each step along the way, the individual under investigation was provided inadequate notice and inadequate opportunity to review or respond to the serious allegations against him. None of the allegations against him were substantiated by the independent counsel's review.

In a third case, the OIG had a State Department employee called to a professional review board as a pretext to elicit information. The employee was predisposed to provide full information to a board charged with evaluating his job performance. The employee's statements were later used against him by the OIG in their investigation.

In yet another investigation of a Foreign Service

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*U.S. Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-Ind.) is the ranking minority member of the House Committee on International Relations.*

## F O C U S

### *Many State employees are forced to incur enormous legal bills, just to clear their own names.*

officer, an interpreter hired by the OIG to translate the testimony of a Bolivian witness to two OIG investigative agents has challenged the accuracy of the OIG's report of the employee's wrongdoing. While this case did not involve problems of inadequate notice, it is an example of the overall concern that OIG investigations too often are not conducted with the level of fairness and care required in such serious matters. The interpreter was concerned that the OIG was not accurately reporting the words of the witness, so the interpreter requested a copy of the testimony in order to check its accuracy. Despite OIG's promises to supply her a copy, she never received one.

Later, when she finally read the OIG report of the interview, she filed a complaint with the OIG requesting an investigation into the interview. She charges that specific words were changed, statements were omitted and language was added into the OIG's version of the interview. The OIG never responded to the interpreter's request for an investigation. In fact, the Inspector General's April 1 to September 30, 1996 semi-annual report to Congress included a description of this case based on the potentially inaccurate interpretations of testimony by the OIG agents, with no mention of the complaint received five months prior regarding the validity of the testimony in question.

The Foreign Service officer has filed a complaint with the President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency against Inspector General Jacquelyn Williams-Bridgers for violating 18 U.S.C. 1001 (for not responding to an investigation request) and 18 U.S.C. 1505 (for deliberately misinforming and withholding pertinent information from Congress) in this case.

There are several other cases that have been called to my attention, involving career officers and selective prosecution, varying methods of responding to press requests for information and other aspects of the operation of the OIG that have a dramatic — and often harmful — impact on the lives of

the individuals under investigation. Many of these people are forced to incur enormous legal bills that are difficult for the individuals to settle, just to clear their names.

Criminal investigations and prosecutions involve a balance between basic fairness for individuals under investigation and sufficient authority to investigate and prosecute criminal actions.

Inspectors general exist in a grey zone. They appear to view themselves as identical to federal law enforcement agencies, but they are not prosecutors or statutory law enforcement officers. However, in recent years, through executive branch agreements and practice, inspectors general have slowly gained broad investigative authority.

Most State Department employees do not anticipate a criminal interview with prosecutors when they are asked to attend an OIG meeting, because employees come in contact with the OIG on a wide variety of benign administrative matters. Upon unexpectedly finding themselves in the middle of a criminal investigation, employees are often too intimidated to recall, much less exercise, their right to counsel. Individuals are rarely informed by the investigators present that they have such a right. It is not unreasonable for an employee in this situation to believe that refusal to cooperate immediately with the interview at hand could jeopardize his or her career.

The outcome of an investigation will be seen as credible and enduring only when the process itself is perceived to be fair. Objective observers are more likely to accept an IG's findings if the investigative process is as transparent as possible. To be effective, the process of gathering evidence must often be conducted covertly. Targets of investigations, however, must be made aware that they are under criminal investigation, and they must be made aware of their rights within that process.

**T**he current State, ACDA and USIA Inspector General, Jacquelyn Williams-Bridgers, has had reservations about my proposal to reform the IG's investigation process. In particular,

## THE IG ISSUE REACHES THE HILL

By EVA-LOTTA JANSSON

While some Foreign Service officers and State Department officials, backed by Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-Ind.), believe the Office of the Inspector General at State is abusing its internal investigative powers by violating FSOs' rights to due process, there is a flip side to the coin.

Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, argues that State treats recalcitrant FSOs with kid gloves instead of a much needed iron hand.

Helms, in a January 29 Senate speech, said that many corrupt diplomats are protected from penalties by an old-boy network that takes care of its own. There is "a highly disturbing pattern of abuse and professional misconduct by members of the U.S. Foreign Service and a grievance process that does not adequately penalize individuals who engage in such actions," he said.

The senator listed examples including a U.S. ambassador who allegedly harassed female employees; an FSO who allegedly embezzled State funds; and another who allegedly exchanged visas for sex. All escaped virtually unpunished, according to Helms. In a letter to Secretary Madeleine Albright, he warned, "These cases may be merely the tip of a corrupt iceberg."

It is clear the administration is gearing up for another round of battles over discipline and grievance procedures by reforming the Foreign Service Act. About the time Helms announced he would hold hearings on State disciplinary processes this Spring, the OIG for State, USIA and ACDA released a report calling for tougher discipline for FSOs. The report says that while the OIG finds and investigates infractions, management does not act swiftly or effectively on its recommendations.

IG Jacquelyn Williams-Bridgers said she issued the report in response to a 1996 request by Rep. Benjamin Gilman (R-N.Y.). Gilman had asked her if FS employees commit more offenses than other employees and how the rate and weight of disciplinary actions compare.

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*Eva-Lotta Jansson is assistant editor of the Journal.*

Several of the report's recommendations are similar to provisions State lobbied Congress to include as amendments to the latest Foreign Relations Authorization Act. In the end, however, these amendments were not included in the 1997 legislation.

In the IG's report, which covers the 1991-96 period and focuses on 162 cases, Williams-Bridgers concludes that FSOs don't misbehave any more than other federal employees, but that their punishments aren't always "swift and certain" enough. The report says the average processing time for a case is 25 months, between the time the OIG issues a report of misconduct and the time the department initiates disciplinary action.

While Sharon Papp, AFSA's general counsel, agrees with the IG that the disciplinary process often takes too long, she says the report neglects to include the time it takes the OIG itself to investigate an employee — prior to issuing a report of misconduct.

So the situation in fact is worse than the IG reports. "IG investigations sometimes drag on for years, adversely impacting FSOs' careers," Papp said. Officers selected for promotion while under investigation do not get promoted until the investigation is closed, she explained. And because of the "up-or-out" system, FSOs who don't get promoted could run up against "time-in-class" limitations and eventually lose their jobs.

Papp finds fault also with the report's claim that many FSOs get away with inadequate penalties. OIG's report identified "several" cases in which "penalties assessed appeared lenient compared to the infraction."

That is not specific enough, Papp said. "How many are several?" she asked. "Three out of 162?"

To speed up the process and treat FSOs more like Civil Service employees, the IG suggests that the Grievance Board should no longer have jurisdiction over cases where employees are suspended for 14 days or less. Instead, these employees would have to go to arbitration. In other disciplinary cases, FSOs should not have the absolute right to a hearing before the Board, the IG said. Instead, the board should have the discretion to review such cases. ■

she has expressed the view that reform would place an undue restriction on her ability to conduct investigations. I am not trying to restrict any investigations. And I do not understand how giving individuals basic protections in the process should impede investigations.

For example, it is unlikely that undercover investigations would fall into the category of cases covered by this language. The OIG and the Justice Department authorities could proceed as usual with an undercover investigation, including gathering evidence, reviewing documents, and questioning witnesses, until they schedule a formal interview at which prosecutors or FBI agents were to be present. If these Justice Department officials identify themselves at the time of the interview as the OIG purports they currently do, then the interview would not be undercover. Therefore, notice shortly prior to such an interview would not interfere with the undercover process.

Williams-Bridgers also has argued that adding these notice requirements will put the State OIG at a disadvantage with respect to all the other inspectors general. More than 50 different agencies have inspectors general. Right now, not more than seven of these OIGs, including the one for State, ACDA and USIA, have a special "memorandum of understanding" with the Department of Justice. These MOUs confer additional investigative authorities upon this subset of inspectors general. But even within these MOUs, certain investigative powers — which may vary by agency and MOU — require increased supervision and participation by the FBI when the particular OIG seeks to use them. So there already exists a good deal of differentiation among the various agencies' inspectors general, as well as an acknowledgment by the FBI that inspectors general require supervision by law enforcement authorities.

I agree that it would be useful to address concerns about due process across the entire community of inspectors general. Preparing to craft appropriate legislation on this topic, the Government Reform Committee held a hearing last July and requested input from various federal inspectors general and the President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency, a body that oversees the work of the IGs. In the

International Relations Committee, we can address only those agencies over which the committee has an oversight role. That is why I offered an amendment to the International Relations Committee's State Department authorization bill directed at the inspector general for the Department of State, ACDA and USIA - and that is why I testified about the broader issue before the Government Reform Subcommittee on Government Management.

### **Steps Toward Reform**

The OIG must do a better job of providing the individuals involved with timely information about ongoing investigations. When employees are interviewed about issues related to an investigation, the OIG must notify them of their basic rights, provide them with the opportunity to consult a lawyer or have a lawyer present during the interview, and identify the affiliation of those present at a formal interview.

I do not want to limit the OIG's investigative authority. But I do question the manner in which the OIG conducts employee investigations, and I believe the investigative practices and operations of the OIG must be reformed.

I have tried to address these concerns through a provision adopted by the conference committee on H.R. 1757. The conferees and the inspector general carefully negotiated reform language that was accepted by all parties. Unresolved differences on unrelated sections of that bill prevented the conference committee from agreeing to a final report during the first session of this Congress, so the OIG issue is still pending. I will work in the next session for the enactment of this provision or a similar provision.

### **A Tentative Solution**

The language worked out in conference in the first session of this Congress had three parts:

First, it would require the OIG to provide information to employees about their rights to counsel during investigations and about OIG policies and procedures with respect to investigations. The practical effect of this section is that OIG would update its current pamphlet on employee rights and OIG

# AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association



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## NMS: A Financial Black Hole

By Frank Miller  
USAID Vice President

USAID's much vaunted New Management System (NMS) has become a financial black hole which makes the Defense Department's \$500 toilet seat scandal of a few years ago look tame by comparison. At least the toilet seats work. After having spent over \$100 million, USAID has a new management system that cannot provide reliable financial and management information.

In January 1997, AFSA announced that widespread problems with the NMS were paralyzing our field missions. Although USAID NMS developers anticipated that an October 1996 worldwide deployment of the NMS would result in significant problems because the NMS had not been properly tested, AID Management took a "Damn the torpedoes! Full speed!" approach to systems development, a high-risk approach that did not follow established U.S. Government

guidelines for computer systems development.

More alarming is that NMS design and testing problems surfaced much earlier. In its June 1995 evaluation of the NMS, the Carnegie-Mellon University Software Engineering Institute warned that deployment without adequate testing could lead to significant errors and poor performance of the system. This is exactly what happened.

As a result of a huge outpouring of employee dissatisfaction with the NMS, AFSA requested that further deployment of the NMS cease and the former field operating system, MACS, be utilized for field accounting purposes. AFSA also requested that USAID contract either with Carnegie-Mellon University or with a disinterested software engineering firm to assess the NMS, to evaluate alternatives for further system design and testing requirements and to develop a rational time-phased implementation plan for deployment.

Subsequently, in April 1997, Management

*Continued on page 5*

## • AFSA Dateline •

• AFSA has received a \$36,000 grant from the U.S.-Japan Foundation in support of the Diplomats Online Project.

• AFSA welcomes Thomasina Johnson as Headquarters administrative assistant. Before coming to AFSA Johnson was member service administrator of North American Graphic Arts Suppliers Association and also worked at the Greater Washington Society of Association Executives.

• In response to the AFSA Governing Board's request for members' input regarding the future of the Foreign Service Club, 503 members returned the surveys, along with their suggestions and comments. Of the total respondents, 78 percent said that they would not be willing to pay on additional

club fee to keep it open; 84 percent said that AFSA should lease the facilities to a commercial food service. The Club is now under a three-month trial contract with a caterer while the Governing Board evaluates options for a long-term solution.

• Spring interns of AFSA will be assisting in advocacy and legislative affairs, public affairs, editorial work, marketing and corporate research. They include Kevin Baran, a University of Richmond international studies graduate, Jennifer Butler, a junior at Syracuse University, Helder Gil, a junior at George Washington University, Fred Szu-chi Wu, a journalism major at American University, and Marlena Jenkins, a junior at the University of Richmond.

F A S  
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• M A G G I E D O W L I N G •

## AFSA Reevaluates FAS Partnership

**F**AS management's recent decision to ignore a ruling of the Foreign Service Grievance Board and to proceed with the contested action while the appeal was pending has forced AFSA FAS members to suspend participation in the FAS Partnership Council. We see little value in sitting at the table to hammer out agreements that are ignored when they prove inconvenient to management.

A significant number of management actions in the past year have seriously eroded the foundation of trust and cooperation essential to partnership. Therefore, after thorough consideration and extensive discussion among FAS members and with other FS colleagues, we decided to suspend our partnership participation until that foundation can be restored.

Initially, the FAS Partnership Council had been one of the many success stories credited to the new labor-management partnership. A recent Office of Personnel Management study has confirmed the overall success and expansion of partnership within the government. According to the report, more than 70 percent of all bargaining unit employees now participate in partnership—and both sides like it! Ninety percent of union and 71 percent of management participants favor partnership. Further, OPM data show that unfair labor practice charges are down by 28 percent government-wide and impasse situations are down 34 percent since Partnership Councils were established in October 1993 with Executive Order 12871.

About one-half of the Partnership Councils, according to the report, bypass negotiability roadblocks and more than 40 percent handle "tough" issues such as budget, staffing, reductions in force. Case study after case study points to improved productivity and efficiency. Twenty-seven

percent of all employees and managers, in fact, report an increase in productivity and only 6 percent lower productivity. Over half of all employees and managers say that the labor-management relationship has improved since EO 12871 was issued. Most striking, perhaps, is the fact that while nearly 47 percent of employees and managers reported a hostile labor management relationship prior to October 1993, now only 23 percent do so.

In short, partnership works if the parties are serious in their commitment to it. Most high performance organizations have found a strong, vibrant partnership essential to achieving the goals of the National

Performance Review and to meeting the requirements of the Government Performance and Results Act of 1993. As Vice President Gore told us nearly five years ago, Partnership Councils are key to reinvigorating government and enabling organizations to provide the highest quality services to the American people.

The foremost concern of FAS FSOs is that our agency remain an organization capable of providing the high level of overseas representation essential to achieving continuing export growth and prosperity in the agricultural sector. Only by working together as full partners can we achieve the full promise of our individual and collective potential and realize the vision that inspired Congress to establish our agency and a specialized corps of agricultural professionals.

We remain hopeful that management soon will take steps to restore the mutual respect and trust fundamental to partnership. **If not, AFSA will proceed to address all our outstanding issues in a variety of ways, including the legal means available to us and exercising our rights under the collective bargaining agreement.**

*"Partnership works if the parties are serious in their commitment to it."*

## FINANCIAL AID SCHOLARSHIP FUND IN MEMORY OF RICK WEISS

AFSA has established a scholarship fund to honor the late Walter F. "Rick" Weiss, AFSA Congressional Liaison. Contributions may be made to the AFSA Scholarship Fund with the notation, Walter F. Weiss Financial Aid Scholarship Fund.

## AFSA DISABILITY INCOME PLAN WITH EASY ACCEPTANCE AVAILABLE TO MEMBERS

**A**n Enrollment Period is now in progress for the AFSA Disability Income Insurance Plan with \$1,500 in monthly benefits.

The Disability Plan provides AFSA members with an income in the event of a disabling illness or accident. The application requirements are simplified during this Enrollment Period.

All AFSA members and/or spouses under age 60 are eligible to apply for the AFSA Disability Income Plan by meeting certain requirements. Members will be receiving more information in the mail.

The Enrollment Period for the AFSA Disability Insurance Plan will end June 1, 1998. Members with questions can contact the Insurance Administrator: Albert H. Wohlers & Co., 1440 N. Northwest Highway, Park Ridge, IL 60068-1400. Call the Customer Service Department toll-free at 1-800-503-9230 or e-mail [cusv@ahw.com](mailto:cusv@ahw.com) via the Internet.

# Inside

THE FOREIGN SERVICE COMMUNITY

## AFSA Members in Action

• Westview Press has recently published *MEGANET: How the Global Communications Network Will Connect Everyone on Earth*, by retired FSO **Wilson Dizard Jr.** A senior associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C., **Dizard** worked for USIA and is the author of six books.

• Former ambassador to Bangladesh and career USAID FSO **David N. Merrill** has joined Halliburton Co. as director of business development for Asia. He is based in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

• Retired FSO **Richard W. Mueller** has been named head of Northfield Mount Hermon School, a college preparatory school in Northfield, Mass. He will assume his duties July 1.

• Retired FSO **Diana Richards'** remarkable collection of fabrics and clothing was featured in "Bringing the Souk Home: Treasured Textiles Recall a Diplomat's Travels" in *The Washington Post Home* supplement on Feb. 5.

• Former ambassador **Fred Rondon** is seeking information on **Stephen B. Vaughn**, vice consul in Breslau, Silesia, Germany, from 1938 to 1939. It is believed that a number of Jews in Silesia were saved by **Vaughn's** actions. A group of Holocaust survivors would like to thank this FS hero but cannot locate him. Contact **Rondon** by e-mail at fernandoer@aol.com or by phone at (703) 533-0679.

## Affiliated Organization Activities

• The **San Antonio, Texas, Foreign Service Group** luncheons will be held the third Saturday of March, May, July, Sept. and Nov. For more information, call Ann Engelhart at (210) 824-9386.

• **Salt Lake City foreign affairs retirees** meet on a monthly basis. For details, contact Horvey D. Brown by e-mail at harveybey@aol.com or by phone and fax at (801) 298-2077.

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.

USIA

# V.P. VOICE

• BY RILEY SEVER •

## They Who Hesitate ...

Watching the movie "Titanic" recently, I marveled at how many of the passengers would not acknowledge that the "unsinkable ship" had sprung a leak. Time was lost and lifeboats left half-filled because many just refused to mobilize while there was time to avoid complete disaster. I must admit to having had similar feelings as I watched necessary planning for integration of USIA and the State Department grind to a halt. The delay has many causes: Congress has not authorized it; the secretary has chosen to bide her time with the plan presented to her; USIA leadership wishes the issue would just go away; or all of the above. For whatever reason, the preparation for the merger—which got off to an excellent start last summer—has lost momentum. Key participants in the process have moved to other assignments. Some have retired. There is an eerie silence from every quarter.

While we cannot guarantee that the merger will take place, we must act as if it will, and prepare for Oct. 1, 1999. Because we are experiencing one cliché of government service, "Hurry up and wait," we are in danger of falling into the opposite trap, "Delay until the deadline is upon us and the task must be completed on a crash basis."

AFSA has encouraged management at State and USIA to proceed with the necessary discussions for "harmonizing" personnel mechanisms, practices and policies. AFSA's participation is also vital. We have sought and received assurance that there will be a place for us at the table, no matter how preliminary the discussions. Despite political uncertainties, it is time for last summer's work to resume. A wide variety of issues must be explored, from the reconciliation of TIC/TIS rules to assignment and promotion practices. This will not be wasted

effort because, regardless of the final integration, a systematic review and harmonization of personnel policies between both agencies constitute progress.

It is not too early to move from harmonizing personnel practices to planning how public diplomacy can be integrated

into the State Department.

That, we should remember, is the principal stated goal of the president's decision on integration. Unfortunately, it is a topic which has received little open discussion or public attention because it is clearly the most contentious. USIA has attempted to create fire walls to protect funding for public diplomacy and control of FSN professional staff.

Many at State think the agency is making an artificial distinction between public affairs and public diplomacy to justify budget control. Many in the agency feel less like partners in a merger, and more like objects of a hostile takeover.

USIA and State have valid concerns. The agency has a legitimate interest in protecting public diplomacy program funds and preventing their potential reprogramming. State is also correct that central control of resources is more efficient in a well-run international organization. Confidence-building is clearly in order. However, it is time, perhaps, we looked past structure and budget concerns to focus on the basic issue: What will be the role of public diplomacy in State? Merely grafting the I Bureau and E Bureau onto State and adding an undersecretary for public affairs and public diplomacy are not enough of an answer. But we may end up with this if we continue to wait and wonder. Like the passengers on the *Titanic*, when we finally realize that we must do something, time will be running out. Panic and haste will lead to bad decisions and much that is worth saving may be lost.

"Preparation for the merger has lost momentum."

# V.P. VOICE

• BY CHARLES KESTENBAUM •

## Effective Integration Crucial to Success in the Next Century

One of the most important topics for AFSA members of the United States & Foreign Commercial Service is what has become widely known as the *integration initiative*. This entails bringing closer together the two branches of the U.S. Commerce Department's trade promotion system—our overseas embassy-based FS program and our sister system, the domestic district office network. These parallel organizations combine in the US&FCS—thus the “&” designating the two separate components—to make the one organization.

The integration initiative was conceived in the early 1990s as an effort to deliver a seamless business support program to our commercial clients, whether they be in Rome, N.Y., or Rome, Italy. The most basic principle of “integration” is the belief that U.S. trade promotion officers, wherever they are located, will be more effective if they have experience both on the domestic and the foreign side. Employees who serve their entire careers overseas risk losing touch with the very trends, products and technologies affecting the U.S. commercial markets the officers represent. Those who serve only in domestic assignments can be much more effective in their business counseling if they have had personal experience working in the international setting afforded by an embassy commercial section. But the responsibilities of the two groups are sufficiently different to warrant a closer look.

Domestic trade specialists tailor their client counseling to focus on initial market entry and second stage expansion plans, thus helping firms aim an export strategy on a discrete, targeted group of countries. Domestic specialists also concentrate on several industries, based on their region's predominant industry profiles. While their

universe of potential clients is large, it is also much more homogeneous than that of the FSO overseas who daily faces a broad range of business constituents, market issues and trade policies. Other basic differences include obvious factors such as languages, currencies and time differences. The idea for integration assumes that all officers would function better if they had some experience with the other side of the program. The long-range goal has been to foster such interaction so that the two systems—domestic (GS) and foreign (FS)—would gradually merge into one hybrid personnel system.

*“Responsibilities of the two groups are sufficiently different to warrant a closer look.”*

Integration of the US&FCS personnel systems has had some success in the past five years and now faces new challenges which were difficult to anticipate in the initial conceptual stages. Obviously, officers who had chosen a foreign-based career were reluctant to take assignments to America's heartland, where their hard-earned skills are often of marginal value and little-used. [How often would I have an opportunity to use Bahasa Indonesian in Denver or Des Moines?]

Melding GS and FS personnel systems has proven troublesome because the systems are fundamentally different. The FS system is intensely competitive because there is no limit to rank achieved through performance-based promotion. At the same time, the GS system is graded by job, not personal rank, which requires the individual to compete for a higher graded job in order to receive a promotion. Tailoring a personnel system that allows for basic systemic differences but still facilitates interchanges is one of the main challenges facing the US&FCS. We must redesign our trade promotion structures to successfully prepare our economy to face the global commercial challenges in the new world of the year 2000 and beyond.

## PUTTING A FACE ON THE FOREIGN SERVICE

By Jennifer Butler  
AFSA Public Affairs Intern

During his last assignment, one FSO recorded a CD in Zimbabwe that made it to the top 10 on the local radio station. Another FS employee observed a group of raw pink Amazon River dolphins playing off the bow of her boat. Several FS members have books about to be published. How do we know? Through our program “Putting a Face on the Foreign Service,” AFSA is bringing these and other stories to the attention of the general public. In an attempt to personalize the FS and help the American people better understand its mission and achievements, AFSA initiated PFFS in mid-1996. Begun as a public relations campaign, PFFS quickly blossomed and now provides articles to alumni publications and hometown newspapers around the country.

The American public often fails to appreciate the role of the Foreign Service, allowing misconceptions to remain. The Foreign Service is not a group of stuffy diplomats hosting posh cocktail parties in lavish marble palaces. The Foreign Service is a skilled and dedicated corps of professionals advancing the national interests. You know this and so should America.

Each of you—generalist, specialist, spouse, ambassador, officer, secretary—has a story to tell. We need to ensure as wide an audience as possible for your story. We must personalize the Foreign Service so that America understands and appreciates all your work. Let's make it clear that the Foreign Service is made up of individuals who work across the globe implementing our foreign policy through many roles. We need to get these stories beyond the Washington Beltway and out to Mainstreet, U.S.A., to hometown papers, alumni magazines, association newsletters.

Getting involved is easy. Just get in touch and we'll send the information needed to prepare a piece for publication. Contact AFSA at (202) 338-4045, ext. 523, or e-mail us at [cam@afsa.org](mailto:cam@afsa.org), subject “PFFS.” Write an article for submission yourself or let our staff help by writing the article based on your material. Our public affairs department will set up all contacts and do everything possible to broadcast your story. The easy part is done—the story is there to be told. All you need to do is tell it.

## NMS: Black Hole

Continued from page 1

suspended the AID Worldwide Accounting and Control System (AWACS) and the Acquisition and Assistance functions for field use. AFSA's request to hire an expert software firm to assess the NMS went unheeded for nearly a year. Those who mismanaged the design and implementation of the NMS did not want another software firm to report that the NMS was unpredictable and that defects and design deficiencies would be extremely difficult and costly to fix. During this 12-month period, USAID spent over \$20 million of scarce operations funds attempting to find a remedy for the system. Most of this money was wasted by "monogers" who knew little or nothing about systems design.

In February 1998, IBM completed a thorough analysis of the NMS. The results are not surprising. IBM found significant technical, functional and management/operational problems in the NMS that inhibit successful implementation. In plain English, the system does not work.

Specifically, AWACS, the backbone of the NMS, is unsolvable. Moreover, the NMS is not Year 2000 compliant. This is why the Congress gave AID an "F" on our report card regarding progress towards addressing Year 2000 computer problems. It appears that our former chief financial officer recommended, for simplicity's sake, that we utilize an NMS program code with two-digit dates. The two-digit dating system assumes 1 and 9 are the first two digits of the year. Therefore, date-related calculations and date span decisions may be wrong or cause system failure.

The NMS is so poorly designed that it has an overall error rate of at least **27 percent, in an industry in which the standard is ten percent or less.**

Security requirements were not incorporated into the NMS design and implementation. On the business functionality side, AWACS cannot account for incremental funding, as required in bilateral agreements. Our general ledger balances are not supported by subsidiary ledgers; NMS cannot produce month-end and year-end accruals nor end-of-year closing processes. The NMS cannot match invoices with purchase orders and receiving reports. The NMS cannot record all receivables and cannot calculate interest and penalties due. Moreover, the NMS cannot account for foreign currency and trust funds nor can it manage loan information.

In terms of contracting information, the

NMS cannot provide USAID's recorded past vendor performance required to make awards. In terms of authorizing payment of invoices, deobligation and payment approval are not entered into NMS by the same individual; so, given the time lapse required to update unliquidated balances, invoices may be paid after money is deobligated.

Besides these and many other problems, the NMS locks integration between the various functional systems due to the stovepipe development and ad hoc design practices. For example, AWACS was designed independently of the needs and requirements of operations or acquisition systems needs, a classic case of the left hand not knowing what the right hand was doing.

**Where are we now?** IBM has, in so many words, advised USAID that AWACS is not worth fixing. AWACS does not meet the basic requirements for U.S. Government financial management regulatory requirements established by the Office of Management and Budget, the General Accounting Office and Treasury. In terms of the alternatives available to USAID, IBM essentially recommended two choices, based on a benefit-cost analysis which compared alternative solutions with respect to life cycle cost, risk and benefit. The first choice is to purchase an off-the-shelf financial package and to alter the other parts of the NMS to improve systems integration and security and to meet Year 2000 requirements. The second choice is to buy all our management systems requirements off the shelf.

At this point we know that the cost of a revised management system will be considerably more than \$100 million. It is also clear that it will be difficult for USAID to revise our NMS to meet the needs of the Year 2000 problem in a timely manner.

**How did this happen?** Are there not systems in place to prevent such a debacle? The systems are indeed in place, but they were not followed. In 1994, the General Services Administration (GSA) granted permission to USAID to develop the NMS rather than purchase an off-the-shelf financial management system. In order to obtain a waiver from GSA, USAID promised to use the Information Engineering Methodology for AWACS. This methodology includes testing the system to ensure that it works in an operational environment and adequately planning for implementation by migrating data from existing systems. As documented in several OIG reports over the past two years, USAID did not carry out its agreement with GSA. It did not thoroughly test

NMS before deploying the system worldwide, nor did it verify that the system met federal financial management system requirements, nor did it successfully migrate data from existing systems.

USAID allegedly saved \$20 million by closing two dozen missions and firing 200 employees in the RIF because of shortages in our operations and expense (O&E) budget. Many in our agency believe that the gross mismanagement of the NMS and O&E funds caused employees to lose their jobs. The IBM report further reinforces that view.

Employees now ask, "Who will be held accountable for this colossal mismanagement of the taxpayers' money?" Four years after the initiation of NMS development, we are not even close to meeting federal government requirements for financial management systems nor to meeting Year 2000 requirements.

The only ray of hope in this gloomy tale is that USAID Management is coming to grips with this nightmare. Our chief management official has been replaced by a senior career officer who consults with employees. Moreover, our chief financial officer has been detailed to OPIC and a career officer named acting in his place. A career officer with private sector systems experience is now NMS program manager. These three officers are working closely with other bureau representatives to avoid the NMS mismanagement of the past. Now we pray that the NMS can be adequately revised without devouring so much of our scarce O&E funds that further mission closings or staff cuts occur.

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## F O C U S

### *OIG need not, and should not, wait for congressional action before making needed changes.*

procedures and make this pamphlet widely available to all employees.

The provision would exempt from disclosure in such a pamphlet, however, those matters that are exempt under provisions of law. This would most likely apply to appropriately defined intelligence or security-related matters.

Second, it would prohibit officials from outside agencies from participating in the formal interview of an individual who is the subject of an OIG criminal investigation, unless that individual received prior adequate notice regarding participation in the interview of officials from those outside agencies. The effect of this section would be to provide individuals who are targets of criminal investigations notice prior to the interview that prosecutors or FBI agents, for example, would be present at the interview.

Again, this notice requirement would not apply to: (1) any intelligence-related or sensitive undercover investigation; or (2) any situation in which the inspector general has reasonable grounds to believe that the provision of notice would cause tampering with any witness, the destruction of evidence, or the endangering of life. While I recognize that these exceptions are open to wide interpretation, I believe that providing protection for sensitive and intelligence-related matters is essential to striking the right balance on this issue.

Third, this provision would require the OIG to submit to Congress a one-time report on internal press guidance with respect to public disclosure of information related to an ongoing investigation of any employee.

If and when this provision becomes law, it will provide a guideline for OIG relationships with employees during investigations. Applying the right balance in practice will require careful consideration in each individual case. Through close oversight, the committees of jurisdiction—the House International Relations and Government Reform Committees, and the Senate Foreign Relations and Government Affairs Committees—can help ensure

that the right balance is struck.

The OIG need not — and I hope will not — wait for this provision to become law before applying these guidelines. I believe the OIG has the authority today to provide adequate prior notice in appropriate cases to individuals who are the subject of criminal investigations. The

agreement of the House and Senate conferees, even in the absence of enactment of H.R. 1757, provides clear guidance from oversight committees for a change in the practices of the State, ACDA and USIA OIG.

The kind of change envisioned by the congressional conferees would reform the way the Office of the Inspector General communicates with employees. While it provides for exceptions in cases involving intelligence and sensitive undercover matters, it offers new protections for individual rights through adequate notice. It would be a worthwhile step toward striking a balance between valid competing interests. ■

### *Have a Bone to Pick?*

Why not write a "Speak Out" for the *Foreign Service Journal*? "Speak Out" is the *FSJ*'s op-ed section, the place where writers can express opinions on issues specific to the Foreign Service, its employees and its work. Writers are encouraged to take strong stands, but all claims must be supported and documented. Length of submitted articles should be from 1,500 to 2,000 words.

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# CURBING THE STATE POLICE



RENÉ MANSFIELD

## **T** OIG AND ITS INVESTIGATIVE ARM ENGAGE IN MANY ABUSES OF POWER AND DUE PROCESS

*By David B. Dlouhy*

The Office of the Inspector General for the State Department, ACDA and USIA is a deeply deficient unit of the U.S. government. My own experience, and that of many other Foreign Service and Civil Service personnel, indicates that the OIG fails to follow normal rules of due process and consequently often abuses the rights and improperly obstructs the careers of those it investigates.

Following this article (*see p. 35*), you can read the first-person accounts of three FSOs who came under the gun of OIG. In this introduction, I point out what I believe to be the systemic problems affecting the OIG, particularly its investigative arm (OIG/INV).

## F O C U S

### *The system treats employees as guilty until proven innocent — a rather un-American approach.*

**A**mong the most serious problems is that the system generally treats FSOs and Civil Service employees as guilty until proven innocent, a rather un-American approach. For example, anyone can make an accusation and OIG/INV may open an investigation. The investigation, however, is then not limited to the accusation but becomes a fishing expedition into the employee's entire career. If the accused person happens to be on a promotion list, the director general will remove that person from the promotion list until the case is closed—which may be never, as the examples that follow prove. The director general is not obligated to suspend promotions — that authority is discretionary. However, he is being asked by Congress to vouch for the bona fides of those promoted. OIG thus puts the director general in an impossible situation, which to date has been decided uniformly against employees and in favor of the accusers in OIG/INV. Because it wants to make a case, OIG/INV then uses the fact of the promotion suspension as leverage against the employee and against the director general who has no control over OIG's dilatory tactics.

When a U.S. Attorney declines to pursue civil or criminal prosecution of an OIG/INV case and when OIG/INV then issues a report to the director general (there are no time limits), the matter is referred to Personnel/Employee Relations for administrative action. PER/ER routinely processes OIG/INV reports and proposes disciplinary action with no independent investigation or evaluation. While a promotion continues in suspense, PER/ER will then propose a penalty. Only then does the employee have the opportunity to provide a defense.

While the pretense is made that there is a distinction between the proposing official for the disciplinary action (the director of PER/ER) and the deciding official

(a deputy assistant secretary in the Office of the Director General), in fact, the staff work for both is done by the same person—the person who drafted the proposed disciplinary action. That same person, in effect the prosecuting attorney, is involved directly with the deciding official DAS.

Another indication that there is inadequate separation between the prosecuting and deciding officials is the way responses from the accused party are handled. PER/ER has confirmed in writing that it has no written procedures for managing the response from the accused party. Routinely, the deciding DAS has sent the accused employee's response back to OIG/INV for comment. And while the "prosecuting" official has unlimited access to the deciding official, by arbitrary decision, the accused is generally permitted only one meeting with the deciding official.

### **Who Watches the Watchers?**

Professional law-enforcement agencies in the United States contain an internal affairs office to deal with abuses—but not the OIG. In the case of the growing State police, there is no effective oversight. The OIG General Counsel's Office has an intimate and non-adversarial relationship with investigators.

And while senior State Department officials and the Office of the Director General have in private criticized OIG/INV excesses, they say they are unable to stop them because the IG is "independent." Meanwhile, the director general continues routinely to suspend promotions based on unconfirmed accusations and to process administrative actions based on OIG reports of investigation.

The director general's staff has stated in writing that individual matters, including allegations of improper actions by OIG/INV agents, should be taken to the Foreign Service Grievance Staff and Board. They, in turn, claim in writing that they have no jurisdiction over OIG. However, senior Senate staff on the responsible oversight committee have taken the position that, under Section 209 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, the IG is under the supervision of the secretary of State.

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*The author is special advisor for implementation of the Bosnia Peace Treaty in the Office of the President and Secretary of State's Special Representative and the Bureau of European Affairs. His grievance against OIG/INV was sustained by the Grievance Staff.*

OIG continues to send mandatory reports to Congress extolling the sleuthing of its staff in the uncovering of alleged State Department transgressions. The truth is that much in these reports is the product of a flawed process designed to promote, rationalize and justify an inflated OIG budget. The IG reports to Congress after the State deciding official has issued a decision, but it reports only the case OIG presented. If the case is later modified during appeals, or even overturned by the Grievance Staff or Board, Congress will never be told that part of the story. Even worse, in an effort to thwart the department's disciplinary process, OIG/INV now routinely delivers raw case files to the Senate staff on all individuals on a promotion or confirmation list.

### **OIG Seeks More Power**

Assiduously working Hill contacts, senior OIG personnel conveyed the idea that OIG/INV agents are being stymied in their work by a disciplinary process at State that is incapable of bringing real, swift justice to bear. Encouraged by OIG/INV staff, Rep. Ben Gilman (R-N.Y.), chairman of the House International Relations Committee, tasked the IG with preparing a "report of inspection" on the disciplinary function — what the department and three other foreign affairs agencies did with the disciplinary cases delivered to them by the inspector general.

In January 1998, the IG delivered her report. Thirteen of the 20 recommendations in the report are directed at making it easier for OIG/INV to prevail against employees at all levels of the disciplinary process by limiting the due process and legal protections available to accused personnel.

Clearly, by encouraging the House International Relations Committee to order its report of inspection, and by similarly cultivating the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the OIG is attempting to expand its authority. This two-pronged bureaucratic attack was designed by OIG/INV to give it control over the process and the final product — over convictions and punishment, even when the system rejects its accusations and recommendations for punishment.

Moreover, OIG admits in its January 1998 report to Congress that it is withholding information from the disciplinary process and that it maintains secret files on

employees — files that are not accessible under the Freedom of Information Act. OIG is now demanding to introduce evidence from these secret files at the grievance stage, though management to date has rejected this unwarranted intrusion. OIG also reveals in this report that it is accessing and reviewing employees' official personnel folders for negative comments about OIG/INV and inserting this information into OIG/INV's own personnel files.

### **What Can We Do?**

Reform of the OIG may not come from within the State Department. "Jurisdiction," fear of retribution and the standard FSO don't-rock-the-boat mentality may preclude any initiative to assert the secretary's legal authority over the IG.

The most likely source of reform is Congress, where Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-Ind.) has proposed reform legislation (see his article, page 26). In addition, the House has called hearings on reform of the IG Act of 1978 and Rep. Dan Burton (R-Ind.) has asked the General Accounting Office to prepare an evaluation of the functioning of the IG Act.

The Integrity Committee of the President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency may emerge as a meaningful watcher of the watchers. The Integrity Committee is authorized to receive, review and refer for investigation allegations of wrongdoing against federal inspectors general and staff members. To date, recourse to the Integrity Committee has not been included in the State Department's disciplinary or grievance process. Still, AFSA should make employees aware at the outset of an investigation that the committee exists.

Congressional reform of the OIG should start with effective oversight by the secretary of State. An internal affairs unit must be established in OIG. The director general must cease suspending promotions just because OIG/INV reports an open investigation. Written rules must establish a clear separation of function between OIG's accusatory case-making, PER/ER's prosecutorial function and the decision-making role of the deciding DAS. The three cases described on the following pages make clear just how abusive OIG/INV can be. It is up to Congress to restore balance to a broken system. ■

# SAVAGED BY THE SYSTEM

## *Three First-Person Accounts of OIG Wrongdoing and Abuse*

*The Foreign Service Journal does not normally publish unsigned articles, but we are making an exception in this instance for what appear to be good reasons. The three authors — two administrative officers at overseas posts and an economic officer serving in a policy position in the State Department — have all had extremely unpleasant run-ins with the Office of the Inspector General. All feel that their careers have been unjustly damaged by the unfair practices of the OIG. The editor of the Journal knows who the FSOs are and has spoken with them.*

*The authors have made it clear that they are not asking that the articles appear anonymously because they wish to hide their identities from the OIG. In fact, each author gives sufficient information about his or her case that the inspector general will have no difficulty in identifying the author. Rather, the three FSOs are seeking to protect reputations and careers within the department, while still informing their colleagues of these troubling issues.*

*As one author said, "Every FSO has a right to know what I have learned the hard way."*

— The Editor

### Case 1: A 12-Year Vendetta

I completed an overseas assignment with receipt of one of the highest "name" awards for service to the Department of State. I had just been promoted—well in advance of my peers—and was scheduled for mid-level training, which according to my career development officer, marked me for "bigger and better things." I thought I was on top of the world. Two years later, however, I began to note that some of my friends started acting uncomfortable around me. Finally, a true friend came forward and told me that he had been approached by two officers from OIG/INV who had met him waving badges and threatening jail time while making various allegations about me. After frightening my friend with threats, the agents told him that he could be subject to criminal prosecution if he mentioned any of their conversation to me. My friend was frightened, but the longer he thought about it, the more angry he became that such behavior could exist in America. He decided to tell me, a decision for which I am everlastingly grateful.

I then checked with my friends and became aware

that many of them had been approached by OIG/INV agents. I also found out — after the fact — that all of my financial records and other records had been secured by OIG/INV. I did not initially take this investigation seriously. That was my error. I thought, "I'm innocent, they're honest people, justice will win out." Boy, was I naïve. Later that year I was informed by the director general that I had been promoted but that my promotion was being held because of an open OIG investigation.

I then hired a lawyer. He was able to get me marginally better information, but I came to learn that the OIG/INV agents are a law unto themselves. They flew around the world and visited numerous countries where I had lived, worked or traveled asking questions and basically trying to make a case where none existed. Over the following years, I was recommended for promotion by two additional promotion boards. These promotions, however, were also held because OIG/INV claimed to be conducting an investigation. Seven years after the case began, OIG/INV finally talked to me. They refused to allow a recording of the interview but did agree to my lawyer being present after I refused their suggestions that it was not necessary. My lawyer

## F O C U S

*I thought,  
"I'm innocent,  
they're honest people,  
justice will win out."*

*Boy, was I naive.*

and I refused to agree to the OIG/INV memo of conversation which did not agree with what had been said in the interview (the record of interview they write is the only one they accept as the official transcript. They do not permit recordings so that they can cast the tone of the "record of interview."

The investigative report is based on their self-authenticated transcripts). After the interview, my lawyer and I checked with many of the sources cited by the OIG/INV agents. Most of them stated that the OIG/INV had misquoted them or had left out contradictory statements attesting to my innocence. Very sadly, a number of the sources, mostly foreign friends, refused to respond to my requests for information because of their traumatic treatment at the hands of the investigators. Also sadly, the Department's Office of Personnel/Employee Relations (PER/ER) accepted the OIG/INV report and moved forward with a proposed disciplinary action after only a perfunctory review despite the ample contradictory evidence. PER/ER's failure to conduct an independent review stood out as a glaring weakness of the Personnel office under the director general.

In fighting the disciplinary action, my lawyer and I encountered a litany of problems in dealing with OIG/INV: secret files maintained over years, OIG/INV agents twisting interview material to make a case, OIG/INV agents shielding non-productive and exculpatory lines of investigation, agents seeking to limit the right to self-defense, and finally — a clear lack of separation between OIG and PER/ER. As these played themselves out, four more years passed. My lawyer told me that he believed my constitutional rights had been trampled, but he also advised that it would take over \$100,000 in legal fees and over 10 years to win a case.

At this point, in a dispirited moment, I decided that to fight any longer would not be productive to me or my family. I accepted the disciplinary charges and accepted my penalty, even though I knew that I had done nothing wrong. I was told by PER/ER that if I

did so, my promotion would finally be awarded to me, although I would lose several years of seniority and the promotion money for those years. The settlement was unfair, but my lawyer said he understood my wanting to get on with my life.

Unfortunately, this was not the end of the story. Several months later, I was told by PER/ER that OIG/INV had informed them that I was under investigation — again — for another matter at another post. My next promotion was again held. Six months later, I finally got the last word and destroyed the allegations in a refutation which even PER/ER said was very convincing. The director general then sent me a letter telling me that all matters had been cleared and that my name had been sent to the Senate for confirmation and that I should expect promotion shortly.

However, four months later I still had not received any pay increase and I again contacted the director general. He responded that my promotion was held once again for another OIG/INV investigation which he could not discuss with me.

Eleven months later, and after a passage of 12 years since the investigation first started, I am still awaiting a determination by the Department of State in my case. Requests for meetings by both myself and my lawyer with the director general and the Inspector General are pending. I have been savaged by the system, my corridor reputation, critical to all FSOs, has been gravely damaged — I will always be damaged goods. I have spent tens of thousands of dollars in legal fees, my family has been put through an unbearable burden and my faith in the Foreign Service lies in tatters.

In a well attended ceremony in the Treaty Room, including the director general and scores of colleagues, I was recently awarded one of the department's highest accolades, the Distinguished Service Award. This open act of defiance was directed at the inspector general — to acknowledge and compensate in a small way for 12 years of OIG/INV abuse.

## Case 2: Document Alteration

**M**y wife and I served 15 months on an overseas ACDA delegation. Shortly after our departure we heard through colleagues that a large number of OIG investigators had arrived to conduct an extensive review of ACDA's administrative practices, including travel vouchers. Many members of the delegation were strongly critical of the way they were treated by the OIG agents — so much so, that the ambassador complained to the under secretary for management. The ambassador's complaint led to a "special inquiry" by the inspector general. The IG "Summary of Inquiry" found that the investigators' performance left "considerable room for improvement" in that they were "needlessly confrontational and projected an appearance of a lack of objectivity while pursuing leads" and promised that the OIG would take a series of steps to prevent a recurrence. It is not clear that OIG fulfilled this commitment. In its report on its investigation, the IG claimed that ACDA should have, as a matter of policy, reduced the amount of per diem paid to extended temporary duty personnel. ACDA rejected the IG attempt to make policy. The ACDA director responded that the IG report "does not ... meet high standards of legal, management and policy analysis."

Having failed in its attempt with ACDA management, OIG/INV then changed tactics: it went after individual employees, including me, to force ACDA to submit. Six months after the ACDA director rejected the OIG report, my wife and I sat across the table from two OIG/INV agents who wanted to interrogate us about vouchers we had filed while with the delegation. Then, nothing happened — until two years later when we each received a letter signed by an assistant U.S. attorney informing us that his office was considering bringing suit against us under the False Claims Act. I immediately explained to the assistant U.S. attorney and to OIG/INV that neither of us had any intention to submit a false claim; that we had submitted our vouchers exactly as we had been instructed, and if our vouchers were incorrect and as a result we were paid per diem to which we were not entitled, we would repay the money. Neither OIG/INV nor the U.S. Attorney's Office ever explained which State Department regulations

I violated, or how my wife and I received per diem benefits to which we were not entitled.

Despite my requests that they do so, OIG/INV refused to subject their interpretation of department regulations to formal review by State administrative experts. I assume they knew at that point that the rest of the department would not support them. They decided to use the punitive provisions of the False Claims Act to sear me into settling on OIG/INV terms. A State Department expert then told me, however, that while the instructions I had been given were incorrect, I had not received excess per diem.

At this point, OIG/INV suggested a cash settlement. They told AFSA that while they might not prevail in court with their interpretation, a settlement now would avoid more expensive legal fees I would have to pay. They strongly objected when I called this "legal extortion." On June 15, 1995, I was finally given the opportunity to discuss this matter with representatives of the U.S. Attorney's Office and OIG/INV. In that discussion I recalled that I had specifically annotated one of the vouchers to show a housing expense breakdown that was identical to the way OIG claimed was correct. The U.S. attorney showed me copies of the receipts he had received from OIG/INV. None was annotated. They threatened to drag me and my wife through a lengthy court process. They demanded an immediate settlement. Despite my belief that I was the victim of an overzealous OIG/INV, and that the case had no merit and was more about a policy dispute than about my vouchers, I agreed to pay \$15,000 to end the case.

Nevertheless, the question of whether or not I had annotated the receipts in my voucher continued to bother me. I decided to follow up — after paying OIG/INV — and I asked the government's voucher processing center in New Orleans to send me a copy of the original in their files (one lesson here is to keep copies of vouchers no matter how cumbersome it becomes). When I received a copy of the original voucher held in the government's warehouse

*The discrepancy seems to show a deliberate attempt to fabricate evidence against me.*

in Fort Worth, it clearly showed that both receipts were annotated as I had remembered. My lawyer then obtained a copy of the same receipt which the U.S. attorney had received from the OIG/INV agents. They did not show the annotation.

While I am open to other interpretations or explanations, the hard evidence appears to document that the discrepancy between the annotated original receipt and the unannotated copy given to the U.S. attorney by OIG/INV was the result of a deliberate attempt to fabricate evidence against me. It should be kept in mind that OIG/INV's already weak case would have been made even weaker if they had admitted that receipts in the voucher were annotated and therefore filed in accordance with relevant regulations. Further, I would not have agreed to a settlement if shown a correct copy of the receipts.

This matter has now been turned over to the Integrity Committee which is investigating possible criminal charges against OIG/INV. In addition, my lawyer tells me that I have the making of a major legal claim against the department.

### Case 3: \$100,000 spent on \$35 loss

I am a Foreign Service administrative officer. For the past seven years I have been the victim of an apparent vendetta by OIG/INV which climaxed a year ago in the presentation of seven administrative charges of minor misfeasance, accusing me, in their aggregate, and in the OIG/INV version of events, of misappropriating or misusing approximately \$35 (thirty-five dollars) worth of U.S. government resources, including the alleged improper sale of an item at a publicly advertised embassy auction and alleged misuse of motor vehicles under my supervision. Among the charges: I allowed a driver to diverge two blocks from an ideal direct route in order to drop off an FSN. Cost: four cents.

Although I am charged with misappropriating this minimal amount of resources, I am not charged with personally benefiting in any way from the acts for which I stand accused. In a belated change of the accusations against me, OIG/INV now states in writing that "no quantifiable loss" to the government resulted from my alleged actions. In seven years of trying to create a case against me, OIG/INV has spent and caused to be spent well over \$100,000.

PER/ER failed to conduct an independent review of the OIG/INV charges, and passed the charges through to the director general's office which has proposed a possible 20-day suspension without pay. In response, I filed a grievance, in which I charge OIG/INV with improper actions which constitute non-compliance with 3 FAM 4300 regulations and apparent criminal violations of 18 USC 1001, concerning falsification of testimony and misrepresentation of material facts in a government matter. I have charged, as well, interference with my rights to review information and to obtain voluntary testimony on my behalf.

Despite the submission of a "final" report and the ongoing grievance process, I understand that OIG/INV agents are continuing to "fish" in all of my former overseas posts in an attempt to make another case against me. While the case file is supposedly closed, in fact, my file in OIG/INV is being used for ongoing targeting purposes.

In their seven-year pursuit of a case against me OIG/INV accessed, searched and photographed my personal property without a warrant. Long after the original allegation against me, and based on hearsay gossip, OIG/INV agents opened my packed household effects, photographing my personal possessions — all in hope of finding "something." When that shipment was received by me, certain items were missing, most likely stolen or mislaid during the repacking. Agents also went into my father's bank records without his permission; sent me a fax through the main switchboard of the embassy, informing me (and all the intermediate local and American handlers) that I was the subject of a criminal investigation; deliberately concealed materials such as cashier receipts, motor vehicle use logs and official inventory reports contradicting their allegations; and interviewed subjects under demonstrably false pretenses, telling some, for example that I had been arrested and had confessed to crimes, and thereby allegedly coerced statements from intimidated FSNs whom I supervised — destroying my management capability at post. OIG/INV has confirmed in writing that they specifically prohibited one State Department employee from providing voluntary testimony on my behalf. Two other State Department employees have stated that they were intimidated by

## F O C U S

OIG/INV agents into not providing voluntary testimony. All persons interviewed by OIG/INV confirmed that the agents specifically warned them not to talk to me, and to advise OIG/INV of any attempt on my part to contact them. As a matter of policy, OIG/INV seeks to characterize any attempt at self-defense as "interference in an investigation."

The OIG "final" report is based almost exclusively on alleged summaries of interviews, all of which were drafted by the same OIG/INV agent who drafted the final report. These summaries were not supported by any documentation. As a matter of policy, OIG/INV has denied me access to the original transcripts or notes of these interviews made by the OIG/INV agent.

More than half of the people named in these "reports of interview" have provided me with signed statements noting that the information in the alleged summaries of interviews is distorted and often directly contradicts the information that they provided to the interviewing OIG/INV agent.

3 FAM 4300 Section 763.2 (d) clearly stipulates that an employee will have the right to review and receive copies of all records collected in the course of an investigation. However, OIG/OC in a 1996 State telegram refused to provide me any such information, alleging that the Inspector General Act of 1978 exempts the OIG from the FAM regulations which were written six years after that Act, in August 1984, and most recently published on August 18, 1995. OIG defended its action under the rubric of protection of confidentiality of its sources. However, since OIG's

*One charge is that I  
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to drop off an FSN.*

*Total cost: four cents.*

unsigned, unsworn alleged summaries of testimony taken by the OIG/INV agent named those alleged sources, that argument is transparently false. The simple truth is that OIG/INV does not want anyone to see how it has manipulated interview material.

OIG has pursued me for seven years, lurching from one accusation to another. In the process it has trampled my rights, invaded my privacy and that of my family — based on gossip and, in the process, wrecked my Foreign Service career. PER/ER failed utterly to perform its assigned tasks. Because my case is still under review, I am vulnerable, but I believe that Congress must act to rein in an OIG and its investigating agents who consider themselves completely above the law and accountable to no one. ■

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# A 'WATCHDOG' RESPONDS



## **D** FORMER STATE IG ANSWERS CHARGES OF OIG MISCONDUCT

*By Sherman Funk*

During the Christmas holiday season of 1988, I was told that Jim Baker, the secretary of State-designate, wanted to meet with me to discuss the role of the inspector general. We met a few days later, in one of the small rooms on the first floor of State that Baker was using as his transition office.

After a few polite preliminaries, he came immediately to the point. "I don't really understand your situation," he said. "What kind of tenure do you have?"

"None," I said. "None at all. I serve at the pleasure of the president. Obviously, I don't report to him. I report to the secretary — to you. But the IG Act says that you can't fire me. Only the president can do that."

## F O C U S

Baker frowned, and pursed his lips. "Of course," I continued, "that's not a big deal. All it takes is a telephone call from you."

Baker grinned. I grinned back. Then, having tacitly laid the groundwork for a good working relationship, we proceeded to explore the mission of the IG at State.

The above is relevant inasmuch as the assumption is made in some of the articles in this issue of *FSJ* that the provision in P.L. 95-452, the Inspector General Act, which says that only the president can dismiss an IG means, in effect, that nobody is really watching the watchdog. Indeed, it is claimed in these articles that the State OIG is out of control, largely because it is accountable to no one — not even the secretary of State.

Facts, and history, tell a different story. At least two IGs of major agencies have been fired, and a number of others have resigned "under the gun." The blunt truth — which most IGs are reluctant to highlight — is that giving the power to dismiss an IG only to the president is largely a fiction. Most Cabinet officers are sufficiently wired into the White House (even if they might not be as tightly wired as was Jim Baker) so that, if they request dismissal of an IG, with anything close to a legitimate reason, it will happen. And the chance of an effective opposition on the Hill to such a move is remote.

I find it disturbing, and not a little hypocritical, that several of those who blast the staff of the IG's Office of Investigations for being so unfairly aggressive in their approach are themselves guilty of precisely this same problem. Without exception, the complainants present only their view of what happened. But if I learned one thing during my 14 years as an IG in two departments, it is that very rarely does any argument have but one side. Most of the cases described or referenced in these complaints came after my watch, i.e., during the past four years. Many, however, were first investigated while I was IG, and I recall some of them clearly ... and for these, I must say that the authors, by flatly denying the existence

*It is very unnerving  
to be investigated,  
especially if you are  
innocent of any  
misconduct.*

of any real problem on their part, are either breathtakingly naive or are simply ignoring plain facts.

In several of these pieces, the OIG investigative process is accused of being too long. I cannot agree more. Indeed, I cannot recall a single investigation that was completed within its initially-projected time frame. This creates serious problems within the OIG, not least in

scheduling resources; it creates even greater problems for those being investigated. It is extremely unnerving and off-putting to be investigated, all the more so if you are innocent of any misconduct ... as will inevitably be the case in some percentage of those under investigation. I can attest to this through personal knowledge.

Years ago, long before my reincarnation as an IG, the FBI received a tip that I was being invited regularly to participate in wild weekends on Chesapeake Bay, sailing on a large yawl owned by the CEO of an organization to which my office, under my direction, had awarded a big contract. This allegation was not told to me, you understand; it was never told to me. I pieced it together from the nature of questions the FBI agents asked my friends and my staff. After a month or so, after the bureau found that the "CEO" was a neighbor and friend, that the big yawl was a small sloop, that I had only been on board that boat twice accompanied by my wife (so much, alas, for the "wild weekends"), and that the sloop owner had never received a cent from my organization, the FBI simply disappeared. No oral or written statement of regret, no admission that my reputation had been — however inadvertently — sullied, no apology or explanation to those interviewed, no nothing. The matter was quietly dropped.

I therefore had every reason, when I met with my OIG agents at Commerce, to blow my stack at their doing to Commerce employees what the FBI had done to me years earlier. And I very quickly learned some hard facts of investigative life: There simply is no practical way, in the vast majority of cases, for an investigative agency to routinely issue such exculpatory statements, even when innocence is completely obvious and demonstrable. For one thing, they can be badly misused by the recipients, who may not be so pristine in other matters. For another, sometimes cases are closed for lack of evidence, not for any proof of innocence; the two are very different. I there-

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*Sherman Funk was inspector general at the U.S. Department of Commerce from 1981 to 1987, then was IG at State from 1987 to 1994. He is currently an international consultant.*

## F O C U S

fore was compelled, regretfully, to agree with my investigators that we would not issue such "certificates" of innocence. To be sure, in very rare cases, where the allegations were particularly ugly and there existed manifest proof of innocence, I did insist on issuing such a letter, but my attorneys were always nervous about them.

When OIG/INV refuses to advise employees early on that they are targets of an investigation, they are not acting like the Gestapo or KGB; they are simply acting as they have been trained to act in previous police jobs or at the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center in Georgia. U.S. investigators tend not to be at all like the British detectives on *Mystery Theater* who, between chamber music concerts and poetry readings, confront suspects at once, warning them not to leave town because they are subjects in a criminal investigation. No U.S. investigator to my knowledge ever routinely informs people up front that they are targets of an investigation. To do so would allow them, if they are guilty, to destroy possible incriminating

evidence, to warn contacts, and take other actions that would greatly increase the difficulty of conducting an effective investigation. And yet, the failure of OIG agents to immediately notify targets that they are targets has generated considerable resentment.

The OIG is also accused in these *FSJ* pages of not informing Congress when investigations have been closed with no finding of wrongdoing. Good Heavens! Congress already bitterly complains about the length and depth of OIG semiannual reports; can you imagine if these were expanded to include "no finding" INV cases?

The OIG is accused also of leaking to the press. If anything is anathema to an OIG, it is the leak of information, for whatever reason. When I was an IG, there were occasional leaks of audit and inspection findings, always from an auditee or inspected post or function, usually from staff unhappy with the status quo and eager to leak OIG data as a way of validating their own concerns. But I cannot recall any investigative agent leaking anything, for any reason.

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## F O C U S

### *It is impractical for an investigative agency to issue a 'certificate of innocence.'*

OIG/INV is accused of taking a vindictive approach to certain employees, seeking out minor infractions to justify additional investigative effort. I don't like this and it should not be done. I would be very surprised, however, if it did not happen. The situation here is not much different from that of a traffic cop, who knows that an individual on his turf is a real baddie, a pusher, say, that the law hasn't been able to lay a glove on. So the traffic cop rousts him regularly, seeking anything to book him on. Fair? No. Justified? No. Does it happen? Yes.

The OIG is accused of holding up awards, promotions and favorable assignments, because of the time it takes to complete an investigation, even when the subject is not guilty of any wrongdoing. This is a sticky one.

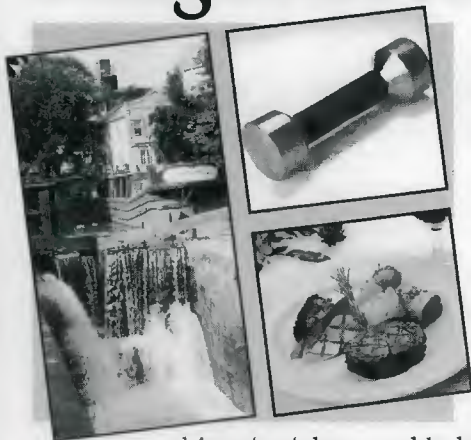
Shortly after I arrived in State, I received a request from the director general's office to "clear" a list of names on a promotion list about to be sent to the Hill. I refused, telling

the DG that I did not want to place my shop in the position of deferring someone's shot at a justly deserved promotion, because there was a minor allegation floating around which we hadn't reviewed as yet. By the time we had

looked at the allegation, months might have passed. It wasn't fair. The matter quickly ascended to the front office, which asked me to reconsider. I stood fast, aware that the independence accorded me by law was my protection.

But I was asked a tough question: would I rather see the State Department hurt by finding out — after, say, a new ambassador was sworn in, that he or she was guilty of severe misconduct? Didn't I owe the department that much, to preclude a diplomatic embarrassment? At that, I caved, and agreed that OIG would run name checks on all lists of proposed awards, promotions, etc. Perhaps I should have hung tough, and persisted in my original refusal — but it was the age-old question once again: Which was the greater good?

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So I came down on the side of name checks, which probably have been responsible for many more delays in personnel processing than all of our investigations.

The OIG is accused also of nitpicking, of seeking allegedly drastic punitive actions for relatively minor offenses. I have heard this charge for years, and it is mentioned again in some of the complaints in this issue, but I have yet to see any supporting documentation. What I have seen, too often, is aggressive action taken to correct bureaucratic fumbling, and when this action violates the regs, OIG has flagged it. In Commerce, for example, the National Weather Service, desperate to obtain new computer equipment, and unable to do so and still adhere to regs, resorted to "split procurements." I telephoned the head of the service, told him that I would have to see him written up for the violation. I told him also, as I did the secretary, that in his shoes I would have taken the same action. At State, a senior admin officer, unable to further repair an obsolete warehouse and unable to get the money and

approval from Foreign Buildings Operations in time to build an urgently needed replacement, illegitimately reprogrammed other funds and built a new warehouse. He received a two-week suspension without pay and, shortly thereafter, a promotion. I thought both were justified ... and said so, to the horror of my Office of Counsel.

All of the attention thus far has focused on the IG's Office of Investigations. Paradoxically, the IG's other "review" shops (audits, inspections, and security and intelligence oversight) have a much greater impact overall than investigations, although they normally do not focus on individuals.

Finally, is there really a valid need for more external oversight of the State/ACDA/USIA OIG or, indeed, of all the IGs in general? The GAO tried to provide such oversight in the 1980s, conducting comprehensive performance audits of many of the larger OIGs. They threw in the towel when the task became simply too large for the GAO to handle.



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## F O C U S

### *The OIG is accused of holding up promotions. ... That's a sticky question.*

The Congress plays a critical role here, and has held major hearings on the efficiency and effectiveness of the IGs, individually and collectively. Indeed, the House Government Reform Subcommittee on Government Management has tentatively scheduled such an IG hearing for March 1998, with specific attention being given to the State OIG. No less important are the more narrowly targeted hearings of the various Senate and House oversight and appropriations committees, many of which devote considerable attention to the findings of OIGs. The Senate, of course, holds confirmation hearings, which are a kind of "preventive" watch.

Peer reviews (by one OIG of another OIG) have been useful only within the realm of audits, but that alone, because the preponderant number of OIG staff are auditors, has been useful.

The President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency,

together with its various standing and ad hoc committees, ties the IGs together as no other group can. Its Office of Management and Budget sponsors are, far and away, the people most knowledgeable of OIG activity outside of the

IGs themselves. Also, the Council's Integrity Committee looks at misconduct allegations against IGs and senior OIG staff.

The media are a fits-and-starts business, not suited for the long and steady haul, but of enormous importance in particularly newsworthy situations. Certain allegations against IGs have been scrubbed wonderfully by tough investigative reporters.

As always, prevention remains the weapon of choice. If intellectually tough, fair, and savvy people are selected for IG jobs, and carefully screened by their confirming committees, no other special mechanism is needed. If not, no other mechanism will work anyway. ■

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# TRAGEDY AT HOME

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AN FSO COPES WITH CAREGIVING CRISIS  
WHILE SERVING 10,000 MILES AWAY

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By RONALD TRIGG

Dad shuffled into the living room while I sat alone reading the newspaper. Stopping in front of a basket of artificial flowers, he wagged his finger at the lifeless blossoms: "I've told you kids time and again not to bring food in here." As he left the room he stopped again in front of a wall decoration and shouted at the imaginary person his mind told him was there: "Why don't you get out of my house and leave us alone?" I was the only "real" person in the room, but Dad never noticed my presence.

It was clear that something had gone terribly wrong with my father, even though doctors had failed to diagnose anything more serious than the "slowing down" and "forgetfulness" that one might expect of a man in this mid-seventies. The very next day, however, I was to leave to take up an assignment half a world away at Embassy Bangkok, leaving my 76-year-old mother and my sister, who lived nearby, to cope somehow with the terrifying new circumstances that had come to dominate our lives.

Weighing family responsibilities against career goals is nothing new for foreign affairs profession-

als who spend much of our time overseas, separated by many time zones from the daily crises that affect those dearest to us, but in the past, for me, everything at home had always seemed pretty much in order. The prospects of going abroad, learning to live in a new culture, and taking on the challenges of a new position had always seemed adequate compensation for leaving family and friends behind. Now, for the first time, I began to wonder if I wasn't needed more at home.

I didn't realize it then, but I was about to join a growing trend in the United States. The Family Caregiver Alliance estimates that between 16 and 23 percent of families across the country may be caring for an adult with a cognitive impairment, which includes Alzheimer's, Parkinson's, stroke, head injuries and AIDS. Fifteen percent of the adult U.S. population are providing care for seriously ill or disabled relatives and at least 7 million Americans are involved in caring for a parent at any given time, with 85 percent of home care provided by family members and friends. With our population aging, the problems of caregiving will only increase. There were 31.1 million Americans age 65 and over in 1990, or 1 in every 8 people. That proportion is expected to increase to 1 in 5 by the year 2030.

According to Ginny Boney, Support Services Officer in State's Family Liaison Office, I was not alone in my problem. "FSOs faced with responsibility for caring for an elderly family member have limited options," she said. Under the Federal

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*Ronald Trigg retired from the Foreign Service in 1996. He served overseas as a political officer in Nigeria, South Africa, Turkmenistan and Thailand.*

Employees Family Friendly Leave Act, FSOs may take 40 hours leave per year; an additional 64 hours can also be approved. Some FSOs have taken relatives in need of care overseas with them, but not all overseas posts have good medical care and there is no Medicare coverage overseas. Other FSOs choose to curtail an overseas assignment, return to Washington and bring the family member to live with them, or take leave without pay. Boney, who has assisted FSOs with all these options, expects caretaking of elderly parents will become more of an issue in the Foreign Service because demographic trends show an aging population. "This issue is in the forefront of our office. We're working on building resources and trying to advocate for FS families in this kind of dilemma," she said.

In the end, I got on that plane to Bangkok because there was no reason to believe that my being at home would make a real difference. Soon after my arrival in Thailand, the situation at home took a surprising turn for the better. A new and simple treatment, vitamin B-12 shots, seemed to have reversed Dad's mental deterioration. The confused stranger on the other end of the long-distance phone line had suddenly been transformed into someone newly alert and fully contributing to the conversation. The improvement, however, proved to be short-lived. After about a week, the effects of the vitamin treatment began to fade and Dad drifted slowly back into confusion.

I began to dread telephone calls to and from home. They had become updates on the new horrors that had occurred since we last talked. Dad's hallucinations had become terrifying, often violent, episodes in the middle of the night. He slept only briefly, frequently getting up to do battle with the imaginary interlopers who had taken over his house. His visions had become more and more bizarre: snakes and other creatures invaded his bedroom, dead babies appeared nightly in his bed, a mysterious giant man blocked his access to the bathroom, a troop of prostitutes patrolled the hallway outside his room. Furthermore, when

these fantastic hallucinations had a grip on his mind, his physical strength seemed to increase. My mother, outweighed by some 70 pounds, had her hands full when Dad, often dressed only in pajamas, decided he had to go out in the sub-freezing cold to defend his house against imaginary foes.

Given the new circumstances, Dad's doctors offered anti-hallucinatory drugs in an attempt to quiet his troubled nights. Tragically, however, each new drug seemed to have an effect just the opposite of what was intended. The hallucinations worsened, and the drugs caused such stiffness in Dad's joints that he was sometimes rendered virtually unmovable — 160 pounds of dead weight. Every moment of the day and night, he had to be watched, requiring Mom or some other family member to stay up all night making sure he didn't hurt himself.

About this time, the doctors finally announced the diagnosis we had all long suspected: Dad had Alzheimer's disease. His symptoms, we were told, might change, but he would never get better. Dad had become a statistic. According to the Alzheimer's Association, five to six percent of older people — approximately three to four million Americans — are affected by the disease. It is the fourth leading cause of death among adults, affecting mainly those over age 65. Seventy percent of Alzheimer's patients live at home, where it costs an average of \$47,000 a year to care for them, with only \$12,000 on average covered by insurance.

We had to steel ourselves to the possibility that he would linger in this diminished state for five, maybe 10, years, requiring constant care and putting a tremendous strain on our physical and financial resources. With the holidays coming

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*Weighing family responsibilities against career goals is nothing new for foreign affairs professionals who spend much of our time overseas.*

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soon, I decided to make an unscheduled trip home to spend Christmas with my family. Fortunately, my embassy colleagues, who had all along been providing sympathetic ears for tales of my family's travails, readily agreed to adjust their own plans and bend policies to accommodate my needs.

At first things didn't seem too bad at home. Dad had no problem recognizing who I was, and he was on his best "normal" behavior, a role he seemed capable of assuming in the presence of guests. Only occasionally would he say something a little "off the wall" that hinted at the extent of his illness. The 12-hour time difference from Bangkok made me the perfect choice to look after Dad on the night shift, giving Mom an opportunity for some much-deserved sleep.

The first night, an hour after bedtime, as I sat reading in the kitchen, a wide-eyed Dad stumbled into the room and asked: "Did that hog come through here?" I told him that the offending beast had departed, and thus reassured, he allowed me to escort him back to bed. An hour later, Dad's mind led him back to some long-past hunting trip, and he emerged to ask if I thought we might bag a moose the following day. I convinced him to return to bed with the promise that I would wake him in time to have breakfast before we went out hunting. Not long afterwards, he woke again, but now he imagined himself in the railroad yards where he had worked for 40 years. We were both trapped in a boxcar at the far end of the yard, and Dad couldn't understand why I refused to allow him to go out and seek help. Several times I had to physically bar him from opening the door, and, more than once, as the level of his frustration grew, I

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*Some FSOs have taken  
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coverage overseas.*

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dodged his flailing fists. Finally, he grew weary, slumped into an armchair, and dozed off. He woke up periodically through the night, but he could never be convinced to go back to the bedroom. This was a typical night with Dad.

My time at home was filled with more than just caregiving activities; many legal matters had to be taken care of while Dad still had the ability to understand what he was signing. We adjusted the ownership of bank accounts and property, and we all drew up new wills, removing Dad's name where it appeared as executor. We were fortunate to have a sympathetic family lawyer who guided us through a quick course on living wills, estate planning and the like. Ironically, six months later, while attending the State Department's retirement planning seminar, I received a thorough briefing on these very issues, as well as advice on dealing with aging and infirm parents from afar — coursework which would probably better have been provided during training when I entered the Foreign Service.

After a tearful farewell, I again boarded a plane to Bangkok. After my return to the office, however, the situation back home only got worse — much worse. I quickly learned to

call home only during the morning; evening calls only guaranteed that I would have a sleepless night. Each new day seemed to bring a new tale of horrors. After Dad suffered a painful fall in the bathroom, my mother and two neighbor women struggled for 30 minutes to lift him from the floor. After finding a mass of congealed blood in his colon, doctors reported that Dad was suffering from colon cancer. That diagnosis, thankfully, turned out to be incorrect, but during subsequent hospital tests, doctors discovered yet another ailment — an aortic aneurysm.

In an attempt to discourage Dad's middle-of-the-night screaming and ramblings, nurses at the hospital administered the very same anti-hallucinatory drugs that had earlier caused a bad reaction. As a result, once he was released, he was in such a zombie-like state that he literally had to be dragged up the stairs and into his bedroom. It was weeks before the effect of the drugs had completely dissipated.

For me, that was the turning point. With 20-plus years of federal service already under my belt, I was, for the first time, prepared to view my upcoming 50th birthday as an opportunity for early retirement. Before making up my mind, I found good advice and support from the embassy's administrative section, and was quickly able to ascertain, via e-mail from the State Department, what paperwork needed to be completed and — of no little concern — how much money I could expect in my monthly annuity checks. My work was suffering, and furthermore, the enthusiasm I had always felt for living and working abroad just wasn't there anymore.

Shortly before Thanksgiving, I arrived home for good, a newly

retired FSO. Dad greeted me with a memorable teary embrace, and I settled into a routine that would prove to be more taxing than any I had previously endured. In the beginning, I found that Dad's hallucinations were less frequent and less violent, and he slept in his bed most of the night. But I also quickly observed that his mental state had declined considerably.

Still, during that first month at home, there were many opportunities for communication with Dad. He couldn't hold a conversation for long, but he enjoyed the long drives we would take together, often going back to places that held special memories for our family. Dealing with Dad's illness was a tremendous strain on us all, but our family faced the tragedy with hands joined.

A month after my return, on the day after Christmas, Dad suffered a fall that set off a rapid decline in his condition. Although he had sustained no serious injury, he complained of terrible pain and soon returned to his old pattern of sleepless nights. Only now, he was unable to get out of the bed by himself, and he spent much of the night slinging verbal abuse at us for being unable to see the terrors that were tormenting him. Soon he became incontinent and started losing the ability to walk, feed himself, and even keep his eyes open.

This alarming deterioration led us to admit him to the hospital for tests. His doctors clearly anticipated that Dad would be transferred to a nursing home after his hospital stay. It was a prospect that I thought deserved serious consideration, but my mother, who had so heroically cared for Dad all these months, and my sister could not countenance the thought. Eventually, Dad was released to go home under hospice care. We anticipated he would con-

tinue in this deteriorated state for months or even years, but within days his brain could no longer tell him even how to swallow. In a week he was dead.

In retrospect, my decision to leave the Foreign Service still seems like the right thing to have done. I was able to spend Dad's last two months by his side, and after his death, I was at home — rather than 10,000 miles away — to help take care of the gruesome details of funeral planning and all the legal paperwork that follows a death. And now I'm close by at a time when my remaining parent needs me the most. There's no question in my mind that my presence here at home during those very difficult times served a more useful purpose than ever did my reporting cables on Thai domestic politics.

Every Foreign Service officer, at some point in his or her career, is likely to face a situation somewhat similar to mine. There is no real way to plan in advance how to deal with family tragedy from afar. Most of us suffer under the general human tendency to resist addressing unpleasant future possibilities until they actually occur. It is no easy matter to balance the needs of dependents, career aspirations, family finances and personal priorities. And it is many times tougher when you are miles away from home. That is one of the prices we pay for an overseas career, and only we, as individuals, can determine when that price becomes too high.

Now I'm looking forward to a new existence under circumstances vastly different from those that have defined my life in the past. My posting this year is to Northwest Indiana. It's not nearly as exotic as other places I've been, but you can drink the water, the phones always work, and the TV news is in English. ■

## IF YOU NEED HELP

■ Department of State  
Family Liaison Office  
Washington, D.C. 20520-7512  
Tel: (202) 647-1076  
Fax: (202) 647-1670  
Ginny Boney, Support Services Officer.

Eldercare resources in Washington, D.C. and a few other areas

■ Department of State  
Employee Consultation Service  
Washington, D.C. 20520-7512  
(202) 663-1815  
Free and confidential services of a licensed clinical social worker

■ Alzheimer's Association  
919 North Michigan Avenue,  
Suite 1000  
Chicago, Illinois 60611  
(312) 335-9602  
<http://www.alz.org>  
Information on Alzheimer's disease

■ Administration on Aging  
Department of Health  
and Human Services  
330 Independence Ave., SW  
Washington, D.C. 20201  
(202) 619-0724  
<http://www.aoa.dhhs.gov>  
Web page has links to state and area agencies on aging as well as phone numbers for employee eldercare programs.

■ Family Caregiver Alliance  
425 Bush Street, Suite 500  
San Francisco, Calif. 94108  
1-800-445-8106  
<http://www.caregiver.org>  
Web page has fact sheet on working caregivers.

■ National Family  
Caregivers Association  
9621 E. Bexhill Drive  
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## BOOKS

### U.S. AND COLOMBIA: A GREEK TRAGEDY

#### **Colombia and the United States: Narcotics Traffic and a Failed Foreign Policy**

*Robert W. Drexler, McFarland and  
Company Inc., 1997, hardcover,  
\$35.50, 189 pages.*

BY JAMES FORD COOPER

Lovers of Greek tragedy will like former FSO Robert W. Drexler's book describing the tortured diplomatic relationship between the United States and Colombia. Drexler brings the right background to this tale of seemingly pre-ordained tragedy. He served as vice consul in Barranquilla, Colombia in the 1950s and as deputy chief of mission at U.S. Embassy Bogota from 1975 to 1978, where he also supervised the embassy's counter-narcotics program, the primary focus of the latter part of the book. Although Drexler makes use of this perspective, he does not simply dwell on the narcotics issue. In one of the book's strengths, he also provides an historical context for U.S.-Colombian relations.

According to Drexler, that history has been marred from its earliest days by a recurring pattern of conflicting policy objectives, misunderstandings, aloofness, ignorance of each other's culture and, not infrequently, sheer mutual dislike. The pattern reaches back to the early 19th century, when the U.S. failed to support Colombia's

efforts to consolidate its independence from Spain and to the early 20th century, when President Theodore Roosevelt "took" Panama from Colombia. Drexler finds fault with both countries' dysfunctional behavior and laments that the pattern has been repeated to the present day, as demonstrated by the ongoing narcotics policy imbroglio. In that regard the book is a plea to the leaders of both countries to examine and learn from past errors.

Some readers will find it difficult to share Drexler's strong belief that U.S. policies toward Colombia have been almost relentlessly wrong. He singles out military and economic assistance and narcotics cooperation programs with which he was familiar in the 1970s for criticism. Drexler came to oppose U.S.-Colombian counter-narcotics programs and had the courage to dissent from U.S. policy, which called for close cooperation with a Colombian police and military whose human rights records understandably worried him. While his concerns of some 20 years ago have obviously been justified by the sorry state of today's anti-narcotics programs in Colombia, the devastating impact of the narcotics problem on Colombian society, which he also recognizes, seems to call for some kind of effective cooperation on this problem. Drexler's assertion that U.S. programs were imposed on Colombia by an arrogant USAID mission also seems particularly unfair. In fact, for many years USAID and Colombian officials worked closely and successfully in pursuit of mutually agreed upon economic

development objectives in Colombia.

Still, whether or not one agrees with all of Drexler's specific points, he has performed a useful service by focussing attention on the need for both Colombians and Americans to work to improve what up to now has been a sadly star-crossed relationship.

*Ford Cooper is a retired FSO who was deputy director of the economic section in Bogota from 1971 to 1973 and U.S. consul in Medellín, Colombia from 1973 to 1975.*

### HUMOR, HUBRIS IN FSO'S MEMOIRS

#### **Unintended Consequences: A Twentieth Century Odyssey**

*Edward Harper, Rutledge Books, Inc.,  
1997, hardcover, \$20.95, 468 pages.*

BY RAY BURSON

Edward Harper's wry humor, frequently telling observations, and fine writing style make *Unintended Consequences: A Twentieth Century Odyssey* worth reading. He warns readers to expect "hubris, egomania, and self-delusion" and calls his book "the record of a full, if not happy, life" — all appropriate caveats. Autobiographies are by definition self-serving, and this one is no exception.

Harper takes us through his life from his upbringing in a strife-ridden Georgia family through Navy service in

## BOOKS

World War II, student days in Georgia and Paris, a brief State Department career, a stint as a Pillsbury flour salesman in West Africa, a brief job with Radio Free Europe, time spent in Spain, and finally a career with USIA which took him to Poland, Turkey, Spain and East and West Berlin.

There is always an edge of violence in the background as the former boxer and hustler turned diplomat makes his way through life and two failed marriages. Pillsbury transfers him after he punches out his supervisor. Radio Free Europe lets him go for the same reason. Harper aptly describes his style as "quick and dirty" and says it "contrasted badly with the slow, thoughtful and lazy rhythms of the Foreign Service."

Harper's description of the panel interview that he passed for entry into the Foreign Service as a junior officer at State is classic. His portrayal of West

African nations on the eve of independence, his work as press officer for Kissinger's Middle East shuttle, the intrigues at Radio Free Europe, and the various presidential visits to Europe will hold even the most casual reader's interest.

There is a bit of mystery in the book as well. Harper's relationship with CIA operations is highlighted by his stint at Radio Free Europe in the 1960s. He claims to have turned at least one East German journalist into a CIA informant. And who can believe that his assessments of emerging African nations were only read by the doughboys at Pillsbury? Nevertheless, Harper keeps his life in perspective with self-deprecating humor. For example, the book's cover shows him walking alongside then Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who has a pained look on his face. Later Harper

tells the reason: The secretary is being escorted to an airport men's room.

Harper has no praise for USIA and writes that he decided that it "was probably a total waste of money" and that he became convinced that the agency should be replaced by "a cultural affairs entity created along the lines of the Alliance Francaise or the Goethe Institute."

*Unintended Consequences'* coverage of the cold war is compelling, but it would have been enhanced by an index. And Harper's social democratic solutions for America's problems lead one to believe he was in Europe too long. Nevertheless, in this age of McDonald's-style journalism, it is refreshing to read a good book written by a controversial colleague. ■

*Ray Burson is a retired FSO who served with USIA.*

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## IN MEMORY

**Frederick Aandahl**, 78, State Department historian for 25 years, died Dec. 25 at a health care facility in Princeton, N.J. He had diabetes and heart ailments.

Born in Portland, Ore., Mr. Aandahl graduated from Reed College and received a master's degree and a doctoral degree from Princeton University.

Before moving to Washington, D.C., in the 1950s, Mr. Aandahl was associate editor of the papers of Thomas Jefferson and after his retirement from the State Department in 1979, he was associate editor of the papers of Woodrow Wilson.

Survivors include his wife, Irma Roald Aandahl of Princeton; two stepchildren, Roald Lee Aandahl of Eneinitas, Calif., and Jorjean Hyden of Wayne, Pa.



**Robert M. Beers**, 84, a former FSO and retired AFSA congressional liaison officer, died Dec. 7 of a respiratory ailment at Georgetown University Hospital in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Beers was born in St. Louis, Mo., and raised in Bloomfield, N.J. He graduated from the University of Virginia.

Trained as a classical pianist, Mr. Beers performed in Europe and the United States before World War II, and played with the Fred Waring and Paul Whiteman orchestras. During World War II he served in the Navy in the Atlantic and Pacific.

After the war, Mr. Beers worked as a budget analyst with the Hoover Commission, the Defense Department and the Bureau of the Budget.

Mr. Beers began work at USIA's forerunner agency in 1953 and joined the FS in 1960. His overseas postings included Pakistan, England and Vietnam.

In 1970, Mr. Beers joined the staff of the National Association of Retired Federal Employees, where he later was elected national vice president. He then moved to AFSA, where he was executive director and later congressional liaison officer; he retired from AFSA in 1992.

Survivors include his wife, Maria T. Beers of Washington, D.C.; a son from his first marriage, Robert Russell Beers of Fort Collins, Colo.; two daughters from his second marriage, Elisabeth Beers Puscasiu of Washington, D.C., and Alice Garcia of Darien, Conn.; and a granddaughter.



**Carroll E. Cobb**, 79, a retired FSO, died Dec. 13 in Kansas City, Mo., of complications from a July ear accident.

Mr. Cobb was born in Austin, Texas. During his 30-year career he served the Department of State in Costa Rica, Cuba, Paraguay, Germany, Venezuela and The Hague.

Survivors include his wife, Lucy Dyson Cobb of Falls Church, Va.; two sons, Lawrence Franklin Cobb and

David Dyson Cobb; two daughters, Margaret Dyson Cobb and Lucy Diane Cobb; a brother, Harrison Sikes Cobb; and five grandchildren.



**Vasil D. Furnad**, 97, retired editor and chief of the Bulgaria Service for Voice of America, died Dec. 11 at Sleepy Hollow Nursing Home in Fairfax, Va. He had Alzheimer's disease.

Born in Bulgaria, Mr. Furnad came to the United States in 1922 as a student. He graduated from Springfield College in Springfield, Mass., and received a master's degree in divinity from Union Theological Seminary in New York City.

From the 1930s to the mid-1950s, Mr. Furnad worked as a social service worker with religious organizations in New York and Washington, D.C. He also worked with international religious groups to provide social services to Bulgaria.

Mr. Furnad joined Voice of America in 1955 and retired in 1970.

Survivors include his wife, Maria Furnad of Springfield, Va.; two children, Dorothy Connelly of Fairfield, Conn., and Vasil R. Furnad of Social Circle, Ga.; seven grandchildren; and six great-grandchildren.



**Elinor Halle**, 82, a retired FSO, died Dec. 14 of congestive heart failure at her home in Bethesda, Md.

Ms. Halle was born in Cleveland, Ohio, and graduated from what is now Case Western Reserve University. Before joining the State Department, she taught Spanish at the University of Illinois.

Ms. Halle retired in 1975 after a 32-year career with USIA and the Department of State. Her overseas assignments included Costa Rica, Peru, Guatemala, Chile and Brazil.

Survivors include a sister, Madeline H. Baker of Chagrin Falls, Ohio.



**Warren S. Hunsberger**, 86, a former FSO, Asia specialist and professor emeritus at American University, died Dec. 22 after a fall at his Washington, D.C., home.

Mr. Hunsberger was born in Philadelphia, Pa., and received a doctoral degree from Yale University. A descendent of three generations of missionaries to India and China, Mr. Hunsberger began his Asian studies in 1933 as a seaman visiting Shanghai. He served in the Navy during World War II and was a retired Captain in the U.S. Naval Reserve.

In 1945, Mr. Hunsberger was a staff assistant at the 1945 United Nations organization conference in San Francisco. From 1945 to 1950, he served in the State Department's Division of Research for the Far East. Mr. Hunsberger taught at the National War College and worked on the staffs for the Marshall Plan and Paley Plan. During the early 1950s, Mr. Hunsberger was a U.S. foreign aid program officer in Brazil and Mexico.

Having begun a teaching career at Princeton University before World War II, Mr. Hunsberger went on to lecture at several U.S. universities, including the American University, to which he returned in 1966. At his retirement in 1976, Mr. Hunsberger was director of the Center for Asian Studies. Earlier in his career he taught in Japan and Malaysia under the auspices of the Fulbright Scholarship Program and the Ford Foundation, respectively.

Over the course of his career, Mr. Hunsberger produced numerous volumes of scholarly works on Asia, many of which are considered classics.

Survivors include his wife of 55 years, Ruth Pedersen Hunsberger; two sons, Peter Hunsberger of Seattle, Washington, and David Hunsberger of Washington, D.C.; and a daughter, Ellen Hume of Washington, D.C.; and four grandchildren.



**Richard T. Kennedy**, 78, a former ambassador and retired Army colonel, died Jan. 12 at Georgetown University Hospital in Washington, D.C., of complications after heart bypass surgery.

Mr. Kennedy was born in Rochester, N.Y., and graduated from the University of Rochester. He began his military career during World War II, serving in North Africa, Italy, and Germany. He later attended Harvard Business School, the Army's Command and General Staff College and the National War College. Mr. Kennedy retired from the military in 1971, having received a Distinguished Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star and the Army Commendation Medal during his 30-year career.

From 1969 to 1974, Mr. Kennedy served on the National Security Council staff. From 1975 to 1980, he was a commissioner of the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission and served as under secretary of State for Management in 1981 and 1982. Mr. Kennedy was then named ambassador-at-large for nuclear affairs and served in that capacity until 1993.

Survivors include his wife of 50 years, Jean Martin Kennedy of Washington, D.C.; and two sisters.



**Max W. Kraus**, 78, a retired FSO, died Jan. 7 at the Manor Care Nursing Home in Chevy Chase, Md. after a stroke.

Mr. Kraus, a native of Augsburg, Germany, came to the United States in

1937, and four years later graduated magna cum laude from Harvard University. During World War II he served with the Army in Europe and received a Bronze Star.

After the war Mr. Kraus joined the forerunner of USIA and held posts in Africa and the Far East. He served as chief of Voice of America French-language radio broadcasts to Africa and was U.S. spokesman at the Vietnamese peace talks in Paris and SALT II meetings in Geneva.

At his retirement in the late 1970s, Mr. Kraus began a career as a writer. His work has appeared in *The Washington Post*, *The Chicago Tribune* and the *Boston Globe*. A volume of memoirs, *They All Came to Geneva*, was published in 1989.

Survivors include two daughters, Deborah Kraus of New York and Luey Brillie of Paris, France; and a grandson.



**Frances M. Jenkins Mann**, 79, a retired Foreign Service secretary, died of a heart attack Dec. 21 at her home in Chapel Hill, N.C.

Mrs. Mann, who also resided in Rockville, Md., was born in Charleston, S.C. Before joining the Foreign Service in 1953, she worked for the Department of the Navy in Washington, D.C., for the U.S. Mission to the United Nations in New York City and at St. Albans Episcopal Church in Washington, D.C. Mrs. Mann's FS overseas assignments included Iran, Pakistan, Honduras, Belgium, the Bahamas and NATO/Brussels. Her last post was the embassy in London. She retired in 1983.

Mrs. Mann's first husband, Steven Jenkins, died in 1991.

Survivors include her husband, Donegan Mann of Rockville; a daughter from her first marriage, Susan Jenkins Rexer of Chapel Hill; and two sisters, Muriel M. deMarme of Waitsfield, Vt., and Kitty M. Carney of Hot Springs Village, Ark.

**Mary Joyce Bestervelt Parr**, 71, wife of retired FSO Ross C. Parr, died Sept. 4 at her family's summer home near Kalamazoo, Mich.

Mrs. Parr was born in Kalamazoo and graduated from Michigan State University. She accompanied her husband to Japan during his Navy tours and on FS assignments to Paris and, later, Taiwan, Phnom Penh, Saigon, Bangkok and Algiers, where she taught at missionary, Department of Defense and private schools.

Survivors include her husband, who now resides at their winter residence near Pensacola, Fla.; three daughters, Devon Ellis of Baltimore, Md., Mary Kelly of Great Falls, Va., and Marion Parr of Palo Alto, Calif.; a son, Ross D. Parr of Chicago, Ill.; two grandchildren; and two sisters.

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**C. Hoyt Price**, 79, a retired FSO, died Sept. 12 in Benton, Ark., of complications caused by muscular dystrophy.

Mr. Price was born in Ozark, Ark. He received a doctoral degree from the University of Virginia in 1947 and immediately joined the Foreign Service. His postings included Germany, France, Belgium, Vietnam and Switzerland.

Upon retirement in 1969, Mr. Price joined Gulf Oil Corp. in Pittsburgh, Pa., where he served as director of international studies until 1981.

Mr. Price was predeceased by his wife, Rosemary Price.

Survivors include three sons, Andrew Price of Austin, Texas, Carl Price of Mesa, Ariz., and Roger Price of Pittsburgh, Pa.; and six grandchildren.

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**Franklin Roudybush**, 92, a retired FSO, died Dec. 21 at a hospital in Rodez, France, following a long illness.

Mr. Roudybush was born in Washington, D.C., and graduated from the Georgetown School of Foreign

Service. He received a master's degree from Harvard University and directed the Roudybush Foreign Service School until 1942.

Mr. Roudybush joined the Department of State in 1945 and served there until he joined the Foreign Service in 1951. His overseas assignments included two postings in France, Pakistan and Ireland. He retired from the Foreign Service in about 1957.

Mr. Roudybush is survived by his wife, Alexandre Roudybush, of Sauveterre de Rouergue, France.

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**Michael Smolik**, 77, a former FSO, died of congestive heart failure Jan. 16 at Georgetown University Hospital in Washington, D.C.

A native of New York City, Mr. Smolik attended City College of New York before moving to Washington, D.C., in 1944 to work for the War Department. Mr. Smolik joined the Foreign Service in 1946 and served in Iran, Angola, Tanzania, South Africa, Spain, and South Vietnam. In 1972 Mr. Smolik moved to the Foreign Service Institute, where he served as coordinator of administrative training until his retirement in 1975.

After retiring, Mr. Smolik worked with the National Institutes of Health and was active in the Washington, D.C., chapter of the National Association of Retired Federal Employees.

Survivors include his wife of 48 years, Irene Smolik of Washington, D.C.; a daughter, Christine Smolik of Washington, D.C.; two sons, Robert Smolik, of Rome, Italy, and George Smolik, of Washington, D.C.; three sisters; and two grandchildren.

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**Charles Richard Stout**, 69, a retired FSO, died Nov. 28 at Bon Air Nursing Home in Winchester, Va. He had Alzheimer's disease.

Mr. Stout was born in Kansas City,

Mo., and served in the Army in Italy after World War II. He was a graduate of the University of California at Berkeley and did graduate work in history at Princeton University.

Mr. Stout's assignments included Mexico, Yugoslavia, Italy, Chile, the United Kingdom and Switzerland. He retired in 1993.

Survivors include his wife, Laura Stout of Arlington, Va.; and a daughter, Carla Stout of Brooklyn, N.Y.

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**Virginia Jean Artley Szymanski**, 53, an FSO who served as deputy director of the State Office for Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam, died of breast cancer Jan. 16 at Fairfax Hospital in Fairfax, Va.

Ms. Szymanski was born in Hampton, Iowa. She attended the University of Iowa and graduated from George Washington University in Washington, D.C.

Before joining the FS in 1980, Ms. Szymanski accompanied her first husband, Allen Scheel, on a number of FS assignments. She subsequently worked as a journalist in Washington, D.C., including a stint with the *Navy Times*. Ms. Szymanski also wrote an award-winning column for the Heritage Foundation in Washington, D.C.

As an FSO, Ms. Szymanski served in the Philippines, Burma, China and Israel, where in 1984 she met and married fellow FSO Christopher Szymanski. During a leave of absence from the State Department in the early 1990s, she completed a screenplay and a novel.

Survivors include her husband, Christopher Szymanski; daughters Jennifer Scheel Bushman and Tama Szymanski; a son, Todd Szymanski; her father, Bob Artley; two brothers, Rob Artley and Steve Artley; and a sister, Joan Sterner.

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**Andree Vale**, 82, wife of retired FSO William G. Vale, died of a heart

attack Nov. 15, at Mercy Hospital in Key Biscayne, Fla.

Mrs. Vale was born in Normandy, France, and educated in France and England. She accompanied her husband on FS assignments to Norway, Italy, and Vietnam before settling in Florida.

Survivors include her husband; sons Robert Vale and Michael Vale; and four grandchildren.



**Leslie Varhidy**, 90, a retired Voice of America reporter and announcer, died Nov. 18 at Suburban Hospital in Bethesda, Md. He had Alzheimer's disease.

Mr. Varludy was born in Budapest and graduated from the University of Bazmany Peter. During the 1956 Hungarian revolt, he escaped to New Zealand, and then lived briefly in Australia and Austria.

Mr. Varhidy came to the United States in 1964, settling in the Washington, D.C., area and started his career with Voice of America. He retired in 1987.

Survivors include his wife, Jadda Varhidy of Rockville, Md.



**Walter F. "Rick" Weiss**, 62, a retired FSO and consultant in congressional relations, died of congestive heart failure Feb. 3 in his office in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Weiss was born in Shenandoah, Iowa, and grew up in Milwaukee, Wis. He graduated from Princeton University in 1957 and joined the Foreign Service in 1964. After serving in Palermo and Trieste, Italy, until 1968, Mr. Weiss spend the remainder of his FS career focusing on legislative affairs in a number of positions in Washington, D.C. He retired as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Operations in 1984. Thereafter he consulted for AFSA, businesses and law firms regarding congressional affairs.

Survivors include his wife, Ann Weiss of Silver Spring, Md.; a daughter, Claire Weiss of Portland, Ore.; a son, Charles Weiss of Los Angeles, Calif.; a granddaughter; and two sisters.



**Marshall W. Wiley**, 72, a retired FSO, died of leukemia Jan. 31 at the George Washington University Hospital in Washington, D.C.

A native of Rockford, Ill., Mr. Wiley received a bachelor's degree, a law degree and a master's degree from the University of Chicago. During World War II, he was a Navy aviator. In 1994, Mr. Wiley earned a master's degree in liberal arts from Johns Hopkins University.

Before joining the FS in 1958, Mr. Wiley worked for the Ford Foundation and served as a management consultant and university official. His Foreign Service career was dedicated almost exclusively to the Middle East. Before serving as ambassador to Oman from 1978 to 1981, Mr. Wiley had been posted to Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Yemen, Lebanon and Jordan.

Following his retirement in 1981, Mr. Wiley became a partner in the law firm of Sidley & Austin and was counsel to the firm from 1984 to 1991.

Mr. Wiley was past president of the U.S. Iraq Forum trade association, board chairman of American Near East Refugee Aid and advisory committee member of the National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations. In recent years, Mr. Wiley lectured widely on the Middle East and appeared on numerous network news programs as an authority on the Middle East.

Survivors include his wife, Marjorie Keane Wiley of Bethesda, Md.; two sons, Steven Wiley of Libertyville, Ill., and Douglas Wiley of Manhattan Beach, Calif.; and a daughter, Cynthia Wiley Coleman of Falls Church, Va. ■

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# POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

## *Living History in Tangier*

BY CARLETON S. COON, JR.

As I sat in my bedroom in the American Legation Museum in Tangier's Old Medina last November, I heard the calls of Moroccan street urchins playing in the narrow alley below. Their voices provided a euphonious counterpoint to the string quartet from the United States practicing below me for the concert the next day in the museum's library.

It had been 21 years since the museum was established in the old U.S. legation building and 200 years since the United States first established diplomatic relations with Morocco. The concert in the museum's gracious, acoustically perfect central room would mark the end of a series of art exhibits and seminars celebrating the anniversary. The grand old building, its outside brick covered in white stucco and linked without break to neighboring buildings, is a rabbit warren of 40-odd rooms connected by a jumble of corridors and stairs. Even after having prowled its depths some 50 times during visits spanning more than 50 years, I get lost.

The legation building has had its ups and downs since Moroccan ruler Sultan Moulay Suliman gave it to the U.S. government in 1821, during the presidency of James Madison. I was 12

---

*Carleton S. Coon, Jr., a retired FSO, served in the Near East and South Asia and was ambassador to Nepal from 1981 to 1984. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."*

*The grand old  
building is now a  
museum of  
American  
diplomacy.*

years old when I first visited in 1939. At that time it contained both the legation offices and the residence of the U.S. minister. Three years later, in 1942, my father and his friend, Gordon Browne, two of the first recruits to the OSS, set up a clandestine radio station in the building. Their tapping out of Morse code disturbed the minister's wife's sleep and set off what may be one of the first turf battles between the CIA and State.

I next saw the legation in 1947 when Tangier, a city of color and intrigue, was an international zone administered by a committee of American, British and other diplomatic representatives. Soon after that, State built a new office and residential complex and the end was in view for the old site. For a few years, the Foreign Service Institute ran an Arabic language training program there. Then, the Peace Corps made it a regional training center. By 1975 the building was empty, a rapidly crum-

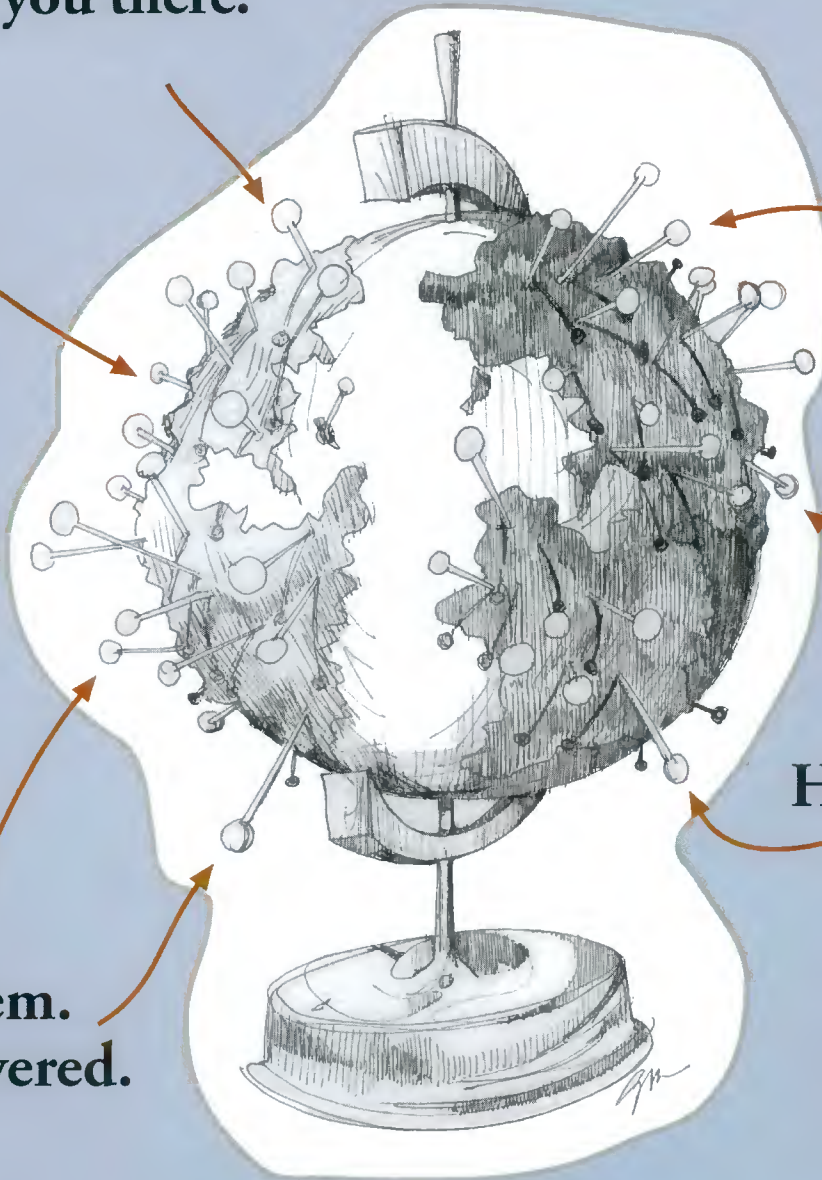
bling white elephant ready to be put on the auction block for a pittance.

By that time, I was deputy chief of mission in Rabat, where our embassy had been moved in 1956. Bombarded by Washington to "do something" to observe the rapidly approaching U.S. bicentennial celebration, I collaborated with U.S. Consul in Tangier Hal Eastman and public affairs officer in Rabat Jim Till in a proposal to make the old legation a monument to U.S.-Moroccan friendship. Washington agreed to the plan, and on July 4, 1976 U.S. Ambassador Robert Anderson inaugurated the Tangier American Legation Museum.

At the same time, Ben Dixon, a former consul in Tangier, organized the Tangier American Legation Museum Society in Washington, D.C., to help raise funds. TALMS continues to provide funds for operating costs and for the museum's director, while State retains title to the property and covers major structural repairs. In recent years, TALMS president Bill Zartman of the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and museum director Thor Kuniholm have accomplished a series of small miracles in recreating the ambiance the building had in the 1920's, when Ambassador Maxwell Blake filled it with fine antiques. Today its elegance and charm provide a home for 200 years of memorabilia of the U.S.-Moroccan relationship.

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