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— ALEXANDER POPE, 1720



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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Speaking Truth to Congress

BY DAN GEISLER

Every year, AFSA presents congressional testimony on the State Department's annual appropriations bill, which covers both State and USIA. (USAID funds come through separate legislation for foreign operations.) I appeared this April before a House Appropriations subcommittee, and raised five concerns that I believe are of crucial importance to our members and the foreign affairs agencies overall.

First and foremost, there is no alternative to American leadership in world affairs. But America cannot play the lead role if we leave the world stage—which is why reducing our overseas presence undermines our interests. Our posts abroad are America's forward deployment for peace. We need our diplomatic bases, and we need to keep them in a constant state of readiness. Our ability to carry out our world-wide mission requires a world-class diplomacy with highly trained professionals, equipped with the right tools.

Second, in the information age, Foreign Service officers and specialists need up-to-date computer and communications technology. USIA has done rather well in this regard. But State Department personnel are largely cut off from the global information flow because our embassies abroad and our buildings in Washington aren't connected to the outside world. State Department desk officers find that for-

*If information is the
lifeblood of
diplomacy, the
State Department
needs a transfusion.*

eign embassies in Washington sometimes have better, quicker access to U.S. government information than they do themselves. If information is the lifeblood of diplomacy, the State Department is in desperate need of a transfusion.

Our third concern has become something of a mantra for AFSA: the need for workforce planning in the State Department. Since we began to advocate that State establish a forward-looking, needs-based system of workforce planning, the department has made some improvements. But State managers still have no tool for matching our projected needs with the skills of our workforce, or for developing a cadre of officers and specialists to meet America's needs of tomorrow.

Our fourth concern is the continuing decline in funding for public diplomacy. As countries at all stages of economic development gain access to the global information system, the opportunities for us to influence world events through

public diplomacy increase exponentially. We cannot afford to let these opportunities slip away.

Since 1994, funding for public diplomacy has decreased in real terms by 29 percent. In the Clinton administration's FY '99 request, USIA is the only foreign affairs agency that was allotted fewer resources. Before tabling that request, the administration announced its intention to combine USIA with the State Department. Any reshaping of our agencies must result in genuine functional integration, not merely a rearrangement of boxes on our organizational diagrams. In the end, public diplomacy must be a permanent, fully-funded feature of foreign policy.

Last on our list is the increasing burden of service aboard. Loss of spousal income continues to make overseas service a financial burden for many Foreign Service employees. It is compounded by a continual decline in benefits. Allowances are reduced or whittled away by inflation. More out-of-pocket funds are required for health care abroad. Loss of locality pay often leads to a salary cut when we move abroad. Many of us work with outdated equipment, while living in substandard housing, and with an expanding workload without equally expanding resources.

In addressing all the above issues, AFSA simply asks that Congress give Foreign Service officers and specialists the tools we need to shape world events and to advance America's national interests. ■

Dan Geisler is president of the American Foreign Service Association.



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LETTERS

OIG Out of Control

I too have been a victim of improper practices by the State Department Office of the Inspector General investigators. I am a Diplomatic Security (DS) agent. In the course of my duties with DS, I have been personally involved in many operational disputes with OIG/INV. I am very familiar with their methods.

In the spring of 1996, while assigned overseas, I became the focus of an OIG/INV investigation. Earlier in the year, I had terminated my local investigator for misconduct. OIG/INV decided to open an investigation into the circumstances surrounding the termination. Two OIG investigators were at post for more than 10 days. The investigators uncovered 12 more allegations and interrogated me for over four hours.

Part of a good investigator's job is to separate unfounded and scurrilous allegations from those that have merit. The allegations against me were so ludicrous I would have been amused were I not familiar with just how ruthless the IG can be. I knew too, as some of the examples in your March issue

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illustrate, the OIG/INV report of investigation could be the only accepted transcript of the interview. I insisted, despite vehement objections by the investigators, on having a representative who knew shorthand present. Therefore, I have a complete tran-



RENEE MANSFIELD

scription of the interview.

During the out-briefing with my reviewing officer, the senior investigator admitted they had uncovered no proof I had committed any illegal act or violated any administrative regulations. However, the agent stated they believed I was guilty! They demanded that my reviewing officer take appropriate administrative sanctions against me.

I was very fortunate my reviewing officer was once unfairly targeted by the OIG/INV. Otherwise, he could easily have been pressured into mak-

ing a statement or comment in my efficiency report that likely would have unfairly disadvantaged me for promotion.

I and many of my colleagues are convinced the State OIG/INV is out of control and has been for years. The three examples given in your March issue are unfortunately only the tip of the iceberg.

I have had more than one IG investigator tell me their dream is to put an ambassador in jail to "teach the Foreign Service a lesson." As a State Department officer, and a law enforcement professional, I find such a statement offensive and insulting. Reform is needed now.

*William Gaskill
Regional Security Officer
U.S. Embassy, Lima*

The Good Side of OIG

I read with interest the focus section on the State Office of the Inspector General (March *Journal*). I have been critical of State OIG on occasion (see "Beware the Investigators," *FSJ*, January 1993), but fairness requires that I share evidence that the OIG, more than other parts of the State Department bureaucracy, has become willing to correct mistakes.

I have one very recent example in mind. A client of mine had been denied promotion to the Senior Foreign Service and was slated for retirement. The only negative statements in his file were in an Inspection Evaluation Report prepared by an

LETTERS

OIG inspector in 1993. With AFSA's help, the officer filed a grievance alleging that the statements in the IER were falsely prejudicial. The department's grievance staff took hard-line positions: that the Department was not obligated to provide much information concerning the matter; that the IER was accurate on its face; that the IER could not have affected the officer's chances for promotion; and that no remedy was warranted. The Grievance Board seemed to be siding with the Department.

Against such ferocious bureaucratic opposition, the officer's career seemed doomed. Appalling for fundamental fairness, we asked the OIG to reexamine its own conduct. Even though it was under no obligation to do so, the OIG agreed to look into the facts, concluded that the IER was unfair, and caused it to be removed from the officer's file. The IG was intensely criticized by the personnel bureaucracy for this decision, which forced the convening of a reconstituted promotions board to revisit the officer's promotion. Happily, the officer was confirmed by the Senate in March.

Without the OIG's most honorable actions in this matter, the inflexibility of the rest of the State Department bureaucracy would have unfairly cast out a super Foreign Service officer. Like all organizations, the OIG should receive praise when it does things right as well as criticism when it makes mistakes.

Ralph Drury Martin
Attorney
Washington, D.C.

Get Legal Counsel — Fast

Three cheers for AFSA and the *FSJ* for taking on the abuses of power by the Office of the Inspector General investigators! I admire the grit of David Dlouhy who led this exposé, and

the others whose cases were cited.

Based on my own experience, I strongly advise anyone coming under OIG/INV scrutiny to immediately engage legal counsel. When it happened to me, I naively waited two years. An innocent scenario reported by a vindictive ambassador resulted in a 10-day suspension, which then mushroomed into a four-year ordeal with Kafkaesque dimensions.

Happily, the Foreign Service Grievance Board found in my favor, and the matter is almost history. I say "almost" because such an indelible blot on my reputation will never go away.

A final thought for all of us: Do not let the independent power of the Foreign Service Grievance Board be watered down in any way.

Thomas R. Hutson
FSO
U.S. Embassy Sarajevo

Where OIG Went Wrong

Congratulations to editors and editorial board on a fine job of journalism in the March issue, which spotlights a single problem — the Inspector General's Office — from various standpoints.

One aspect of the problem is the change in the atmospherics of relations between administrative personnel and others in our posts abroad that has been induced by the changed role of the OIG's office since the IG himself (or herself) started answering directly to Congress. The IG then sublimates the watchdog/audit function, unlike inspectors in most other countries, who perform the more traditional management consulting function.

In years gone by, admin officers used to be able to interpret regulations for the benefit of the entire embassy, in the spirit in which they were intended. Living today under a much more imminent threat of investigation, it is the admin officer who

may have to answer for too liberal an interpretation of the regulations. All too often admin ends up in the uncomfortable and unhappy position of having to reject a rule of reason in order to keep a clean paper trail for the inspectors.

This is exactly the result that the late Ambassador Fred Chapin, the last career Foreign Service inspector general, foresaw in the mid-1980s. Chapin struggled in vain to sidetrack the imposition of an alien system on us to replace the user-friendly but still sound inspection system that the Foreign Service had developed for itself through many years of experience.

Ted Wilkinson
AFSA president, 1990-
1991
Retired FSO
Brasilia, Brazil

My Lean Years at FCS

Steven Honley's article "FS Growth Industry" (February *FSJ*) seems on target about the prospects for the U.S. Foreign and Commercial Service. Members of the FCS team have told me that funding these days is not a problem, one even using the word "flush." More power to them!

Indeed, I wish that had been the case during my tenure with the organization. The years following the separation from State were especially lean. I recall one FCS overseas operation having to shuffle a single rail discount pass among seven posts and 60 staff members in order to accomplish even a modicum of necessary in-country travel. Still, I find it satisfying that a number of the agency's current programs were born during that era, as commercial officers and FSNs became exceptionally creative in inventing and modifying services in order to keep programs viable and their business clientele satisfied.

FCS's most widely implemented

LETTERS

service, for example, the Honley-cited Gold(en) Key, emerged during that period when FCS posts often found themselves without funds to even return calls, let alone initiate them on behalf of businesses, and a fee for direct services program promised the only relief. Even then, some had concerns about the ethics of charging American businesses for assistance. But the Gold Key and similar programs became accepted throughout, and promoted by, the entire Department of Commerce. Objections from the private sector were, and I assume still are, rare as long the quality of the services merited the charges.

John W. Bligh, Jr.
Linz, Germany

Arrogant in Colombia?

In his knowledgeable review of my book, *Colombia and the United States: Narcotics Traffic and a Failed Foreign Policy*, James Cooper writes that it was unfair of me to assert that U.S. programs were imposed on Colombia by an arrogant USAID mission (March *Journal*).

Actually, I agree with him that USAID and Colombian officials worked together cooperatively for many years on successful development programs. However, I wanted primarily to highlight the views of Colombian government officials in 1975 when they abruptly terminated the USAID program because, as Finance Minister Botero explained to us, they wanted "to regain control of Colombia's destiny." This desire to be free from American prescriptions soon added to the problems we faced in our anti-narcotics program.

Robert W. Drexler
Retired FSO
Rockville, Md.

Disband USIA

Your editorial decision regarding Howard Shapiro's article is a breath of fresh air, long overdue ("Learning from Failure," December *Journal*). You have enabled him to get into print with some of the views I expressed more than 16 years ago in an article rejected by the *FSJ* editorial board at that time. I most strongly endorse his comments on the waste of more taxpayers' dollars to tell "America's story to a world that already is fully aware of our accomplishments and shortcomings." We should disband USIA and start over, without present USIA personnel, or leave it all to the State Department.

USIA has outlived its usefulness. Private communications with peoples of all foreign countries have expanded astronomically. Why not recognize the tremendous changes wrought by the new communications technologies and let our privately owned publications continue to cultivate the world audience?

Claude B. Cross
Retired FSO
Arlington, Va. ■

Editor Wanted

The *Foreign Service Journal* seeks to hire a part-time editor and writer, to start late spring/early summer. Will edit and lay out the *AFSA News* section, work on other parts of the *FSJ* as needed. Candidates should have writing and editing experience and knowledge of the Foreign Service. QuarkXpress a plus.

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CLIPPINGS



"Ethnic Albanians in Kosovo are being slaughtered. And after all this, an official at the State Department referred to Albanian freedom fighters as terrorists ... England referred to George Washington years and years ago as a terrorist."

— RER. JAMES
TRAFICANT (D-OHIO)
ON THE HOUSE FLOOR
MARCH 12.

VIRGINIA IGNORES WORLD COURT ORDER

The state of Virginia's recent execution of a Paraguayan murder convict may have jeopardized U.S. citizens' right to obtain consular help if they get into trouble in a foreign country, according to several major news sources.

Despite a plea from Secretary of State Madeleine Albright that Virginia Gov. James Gilmore stay the execution, the state executioner killed Angel Francisco Breard by lethal injection April 14. Albright had wanted the governor to delay the death penalty. Breard, 32, was convicted of the 1993 killing of Ruth Dickie of Arlington, Va.

Paraguay had asked the International Court of Justice to order a new trial for Breard. Paraguayan officials argued that Virginia city officials had violated international law by failing to notify the Paraguayan consulate that Breard had been arrested. Also, Virginia officials did not inform Breard that he had the right to ask for assistance from his country's consular officials, Paraguayan officials argued.

The 15-member World Court, situated in The Hague, had voted unanimously to urge the United States to order Virginia to halt the execution until the World Court had time to consider the case.

The Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, that Paraguay said Virginia violated, is the same treaty that protects U.S. citizens abroad. The outrage in Paraguay about this case is similar to that expressed by the American public when a U.S. citizen was caned in Singapore five years ago. Paraguay does not have the death penalty.

The eve of the execution found U.S. officials divided. While Albright asked for a stay of the execution for diplomatic reasons, the U.S. Department of Justice asked the U.S. Supreme Court to support Virginia's right to execute Breard. The Justice Department said the high court did not have a legal basis to order Virginia to halt the execution, according to *The Washington Post*.

Paraguay had filed suit in federal court against Virginia officials. Had the Supreme Court decided to hear the case, it could have halted the execution until it could consider the case, according to the *Post*. But the high court chose not to intervene.

AMBASSADOR LEAVES, 'MISSION ACCOMPLISHED'

U.S. Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith not only played a crucial role in the Irish peace process, but she transformed the role of the American diplomat in Dublin, writes the *Irish Voice* in an article to bid her farewell, published in its March 18-24 issue.

"The announcement that U.S. Ambassador to Ireland Jean Kennedy Smith will be leaving her post this summer brings to an end the most extraordinary chapter yet in Irish and American diplomatic relations," writes the *Voice*.

The *Voice* sings a very different tune than would many FSOs, who remember how she sparked "one of the most public and controversial FSO dissent cases in recent times" (July 1996 *Journal*). Kennedy Smith issued a visa to Gerry Adams, the president of Sinn Féin, the political wing of the Irish Republican



CLIPPINGS

Army. Previously, U.S. consular officials had denied Adams a visa eight times over two decades, based on U.S. legal provisions barring those suspect of having ties to terrorist organizations.

The Kennedy Smith gesture was part of a calculated plan designed to jumpstart the stalled Northern Ireland peace process. Key drafters of the plan included British parliament member John Hume and former Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds.

The *Irish Voice* goes on to explain how Kennedy Smith's performance changed the role of the U.S. ambassador in Ireland. Traditionally, the London ambassador was the sole reporter of Northern Ireland affairs to the secretary of State and the president. But Kennedy Smith established that the U.S. ambassador to Ireland plays as important a role in Northern Ireland affairs as does the American presence in London.

This legacy should be continued, the *Voice* said, especially at a time when the Irish government is likely to gain more influence in the North.

The ambassador to fill Kennedy Smith's shoes should be of a higher caliber than her predecessors, the *Voice* said.

"Before Kennedy Smith, the occupants of the position tended to be elderly, well-heeled gentlemen — appointed mainly in return for financial contributions — who coasted for a few years in Dublin before retirement.

"The notion of Dublin as a sleepy backwater took hold, encouraged no doubt by those in the State Department who viewed Northern Ireland as a problem for the London embassy to deal with," the publication said.

It is time that the London embassy showed that the Irish issue is an important one to the United States and that a Northern Ireland specialist be appointed to Dublin, the *Voice* concluded.

KENNAN QUESTIONS NATO EXPANSION

In a provocative letter to the journal *The National Interest*, Ambassador George F. Kennan sharply questions both the fairness and the rationale of NATO expansion into Eastern Europe.

First, says Kennan, there was "an implicit understanding that the West would not take advantage of the Russian strategic and political withdrawal from Eastern Europe. ... Gorbachev on more than one occasion was given to understand, in informal talks with senior American and other Western personalities, that if the USSR would accept a united Germany remaining in NATO, the jurisdiction of that alliance would not be moved further eastward."

Kennan also lambastes those who see Russia as "an inherently and incorrigibly expansionist country," which he implies is the justification for NATO expansion. He asserts that present-day Russia, "the product of an amazing bloodless revolution," is most unlikely to harbor "the same dreams of conquest and oppression" that motivated Russia during its czarist and communist days.

Kennan, who gained fame for his formulation of the doctrine of containment of Soviet communism in the late 1940s, has been for many years a fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

50 YEARS AGO

"While our friends in the Foreign Service are again striving to make the world safe for democracy, some of us here at home are seeking to democratize the government of our Capital City. If you have not been back to Washington since the war, you may not have heard that there's a fight going on here too — a fight to restore democracy in the District of Columbia," wrote then Congressman James C. Auchincloss (R-N.J.) in the May 1948 *Journal*.

"I started the fight a year ago when I introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives. This resolution authorized the House Committee on the District of Columbia to study the District government and bring in recommendations for its modernization and for home rule."

"The most disadvantageous peace is better than the most just war."

— DESIDERIUS
ERASMUS, 1508.

STATE WANTS SAY IN ARMS DEVELOPMENT

The State Department and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency are seeking a "major say in what high-technology weapons systems the Pentagon develops," according to an April 9 *Washington Times* article.

John D. Holum, director of ACDA and acting under secretary of State, wrote the Pentagon and asked that its compliance review group "coordinate" all important decisions with him "to avoid unexpected diplomatic and policy consequences stemming from compliance decisions," according to the *Times*.

Officials in the Pentagon oppose the plan, saying it is the "latest in a string of efforts by anti-defense arms controllers in government to limit new weapons programs they think might violate agreements or

complicate negotiations," said the *Times*.

An administration official told the *Times* the ACDA plan was not going to be put into effect. "The decision on how a weapons system is going to be built and what attributes it will or won't have is a decision for the Department of Defense, not some bunch of bureaucrats who are arms controllers," he told the *Times*.

Holum's plan would allow State, ACDA and the National Security Council to object to certain weapons systems or their components on the grounds that they are non-compliant with treaties and accords.

The anonymous official also told the *Times* that State and ACDA officials are not qualified to make such decisions because they "are not engineers, and if they are engineers, they are not real engineers."

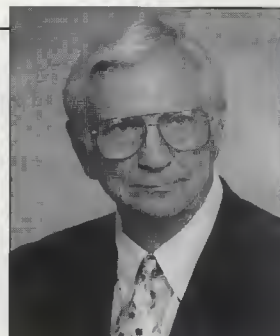
There is no need for change; "the bottom line is the system ain't broke, and we ain't going to fix it." ■



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SPEAKING OUT

Human Rights Report: Luxury or Necessity?

BY DAVID JONES

On Jan. 30 the Department of State released the Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1997, generally referred to as the "Human Rights Report." If you blinked, you missed it. The report was the fifth item on the evening CNN Headline News and was covered the following day in *The Washington Post* on page A-18.

Not much return for an annual report requiring tens of thousands of hours of work by the Department of State's human rights community? Or another successful "mission accomplished" for a project that can be compared to routine space shuttle launches?

The Human Rights Report (HRR) is one of the few foreign affairs survivors of the Carter administration. It deserves grudging respect for its longevity and for its role in international discussion of human rights, but it has become an increasingly heavy burden for the State Department. When I was a desk officer for Cyprus and Greece in the early 1980s, the workload on the HRR was feather light. Now, U.S. embassies around the world and country desks in Washington grapple with a substantial complex of issues from late summer to the end of January each

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year, with increasing responsibility piled on staff whose ranks are thinning.

The first Human Rights Report produced in 1977 ran 143 pages of legible text. The 1997 edition covered 1,756 pages of densely packed, reader-hostile small print. In the 20 years since the first HRR was issued by State, the Soviet Union has collapsed, democracies have developed in Latin America, Asia and Africa, several brutal civil wars and insurgencies have been resolved and apartheid has ended in South Africa. Most observers would conclude that global human rights have significantly improved. Even recognizing that the Human Rights Report covered more countries in 1997 than it did in 1977, it would be hard to argue that condi-

tions are more than 10 times worse than they were 20 years ago and thus worthy of so much more paper.

What has happened is that the State Department has expanded areas of investigation and raised the bar for acceptable human rights behavior. For example, in 1983 an entire section of the HRR was given to "The Right of Citizens to Change Their Government." In 1986 the report expanded to include discrimination based on race, sex, religion, language or social status. As a result, even the most egalitarian countries are now graded as only "generally" respecting human rights. Over two decades, the HRR has also become a special interests Christmas tree with particular constituencies in the United States demanding that their concerns be hung on it. Thus there are now sections reporting on whether governments cooperate with those criticizing it, political prisoners and academic freedom. In 1997, for the first time, new reporting was required on worker rights and "forced and bonded labor" by children.

The HRR has also expanded its coverage of religious discrimination, particularly whether the right of evangelical Christians to practice their faith is restricted. Most evident, however, has been a recent, intensive focus on violence



and discrimination against women because they are women. Consequently, statements in the 1997 HRR cite violence against women as a problem in countries such as Austria, Canada, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland — certainly some of the most humane and civilized societies in all of human history. Regardless of how democratic a country may be, women are repeatedly characterized as “underrepresented” in legislative bodies. The implication is that women cannot be “represented” by men or that women will always be “underrepresented” and their political rights subject to abuse until their electoral representation is equal to their percentage of the population.

Also included in the HRR is the long-standing practice of “female genital mutilation” (FGM). FGM, also known as “female circumcision” or “genital cutting”, in the ritualized language of the HRR “is widely condemned by international health experts as damaging to both physical and psychological health.” Regardless of the cultural, religious or ethical reasons for this practice, or whether it is undertaken by choice, it is characterized as a human rights abuse to be condemned. Legislation requires the U.S. to oppose loans from international financial institutions to countries with “a cultural custom or a known history of the practice of FGM” unless the country implements educational programs to prevent the practice. There is, oddly enough, no comparable attention given to “male genital mutilation” (MGM), otherwise known as circumcision, which is inflicted upon tens of millions of

male infants without their consent and with occasional catastrophic results.

Beyond Slavery

Slavery, a classic abuse of which the United States has been guilty, has also received intensified attention. U.S. concern with it internationally has passed beyond the traditional criticism of chain gangs and slave auctions into the significantly more nebulous question of when patterns of unpaid and marginally paid economic and social relationships, often lasting for generations, qualify as “slavery.”

Still, the State Department has resisted adding some areas to the HRR. Despite considerable pressure from groups opposed to the death penalty, it does not report on capital punishment because the United States contends that capital punishment is not a human rights abuse if it is the result of due process for criminal actions. Report preparers are careful about characterizing physical abuse as “torture,” because these judgments have consequences for people claiming asylum because of torture. Torture has to be more specific than being abused or beaten up.

Similarly, attitudes toward homosexuals are not discussed unless there is specific government-directed or societally-sanctioned physical abuse against them, because homosexuals are not recognized as a minority group. Likewise, the HRR does not specify the age of “child soldiers,” because some international nongovernmental organizations argue the age should be 18, while the U.S. military contends that 17-year-olds can legally enter military service.

Preparing the HRR has become one of those ritualized wrangles that characterize modern U.S. diplomacy. Preparers accuse those on country desks of succumbing to “localitis” — the ultimate diplomatic insult — or becoming “sell-outs” and adopting double standards. Desk officers advocating for their assigned countries plead that their SOBs are not really that bad. They believe that HRR judgments will unfairly single out their country and make it more difficult for the embassy to perform its other (presumably more important) duties.

Fortunately, no country in the history of the HRR has broken relations with the United States because of reporting in the HRR. Nevertheless, it is equally clear that putting an American human rights finger in another nation’s eye hardly stimulates that country to look upon us warmly. Sometimes artful drafting can soften rough edges, but this can also go too far. The 1997 award for creative circumlocution went to description of a situation akin to slavery as “unremunerated traditional relationships of obligation.” Perhaps the next step would be to depict cannibalism as “advanced protein recycling.”

Does It Help?

No country is enthusiastic about getting a report card from the United States, even those that receive very little criticism. In some countries the political opposition can use it as a “stick” to flog those in power. Other countries either denounce the report or ignore it, making it a non-event and diminishing its effect.

SPEAKING OUT



Friendly countries tend to treat the HRR as a bearable vagary of U.S. diplomacy more useful in providing information about the vices of other states than identifying their own weaknesses.

Uncle Scold, Global Nanny

In some cases, the U.S. can use the HRR as a negotiating tool. A handful of countries are still willing to make some calculated concessions to keep economic or political relationships with the United States running smoothly. Thus a few "dissidents" may be freed, adverse legal judgments against selected critics reversed, some human rights groups officially registered or pressure against an unpopular religious

group lessened. Other states, for whom the U.S. is a significant or potential source of aid, trade or political support, often have more complicated reactions, including complaining that the HRR is untrue or unfair and helping their political opponents, or arguing that circumstances are better now and they are trying to improve human rights. They may request financial assistance to improve their records, implying that human rights are the responsibility of the United States. In such states, however, it is more likely that the HRR will have genuine results: human rights legislation, the appointment of an official ombudsman and sometimes genuine progress such as the release of prisoners, less repres-

sion of the media, more free speech and more tolerance of political opposition.

Is the Human Rights Report worth the trouble? It portrays the U.S. as Uncle Scold or Global Nanny. In preparing it, the State Department irritates countries whose human rights standards are at least as worthy as ours by pointing out the motes in their eyes. State Department condemnations will not change the activities of gangster states such as Iraq, Libya or North Korea. Nevertheless, the HRR provides U.S. diplomats with an additional negotiating tool of both strategic and tactical utility.

Once an expensive luxury, the HRR has now become an expensive necessity. ■

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LET'S *REALLY* REINVENT USAID



ANDRÉ LUCERO

WHAT USAID NEEDS IS GREATER
INDEPENDENCE, NOT CONSOLIDATION
INTO THE STATE DEPARTMENT

By Denis J. Sullivan

After 37 years of struggling to promote development abroad, the biggest struggle for the U.S. Agency for International Development lies ahead and at home. This fight is for AID's own survival. While the agency has successfully, if temporarily, dodged the attempt by some in Congress to integrate AID more fully into the State Department, that battle is not over. The agency still must prove itself if it wishes to maintain its autonomy through its 40th birthday in 2001.

AID was born with a split personality — a problem that has hampered it from the time Congress established the agency in 1961. Its authorizing language called on USAID to promote both American foreign policy interests

F O C U S

AID was born with a split personality, which has hampered the agency ever since Congress established it in 1961.

as well as self-sustaining development in poor nations. The agency's documents state that "USAID conducts its programs under the direction and guidance of the Secretary of State and attaches the highest priority to coordinating its work with the needs and objectives of the Department of State and the U.S. Ambassador and the country team, wherever its missions operate." However, AID's development mission often conflicts with other U.S. policy goals.

Is there any way out of this perennial conflict? I will argue that the best solution lies in a truly independent AID, with an autonomous administrator and, preferably, an independent governing board. There are agencies, including the Inter-American Foundation and African Development Foundation, which work successfully under such an arrangement. This kind of governance would permit AID to attach the highest priority to its own objectives (promoting sustainable development) and, presumably, the needs of the developing nations where its missions operate.

Of course, there is another possible resolution to the conflict: AID could be consolidated into the State Department, which is what's currently happening to the U.S. Information Agency and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Many in Congress would like to see AID follow the same path.

Even if — as now seems the case — AID is able to maintain its status as a separate agency, that doesn't mean the agency will thrive. Indeed, for many years, AID overseas missions have been closing and overall operations have been reduced. The agency's workforce, which peaked at 17,600 U.S. citizens in 1968, declined to 6,000 in 1978 and about 2,500 currently. In addition, some 3,700 foreign nationals work in AID missions overseas.

After the confirmation of J. Brian Atwood as

administrator and the rollout of Vice President Gore's National Performance Review (NPR) in 1993, AID stepped up its efforts at trimming its workforce as well as its presence overseas. From 105 missions in 1993, AID now has a presence in fewer than 80 countries; Atwood has stated that the number should be as low as 50. Meanwhile,

between fiscal 1993 and 1997, the agency's spending obligations for economic assistance declined from \$7.06 billion to \$5.20 billion.

Workforce reduction continued when AID stopped granting limited career extensions to senior Foreign Service officers. This led to a 40 percent decrease in the agency's oldest workers. Then, in 1996, AID conducted a reduction in force in which 97 Foreign Service employees were selected for termination. Especially hard hit were senior FSOs: 96 of the 97 employees selected were over 40 and two-thirds of these over 50. Those left behind — often younger civil servants — have less field and managerial experience than those let go.

One result of this move was a class action age-discrimination lawsuit filed against AID Administrator Atwood, which argues that the RIF was specifically targeted at older employees. Another effect has been the continuing growth of consulting companies' use of former AID employees — Foreign Service officers as well as civil servants — to do many of the same tasks they used to do inside the agency. While consultants' fees are expensive, the agency no longer incurs long-term obligations of high salaries, costly benefits, and retirement. AID reports that staff reductions resulted in a net decrease in personnel costs of about \$1.5 million from FY 1997 to FY 1998. To some degree, however, the shift to consultants merely moves expenses from one budget category ("cost of management") to another ("cost of implementation"). So the true savings, if any, are difficult to determine.

With drastic cuts in personnel over time, the agency increasingly has had to rely on a practice now common in government and business: outsourcing, i.e., hiring organizations and people outside the agency to do tasks formerly accomplished in-house.

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F O C U S

Such organizations include indigenous non-governmental organizations (NGOs) abroad, American private voluntary organizations (PVOs), consulting firms and universities.

Outsourcing involves complex tradeoffs for AID. It may make some sense as a cost-cutting measure but it risks making AID less able to ensure success as the agency loses direct control over projects. In its "Strategies for Sustainable Development," the agency "recognizes that the effectiveness of [NGOs, universities, and other] organizations depends in large measure on their institutional autonomy. USAID cannot and should not micro-manage these organizations. However, [it] will insist upon a critical evaluation of project design [and] will maintain oversight."

Outsourcing complicates management because it adds yet another organizational layer between AID and the host nation. In addition, the contracting agencies (such as private firms or even universities) have their own agendas, including profit and/or self-promotion. That problem tends to be less serious for indigenous NGOs and American PVOs, which are more likely to put a high priority on AID's mission of promoting development. Outsourcing is not automatically more bureaucratic or less effective than in-house management, however. Indeed, AID and most of the world's development agencies (the World Bank primary among them) are relying increasingly on NGOs as development agents as they seek to avoid recipient government bureaucracies.

Though AID officials might wish to run some of these projects within the agency, that option is no longer available: The downsized agency now lacks the specialists as well as the senior management experience it once had in ample supply.

AID's economic development mission is further complicated by the fact that it lacks a strong and powerful domestic constituency. While foreign aid is supported by U.S. PVOs, the higher education establishment and consulting companies, AID is not the Peace Corps and thus lacks name recognition and a positive reputation within the taxpaying population. Americans tend to care very little about foreign affairs, and they regularly overestimate the size of the foreign aid budget. In public opinion polls, Americans consistently place that budget as high as 20 percent of the overall

federal budget. And they think the U.S. spends more than any other country in the world. In reality, the U.S. ranks dead last among the advanced industrial democracies in its percentage of GNP devoted to foreign aid. A recent University of Maryland study found that Americans on average thought five percent of the budget should be spent on aid; they thought that 13 percent would be too much and three percent would be too little. Still, once they were told that only one percent of the budget goes for aid, nearly half the respondents felt this was "about right." Lacking both a constituency and a successful track record in moving poor countries into self-sustaining development, USAID has little political capital to rely upon to help it weather further cuts.

Decades of Reforms

AID officials and the agency's supporters are all too familiar with threats to the organization and its mission. For over 25 years, AID officials have worked to redefine their mission or at least their approach to the goal that has eluded them for years — promoting sustainable development in the Third World. Much of this redefinition began in the early years of AID, in the 1960s. It accelerated with the "New Directions" effort in 1973 when Congress and AID staff refocused their efforts on the poorest populations, women in development, small-scale farmers, health and education. President Reagan shifted aid efforts to build up the private sector. In 1989, Alan Woods, the late director of USAID, bemoaned the fact that there were "no graduates from less-developed to developed" countries in 20 years of aid donations. "Direct U.S. development assistance, overall, has played a secondary role [in fostering development] and has not always succeeded in fostering growth-oriented policies among recipient states." This reality compelled AID officials to rethink their approach.

Congress and the executive branch were pursuing a similar objective, if for different reasons. In February 1989, a Congressional Task Force on Foreign Assistance recommended the creation of a restructured foreign aid implementing agency to replace USAID because of the latter's inability to achieve its overall objectives. With the end of the Cold War, and the emergence of the former Soviet republics with critical

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The attempt of the Bush administration to turn USAID into a version of Commerce went nowhere.

economic needs, U.S. aid to even its staunchest "friends" came to be reexamined. U.S. aid to Israel and Egypt has not been immune from scrutiny, although they retain their first and second place position among all U.S. aid recipients; and together, these two nations alone consume over one-fourth of AID's entire budget. In 1990, Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kans.) suggested that aid to Egypt and Israel be reduced by a mere 5 percent to free up limited U.S. resources to help emerging democracies; Dole's recommendation was ignored by both houses of Congress. The special rules of aid that apply to strategic partners, such as Israel and Egypt, complicate those efforts at reforming America's aid agency. Aid to these two countries is "untouchable," as both continue to be rewarded for signing the Camp David Accords in 1978 and making peace with each other.

In January 1991, USAID Administrator Ronald Roskens, a political appointee of George Bush, issued a restructuring program for the agency. Entitled "Aid Initiatives: A Roadmap for the 1990s," the "new AID" was to promote business and development partnerships, democracy, family and development, and strategic management (i.e., organizational reform). Under "business and development partnership," Roskens asserted that "as America's private sector faces the challenge of recession at home, it's a good time to interest them in the growth and potential of developing economies. We at AID, in Washington and in the field, can provide valuable information and contacts to expand the opportunities for U.S. business and indigenous businesses in developing nations."

The problem with this restructuring was that it sought to make AID more like the Department of Commerce and less like an agency designed to foster development and self-sufficiency in poor countries. The goals were primarily the promotion of American business interests in developing countries, not the promotion of sustainable development or even of American foreign policy interests by using aid as leverage. Still, these goals were in keeping with Secretary of State James Baker's "charge" to orient American foreign policy to consolidate democracy worldwide, build

free-market economies, help regional peacemakers and provide disaster relief. AID's traditional core goals of improving "the quality of human life by reducing poverty, ignorance, and malnutrition" were subsumed by Roskens, walking in step with Baker, under the category of humanitarian assistance.

Whatever the intent of the restructuring effort, the effect was negligible, because AID employees world-wide resisted this blatant attempt to undercut the traditional goal of promoting development for the recipients of aid. One former AID official summed up the sentiments of many of his colleagues when he criticized Roskens' attempt to replace the former rationale for foreign assistance, that of Cold War politics and containment, with "an effort to assist directly American businesses that compete in certain world markets" (*FSJ*, January 1992).

The Clinton administration also has entrusted the AID administrator with the task of "reforming the donor." In September 1993, Vice President Gore's National Performance Review found that AID's "core problem is that it is burdened by too many responsibilities and expected to accomplish too many objectives. AID does not have a single, clearly defined and articulated strategic mission. External and internal control mechanisms have combined to deprive it of needed flexibility to make good decisions, and weight it down with time-consuming and outdated reporting requirements. It is, in short, wrapped in red tape."

In response, Administrator Brian Atwood issued "Strategies for Sustainable Development" in March 1994, which outlined reform priorities, in keeping with the Clinton administration's effort to "reinvent" government. AID focused its goals and established a limited set of "strategic objectives": encouraging broad-based economic growth; building democracy; protecting the environment; stabilizing world population and protecting human health; and providing humanitarian assistance and aiding post-crisis transition.

The unceasing effort to reform or reinvent this government agency is a result of the failure of aid to have

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a more measurable impact on developing countries. To be sure, AID has its successes — in health care, sanitation, agriculture, education and training. What AID lacks, though, is an ability to point to a handful or more of development success stories. While Brazil and South Korea have graduated from foreign aid, it is not clear that U.S. assistance played a major role in that transition.

This poor track record is not necessarily the fault of AID officials alone or even primarily. In addition to the obvious obstacles of dictators, "kleptocrats" and controlled economies against which AID officials cannot win, failure also derives from the way AID is structured and controlled by Washington politicians and State Department officials. In any given aid program, far too many objectives are pursued. Social and economic development, democracy and human rights, poverty reduction and population control — these and others compete with each other. And all take a back seat to the overriding political objective of American foreign policy interests.

Beyond State's directing of overall policy, Congress frequently micro-manages or imposes "pet projects" and ties aid in such a way that the benefits — both financial and political — accrue to their constituents and their contributors rather than to the nominal recipients of U.S. foreign assistance. (More than 80 percent of foreign aid moneys are spent on U.S. goods and services.) Promoting peace (especially peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors) is a prime justification for many of these congressional projects. As Congress seeks to improve relations between Israel and its Arab neighbors, it instructs AID to bring Israelis to Egypt to demonstrate effective drip-irrigation and seed production. Many of these pet projects do not directly conform with AID's own vision of how to promote Egyptian development or peace with Israel. In reality, AID officials do not want to be in the peace-building business. That is a role for State.

Beyond its struggles against Congress and State, AID regularly finds itself struggling against political and commercial interests centered in the White House, the Department of Agriculture, and elsewhere. Such political and commercial interests often win out over development assistance priorities. Generally, AID seeks to enhance development, empower the poor

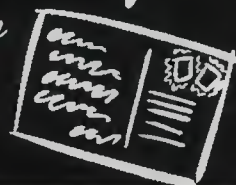
(with increasing attention to women), and strengthen democracy, especially civil society institutions. U.S. embassies generally seek to strengthen "friendly" governments and do not want to empower opposition movements thought to be hostile to friendly relations with the U.S. There is also a built-in potential for conflict between the U.S. Department of Agriculture, whose mission is to promote U.S. farm exports, and AID with its objective of furthering the host country's agricultural development.

The Case of Egypt

An example of how this competition plays out — and how it plagues AID and dooms it to failure — is found in the largest AID mission, in Egypt. While the U.S. aid program in Egypt is significant and unparalleled, the turf wars among U.S. agencies and between the government of Egypt and these agencies is not unique. Egypt is far from a "model" of effective utilization of U.S. (and other) foreign assistance. While Egypt

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Egypt has made little progress despite being the largest recipient of U.S. assistance.

is at peace with Israel — a fundamental goal of U.S. assistance — the country remains poor, overpopulated, polluted, and undemocratic while the state remains the dominant force in economic affairs. In short, despite receiving some \$23 billion in U.S. economic aid (and more than that in military assistance), Egypt in 1998 continues to be characterized by virtually all of the things the U.S. has claimed to want to change since it began its massive economic aid program in 1975. This failure to better utilize billions of dollars in foreign assistance can be blamed on Egyptians and Americans alike.

While Egypt along with many recipient nations constantly complains that it must accept aid with multiple “strings attached,” USAID itself often operates with its hands tied: AID officials have no choice but to administer projects that they feel are a waste. In Egypt, which receives nearly \$1 billion annually in U.S. economic

aid, AID officials have complained for years about the pressures to spend money on projects that are not necessary or are simply misguided — and often dictated to them by Congress and the U.S. Department of Agriculture (e.g., PL 480 “Food for Peace”). When they do formulate

policies aimed (as they see things) at promoting economic development, AID officials in Egypt also must contend with Egyptian resistance to change. Egyptian officials have been able to exploit their country’s strategic importance and avoid AID directives.

For instance, Egyptian officials for many years resisted AID efforts to promote economic reform and privatization. As in other instances, Egypt simply played the White House, State Department, USDA, and military officials off against AID. AID officials even had other allies — primarily the World Bank and other development agencies — yet the government of

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Egypt had the State Department and the White House plus sympathetic listeners in Congress, all of whom believed that political stability was far more important than economic reform.

When the political consistently wins out over the economic, AID loses. Conflicting goals are a primary cause of the failure of U.S. aid — in Egypt and many other nations — to have more of an impact on development.

The Egyptian case highlights some fundamental and unchanging realities about USAID. First, as a tool of U.S. foreign policy, the agency exists to promote U.S. interests abroad more than to promote development in poor nations. It cannot do a good job of serving two masters — foreign policy (which increasingly encompasses commercial policy), and development. Because of this, we see the second reality: AID has been unable to achieve its professed goal of helping promote self-sustaining economic development in various developing countries. And third, AID is essentially a Cold-War

agency still in search of legitimacy and relevance at a time when its detractors are numerous, its constituency is small, and a majority in Congress and the American public are indifferent to its program of developing impoverished nations.

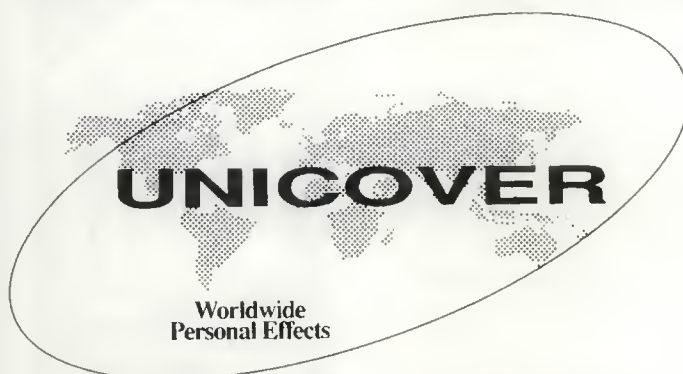
For Real Reinvention

AID and U.S. aid programs in general need reforming or reinventing — on that point most observers agree. But consensus breaks down on how to do that. Should AID go the way of USIA and ACDA and be integrated into State? While Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, supports the dismantling of AID, I would suggest that that is the wrong approach entirely.

In reality, integration into State would simply formalize what already exists — the dependent relationship of USAID on the State Department as well as Congress and other governmental institutions. Rather

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Foreign aid has many detractors, and its constituency in Congress is small.

than formalizing that dependence by merging AID completely into State, AID should be given real independence, much like the Inter-American Foundation (IAF) and the African Development Foundation.

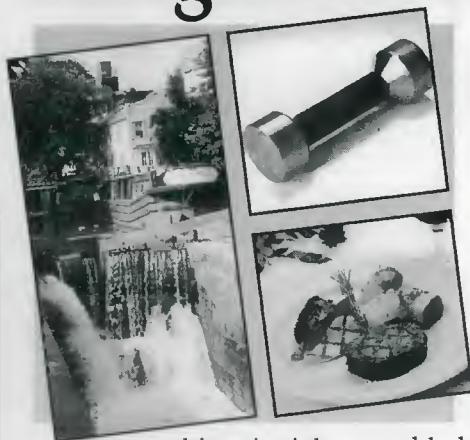
These foundations were given mandates by Congress to promote the priorities and initiatives of the poor and — most important — were extended the institutional autonomy to pursue the most appropriate development projects with little interference from other U.S. institutions. The IAF, for example, was created by Congress in 1969 “as a grassroots alternative to large-scale, government-to-government foreign assistance programs.” In 1993, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs called the IAF “a foreign policy success story, a government program that actually worked.” In large part, this is due to the structure of the foundation — governed by a bipartisan board of directors and

staffed by area specialists with management and field experience. Congress gave the IAF “programmatic and administrative autonomy” and even charged AID to learn from IAF’s success. Congress should now act to give AID the same type of autonomy.

An autonomous foreign aid agency not only makes sense for administrative efficiency, it also would be a boon to America’s role in the global community. Other bilateral and multilateral agencies would regain some confidence in the leadership of U.S. economic assistance programs as these would be seen as separated (if not fully divorced) from the political and bureaucratic wranglings over shares of the foreign aid pie.

A redesigned AID should be streamlined, with the real work being done in regional centers in developing countries. AID chief Brian Atwood has begun to move in this direction, but the president and

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Congress need to take the next giant step — in a direction very different from their current approaches. If AID were reconstituted as a government corporation with a board of directors (appointed by Congress and/or the president), it would be in a far better position to fend off demands from Congress and federal departments with priorities different from its own.

In addition to redesigning the structure of AID, economic development assistance should be separated from political payoffs. Political aid (actually called Security Assistance) currently makes up the largest single category of the AID budget. At \$2.5 billion of \$7.3 billion of the administration's fiscal year '99 request, this category is more than double the size of "Development Assistance," the request for which is \$1.2 billion. Such "political aid" is the rationale for support to Israel, Egypt, West Bank/Gaza, Jordan, Haiti, the states of the former Soviet Union and others. Under a reinvented system, this type of aid can

continue. The State Department, under the direction of the president and with the funding approval of Congress, can continue to determine the use of non-development aid. The strings attached could be cut substantially and American aid (which should no longer be called "economic aid") can be recognized for what it is — financial rewards and/or incentives to strategic allies or hoped-for friends.

The flexibility of this approach would be of great benefit to USAID, to be sure, but also to State Department officials who would not need to find development justifications for grants and loans that are clearly designed for political purposes only. In addition to removing political aid from AID's management and relabeling it as what it is, much the same can be done with aid now targeted for "democracy and governance." This aid — which includes support of the rule of law, civil society and free news media — is aimed at promoting political reforms. It may in the future have a positive impact on development, but it

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AID should become a public corporation with its own board of directors.

is clearly a political program.

At this time, both State and AID are running these sorts of political programs. I would suggest a sensible and straightforward division of responsibilities: State should do democracy and civil society and related projects; AID should do humanitarian and development assistance. While AID officials would undoubtedly oppose relinquishing their political programs, the resulting division of labor would make more sense than the current situation.

Flexibility and autonomy are two essential reforms needed in the U.S. aid program. As development specialists demonstrate what works in less-developed societies, especially the continuing and growing importance of NGOs and other grass-roots organizations, American aid officials need the flexibility to respond to what works and they need the autonomy to fend off the political pressures coming from their own

government. They will continue to have to struggle with similar pressures coming from their hosts, the recipient governments, but that is an issue to be tackled (if possible) at another time. First, they need independence of action — while

remaining accountable, via their independent board of directors, to Congress and the American taxpayers — in order to respond to global concerns and regional problems of development. ■

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How AID 'REFORMED' RUSSIA



W

BY CHANNELING ASSISTANCE
INTO ONE "CLAN," THE U.S.
COMPROMISED ITS MISSION

By Janine R. Wedel

hen the Soviet Union abruptly ceased to exist on December 25, 1991, it seemed that the West, particularly the United States, had a magnificent opportunity — the chance to remake Russia in its own image by introducing quick, all-encompassing political and economic reform. Calling for a "Marshall Plan" for Russia, Western governments were willing to pay, though admittedly stintingly, for the privilege. What they were not willing to do was hand the sacred torch of reform to Russians tainted by association with the former communist regime.

The West wanted to see new faces, hear "new" ideas from its own ideological mold. As Thomas A. Dine, USAID's assistant administrator for Europe and the new independent states, declared: "We will not waste U.S. taxpayer dollars to pro-

The Harvard Project enjoyed control over U.S.-funded Russian reform projects that was unprecedented.

vide ... assistance where reformers do not, or cannot, flourish." And so a cadre of self-styled Russian "reformers" stepped into the role that the West had created for them. From 1992, when aid first appeared, until May 1997, U.S. economic aid to Russia was essentially entrusted to these men — who were dominated by a decade-old clique from St. Petersburg that Russians called a "clan."

What was this clan? It was a group of like-minded friends, many of whom came from the city of St. Petersburg. In the early 1990s, members of the clan established contact and began working with Americans from Harvard University. The two parties helped to persuade the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), insecure and without experience in Eastern Europe, to hand substantial responsibility for reshaping the Russian economy to the Harvard Institute for International Development (HIID). Founded in 1974 to assist countries with social and economic reform, HIID had both the cachet of Harvard and contacts with Russian "reformers." And so, for five years, the HIID-St. Petersburg partnership ran a Moscow-based program that operated on U.S. and other Western funds and was known simply as the Harvard Project. This partnership was — and until recently remained — the powerhouse behind Russian economic aid politics.

Working with HIID, the St. Petersburg clan leveraged U.S. support and served as the gatekeeper for hundreds of millions of dollars in G-7 taxpayer aid, loans, and rescheduled debt. U.S. support bolstered the clan's standing as the chief brokers with the West and the international financial institutions. The clan came to control, directly and indirectly, millions of dollars in

aid through a variety of organizations that were set up to bring about privatization and other economic reforms. Between 1992 and 1997, HIID received \$43.4 million from USAID in noncompetitive grants for work in Russia. HIID was scheduled to receive another \$14 million before USAID suspended the project in May 1997,

saying that HIID personnel "had abused the trust of the U.S. government by using personal relationships ... for private gain."

The HIID-St. Petersburg partnership also helped to manage USAID's \$325 million reform portfolio encompassing privatization, legal reform, capital markets, and the development of a Russian securities and exchange commission. With the administration's backing, HIID enjoyed control over U.S.-funded Russian reform projects that was unprecedented anywhere. Conventional wisdom holds that contractors are outsiders who can be used as levers against top-heavy government bureaucracy. But with HIID this was not the case because the contractors, perceived as having exclusive access to key information and contacts, became entrenched. Harvard-connected government officials were responsible for handing HIID not only the bulk of USAID's economic reform portfolio in Russia but also the legal authority to manage other contractors. The aid seemed to yield results: It achieved some market reforms, notably the transfer of a large number of state-owned companies to private ownership.

But was economic reform the driving agenda of the St. Petersburg clan? Why did it deserve the status of partner with the West more than other Russian reform-oriented groups and individuals? More important, did the strategy of focusing largely on one group further the aid community's stated goal of establishing the transparent, impartial institutions so critical to the development of democracy and a stable economy for this world power in transition? What were the long-term implications of supporting one group of reformers at the expense of others? From the very beginning, Russian observers and the media took note of the activities and motivations of the St. Petersburg clan. But it would not be until 1997 — and the eruption of a sear-

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dal that could hardly be ignored — that many Western observers would consider the implications of U.S. and Western policy.

The Consummate Clan

From the beginning of their association with the West, members of the St. Petersburg clan showed themselves to be savvy operators. None was more astute than the chief figure in the group, Anatoly Chubais, now 42. Chubais consistently charmed the West with his talent, sophistication, fluency in English, and organizational and political skills. Many Western politicians and investors saw him as the only man capable of keeping the nation heading along the troubled road to economic reform.

The view from Russia, however, is quite different. Chubais has been an unpopular figure since the early 1990s, when he was anointed "the czar of economic reform in Russia." Having led the much-detested effort to introduce privatization in 1992-95, Chubais may be the most hated public figure in the country.

Chubais served as head of the new nation's privatization committee — the GKI — beginning in late 1991. He later served as deputy prime minister and first deputy prime minister. In 1996 he was Yeltsin's campaign manager and later was named Yeltsin's chief of staff. His role as the executor of privatization gave him very strong links with the country's new rich, and many average Russians perceive him as the agent of the privileged. In a 1997 nationwide public opinion poll, 70 percent of those surveyed said that Chubais's privatization policies had a "bad" effect; 85 percent said that they did not approve of his activities as Yeltsin's chief of staff.

Until March 1998, when he was fired by Yeltsin, Chubais was first deputy prime minister, although in the latter period he had played a diminished role in Russia's political-economic affairs due to political fallout from scandals in which he was implicated. (In the latest scandal, Chubais and other key St. Petersburg members received \$90,000 each for an unpublished book on the history of Russian privatization from a Swiss company that was awarded great favors in privatization.)

Through all this, Chubais's base of operation was the St. Petersburg clan — the long-established group of under 20 Westward-looking, energetic associates in their thirties. Russia has many rival clans, some of which wield enormous influence. Because Russia's political and economic institu-

tions are weak and unstable, clans have myriad opportunities to penetrate public institutions and lay claim to resources. The St. Petersburg clan traces its roots to economic and political activities during the Gorbachev years of glasnost in then-Leningrad. Working closely with Anatoly Sobchak, Leningrad's mayor, Chubais served as his deputy while other members of the clan also helped run the city.

Once in Moscow, Chubais acquired a broad portfolio, ranging from privatization and the restructuring of enterprises to legal reform and the development of capital markets and the formation of a Russian securities and exchange commission. "A new center of economic power is being created around First Deputy Prime Minister Anatoly Chubais," declared the Russian newspaper *Kommersant-Daily* in 1995. Chubais also secured sweeping political powers: A 1996 presidential directive dictated that only Chief of Staff Chubais had the authority to decide whether presidential decrees were ready to be signed, and this directive could be circumvented only upon receiving direct instructions from the president. This power was especially important as the preferred method of governance under Yeltsin came to be the top-down presidential decree. Such decrees applied not only to political moves (such as the one that ousted Russia's national security chief Aleksandr Lebed in October 1996), but also to market reform.

Reform by Decree

Shortly after Boris Yeltsin became the elected president of the Russian Federation in June 1991, the federation's Supreme Soviet passed a law mandating privatization. In the confused political environment following a hard-line coup attempt in August 1991, several schemes to realize privatization were floated. The program the Supreme Soviet passed in 1992 was structured to prevent corruption, but the program Chubais eventually implemented instead encouraged the accumulation of property in a few hands. This program opened the door to widespread corruption and was so controversial that Chubais ultimately had to rely largely on presidential decrees, not parliamentary approval, for implementation. Many U.S. officials embraced this dictatorial modus operandi. As Walter Coles, a senior adviser in USAID's Office of Privatization and Economic Restructuring program, said, "If we needed a

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Russian reformers claim that Western aid is most effective when it helps the reformers in their political battles.

decree, Chubais didn't have to go through the bureaucracy." Acknowledging the lack of support in parliament for many reform measures, Coles says, "There was no way that reformers could go to the Duma for large amounts of money to move along reform."

Instead of encouraging market reform, however, rule by decree frustrated it. Some reforms, such as lifting price controls, could be achieved by decree. But most others, including privatization and economic restructuring, depended on changes in law, public administration, or mindsets, and required working with the full spectrum of legislative and market participants — not just one group.

USAID's showcase efforts to reform Russia's tax system and to set up clearing and settlement organizations (CSOs) — an essential ingredient in a sophisticated financial system — failed largely because they were put solely into the hands of one group, which declined to work with other market participants. In Moscow, for example, despite millions of USAID dollars, many of the Russian brokers were excluded from the process and declined to use the Moscow CSO. Thus, since 1994, when consultants working under USAID contracts totalling \$13.9 million set out to design and implement CSOs in five Russian cities, very little evidence of progress has emerged. After an investigation into HIID activities in Russia, the U.S. General Accounting Office issued a report calling the CSO effort "disappointing."

In addition to hindering particular market reforms, governance through decree stifled democracy and the building of transparent institutions not aligned with a single clan — institutions so critical to the development of democracy and a stable economy for this world power in transition. Some voices within USAID concurred: According to GAO, the USAID/Washington Office of Democracy for Russia opposed using decrees "because it believed decrees did not support the democratic processes envisioned by the project."

The reformers set up still other means of bypassing democratic processes: a network of aid-funded "private" organizations controlled by the St.

Petersburg clan and the Harvard Project. These organizations enabled reformers to bypass legitimate bodies of government, such as ministries and branch ministries, and to circumvent the Duma.

The donors' flagship organization was the Russian Privatization Center (RPC), a private, nonprofit organization set up in Moscow. With HIID's

help, the RPC received some \$45 million from USAID, millions of dollars more in grants from the European Union, Japan and Germany, the British Know How Fund, and "many other governmental and non-governmental organizations," according to the RPC's annual report. The RPC also received loans both from the World Bank (\$59 million) and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (\$43 million) to be repaid by the Russian people.

Formally and legally, the RPC was a non-profit, non-governmental organization. But the "private" RPC was established by Russian presidential decree and received foreign aid funds because it was run by the St. Petersburg reformers, who played key roles in the Russian government. Lending credence to its appearance as a "government" organization, the RPC's tasks included helping to make policy on inflation and other major macroeconomic issues, as well as negotiating loans with international financial institutions. In practice, the RPC and other aid-created organizations were situated somewhere in the twilight zone between state and private, between the Russian government and Western donors, and between Western and Russian allegiance and orientation. Whatever their predilection at a given moment, these organizations were run by the St. Petersburg reformers (with support from USAID through HIID and U.S. contractors) and served as their political resource to allocate in the communist tradition, through patronage networks like those that virtually ran the Soviet Union.

The RPC presided over a network of 10 local privatization centers, or LPCs, outside Moscow. With Western aid concentrated in Moscow, donors endorsed aid to the provinces. However, far from serving development, the LPCs instead often were used for political purposes, according to representatives of the three aid-paid consulting firms (Price Waterhouse, Arthur Andersen, and Carana) that set

FOCUS

them up. According to contractors, Maxim Boycko, the RPC's managing director, handpicked the directors and deputy directors of each regional center. Dennis Mitchem, a former partner at Arthur Andersen, notes that LPC leaders were rewarded for blind loyalty, even if that involved doing little or nothing, and even scolded for local reform initiatives. Mitchem says that the LPC directors were concerned mainly with pleasing the RPC; Carana's Robert Otto concurs that local directors "did what [the RPC] wanted doing. ... The LPC people slid very easily into that because it was normal for them to get orders from Moscow."

Could the RPC and other St. Petersburg clan-run, USAID-funded organizations spawn sustainable institutions? All three contractors who helped set up the LPCs questioned the extent to which they could have a lasting positive impact — as did the General Accounting Office, which concluded that "the RPC's sustainability is in question once USAID assistance ends in 1997." The practice of funding personalities over reform processes appears to collide head-on with the aid program's broader goal of building lasting institutions not aligned with a particular faction.

The Harvard Connection

Both visibly and behind the scenes, HIIID was active in setting up, advising, supporting, staffing, and lobbying for funding on behalf of the St. Petersburg clan and its network. HIIID received two cooperative agreements, managed by USAID's Moscow mission, to serve as an impartial adviser to USAID on related projects in Russia. These agreements put HIIID in the unique position of recommending U.S. aid policies in support of market reform while being a chief recipient of the aid, as well as overseeing some other aid contractors, some of whom were its competitors. The General

Accounting Office found that "HIIID served in an oversight role for a substantial portion of the Russian assistance program" and that HIIID had "substantial control of the U.S. assistance program."

All these circumstances of one group's near-monopoly on aid in support of market reform, support of communist-style patronage networks, and the creation of chameleon-like private organizations used as political machines made it easy for members of the St. Petersburg clan and their supporters to work all sides of the table. If criticized by Russians for public policies or misuse of funds, the clan could claim that donors made the decisions. If they came under fire for funding privatization, which many Russians have dubbed *pri-khvatizatsiya*, or the "great grab," donors could disassociate themselves from the state because they were funding "private" organizations, even if these organizations were run by government officials. This setup not only facilitated deniability, it institutionalized it. Such an aid system lacks outside accountability and precludes significant oversight by U.S. and Russian authorities not aligned with the chosen group.

It is easy to understand the donors' impulse to support reformers. As USAID's Walter Coles expressed it to me, "Reformers are the ones that are willing to take



AESA NEWS

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Make The Right Move

By Mette Beecroft
State Program Analyst
A/LM/ST/TD

*Written from the perspective of State
Transportation, this article offers valuable
advice to all foreign affairs employees
approaching transfers.*

TRANSFER SEASON IS ALMOST HERE. For employees and family members, moving is a time of mixed emotions: excitement about a new post, sadness about leaving your current home and nervousness about getting everything done. Then there is the uncertainty... the unspoken question: Will I ever see my possessions again? Though it is unlikely your goods will disappear, it's only human to wonder.

While employees and family members face the complications of a big international move, State's Transportation Division is gearing up to handle the summer move load, quadruple that of the balance of the year. For Transportation, just as for you, this is a time of enormous pressure. In spite of the increased coseload, counselors give each client individual attention since requirements vary greatly depending on personal situations and posts. Moving counselors understand that their clients are under considerable stress and that it is important to the well-being of employees and their families that goods arrive within a reasonable time and in good condition. They know that the moving experience contributes to adjustment to post. A good move makes adjustment easier; a bad move may destroy one's satisfaction with the entire tour.

For any move, there are many variables. While Transportation and the moving counselors are responsible for a multitude of details, you can take several steps to maximize chances for a successful move.

1. READ IT'S YOUR MOVE. This 68-page page booklet (available in Transportation, Main State Room 1244, (202) 647-4140) provides useful information and suggests questions for your moving counselor. Time is always in short supply when you are both dealing with professional commitments and planning a big move. Take the time to read this booklet and you will have a good understanding of the entire moving process.

2. GIVE YOUR MOVE TOP PRIORITY. In spite of time constraints, at some point, concentrate on your move. A big move is physically and psychologically demanding and requires your attention if only because it is an investment in your future. If you plan well, you can avoid many frustrations. The more effort you put into your move, the more successful it will be. Gathering information, planning, organizing and coordinating do pay off.

3. GET YOUR TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION (TA) as early as possible and keep a hard copy with you. Without it, the moving counselor can only make preliminary arrangements. No official expenditure can be made until the TA is issued and funds are obligated. In addition, you may have high-value items which require controlled storage. Permission for controlled storage comes from Personnel, and it is the Personnel technician who amends TAs to include this provision.

4. CONSULT THE MOVING COUNSELORS. The work of the 10 moving counselors is divided up according to geographic bureau with each counselor specializing in arranging moves for a specific bureau. The work is also divided according to inbound and outbound goods. One counselor arranges retirees' moves.

For a summer move, start the moving process at least six weeks in advance; the remainder of the year, allow four weeks in advance. The European Bureau (EUR) covers the most territory and the counselors handling EUR traffic are the busiest. Get to them as early as possible.

Try not to change a scheduled moving date.

Continued on page 2

FAS V.P. VOICE • MAGGIE DOWLING •

How Big Is Big?

How large o Foreign Service corps should FAS maintain to ensure that most officers have the opportunity to spend at least two-thirds of their careers overseas? This question came up for annual debate in the Partnership Council (PC) as part of the February 1996

agreement in which all PC parties agreed to a two-thirds overseas career goal.

To achieve that agreed upon goal, the agreement provided a 1.5 formula and buffer number.

Overseas positions (103) are multiplied by 1.5. Then an unspecified buffer number is added to the product, creating the total number of FSOs needed to

reach the PC target. We currently have 185 FSOs; eight of those are on temporary appointments overseas and will eventually revert to GS or private sector and five are untenured, having just lateroled. FAS's position is that the current number is about what is needed to maintain the flexibility required to fill positions with the most qualified individuals.

AFSCME, our sister union, thinks the number can be smaller. It sees a smaller Foreign Service corps as providing more higher-grade positions in Washington, D.C., for its members. The two most direct means to influence this number are through lateral entries and separations. Lateral entries have been restrained; only five were lateroled last year. On the other end, LCEs now are rarely granted and retirements and TICs are kicking in. Thirteen people have submitted retirement papers for 1998 and nine TICs are coming up in 1999.

Advancing our agency's mission is the foremost interest of all PC parties. While each union is vigilant in safeguarding members' specific interests, it is never done in detriment to the larger

common interest. For example, our two-thirds target must be balanced by FAS's interest in maintaining a diversified work force which only laterals can provide and in maintaining a corps of Foreign Service officers in

Washington, D.C., sufficient to provide the overseas experience and expertise required to serve our constituencies in our domestic operations.

*"We all
—FS and
CS alike—
have
the same
goals."*

The positive trend toward our target is marked. Foreign Service numbers have dropped from 205 in 1994 to 184 in 1998. FS positions in the District of Columbia now total only 64, compared to 95 in 1994. AFSA recognizes the achievements of

the FAS Partnership process and is eager to see those successes extend to broader agency goals. The Foreign Service corps in FAS is only one part of the organization. Our common interests can best be realized by focusing on the organization in its totality rather than a small segment of it.

The brighter, more secure the agency's future and mission, the more promising and challenging all our careers—GS and FS—will be. We cannot be satisfied with simply meeting the present constituency demands but must anticipate their future ones. FAS has a rich reservoir of talent and dedication within our FS and CS employees. That talent, creativity and promise must be focused on goals other than numerical targets and formulae for us to seize the current opportunities and become an agency the new millennium will find indispensable.

We all—FS and CS alike—have the same goals and recognize that our futures and work lives are inextricably linked. It will be to the detriment of us all to allow differences in methodologies to divert us from our larger goal.

The Right Move

Continued from page 1

Although changes are sometimes necessary, this is not a simple procedure because lift van construction/loading, as well as the truck, packing crew and moving inspectors all must be rescheduled. In the busy summer season, everyone is competing for a limited number of pickout dates. You may not be able to get a new date and may lose the old one as well.

Always get back to the same counselor. Similarly, the same employee or family member should always contact the designated counselor, thus reducing misunderstandings and ultimately saving time by not having to repeat all information.

Stay in close touch with the counselor. Schedule your packout and **ALL** changes through your counselor. Changes have a cumulative effect. If changes are not put into the computer system to advise the packers or inspectors, problems will result. The packers may not show up or may show up at the wrong time or there may be no inspector.

If you are going to a consumables post, inform your counselor of the details so that Transportation can arrange for pickup and packing of goods.

Once the arrangements are made, get the shipment number for each shipment from the counselor. The counselor then uses this number to check the status of your shipments on the computer.

When the employee is expecting on inbound shipment, it is equally important to stay in touch. Sometimes, inbound goods arrive and Transportation has no way of contacting the individual. If goods remain unclaimed for more than 90 days, storage charges begin to accrue at the expense of the employee. For automobiles, storage is not available as a benefit and storage charges begin to accrue immediately.

5. ORGANIZE YOUR MOVE. Movers often arrive at a packout only to find that items are insufficiently organized, practically guaranteeing that something is going to end up in the wrong place. **Moving to a new post usually involves at least four categories of packing:** unaccompanied air baggage (UAB); household effects (HHE); storage; and personal baggage.

As you start the process of moving, you might also want to consider what you will discard or give away—both to make your job easier and to save the U.S. government money. Months before you move, you can

Continued on page 3

The Right Move

Continued from page 2

begin organizing by putting the colored labels provided by Transportation on all items to indicate how items are to be handled. Or you can devise your own system with colored dots or adhesive notes for the four categories of items plus discarded items. Then, when packout really starts, goods can be put together quickly according to their designation. No matter how tired you are, you will be able to organize quickly and efficiently, since the planning has already been done.

Part of good organization involves allowing more time than you think you will need. Then, if unanticipated problems occur, there is time to make adjustments.

To further facilitate your move, you might want to station someone on each floor of your house to supervise packing. If you encounter unsolvable difficulties, call one of the Transportation managers whose names and numbers appear in the brochure provided with *IT'S YOUR MOVE*.
6. KEEP GOOD RECORDS.

INVENTORIES: Three types of records are important: Make personal inventories of the items in HHE, in UAB, in storage and in your personal luggage. If you do sustain a loss, you can be much more specific about your claim. In the case of stored goods, especially if you remain overseas for a number of years, inventories help you to keep straight what you have where.

It is also important to keep moving company documents. If you remain overseas for an extended period, this may require keeping them for a number of years. The storage inventory is your only proof that the stored goods are yours. And the inventory of HHE is your only means of assuring that all goods are delivered at your new post. These inventories are also required if you need to file an insurance claim.

SHIPPING DOCUMENTS: For UAB: Your new post will need the Airway Bill of Lading (AWB) number to track your UAB. Sometimes you have to be persistent to obtain the AWB number from the packer. When your UAB is first picked up, it will not yet have an AWB. The packing company will receive this information later from the freight forwarder who takes the UAB from the packing company to the airport. You can help the counselor, who has many other clients, by providing the AWB number as well. **For HHE:** Two documents, the Government Bill of Lading (GBL) and the

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USIA V.P. VOICE • BY RILEY SEVER •

USIA's Clearinghouse Sweepstakes

If you are in the Senior Foreign Service in USIA, you don't have to subscribe to a magazine or look far Ed McMahon or Dick Clark to show up on your doorstep. You just have to see who gets a Limited Career Extension (LCE) to learn who won the USIA Clearinghouse Sweepstakes this year. What makes this seem like a lottery is that we don't know the basis for granting LCEs. Each SFS promotion panel reviews the performance files of officers to be TICed out and ranks those judged qualified to receive an LCE. Prior to the promotion process, the USIA Director determines the number and level of LCEs to be awarded that year. In 1996 there were none, and in 1997, one. While I congratulate that lucky officer, I am surprised that an LCE opportunity was made available this year—and at the counselor level.

It is generally agreed that USIA's traditional system of awarding LCEs—without identified relationships to particular skills and expertise required in the upcoming three years—resulted in severe abuses. More than 44 SFS generalists received LCEs between 1991 and 1994. The impact of these LCEs can best be assessed if you imagine the promotion lists for those years with 44 names added. In addition, granting an LCE creates a downward cascade effect which not only affects the promotion opportunity of a single senior level FSO but also results in halting up promotion opportunities for FSOs at lower grades. The State Department, recognizing the problems stemming from LCEs, has ceased to award them to generalists.

The 1995-96 Agency FSO Task Force, which inquired into inequities in assignment and promotion policies, discussed the LCE issue extensively. Its members reached consensus on a recommendation that LCEs should be granted for only the most extreme needs of the Service, as when a SFS officer in an over-

seas PAO position would have to break an assignment as a result of TIC or TIS, thus causing a critical gap. This task force felt that severely restricting LCEs would address the problem of senior FSOs' receiving a career extension as well as promotion eligibility during the three-year

period of the LCE. One task force member, who had himself received three LCEs, acknowledged that those additional nine years he had in which to be promoted had given him an unfair competitive advantage. Although granting LCEs is the director's prerogative, the task force believed that it tends to undermine the specific role of the selection boards to promote the best qualified officers to the next grade.

Director Duffey is to be commended both for limiting LCEs to only two generalists in the last three promotion cycles and for agreeing to the new 1998 precepts, based on many of the task force recommendations. These precepts, negotiated by USIA AFSA and reflecting concerns of officers and management, go into effect with the 1998 promotion panels and state that LCEs will only be given when the rationale describes skills and expertise deemed to be in short supply during the subsequent three-year period. The director also agreed that USIA should announce the names of officers receiving LCEs, along with the written rationale given to the promotion panels describing qualities in short supply. While it is unfortunate that the agency chose to use the old system once more when a better mechanism for LCEs had been agreed upon, the good news is that, like the Publishers' Clearinghouse Sweepstakes, as of 1998, we understand how LCE winners will be selected. Let's just hope that the new precepts work and that the promotion panels will recommend officers for promotion who have the qualities required to take public diplomacy into the 21st century. Then we'll all be winners!

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Inside

THE FOREIGN SERVICE COMMUNITY

AFSA Members in Action

• **Robert Dussell**, tox consultant to AFSA for four decodes, recently moved from Arlington, Vo., where he ond his wife, Bondalene Poe Dussell, hod lived for nearly 60 years, to Mechnicsville, Vo.

• Retired FSO **David Fredrick**, international omissions director for Wortburg College, in Woverly, Iowo, coordinated winter speaking enggements by Ambossodor Nghiwete and First Secretary lyombo of the Embossy of Nomibio ot the college. The diplomots discussed Nomibio's transition from revolution ogoinst oportheid to democrocy and capitolism and briefed the Northeast Iowo International Trade Council on Nomibio and Africo in transition.

• **Ann D. Levine**, daughter of retired FSO **Laurent E. Morin**, recently coauthored with Noomi Neft *Where Women Stand: An International Report on the Status of Women in 140 Countries*, with o foreword by former congresswoman Pot Schroeder (Times Books, 1997, \$20).

• The Gainesville Sun recently noted that "Roosevelt and the Wortime Summit Conferences with Stolin," by retired FSO **Charles G. Stefan**, appeared on the Internet journal *American Diplomacy* at <www/unc.edu/depts/diplomat>.

Affiliated Organization Activities

• Communicators AND Others Enjoying Retirement (**CANDOER**), open to retired (or about to retire) personnel from the State offices of Information Monogement, Communications, Diplomatic Communications, the Cryptographic Branch and their predecesor offices, holds monthly luncheons in the Washington, D.C., oreo and produces o monthly publication. For more information, contact Robert J. Cotlin Sr., 267 Dokoto Street, Bryons Road, MD 20616-3062, E-mail: condoerone@juno.com.

Do you have news about o recent accomplishment of an AFSA member or news of an event of interest to the Foreign Service community? Fox it to (202) 338-8244.

Public Diplomacy Foundation Seeks Educators

The Public Diplomacy Foundation is establishing a database for teaching public diplomacy courses at American universities and asks AFSA members' assistance.

Specifically, the organization requests information as to who has taught or is teaching courses or seminars in public diplomacy or related disciplines such as international communication, diplomacy in the information age and courses in international relations that include a public diplomacy component. Where are these courses being taught? What department or college? Are these courses a regular part of the curriculum or are they specially organized by and for the incumbent instructor?

We also request a copy of the syllabus, if available. In addition, the Public Diplomacy Foundation is offering its assistance and advice in establishing such courses to all those wishing to avail themselves of this offer.

Please address communications or questions to the Public Diplomacy Foundation [Attention: Hans N. Tuch], 1616 H Street NW, Second Floor, Washington, D.C. 20006. E-mail may be sent to pdf@irex.org and faxes to (202) 628-5122.

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AFSA ELDERHOSTEL OUTREACH GROWS

by Edward Dillery, Retiree Vice President

Over the past two years, Foreign Service retirees have organized 14 one-week programs on the U.S. Foreign Service and presented them under the auspices of the Elderhostel adult learning organization to over 600 students from 37 states. This activity, begun in 1996 by AFSA Retiree Representative Bill De Pree and alumna Lillian "Petey" Mullin, is helping AFSA raise public awareness of our profession and the need for effective American diplomatic resources.

The Elderhostel concept fits AFSA's outreach goals well. The students, mostly retired professionals active in their own communities, apply for the Foreign Service programs after learning about them in the quarterly catalogue of the nonprofit Elderhostel, which reaches nearly a million recipients. These selected [our programs are usually oversubscribed] travel to Arlington, Va.,

or to San Diego, Calif., where we have presented two programs, for a week of courses presented by retired and active duty AFSA members, who offer their services pro bono. The students pay a modest tuition which covers food and lodging and AFSA's administrative costs. In return, they receive first-hand information

on how and why the United States engages in international relations.

Each program has three elements: the Foreign Service career, current global issues and a specific geographic focus. Photographs here are from our March program in Arlington, when Ambassador Bill De Pree chaired the global segment on a diplomacy for the 21st century, Bill Knight chaired that on the Foreign Service and Ward Thompson chaired a segment on the Nordic countries.



500th AFSA Elderhosteler Ellen Ostrom of California receives certificate from Ambassador Bill De Pree.



Petey Mullin briefs Elderhostel class.



Ambassador Ed Peck holds forth on "Selective Morality."

Ambassador Julius Walker on the Foreign Service, and Sid Saber on the Indian Subcontinent. The students heard lectures from State and USIA officers, had a session with the Association of American Foreign Service Women, enjoyed an excellent lunch at DACOR (Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired) Bacon

Hause and visited the Foreign Service Institute, the State Department, and an embassy related to the week's topic. This April's San Diego program focused on Mexico and included a presentation by UCLA Diplomat-in-Residence Bruce Beardsley, briefings at the American Consulate General Tijuana and sessions with the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Customs Service and the Border Patrol.

AFSA encourages retirees in other parts of the country to organize an Elderhostel program locally, using the curriculum and format we have developed.

Course content can be adapted to available resources—Foreign Service representatives at local military commands or universities, the presence of foreign consulates, U.S. Customs, Immigration and Agriculture officials at international airports—as well as to the backgrounds of retired colleagues in the area.



Class tours diplomatic reception rooms of the Department of State.



Students listen to policy planning lecture at State.

Other chairpersons this spring in Arlington were Ambassador Ray Ewing on the Mediterranean,

Many colleagues have academic positions or are teaching in senior learning activities. Some, such as Fard Caaper in Florida, have put together courses in which other Foreign Service retirees lecture on their own specific areas of expertise. There may be opportunities for other alumni to initiate similar local educational and outreach projects on the Foreign Service, which in many cases could become the basis for an Elderhostel program in your area. For more information, contact Ward Thompson, AFSA Retiree Liaison, at (202) 338-4045, ext. 528.

Photographs by Ward Thompson

The Right Move

Continued from page 3

Ocean Bill of Lading (OBL), are involved with your HHE. These documents will help your new pack track the progress of your HHE. The GBL is prepared by the Despatch Agent [Department of State facilities located in New York, Baltimore, Miami and Seattle] and issued to the freight forwarder who takes the HHE from the packing company to dockside. The OBL secures space on the ship.

7. OBTAIN PRIVATE INSURANCE. Insurance coverage is often misunderstood. Some people believe that if they sustain a loss, the Military Personnel and Civilian Employees' Claims Act of 1964 allows them payment of up to \$40,000. It's not that simple. All goods are depreciated—even antiques and oriental carpets—and there are many sub-maximums which limit how much you can claim for a given item. The Claims Act of 1964 provides only insurance of the last resort. To be adequately covered, you also need private insurance. Here too, there are limitations: Most regular property insurance covers only outright loss, not damage. To

caver damage as well as loss, you need a personal articles floater for high-value goods. These must be appraised before they can be covered. Loss or damage resulting from civil unrest, including evacuations, is only covered by special policies which also contain exclusions.

8. DEVELOP REALISTIC EXPECTATIONS. Much frustration can be avoided if expectations are realistic about arrivals of UAB and HHE. UAB usually leaves the United States promptly and initial flight time is comparatively brief. Transportation has less control, however, over the time it takes for UAB to be transferred to a connecting flight. Less predictable still are customs procedures at the new post. If your UAB has not arrived within 15 days, follow up with your GSO.

With HHE, the lift vans may reach port promptly but may need to wait far on American-flag ship. You should stay in touch with your counselor to find out what ship will carry your HHE, its voyage number and departure date. As with UAB, customs clearance in the host country also plays a role in delivery time.

9. TAKE RESPONSIBILITY YOURSELF. Especially during peak moving season, the counselors have many clients. They appreciate a call from you to confirm information or arrangements. Overseas, your own initiative often pays off, especially where movers are less skilled. See to it that fragile items are well packed, with heavy items at the bottom of cartons. Be sure that lift vans are made of new wood and that they are waterproof. Make sure that lift vans are not overloaded and that—as in the case of cartons—heavy items are on the bottom. If an address has been put on the lift vans, be sure that it is correct and legible. The person who wrote it may not speak English and may not copy the address correctly. Indicating the lift van number and the total number of lift vans—1/5, 2/5, etc., helps keep the shipment together.

The State Department Transportation Division strongly encourages you to heed these suggestions. Employees are welcome to contact one of the Transportation managers at (202) 647-4140 or 1-800-424-2947. They will do their best to answer your questions directly or refer you to the appropriate source of information.

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F O C U S

Rather than helping to separate the political and economic spheres, U.S. aid reinforced their interdependency.

the risk. Their necks are on the line."

While this approach sounds good in principle, it is less convincing in practice because it is an inherently political decision disguised as a technical matter. Reformers Boycko et al themselves acknowledged in a 1995 book published in the West: "Aid can change the political equilibrium by explicitly helping free-market reformers to defeat their opponents. ... Aid helps reform not because it directly helps the economy — it is simply too small for that — but because it helps the reformers in their political battles." U.S. privatization aid, the reformers added, "has shown how to ... effectively ... alter the balance of power between reformers and their opponents." In a 1997 interview, U.S. aid coordinator to the former Soviet Union, Ambassador Richard L. Morningstar, stood by this approach: "If we hadn't been there to provide funding to Chubais, could we have won the battle to carry out privatization? Probably not. When you're talking about a few hundred million dollars, you're not going to change the country, but you can provide targeted assistance to help Chubais."

U.S. assistance to Chubais continued even after he was dismissed by Yeltsin as first deputy prime minister in January 1996. Chubais was placed on the HIID payroll, a show of loyalty that USAID Assistant Administrator Dine says he supported.

Several fallacies appear to guide these policies. One lies in the faith of U.S. policy-makers in stated ideological positions, and appearances of being "Western." Donors tended to identify the reformer as such not because he was a change agent in support of market reform (although he might, indeed, have embraced reform). The characteristics that donors appeared to recognize most often were self-declared pro-Western orientation; ability to speak English and to converse in the donor vernacular of "markets," "reform," and "civil society;" already established Western contacts; travel to and/or study in the West; and, perhaps most important, association with other reformers. The most popular Russian reformers in Western political and aid circles were young, energetic and adept in their dealings with donors — and Westerners took them at face value.

As USAID's Thomas A. Dine remarked, "If Maxim Boycko [a member of the St. Petersburg clan] tells me that X, Y, and Z are reformers, I believe him." Dine went on to note that "it's no secret that nationalists and communists don't like [Chubais] and perhaps that's the best proof of all [of his reform credentials]." Yet identifying

reformers on the basis of personal attributes and declared ideological positions — as they look in the West — is wrongheaded. The disillusionment of those who were not young or glib or "Western" enough to be chosen was expressed to me by Aleksandr Lebed's spokesman, Vladimir Titov:

"We [are] disappointed by the way you Americans find friends in Russia. Criminal and corrupted men can use all new opportunities with success, but men of work and honor cannot advertise themselves. If you did not want crisis in Russia, if you want [a] free, wealthy, democratic Russia, try to find friends that really can work on market reforms."

Another fallacy lies in expecting that any group would ignore its own financial and political agendas, especially when it is designated the sole beneficiary of so much aid. While in the West this loyalty might signal effectiveness, in Russia it tends to appear more like a Soviet-era nomenklatura-type network that creates and shares profits. The fact that the chosen St. Petersburg reformers were as visibly involved in politics and creating opportunities for themselves as in reform activities reinforces such a suspicion.

In apparent pursuit of their own agenda, key St. Petersburg players were known to actually obstruct reform when reform initiatives have originated outside the group. When a USAID-funded organization run by St. Petersburg players did not receive the additional funds they had expected from USAID, these players were reported to have interfered with legal reform initiatives in title registration and mortgage lending that were launched by agencies of the Russian government.

Despite persistent reports of such abuse, U.S. officials for many months defended and supported the HIID-St. Petersburg partnership. From the beginning, USAID had failed to adequately monitor them,

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as indicated by GAO's 1996 finding that USAID's management and oversight of HIID were "lax." In early 1997, USAID's inspector general received disturbing documents about HIID and began investigating. By May the agency had canceled most of the \$14 million earmarked for HIID, citing evidence that project managers Andrei Shleifer and Jonathan Hay were engaged in "activities for personal gain." In particular, the two men had allegedly abused their positions to profit from investments in the Russian securities markets and other private enterprise.

In August 1997, the Russian directors of one AID-funded organization, the Institute for a Law-Based Economy, were caught removing \$500,000 worth of U.S. office equipment from the organization's Moscow office. The equipment was returned only after weeks of U.S. pressure. When auditors from the USAID's inspector general's office sought records and

documents regarding ILBE's operations, the organization refused to turn them over and the auditors left empty-handed.

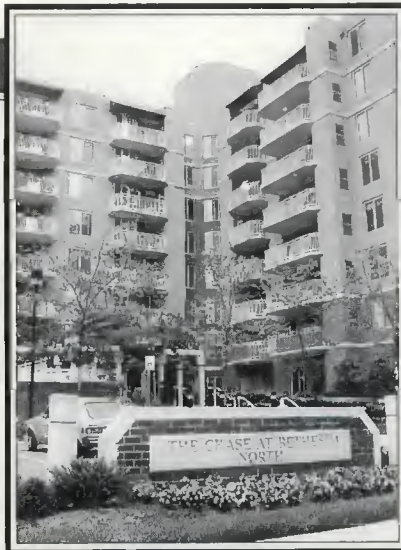
All this exposes the fact that clan politics in Russia have played a major role in shaping U.S. economic aid to that nation. While professing simply to support reform, U.S. policies afforded one group a comparative advantage and allowed much aid to be used as the tool of this group. This feels familiar to Russians raised in the communist practice of political control over economic decisions — the quintessence of the discredited communist system. Ironically, far from helping to separate the political and economic spheres, U.S. aid has instead reinforced their interdependency.

By siding with a particular group in a highly politicized environment, U.S. assistance weakens its effectiveness. U.S. policies have made it difficult to establish credibility with other reform groups and opened Western aid to skepticism about capitalism, reform,

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F O C U S

The key task in Russia

privatization, and the West. How Russian elites perceive the efficacy of aid programs and the motives of donors should be a source of concern, especially because many Russians have questioned American intentions. According to

one public opinion survey carried out by Igor Kliamkin in the spring of 1995, two-thirds of the Russian people believed that the United States had a calculated anti-Russian foreign policy. As long as suspicion of Western motives remains pervasive, anti-Western, anti-reform politicians can manipulate the Russian self-image of a wounded superpower and proclaim that Russia is, as always, being exploited by the West.

Building lasting, impartial institutions is a tough assignment in any context, and all the more so in Russia. The major challenge in aid imple-

*is building lasting,
broad-based and
impartial institutions.*

mentation is how to help build bridges in a conflicted environment with many self-interested groups and few broad-based institutions. It is essential that aid policies encourage the rule of law and discontinue support of non-inclusive "private"

organizations and the bypassing of democratic process through decree. Donor representatives should be required to work with all relevant parties, not just one political group, toward transparent, non-exclusive institutions. As Keith Henderson, head of USAID's rule of law program for Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, tells it, "We realized in Russia that it was important to work with many different players, and one way to do that was to work with different contractors who worked with different players. We knew it was important to have all of these different people in the process." ■

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CUBICLE DAYS

AID ADJUSTS TO LIFE IN THE NEW REAGAN BUILDING

By Cathy Alter



As seen from a distance, the Ronald W. Reagan Building looks like the gently curving arm of a giant. Up close, however, the curves sharpen up, and gentleness gives way to hard edges. With its massive size and mix of post-modernism and Art Deco, the building has a deep sense of permanence.

Inside, the building is a different story. What should be a reception desk is encircled with yellow caution tape. Men in hard hats mix with Brooks Brothered and Liz Claiborne bureaucrats, their conversations obscured by the sounds of jackhammers. A woman who's just entered the building with a group of friends comments on the surroundings: "Every day it's a different place. You never know where you can walk and where you can't."

Whether the interior gets cleaned up for the Reagan Building's May 5th inauguration is anyone's guess. However, when the building's inside catches up with its outside, it will be a magnificent place. But just because the building is presentable does not mean it's livable. Ask some of its tenants.

Almost a year ago, in an attempt to consolidate the agency in one building, the U.S. Agency for International Development began moving into the Reagan Building. The transition was not a smooth one. Thanks to the popularity of "open planning design," people who once had private offices (some for more than 20 years), are now conducting business out of doorless, ceilingless and (except for occasional squares of Plexiglas fitted into a partition wall) windowless gray cubicles.

The concept of open planning is a simple one: Making offices out of partitions, which can be moved around to accommodate an ever-changing workforce, makes sense financially. There's not as much space per employee, so it

costs less. And electronics can be wired under the floor, so employees can always "plug in" even if their physical space changes.

The fourth floor of the building has been overtaken by these open offices. Cubicle after cubicle, like a giant honeycomb. To distinguish themselves amid the grid, some people have put potted plants on the tops of their cubicles as guideposts.

"We're very isolated here. We're no longer in defined areas, and we're not defined as a department," sighs Chris, a USAID employee whose name has been changed. She is referring to her department—the Bureau of Asia and the Near East. "It's a very lonely way to do business. We don't share information as much because we all go to our separate cubicles," she adds.

It may be lonely, but it's not for lack of company. "There's so much noise now. I hear other people's fingers on their keyboards. And," Chris confides, "I've heard more phone conversations with people's wives, doctors, and lawyers than I care to mention."

One floor down in AID's global department, Chris walks and walks, trying to find the Bureau of Population, Health, and Nutrition. Here, cubicles are smaller. During the last downsizing, this department decided to sacrifice space instead of people. "It's strange when you realize that these little spaces are occupied by PhDs," says Chris, passing by a cubicle where someone has created a door out of a curtain rod and kinte cloth. Seeing this makeshift door, she comments, "I've heard some people are trying to fashion roofs."

If fences make good neighbors, then at USAID, doors make (or made) good employees. Confides Chris, "I know a very private person whose productivity has dropped due to the lack of privacy. She can't close the door to relieve stress."

Before boarding the elevator up to her floor, Chris turns and says, "It's not good form to complain. Since the '96 RIFs,

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there's been a keeping-the-head-down kind of culture here."

An outsider might say that there's really little cause for complaint. The Reagan Building is brand new. So is everything in it. And, unfortunately for some AID employees, so is the concept of open planning.

Today's workforce is all about flexibility and adaptability. Because of the "sameness" of the cubicles, open planning also allows for a flattening out of the company's hierarchy — though at AID some senior employees still get offices with real doors.

"In the last 10 years, open planning has become a far more popular approach. About 80 percent of the buildings we do are open," explains Everett Medling, a senior vice president at Ellerbe Becket Architects and Engineers, who was project director on the Ronald Reagan Building. Medling is also responsible for two of the building's other occupants — Customs and the Environmental Protection Agency — which, he says, also incorporate open planning design. And, for the record, so does Ellerbe Becket.

"We don't think of [open planning] as being as significant as some of the tenants do," he continues. "A lot of people aren't used to change. What [AID] is forgetting is the Reagan Building is far better than the building they were in before."

Aesthetically, it's true. The Reagan Building is a stand-out. Says an AID press officer, "Over at State there was orange carpeting and green walls. It's nice here. Everything is new. There's a food court, a workout center, and access to the Metro."

But, to a lot of USAID workers, while there may have been an upgrade in communal space, there's been a downgrade in personal space.

Cathy Alter is a Washington, D.C., freelance writer.



What you see: *The Ronald Reagan Building's classy exterior (above)*

What you get: *Construction debris and uniform cubicles define daily life*



PHOTOS BY JEFF BEARD

This incongruity is not lost on the press officer, who adds, "I know there are those people who put their service into the government, and you're not returning that respect by putting them into a situation like this. But there are so many new things here—like chairs." ■

THE IG RESPONDS

BY JACQUELYN WILLIAMS-BRIDGERS

Editor's Note: The March 1998 Foreign Service Journal included four articles that were critical of the work of the Office of the Inspector General for the State Department, the U.S. Information Agency and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. In this document, the current Inspector General, Jacquelyn Williams-Bridgers, responds to those articles.

We read with disappointment the March 1998 edition of the *Foreign Service Journal*. Fairness should have dictated that our office be provided an opportunity to respond in the same edition to allegations of employees sanctioned as a result of Office of the Inspector General investigations. Space limitations prevent us from responding to many factual misstatements. We will, therefore, focus on the fundamental point — the assertion that OIG does not respect employee rights in our investigative process.

It is obvious, yet bears emphasizing, that the vast majority of department employees are honest, dedicated, and well qualified. It is our statutory responsibility to deal with the very few who are not. Only a small proportion of OIG assets are dedicated to investigations, and much of that is dedicated to clearing employees of unfounded allegations. Our more commonly known functions, inspections and audits, comprise 85 percent of our resources. With only 35 agents to cover all employees of the department, USIA and ACDA, and 250 posts and consulates worldwide, we are spread exceptionally thin. Nevertheless, criminal and administrative investigations get the majority of media inquiries and focus the attention of employees like no other OIG function. I do not expect that to change. What I do hope to change, howev-

er, is the misperception that our agents neither understand nor exercise concepts of fairness or due process in their investigations.

Some recognition by the *FSJ* of the fine work of our agents would go a long way in addressing employee misperceptions. When the *FSJ* ran articles on the successful challenge by FSOs to retaliatory actions taken against them for their use of the dissent channel, there was no mention of the OIG investigation which documented the retaliation. That article also conspicuously failed to mention OIG's intervention on behalf of the FSOs with the grievance board, as well as our role in the sanctioning of senior managers by the secretary.

Our Office of Investigations has consistently taken up the causes of employees who have experienced misconduct at the hands of management, ranging from sexual harassment to retaliation. When allegations were substantiated, we recommended disciplinary action and insisted that the department take remedial action. OIG yields no moral high ground whatever to the American Foreign Service Association when it comes to the protection of employees who have been mistreated in their employment or to the preservation of the premier reputation of the department and of the Foreign and Civil Service personnel employed here.

Employees can be assured that State OIG special agents are well trained to carry out their investigative responsibilities. In addition to the basic training required of all federal law enforcement officials, many investigators hold advanced

degrees in law, accounting and criminal justice investigations, among others. Additionally, our agents are required to continue to hone their investigative skills annually through mandatory follow-on training. The vast majority of such training focuses on the state of the law regarding constitutional rights and employee interviews, a subject to which I now turn.

Employees Receive Full Due Process

The plain truth is that OIG has always and will continue to provide employees with the full panoply of rights dictated by the Constitution, by federal case law and by Justice Department policy. In 11 years in the department, we are not aware of a single case that has been dismissed or a single agent who has been criticized by a federal judge or prosecutor as a result of some purported failure to provide an employee with his or her rights. Our investigators have made mistakes from time to time — we all do — but the mistakes were certainly not an attempt to deny employees their rights. The fact is that the employees who drafted the *FSJ* articles were all accorded their constitutional rights and had benefit of the policies and procedures in place government-wide during their investigations. What they object to is that after having had full benefit of criminal and administrative protections they were nevertheless disciplined for their misconduct. As a result, some now seek not to reform the investigative process but to subvert it.

Suffice it to say that we do not conduct 12-year “vendettas” against employees, we do not collect thousands of dollars from employees for voucher irregularities without consulting closely with department experts, and we certainly do not conduct full-scale investigations over \$35 losses. All three of the first-person accounts were in fact examples of fraud and abuse, and the department properly sanctioned the employees for that abuse. All three began as criminal investigations supervised by career federal prosecutors. After prosecution was declined, one of the cases resulted in a 30-day suspension, one in a \$15,000 restitution payment and the third in a proposed 20-day suspension. All three individuals were represented by

counsel and, in effect, had their day in court. These stiff administrative sanctions should be a signal to objective observers that the department recognized there was another side to each story. In refusing to sign their names, these individuals raised privacy and other concerns that hampered us greatly in responding further with specific facts from their cases.

In an attempt to bring to this dialogue a spirit of openness and fairness, I openly admit that some employees have legitimate complaints. OIG’s investigative process can take too long, and some employees do suffer damage to their careers in the form of promotions withheld and assignments lost. Stating the problem is the simple part. Finding a solution that balances the legislative mandates of the OIG, with the protection of the reputation of both the department and the employee is quite another. By statute, we are required to refer federal criminal matters to the Department of Justice for a prosecutorial decision. After referral, OIG’s investigation is conducted pursuant to the direction and timetable of a federal prosecutor. The delay in many of the cases cited in the *FSJ* was at least partially the result of this referral process.

While backlogs in the court system and the case loads of many prosecutors can exacerbate delay, I still believe that something can be done. Indeed, I have taken a number of steps to ensure more timely investigations and to hold my investigative managers responsible for inexcusable delay. To the extent that it is in my control, I can and will address issues relating to investigations not being concluded in a timely fashion. I welcome constructive dialogue on this vexing issue from any quarter, and I pledge to carefully consider proposals which fairly balance OIG’s statutory investigative responsibilities with fairness to employees. Timeliness, while difficult, is an issue that can be addressed through hard work and constant vigilance.

*All three first-person
accounts were in fact
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and abuse, and were
properly sanctioned.*

Many of the articles spoke of or alluded to purported OIG abuses. For example, Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-Ind.) asserted that "OIG often exercises its investigative authority at the expense of the rights of ... employees," and that "several examples of recent complaints against the OIG clearly illustrate this point." The examples provided do not support the assertion of investigative excess. In all of the examples, the word of the investigated employee was taken over that of career criminal investigators who conducted the investigations. While we provided information to members of Rep. Hamilton's staff rebutting many of the factual inaccuracies, the inaccurate information has been repeated. This raises the question of whether only investigated employees are entitled to fairness, and not the many dedicated employees of the OIG who are equally harmed by publication of false, malicious and misleading information.

Three Cases: The Other Side*

In one case cited, the federal prosecutor supervising the investigation showed up unannounced at a scheduled interview. Prosecutors frequently interview witnesses to make assessments about their credibility and for other reasons. In the grand jury, only federal prosecutors are permitted to interview witnesses, and neither investigators nor defense attorneys can be present. Prior to this

**Editor's note: AFSA's general counsel informs us that some cases referred to in the March Journal articles are still under appeal. In the case involving the contractor and the alleged cost overrun, the FSO filed a grievance. The State Department settled the case, expunging all records of the discipline and extending the FSO's time in class by three years.*

particular interview, all participants fully identified themselves. After being confronted, the employee stated that he wanted a lawyer. OIG



IG Jacquelyn Williams-Bridgers

acknowledged the request and did not attempt to proceed with the interview. When the employee obtained counsel, he had benefit of two very experienced attorneys, a former U.S. attorney and a former assistant legal adviser from the department, at which point he agreed to be interviewed. Under these circumstances, to suggest that his "rights" were in any way abridged or curtailed simply is not credible.

The second example cited as abusive relates to criticism leveled against OIG for its findings in the 1992 Clinton passport investigation. While that matter predated my tenure as inspector general, I think it appropriate to comment on certain aspects of the inquiry. OIG was accused by a former independent counsel (IC) of being wrong and naive in its conclusions, especially its finding that certain department political appointees were engaged in improper, partisan political activities.

While OIG accepted certain criticisms on the conduct of the investigation, we rejected findings outside of the IC's limited mandate to determine whether federal crimes were committed. While his report attempted to exonerate employees of misconduct, his own findings belie that attempt.

It has been suggested that a political appointee in the Office of Legislative Affairs was provided with inadequate notice and opportunity to review or respond to allegations. This is incorrect. The subject was interviewed not on a single occasion in great haste as was suggested, but on several occasions over the course of many weeks. He was provided with and signed rights warnings on each occasion. We are not aware of any violation of the employee's rights. The IC's report noted, however, that the employee secretly tape recorded his interviews with OIG investigators. Recording conversations without permission of participants violates department policy. In response to the criticism that OIG released its report, it was Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger, concerned about the reputation of the department, who insisted that the OIG report be made public. That was not done until the investigation and report were completed.

The IC noted that none of OIG's allegations against the appointee were substantiated by his review. The IC concluded that it was naive of OIG to criticize the appointee for drafting a request to the secretary, on behalf of a congressional representative, with the end purpose of obtaining Mr. Clinton's passport records. The IC reached this conclusion despite the appointee's admission that he knew the material was being requested for partisan political purposes. The IC's finding of OIG naiveté ignored his own findings that a very senior White House official had "triggered a series

of actions that led in part to the expedited [department] search for Clinton's file," that another senior White House official had contacted the appointee in the Office of Legislative Affairs to "inquire" about the search, and that the appointee then contacted another political appointee in the Office of Consular Affairs who, in turn, set off the expedited search which we criticized.

Improper Partisan Behavior

After reviewing the activities of the appointee, the IC noted that he "was simply doing his job, albeit with heightened enthusiasm." In commenting on discussions between the two appointees, the IC noted that they "engaged in a discussion of the political leanings of department employees who would likely be tasked with locating additional files" relating to the Clinton passport search. The IC observed that "this speculation cast a partisan tinge to a conversation otherwise concerned only with procedural matters," but concluded that their political opinions regarding career department employees did not affect the scope or results of the search. We fundamentally disagree with that conclusion. The IC concluded that "although such conversation may have been partisan, it was not criminal." OIG never claimed the conduct was criminal, only that it was partisan, hence improper.

The IC argued that OIG lacked objective criteria to assess the conduct of the political appointee and concluded that "basic fairness required a presumption that [his] conduct was appropriate to the tasks as assigned by the member unless evidence was uncovered to the contrary." We beg to differ. We have an obligation to criticize employees who engage in improper partisan

Members of Congress do not 'assign tasks' to employees of the executive branch.

activities. Moreover, members of Congress do not "assign tasks" to employees of the executive branch, and even if the appointee felt obligated to respond, he was obliged to act with fairness, impartiality and without partisan motives. He did not do so. In an attempt to protect our essential foreign policy mission, previous secretaries have established a precedent that partisan activities cease at the department's doors. Even with benefit of hindsight, we believe the IC's conclusions were flawed.

In the third example cited, OIG is alleged to have caused a department employee to be called before a professional review board as a "pretext" to elicit information, and later to have used the "employee's statements against him" in our investigation. This never happened. The case involved an officer who was accused of malpractice in the death abroad of the wife of an FSO. After the death, the officer was accused of having altered medical records by adding information about the deceased victim's visits to the clinic and fabricating a laboratory request form. The officer was required to answer before an M/Med review board. OIG was not present for that review, nor was it even privy to the board's findings or conclusions; hence, we could not have and did not use material from that hearing against the employee in our investigation.

Criminal aspects related to these

charges were later dropped when the officer agreed to plead guilty to making a criminal false statement on an official writing, which related to charges of financial impropriety by this officer at the same post. The plea agreement specifically called for the department to forward information regarding the M/Med investigation to medical licensing authorities in all jurisdictions where the officer was licensed to practice. OIG had no part in that required notification. As part of the plea agreement, the officer agreed to resign from the department and not to seek employment with any government agency. The officer, who was represented by counsel at all stages of the inquiry, was sentenced to a one-year period of probation. All of this information is a matter of public record. Since no allegation of OIG impropriety was made during the investigation, we are at a loss to understand this allegation.

A final example of purported abuse refers to an OIG investigation of a senior officer at an overseas post. OIG's investigation revealed that the officer circumvented the post's contracting officer and directed a contractor to perform additional, unauthorized renovation work at an official residence, which resulted in escalation of the contract price by nearly \$60,000. The department's letter of reprimand concluded that the officer's involvement in the renovation showed poor judgment and created the appearance of preferential treatment. In accordance with department regulation, the letter of reprimand stayed in the employee's file for one year, during which time a department panel promoted the officer.

The officer bases his allegations against OIG largely on the "declaration" of an interpreter who was present for but a single interview.

The interpreter's statement was first brought to the attention of OIG some 14 months after the interview was conducted. A long delay in making an allegation of unprofessional conduct unfairly removes from the investigators the ability to respond when participants have undiminished memory of the incident and when the passage of time has not allowed important context to be irretrievably lost. Indeed, concerns over the accuracy of recollections go to the heart of the interpreter's complaint.

The interpreter believed that OIG agents attempted to put words in the mouth of a contractor concerning whether the officer "ordered" the contractor to perform extra work at the official residence or simply "suggested" the changes. The interpreter assumed that the final interview write-up by the investigators misstated the contractor's words. In fact, the agents' final report of the contractor's interview was accurate. Indeed, it is consistent in every material respect with what the interpreter claims the contractor said about his contacts with the officer. Other witnesses, including the contracting officer, told OIG that the senior post official routinely directed the contractor to perform work without obtaining the approval of the contracting officer. OIG's report concluded that the officer improperly directed the contractor to perform work on the contract, a fact not based on the interview of the contractor but on statements of other credible witnesses. In an affidavit filed with the department in support of the contracting officer, the contractor himself later admitted that on occasion he had acted on the directions of the senior post official, presuming that he had cleared the additional requests through the contracting officer.

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demeans their status.*

It was further asserted that when the interpreter "finally read the OIG report of interview," she filed a complaint with the OIG because she charged that "specific words were changed, statements were omitted and language was added into OIG's version of the interview." The interpreter never made any of these charges in her sworn declaration. Indeed, she admitted that she was never provided a copy of the contractor's interview. These charges were made by the senior official, who had no personal knowledge of the incident. The interpreter complained solely of the actions of the agents during the interview. She inferred from what occurred in the interview that the agents must have misreported the interview results. The senior official, who was provided the interview, apparently never shared it with the interpreter. OIG has responded fully to the senior official's complaints to the Integrity Committee of the President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency. At the conclusion of the PCIE inquiry, we would not object to revealing the full facts of this investigation.

Our Investigative Authority

A suggestion was made that our agents are not "statutory law enforcement officers." Clearly, broad investigative authority for inspectors general, including far-ranging subpoena power, was contemplated at the outset of the IG

Act but, regrettably, has been commonly misunderstood since that time. Series 1811 federal agents in OIG exercise full federal law enforcement authority pursuant to deputation from the Justice Department. These authorities include the power to make arrests, to serve search and arrest warrants, to carry firearms, and to conduct undercover operations, including use of sensitive undercover techniques. Our agents work joint criminal investigations with the FBI, Drug Enforcement Agency, Immigration and Naturalization Service and a host of other law enforcement agencies. In conducting undercover operations, our agents place themselves in harm's way. Narco-traffickers and dangerous criminal elements are known to make use of passports and visas in their criminal enterprises. The suggestion that our agents are not real law enforcement officers demeans their status and undercuts their efforts at a time when much more is being asked of these dedicated men and women and at a time when their jobs are increasingly dangerous.

It has been suggested that it is not unreasonable for an employee to believe that refusal to cooperate immediately with the interview at hand could jeopardize his or her career. It is precisely to prevent that very misconception that OIG agents routinely provide subjects of criminal investigations with Garrity warnings. The Justice Department-approved Garrity warning states that an employee has the right to remain silent if her answers may tend to incriminate her, that anything she says can be used as evidence both in an administrative or in any future criminal proceeding, and that if she refuses to answer questions on the ground that her answers may tend to incriminate her she cannot be dis-

charged solely for remaining silent. Paradoxically, OIG special agents are frequently criticized for providing this warning, because employees take the warning as a threat and not as the recitation of rights it is intended to be. Agents are criticized, therefore, both for providing and for not providing a rights warning to employees.

Some would have OIG add to the Garrity warning an additional warning that an employee enjoys the right to be represented by counsel during an OIG interview. To add this would, in effect, result in OIG routinely providing employees being interviewed with full Miranda warnings. The Supreme Court has ruled, and federal and state criminal practice and procedure dictate, that Miranda warnings need only be provided when a person has been placed under arrest and is being questioned while in police custody. The

Supreme Court does not believe that routine non-custodial interviews trigger an affirmative advisement of a right to counsel. No federal law enforcement agency of which we are aware routinely provides Miranda warnings in non-custodial interview situations. That said, OIG is on record as stating that it will honor any employee request for an attorney or a union representative during an OIG interview. Indeed we have repeated that message in our recently revised investigative process pamphlet.

Legislating this added requirement in State OIG investigations would have two very detrimental effects. First, it would set this office apart from all of federal law enforcement at a time when joint investigations are becoming far more common, hence uniformity in procedures all the more essential. Second, it

would legislate special rights for State Department employees above and beyond those provided to all other American citizens in criminal investigations. Those special rights, however, would apply only if State OIG were involved in the process. If any other OIG or federal law enforcement entity were conducting the interview of a department employee, the special advisement would not apply. If such a law were to pass, it would ensure that State OIG would not be brought into investigations of department employees conducted by other federal entities; hence, the secretary could be blindsided by some of the most sensitive investigations. Such legislation would only add to unfortunate perceptions, both on the Hill and among citizens, that department employees enjoy special benefits. I have stated in testimony that I believe the issue of appropriate

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warnings for employees should be addressed and resolved by the committee that has jurisdiction over all federal OIGs. Indeed, that committee has already conducted hearings on and is closely following the issue.

Notification of Rights

Many critics of OIG concede that to be effective the process of gathering evidence must often be conducted covertly. Yet, there is a clear tension, if not contradiction, between that position and their corresponding belief that targets of investigations must be made aware that they are under investigation. Frequently, the two concepts are mutually contradictory. If a target is made aware that he or she is under investigation, the effort could no longer be covert. In criminal investigations timing is everything. A single inadvertent slip in an undercover investigation has been known to endanger the lives of agents and lead to the destruction of evidence, and the loss of years of investigative work. Yes, I believe employees should be made aware of investigations, and yes they should be fully informed of their rights. The hard question is precisely when in the investigative process this information should be provided. Difficult questions like these are best left to professionals in law enforcement with knowledge of the ramifications of their decisions.

Congressman Hamilton is quite correct in noting that I personally negotiated some of the language adopted by the conference committee. Despite being a participant in the negotiation, I still believe it to be ill-advised and harmful. Nevertheless, the conference committee's carefully worded provisions are less damaging than previous versions which swept far too broadly. The conference language requires OIG to update its current employ-

ees' rights pamphlet in two separate areas and to make the pamphlet available to all employees. It also requires a one-time report to Congress on OIG's internal press guidance. State was the first OIG in the community to issue an investigative pamphlet addressing the rights of employees. Drafted in 1991 entirely as an OIG initiative, the pamphlet was distributed to every department employee. It was revised in 1992 and again widely distributed.

A new edition of the pamphlet was distributed to all employees in October 1997, and incorporated language from the conference. For example, it stated that employees have a right to be informed of the identity of OIG investigators and any other participants at the inception of the interview. However, we are unaware of any instance in which all participants to an OIG interview did not fully identify themselves prior to the conduct of the interview. Additionally, the pamphlet made more explicit that OIG would "honor any request of an employee to be represented by counsel and/or a union representative during an investigative interview." OIG has never denied an employee such a request. Finally, we are in the process of revising our internal press guidance as requested. I have also taken steps to speed up the investigative process and to engage relevant Department of Justice offices in these efforts. Rep. Hamilton therefore need not be concerned that I am awaiting congressional action prior to addressing these and other concerns. The actions I have taken already comply with both the letter and the spirit of the conference language.

I understand that Rep. Benjamin A. Gilman (R-N.Y.), chairman of the House International Relations Committee, has already written to

the secretary rejecting assertions in that article that OIG investigators somehow manipulated his committee into asking for an inspection of the disciplinary process in order to give OIG control of PER. I can only assume that the spirit of fairness will move the *FSJ* to print Gilman's emphatic rebuttal. I am also informed that Rep. Porter J. Goss (R-Fla.) has written to the secretary rejecting "the notion that OIG's investigative process is either unprofessional or unfair." I expect that journalistic integrity will also move the *FSJ* to print this response.

While many assertions in that particular article were clearly outside the bounds of professional discourse, I am duty bound to respond to his assertion that OIG often abuses the rights and improperly obstructs the careers of those it investigates. A certain amount of rhetoric is to be expected in articles of this nature, but when assertions are made with absolutely no basis in fact, I should think that the *FSJ* would label it as an "editorial" or some other such fictionalized account. The author provides not one single fact upon which to base his very harmful musings about an OIG process of which he obviously knows very little. His Orwellian notions of secret OIG files being used to destroy the good names of FSOs, clever manipulations of the Congress and its committees, power plays to take over department functions and others are wildly off the mark and would not even bear a response were they not repeated in an otherwise credible publication.

The Name Check Process

Many employees have expressed concern about OIG's unique reporting relationship to the Congress. The IG Act mandates a duty to keep the Congress fully and currently informed. The department can not

afford to put forward for promotions or senior assignments officers who do not meet the most stringent standards of personal integrity and professional competence. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee (SFRC), which has the constitutional responsibility to advise and consent on these nominees, has stated that it will accept no less. With that in mind, the department early on asked the OIG to establish a name check process which would provide it with an early warning of officers who may be perceived to be below par in either category or otherwise under investigation. OIG was not enamored of the idea of participating in this process, but it well understood that the department should not be blindsided by remaining uninformed of investigations involving senior appointees. While it is OIG who bears the brunt of criticism when nominations are held up as a result of our inquiries, we still believe the process to be essential to the department's mission.

Under present procedures, SFRC requires the department to attest in writing that none of its nominees are under OIG investigation. Additionally, SFRC separately queries OIG on every nomination. Finally, SFRC requires nominees for senior positions to fill out very detailed questionnaires which inquire about previous investigations. SFRC believes that its constitutional advise and consent role, and its oversight of the foreign affairs agencies, provide it the authority to review past conduct of employees slated for promotion or senior assignments. Over the 11 years the name check process has been in existence, SFRC and OIG have worked out careful protocols to protect both the rights of employees and the sanctity of OIG's records. OIG provides facts

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related only to completed investigations in which the employee has been recommended for disciplinary action. Materials from so-called "raw investigative files" are never provided. OIG does not speculate on the motives of employees, and neither seeks to defend nor to undermine a particular nomination. There have been occasions, however, when OIG believed that its facts were being interpreted improperly to the detriment of the employee. In those limited instances, OIG has not hesitated to come to the defense of the employee.

If the department and/or the SFRC were to decide tomorrow to do away with the name check process, it certainly would make life easier for OIG. Fundamentally, however, I do not believe that scrapping the process would be a good thing for the department. As the department will attest, a number of serious deficiencies in candidates under consideration have been brought to light by the process. These early warnings have saved the department much embarrassment. On some occasions, a decision was reached by the department to defer a particular nomination until any outstanding questions were resolved. From time to time the decision to defer may have adversely affected the careers of employees, perhaps even unfairly. The conclusion should not be, how-

ever, that the entire process be scrapped. Indeed, neither the SFRC nor the department would likely agree. No process is perfect, yet we constantly strive to make it better and fairer. This dialogue should help to make it fairer still.

Conclusion

To AFSA, I say that despite the suspicions of some, OIG would very much like to widen and deepen this dialogue. We believe our roles, while very different, have a common purpose — to protect the reputation of our employees and the integrity of our department. I have pledged here and elsewhere to work with AFSA to make more transparent our investigative process and to strive within the sometimes narrow confines available to me to make our efforts more timely. I would hope, on the other hand, that AFSA would strive to tone down the ill-informed and often inflammatory rhetoric that so unnecessarily impedes a closer working relationship. Surely, our working together would benefit not only both of our organizations, but the employees of the department as well.

To department employees, I repeat that I hear your concerns. We can and will do better in more timely investigating complaints against the few employees who come under investigation. We are undertaking a number of initiatives to meet with all of you to further explore your concerns and to share with you our process. These efforts include ongoing meetings with the senior staffs of all the bureaus, as well as planned trips to all overseas posts in which we will attempt to meet with every employee. Unfortunately there are no easy answers, and no quick fixes ready for implementation. Each investigation stands on its own and must be managed individually. We are com-

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mitted to improving that management oversight and ensuring that your rights are meticulously protected. In my view, fairness in the investigative process is a fundamental right of every employee. Indeed, our own mission statement makes clear that "how we achieve [our] results is as important as the results themselves." In closing, I make this commitment. With the full resources of my office, I and every OIG employee will constantly strive to improve both the conditions in which you work and the reputation of this great institution in which we all so proudly serve. I hope and trust that I can count on each of you to work with me in this important effort. ■

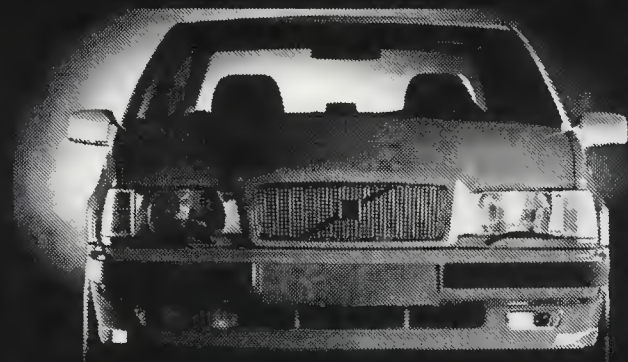
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FS SPOUSE RECOUNTS WARM
MEMORIES OF LIFE AMONG "WINTER PEOPLE"

BY ROBERT LINWOOD SCRIBNER

When I accompanied my bride of one month to her new assignment as a secretary in the American Embassy in Oslo 30 years ago, it was with more than a little apprehension about spending a few years in what I considered a winter country. I like my sun and warmth.

In most of the temperate zones of the world, mid-March would herald the beginning of spring. In Oslo, it was the tag end of winter. Considerable ice and snow remained, with windrows of muddy and often frozen slush on streets and stark, bare trees everywhere.

A representative from the embassy welcomed us at the airport and drove us to temporary quarters in the charming Hotel Gabelshus, which typified the friendliness and unbounded hospitality we were to find everywhere in Norway. We stayed in the hotel long enough to see Oslo put on a new dress with budding trees and regiments of *varblomster* (spring flowers) poking up their pretty heads.

Finally, we found a house advertised in a newspaper which met our major requirement of being located in the countryside. In our 10-year-old rejuvenated and repainted Mercedes, a veteran of many ocean crossings, we set out to find the small community of Svartskog, located some 20 kilometers

south of Oslo. We left the main road, began meandering and followed a narrow dirt road which wound through an area of small farms and woods. At a sharp bend, we were confronted with a fork, but there was no sign to provide us with directions.

In front of us was a driveway that led to a modern house. Through a large picture window, we could see a man painting the walls of the house, so we decided to ask for directions to Bekkenstensveien number seven. That was how we met Nils, our future landlord, and found the house that we had been searching for.

Our household goods, which had arrived intact in Oslo, were delivered to us a day after we signed the lease on our house. While we unpacked, neighbors appeared with welcoming coffee, hot casseroles and offers of help and advice.

The most striking feature of the Svartskog house was the large picture window that first caught our attention. Through it, we could see the twisting road we had first taken as it wound up a hill and gradually disappeared into the woods. We never tired of the view from the window which allowed us to look at varieties of birds and occasional deer crossing the road.

A five-minute stroll over a ridge brought us to Bunnefjorden, where we moored an old fishing boat we bought. Our closest neighbors and friends — a doctor and a postmistress — were equidistant from us in the surrounding wooded hills, providing us just the right amount of seclusion.

When we tired of the country, Oslo wasn't far. A seaport city, it is full of the sounds of ships' horns and

Robert Linwood Scribner is the spouse of retired FS secretary Edith Ingversen Scribner.

bells, tolling buoys, and, at times, the mournful notes of fog horns. Where rail spurs end near the docks, the shrill, fluty sound of creeping freight cars, steel wheels agonizing against steel rails, can be heard. On the quay, shrimp boats tie up and offer hot, cooked shrimp to customers. Where there are fishing boats, there are also gulls. Raucous and squabbling, they are noisy, bold, feathered thieves and not just a little messy. As one fisherman told me, "I'm just glad that cows don't fly!"

Walking uptown from the docks, I often passed a children's nursery on winter days, and smiled at the sight of the small mob of the very young moving helter-skelter within their playground. They would slide on patches of ice, deliberately going bump on their well-padded bottoms. They seemed like mass-produced animated toys in their look-alike mittens, woolen bunny caps and red and blue snow suits.

Another charm for me in Oslo, one that I missed when my American home town went modern, was the city's electric streetcars. No other vehicle has a streetcar's sound as it sways and clatters along, sparks popping overhead, rocking and picking up speed as the operator moves the handle of the throttle.

I spent two hours one balmy summer evening in Oslo enjoying the celebration of a small army of red-capped students in a park and beer garden festive with colored lanterns. They had completed their schooling, with many destined to enter the university the next year. To one side, a band in a pavilion was bravely playing light classics — and slowly losing the battle to the students.

Perhaps cities have souls. Certainly, Oslo has a heartbeat. It is best heard when the city curls up at night. High in the night sky there is the muffled purr of an airplane engine. Nearer, the higher pitched moan of a jet clawing for altitude can be heard. Closer to the ground, busses in low gear whine and trucks rumble. An auto horn squawks, a baby cries, laughter echoes close by.

Norwegians are winter people. They delight in the varied fruits of summertime living, but they don't begin to shine until the snow is deep. To *utlendinger* (foreigners), it seems that all

Norwegians ski from the time they are able to stand alone. Trains and busses bristle with skis on special racks. On every track and path through the woods lone skiers as well as entire families happily practice their cross-country style.

In Oslo, winter first makes an unattractive appearance. Dirty lumps composed of part ice and part snow gather along the streets, obstacles to be pushed aside by passing snowplows. Pedestrians pick their way through these obstacles until street cleaners clear the way, albeit only temporarily. When the temperature rises, tiny rivulets of muddy water join together and turn curbsides into streams that gurgle and work their way through slush to drains and the sea. Cars whose tires sound out a fluttery staccato on wet cobblestones splash through, occasionally throwing dollops of muddy water on unwary walkers.

People scurry along, heads down and alert only for that icy rut or puddle, merging into a semblance of friendliness as they gather at a corner to wait for a light change. When the walk sign flashes, they scurry along again.

Snug inside the uncommon setting of our Svartskog home, we spent winter looking out our prized picture window and marveling at the noiseless shattering of flakes on the glass and at birds flitting through the shifting white curtain and into the trees.

Despite the devout wishes of fanatical winter sports lovers, winter finally did give way to spring. The first bright, new petals competed with stubborn snow patches, and chipper yellow-breasted birds hopped purposefully around with beaks full of straw gleaned from the winter bundles of grain hung up for birds that do not fly south.

After a few more warm days, we began to think of putting our old fishing boat-cum-yacht into order with a new coat of paint and a new set of seat cushions, confident that we would be assured of a host of new sights and sensations. ■

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Abuse of Power

*Edited with an introduction by
Stanley I. Kutler, Free Press, 1997,
\$30.00, hardcover, 675 pages.*

BY HARRY C. BLANEY III

This book reveals again the banality of evil in Richard Nixon's presidency. Based on recently released tapes recorded in the White House at President Nixon's instigation from June 1971 to July 1973, most of the material is new. Few major White House officials from that time will survive a reading with reputations intact.

Nixon was deeply concerned about his place in history: thus the existence of the tapes. Yet these and other yet-to-be-released recordings will inevitably render a harsh historical judgment. While many foreign affairs professionals remember the good and bad foreign policy initiatives and breakthroughs of that era, it will be the unethical domestic actions and the resulting cynicism about government that constitute the lasting legacy of the Nixon presidency.

Abuse of Power is must reading for foreign affairs professionals. In addition to Nixon, key figures who shaped American foreign policy in the decades of the 1970s and 1980s — some of whom who are still active in politics — are shown participating in the White House's "dirty tricks" and

shoddy acts. Among those recorded — warts and all — were former secretaries of State William Rogers, Henry Kissinger and Alexander Haig, Fred Thompson, now a senator from Tennessee, and a host of others. While the tapes whirled, Nixon freely discussed selling ambassadorships and even reminded Henry Kissinger of his own wire-tapping.

Conversations included in the book will fill in more details about Watergate, ranging as they do over a broader landscape than just the break-in. For example, an obsequious Alexander Haig, while he was White House chief of staff, says to Nixon that what is at stake in the Watergate affair is "good, strong Americanism versus left-wing ... sabotage." This is one example of several in the tapes that reinforce the impression not of one evil man, but of complicity in abetting evil by most of those who surrounded Nixon. Their crude language, incoherent sentences and thought patterns, and simplistic responses to complex issues leave one appalled at the low level of moral and intellectual talent in this unsavory crew.

The book also is filled with sad insights into Nixon's anti-Semitism, paranoia and efforts to implement a Republican "Southern strategy" aimed at winning the votes of prejudiced Southern whites by showing Democrats as civil rights advocates.

Abuse of Power will force readers to think about how a democratic government was taken over by third-rate scoundrels filled with hate and decep-

tion to the core. That the American political system served these scoundrels up to the highest offices in the land is an indictment of the system. In the end, however, that same system brought them all down, but it was a close call.

Harry C. Blaney III, a retired FSO, served on detail in the White House from 1969 to 1971.

MONITORING PEACE IN MOZAMBIQUE

Mozambique: U.N. Peacekeeping in Action 1992-94

*Richard Synge, U.S. Institute of Peace
Press, 1997, paperback, 221 pages.*

BY DENNIS C. JETT

There aren't many good books written about Mozambique, which makes Richard Synge's *Mozambique - U.N. Peacekeeping in Action 1992-94* all the more disappointing. There are lessons to be learned from what happened during one of the U.N.'s largest and most successful peacekeeping operations, but they won't be found here.

Many peacekeeping operations fail because one combatant cares more about power than peace. Synge makes this point in a perverse way, by swallowing the line that FRELIMO, the political party that has run Mozambique since its independence in 1975, had no responsibility for the

BOOKS

country's problems and was justified in retaining its monopoly on power. Synge takes liberties with the facts. For example, he claims that 12 days before the 1994 presidential and parliamentary elections early returns indicated a FRELIMO victory. He doesn't say that shortly before the elections, FRELIMO, in an effort to avoid sharing power, engaged in a disinformation campaign by planting a story in the country's only Sunday newspaper, the government-owned *Domingo*. The story claimed that RENAMO, the opposition guerrilla group which had opposed FRELIMO in a 16-year civil war and in the electoral campaign as a political party, was planning to return to war with the help of American diplomats. RENAMO had a deserved reputation for human rights abuses, but one of the aims of the peace process was to help it wage its struggle at the ballot box.

Synge also asserts that U.N.-trained de-miners cleared hundreds of land mines from Mozambique in 1994 and succeeded in keeping the police neutral during the electoral campaign. The U.N. cleared no mines from the country before 1995 and has accomplished little since. In addition, according to a December 1995 Human Rights Watch Report, the U.N. failed to adequately monitor the police, which the police interpreted as tacit approval of its harassment of RENAMO.

Synge also accuses the international community of using the peace process to limit FRELIMO's authority and power. He asserts that the U.N. and countries supplying aid to Mozambique undermined its capacity to manage its development, spurred corruption, derailed reform efforts and caused poor morale among bureaucrats who then abdicated their responsibilities. In reality, the FRELIMO-controlled govern-

ment was frequently unable to deliver aid in an efficient, honest and timely manner and donor countries had to rely on non-governmental organizations to do it. To claim that it was a deliberate effort to weaken the government is absurd, especially since well over half the government's budget came and continues to come from foreign aid.

The 1994 elections were Mozambique's first and last. Local elections have repeatedly been delayed by the FRELIMO-controlled government. The future of peace in the country is not assured. Synge's book, which was published by the U.S. Institute of Peace, an organization established to learn the lessons of peacekeeping, sheds little light on why.

Dennis C. Jett, who was U.S. ambassador to Mozambique from 1993 to 1996, is now U.S. ambassador to Peru. ■



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IN MEMORY

Walter S. Blair, 80, a retired FSO, died of pulmonary failure March 1 at a hospital in his native Birmingham, Ala., where he had a vacation home.

Mr. Blair was a graduate of Vanderbilt University and attended the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. He served in the Navy in the Panama Canal Zone and South Pacific during World War II.

Mr. Blair began his Foreign Service career in 1947 with USAID's predecessor agency and was posted to Italy, India and France. Later, he was information director for USAID in Vietnam. Mr. Blair retired as a training officer in the 1970s and moved from Chevy Chase, Md., to Bluemont, Va., at that time.

Survivors include his wife, Virginia E. Blair of Bluemont and Birmingham; four children; a brother; and seven grandchildren.



Donald E. Boyd, 75, a retired FSO, died Oct. 12 in San Diego, Calif., of natural causes.

Mr. Boyd was born in Springfield, Mo., and graduated from Drury College in his hometown. During World War II, he served in the U.S. Army in Europe.

Mr. Boyd's Foreign Service career included assignments to the Department of State and USIA, during which time he was posted to Formosa, Pakistan, Hong Kong, India, Iran,

Vietnam and the Philippines. Mr. Boyd retired in 1972.

Survivors include his wife, Irene Boyd of San Diego; two sons, Steven Boyd of Tracy, Calif., and Donald Boyd of Yakima, Wash.; and two daughters, Catherine Boyd of Kansas City, Mo.; and Patricia Whittall of Guilford, Conn.; and four grandchildren.



Marcelle Lecomte Drakert, 92, a retired FSO, died of cancer Feb. 25 at her home in Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Drakert was born in Paris and graduated from the University of Paris. She began working as a French national in the U.S. embassy in the 1930s. During World War II, she participated in French resistance activities against the Nazis in occupied France. For this work she was awarded the Medal of Liberation from the French government. In 1951 Mrs. Drakert became an American citizen by an act of Congress. She continued to work at the Paris embassy as a Foreign Service officer after the war and later served in Rome. Mrs. Drakert retired in 1961.

Survivors include her husband, Robert Drakert of Washington, D.C.



Charles Clifford Finch, 79, a retired FSO, died of liver cancer

Jan. 5 at the Washington Home and Hospice in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Finch was a native of Ohio and a graduate of the University of Ohio. During World War II he served in the U.S. Army in Europe. After the war, he attended Stanford University and Oxford University.

Mr. Finch joined the Foreign Service in 1950. His overseas assignments included Tehran, Cairo, La Paz, Saigon, and Manila. He also was detailed to the Brookings Institution.

Following his retirement in 1972, he worked for Bechtel Corp. in North Africa.

Since the early 1980s, Mr. Finch had split his residence between Washington, D.C., and Berkeley Springs, W. Va.

Survivors include two sons, Christopher Finch of Alexandria, Va., and Timothy Finch of Washington, D.C.; a daughter, Jennifer Finch Funston of Champaign, Ill.; and four grandchildren.



Marjorie Rogers Follansbee, 91, the former wife of an FSO, died Jan. 6 at the Washington House in Alexandria, Va., after a heart attack.

A native of Sydney, Australia, Mrs. Follansbee came to the United States in 1934 and settled in New Mexico. Beginning in 1942, she accompanied her first husband, FSO Vance Rogers, on assignments to

IN MEMORY

Costa Rica, Venezuela, Barbados, Haiti and other countries. Mr. Rogers was killed in a helicopter accident in Thailand in 1962.

Mrs. Follansbee's second husband, retired Army Col. Conrad Follansbee, died in 1992.

Survivors include two children from her first marriage, Lynn Moffitt of Australia and Bryant Rogers Sr. of Vienna, Va.; a grandson; and a great-granddaughter.

John Howard Garnish, 92, a retired FSO, died of congestive heart failure Feb. 24 at Belvoir Woods nursing facility at Fort Belvoir, Va.

Mr. Garnish was a native of Rochester, N.Y., and a graduate of the University of Rochester. Before World War II, he was a reporter in New York for publications that included the *Buffalo Courier-Express*. Mr. Garnish worked for the Office of War Information in New York during the war and Voice of America at the United Nations after the war. During that postwar period, he was a member of separate delegations to Geneva that held talks with Chinese communists and helped expose conditions in slave labor camps in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Garnish's first wife, Ruth Garnish, died in 1975.

Survivors include his wife, Marion Schell Garnish of Fort Belvoir; two children from his first marriage, Susan Mongé of Burke, Va., and John G. Garnish of Eldersburg, Md.; four grandchildren; and three great-grandchildren.

Edmund Asbury Gullion, 85, a retired FSO, died March 17 at his

home in Winchester, Mass., after a heart attack.

Mr. Gullion, a Kentucky native, graduated from Princeton University in 1935 and the National War College in 1949.

Mr. Gullion joined the State Department after college and went overseas as vice consul in Marsilles, France. He was vice consul in Salonika, Greece, when Axis forces occupied Greece during World War II. In 1944, he was charge d'affaires in Helsinki and later served in Sweden. From 1949 to 1952, Mr. Gullion was posted in Vietnam and later was deputy director of the U.S. Disarmament Administration. From 1961 to 1964, Mr. Gullion was ambassador to the Congo.

At retirement, Mr. Gullion became dean of Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, where he served from 1964 to 1978.

Survivors include his wife, Patricia Gullion, of Winchester.

Edward Killham, 45, son of retired FSO Edward L. Killham and Mrs. Lucy Killham, died of melanoma Feb. 7, at the Hospice of Washington, D.C.

Mr. Killham graduated from Northwestern University and served in the Peace Corps; he completed graduate work at Ohio University. He was a journalist specializing in African affairs; as a United Nations consultant, Mr. Killham served in Vietnam, Mongolia and Cambodia. He most recently helped establish the UN Office of Project Services in Copenhagen.

Survivors include his wife, Marie Tormal of N'Djamena; a son, Jordan Biagomala; his parents; and two sisters, Amanda Davis of Madison,

Wis., and Nina Killham of London.

Eleanor N. Lakas, 76, wife of retired FSO Nicholas S. Lakas, died of cardiac arrest Feb. 12 at her home in Bethesda, Md.

Mrs. Lakas was born in New Milford, Conn., and moved to the Washington, D.C., area with her husband when he joined the State Department in 1946. Mrs. Lakas accompanied her husband on assignments to Scotland, Ireland, Egypt, Lebanon, Kuwait, Libya and Korea.

Survivors include her husband, of Bethesda; two children, N. Christopher Lakas of Rockville, Md., and Gerald S. Lakas of Takoma Park; a brother; a sister; and two grandchildren.

James B. Moran, 73, a retired FSO, died Feb 16 at his home in Springfield, Va.

Mr. Moran was born in Port Angeles, Wash., and grew up in Everett, Wash. Mr. Moran served in the U.S. Army Air Corps in the Pacific during World War II. He graduated from the University of Washington in 1950.

Mr. Moran joined the State Department in 1952, and during his 39-year career served in Iran, Burma, the Soviet Union, Vietnam and China. From 1987 to 1991, Mr. Moran was ambassador to the Republic of Seychelles. He also served as executive director of the Bureau of East Asia and Pacific Affairs and of the Bureau of African Affairs.

Survivors include his wife, Jean Moran of Springfield; a daughter, Johanna Moran; three sons, Thomas Moran, Robert Moran and John

IN MEMORY

Moran; two sisters, Margaret Wood and Elizabeth Kramer; and three granddaughters.

Della L. Oakley, 86, widow of FSO R. Kenneth Oakley, died Feb. 15 of heart failure at her home in Carmel, Calif.

Mr. Oakley died in 1989.

Survivors include her daughter, Sandra Oakley Benson of Carmel; two grandchildren; and a great granddaughter.

Raymond Pagan, 83, a retired FSO, died Jan. 22 of natural causes.

Mr. Pagan was born in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and graduated from Tufts University. He served as an intelligence officer in the U.S. Army in Europe during World War II, and with the U.S. occupation forces in Germany from 1945 to 1949.

Mr. Pagan joined the Foreign Service in 1949, serving with USIA's predecessor agency and later with USAID. His postings included Germany, Egypt, Vietnam, Lebanon and Afghanistan. Mr. Pagan retired in 1975. He and Mrs. Pagan moved to California's San Fernando Valley in 1984.

Survivors include his wife, Theresa DeCarlo Pagan of Chatsworth, Calif.; two daughters, Virginia Schragel and Roxane Neal; a son, Daniel Pagan; nine grandchildren; and seven great-grandchildren.

Edward T. Penney, 63, a retired FSO, died Feb. 19 of cancer at the Hospice of Northern Virginia.

Born in Illinois, Mr. Penney

graduated from Northwestern University. He served in the Navy in the 1950s.

Mr. Penney joined USIA in 1962 and served as counselor for public affairs in Egypt and Algeria. His career included service as director of North African, Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs and director of the press and publications service. In addition, he was deputy press secretary at the National Security Council and a faculty member of the National War College.

Survivors include his wife of 35 years, Mary Clare Penney of Reston, Va.; four daughters, Dorothy Penney of Austin, Texas, Kathryn Phillips and Anne Miller of Arlington, Va., and Margaret Penney of New York; a sister; and five grandchildren.

Malcolm Thompson, 78, a retired FSO, died Feb. 27 of progressive supranuclear palsy at Rivercrest Nursing Home in Concord, Mass.

Born in Boston, Mr. Thompson graduated from Harvard University and received a master's degree from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. During World War II, he served in the U.S. Navy as a gunnery officer in the Pacific.

Mr. Thompson joined the State Department in 1949. His overseas posts included Germany, Syria, Greece and Turkey. Following his retirement, he was a volunteer with several organizations that serve the elderly and cancer patients.

Survivors include his wife, Marion J. Thompson; a daughter, Cynthia Knauss; a brother, Henry S. Thompson; and a grandson, all of Concord. ■

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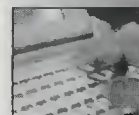
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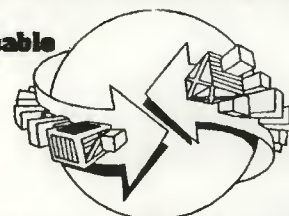
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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

Brave New Vietnamese World

BY RICHARD SACKS

Perched near the top of a deep mountain valley in northern Vietnam, Sa Pa, with its pristine mountain scenery, rushing streams and stands of conifers reminds an observer of Colorado or the Chiapas highlands of Mexico. Clumps of bamboo and terraced rice fields dotted with water buffalo contradict this impression. What proves that Durango is not twelve miles away, however, are the Hmong and Zao — Vietnamese highlanders — trooping up and down the streets.

The town, located a few miles from the Chinese border, is a full-dress pageant, a living ethnological museum. Clad somberly in black baggy trousers with black skull caps on their heads, the men pass by silent and taciturn, looking like Yeshiva students. The Hmong women wear indigo blouses and knickers which reach their knees with dark stockings under them. They cover this with indigo tunics. On their heads they wear sleek turbans made from the same shiny indigo. Around their necks they sport silver chokers, chains and layers of embroidered bags. In their ears they wear silver hoop earrings which flap against their ruddy cheeks. They sport uniform plastic sandals. Zao

Richard Sacks, an FSO in the economics section of Embassy Hanoi, previously served in Casablanca, Mexico City and Kinshasa. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."

Sa Pa is a full-dress pageant, a living ethnological museum.

women are more gaudily arrayed in bright red head dresses fringed with silver coins. Their practice of shaving the fringes of their scalps gives them the appearance of baldness.

These women pursue with good-natured ferocity the business of selling Western tourists homespun, embroidered clothing. Scores of women try to convince visitors to buy shirts, trousers, skull caps, pieces of cloth, chains, chokers or tiny Jew's harps in hand-made carrying cases which they carry tucked amid the folds of their clothing. Vendors gather outside cafes and gesture through windows at Westerners inside trying to dine. The bolder among them thrust merchandise through open doors. Even gloom of night doesn't deter this sales force. During one of Sa Pa's frequent power outages, in the inky blackness the women still try to hawk their brightly colored wares. Many of them dye their hands a deep non-color-fast blue, which can come off on the hands of buyers who don't beware.

The French were the first

Europeans to settle permanently in Sa Pa in 1918. Their practice of imposing mandatory, unpaid labor and heavy taxes on the local people caused at least seven revolts in the area. From the time Vietnam gained independence from France in 1946 until the 1980s, Sa Pa was a locally-run autonomous zone with more independence from the central government than other areas. In 1979 the town was captured by the Chinese and almost destroyed in fighting.

Until 1993, Sa Pa, known for its hiking and proximity to natural splendors such as Vietnam's tallest mountain, Fan Si Pang, and 100- and 200-meter high waterfalls, was rarely visited by outsiders. Even now, 10-year-old Russian vehicles predominate on the streets, an index of Sa Pa's isolation. In other ways, the outside world is intruding. Construction sites punctuate streets. Several new hotels designed like Swiss mountain chalets rent rooms for an average of \$20 a night. In addition to their traditional wares, street vendors also sell heroin and marijuana a stone's throw from a sign which reads "Drugs are the Enemy of Every Family and All of Society." The Young Communist League organized a demonstration for World AIDS Day last December 1. The marchers carried signs reading "Fight AIDS" and "Don't Discriminate Against People with AIDS" and handed out leaflets explaining how AIDS is spread, complete with diagrams and smiling condoms. Sa Pa is becoming modern. ■

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