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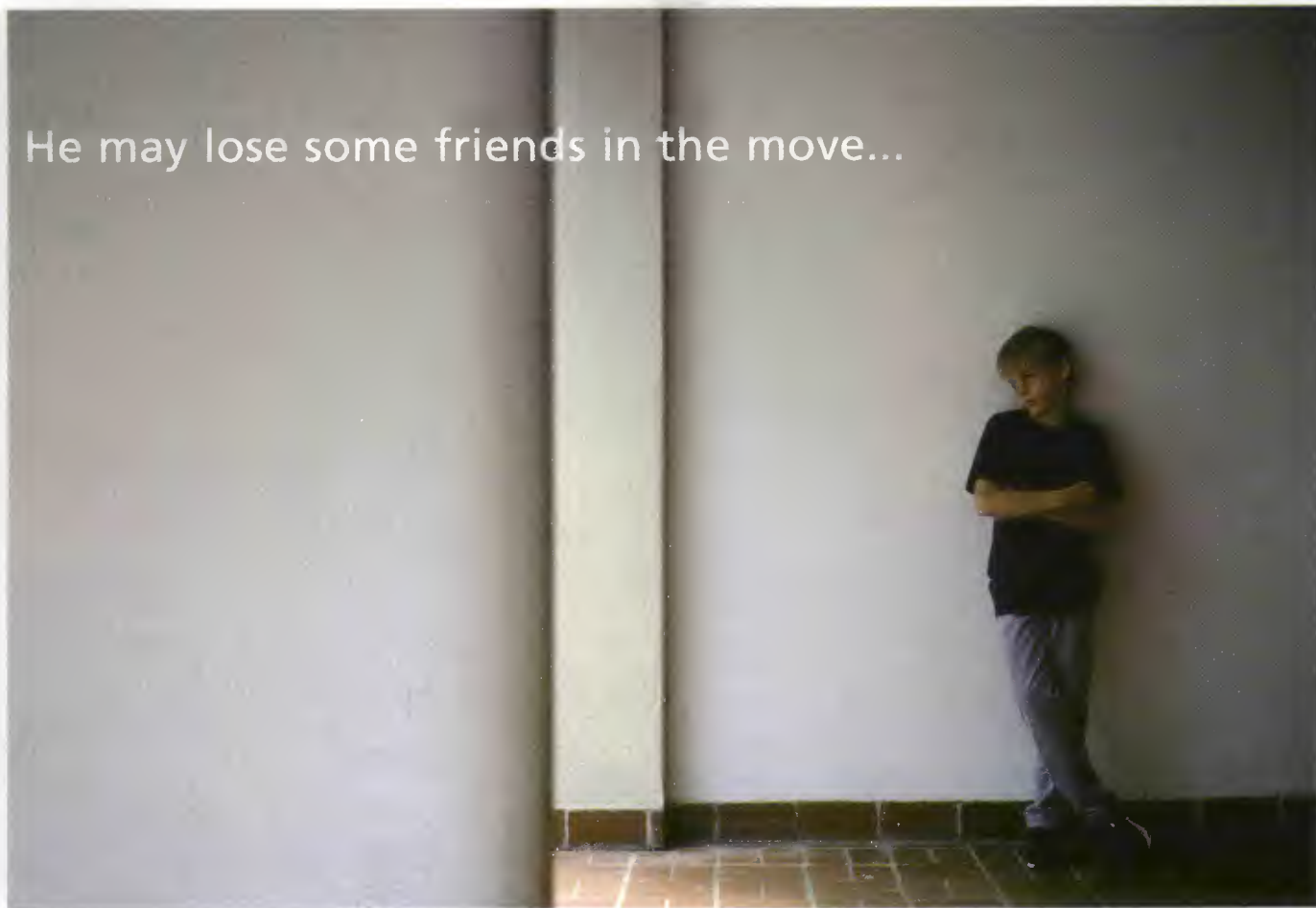
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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *The Giver and the Gift*

BY DAN GEISLER

In this issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*, you can find out who won the six AFSA named awards in 1998. These awards promote AFSA's goal of fostering high standards for service and integrity in the Foreign Service. On this page you can find out who is to thank for the existence of those awards.

In addition to the named awards, this year's award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy, which is sponsored by AFSA itself, went to a member of the Foreign Service family, Larry Eagleburger. Eagleburger is the only career FSO to have become secretary of State. Former National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft is scheduled to present the award to Eagleburger at AFSA's June 23 ceremony.

The six named awards fall into two categories. Three awards are for constructive dissent. The ferment of the Vietnam War spawned the establishment in the State Department of the Dissent Channel for disagreeing with existing policy. In AFSA, the turmoil led to the creation of \$1,000 annual awards for constructive dissent by a junior, mid-level and senior officer.

Averell Harriman's distinguished career included domestic service as governor of New York and secretary of commerce. During a foreign affairs career that stretched from 1943 to 1969, he held many high-ranking posts, including ambassador to the Soviet

---

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

*The ferment of the  
Vietnam War  
spawned AFSA's  
awards for  
constructive dissent.*

Union and to the United Kingdom. Harriman strongly encouraged career officers to give their frank views to their politically appointed masters, and endowed the award for junior officers through a family foundation.

William R. Rivkin was a dynamic lawyer from the Midwest who brought a passion for truth and fairness to the task of representing the United States first in Luxembourg (1962-65), and then in Senegal, where he was felled by a heart attack in 1967. The Rivkin family agreed to provide annual support for the mid-level dissent award, and has done so for three decades. William Rivkin's widow presents the award personally each year.

In 1969, family and friends of the distinguished Christian A. Herter, former governor of Massachusetts and secretary of State (1959-61), arranged to support the senior award. The precise wording of the criteria has changed over time, but the concept has been to encourage officers to speak out with

their best and most frank advice.

A few years later, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger arrived to preside over the annual ceremony, asking his staff aide what the awards were for. The reply: "For disagreeing with your policies, Mr. Secretary."

The other three AFSA Awards are for extraordinary service. In 1982 Pamela Harriman established the Avis Bohlen Award in memory of the spouse of Charles E. Bohlen, U.S. ambassador to France from 1962 to 1968. The Harriman and Bohlen families were close friends. This award recognizes a Foreign Service family member for volunteer service.

More recently, in 1990 groups of Foreign Service secretaries around the world banded together to discuss and promote measures to further their recognition and professional advancement. They requested AFSA to establish an award for secretaries, and the Governing Board established this award with funding from the Delavan Foundation, established by the parents of Ann Harrop, spouse of Ambassador William C. Harrop.

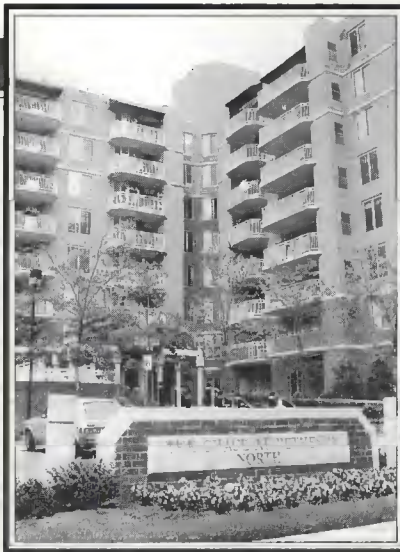
Finally, Jon Clements, president of the well-known insurance firm Clements & Co., in 1994 offered to fund a new award for community liaison officers to be known as the M. Juanita Guess Award in honor of his mother, who had earlier been active with the company and had met many CLOs in the course of her travels.

AFSA salutes this year's winners, and once again thanks the generous donors. ■

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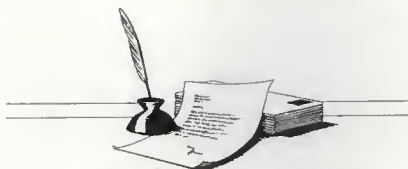
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# LETTERS

## No Search for Truth

The articles in the March *Journal* on the Office of the Inspector General were long overdue.

Several years ago I met with two OIG investigators (one was in training). I expected to receive a text of my testimony to sign as a way of showing that I agreed it was accurate. I received nothing. My friend, who later received the complete case, including the testimony of almost everyone interviewed, approached me to ask why I had said some of the untrue things that were in the text of my interview. I was dumbfounded when I read the text. Some statements were out of context, which changed the meaning; some important positive statements were left out; and some were so changed that they carried meanings opposite to what I had said. I assumed this was the result of the "trainees" having made errors. After reading Rep. Lee Hamilton's article, "Reform the IG's Office," I see that this may be a pattern.

In the preceding paragraph I wrote that the complete case included the testimony of "almost everyone interviewed." I want to stress

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"almost" because I learned from my friend that at least one interview that was known to be totally positive was not included in the final presentation of the case. This appears to be an attempt to put the worst light on a case, reflecting not a search for the



RENEE MANSFIELD

truth of the matter, but a search for guilt even if it has to be artificially created.

When these operating procedures are coupled with the fact that the accused does not know who the accusers are or what claims they make until the case is released from the OIG for disciplinary action (or lack thereof), it is easy to understand why people think that their basic rights under our Constitution are being denied.

Carol Rose  
Former FSO  
Arlington, Va.

## OIG's Shoddy Work

Two other officers and I have been recently victimized by OIG Investigations and I would warn my colleagues to be very careful about dealing with that group. Shoddy work is being done by investigators who harbor vile intentions.

I was ambushed by two investigators who came to my foreign post without notification and demanded to see me about a case which had taken place at another post three years earlier. They failed to tell me the purpose of our conversation or that I was a target. After I shared what I could recollect of the case, they adopted an accusatory tone and tried to entrap me into agreeing to statements which were untrue. They displayed a profound lack of knowledge of the laws and regulations involved and the real-world environment in which decisions are made.

They also asked a supervisor who arrived subsequent to the event to give his comments about how the case was handled. That officer misunderstood key facts and was not told that his comments were sought as testimony in an adversarial proceeding. In fact, his comments for general background were quoted in the OIG report and no attempt was made to clarify key points or misunderstandings used to justify the recommendation for discipline.

Throughout this affair, it was clear that OIG had a hypothesis. Proceeding with the investigation, the OIG failed to follow exculpatory

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LETTERS

leads and discarded testimony and evidence which did not fit that hypothesis. The OIG's final report is Kafkaesque and poorly written. The letter of intent from Personnel/Employee Relations quotes regulations out of context, applies them to inapplicable circumstances and makes accusations which are directly contradicted by the OIG report and its attachments.

A final disturbing point: No one in OIG or PER who is involved in the disciplinary process necessarily has any working knowledge of the laws and regulations you will be accused of violating. If you are asked by OIG to comment on someone else, make sure you have the facts straight. If asked to speak to OIG investigators, have a witness and pin them down as to their purpose.

*Name Withheld  
FSO*

**Bring On Funk**

Having worked for several decades in the U.S. government around but never for the Foreign Service, I was particularly fascinated by the OIG articles. I have seen FSOs get unusually twitchy with any reference to an upcoming OIG audit and downright spastic with thought of an OIG investigation.

While it was hard for me to accept at face value the many criticisms FSOs made against the OIG, I found the most damning witness of a "deeply deficient unit of the U.S. government" in Sherman Funk's responses to charges of OIG misconduct. That a simplistic police state mentality is nested at the top of this organization should be a shock to all. Funk does an excellent job of making the case against the OIG.

*Robert D. Fischer  
Civil Service, Retired  
Paris, France*

**OIG Never Leaks?**

Former IG Funk's reply is rather disingenuous. "If one thing is anathema to an OIG, it is the leak of information for whatever reason. But I cannot recall any investigative agent leaking anything, for any reason," he said.

Let me refresh his memory. On March 6, 1989, I met with Sherman Funk at my request. The subject was a memorandum of conversation (memcon) written by one Owen Roberts of his staff. The memcon freely combined the words "violation" and "Act" (as in law) with my name and that of another FSO. The words "alleged," "possible" or anything similar did not appear, and the document was without distribution limitation.

I have no idea how widely this memcon circulated, except that I was not on the distribution list. I was not aware of the memcon, or meeting, or charges of guilt, until a friend "leaked" a copy to me. And the other FSO named was not aware of the situation until I "leaked" him a copy.

At our meeting, Funk agreed that the memcon was in error, and assured me that he would take action to clarify the record. I later requested in writing a copy of his clarification and never received any such thing.

There, so far as I have been informed, the matter ended. But did it? While I was never questioned, much less charged, in the matter, could having seen the memcon influenced those considering me for the senior threshold?

I heartily agree with one point made by Sherman Funk, that the *Journal* series was too narrowly focused on the investigations side of IG. "Paradoxically, the IG's other 'review' shops (audits, inspections) have a much greater impact overall

## LETTERS

than investigations." In my case, the memcon was written by someone from inspections, and auditors, not investigators, were present at the meeting.

Perhaps the new IG will ask the *FSJ* to publish her rules on evidence, accusations, publication and protection of those not formally charged with anything, rules for all elements in her office.

*Dan Gamber  
Retired FSO and  
Dependent Spouse  
U.S. Embassy Brussels*

### It's Not Just OIG

The *Journal's* look at the State OIG made fascinating, if horrifying, reading for this retiree. I was reminded, however, that injustices were perpetrated by other department entities long before the OIG became so hyperactive.

In about 1987 a minority officer filed an Equal Employment Opportunity grievance against his supervisor at Embassy London. At the time I was the supervisor's supervisor. There may have been merit to the grievance, but the lack of due process and the casual expenditure of scarce taxpayer money bothered me then and trouble me still. The grievant won his case and was awarded full compensation for his legal expenses; a memo was placed in the file of his supervisor (who had just retired) that effectively banned his reemployment. What troubled me most was that I learned of the outcome only from the grievant. His supervisor had not been informed of the adverse action taken against him. Even more surprising, the department took no action to verify the facts and circumstances at the post.

Other than the supervisor's initial written statement, no collaborating information was sought. The EEO staff made no effort to obtain information from any other embassy source.

On my next visit to Washington, I brought my concerns to an EEO representative. I was informed that if the facts as I portrayed them were true, there had been an egregious violation of policy. Although the EEO officer told me that he would investigate and inform me of the results, I heard nothing more and have no reason to believe anything was done.

I commend AFSA for its efforts to put a leash on all the department's watchdogs.

*Robert W. Maule  
Retired FSO  
Poulsbo, Wash.*

### Proud in Tangier

Not all U.S. diplomatic representation has left Tangier ("Living History in Tangier," *March Journal*). USIA operates one of the world's largest international radio broadcasting stations here. This multi-million-dollar, state-of-the-art installation makes a major contribution to U.S. public diplomacy throughout Africa, Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union and the Middle East.

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THE HINDUSTAN  
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## DUAL NATIONALITY VERSUS PATRIOTISM

The growing trend of countries to allow U.S. citizens some form of dual citizenship could erode national unity, warns John Miller in a May 18 *National Review* article.

His article was sparked by a new Mexican law that allows U.S. citizens who were born in Mexico — or those with a parent born in Mexico — to also obtain Mexican nationality.

The new Mexican law that came into effect March 20 does not permit such nationals to vote in Mexico, but does allow them to have a Mexican passport and travel the country freely. The law also allows them to purchase property that aliens cannot own as well as benefit from the same inheritance laws as Mexican citizens.

"The Mexican law nonetheless poses serious risks. Due to the large numbers potentially involved — there are more than seven million Mexican-born people living in the United States — it threatens, in a way that other countries' dual citizenship has not, to erode the sentiments that traditionally have allowed the United States to maintain national unity amid confounding levels of racial, ethnic and religious diversity," writes Miller.

Beyond Mexico, about 50 countries allow some form of dual citizenship, many of them countries in South America, according to Miller. Some Americans do participate in other countries' elections. For example, about 1,800 U.S. citizens voted in this year's Colombian Senate elections. And a U.S. citizen and city councilman of Hackensack, N.J., ran (unsuccessfully) for a seat in that body.

The trend of dual nationality clashes with the founding fathers' idea about U.S.

citizenship, writes Miller. When they are naturalized, new citizens under oath have to declare that they "absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state and sovereignty, of whom or which [they] have heretofore been a subject or a citizen."

But while the U.S. government traditionally objected to dual citizenship, a 1967 Supreme Court decision made it virtually impossible to lose U.S. citizenship. The high court in 1967 in *Afroyim v. Rusk* ruled that Americans retain their U.S. citizenship unless they specifically renounce it.

## U.N. REPORT SLAMS U.S. CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

The United States is often unjust and biased in its application of the death penalty, according to a new United Nations report.

"Defendants who receive a death sentence are not necessarily those who committed the most heinous crimes," concluded U.N. Special Rapporteur Bacre Waly Ndiaye (Senegal) in a report to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, released in April.

"Many factors, other than the crime itself, appear to influence the imposition of a death sentence. Class, race and economic status, both of the victim and the defendant, are said to be key elements. It is alleged that those who are able to afford good legal representation have less chance of being sentenced to death," Ndiaye says.

"Racial attitudes of lawyers, prosecutors, juries and judges ... are also believed to play a role in determining who will, or who will not, receive a death sentence."

The system of elected judges — fueled



## CLIPPINGS

by campaign contributions coupled with judges serving relatively short terms — “could put at risk the impartiality of elected members of the judiciary,” according to the report. “It is very difficult for a judge who has reservations regarding the death penalty to be re-elected.”

In addition, Ndiaye said he believes that the discretion of prosecutors to decide whether to seek the death penalty or not raises questions about the fairness of its administration.

The report says that while world-wide there is a trend away from the use of the death penalty, the practice is increasing in the United States. On the federal level, the death penalty has been expanded to include 50 new offenses since the reinstatement of capital punishment in 1988. The crimes punishable by death include non-homicidal offenses such as attempted assassination of the president, treason and major drug-trafficking.

Many states have also moved to reinstate capital punishment and widen its scope. When New York reinstated the death penalty in 1995, it was the 38th state to do so. In the past seven years, many states have enacted laws increasing the number of “aggravating circumstances” that qualify a murder as a capital case. Since 1972, Florida increased the number of “aggravating circumstances” from eight to 14.

Special Rapporteur Ndiaye, who based his report on a trip to the United States in 1997, said he requested the visit “based on persistent reports suggesting that the guarantees and safeguards set forth in international procedures and specific restrictions on the death penalty were not being fully observed.”

After his visit, Ndiaye reported the United States does not always follow international law in its use of capital punish-

ment. In addition to recommending that the United States halt any executions until it can ensure that death penalty cases are administered fairly and impartially, Ndiaye also called on the United States to abide by international law by abolishing the execution of juveniles and retarded persons.

### A ROAD TO HELL PAVED WITH GOOD INTENTIONS

New legislation designed to squelch religious persecution around the world will have just the opposite effect, according to the President’s National Security Adviser Samuel Berger. He wrote a *Washington Post* opinion piece opposing the Freedom from Religious Persecution Act published May 14, the same day Congress passed the measure.

While the promotion of religious freedom is also President Clinton’s cause, the administration opposes Congress’ approach to getting there, Berger wrote. The bill institutes automatic sanctions on foreign governments that commit acts of religious persecution or that are not combatting acts of religious persecution by private citizens vigorously enough, according to Berger. Sanctions include restrictions on exports, foreign aid, U.S. votes in international financial institutions and visa eligibility.

“By depriving the president of the ability to determine when and how to condemn and by adopting a one-size-fits-all approach, the ... legislation risks the well-being of those we are trying to help,” wrote Berger. “The bill would strengthen the hands of extremists seeking to incite intolerance and could result in greater pressures — and even reprisals — against minority religious communities.”

## 50 YEARS AGO

“I have before me an egregious example of waste, inefficiency, and bureaucratic red tape, which, I think, needs some publicity. ... This office has an old lady pensioner who receives from government funds the sum of \$60 monthly for subsistence. To make this payment this office must prepare each month a set of papers totalling 24 sheets of paper and bearing 17 signatures by a consular officer,” wrote an anonymous FSO in a letter to the editor, published in the June 1948 *Journal*.

“It probably costs the government \$20 in overhead to make a single payment of \$60.

“No doubt the petty bureaucrat will shrug his shoulders and point to some regulation to justify this rigmarole. But to any reasonable person this represents an inexcusable waste of time and effort.”

## CLIPPINGS



*"The whole history of the human race contains no such horrible episode as this."*

— HENRY

MORGENTHAU, SR.,  
U.S. AMBASSADOR TO  
THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE  
WROTE IN 1919 OF THE  
1915 ARMENIAN  
HOLOCAUST.

### SENATORS STAND UP FOR JAMES HORMEL

Nearing the end of this Congress, some senators are making a last ditch effort to confirm James Hormel as Ambassador to Luxembourg.

Hormel, heir to the Hormel Meat Co. fortune, is a San Francisco philanthropist and businessman who has supported gay organizations.

Although the Senate had confirmed about 50 nominees by the end of the first session, the body did not confirm Hormel. Several senators had placed 'holds' on the vote, some saying Hormel would promote a gay lifestyle overseas.

But other senators are rising to his defense. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.), for example, has launched an effort to collect the 60 votes needed to release the hold.

Sen. Paul Wellstone (D-Minn.) May 4 called on his colleagues to release their holds.

"It is wrong to prevent the Senate from having an up-or-down vote on this nomination," he said on the Senate floor. "If senators disagree with this nomination, let them come to this very floor [and] explain why they believe James Hormel is unfit to become an American ambassador because he happens to be gay."

He continued: "We have a qualified nominee who was resoundingly approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He is entitled to a vote. And as a U.S. Senator, I am entitled to cast my vote for him."

Wellstone added that he is prepared to attach an amendment — which would force the Senate to consider and vote on the issue — to some other measure the Senate will vote on. ■

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# SPEAKING OUT

## *Brave New Consular World*

BY KEVIN D. STRINGER

Too often the role consular affairs plays in America's leadership of the international community is overlooked. That could change in a post-Cold War world with innovations in communications and production technology. But the U.S. consular establishment needs to change the way it operates if it wants to take advantage of these advances. If it does, consular affairs could become a decisive factor in U.S. foreign policy in the next century.

The Department of State should make it a goal to centralize visa and passport production facilities in the United States. At the same time, smaller and more cost-effective consulates should be opened at more places around the world to provide American citizen services, commercial services and trade promotion, to support cultural and tourist interests, and to collect detailed political and economic information and intelligence.

The end of the Cold War shifted emphasis from competition between the Soviet Union and the United States to a world dominated by the United States. At the same time, new issues became important: transnational crime, narcotics, immigration, terrorism, refugees, ethnic conflict and environmental issues. These problems would be better addressed by con-

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*Kevin D. Stringer is a former FSO who served in London and Washington, D.C. He is now an international banker in Zurich, Switzerland.*

*Rapid globalization of the economy has elevated 'low politics' issues, which have been consular concerns.*



sulates in key world regions than by embassies in insulated world capitals.

Traditional diplomacy has been concerned with military and political issues, but rapid globalization of the world economy has elevated the importance of trade, commerce and tourism, the "low politics issues," which have been consular concerns. In addition, many areas of the world are supporting regional, as opposed to national, economic zones, which makes establishing more consular posts important.

Advances in communications, including the Internet and instantaneous, worldwide satellite telecommunications, coupled with better production technology which enables better security in printing documents, provide consular affairs the tools to implement radical changes in the way it does business. Currently consulates are viewed as visa and passport factories that must

also deal with the problems of American citizens who show up on their doorsteps. The extremely important commercial, cultural and tourist promotion functions as well as reporting on political and economic issues have been submerged under the weight of the visa factory.

Because of centralization and cost cutting, the Department of State has closed consulates and moved their functions to larger embassies in capital cities. This trend started in the 1930s, when there were seven consulates for every embassy overseas. Today there are two embassies for every consulate. On the face of it, it makes sense to centralize consular functions for greater efficiency in issuing passports and visas. But issuing passports and visas is not the sole purpose of a consulate. Perhaps it is time to think about what regional consulates bring to U.S. foreign policy.

For example, consulates have been closed in the last ten years in Zurich, Switzerland; Brisbane, Australia; Bordeaux, France; Stuttgart, Germany and Poznan, Poland, with the result that the United States has lost important political and economic opportunities. These cities are hardly backwaters. Zurich is a leading European financial center. It doesn't make sense that while the United States is interested in such issues as banking secrecy, money laundering and the fate of money deposited in Swiss banks by European Jews during World War II, it has no representative in the heart of the Swiss banking world. In Poznan, an American consulate could do wonders to facilitate

## SPEAKING OUT



American business entry into new markets. Still, implementation of a new consular network would require a change in attitude. In the United States, Washington, D.C. is the center of power, but in other countries power is spread among other economic and ethnic regions. For example, countries as diverse as the Republic of Congo, France, and the United Kingdom all have centers of power outside their capitals.

Recent events in the Congo illustrate why diverse consulates could play an important role in U.S. foreign policy. A U.S. consulate in Kisangani could have provided early warning that Hutu refugees were under threat and provided reports on the shifting intentions of Ugandan- and Rwandan-backed rebels.

In France, new economic trade zones are creating business and export opportunities for U.S. firms, which con-

sular outposts could facilitate. Unfortunately, in 1996 the U.S. closed the historic Bordeaux consulate, which was opened in 1790. In the United Kingdom, consulates in Belfast and Edinburgh are essential to understanding British politics. Although Belfast remains open, the Department of State has attempted to close the consulate in Edinburgh at a time when other European countries are expanding their consulates there to take advantage of trade opportunities, particularly Scotland's North Sea oil production facilities.

How can the consular affairs be revamped to be more relevant and more efficient in today's world?

First, consulates should be responsible for promoting national trade, tourism and commercial interests and should increase their roles in assisting and protecting U.S. citizens overseas.

Many of these traditional consular concerns have been assigned to other government agencies due to bureaucratic inertia or lack of foresight.

Second, the United States should centralize production of visas and passports, but increase its world-wide representation. A basic business model could be used for this redesign. Just as no business runs solely from its headquarters office, consular diplomacy needs to be conducted in outlying regions of the world. As in business, the production of visas could be centralized in the main office — the embassy — while the service centers in other regions — consulates — maintain contact with customers. Decentralization would enable consulates to gain greater insight into a country's issues. Centralizing visa and passport business in the embassy would relieve the consulate of excessive demands.

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## SPEAKING OUT



These new-style consulates would have to be structured differently than those now in existence. Without the need to house a visa and passport operation with classified storage, a large building and a large maintenance bill, they could be housed in smaller, traditional office spaces and be staffed with from one to four Foreign Service officers and a secretary. Such an office would have state-of-the-art telecommunications equipment for contact with the embassy and Washington, D.C. and would maintain no classified documents. This model would also allow more U.S. representation overseas without the high costs of maintaining traditional consulates.

Several important steps have already been taken to centralize consular production. Creation of the National Visa Center and National

Passport Center have freed consular sections overseas from routine clerical chores. This allows consulates to concentrate on interviewing applicants for immigrant visas while the center handles processing. But the center's responsibilities could be expanded to handle all immigrant visa correspondence, scheduling of visa interviews and processing of specialized non-immigrant working visas. This type of centralization would improve visa anti-fraud capabilities by collecting all information in one place.

Similarly, the creation of a National Passport Center is a major step in centralizing domestic passport production. Why not carry this process a logical step further and produce all passports at one large center in the United States? In addition to being more economical, a centralized passport function would mean passports that are more tamper

proof. Since all blank documents would be stored in one place, fraudulent use of passports would be reduced. Americans whose passports are lost or stolen overseas could be issued a temporary travel document. When they apply for permanent passport, pictures and applications could be checked against permanent records.

The implementation of more centralized visa and passport operations coupled with the expansion of consular responsibilities to include a broad spectrum of commercial, tourist, cultural, and political functions, would enable the American consular establishment to better address the new set of transnational issues confronting US policy makers. The end result would be better global representation of U.S. interests and an improved framework for managing America's foreign affairs resources. ■

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# WHEN CULTURES COLLIDE



ART VALERO

THE GLOBAL ECONOMY DRAWS THE U.S. AND JAPAN CLOSER TOGETHER, BUT WE STILL DON'T UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER

*By Ellen L. Frost*

**O**

K, clear your desks. It's time for our quiz on economic globalization and culture.

*Question 1.* Which of the following statements are true?

- (a) Globalization spreads culture.
- (b) Globalization destroys culture.
- (c) Globalization shapes culture.

- (d) Culture shapes globalization.
- (e) Globalization engenders tensions between cultures.

- (f) Globalization basically reflects American culture.
- (g) Globalization is creating a new, universal culture.

*Question 2.* Which of the above is particularly relevant to U.S.-Japan relations in the 1990s?

## F O C U S

### *Contrast Japan's orderly society and near-zero growth with America's booming economy and social disorder.*

If you answered "all of the above" on both questions, we'd have to give you full credit. All of these statements are accurate but exaggerated reflections of the cross-currents stirred up by rapid economic and technological change. But if seemingly contradictory statements are all true, then some gigantic global dialectic must be at work. And so it is.

Doing full justice to this dialectic would require several volumes. Our goal here is more modest — to shed light on the core contrast in contemporary U.S.-Japan relations: Japan's combination of an orderly society and near-zero growth, and America's combination of a booming economy and social disorder. This contrast is at the heart of an increasingly urgent problem. Japan's feeble appetite for imports and swelling current account surpluses threaten to unnecessarily prolong the Asia-Pacific economic crisis and resurrect the harsh U.S.-Japan trade tensions of the 1980s. At the same time, America's unflattering image abroad handicaps U.S. efforts to bring about a more open and vigorous economy in Japan and, more generally, to promote American values. Cultural factors are surely at work here.

#### **Globalization Means Efficiency**

Globalization has many dimensions: economic, political, social, cultural, environmental, and religious, to name the major ones. Limited versions of it have been around for centuries. Here, however, the term refers specifically to a new pattern of global trade, investment, and finance — and, more specifically, the flexible design, manufacture, production, and sale of goods and services around the world. The dispersal of various phases of the product or service cycle among different countries encourages economies of scale and permits adaptation to local markets. In a word, globalization means efficiency — the efficiency of the marketplace

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and the standards that result from its application.

Globalization proceeds unevenly. Interestingly, the Japanese economy is somewhat less globalized than it was in the 1920s and 1930s. That is not true of the United States. In 1970, the sum total of U.S. exports, imports, and returns from investment — one rough measure

of participation in the global economy — was equivalent to about 13 percent of GDP, while in 1996 that figure exceeded 30 percent. But some U.S. sectors are highly globalized, while many others are relatively untouched. Moreover, the image of "stateless" or "rootless" corporations is greatly exaggerated; a multinational corporation's business practices reflect the parent nation's institutional and cultural values as well as its history.

#### **Cultural Incomprehensions**

Whether demonized as "GATTzilla" or sanctified as a creator of high-wage jobs, globalization is rarely discussed in terms of culture. To many Americans, "culture" means high culture, like opera: it's something that people in other countries have. Yet the rest of the world sees in globalization not only America's cultural fingerprints, such as blue jeans and rock music, but at times its heavy tire marks, as when the International Monetary Fund imposes U.S.-style reforms on Third World economies.

According to Webster, culture is "an integrated pattern of human learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations," including customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits.

Applying such a broad concept to U.S.-Japanese relations poses the danger of tautology: "The Japanese behave that way because of Japanese culture." This mindset gives rise to the "eternal Japan" thesis, according to which Japan never changes. But tradition is not stagnant. More helpful, perhaps, is the idea of cultural predispositions that cause people to filter and interpret historical experiences and to react to those experiences in certain characteristic ways.

Discussions of culture can also mask the struggle for wealth and power. Particularly in Japan, but also in the

United States, globalization challenges long-dominant interests. A so-called "iron triangle" in Japan consists of regulated or protected industries, the politicians allied with those industries, and the bureaucrats who enforce the regulations. Still, culture undoubtedly plays a part in the mobilization, expression, and popular perception of these interests.

**T**he interplay of culture and globalization in current U.S.-Japan economic relations can be illustrated by analyzing two of the most persistent questions the two countries ask about each other. These questions are connected, because each says something about expectations of leadership and attitudes toward the good society. Together, they confirm that Americans expect Japanese to be leaders and to promote efficiency by buying more from others, while Japanese feel little or no such obligation. And Japanese question the value of efficiency when it seems to be linked to such a disorderly and even violent society, while Americans seem to take their rough-and-tumble society for granted.

Americans these days ask about Japan, "Why can't the Japanese do something about their economy?" The corresponding Japanese question would be, "If the U.S. economy is doing so well, why can't the Americans stop criticizing us and do something about their social problems?"

Consider first the sad state of the Japanese economy. Except for a brief mini-boom in 1996, economic growth in Japan has been stagnant ever since the collapse of the "bubble economy" in 1989. If 1996 is excluded, from 1992 to 1997 annual real growth in Japanese GDP averaged only 0.9 percent. Industrial production is still below its 1991 level. Banks are saddled with a large number of non-performing loans, while companies face the need to make more efficient use of capital and to reduce staff.

All of a sudden, in 1997, the Asia Pacific financial crisis came crashing like a tsunami against the rock of Japan's economic stagnation. Tokyo stepped forward with a solid contribution of loans, export credits, export insurance, and financial aid for students studying in Japan. This was far more generous than Washington's initial outlay. The United States contributed nothing to the package for Thailand, and the administration's effort to secure congressional approval of an IMF package for Indonesia and other nations has run into political difficulties.

On the trade side, however, the picture is reversed. There seems to be little enthusiasm in Japan for providing new markets for Asian exports by further opening and deregulating markets. Indeed, foreign visitors have remarked that Japanese leaders in both the public and the private sectors appear to feel remarkably little responsibility for their Asian neighbors, and no particular sense of identification. Some have even noted a certain arrogance.

Japanese politicians have announced various stimulus packages, most recently one nominally valued at 16 trillion yen (\$124 billion) over two years. But if history is any guide, less than half of these funds will actually get spent effectively for the stated purpose, and the time frame will be longer than two years. Accordingly, skepticism runs high, and not only among economists. Injecting more money into public works — an overstuffed sector traditionally prone to corruption — is not likely to accomplish much. Faced with an uncertain economic future, ordinary Japanese have held back on consumption in favor of savings, thus compounding the recession. Other things being equal, tax cuts will therefore have a limited impact.

Without denying either the rational nature of the Japanese consumer or the sticky sides of the "iron triangle," one can identify certain predispositions in Japanese culture that complicate efforts to stimulate the economy. Chief among them are a commitment to equality and an attachment to social order, combined with the conviction that an appropriate role for the government is to preserve both.

### **Equality and Order**

Equality has been largely achieved, to the point where most Japanese see themselves as middle class. At first, this is surprising in a society that is so conscious of rank and seniority. Pre-Meiji Japan was divided into classes, with samurai at the top and merchants at the bottom. The Meiji restoration of 1868 erased these distinctions but created a new class of aristocrats. The American occupation wiped out all class distinctions, leaving a few great families but laying the groundwork for a remarkably egalitarian society.

Partly because Japanese associate equality with prosperity and the good society, American extremes of wealth and poverty — justified in the name of freedom and competition — have little appeal. If equity is at one end of the spectrum and efficiency is at the other, Americans will

opt for efficiency, while the Japanese will choose a point closer to equity. (With the partial exception of the United Kingdom, Europeans are closer to Japanese than to Americans in this respect.)

Against this backdrop, domestic and foreign pressure to further deregulate the Japanese economy, driven in large part by globalization, runs into cultural walls. Deregulation is supported in theory but frequently resisted in practice. It lacks a historical and ideological rationale to offset the conviction that the government has an obligation to protect social order and well-being. This tradition of holding the government responsible makes Japanese bureaucrats even more reluctant than they are in other countries to loosen their grip on regulation, especially where health and safety are concerned.

Many Japanese fear "excessive" economic competition, which they see as a Hobbesian struggle that would poison their remarkably orderly society. Policies designed to enhance competition — the necessary corollary of deregulation — do not come easily. Less than 50 years ago, not long after enduring the devastation of war, Japan was gripped by violent labor strikes. Since then they have enjoyed unprecedented social peace. Although the press is lively and critical, and although reporters are quick to photograph the latest bureaucrat indicted for corruption, there is little in-depth investigative journalism of the sort that uncovered the Watergate scandal and its many successors.

Like most Europeans, many Japanese (and not a few Americans) recoil from what the French call "savage capitalism" — the pursuit of efficiency and wealth at all cost, regardless of other human concerns. They fear what they call "chaos" or "confusion," by which they mean large-scale layoffs or other dislocations that American corporations take in stride. The job of government is to prevent these evils.

Adding to the snail-like pace of change is the famous Japanese search for consensus. While Americans like to stand on the table and make speeches, Japanese prefer to disappear under the table and conduct "nemawashi,"

*The world sees in globalization not only America's cultural fingerprints, such as blue jeans and rock music, but at times its heavy tire marks.*

which literally means "wrapping the roots" of a tree so carefully that you can move the tree without harming it. Needless to say, reaching a decision in this way is extremely time-consuming. The advantage of this system is that decisions tend to stick. (Compare this with the frequent vacillations that often mar U.S. policy.) The disadvantage, of course, is that decisions are difficult to reverse.

Further thickening the molasses-like nature of decision-making are the Japanese fear of open conflict and reluctance to make explicit statements, both of which date back for centuries. Subtle understatement and indirect expression have long been greatly preferred over what Americans would call "telling it like it is." This legacy sometimes leads Americans to believe that Japanese are dishonest or evasive, when in fact they are exhibiting the standards of behavior expected of a well brought up Japanese.

Finally, many Japanese exhibit a type of insularity that they themselves call "shima-guni konjo," or "island country mentality." Despite Japan's extraordinary track record as an exporter of high-quality goods, the country is still relatively insular. One of the legacies of this historical isolation is the belief that Japanese people are unique — different, somehow, from the rest of the human race. During the 1970s and 1980s some Japanese bureaucrats drew on these beliefs in cooking up arguments against foreign imports. Such ingrained attitudes may help to explain Japan's seeming indifference to the suffering now unfolding in its neighborhood. (Americans are hardly models in this respect, but one can argue that they are more unaware than indifferent.)

Taken together, these cultural traits have had the effect of tempering the impact of the forces of globalization in Japan — embracing the computer, as it were, while protecting the chrysanthemum. However, this cushion has come at a cost, namely, Japan's current economic and political paralysis and associated foreign criticism. Once again Japan has become the target of concern in the G-7 and other international fora.

### **Does Japan Play Fair?**

American reactions to Japan also reveal something about America's cultural predispositions.

The American critique of Japanese economic policymaking has less to do with the well-being of the Japanese people than with the firm belief that a rich, industrialized country like Japan has an obligation to contribute to regional and global economic growth. Since the Japanese economy is the second largest national economy in the world (the European Union as a whole is bigger), Americans conclude that Tokyo's responsibility is correspondingly pressing. Not to step up to this responsibility is not only disappointing; it is unfair, because it leaves America (and Europe) to bear the major burden of global economic leadership.

This attitude is characteristically American in several respects. First, it stems from a certain sense of global mission. Though some observers believe that Americans have drifted into an inward-looking mood, they are, in fact, frequently more internationalist than their leaders.

Second, when Americans commit troops or funds abroad, they typically insist on "burden-sharing," that is, corresponding contributions from other countries. That expectation reflects the characteristic American theme of "fairness." Unfortunately, many Americans have a suspicion that foreigners do not "play fair," a perception that nowadays tends to focus on Japan. According to one poll, 71 percent of the American public (and 80 percent of U.S. leaders) believe that Japan practices unfair trade.

### **U.S. Globalization Worries**

From a macroeconomic point of view, the U.S. economy is in extraordinarily good shape. It features low unemployment, minimal inflation, a sky-high stock market, and robust growth (an astounding 4.2 percent in the first quarter of 1998). Personal savings are low, but the United States continues to attract foreign savings in the form of investment. Since 1993, roughly 13 to 14 million jobs have been created, as opposed to about a million each in Europe and Japan. The longest economic boom in postwar history has occurred at a time when the once-record budget deficit is approaching zero.

The great majority of Americans are unaware that globalization has made an enormous contribution to this boom. Exports have accounted for 30 to 40 percent of U.S. growth in the 1990s, and workers in those sectors

earn wages that are about 15 percent higher than average. Imports have benefited consumers and most companies alike by enhancing choice and keeping inflation low. On average, productivity is 20 percent higher in firms that sell to the global market.

But higher productivity means that fewer people produce the same volume of goods. Adjusting to global competition, and particularly to the competitive challenge from Japan, dented both U.S. manufacturing employment and national self-confidence. Between 1980 and 1996, employment in America's Fortune 500 companies shrank from about 16.5 million to about 11.5 million. This "restructuring" of U.S. industry, as it is euphemistically called, temporarily or permanently hollowed out many American towns.

Such transitions are painful even in the context of America's social mobility, dynamic capital markets, tolerance of wide gaps in income, and "can-do" culture. As a result, a noticeable backlash against globalization has arisen. The AFL-CIO and certain other organizations blame globalization for the widening wage gap. While personal income grew a healthy 5.7 percent in 1997, raising average per capita income to well over \$25,000, much of this new wealth appears to be flowing to the top income brackets. The income gap appears to be growing: For example, the real hourly wages of young males with 12 years of schooling or less has dropped by more than 20 percent in the last two decades.

Labor unions and their allies also believe that lower foreign labor and environmental standards take away American jobs, and they fear that multilateral institutions such as the World Trade Organization are encroaching on U.S. sovereignty at both the federal and the state level. But the most serious economic studies to date suggest that globalization was responsible for only 10-20 percent of the rise in wage inequality that occurred in the 1980s. (Immigration and the entry of more women into the work force were also factors.) While foreign standards probably influence certain sectors, they cannot be blamed for most of America's labor woes. And participation in international rule-making is arguably an act of sovereignty that benefits the nation, more than offsetting the partial surrender of sovereignty in selected areas. Still,

## F O C U S

the backlash has already blocked the passage of important trade legislation and must be taken seriously.

If Japanese are uncomfortable with the heave and swell of the free market, they are appalled by America's seemingly intractable social problems. Big-city crime has improved dramatically, but other social indicators remain dismal (or improving to a point that is still unacceptably high): drug use, divorce, violence, low educational standards, teenage pregnancies, and racial tensions, to name a few. Even though Japanese people generally like Americans, they cannot see the United States as a positive model of social organization. Overall, Europe's model of social democracy appeals to them more. Opposition leader Naoto Kan, one of Japan's most impressive new leaders, wants to do away with "administrative guidance" and rely on the market, but he also wants a better safety net in place.

### *American culture promotes globalization, while Japanese culture slows it.*

To return to our opening multiple choice quiz, this brief survey of U.S. and Japanese attitudes indicates just how culturally fraught economic globalization can be. The answer to our question on the connection between culture and globalization truly is "all of the above." That is, globalization has spread both American and Japanese culture, the former far more than the latter. At the same time, people in both nations are worried that globalization will destroy or further erode their communities. As they look abroad, they filter their own and each other's responses to globalization through certain cultural prisms. Those cultural attributes in turn have an impact on globalization. The intrusiveness of globalization in the context of cultural differences often stirs up mutual resentment. With some very important exceptions, America's civic society, however flawed, is relatively better suited to both designing

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and adapting to the universal, impersonal, efficiency-driven dynamic of globalization than Japanese society.

Put another way, in the short term American culture has promoted the forces of globalization, while Japanese culture has blunted its adoption. America's free-wheeling efficiency has tolerated serious social problems, while Japanese concern for order translates into a courteous and law-abiding society.

Over time, globalization will inevitably induce greater transparency, deregulation, and open markets in Japan. Likewise, American critics are likely to be somewhat more successful in gaining or promoting higher labor and environmental standards at the global level, and in improving education and training at home. In short, the two sides will move a little closer together.

### American Triumphalism

In the meantime, tensions will continue. On the whole, America's booming economy and bouncing expansion abroad are good news for the global economic system. But such prosperity makes many foreigners doubly suspicious that Americans are preaching globalization to promote their own narrow economic interests. Now that many American leaders are in a triumphalist mood, there is more danger than ever that America's characteristic assertiveness will rub foreigners the wrong way. Americans genuinely believe that what works for them is also good for others, and in many cases they are more right than wrong. But the way they express this message can sound patronizing or imperious.

U.S. leaders must realize that America's festering social problems, combined with a tendentious attitude about the failings of others, damage America's leadership role in promoting globalization. These negative traits

## FOCUS

strengthen the hand of autocratic leaders abroad, especially those who gain political mileage by publicly criticizing the United States. (A good example is Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamad, prime minister of Malaysia, for whom the United States has become a favorite public whipping boy.)

Understanding the interaction of culture and globalization is not just an academic exercise. If the local press in Japan shrilly denounces American "bullying," a trade minister or head of state who comes to Washington to negotiate will be under great pressure to appear firm and unyielding. In these circumstances, an agreement will become less likely, or at least less conducive to perceived American "demands."

Cultural understanding is also a two-way street. It is true that educated foreigners typically know many more facts about America than their American counterparts know about their countries. This is especially true in Japan, where university entrance examinations ask students to regurgitate obscure details of U.S. history. But in Japan and elsewhere, understanding of the American experience is often weak, and images are distorted.

As for the future, the globalization race is not to the strong, but to the flexible. The more rigid and insecure a nation's citizens are about the ability of their culture to endure, the more likely they are to be left behind. But American culture needs to place a greater emphasis on equity at home and cooperation abroad. Other societies will adopt forms of capitalism that are cozier and less rigorous than many economists would like. With luck, the world will witness a new pluralism — a global community in which local cultures and traditions flourish within an ever more integrated economy. ■

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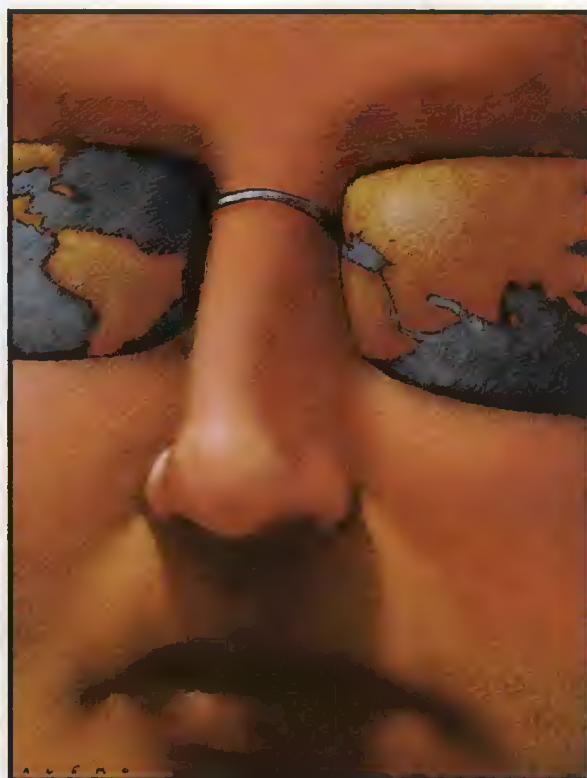
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# WHAT DIDN'T WE KNOW, AND WHEN DIDN'T WE KNOW IT?



ART VALERO

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U.S. AGENCIES FAILED TO REPORT ADEQUATELY ON THE ASIAN FINANCIAL DEBACLE. HERE'S WHY.

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*By Robert Fauver*

he recent financial and economic crisis in East Asia has led observers to ask once again the age-old question: "Why was I not informed?" Senior officials both in the State Department and in other agencies have asked staff members why we were so surprised by the turn of events in Asia and why we underestimated the magnitude of the problems even after we were in the midst of the crisis.

To answer this question intelligently, we have to review how we got to the level of reporting we have today. During the 1980s the role of economics in diplomacy and foreign relations was on the rise. Policy-makers began to see a need to integrate economic issues into broader strategic thinking and policy approaches. First the developing country debt crisis of

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### *State and Treasury reporting did not pick up on the huge financial market pressures building up in East Asia.*

1984-85 increased policy-makers' awareness of the interrelationship between economic events in less developed nations and the U.S. banking system and indeed the global financial system. They became more aware of the rising dependence of the U.S. economy on exports and hence on the health of the global economy.

A series of events followed the debt crisis which heightened awareness of the integration of the U.S. economy into the world marketplace: the U.S.-Canadian Free Trade Agreement; the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations; the emergence of market economics in Eastern Europe. A sharply rising U.S. trade deficit and perceived weak export performance seemed to require an increase in business-related reporting. All these factors led to new demands on the State Department to provide high-quality economic and financial data, analysis, and reporting.

The department, through a variety of "instructions" and enhanced emphasis in ambassadorial training, focused embassy resources on economics. While emphasis was placed on issues related directly to U.S. firms doing business in the host economy and helping U.S. firms obtain contracts, some of the new attention included macroeconomic developments, exchange rates, and capital flows. Embassies provided assistance to endless visiting trade negotiating teams and the department actively participated in the design and implementation of trade policies. They also reported on economic trends, providing quantitative updates on evolving economic conditions in host countries.

Commerce, Agriculture, and Treasury department overseas attachés (where they existed) played active roles on embassy country teams.

Fundamentally, the focus on economic and financial issues remained steady until the government-wide budget cutting exercises of the early 1990s. Reductions in over-

seas staffs — not only Foreign Service officers but others as well — shifted the focus and emphasis of economic reporting. Consulates closed, reducing the economic information coming from major cities and regions in a number of important countries. Staff reductions eliminated economic "cone" positions overseas. Less time and resources were devoted to current analysis of economic and financial developments. Less time was spent on

compiling the data needed for detailed economic trend reports. In many countries, trend reports were eliminated. Department managers suggested, "This material can be found on the Internet, and is available to the public, so why should we spend resources compiling it?" The bottom line of the cost cutting was a significant reduction in the quantity and quality of embassy economic reporting.

State was not alone in cutting back on economic reporting. Treasury, also under budgetary pressures, reduced its overseas personnel in important countries. Posts in Canada and Italy and Brazil were closed, and assistant attaché positions in France and Germany were eliminated. And Treasury encouraged the process of outsourcing economic data and analysis. Senior management believed that private sector analysis surpassed internal products in quality and market insights. It hence encouraged the use of "street" analysis in lieu of internally generated data and analysis. With both State and Treasury emphasizing analysis already available to the market, it is not surprising that the government was not in a position to detect when markets were misreading risks that were building in the system. (At the same time, embassies noted an increase in the number of visits by U.S. bankers and businessmen to receive in-country briefings on economic developments. It's significant that American business seems to use embassy economic analysis more than Washington does.)

Vast amounts of data and analysis are currently available from public sources. Wall Street and other financial centers, economic consulting firms, and think tanks have expanded significantly over the last 10 years. But political economic reporting and analysis from embassies is needed to provide the context of events, local insights, knowl-

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*Robert Fauver is a career civil servant currently working as coordinator of India sanctions for the under secretary of State for economic affairs. He just returned from a tour as national intelligence officer for economics at the National Intelligence Council and was previously the president's "sherpa" for the G-7 economic summits.*

edge of political leaders and the decision-making process, and the ground feel that is not publicly available. State Department specialists are uniquely placed to report on discussions with key policy-makers and business leaders which supplement public analysis. Additionally, embassies can offer commentary on the quality of the data provided by local governments. Public analysis rarely offers judgments on the quality of the data, simply blindly reporting it to customers. Much as the government engages in a considerable effort to collect and analyze domestic economic information despite the public availability of data and analysis produced by the private sector, so too does the U.S. government need to have its own analysis of foreign economic issues. Evaluating various publicly available analyses with varying conclusions helps senior policy-makers anticipate events and formulate appropriate responses.

The Clinton administration entered its first term carrying the famous refrain — “It’s the economy, stupid!” — from the campaign. The National Economic Council was established with the stated aim of doing for economic policy what the National Security Council had long done for foreign policy. The international economics office from the NSC became a joint office servicing both the NEC and the NSC. International economic policy meetings were chaired by the NEC, the NSC or both.

But in the formulation of strategic foreign policy goals, the role of economics was hard to see. The splitting off of economic issues from the core NSC areas of concern seemed to provide an excuse for the foreign policy community to ignore those issues. The foreign policy community essentially argued, “That is an economic issue, so the NEC will handle it.” This artificial dividing of foreign policy into economic issues to be handled by the NEC and all other issues to remain in the NSC domain led to an ultimate downplaying of economics within the State Department. And as a result, the resources devoted to economic and financial issues declined in both quality and quantity.

### **East European Boomlet**

During the early 1990s, the demand for financial data and economic information about the rapidly changing economies of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union skyrocketed. Embassy resources moved into economic and trade areas in Eastern Europe. Washington supported efforts by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development to develop a new center

for economies in transition. AID budgets rose for the first time in years. The bloom was back on the rose for economics. After the breakup of the Soviet Union, new embassies were established quickly and newly minted economic officers went into the field. For the first time in memory, economic reports coming out of Moscow were read by non-economist policy planners. Considerable effort went into the reporting of new data and trend analysis in this region.

In late 1993 and early '94, Mexico faced economic and financial collapse. The peso exchange rate came under severe attack and domestic banks faced runs on deposits. The IMF sent teams to study the problem and recommend economic policy changes for Mexican authorities. The Treasury Department undertook lengthy and detailed negotiations with their Mexican counterparts in the Ministry of Finance and Central Bank.

Concern that Mexican-style financial problems might also be found elsewhere in Latin America led to spillover pressures on the exchange rates and financial markets in other regional economies, as they became targets for speculators and fearful investors. This spread of crises in confidence throughout the region became known as the “Tequila effect.” Serious concerns arose about the stability of international stock markets and commercial banking systems. Observers wondered which country would become the “next Mexico.”

Senior policy officials in the White House and the Department called for more and more economic and financial data and analysis. Some observers asked why we needed to rush to acquire data that should have already been available to analysts and policy-makers. But during the crisis atmosphere, little attention stayed with these “why” questions. And post-crisis, managers moved on to new problems instead of re-scrubbing the questions about our lack of preparedness for the Mexican peso collapse.

**D**uring the 1980s and up through the Mexican crisis, financial problems by and large derived from sovereign debt problems and fixed or pegged exchange rates. Governments had engaged in excessive borrowing from international sources — largely commercial banks. The loans bore the “full faith and credit” guarantee of the national government. The risks of these borrowings were largely seen by lenders as sovereign risk questions — would the government stand by its obliga-

tions? After all, governments rarely declared bankruptcy. But the debt crisis of the mid-'80s caused lenders to question the ability of governments to service their overseas debts. Efforts by State and economic analysts in Treasury were therefore focused on collecting data on the size of official borrowings by governments. Similar focus on the ability of governments to service debt centered on foreign exchange reserves and earning power, the level and growth of exports, and the use to which the loan proceeds had been put. Lenders wanted to know if governments were using the borrowings for profitable investments or for current consumption. Data could be acquired either from the borrowing government or from the rather limited number of commercial banks engaged in international lending.

Little attention was given to the emerging private market activity in developing countries. The large growth of mutual funds in the United States provided sizable investment reserves searching for profitable equity and bond purchases. Commercial banks believed that corporate borrowers in the developing world were creditworthy and increased their exposure accordingly — taking advantage of wide spreads between sharply declining borrowing rates in the U.S. and still high lending rates in rapidly growing countries. Private capital quickly swamped the size of official capital flows and private borrowings by firms in the developing countries surpassed the size of government borrowings. In 1988, official lending to less developed countries significantly exceeded private flows, but in 1998, private lending amounts to some seven times the level of official lending.

During the 1980s several economies in Asia experienced rapid economic development. South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, Indonesia and Thailand led the way with double-digit real growth throughout the period. These rapidly growing economies followed a strikingly different growth strategy than did their counterparts in Latin America. They emphasized the role of private capital flows in financing development and lessened the role of government borrowings. In Thailand, for example, at the peak of the growth period, private capital inflows amounted to some 11 percent of GDP. Each country focused on the

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developments.*

development of a commercial banking sector as the primary source of domestic investment funds.

Basing their financial market policies on perceptions of a successful Japanese model, they encouraged close relationships between domestic banks and corporate borrowers — in effect discouraging the development of domestic equity and bond markets. To protect their domestic institutions, each erected (or maintained) barriers to foreign financial firms and the outflow of

their own capital to other markets. The one-way flow of foreign capital, combined with successful efforts to raise domestic savings rates, led to a huge increase in investment and subsequent decline in profit margins and returns on investment.

Governments in these rapidly growing and increasingly democratic Asian economies also leaned on commercial banks to provide loans to selected firms or projects. The use of commercial bank lending in support of social policies or growth strategies unfortunately shifted the focus of bank activities from profitability to compliance with official mandates.

As early as the mid-'80s the Treasury Department recognized financial market problems in Asia. It engaged the “Asian tigers” in exchange rate discussions, based on a belief that these countries were fostering undervalued exchange rates in order to encourage exports and domestic growth. The countries responded with Southeast Asian nations pegging their currencies to the U.S. dollar and with South Korea letting the won appreciate substantially. Treasury also engaged a few of these countries in financial market liberalization negotiations in hopes of opening their markets to increased competition from U.S. and other foreign financial firms. This effort had some success, especially in South Korea, which was pushing hard for OECD membership at the time.

But by and large, State and Treasury economic and financial reporting did not adjust to this changing situation and did not pick up on the huge financial market pressures that were building up as a result. Often host governments did not publish sufficiently detailed data to offer insights into more fluid financial market situations. Central banks often misstated their official reserve data. Export data in

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Thailand were inflated by false reporting caused by corruption. Embassy officers did their best to provide qualitative judgments on their host countries' data, but probably did not emphasize sufficiently the extent of corrupt and falsified information.



As analysts increasingly used and believed market signals — most of which were rosy — everyone thought that these tigers were performing extremely well and soundly. Since they seemed to be avoiding old problems of amassing public sector deficits and sovereign debt buildups, and were beginning to liberalize their financial markets, the IMF and World Bank annually congratulated the Newly Industrialized Countries — as they came to be called — for their outstanding growth policies.









### Exporting the Japanese Model

Japan has played a major role in the Asian financial crisis from two different perspectives. First — and perhaps

most importantly — Japan provided the development model followed, more or less, by the emerging Asian economies. Secondly, the continued domestic economic problems in Japan since its own financial bubble collapsed in 1989 spilled over into reduced demand for imports from the rest of Asia. The growth slowdown caused Japanese banks to search for new borrowers in Southeast Asia and South Korea as demand for borrowing in Japan faltered. The resulting surge in lending to new borrowers added to their private debt buildup.

Japan's economic development model puts a very great emphasis on the high domestic savings rates and the funneling of those savings to domestic industry. Following a German model, Japan established a postal savings system to collect small savers' funds and to aggregate those funds for government-sponsored lending. Japan encouraged the development of a commercial banking sector which received deposits at very low interest rate costs and lent to

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preferred customers also at low interest rates. The banks were protected from both internal and international competition by government policies, much as banking markets and interest rates were controlled in the United States through the 1970s. Japanese banks were encouraged via administrative guidance to extend loans either to preferred industrial firms or to projects that the government wished to see financed. On the corporate side, firms that needed to borrow were forced into the hands of commercial bankers — usually the core banks of the Keiretsu organization which owned stock shares in the borrowing firms — since the government explicitly retarded the growth of a domestic equity market and bond market. At the same time, firms that might have been tempted to circumvent the commercial bank lock on funds by engaging in international borrowing were restricted in doing so by government capital controls.

One direct consequence of this “Japanese model” for both Japan and the other countries who adopted the model was excessive short-term yen borrowing by corporations, leading to a highly leveraged firm position. That meant that firms were extremely vulnerable to movements in short-term interest rates. Where firms in countries with more developed and competitive capital markets judiciously balanced equity, long-term bond and short-term bank financing, Japanese firms relied on a disproportional amount of short-term bank financing. Banks were not let off the hook either, since they had to compete with the subsidized government postal savings system and they also carried unprofitable loans made at the direction of government officials instead of being based on economic merits.

The near-zero economic growth of the Japanese economy since 1993 also directly influenced the Asian financial situation. During the early and mid-’90s, Japanese banks engaged in heavy lending to Southeast Asia and South Korea. With cheap yen-based deposits available to them but faced with low domestic demand for loans, banks turned to overseas markets for profitable interest rate spreads. First focusing on the subsidiaries of Japanese corporations, then turning to local borrowers, Japanese banks pushed out sizable loan funds. This growing source of

*By the mid-1990s,  
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mental borrowing  
which had been the  
focus of earlier  
financial crises.*

funding led to excessive investment in the Asian economies, which in turn fostered financial bubbles in real estate and equity markets in Southeast Asia. At the same time, the slowdown in Japanese domestic growth also restricted the growth of exports from Southeast Asia to Japan, in turn retarding the growth potential for these borrowers, and reducing the profitability of the very firms undertaking the commercial bank borrowings.

During the second half of 1996, a number of government and private sector analysts began to express increasing concern about the buildup of commercial debt in Thailand and the run-up in the stock and real estate markets. The IMF itself had recommended macro policy changes — which Thai authorities had not adopted — aimed at cooling off the domestic economy.

But analysts did not anticipate the interlinkages between problems in Thailand’s financial markets and the rest of Southeast Asia, let alone South Korea — that became evident in the summer of 1997 when the baht was forced to devalue. Most observers viewed Thailand as a single problem and, in fact, one that made little or no difference to the regional economy and certainly posed no direct threat to U.S. or world financial markets. The annual fall 1997 meetings of the IMF and World Bank brought continued praise for the region’s economic performance and its policies.

While hindsight is usually 20-20, a strong case can be made that serious analysts should have seen the problems coming in the emerging financial markets of the region. Careful collection of and reporting on the level of international borrowings by East Asia’s corporations and banks would have indicated the dangers.

One major problem was the massive debt exposure to the international community; the Asian firms had borrowed great sums denominated in foreign currencies. So when their domestic currencies dropped in value, they had tremendous debt servicing problems. Analysis of bank regulator information would have shed at least some light on the quality of domestic bank loan portfolios in the Asian economies — starting with a detailed review of Japanese

bank lending to the region. Better review and analysis of domestic corporation annual reports and financial data could have indicated the extent of the reliance on short-term bank credit and the increasing vulnerability to liquidity problems of the corporate structures in Indonesia, South Korea and Malaysia, in particular.

In addition to more focused analysis of the private sector borrowing and lending in the region, more contact with American financial firms would have provided additional insights into the potential vulnerabilities in the region. While none of the individual financial firms had added the pieces of the puzzle together before the crisis emerged, many of them had specific concerns which could have been pieced together to tell more of the story than each individually had to say. In all, it makes a good case for the need for government analysis of the publicly available information.

By and large, what financial and economic reporting was provided by embassies concentrated on the macroeconomic developments in the host country. Inflation performance, real growth conditions and outlook, export and import growth rates and some reporting of macroeconomic policy performance were available — these were the issues which had signaled previous financial problems in less developed countries. But the United States had not recognized the differences in Asian reliance on private sector borrowing from the classic problems of sovereign debt in Latin America. As a result, no attention was given to the emergence of sizable external debt obligations by the private firms. And no focus on the international borrowing by domestic commercial banks was provided.

Lastly, embassy reporting did not include analysis of the operations of central banks in the region. We did not learn that one central bank had placed its foreign exchange reserves on deposit with domestic banks and as a result they were not available to be used for exchange market intervention when the currency was attacked. In another case, we did not know that central banks had engaged in forward sales of reserves (promising to provide on a future date a given amount of domestic currency at a set exchange rate) in an effort to stabilize current rates. When a central bank does this, the result is that published reserve figures significantly overstate the country's true available foreign exchange reserves, which leads to overly optimistic views on the strength of the central bank position. The illiquidity of central bank reserves was a serious problem as the crisis deepened.

### **Reporting During the Crisis**

Embassies rose to the occasion once the crisis emerged. Most of the embassies in the region started issuing daily situation reports on key financial data and economic data — exchange rates, interest rates, central bank policy changes and money supply, and the like. Reporting also included discussion of the local financial market's confidence levels, mood, trends, and the market's own analysis of the situation.

But this daily discussion, while important and needed in Washington, is only part of the support required from overseas staff. There also needs to be reporting and analysis on the policy discussions going on in capitals. Washington needs to understand more fully the philosophy of key leaders and decision-makers in the host country. Information is needed on the role of elites in the decision-making process. Classic political reporting is needed to more fully understand the political environment in which economic policy choices are being made. Little attention has been given to the interplay of domestic politics and economics.

Analysts also need to understand better the structural changes occurring in Asian economies. Microeconomic coverage of manufacturing, retail, banking, financial markets and the like have received scant attention in recent years. Additionally, reporting on regulatory reforms, or lack thereof, has not been sufficient in the Asian context. Bank regulation or the audit review of commercial bank loan portfolios has not been well covered. Legal reforms, such as bankruptcy laws, which can provide critical support for debt workouts, have not been analyzed sufficiently.

### **Can We Do Better?**

Several changes in current staffing and reporting requirements might prepare the State Department more appropriately for future potential financial crisis — either in Asia or elsewhere. Ongoing reporting and analysis requirements should reflect changes in borrowing and lending patterns that have emerged in recent years with more attention given to understanding the role of private sector borrowing. Training for economic officers should include material on corporate balance sheets so that reporters would be able to analyze the strength and weaknesses of key private sector actors. Better integration of economic and political section coverage of crisis situations would provide fuller coverage of the domestic ramifications of policy debates.

## F O C U S

Plans could be established to provide "surge" teams which could comprise technically trained experts who could be assigned temporarily to an economic or financial crisis situation. They would be charged with providing detailed analysis of the situation, possible policy solutions, and policy debates taking place in the crisis country. The team could draw personnel either from State or could be expanded to include Treasury, Federal Reserve, Commerce or other technical agency representatives.

A surge team would free up resident embassy resources for better political economy reporting which would integrate domestic politics and economics. Given future staffing patterns, we can assume that embassies will be short-staffed. Surge teams would augment resources at critical times either after a crisis had emerged, or whenever Washington decided that it faced a potential crisis situation.

These measures could strengthen the economic and financial reporting from individual countries and help alert Washington to potential problems. But the changes would not affect the ability of Washington to integrate individual country analysis into regional or global analytical approaches. One problem that the latest crisis has highlighted is that Washington does not integrate individual country analysis into broader perspectives particularly well. Country desks do not engage in much cross-talk with other desks. Reports to senior policy makers rarely provide a regional oversight to an emerging situation, focusing instead on individual country problems. If State and other agencies are able to develop a regional or even a global perspective, the U.S. will find itself better prepared when the next crisis breaks out. ■

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# THE FSO WHO DID IT ALL

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HOW AFSA AWARD WINNER LARRY EAGLEBURGER  
WENT FROM CAREER FSO TO SECRETARY OF STATE

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By BOB GULDIN

**I**f you know nothing else about Larry Eagleburger, you probably know this: He is the first and only career Foreign Service officer to make it to the top — to become secretary of State.

Within Foreign Service circles, that's a powerful claim to fame. And this month, the veteran diplomat adds another laurel to his long list of honors. On June 23, Eagleburger is slated to receive AFSA's Award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy.

Eagleburger earned his honors by combining a workaholic's dedication with a reputation as a superb manager.

He also has a reputation for plain speaking which is rare among career diplomats and which won him friends on Capitol Hill.

Back in 1992, when he was deputy secretary of State, Rep. David Obey (D-Wisc.) told the *National Journal*, "He's a no-bullshit guy. When you ask him a question, you get a simple answer. His asset is his frankness and bluntness."

Former ambassador to Israel Samuel Lewis seconded Obey's assessment: "He's salty, explosive, down to earth, and that appeals to Congress. He's a real straight shooter."

When you meet Larry Eagleburger, that frankness comes across clearly. "You mind if I smoke?" he asks. "If you do, we'll have to take the interview outside," he says with a smile. (You know very well he's

not going outside.) Indeed, Eagleburger's smoking is something of a hallmark, a sign of his determination to be himself, despite the damage it's done to his health. (He's been seen with a cigarette in one hand and an asthma inhaler in another.)

A muscle disease, myasthenia gravis, forces Eagleburger to walk with a cane and to consume large amounts of steroids, with inevitable side-effects. Despite that, he continues to work as an international business consultant and as a director of several major corporations.

Eagleburger grew up in Milwaukee and went to college at the University of Wisconsin. That's also where he started his lifelong connection with the Republican Party. In the early 1950s, he was vice chairman of the Wisconsin Young Republicans, when Melvin Laird — later House Republican leader and secretary of defense — was chairman.

He joined the Foreign Service in 1957, and his first posting was in Tegueigalpa, Honduras. He did a tour in Yugoslavia, and had several assignments working on European and NATO issues, including a year on the National Security Council staff.

## The Kissinger Connection

In November 1968, in a fortuitous appointment, he was named Henry Kissinger's assistant during the Nixon presidential transition. The Kissinger connection took hold, and was significant for Eagleburger well into the 1980s.

---

*Bob Guldin is the editor of the Journal.*

At the start of the Nixon administration, he became executive assistant to Kissinger, Nixon's national security adviser. Later that year, he was assigned to the U.S. mission to NATO in Brussels, then spent a couple of years in the Department of Defense.

In 1971, he returned to the White House national security staff, then followed Kissinger to the State Department, first as executive assistant to the secretary, later as deputy under secretary for management.

Asked about his former boss, Eagleburger calls Kissinger "one of the true greats of American diplomacy. He was a superb mind at work — it was fun to watch."

The Carter years found Eagleburger in Yugoslavia again, this time as ambassador.

After Ronald Reagan's election, Eagleburger's Republican connections again served him well. He moved up to become assistant secretary for European affairs, and in 1982 under secretary of State for political affairs.

In 1984, he left the department, becoming president of Kissinger Associates Inc., a high-powered international consulting firm.

In 1989, he re-entered government as deputy secretary of State under James Baker. When Baker was called away in August 1992 to head George Bush's re-election campaign, Eagleburger became acting secretary of State. In December 1992, he was officially appointed secretary of State for the remainder of Bush's term — a brief stint, but a moment of glory nonetheless.



VINT LAWRENCE

While he's clearly proud of his unique achievement as the only FSO to become secretary, he makes clear that "I came back to the department as a political appointee. I was fairly active in Republican politics, I worked with Henry Kissinger. That made it easy for Bush to appoint me. I didn't come to that job a virgin."

Our interview took place in the elegant Pennsylvania Ave. law offices of Baker, Donelson, Bernan and Caldwell, where Eagleburger is a senior foreign policy adviser.

What is Eagleburger, a non-lawyer, doing in a law firm?

"I'm a consultant with companies that have problems overseas," he says. "If it's a legal problem,

*(Continued on page 35)*

AFSA  
AWARD  
WINNERS

# *In Action*

Ed McWilliams, at the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, has been in the thick of the recent upheaval in Indonesian politics. Here he is on May 7 visiting political prisoners in jail for staging a political-labor demonstration. McWilliams won this year's Christian A. Herter Award for constructive dissent.



Harriman Award winner William Davies Sohier at the visa line at Embassy Mexico City. A junior officer on a rotational tour, he was at that time the deputy chief of the embassy's nonimmigrant visa unit. He is now in the political section.



Community liason officer Linda Ahmed (right), winner of the M. Juanita Guess Award, has been helping embassy family members develop their own businesses. Toby Davis has had success creating blankets, placemats and other goods out of Bedouin tent material in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.

# AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association



## Governing Board

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State Vice President: vacant  
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AFSA News Editor: Pally Gilbert

## AFSA HONORS EXCEPTIONAL SERVICE

**I**n a noon ceremony June 23 in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room at State the American Foreign Service Association will pay tribute to seven members of our community whose engagement, energy, integrity and innovation have distinguished them. AFSA is proud to honor these special people employed across the broad mandate of the Foreign Service around the world. Whether in response to global diplomatic challenges, to civil rebellion, to rapidly changing information technology or to family adaptation in a new culture, our winners share one characteristic: commitment to the Service.

The 1998 AFSA Award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy goes to Lawrence S. Eagleburger who performed his career diplomatic duties with distinction for nearly three decades. From his first assignment in 1957 as an economic officer in Tegucigalpa, to his work with NATO and the National Security Council in the sixties, to his tenure at Defense, to his ambassadorship in Yugoslavia, Eagleburger set new standards for directness, management and dedication. While serving Acheson, Katzenbach, Kissinger, Carter, Reagan and Bush, he carved his own style of diplomacy—one characterized by

candor and admired by his peers—long before becoming Secretary of State Eagleburger.

To a trove of awards garnered over a long career Eagleburger added an honorary knighthood from Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II, in 1994. He now joins the ranks of other distinguished recipients of AFSA's highest award—the late U. Alexis Johnson, Frank C. Carlucci and George Herbert Walker Bush. A profile of Eagleburger by FSJ Editor Bob Guldin, along with an interview, is featured in this issue of the *Journal*.

For FSOs who have exhibited extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and constructive dissent, the Christian A. Herter Award goes to a member of the Senior Foreign Service, the William R. Rivkin Award to mid-career officers and the W. Averell Harriman Award to junior officers. The Delavan Award celebrates the

exceptional accomplishments of a Foreign Service secretary. The Community Liaison Officer is acknowledged through the M. Juanita Guess Award, and the Avis Bahlen Award goes to a member of the family of a Foreign Service employee who has developed relations in the foreign and American community which contribute to U.S. interests.

Congratulations to all.



Lawrence S. Eagleburger

LIFETIME CONTRIBUTIONS TO DIPLOMACY AWARD WINNER:  
LAWRENCE S. EAGLEBURGER

## CHRISTIAN A. HERTER AWARD WINNER:

# EDMUND McWILLIAMS



Edmund McWilliams

**F**or his resolute intellectual courage and integrity, Edmund McWilliams is the recipient of the Christian A. Herter Award for 1998.

Long before Suharto's resignation, Political Counselor McWilliams had a seemingly prescient view of Indonesia's imminent political transition. No individual within the Embassy did more to promote a U.S. reappraisal of the distribution of benefits from Indonesia's economic growth and of the nation's readiness for fundamental political reform than did McWilliams. Said Political Officer W. Gary Gray, "Never have I served with anyone more aggressive and tenacious in challenging existing policies, while encouraging lively debate of the issues in the Embassy."

It is his preference for eyewitness accounts and authoritative social reporting

that took him to the front line of protesters against Suharto's 30-year rule—and earned him a police caning for his role as observer. For the past two years, according to Labor Attaché Gregory G. Fergin, "He has tirelessly demonstrated that there is no substitute in a changing political environment for firsthand reporting." In the course of widening the "people's beat," McWilliams spurred others "to get out of the office more and balance the views of elite commentators with a good feel for the mood and argot of the streets."

McWilliams was born in Mohegan, R.I., and received a bachelor's degree from the University of Rhode Island and a master's degree from Ohio University. He was awarded the Joint Service Commendation Medal for service in Vietnam. Since joining the Service in 1975, he has served in nine overseas posts.

## WILLIAM R. RIVKIN AWARD WINNER:

# HANSCOM SMITH



Hanscom Smith

**T**he William R. Rivkin Award for 1998 is conferred on Hanscom Smith for his consistent articulation of strong, independent views in the analytical and policy formulation process at Embassy Phnom Penh. He is further recognized for the risks he took to promote and protect the human rights of political leaders and endangered individuals in Cambodia.

Based on his superb command of the Khmer language, his range of contacts and his willingness to offer contrary viewpoints, Smith played a central role as Embassy Phnom Penh tracked a deteriorating civil situation. Embassy analyses were developed during extensive debate and discussion in which Smith vigorously presented independent and often differing assessments which shaped, to a significant degree, the Embassy's analyses.

As a roving reporter, Smith assessed the political climate below the surface in the capital. As the post human rights affixer, he maintained a wide range of contacts which assured fuller information and better analysis. This connection, however, also put Hanscom into dangerous situations in which he displayed courage in carrying out his duties in the face of significant personal risk.

Smith holds a certificate from L'Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Paris, a bachelor's degree from Georgetown University School of Foreign Service and a master's degree in European studies from the London School of Economics and Political Science. He has also had FS assignments to Yaounde and Copenhagen.

Karen Decker was runner-up for the Rivkin Award for her work as a Political/Economic officer in Sarajevo.

## W. AVERELL HARRIMAN AWARD WINNER: WILLIAM DAVIES SOHIER

**W**illiam Davies Sohier is winner of the W. Averell Harriman Award for his exceptional performance as Acting Deputy Chief of the Nonimmigrant Visa Unit in Mexico City. Sohier assumed the job during a period of crisis occasioned by the unexpected departure of the chief and deputy chief of the unit and the disruptive transition from one visa processing system to another.

According to the nominating officer, Richard F. Gonzalez, under normal circumstances, the deputy nonimmigrant visa chief's job in Mexico City is "one of the most challenging mid-level jobs in the world. Add to that the introduction of a new generation of visa processing software, requiring extensive retraining of all staff, the installation of a user-pay visa information and appointment system, and the introduction of an in-house package

delivery service for successful applicants, and you have a job that would seriously challenge any seasoned mid-level consular officer, let alone a relative novice."

Prepared when necessary to assert views differing from those of Washington and senior post management, Sohier urged solutions grounded in the reality of visa issuance in Mexico and concern for the welfare of visa applicants, thereby minimizing visa processing disruptions.

Sohier graduated from Harvard College and Suffolk University Law School and also received an LL.M. in taxation from Boston University Law School. He is a Sloan Management Fellow from Landon Business School. Before joining the Foreign Service in 1994, he practiced law in Boston. Sohier is now working in the Political Section in Mexico City.



William Davies Sohier

## DELAVAN AWARD WINNER: JOYCE HARLEY

**T**he Delavan Award, presented to a Foreign Service secretary who has made extraordinary contributions to effectiveness, professionalism and morale, goes to Joyce Harley for her service as secretary to the ambassador in Phnom Penh.

During a difficult and dangerous period in Cambodia, Harley's official performance was exemplary. Her admirable work on the interagency team contributed to the team's award-winning political reporting; Harley was one of only two secretaries in the foreign affairs community honored for such work.

As the security situation in Cambodia deteriorated and the potential for criminal and political violence increased, Harley's actions within the community did much to raise morale. In a post

where 25 Embassy staff and dependents were involved in life-threatening incidents over a 19-month period, Harley's empathy, her ability to deal with crises and her remarkable calm allowed her and those around her to provide support and solace at times of emergency.

In his nomination of Joyce Harley for the Delavan Award, Ambassador Quinn wrote that her "personal graciousness and never ending good cheer helped a beleaguered Embassy community cope with the intimidating threats we increasingly faced."

More than anyone, Harley took it upon herself to raise flagging spirits within the Embassy community. She was the driving force in the creation of a new interagency quality of life committee which set about to systematically create

opportunities and schedule events which would provide diversions.

Harley's other accomplishments included coordination of successful official functions such as the Fourth of July picnic which set a new standard for national day events in Cambodia. "The prime minister was so enthralled that he stayed for an hour and a half," according to the ambassador.

Harley is now secretary to the ambassador in Budapest.

Phyllis Gain, Administrative Assistant to the Principal Officer, Consulate Hermosillo, was runner-up for the Delavan Award for her "initiative and stamina in carrying out American foreign policy and her hard work in the reinvention of the AmConsul Hermosillo."

## M. JUANITA GUESS AWARD WINNER:

## LINDA AHMED



Linda Ahmed

**T**he M. Juanita Guess Award goes to the Community Liaison Officer "... who has demonstrated outstanding dedication, energy and imagination in assisting the families of Americans serving at an overseas post."

Linda Ahmed, this year's award winner, was nominated by a group of 15 FSOs, staff and community members in Riyadh, where Ahmed has been CLO since 1996, who believe she is exceptional in her initiative and commitment to the well-being of the community. Ahmed was singled out for her dedication to the Service, much more than full-time work in a part-time job, support for newcomers and families, hard work in program development, representation in numerous organizations, advocacy for the underrepresented—all coupled with superb teamwork

with management. In a post considered difficult and culturally isolated, Ahmed's "... cheerful resourcefulness, steady reliability and enormous energy continue to enrich the American Embassy community today," said one officer.

Born and raised in Maryland, Ahmed received a bachelor's degree in sociology. She is married to FSO Naim Ahmed and they have two children. She has been posted with her family in Dharan, Brasilia, Amman and Manila, where she was involved in volunteer activities and cited by the ambassadors for her contributions to the embassy community. Ahmed also worked as a library assistant in international schools in Dharan, Brasilia and Amman.

Eliana Saxton, Embassy Antananarivo, was runner-up for the M. Juanita Guess Award.

## AVIS BOHLEN AWARD WINNER:

## JULIE ABBOT MURPHY



Julie Abbot Murphy

**J**ulie Abbot Murphy, Embassy The Hague, is the recipient of the Avis Bohlen Award for 1998.

Established by the late Pamela Harriman, the Bohlen Award honors the memory of Avis Bohlen, wife of the late Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen. This award recognizes "a member of a family of a Foreign Service employee whose relations with the American and foreign communities at a Foreign Service post have done the most to advance the interests of the United States."

Murphy was nominated for her excellent achievements as president of the American Embassy Group, a nonprofit volunteer organization comprising 220 Embassy families, as a very active member of the American Women's Club and as a leader in outreach to the Dutch community, particularly the needy. In addition to managing traditional AEG activities,

Murphy created the Caring Committee, a means of support to the community in times of personal need or crisis, and secured the designation of the AEG as a State Department-approved Embassy body. For these accomplishments and her "boundless community spirit and generous nature" Murphy was enthusiastically nominated for this award by Chargé d'Affaires William P. Pope.

A native of Louisville, Ga., Murphy received a bachelor's degree at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and a master's degree from the University of Georgia. She served as legislative assistant and later legislature director for Senator Sam Nunn. She is married to FSO Sean Murphy; they have a son, Jack, six, and a daughter, Lisa, three.

Jan E. Keith, Embassy Seoul, was runner-up for the Bohlen Award.

## FOREIGN SERVICE DAY OBSERVED



(Left) AFSA Pres. Don Geisler and FS Director General Edward W. Gnehm Jr. lead a moment of silence before the Memorial Plaque during the ceremony at which the name of Leslionne Shedd was unveiled. (Right) The Shedd family attended the Memorial Plaque ceremony. Flanking the Plaque are her parents, Ruth and Robert Shedd, brother Dorin and sister Corinne. Ms. Shedd was recognized for her courage and concern for others prior to the crash of an Ethiopian Airways flight off the Comoros Nov. 23, 1996, following a hijacking.



AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award winners were recognized on Foreign Service Day. Representing the 29 winners were, left to right, Elizabeth Noch, David Hutchinson, Ariono Guss and Katherine Stocking. AFSA Education Committee Chair Ed Dillery presented the certificates.



FS Director General Edward W. Gnehm Jr. hosted the FS Day events. He is pictured introducing the luncheon speaker, Counselor of the Department Wendy Sherman, in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room.

Mary Ryan, Assistant Secretary of State for Consular Affairs, addressed the first plenary on "New Consular Strategies."



L. Bruce Loingen received the Foreign Service Cup of DACOR, presented by DACOR President Joan Clark, for 50 years of public service. Loingen and his wife, Penelope (for right), were joined on the occasion by their son, Lt. Cmdr. Charles Loingen, daughter-in-law Louro, and grandchildren Jackson and Libby.



Participants in Foreign Service Day took the opportunity to socialize between events.

The AFSA brunch Saturday morning provided an opportunity for AFSA leaders to exchange views with members from around the country.



Dan Geisler talks with DACOR President Joan Clark at the AFSA Foreign Service Day reception.



Foreign Service retirees enjoy the AFSA Foreign Service Day reception Friday evening at the Foreign Service Club.

# Righting Virginia Voting Wrongs

By Ken Nakamura, AFSA Congressional Affairs Director, and Tara Gay, Congressional Affairs Intern

We are finally approaching the proverbial "light at the end of the tunnel" in AFSA's efforts to amend the Constitution of Virginia. While the final steps of a statewide referendum and a third time through the Virginia State legislature remain, we believe that Virginians residing abroad far reasons of employment will soon be able to vote as absentees in state and local elections.

On April 22, Virginia Governor James Gilmore signed H.B. 1094, legislation that places on the November 1998 ballot the question of giving the Virginia legislature authority to amend the Constitution regarding voting requirements for absentees in state and local elections.

Even with the indispensable help of retired FSO and current Virginia Delegate Joy Katzen (R-Warren), three Virginia legislative sessions were required to get this far. To amend the Constitution of Virginia, identical legislation must go through two consecutive sessions of the legislature, with an intervening legislative election, before it can become a referendum question. Mr. Katzen sponsored and guided the legislation to overwhelming victories in both the House of Delegates and the Senate this year and last.

AFSA's effort to amend the Virginia

Constitution began in 1995 after FS employees pasted abroad wrote AFSA to express anger that they were prohibited from voting in their local elections. These employees had children who attended Virginia schools and colleges, were concerned with the local governing boards, paid Virginia state taxes yearly and planned to return to Virginia after service abroad. AFSA found no similar voting problems in Maryland or the District of Columbia.

Former AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Morris, now Consul General in Melbourne, approached college friend and FS colleague Katzen about this problem. Recognizing the unfairness of this law, Katzen agreed to help AFSA fight for a change in the voting requirements.

The rest is history. Last year the Katzen bill passed unanimously in both the House of Delegates and the Senate. This year it drew only one negative vote, in the House of Delegates. At the signing ceremony, Governor Gilmore called H.B. 1094 an important bill which would "appropriately expand the franchise."

AFSA retirees are playing an essential role in moving this issue. Without Delegate Katzen's involvement we would never have gotten this initiative off the ground. But the advocacy of retired FSO Ralph Graner, our man in

Richmond, has been superlative. He has worked with Delegate Katzen and has always been ready to testify on behalf of AFSA and the 23,000 active and retired Foreign Service personnel it represents. Former Ambassador Robert Fritts, now of the College of William and Mary, has also joined this effort by providing his knowledge of Virginia politics and by enlisting his friends and colleagues on the Political Science faculty to advise an approach in support of the referendum.

AFSA has received the endorsement of the League of Women Voters of Virginia and is seeking others. LWVVA President Carrie Houston wrote to AFSA President Dan Geisler:

*"LWVVA enthusiastically supports H.J. 201 and H.B. 1094 .... The League believes that democratic government depends upon the informed and active participation of its citizens and we think Virginia should make that participation as easy as possible to those who wish to register and vote. Removing barriers that prevent Virginians employed and assigned abroad from absentee voting in state and local elections is to be commended and we applaud AFSA for its efforts to increase the accessibility to the electoral process, and the right of every citizen to vote. We look forward to the passage of this amendment to the Constitution of Virginia and will certainly urge our members as well as the citizens of the Commonwealth to vote yes on this ballot issue when they go to the polls on November 3, 1998."*

We have won important battles thus far in our support of Virginian FS families pasted abroad. But challenges face us before we can declare victory. The expansion of the franchise benefits everyone—those living in Virginia and those pasted abroad. Our efforts address an issue that is fundamental to the rights of citizens in any democracy—the right to vote. The change to the Constitution of Virginia proposed by AFSA is the right thing to do, particularly for a state that calls itself the "Birthplace of Presidents."



AFSA President Dan Geisler, Virginia State Delegate Joy Katzen, Retired FSO Ralph Graner and AFSA Congressional Affairs Director Ken Nakamura (standing, left to right) were among the guests in Richmond when Governor James Gilmore (seated) signed H.B. 1094, one step in AFSA's fight for absentee voting rights to Virginians whose work forces them to live abroad.

# Inside

THE FOREIGN SERVICE COMMUNITY

## AFSA Members in Action

• Boarstone Press recently published *Son of Flanders: The Making of a Consul* by retired FSO **Arnold J. Denys**.

• The late **Ann Devroy**, *The Washington Post* White House correspondent and wife of FSJ Editorial Board member **Mark Matthews**, was memorialized in May at her alma mater, the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire. A scholarship funded by her friends and colleagues will go to a journalism student and the university will honor Devroy each year with a special day of lectures on press issues.

• Retired FSO **Eugene D. Schmiel**, of the Institute for Experiential Learning of Washington, D.C., published "A Visa for Wladzu" in the most recent issue of the *SUN* (*Spouses Underground Network*) and "Ms. Hearst, I Presume ..." and "The Purple Captain's Final Voyage" in *American Diplomacy* <[www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat](http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat)>.

• Former Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs **Timothy E. Wirth** was recently named president of the United Nations Foundation, the organization established to execute R.E. Turner's historic \$1 billion pledge in support of U.N. economic, environmental, social and humanitarian causes.

## Affiliated Organization Activities

• *Some Things to Some Men: Serving in the Foreign Service*, **John Wills Tuthill's** posthumously published book, was honored May 22 by the **American Academy of Diplomacy, AFSA and DACOR** at the FS Club. **Frank C. Carlucci, Arthur A. Hartman** and **William C. Harrop** led a discussion of themes from the book.

• A reunion of **persons who served in Laos** will be held Sept. 4-6 in Alexandria, Va. For more information, contact **Morcia Murto** at <[murtoms@mindspring.com](mailto:murtoms@mindspring.com)> or (919) 362-7233, or **Rebecca Coleman** at <[asvalumni\\_laos@been-there.com](mailto:asvalumni_laos@been-there.com)>. See [www.geocities.com/tokyo/towers/9974](http://www.geocities.com/tokyo/towers/9974).

Do you have news about an AFSA member or of an event of interest to the FS community?

Fox it to (202) 338-8244.

RETIREES

V.P. VOICE

EDWARD DILLERY

## The Message: Diplomacy Matters

One of the great benefits of being your Vice President is that I get to hear your views in many forums: the events surrounding Foreign Service Day; our recent Standing Committee meeting, and of course, your letters, telephone calls and e-mail messages. It just proves the point that one should never invite former members of the Foreign Service to express views or ask questions unless the expectation is that there will be lots of them. Keep those cards and letters coming.

Your comments are very important as the Governing Board moves ahead to put AFSA operations on the best possible footing to represent retired and active members of the Foreign Service community from all the foreign affairs agencies. The Board's initiatives will include a proposal to the membership for dues restructuring which would mean larger increases for senior officers, more modest ones for mid-grade personnel and senior retirees and slight reductions for members with the smallest incomes or annuities. The issue will be decided by a special referendum in a few months.

I have been hearing support from retirees for this Board proposal. There will be an opportunity for all members to make their views known as we prepare for the referendum. Retiree votes will be crucial in this decision which, if approved, will significantly enhance AFSA's effectiveness as the Voice of the Foreign Service as we observe in 1999 the 75th anniversary of the Rogers Act, which created the Foreign Service in 1924, and the formation of AFSA.

As to the future of the Foreign Service, I was struck by the upbeat messages we received from State Department speakers on Foreign

Service Day. The word is good—from resolution of challenging foreign policy issues to advances in visas and passport technology to keeping the Foreign Service vital and relevant and at an appropriate size—despite resource problems.

The key to obtaining adequate resources for foreign affairs continues to be securing strong public support. You—individually and through your regional groups of foreign affairs retirees—have been doing a great job on that score. Director General Gnehm told us he is counting on retirees to help get out the word on what the Foreign Service does. As AFSA

President Dan Geisler put it, the message is "Diplomacy matters."

In a serious discussion with the AFSA Retiree Standing Committee in April, Dan reported that membership is one of his major concerns. AFSA's active duty base is declining even though the participation rate remains high. That is part of the reason for the decision, strongly endorsed by an outside auditing firm, to restructure the dues. You will receive more detailed information on this issue and on the restructuring plans through articles in the *Journal* and on the AFSANET in the very near future.

By the way, the Retiree Standing Committee meets on a roughly quarterly basis and I would be most pleased to have more of our constituency attend. If you are within striking distance of Washington, D.C., please let Ward Thompson or me know of your interest in attending. If not, once again I want to ask for your views on the restructuring or any other issue affecting AFSA. I really would like to include them in Committee meetings and pass them on to the Board.

"I was struck by the upbeat messages we received on Foreign Service Day."

COMMERCIAL SERVICE

YOUR VOICE

BY CHARLES KESTENBAUM

## Integration Revisited

My last column broodily outlined the issue of "integration," or finding ways to better connect the two primary networks of the US&FCS: our hundred-odd posts overseas and our similar number of domestic field offices.

Integration is manifest in two aspects, programs and personnel, and revolve around very basic—yet complicated in their practical implementation—principles.

Regarding programs: We offer the most finely tuned, carefully tailored products and services to our clients, U.S. business. On personnel: Officers, GS and FS, must have experience in the counterpart side of the service.

Our domestic field officers, known as trade specialists, work with groups of client firms in geographic territory, developing exporting strategies, identifying trade leads and tailoring information services and products to the clients' specific needs. These domestic officers are grouped by geographic region into two sets of "teams," e.g., Africa team, and by sector, e.g., information technology team. Staff overseas participate as team members when need.

Program integration is going smoothly. We are working to tailor our various market research products and assistance programs—Gold Keys, International Company Profiles—to the individual needs of the client, whether a small telecommunications manufacturer in Venturo or a lotex glove machinery manufacturer in Cleveland. We are now adept at planning trade events, recruiting participants and organizing the data necessary to demonstrate the utility of U.S. firms participating in trade events. Of course, we are also focusing closely on the information management and communications systems necessary to effectively link offices around the United States and the world.

Personnel systems integration has been much more difficult. We currently have 22 FSOs serving in various capacities around the domestic system, including

four positions designated as regional trade promotion coordinators. Most are junior FCS officers receiving a firm grounding in the needs of our domestic clients, which are generally different from those of U.S. business communities in residence abroad.

What are these differences? Domestic clients are export-ready firms that often lock on international marketing strategy and need help identifying business opportunities and potential customers, partners, distributors or agents. U.S. executives residing abroad are well past that entry point and need detailed local market intelligence or, perhaps, advocacy to counter the interventions of competing

governments.

The largest problem we face is integrating the GS and FS personnel systems with differing natures. One changes posts every three or four years, uprooting and relocating regularly. The other "puts down roots" in a local community and may remain until retirement. One system is competitive in terms of promotion, having personal ranks and bidding on jobs based on that rank. The other features assignments based on the job's rank and with a different evolution for promotion. One faces time-in-class selection out of service while the other does not face such "up or out" pressures. In some respects, our situation is much like those created by corporate mergers and takeovers. How easy will it be to mesh the Detroit culture of Chrysler with the German culture of Mercedes? Or that of The Travelers Insurance Group with Citibank's, or Hughes' with Raytheon's?

The bottom line: We are committed—as a complete US&FCS unit—to providing as seamless and integrated a program as possible to our U.S. business clients. Regardless of the challenges we face, we are all committed to succeed. U.S. national interests demand it.

"Regardless of the challenges we face, we are all committed to succeed."

## THE ART OF INTERNATIONAL LIVING:

PROVIDING SUPPORT FOR A GLOBAL MOBILE LIFESTYLE

**The Art of International Living** is a new bimonthly newsletter by, for and about expatriate family members from the corporate, military, Foreign Service and international communities. The first of its kind, **The Art of International Living** helps expatriates confront the many challenges of actually living a well-balanced and rewarding lifestyle while stationed away from friends, family and all that is familiar.

The content centers around a "reader exchange." Family members write in with their own positive, problem-solving techniques. "Sharing experiences also creates an extended sense of community and provides long term support to family members," says Kote Goggin, Managing Editor of **The Art of International Living**. "These are important byproducts of the original design," according to Goggin, a Foreign Service spouse. The publication is targeted for the newly initiated and the venerable veteran mover. According to recent reports, there are more than three million Americans living abroad. Goggin says, "There is a wealth of wisdom out there and expats are anxious to share it."

"This publication is a direct response to the overwhelming demand from expat family members to be recognized for their contributions to a successful international assignment," says Goggin. Family members are frequently overlooked when calculating the human resource investment within corporations, the military and the Foreign Service, all employers who demand international relocation for job assignment. But increasingly, progressive employers are recognizing the success of an employee's international posting is dependent on a well-adjusted, supportive family. According to Goggin, **The Art of International Living** is an essential tool to help family members create a successful international lifestyle. For more information, contact:

The Art of International Living  
12427 Hedges Run Dr. #107  
Woodbridge, VA 22192  
(703) 494-9757  
ArtIntlVng@aol.com

## PMA Scholarship Renewed



The Public Members Association of the Foreign Service (PMA) has contributed \$3,000 toward a scholarship under AFSA's Financial Aid Program. This need-based college scholarship

will be awarded to a child of a Foreign Service employee in the junior or senior year of college majoring in foreign affairs. PMA has supported the AFSA Scholarship Program since 1992; this is the second year the scholarship award has been \$3,000. In the photograph above, AFSA President Don Geisler accepts a check from PMA President Hally Thomas and PMA member Nick Frankhouser.

### Wanted: Director 75th Anniversary Celebration

Part time: June–August 1998  
Full time: September 1998–June 1999  
Part time: July–September 1999  
Full time annual salary base: \$36,000

The **Director of the 75th Anniversary Celebration** will be responsible for coordination of all activities of the 75th anniversary celebration of the Foreign Service of the United States and the American Foreign Service Association. Responsibilities will include all logistical arrangements for a May 1999 State Department Diplomatic Reception Gala/Dinner, two other Washington, D.C., events and 2–3 outreach programs for the American public and the overseas Foreign Service community. The Director will coordinate the activities of the Anniversary Committee.

**Specific Duties** • Collection and generation of mailing/invitation lists  
• Coordination of printing and design of invitations and promotional material  
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USAID

V.P. VOICE

• BY FRANK MILLER •

## The RIF and GS-FS Conversions

In September 1996, USAID carried out a reduction-in-force which led to the firing of 91 FSOs. Their selection was allegedly based on an analysis of long-term workforce needs and a determination of skill code and class level surpluses or deficits. Despite repeated requests for this analysis, AFSA has never been privy to this report.

At AFSA's request, USAID established a Foreign Service Reemployment Priority List (RPL) for future use, should a need arise for the skills of a RIFed FSO. RIFed employees were led to believe that they would be given priority should the agency find that their technical skill area changed from a surplus to a deficit.

In September 1995, President Clinton ordered all agencies to develop programs to help employees affected by downsizing and to give them priority for jobs in their agencies. AFSA believes USAID has a moral obligation to rehire RIFed employees with needed skills before initiating conversions. Administrator Atwood and Chief of Staff McColl assured employees this would happen if conditions changed and RIFed surplus areas become deficit areas. In the current FS assignment cycle, USAID is having trouble filling overseas and Washington positions and is seeking Civil Service employees interested in filling overseas vacancies on non-career limited appointments.

To date, USAID has reemployed only two of the 91 RIFed FSOs; two others are being processed for reemployment. It is AFSA's understanding that, since the RIF announcement, the agency has hired several dozen outsiders, some of whom were political appointees. Where did USAID find money for this and why weren't qualified RIFed employees reinstated?

Notwithstanding the executive order and the moral implications of management's not keeping its word, rehiring makes good economic sense. AID invest-

ed hundreds of thousands of dollars in RIFed employees through training in technical areas, foreign languages, policy dialogue and overseas operations management. It makes no sense to retrain other employees when the knowledge and experience are readily available among RIFed employees.

Further, proposed conversions at the FS-01 level are an outrage to career FSOs. With fewer promotions at all levels, this would seriously affect career and promotion opportunities at the FS-02/03 levels. How can we ask FS staff to take personal and career risks, serve in hardship posts, give up opportunities for spousal employment and compete in an up-or-out system that can

take 20+ years to reach FS-01 from FS-04 while they watch CS employees move unimpeded into FS-01 positions? What is the value of a Foreign Service career? A rigorous review of Civil Service employee performance, academic background, skill areas and assignments is necessary to determine specific class levels for conversion. Present salary level is NOT the best indicator for conversion level. While most FS employees were hired as IDIs, with experience and salary histories that would have argued for entry of FS-02 or a high step of FS-03, as a matter of USAID policy, most IDIs were required to enter at the FS-04 level.

AFSA believes that current vacancies at the FS-02/01 levels that remain unfilled after bringing back RIFed employees could be filled by increasing stretch assignments of FS-03/02s and filling in behind them with lower level conversions. More can be done to cross-train current FSOs in relatively surplus categories.

USAID has not analyzed the impact of CS conversions on FS careers and promotions. Why should career FSOs suffer because of poor management and on absence of workforce planning?

*"How can we ask FS staff to take career risks while they watch CS employees move unimpeded into FS-01 positions?"*

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I let others deal with it.”

Eagleburger says he likes consulting — both for Kissinger Associates in the '80s and for Baker Donelson now. “It’s not as interesting as the State Department,” he cracks, “but the paydays are better.”

And while Baker Donelson takes on foreign clients, Eagleburger does not. “I will not represent foreign corporations or foreign governments. I don’t think it’s proper,” he says.

In the exchange that follows, Eagleburger discusses with *FSJ* editor Bob Guldin some of the highpoints and lowpoints of his 40-year career inside and outside the State Department.

*FSJ: Do you think that, having come up through the Foreign Service, you brought a special perspective to the job of secretary of State?*

**Eagleburger:** I came to the secretary’s job, and the deputy secretary’s job too, with a more sympathetic attitude toward the Foreign Service than most outsiders have. Of course, my appointment was political. I was out of the Foreign Service when it happened, but I had spent 27 years in it.

You have to have lived within the Foreign Service for a long time to understand it completely.

Along with this came the ability to explain the State Department and the Foreign Service to the political types. Now, with George Bush, you were talking with somebody who admired the Foreign Service and was ready to respect it anyway. If I’d been trying to do that with Lyndon Johnson or

## Kissinger on Eagleburger

“Eagleburger’s skill was the management of men and organizations. An experienced Foreign Service officer, he understood the foibles of his colleagues without succumbing to their parochialism. He had the virtue of being deeply attached to the Foreign Service; he used this dedication as a challenge to seek to turn his service into a great institution.”

Henry Kissinger, in his book *Years of Upheaval*, 1982

*FSJ: Henry Kissinger in one of his books wrote that you were “deeply attached to the Foreign Service” and that you tried to turn the “service into a great institution.” Do you think he was right about that?*

**Eagleburger:** My view of the Foreign Service was somewhat ambivalent; I always thought we could be better than we were.

There’s no question that I believed that the American Foreign Service was as good as any country’s. I tried to make it better. But I could only work around the edges.

somebody else, I’m not sure it would have worked. My audience was receptive.



ROBERT E. KAISER

*With Henry Kissinger, 1977, at Eagleburger’s swearing-in as ambassador to Yugoslavia.*

You can't come in like Henry and I did in the middle of a term, and make real changes. You've got to have four years — preferably eight — and the complete support of the president. Otherwise, you'll end up with something that is jerry-built and done under the pressure of time.

If Gerald Ford had been reelected, and I had spent the next four years with Henry, I would have made some real changes.

Or if George Bush had been reelected, and I had stayed where I was, I would have tried to make some really substantial changes.

**FSJ:** *What kind of changes?*

**Eagleburger:** I never developed a list of specifics. But one change is bringing the various foreign affairs agencies into a much closer alignment with the State Department. There's an effort now under way, but I'm afraid it's going to fall on its face. Certainly if AID [the Agency for International Development] isn't a part of that, you won't have accomplished a hell of a lot.

Second, the personnel system needs a complete revamping. In recruiting, for example. I know we are losing good people, because it takes so long to bring them into the service.

The promotion process, the efficiency report process, I find fuzzy and unclear.

All of these questions affect the



*Teammates: Eagleburger (then acting secretary of State) with James Baker, October 1992.*

WHITE HOUSE PHOTO

viability of the department and the Foreign Service. They needed to be examined as a whole, by some really bright people, for a year if necessary. They should come up with an integrated program, then you've got to bring it to the president and then to the Congress.

At one point Warren Christopher was arguing for changes — I think it had to do with amalgamation of agencies — and Vice President Gore just shot him down. What's the point? If you don't have complete support from the president on down before you put your toe in the water, no change can take place.

**FSJ:** *What do you think of the current plan for consolidation?*

**Eagleburger:** It worries me, because it's happening in fits and starts. The AID director, Brian Atwood, worked Congress so that AID is not a part of it. Mind, I have great admiration for him and his guts. But in any administration I

worked for, he'd salute and do what he was told or we'd find him a job somewhere else.

When reorganization is done, will it be coherent? If we're not careful we'll make a sow's ear out of a silk purse.

**FSJ:** *The Foreign Service has been shrinking the last few years. What's your view of that?*

**Eagleburger:** It's an unhealthy trend, though some of the reductions may make sense. But if they do make sense it will be sheer luck.

It's part and parcel of the view in the country, in Congress, maybe in the administration as well, that what the State Department and the Foreign Service do is now less relevant, with the Cold War over, and more emphasis on the private sector in economic relations. I don't want to call it neo-isolationist, but it comes close. It's an extension of "It's the economy, stupid." It's an unsophisticated mindset.

FSJ: *I've heard it said that Secretary James Baker despised the Foreign Service. Did he?*

Eagleburger: That's unfair. Henry Kissinger supposedly despised the Foreign Service too. The Foreign Service has a penchant for paranoia. That's one of the amusing and frustrating things about it.

Jim Baker did not despise the Foreign Service. I think it is fair to say that he was much more comfortable getting his work done with a small group of people. And therefore he did not use the department and the Foreign Service as much as they would have liked. You could say the same thing of Henry Kissinger, or Dean Rusk, or Dean Acheson. After a time, Jim's attitude tended to mellow.

Almost all political leaders have some distrust of the Foreign Service, though George Bush had that far less than any other president I could name, because he had worked with the Foreign Service in Beijing and the U.N.

If you wanted to name a president who really distrusted the Foreign Service, start with Richard Nixon. I don't think Kennedy was any better, though maybe less "expletive deleted" about it.

You know, senior FSOs play into that distrust, when they run off and write books which detail the mistakes of whatever administrations they served in. It makes the next set of political leaders worry about whether we're going to do it to them. I will never write a book!

FSJ: *You were the ambassador to Yugoslavia in the Carter years, and then were deputy secretary when that country fell apart. Could we have done more to prevent it? Was it our job to do so?*

Eagleburger: I spend a good deal

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*There's a view in this country — I don't want to call it neo-isolationist, but it comes close. It's an extension of "It's the economy; stupid."*

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of time, even today, asking myself the same questions. I'm not sure I can answer them.

As the world's greatest superpower, and in time the world's only superpower, couldn't we have done some things to prevent some of the slaughter? I think the answer to that is yes.

I cannot deny that Vietnam was in the minds of a lot of us. I worried

that we would get in the middle of a civil war, not just between two parties but four or five. And you're trying to keep the peace, with the danger that this could escalate into a real shooting match. You would have to ask yourself if you'll put in more troops or pull out, with neither alternative very good. The lessons of Vietnam — they may have been the wrong lessons — but they were certainly there.

I have compliments for the Dayton accords. But unless we keep troops in there for a long time, soon after we withdraw we're going to find them back at each other's throats. I don't think the Dayton accords could have been done on our watch. I think things had to get a lot worse before the Dayton accords could be put in place.

Another point: this really was an issue that the Europeans should have handled. That's no excuse. We did



WHITE HOUSE PHOTO

*With President Reagan at the White House, 1981*

not do everything we could have to force the Europeans to deal with it.

But there was such a difference of views among our allies, especially Germany, France and Britain, that expecting the Europeans to handle Yugoslavia was more than the traffic could bear. But we didn't try hard enough.

If there was a time we could have done something, it was very early on. It would have taken something like the 19th century Congress of Berlin, with somebody like Metternich or Bismarck.

In the Bush administration, the only way we could have stopped it was the deployment of a substantial number of ground forces. I know it's been argued that demonstration strikes might have worked. But demonstrations or threats can backfire, if you're not prepared to carry them out.

The president and Jim Baker would not have agreed to putting a substantial number of ground troops in — and I wouldn't have proposed it.

It was a mess; it is a mess; there are no heroes in that game. I'm uncomfortable saying this, but looking back on it, there isn't much I would have changed.

*FSJ: Two questions on the Persian Gulf War. First, couldn't we have prevented that war through diplomacy? And second, once war did happen, should we have gone all the way into Baghdad to remove Saddam Hussein?*

### Saddam is not a threat

Eagleburger: I'll answer your second question first. No I don't think it was a mistake not to go after Saddam.

However, I do think another day or two of sending the Republican Guard to their makers would have been useful, would have substantially weakened Saddam.

As to Saddam himself, first, we didn't know where he was. Certainly, we would have had to go into Baghdad, with whatever that meant in casualties. Secondly, we didn't know who would replace Saddam if we got rid of him. They would have been better, but how much better who knows. Thirdly, and this is the one I feel most strongly about — don't change your objectives in midstream. We had set out to kick the Iraqis out of Kuwait;

we did that. And to wreck the Iraqi military establishment, so that it wouldn't be a threat. And we did that, perhaps not as thoroughly as we could have, but fundamentally we did that.

If we had then taken a deep breath and said, OK, now we're going to go after Saddam, first, we would have been in real trouble with our allies. Secondly, if you shift the objective in this way, we would have needed more force, and how long would it have taken? Things become fuzzy at this point.

I still don't believe, despite all the mess, that Saddam now is a particular threat so long as the sanctions remain in place. Where we're getting in trouble is how much longer can we maintain the sanctions internationally. With all the trouble we've had with Saddam over the last several years, none of it



*The up-and-coming FSO with President Lyndon Johnson, 1966*

threatens world peace. So the answer is, from my perspective, we did it just about right.

Now, could we have avoided the war in the first place? I assume we're talking about reports that we were playing hanky panky with Saddam in the earlier days. They're mostly not true. But getting that demonstrated is like pushing a peanut up a hill with your nose.

Yeah, we sold some wheat to him on credit. But that didn't give him any additional advantage when he wanted to go into Kuwait.

Did we misunderstand his motives? Probably, but so did the Kuwaitis. So did a lot of people.

Should we blame Ambassador April Glaspie for not being tougher when she met with Saddam? Baloney! I was an ambassador once. Any ambassador who knows anything at all about her job is not going to commit the United States to military

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*The Foreign Service has  
a penchant for paranoia.  
That's one of the amusing  
and frustrating things  
about it.*

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action without any reference to the president. Saddam did not decide to invade Kuwait because of his conversation with Glaspie.

If we had thoroughly understood what he was going to do ahead of time, if we had gone to him with an ultimatum that said cross the border and we're going to do the following 28 things to you, maybe it would have made a difference. That

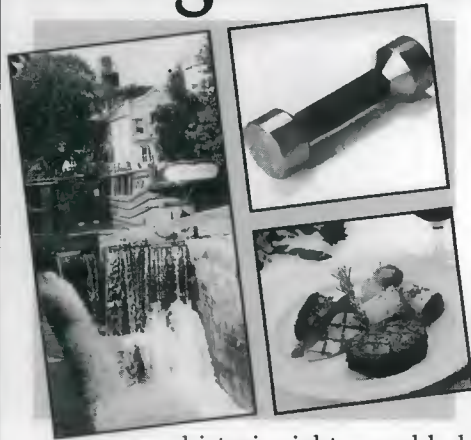
would depend on whether he believed us or not. Remember that it took us several months to put together the kind of coalition that could take him on, unless we wanted to do it unilaterally.

**FSJ:** *I know you want to talk about the Middle East peace process.*

**Eagleburger:** What the United States has done is a most egregious step back from a set of responsibilities that we've assumed for the better part of 40 years. I can't tell you how frustrated I am that Tony Blair is now bringing the PLO and the Israelis together in a conference. Where are we?

The U.S. has willingly stepped aside. I have to assume it's because we're worried that putting pressure on the sides, especially the Israelis, will cause damage at home. We've become almost irrelevant, and that's very dangerous.

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If you want to know why there was so little enthusiasm when we were talking with the Middle East countries about getting tough with Saddam this last time, I know for a fact that we were being told, you've got a double standard. You want to clobber this guy because he violates U.N. resolutions, but what are you doing about the mess in Israel?

I've been a strong defender of Israel for the last 30 years. But I believe that Binyamin Netanyahu has a great deal to answer for — his policies are going to lead to agony for his own people. And we've been supine, turning our back on our historic role.

Always in the past, the Arab states wanted the U.S. involved because they knew we were the only party that could bring Israel to the table. They may have railed against our close relationship with

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### *Yugoslavia*

*was a mess; it is a mess.*

*There are no heroes*

*in that game.*

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Israel, but our role was critical for them. I'm afraid we have lost that. In the end it's our interests that get gored.

**FSJ:** *In 20 years, will there still be a Foreign Service, will it still be needed?*

**Eagleburger:** I don't know. I can tell you if all the Foreign Service is asked to do is be somebody's post-

man, then the future is not bright.

But if we still want people who are immersed enough in somebody else's country and culture that they can give some insights you can't get from a Web site or from pushing a button on a computer, then I think there's still a major role for the Foreign Service and for diplomacy.

It's a question of nuance. You get into a tight negotiation, you'd like to have somebody who understands the subtleties — that can make a difference. How do you interpret what somebody just said to you? What are their motivations? You can't get that out of a computer.

One question I have: Will the speed at which we now communicate drive out thought? I worry about that a lot. Instant answers to instant problems can get you in a hell of a lot of trouble. ■

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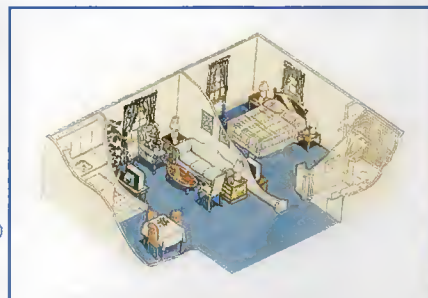
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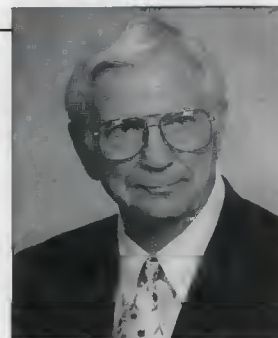
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## Native Lunch

*What happens when your children go to foreign schools?  
An anthropologist/mom offers advice for parents.*

BY GAIL BENJAMIN

What do parents learn when their children attend school in a foreign country? My husband and I took our seven-year-old daughter and 11-year-old son to a city outside Tokyo, in part to learn the answer to that question. What we, and I especially as an anthropologist and a mother, learned is recounted in my book *Japanese Lessons*. I think I came to a new and better understanding of Japanese culture and society, of Japanese views on children and education, of the role and job of being a mother in Japan. Not only did all of us learn to speak Japanese, we learned some of what Japanese children learn in school — how to be Japanese.

Some families choose to put themselves in this situation, some have little choice. If parents choose to make the most of their own learning from having children in non-American schools, there are some tactics for making the most of the situation.

One tactic that's not so obvious as it sounds is to listen to what school administrators, teachers and parents say. When we took our children to the

district office and to the school to register them, we were asked several times if the children could eat Japanese food and warned that eating the school lunch was required. In the throes of getting settled, this talk largely slipped by, and my interest in lunch, since my kids didn't complain about it and since I hate packing lunches, was not excited until the fall, when a mothers' meeting to discuss the upcoming fifth grade trip, three days to a Nature Center, focused almost exclusively on the lunch from home the children would eat on the bus trip to the center.

What could possibly be so problematic about a packed lunch? And on the other hand why were the bookstores full of books and magazines about how to prepare lunches for children? Americans certainly seem to get along without those. And why did my Japanese friends and acquaintances continually ask about how the children were adjusting to school lunches? I eventually decided that school lunch is a major socialization tool in Japanese elementary schools, that it is related to moral lessons on when individualism is appropriate and when it is not, and how to exercise individuality without challenging group cohesiveness. Only by taking seriously a topic that didn't

seem serious, and by making connections between talk about it in different contexts did lunch become a learning experience for me and not just an annoyance.

Listening to what people say is important, but so is watching what they do, and I think parents need to take every opportunity to watch school activities. I was allowed as a researcher to observe classes, but just as a mother I attended visiting days, hung around the playground, went to Sports Day and looked at textbooks, homework and class projects. One of the topics Japanese people discuss about education is the role of schools in stifling or fostering creativity. In general, they say their schools do not do a good job in this area. But from my observations of classroom activities, of science, art, social studies and music projects, I saw little rote learning going on (that tends to be homework, and part of my job as a mother is to get kids to master the multiplication tables and similar uncreative learning).

In school, there's almost no time spent on drill work, or filling in the blanks or coloring pictures others have drawn. Compared to other school systems, the actual activities I observed seemed to me not to stifle

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*Gail Benjamin, who teaches anthropology at the University of Pittsburgh, wrote Japanese Lessons, New York University Press, 1997.*

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creativity but to encourage individuality. Even in activities like group calisthenics, observation made it clear that individuals could get away with very half-hearted participation, without being punished (or rewarded with attention).

One of the words that appears over and over in the talk about school, the text materials, and the announcements of school activities is the word for "fun," enjoyment. It is offered as a justification for elaborate activities, as well as a goal for some classes.

Again, paying attention to this one incongruous word leads to an understanding, I believe, of the motivations that Japanese educators think operate with children. Just as children learn before they go to school because the learning is satisfying in and of itself (think about how well children learn to speak their native language, or perform the physical skills of playing, without much instruction, punishment or explicit reward), Japanese schools are geared to making social interaction in many areas rewarding for children (read: "fun") so that academic learning is tackled in the same spirit. It works, too, in Japan.

Seeing how the classroom teachers incorporated our children—two of the 10 foreign students and the only English speakers in a school of 1,000 children — gave us all an appreciation for how this educational philosophy works out in practice. Though our children were reasonably competent students and children in America, in Japan they were the most incompetent members of their classes. Japanese classes are organized into small work groups which do many activities together: The same group cooperates at science experiments, serving lunch, cleaning the school, solving math

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# SCHOOLS

problems, doing art projects, organizing social studies discussions and so on. These groups are heterogeneous in terms of special skills, personality, gender and academic ability. Children get rewarded or scolded as a group for their performances at these activities: My children loved the applause that came from the rest of the class after their group solved a tricky math problem, for instance.

These activities involve a wide range of abilities and skills, so that nearly all children, even these two Americans, can make genuine contributions some of the time. So could the physically and mentally handicapped members of their classrooms. And many of the activities were ones that children think are fun. When I asked my son how he managed to play in the musical ensemble, with no previous experience on the instruments, he said, "Oh, the kids showed me how, and I get the easy parts."

One of the difficulties for parents of taking on this educational experience is that you find yourself being very incompetent. You didn't grow up in this culture, you don't take the same issues seriously, you don't always understand what's important and what's not. You spend a lot of time wondering why things are happening, and being surprised at what doesn't happen. You find yourself learning from mistakes more than you're comfortable with.

Sometimes it's the children who bear the brunt of your ignorance. I just didn't understand that the notice about the jump rope program for February meant that my daughter should be doing daily practice to achieve the goals set. I didn't cajole her into practicing, and she did very poorly on the test. I didn't understand that the announcement about the fifth-grade trip to a temple to paint meant I should buy water

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# SCHOOLS

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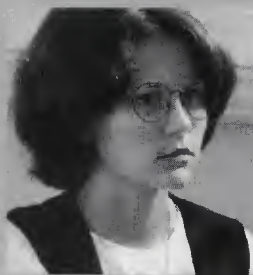
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# SCHOOLS

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# SCHOOLS

painting supplies, so my son went off empty-handed that day. (And I wouldn't have known what to buy, either.) His classmates shared, and he came home with a surprisingly good painting. But he should have had the supplies, and it was my fault he didn't. I could have asked friends and neighbors about it, but I didn't even realize there was something to ask about, and I got so tired of being stupid and having to bother them about so many little things that I let that hold me back.

**B**ut with luck and perseverance, you'll find yourself understanding the country you're living in more deeply than you can any other way, and gaining contacts through your children that will make your time overseas more valuable.

Even in a school system as receptive as the one we encountered in Japan, things can be difficult for the children too. Ours found it hard to deal with the Japanese language for much more than the 45 hours a week school involves, so they played after school with friends less than at home. And they missed their old friends, and American TV, and generally feeling familiar instead of alert all the time. In general, though, they found the year a positive one.

I can imagine school systems I wouldn't want my children to participate in — ones where they might encounter severe sexism, racial, national or religious prejudice, for instance. I can imagine situations where my own observations led me to conclude that a supposedly good school situation was not acceptable. But in Japan I found a system where the stereotypes turned out to be very misleading, and instead of a rigid, stultifying school we found a lively, friendly, individualistic one. ■

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# SCHOOLS

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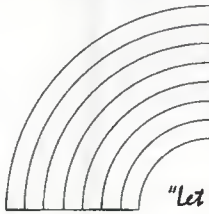
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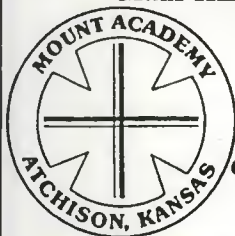
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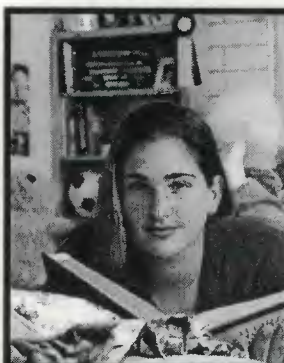
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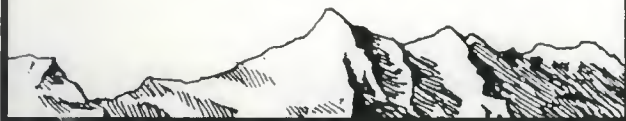
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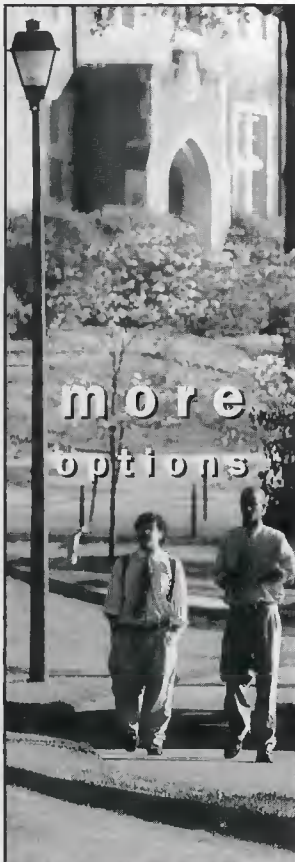
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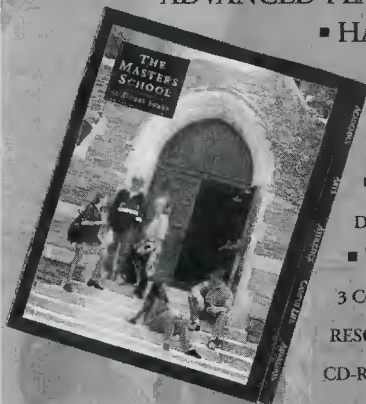
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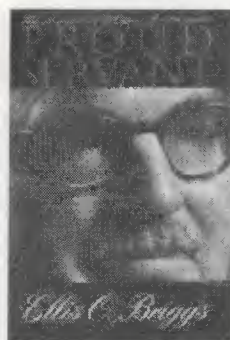
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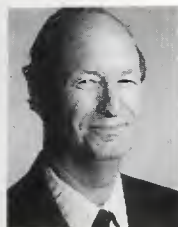
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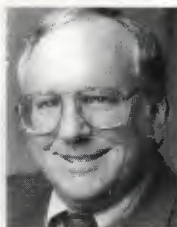
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## BOOKS

### AN FSO'S TALES FROM THE NIS

#### **Democracy at Dawn: Notes from Poland and Points East**

Frederick Quinn, *Texas A&M  
University Press, 1997, hardcover,  
\$29.95, 250 pages.*

BY R. T. DAVIES

Frederick Quinn has produced a valuable record of the transition of the New Independent States from Soviet dictatorship to governments which, however primitive, may prove to be stages on the road to democracy. Quinn, a talented writer and former USIA FSO, has captured the look, smell, and feel of a part of the world now trying to catch up to the West. That region's first acquisitions include some of the least admirable features of late-20th century capitalist society, which, unfortunately, have combined with some of the worst lingering traits from the Soviet years.

Quinn, who worked as head of the Rule of Law Programs in the Warsaw office of the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe, has a sharp eye for the ironic juxtapositions that this mix produced. In one anecdote, he recounts a visit to an antique shop specializing in the artifacts of pre-World War II Poland. "Through the grated window, I looked into the darkened shop," he writes. "Nothing but the chair and table remained ... On the door a faded hand-lettered sign listed the

shop's hours in a delicate art-historian's hand. ... Above the sign hung a professionally lettered orange and yellow placard with a plastic cutout cruise ship and palm tree: *Coming to Warsaw: Tangoland, opening this August.*"

This rare rueful glimpse at the passing of the old order leavens a book that deals primarily with the brutal realities of the new one. As a member of an OSCE delegation to the war-torn capital of Chechnya shortly after the Russian Army had captured it in February 1995, Quinn was an alert witness. He does not fall for the equivocations of Russian military officers shepherding the group. As a good international civil servant, he tries not to favor one side over the other while describing wanton destruction, but it is not possible for him to avoid placing blame on the Moscow government.

Most of the book, though, deals with the NIS's new movers and shakers. Quinn creates good word portraits of the men (who predominate) and women trying to govern the new states. He was the facilitator for European and American constitutional authorities counseling parliamentarians on writing new constitutions. When on his own, he tried to convince constitution drafters to apply Quinn's law: the longer the constitution, the shorter its shelf-life.

Summing up his two years, Quinn writes, "[M]ost of these constitutions are liberal, progressive documents, the likes of which this part of the globe has not seen before. The constitution drafters and judges deserve praise for

their demonstrable successes. They also deserve the assurance that colleagues from other countries will continue working with them in sorting out the challenges ahead."

The text of *Democracy at Dawn* has not been carefully proofread. Readers will have to forgive this blemish for the sake of Quinn's trenchant observations.

*R. T. Davies is a retired FSO and former ambassador to Poland.*

### WHAT WERE WE FIGHTING FOR?

#### **J. William Fulbright, Vietnam and the Search for a Cold War Foreign Policy**

Randall Bennett Woods, *Cambridge  
University Press, 1998, hardcover  
\$54.95, paperback \$17.95, 293 pages.*

BY ROY A. HARRELL JR.

Numerous national insurrections have challenged independent and colonial authority in the late 20th century, but none has divided America more than the Vietnam War. American domestic politics is still riven about what the United States should have learned from its engagement in Vietnam.

No one sought to understand the lessons of the Vietnam War more than J. William Fulbright, the scholarly sen-

## BOOKS

ator from Arkansas who was chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee at the height of its power. Fulbright argued that the basic premise of American foreign policy in regard to Vietnam was wrong because American policy-makers — particularly President Lyndon Johnson and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara — had convinced themselves that the Vietcong lacked political legitimacy. Fulbright, on the other hand, came to believe that the Vietnam war was a true people's war, a conflict engaged in and supported by the majority of Vietnam's people.

Fulbright was one of the first to conclude that the United States was showing arrogance of power in its pursuit of victory in the Vietnam war. He believed that the Vietcong were far more sophisticated than most Americans understood and concluded that it was unwise for such a great

power to become involved in that war. He also believed that better intelligence at the war's outset coupled with policy-makers' willingness to use that intelligence would have shown that the war could not be won using conventional military strategies. Finally, he believed that the economics of people's wars made U.S. intervention futile.

*J. William Fulbright, Vietnam and the Search for a Cold War Foreign Policy* contains excruciating detail about Fulbright's education and political career, yet fails to mention key issues that concerned him about America's Vietnam experience. Instead of analysis, Randall Bennett Woods provides readers with little more than a chronological list of what Sen. Fulbright did and when. In addition, the book, which is an abridgement of an earlier work, suffers from a turgid writing style, numerous typographical errors and from the author's obvious

bias against Fulbright. He goes out of his way to paint the senator as a wrong-headed extremist.

While lecturing at Georgetown University in the 1970s, Fulbright said that American policy-makers were so short-sighted that they didn't recognize the danger in conflicts between India and Pakistan, where, he observed, the United States had more military and economic interests than in Southeast Asia. He predicted that if the lessons of Vietnam were not learned, disputes between those two countries might eventually bring them to test their respective nuclear arsenals and involve the United States. But readers won't learn about this and other of Fulbright's prescient contributions to American foreign policy in this book.

*Roy A. Harrell Jr. is a retired FSO who served in several sub-Saharan nations during his 26-year career. ■*



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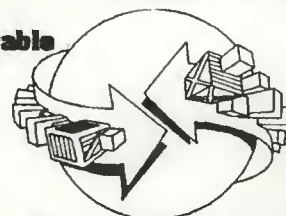


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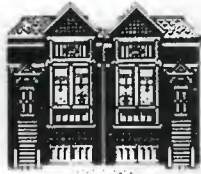
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## *This Old Stone House*

By JOHNNIE PRATHER

The approach to the Great Zimbabwe National Monument, in the southern half of the country that has taken its name, offers no hint that what lies hidden in its midst is a stellar feat of ancient stone work. Several yards into the ascent up a ridge, the only sights are a rocky landscape and a narrow path baking in the sun. It becomes slowly apparent that these blocks of granite have been arranged by a hand other than nature's. Walls rise off the hillside, but no mortar holds them in place. They are neither straight nor circular. Instead, they follow the contour of the land, dipping here and rising there as they wind their way around the ridge to create a labyrinth of narrow passages and oddly shaped enclosures.

Bigger than the Pyramids of Egypt, the massive stone complex is the largest structure in pre-colonial Africa. Built over a four-hundred-year period starting in the 11th century and ending in the 15th century, it is a symbol of endurance. The walls are too whimsical to hold roofs or serve as part of a defense system. They were built solely to show off the power of the ruling class. The Great Enclosure, which was built most recently, takes a giant step toward conforming to traditional notions of what a building should be. It has a recognizable, elliptical shape and a conical tower. Its walls, which loom up to 33

*Johnnie Prather is a Washington, D.C., freelance writer. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."*

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feet high and 15 feet wide, snake about here and there but mostly they stay within prescribed boundaries.

But the physical size of the structure pales in comparison to the symbolic value it holds in today's nation of Zimbabwe. The English translation of zimbabwe is sometimes "venerated houses" or "ruler's court." More often it is simply "stone houses." Replacing the name Rhodesia with Zimbabwe must have been sweet indeed for the millions of black Africans who struggled through the long war of liberation to secure majority rule in 1980. The name Rhodesia was the legacy of British empire builder Cecil Rhodes. Even before Rhodes claimed the region for the South African Trading

Co. in the 19th century, rumors were widespread that a massive stone structure lay in ruins somewhere in the region. Absent any scientific evidence of the building's origins, European colonists assured the world that the structure was the work of some ancient non-African civilization. The Great Zimbabwe was said to be the temple of Ophir, cited in the Bible as the source of King Solomon's gold. These rumors offered a precedent for foreign presence in the area and justified the colonists' view of indigenous people as children needing protection.

As early as 1905, archaeologists had collected evidence that proved the Great Zimbabwe was built by Africans. As the colony matured, their views slowly gained foothold and by the 1960s most references to the structure accurately described its origins. The politics surrounding the Great Zimbabwe turned paranoid when white-led Rhodesia declared unilateral independence from Great Britain in 1965 and all references to its indigenous builders were officially censored.

Today school children make field trips to the ruins. They scamper along rocky paths and through narrow passages, sure-footed and confident, to see what their distant ancestors built. But is symbolism alone enough to assure these children and their countrymen a prosperous future? Judging from the likeness of the Great Zimbabwe's walls on the country's paper money, the value of which has taken a dive on the foreign exchange market, the nation's leaders hope so. ■



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