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CONTENTS

January 1999 ■ Vol. 76, No. 1

COVER

FOCUS ON THE U.S. CONGRESS

18 / THE NEW CONGRESS: WHAT TO EXPECT

Deeply divided and seized with impeachment, Congress may have little attention for foreign policy.

By Carroll Doherty

24 / CONGRESSIONAL SCORECARD

How did your representative rate in '98?
AFSA crunches the numbers.

By Ken Nakamura

36 / LEE HAMILTON LOOKS BACK

Retiring after 34 years, a foreign policy leader shares some wisdom.

By Bob Guldin

FEATURE

44 / PLAYING RUSSIAN ROULETTE

After six years of corrupt capitalism, the Russian people are not impressed.

By Vladimir Shlapentokh

COLUMNS

PRESIDENT'S VIEWS / 5

Two Challenges for Diplomacy
By Dan Geisler

SPEAKING OUT / 15

Declining Comment, Film at Eleven
By George Gedda

POSTCARD FROM ABROAD / 56

Requiem for Nuvit
By Francesca Kelly

FOCUS



Page 24

DEPARTMENTS

LETTERS / 7

CLIPPINGS / 12

BOOKS / 49

Cover and inside illustrations by Hersch Herman

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The 75th Anniversary of the Foreign Service of the United States

May 24, 1999 marks the 75th anniversary of the signing of the Rogers Act which created the modern Foreign Service. All are invited to participate in the celebration! Secretary Albright is reaching out to Americans across the country. We intend to use our anniversary as an opportunity to further her efforts.

Every time you or your family communicate the experiences you have had around the world, you enhance the American people's understanding of the importance of our relations abroad to their lives.

The Anniversary Committee is planning programs which will take place throughout the year, throughout the community, and throughout cyberspace. While honoring a glorious history spanning World War II and the Cold War, our focus will be on the future needs of American diplomacy and the skills required to conduct it successfully.

We plan to hold a special event in Washington to honor the Foreign Service family and to support celebrations at our embassies to commemorate the occasion and to honor our Foreign Service nationals.

Projects and events will include: a National High School Essay Contest, already launched; special commemorative envelopes for passports

issued in 1999; exhibits about the Foreign Service in each of the presidential libraries; outreach on the Internet; an AFSA reception for U.S. business leaders; and symposia at graduate schools and foreign policy organizations throughout the country.

*You will be hearing
more about how we can
celebrate this great
anniversary!*





PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Two Challenges for Diplomacy

BY DAN GEISLER

In one of history's ironies, an isolationist President, Calvin Coolidge, created the modern, merit-based Foreign Service 75 years ago by signing the Rogers Act into law. Only ten months before, Coolidge had unexpectedly succeeded President Warren G. Harding, who died in office. Charles Evans Hughes, a former governor of New York and a failed presidential candidate who would go on to become chief justice of the Supreme Court, was his secretary of State. Myron Herrick was on his second tour as U.S. ambassador to France, and Frank Kellogg, a wealthy lawyer from the Midwest, was ambassador to the Court of St. James.

Since that time, an enormous shift in the balance of global power has fundamentally changed America's position in the world. Our nation's international involvement has evolved as our domestic political, military and economic strength has grown. American diplomacy has also evolved to meet these changes in domestic consciousness. Still, the fundamental mission of the Foreign Service has remained unchanged.

Our first key mission — to persuade — has not changed in 75 years. What has changed over the decades is the type of person we want to influence. Our targets are no longer found sitting only in foreign govern-

*'Keep cool with
Coolidge' should
NOT be the Foreign
Service motto.*



ment offices. Secretary Hughes probably didn't worry much about foreign public opinion, and he probably didn't expect Ambassadors Herrick and Kellogg to worry about it either. But as nations democratize, governments become more accountable to people and influencing public opinion becomes correspondingly more important to America's foreign policy.

Conducting public diplomacy is one of two key challenges facing the Foreign Service today. Recently, Saddam Hussein managed to focus world opinion on the hardship which international sanctions impose on Iraqi women and children and away from his perfidy in continuing to manufacture chemical weapons. The United States was too slow to counteract his public diplomacy, and thus let him change the terms of the debate and undermine the strength of the international coalition against him.

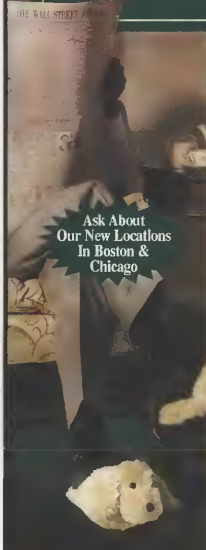
The second key mission of diplomacy is still with us after 75 years: providing timely, accurate reporting of events in foreign countries to American policy-makers. But just as democratization has changed diplomacy's targets of influence, technology has changed what and why we report to Washington.

The role of the Foreign Service today is to fish out the important facts and trends from the data streams that flow around us. We don't just gather information, we manage it with an eye to developing U.S. foreign policy. That job is made more difficult, because the Foreign Service lacks modern information management tools. Two recent studies of America's foreign policy institutions concluded that the State Department has been alarmingly slow in meeting the challenges of modernizing its technology. Recent leadership changes at State and attempts to "reinvent" the department's information management have yielded some improvements, but they are disappointingly slow in coming. The State Department is falling ever further behind the rest of the world.

If the Foreign Service is to prosper in its next 75 years, it is crucial that it adapt to meet the challenges of effective public diplomacy and modern information management. Unless we meet these challenges, America's primary foreign policy institution will remain stuck in the Charles Evans Hughes era. ■

Dan Geisler is president of the American Foreign Service Association.

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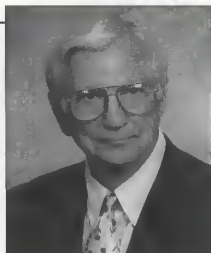
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LETTERS

Secretaries at State

Regarding Judy Chidester's and A.W. Michael's letters to the editor (*FSJ* October 1998, in response to Linda Eichblatt's April *FSJ* article), some of Michael's remarks are an insult to my educational background as well as a slap in the face to a profession and career I thoroughly enjoy.

Many office management specialists are college graduates. We come from varied professional backgrounds, and many of us have actually found job satisfaction as secretaries/OMSs!

I entered the Foreign Service in 1969 as a secretary at the then-entry grade level of FS-10. At that time, FS-3 was the highest attainable grade. I fully understood the Department of State system meant I would probably remain a secretary during the course of my FS career. I've cynically regarded repeated secretarial task forces which were initiated to deal with management's systematic approach to holding down secretarial promotions, such as establishment of the now defunct

1990s banding system whereby promotions were linked to specific training (usually not enough time was allowed for this training) or requirements to serve in each section of an embassy as well as in department career-enhancement positions, for language proficiency (not required for any other specialist), and for a mandatory five years in grade before even being considered for promotion from FS-4 to FS-3.

While I agree that one shouldn't compare OMSs to information management staff, to suggest OMSs are no longer required is ludicrous. Surely Michael and Chidester can't believe that the secretary, under secretaries, deputy assistant secretaries, country directors and their overseas counterparts could remotely be subsumed in the category: "Most FSOs prepare their own telegrams on computers and often make their own appointments." This might be the case for lower-grade FSOs, but it really boils down to the supervisor's operating style.

Front office OMSs perform a wide range of duties, including fielding a multitude of visa inquiries — we're not just telephone message takers! And I think you would be hard-pressed today to find an OMS who is not computer-literate. In fact, at this post the OMSs are generally more computer-literate than their supervisors and act as systems administrators of their respective offices. The bottom line: OMSs

are professionals. They should be treated as such, and should receive a salary commensurate with skills.

Ann I. Cyr

*OMS Deputy Chief of Mission,
U.S. Embassy Kuala Lumpur*

In Defense of Secretaries

I found the letter to the editor on secretaries by A.W. Michael in the October *FSJ* to be extremely insulting, the more so as it was written by a personnel officer. Michael's attitudes do not reflect the reality that I have found in 20 years of service in Washington and abroad, including as chief of mission in Cairo now.

Over the years, my secretaries have been managers, administrators, protocol specialists, information management specialists and skilled diplomats, who have also brought talent and secretarial skills to their job. Foreign Service and Civil Service secretaries have proved to be a vital link between policy makers and staff and between policy makers and people from outside the embassy or State Department.

It is remarkable and disheartening that anachronistic attitudes such as those evident in Michael's letter persist in our business. I have great respect for those who choose other career tracks including information managers, drivers or other functional specialists. My respect for our office management specialists, however, is equally great in that

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LETTERS

I could not have done my job effectively without their contribution.

*Daniel C. Kurtzer
Ambassador
U.S. Embassy Cairo*

Domestic Partner Benefits

Nearly five years after including sexual orientation in its non-discrimination policies, the State Department has yet to fully match its words with action. The department's increasing support and promotion of affirmative action, non-discrimination and diversity encourage me. But the department's credibility on civil rights remains questionable.

The Council on Equality in the Workplace, required by the Palmer and Thomas cases, regularly reports receiving suggestions on the concerns of gay and lesbian employees. However, no specific findings or recommendations are ever made.

The department can do better.

Domestic partner benefits would immeasurably enhance the department's duty to non-discrimination and equal opportunity. Domestic partners, whether gay or straight, fill the same critical role in many cases as spouses in heterosexual marriages. Equality, not preferential treatment, must be the objective.

*William E. Dilday
FSO, Dept. of State
Washington, D.C.*

Good Intentions in El Salvador

From my limited perspective as a former El Salvador desk officer (1980-81), I would like to comment on Central America during the period reviewed by Jack Binns ("Policy Pathology in Honduras," October FSJ).

In late 1980, the Carter administration seemingly was failing to achieve measurable progress in El Salvador — politically, economically or militarily. Washington's principal carrot for advancing human rights — a few long-promised radios and trucks for the beleaguered Salvadoran military — were not delivered until year's end.

During the weeks before Ronald Reagan's inauguration, the situation in El Salvador continued to deteriorate on every front. Armed guerrillas threatened to overwhelm the Salvadoran military, which was literally running out of ammunition. Human rights outrages, which frequently were associated with Salvadoran security forces, reached horrific expression and frequency. Potential partners in the American-promoted political process were abducted, tortured and murdered. A desperate Salvadoran president, José Napoleon Duarte, himself one day arrived unannounced in Washington to plead for help.

Discipline within the career Foreign Service was severely tested. One career FSO ambassador in the region (not Ambassador Binns) compounded the disarray by publicly disobeying clear instructions from the department. The same officer later publicized sensitive, ill-gotten information as part of a campaign to undermine Reagan administration efforts to stabilize the region.

The failed January 10, 1981 communist-armed final offensive by Salvadoran guerrillas, who were fearful of Reagan intentions in the region, fortuitously provided the departing Carter administration with the crucial intelligence incontrovertibly proving the extent of Cuban and Nicaraguan responsibility in the conflict. President Carter

— only four days before leaving office — resumed long-suspended arms deliveries to El Salvador, ordering U.S. aircraft to unload supplies around the clock at the country's main military airfield.

Surprisingly, the Reagan administration made no major break in policy toward El Salvador, continuing to pursue greater democratization and human rights, while more vigorously providing the military means to roll back Cuban- and Nicaraguan-promoted violence. Arguably, the Reagan administration early on failed to pursue potential opportunities to promote a peaceful regional settlement, but the presidential campaign rhetoric had precluded such an option. I myself was dismissed in the summer of 1981, a few days after expressing to the assistant secretary my interest in one fledgling peace initiative.

There were heroes in Central America in those days. President Duarte, a torture victim of a previous Salvadoran military regime, chose not to flee to Miami with many of his wealthy compatriots. Rather, Duarte struggled bravely, against all odds, to lay the foundation for a democratic political process, a revived criminal justice system and more effective protection for human rights. Another hero was the courageous junior officer in our embassy in San Salvador whose investigation led to the identification, arrest and conviction of the National Guardsmen responsible for the assault and murder of the four American churchwomen.

My brief professional involvement in Central America convinced me that, despite good efforts and intentions, as well as enormous volumes of information and intelligence, our understanding of the reality of the region and the forces at play in those

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years was nonetheless inadequate to the challenges we faced.

Michael T. Barry
Retired FSO
Colorado Springs, Colo.

Needed: Political Economy

Robert Fauver's article, "What Didn't We Know and When Didn't We Know It?" (*FSJ*, June 1998) makes compelling reading, all the more so because this is neither the first nor the last time the Foreign Service will be called upon to reach around the corners of history.

Had someone, somewhere, persuasively forecast that troubles in the Thai economy were likely to spark a rolling collapse in much of Southeast Asia and in Korea, perhaps Washington would have acted differently and moved swiftly to succor Thailand. It is no consolation to say that the Foreign Service was in distinguished company or that our embassies in Southeast Asia were understaffed; this was an analytic failure of consequence.

That said, some observations from the eve of the crisis are in order. In company with several experienced American observers, I visited Southeast Asia in June of 1997 to talk about long-range security issues with Asians and our embassies. There was discussion of the economy. In Thailand, embassy officers foresaw immediate trouble, from overlending and hopelessly overbuilt real estate. In Malaysia, for the same reasons, officers saw problems in a year or two. In Indonesia, our people also foresaw a downturn, but in two or three years.

Throughout the region, embassy officers and most Asians we talked with expected a decline from the spectacular rates of growth (eight to 11 percent per annum) which had characterized developing Asia's miracle years. No one foresaw a fast-spreading regional catastrophe,

in which GDP would decline precipitously. Still, they were closer to the mark than most Western observers and market watchers, who were busily projecting stunning growth as far as the eye could see.

Our inability to foresee Asia's widespread economic collapse results not only from our failure to understand globalization (for example, the volatility of capital) but also from a mindset which held that Asia's economy was severable from its politics.

If there is a lesson for our embassies, it lies in the need to emphasize political economy in Foreign Service reporting. In Indonesia, for example, the institutional trappings of a post-classic Javanese empire were too personal and corruption too pervasive for the rising expectations which Suharto himself had fostered. But while Asian and Western observers foresaw that generational change in Jakarta and elsewhere would inspire ferment and perhaps far-reaching political change, most thought that Asia's growth was largely immune to politics.

The assumption was that there was an "Asian way" which had superseded the bounds of earth. In fact, with the exception of Singapore and perhaps China (where the jury is out), Asia has been held back by "institutions of the day before," unable to transition to a more modern, transparent and responsive framework. Though there are no guarantees, it is no accident that Korea and Thailand, which have undergone recent democratic political transformations, appear closest to the path of recovery.

Kim Dae Jung, now president of South Korea, has pointed out that there is no single Asian way, but rather many ways, which vary with Asia's rich cultural tapestry.

Frank McNeil
Retired FSO
Boca Raton, Fla.

Olsen Got It Wrong

Robert Olsen, a former consular officer in Sao Paulo, says he entered the service believing that FSOs "were like Knights of Malta setting forth at the head of a holy crusade" (*Speaking Out*, November *FSJ*). He was wrong. For better or worse, FSOs are not crusaders, but mere public servants charged with advancing the interests of the United States.

This is especially true on the visa line. Like it or not, wealth and privilege often determine who gets to see America and who does not. Idealism doesn't mix well with section 214(b) of the Immigration and Nationality Act: Put the two together, and one of them generally has to give.

Olsen says he "learned the sad reality — that the Foreign Service as an organization values loyalty, teamwork, networking and career advancement over other qualities." The fact that Olsen includes loyalty and teamwork on this list says something about his ideals. Alas, networking and career advancement are sad realities, especially when you have a mortgage to pay and children to educate.

Robert Olsen professes surprise that the "brotherhood of career officers" failed to protect him in the same way it protected "legendary FSO Tex Harris." He should accept this as evidence of what, I suspect, are major differences between the two of them — most notably, that Tex Harris was right. Poor judgment on the visa line does not a legend make.

James P. DeHart
FSO
Department of State
Washington, D.C. ■



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CLIPPINGS



*"When I arrived
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about the euro.
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Americans]
didn't seem to
think we could
make such a
dramatic
decision. I
understood that
we'd better do it
first, then they'd
talk about it."*

—AMBASSADOR HUGO
PAEMEN, HEAD OF THE
DELEGATION OF THE
EUROPEAN COMMISSION
IN A BRIEFING
DEC. 16, 1998

WAKEUP CALL: SCIENCE AT STATE

An advisory panel from the National Academy of Sciences moved quickly last fall to give the secretary of State a report on how to improve the quality of scientific expertise available to foreign policy makers, according to the Sept. 25 *Science* magazine. The question is, will this report get any more attention than its many predecessors, which were soon forgotten?

The interim report came just four months after Secretary Madeleine Albright requested the advice; the final version is due later this year. The NAS outlines nine "immediate and practical" steps to improve State's awareness of science and technology issues.

Some measures could be taken with almost no additional funding, such as building ties to knowledgeable staff at other government agencies. Other steps would incur costs, including creating about a dozen new science and health positions in Washington, adding science staffers at key embassies, and creating a scientific advisory board to help the State Department with breaking issues.

One of the toughest challenges will be changing a State Department culture that views becoming a scientific attaché as a "kiss of death" to a Foreign Service career, noted panel leader Robert Frosch of Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.

"It's not difficult to get good scientific advice in Washington — you have to bob and weave to avoid it," Frosch told *Science*. "The real trick is knowing when to ask for it." Frosch observed that State has gotten about three dozen reports

on science and foreign policy in the last 50 years.

WHY U.S. FOOD AID MAY HURT RUSSIA

An English-language magazine in Moscow, *The Exile*, takes a dim view of a new American proposal for food aid to Russia. A planned \$600 million U.S. loan to buy American grain will hurt Russian farmers, and will benefit only a few well-connected distributors, says a Nov. 19 article by Mark Ames. *The Exile* is an "alternative" publication, written mainly by young American expatriates.

Ames suggests that dumping large amounts of "practically unsupervised food aid" on Russia will damage "a farming system struggling to get on its feet." He quotes sources stating that there are actually large reserves of stored grain in Russia. Food merchant Victor Frumkin told Ames, "There's no need for more grain, except that some people stand to benefit from it. It'll all probably end up being sold in Moscow" and is unlikely to reach the needy.

"If America was seriously concerned about Russian hunger and desperately wanted to extend a \$600 million loan, it could have targeted the areas most in need of help, specifically the 1.4 million Russians stuck in the far reaches of Russia's northern lands," Ames declares.

Ames also says it would have made more sense to purchase Russian grain to feed the hungry. "Right now, Russian grain is going for \$35 a ton, while the average world price for grain is \$110 a ton, and yet the loan is going towards buying and shipping the American grain."

But that way, Ames says, the aid benefits American farmers, who are hurting from depressed prices.

IRAQI OPPOSITION: CAN 73 GROUPS UNITE?

The Iraqi opposition to the rule of Saddam Hussein is still remarkably fragmented and ineffective, writes the Dec. 12 *Iraq Report*, a bulletin published by Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty.

With U.S. policy makers continuing to voice hopes for Saddam's overthrow, the state of the Iraqi opposition becomes a vital question. But two meetings last November — one convened by Britain, the other by the U.S. — revealed a lack of effective cooperation or planning by Iraqi groups. One central problem: the 73 opposition groups include diverse factions, ranging from religious conservatives to disaffected Iraqi military officers to communists.

At the U.S.-sponsored meeting, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs Martin Indyk told those attending that the main U.S. objective was to evaluate opposition groups "in order to identify those qualified to receive military assistance stipulated by U.S. law to liberate Iraq."

But one Iraqi leader who chose not to attend, Mohammad Baqr Al-Hakim, the leader of the Supreme Assembly for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, described the U.S. plan to allocate \$100 million to opposition groups as "a funny operation worthy of nothing but ridicule."

Meanwhile, 18 other groups close to Iran met separately "to try to unite the opposition."

As *Iraq Report* sums up the situation, "The opposition outside Iraq remains very divided. The opposition inside the country remains submerged. And a trend has emerged that is dividing all groups according to whether they will look to the

U.S. and the U.K. or to Tehran."

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak reflected what seem to be widespread views Nov. 26. "Let us be realistic," he said. "These plans will end in nothing. Anyone who knows the Iraqis knows that no opposition can succeed unless it is carried out from within Iraq and by people who live in Iraq. Those who live abroad would not be able to do anything even if Saddam Hussein was toppled," Mubarak was quoted as saying in the London newspaper *Al-Shaq al-Awsat*.

GORE POLICY GURU IS A FORMER FSO

Former FSO Leon Fuerth, Vice President Al Gore's top adviser on foreign policy, is a rising though little known force in the administration, according to the Dec. 7 *New Republic*. "In the event that Gore wins the presidency in 2000, Fuerth is favored to be national security adviser" writes correspondent Stan Crock.

U.N. Ambassador-designate Richard Holbrooke has called Fuerth "one of those powerful but rarely seen people who play major roles behind the scene in Washington." Even some Republicans like Fuerth, Crock says, "because he's that rare bird, a non-Southern Democratic hawk."

Fuerth, 59 and a native New Yorker, quit graduate school to join the Foreign Service in 1968. After serving in Zagreb, he "held a succession of jobs involving arms control, policy planning, and NATO." In 1979, Fuerth moved to the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, where he met Rep. Al Gore of Tennessee. Fuerth tutored Gore on nuclear issues, and when Gore won a Senate seat in 1984, Fuerth moved with him as his national security aide. The two have been a team ever since.

Crock says that by mutual agreement, Fuerth has focused strictly on policy

50 YEARS AGO

"These, then, are the qualities of my ideal diplomat. Truth, accuracy, calm, patience, good temper, modesty and loyalty. They are also the qualities of an ideal diplomacy. 'But,' the reader may object, 'you have forgotten intelligence, hospitality, charm, industry, courage and even tact.'"

I have not forgotten them. I have taken them for granted."

FROM THE BOOK
DIPLOMACY BY HAROLD
NICOLSON, AS QUOTED
IN THE JAN. 1949 FSJ

"We always thought that politics and economics are the crucial forces of our time, but entertainment is the most inexorable force of the 20th century."

— NEIL GABLER,
DEC. 7, 1998,
NEW YORK TIMES

questions, leaving the politics to Gore. He credits Fuerth with being the brains behind the now-defunct Gore-Chernomyrdin commission, which brought the vice president and the Russian prime minister together to deal with trade, health and other issues. One accomplishment: a cooperative agreement that gave millions of Russian children vaccinations.

Fuerth is a big fan of sanctions, and has also immersed himself in specialized issues like where to route oil pipelines from the Caspian region to the West.

Despite his wonkish tendencies, Crock reports that Fuerth is starting to develop political antennae. If, as everyone expects, Gore runs for president next year, Fuerth's support will help give the vice president an edge as the

apparent foreign policy expert in the pack.

THE TRAVEL SECTION

The U.S. Office of Management and Budget has released figures on 1997 travel expenditures by government agencies, and State is nowhere near the top of the list.

As reported by *Government Executive* magazine, the biggest spender by far is the Department of Defense, which racked up \$5.085 billion in travel costs. The runners-up — Justice, Transportation and Treasury — were way behind, in the vicinity of \$300 million each.

The State Department came in ninth, with \$115 million on its travel tab. USIA, with \$28 million in expenses, ranked 19th among federal agencies. ■

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SPEAKING OUT

Declining Comment, Film at Eleven

BY GEORGE GEDDA

James P. Rubin, the State Department spokesman, smiles more easily than most of his predecessors, but he was downright giddy during the noon briefing on Nov. 30. The reason was simple: no cameras.

Rubin decided that a lower profile was appropriate because President Bill Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright both had appearances before the cameras that same day at the department.

By banning the cameras, Rubin was obeying a cardinal rule of spokespersonship: Never do anything that might upstage your boss or, in this case, bosses.

Excluding occasions when the deputy spokesman fills in, the daily press briefings almost always have been held on camera since the networks were given permission to tape the proceedings in early 1977.

Then-spokesman Hodding Carter gave in to TV network appeals to lift the ban. They had argued that if the print media were allowed to have the tools of their trade — notebooks and pens — then the networks should be able to bring in cameras and microphones. Having the cameras present gave network reporters the sound bites they needed to sell story ideas to the nightly news shows.

Carter said later he had said yes to the networks without giving

George Gedda covers the State Department for the Associated Press.

*Spokeswoman for
then-Secretary of
State George Shultz,
Phyllis Oakley, once
was asked about a
rumor that her boss
had a tiger tattoo on
his posterior.
"I'm not in a position
to know,"
she deadpanned.*



the subject much thought. He had consulted with Robert McCloskey, a Vietnam-war era spokesman, who advised Carter that good idea or bad, once the cameras were allowed in, they would be there for good. The advice was prescient.

The impact of Carter's decision was instantaneous. The briefings became far more bland, less newsworthy. Previously, a spokesman had been able to fill in gaps on an issue by going on "background," offering the kind of detail best left unsaid while the cameras were rolling. When an official goes on background, he or she can be quoted only as an unnamed official.

During the pre-camera period, spokesmen often spent a third of their briefings on background; reporters left briefings feeling they were reasonably well informed. This changed after the introduction of cameras.

Since then, reporters whose appetite for news is unslaked by the on-camera briefing customarily crowd around the podium for an off-camera "post-briefing briefing" from the spokesman. These sessions seldom add anything to what was said when the cameras were rolling.

On Nov. 30, Rubin was in a relaxed mood when he showed up to brief, noting that the long platform at the rear of the briefing room was devoid of cameras.

"This is great!" he enthused at one point when he fumbled on a word. "I can make a mistake and nobody can see it." Another advantage for him was that there was no official transcript that day, nor was any published by private transcript services.

One of the first rules of being a spokesman is not to be caught smiling when dealing with issues of serious concern to the United States. Rubin was able, within reason, to set the rule aside that day.

When he was asked about a tough speech by Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, Rubin said, "Our position on Palestinian..." he then interrupted himself and a smile crossed his face.



"I can even smile when I say things," he gushed.

At another point, he asked rhetorically, "Can we banish the cameras for all time?"

Rubin has a firm grasp of the issues. He also is a man for whom a smile comes easily. He admitted that day that it was often very hard to maintain the proper decorum when discussing serious issues on camera. "This is personally difficult," he said. He admitted to reporters that day that subordinates are constantly admonishing him: "Remember, the American people are watching this and you can't say anything funny."

However much he enjoyed himself, Rubin was regretful for at least one brief moment over the cameras' absence. When several reporters wouldn't let go of a subject even though Rubin had said all he had to say, he offered this one-liner: "Those who continue to flog these dead horses should move on to some other kind of meat."

When reporters complimented him on his clever turn of phrase, he joked: "Get the cameras!"

Maintaining a serious bearing before the cameras has always been a problem for spokesmen in the TV-camera era. One day in 1990, Barry Schweid of the AP showed up at a briefing with a cup of coffee and a napkin. Written on the napkin in bold black letters were the words "Tutwiler Hotel." It was from an Alabama hotel owned by a relative of Margaret Tutwiler, the spokeswoman for then Secretary of State James Baker.

From her perch a few feet from where Schweid was sitting, it was easy for her to spot the napkin. As Tutwiler was discussing North Yemen policy, she saw it. She paused briefly, somehow managed to keep a straight

Maintaining a serious bearing before the cameras has always been a problem for spokesmen in the TV camera era.



face, then continued. She admitted later that she had come perilously close to cracking up.

In 1985, then-spokesman Edward Djerejian was asked for the official response to the death of Albanian leader Enver Hoxha. It's hard to imagine a death more unmourned than Hoxha's, given his long years of iron-fisted rule. But no death is a laughing matter. Nonetheless, it took a supreme effort by Djerejian to suppress a laugh as he read the response. He knew, and the press knew he knew, that the question had put him in a difficult position, especially with the smirks on many of those assembled before him. Off camera, Djerejian was able to joke about how difficult it was for him to stifle a laugh.

There was no need for anyone on either side of the podium to stifle a laugh when the spokeswoman for then Secretary of State George Shultz, Phyllis Oakley, once was asked about a rumor that her boss had a tiger tattoo on his posterior.

"I'm not in a position to know," she deadpanned.

Years earlier, during the Hodding Carter era, the daily briefing featured appearances by Lester Kinsolving, a reporter and anti-establishment gadfly who also happened to be a man of the cloth. Kinsolving delighted in badgering

Carter with provocative questions, usually with a right-wing slant. One day, Carter struck back. When Kinsolving tossed off one of his customary zingers, Carter grabbed a rubber chicken from inside the podium and fired it at Kinsolving, scoring a direct hit. And, yes, it was on camera. Years later, Warren Christopher's spokesman, Mike McCurry, showed up for a December briefing dressed as Santa Claus.

Rubin often injects humor into briefings as well. He once drew laughs by referring to Belarus's erratic president, Alexander Lukashenko, as "loopy." He also uses the briefing to chide pundits who, in his view, miss the mark in their columns. He once accused one such pundit of "after-the-fact-know-it-allness." On many days, having a televised briefing can be a waste of time since very often there is so little the spokesman can say. How many times has a spokesman been heard to tell a reporter, "I have nothing for you on that."

At times, the chances for success in an important diplomatic negotiation are directly proportional to the secrecy the interlocutors are able to maintain. Only a handful of officials were aware of the secret talks the United States and China were holding in late 1978 on normalizing relations.

All reporters were caught by surprise when the announcement in December of that year was made. The Camp David negotiations three months earlier probably would have ended in failure if the parties had briefed the press each evening on the day's proceedings. As it was, they kept the press in the dark until they had an agreement nailed down. The press had to suffer through a news blackout for almost two weeks. But it was worth the wait. When it was all over, they had plenty to write about. And it was no joking matter. ■

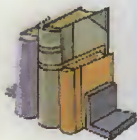
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CONGRESS: A HOUSE DIVIDED



HERSCH HERMAN

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TURMOIL IN WASHINGTON
MAY DRAW ATTENTION AWAY
FROM FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

By CARROLL DOHERTY

he impeachment of President Clinton has not only imperiled his presidency, it has cast a pall over his ability to conduct the nation's foreign policy. And what is particularly unclear is how the impeachment controversy, which has completely absorbed the capital, will affect Clinton's relations with Congress as he seeks approval for a variety of key international initiatives, from back dues for the United Nations to treaties and diplomatic appointments.

The irony in all this is that the November elections provided nothing but good news for the White House. House Republicans failed to deliver on predictions they would pick up as many as 20 seats; instead, they lost five, putting

F O C U S

Democrats in range of retaking the House in the year 2000. Republicans in the Senate once harbored hopes of gaining a 60-vote supermajority, which would have enabled them to overcome Democratic filibusters. But they ended up with the same 55-45 edge they held in the 105th Congress.

But all of these gains were overshadowed by the GOP's drive to impeach Clinton for wrongdoing arising from his affair with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky. Now, with Clinton fighting for the very survival of his presidency, it is uncertain whether he can devote sufficient time to selling his agenda — particularly his foreign policy agenda — on Capitol Hill.

And Congress, which has shown steadily declining interest in international issues, is likely to be distracted as well. If the Senate, which takes the lead on foreign policy, were to go forward with a full-blown impeachment trial of Clinton, as appeared likely when this article went to press, international issues would become even less of a priority.

From Gingrich to Hastert?

For its part, the House has been shaken by a series of convulsive changes in leadership. Perhaps the biggest single change in the 106th Congress is the departure of House Speaker Newt Gingrich of Georgia, who decided to step down in the wake of the Republicans' disappointing electoral showing. Gingrich was an unabashed internationalist who believed in a strong American global presence. At a time when many Republicans are inclined to look inward, Gingrich provided an important counterweight to isolationism.

State Department officials were encouraged by the selection of House Appropriations Committee Chairman Bob Livingston, a Louisiana Republican who is strong on defense and trade, as Gingrich's successor. But Livingston announced he was stepping down, on the same day Clinton was impeached, after admitting to extra-marital affairs. That left Rep. Dennis

The biggest single change is the departure of Newt Gingrich, an unabashed internationalist.

Hastert, an obscure Illinois Republican, as the heir-apparent for Gingrich's slot. Hastert's foreign affairs experience has been limited to his high-profile role in boosting international anti-narcotics programs. But Hastert is also closely aligned with Majority Whip Tom DeLay (R-Texas), who has been sharply critical of U.S. funding for the United Nations. DeLay has been in the lead

in attempting to force the administration to accept abortion-related restrictions on U.S. family planning aid in return for congressional authorization of payment of back debts to the U.N.

Helms at the Helm

Beyond the scramble at the top, most of the principal foreign policy players will be returning for the 106th Congress. Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) still chairs the Foreign Relations Committee, where he acts as gatekeeper for diplomatic appointments. Helms, who has mellowed a bit over the years, has developed a smooth working relationship with Sen. Joseph R. Biden, Jr. of Delaware, the ranking Democrat. Rep. Benjamin A. Gilman (R-N.Y.) will return to chair the House International Relations Committee. But with the retirement of Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (D-Ind.), one of Capitol Hill's most respected voices on foreign policy, the State Department will lose an important ally (see *FSJ* interview, page 36). Hamilton will be succeeded by Sam Gejdenson (D-Conn.), a liberal who has been primarily interested in international economic issues.

On the defense side, Virginia Sen. John Warner will take control of the Senate Armed Services Committee, succeeding Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. And Senate Banking Committee Chairman Alfonse M. D'Amato (R-N.Y.) went down to defeat at the hands of Democratic Rep. Charles Schumer. D'Amato was a leading advocate of tougher U.S. sanctions against Iran.

In some ways, this session of Congress might be the calm before the millennial storm. In 2000, the White House, the House and 33 Senate seats will be up for grabs. Democrats, eager to build on their success of this year, are hoping to hit the political trifecta in two years and gain control of both the Congress and the

Carroll Doherty is a writer for Congressional Quarterly in Washington, D.C.

White House. They are betting that public dissatisfaction with the GOP's impeachment drive will still be fresh in voters' minds two years from now.

Even if the Democrats fail, there will be other personnel changes after the 2000 elections. Under House GOP rules, Gilman will be unable to retain the chair of the International Relations Committee beyond this Congress. That will open the door for Nebraska Republican Rep. Doug Bereuter, a leading figure on U.S. policy toward Asia, to succeed Gilman.

NATO Expansion — Of Course

The administration fared surprisingly well in the 105th Congress. In the closing days of the session, the White House won approval for nearly \$18 billion in new credits for the International Monetary Fund, hundreds of millions of dollars in funding for other international organizations, and important legislation implementing the chemical weapons treaty.

Those provisions were attached to the massive omnibus appropriations measure that will fund much of the government until next October. That bill also included \$1.4 billion to rebuild the bombed-out embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, and upgrade security in other diplomatic facilities.

A long-planned restructuring of the foreign policy apparatus—once the brainchild of Sen. Jesse Helms, but eventually supported by Clinton—became a reality as well. The United States Information Agency and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency will merge with the State Department. Some activities of the Agency for International Development will be folded into State as well, though that agency will retain its independent status.

This will also be remembered as the Congress that expanded the borders of NATO to include a trio of former Warsaw Pact nations: Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic. The significance of that step was overlooked, in part because Senate approval of the action was a foregone conclusion. Indeed, there was so little drama in the debate over expanding NATO that most attention was focused on the nations that may be admit-

Over Clinton's objections, Congress passed legislation to combat religious persecution abroad.

ted to the alliance during its next enlargement.

But Republicans won several battles as well. Over Clinton's objections, Congress passed legislation to combat religious persecution abroad. While endorsing the goal of the bill, the president has expressed concern that the legislation could infringe upon his ability to conduct foreign policy. State Department officials

are closely scrutinizing the potential impact of a provision aimed at giving religious groups the same access to U.S. embassies as other non-governmental organizations engaged in diplomatically related work, such as providers of foreign aid and groups that monitor human rights.

In the omnibus bill, Congress also added billions of dollars in new funding for the intelligence community and to enhance international anti-drug operations. Gingrich had demanded those increases, which were not sought by the administration.

House Republicans may yet turn up new and embarrassing allegations concerning U.S. policy toward China. A report by a select committee established to investigate U.S. missile transfers to China was due out by the end of 1998. While that report still could roil Sino-American relations, this year may have marked a turning point in congressional attitudes toward China. GOP leaders in both the House and Senate devoted considerable time and effort to investigating the administration's policy. But Congress stopped well short of inflicting any real damage to that policy. The effort to strip China's trade privileges, which used to be known as most-favored-nation status but now is called normal trade, has lost support.

On the Horizon

As Clinton's presidency enters its final two years, he is hoping to burnish his legacy with successes in the foreign policy arena. His administration is determined to build on fragile diplomatic gains in the Middle East and Kosovo, to contain Saddam Hussein, and restore stability to the international finance system. By and large, these initiatives do not require the approval of

Congress. But Clinton will need congressional backing to secure a number of his priorities, including:

U.N. Funding: This fall, Clinton vetoed legislation that tied nearly \$1 billion in U.S. arrears to the United Nations to an unrelated abortion issue. The administration will try again next year to win the funding, but the same obstacle — Republican insistence on imposing abortion-related curbs on international family planning aid — stands in the way. Democrats have been emboldened by their gains in the House, and may try again to put aside the anti-abortion language. Any such effort would meet fierce opposition from House conservatives. A preview of this battle could come when Richard Holbrooke, Clinton's nominee for U.N. ambassador, appears before Helms' committee.

Treaties: The administration is seeking Senate ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which the president submitted to the Senate in 1997. The treaty has run into a stone wall of opposition from Helms, who has signaled he will block the pact unless the administration first submits to the Senate the global warming treaty and changes to the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. While the test ban treaty has received some GOP backing, it looks like a longshot in 1999. More than a year after the United States and 175 other nations met in Kyoto, Japan, and reached an agreement to work on global warming, the White House has not even submitted the treaty to the Senate. Opposition from Republicans and several leading Democrats is fierce.

Biden has said it is "outrageous" that the Senate has failed to act on the test ban treaty. "Ratification of the treaty and payment of the U.N. arrears must be at the very top of our foreign policy agenda," Biden said. The United States has not even signed treaties to eliminate landmines and establish an International Criminal Court. The administration is under some congressional pressure to agree to both pacts, but not enough to cause the administration to drop its opposition.

*While the test ban
treaty has received
some GOP backing,
it looks like a
long shot in 1999.*

Former Yugoslavia: Republicans are likely to chafe at the cost of supporting continuing peacekeeping efforts in Bosnia and the Serbian province of Kosovo. Republicans have been generally critical of the peace accord that Holbrooke negotiated in Kosovo, charging it is a cave-in to Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic.

The administration will seek funding for the Marine expeditionary force off the Yugoslav coast in the Adriatic Sea, part of the cost of stationing 2,000 international monitors in Kosovo, and humanitarian and relief missions in former Yugoslavia.

The Middle East: The administration will request \$2.5 billion in supplemental foreign aid in early 1999, including almost \$1.5 billion to support the peace accord between Israel and the Palestinians. At a time of tight budgets, that request is expected to generate skepticism.

Rep. Sonny Callahan (R-Ala.), who chairs the Appropriations subcommittee with jurisdiction over foreign aid, has objected to any increases in assistance to the Middle East, which receives far more aid than any other region. But the influential pro-Israel lobby, which is expected to push hard for the aid package, is a formidable force on Capitol Hill. In addition to the Middle East funding, the administration is seeking emergency aid for victims of Hurricane Mitch in Central America.

Iraq: Through all the partisan skirmishing over Bosnia and other matters, there remains strong bipartisan congressional support for any military action ordered by Clinton. Indeed, there is a growing call for actually ousting Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein.

Sanctions: This is emerging as a major concern for trade-oriented American businesses, which have led a high-profile effort to roll back congressionally-mandated trade and economic sanctions. In the closing days of the 105th Congress, lawmakers eased restrictions on India and Pakistan related to efforts by those nations to

develop nuclear weapons.

Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.) appointed a high-level task force to study whether sanctions should be rolled back. But the effort ended in failure when the task force could not reach a consensus.

This year, there will be a new legislative campaign to scale back U.S. sanctions, and some lawmakers from both parties are demanding that Congress take a hard look at the U.S. economic embargo against Cuba. The question of fully normalizing trade relations with Vietnam might also arise, prompting what is likely to be an emotional debate over whether that nation has done enough to account for missing U.S. servicemen from the conflict in Southeast Asia.

Trade: In 1997, Clinton put on a tremendous push to win passage of "fast-track" authority — which makes it easier for him to negotiate trade deals — and failed when House Democrats rose up in opposition to the proposal. This year, Clinton barely lifted a finger and, perhaps predictably, it lost again. How hard will he try in 1999?

The president is politically indebted to organized labor, which has campaigned against fast track. As a result, he might not be willing to risk political capital on a new campaign. The administration's Africa trade initiative is also facing stiff opposition. In addition, Congress might also object to the administration's plan to tap the Treasury Department's Exchange Stabilization Fund to help Brazil's ailing economy. All of these issues will be debated at a time when Republicans hold a narrow 223-211 majority in the House. That could prompt Republicans to be more conciliatory. The House Republican leadership will probably have to acknowledge that the GOP will need Democratic votes to govern, a reality that Gingrich never came to grips with. A move toward the political center by House Republicans could make it easier to resolve issues that have long been mired in partisanship, such as U.N. funding.

The House Republicans' biggest challenge will be to maintain working unity within their deeply divided

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majority in the House.*

caucus. And as the 2000 elections draw near, the atmosphere will become more politicized, making it difficult to accomplish anything.

Impeachment is the wild card in the Senate. Undoubtedly, Lott and other leading senators would prefer to avoid a lengthy impeachment trial, which would bring legislative business to a standstill. On the foreign

policy front, Lott has at times worked cooperatively with the administration, such as when he helped gain approval for the Chemical Weapons Treaty in 1997 and the proposal to enlarge NATO last year. But Lott also has harshly criticized U.S. policies in the Balkans and the Middle East. Yet Lott can do little to affect those policies, because Democrats possess enough votes to mount successful filibusters. Helms still holds sway over diplomatic appointments, which has proved to be problematic in some recent high-profile cases (such as his adamant refusal to permit a hearing for former Massachusetts Gov. William Weld, Clinton's nominee as ambassador to Mexico).

Making Congress Care

Beyond the political and tactical maneuvering, the most vexing challenge facing the president and the secretary of State is to counter the apathy that has pervaded Capitol Hill for some time on foreign policy issues. Aside from a small group of lawmakers — a handful of members of the foreign policy committees and few others — most members choose to ignore global matters unless the United States is confronting an international crisis. The impeachment drama should make it more difficult than ever to focus attention on overseas events.

Signs of this disinterest are unmistakable. While lawmakers once fought furiously to land seats on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee or its House counterpart, those assignments are no longer considered plums. Indeed, those committees have come to be dominated by junior members, many of whom would jump to other panels at the first opportunity. Few lawmakers today seek to emulate Lee Hamilton or Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.), who have devoted their

F O C U S

political careers to foreign policy. Among Congress's senior leaders, none have ever served on the foreign affairs committees.

Newspaper stories on congressional "junks" have made lawmakers reluctant to travel abroad. Many, such as House Majority Leader Dick Armey (R-Texas), openly boast of their disdain for foreign travel. Armey has said, only half-jokingly, that the only reason to venture outside the United States would be to visit U.S. troops or find good barbecue. Lott's handling of NATO expansion raised eyebrows in Europe, because he would periodically suspend the historic debate to make time for an education bill Republicans were promoting.

Given that Americans enjoy prosperity at home and relative tranquility abroad, this lack of global involvement by Congress is understandable. After all, Clinton is hardly interested in being remembered as a foreign policy president — he defeated George Bush in 1992 by painting Bush as being too concerned about the world and neglectful of the nation's economy. Newspapers and other media organizations have been

steadily reducing their coverage of overseas events and trimming their foreign staffs.

Yet this diminishing interest in global issues has had significant consequences. For one thing, it has often turned foreign policy debates into extensions of domestic political battles. There is no clearer example of that than the imbroglio over U.N. funding and family planning.

The dispute has all the characteristics of a domestic fight over abortion. Pro-abortion-rights and anti-abortion groups have turned this into a litmus test for their supporters. Largely overlooked in the skirmishing between the two sides is the damage that has been inflicted on U.S. relations with the United Nations.

The picture isn't entirely bleak. Several junior GOP senators from the export-reliant Midwest, such as Chuck Hagel of Nebraska and Pat Roberts of Kansas, have warned of the dangers of isolationism. But those are the exceptions. For the most part, lawmakers from both parties view many foreign policy issues through the prism of domestic politics — when they are not simply ignoring it entirely. ■

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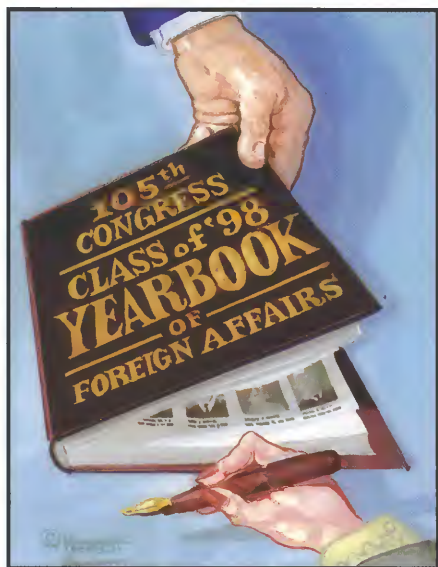


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CONGRESSIONAL SCORECARD



HERSCH HERMAN

T WHICH MEMBERS SUPPORTED
FOREIGN ENGAGEMENT IN 1998?
AFSA CRUNCHES THE NUMBERS.

he foreign affairs of the United States live and die by the stroke of the congressional pen. Sure, the textbooks all say that foreign policy is the province of the president. But no treaty is passed, no dollar is spent, no agency is consolidated without congressional approval.

That's why, for the second consecutive year, AFSA has developed and FSJ is publishing a scorecard ranking all members of Congress on their support for U.S. engagement abroad.

While AFSA members have a professional and personal interest in foreign policy, the organization does not generally take positions on foreign policy issues during congressional debates and voting. (AFSA does, of course, take positions on issues directly affecting the interests of members.)

C O N G R E S S I O N A L S C O R E C A R D

But this scorecard is based on a simple premise: that in a complex and sometimes threatening world, it makes sense for the U.S. to help shape events through active engagement and leadership. AFSA also recognizes that leadership has its price; that's why votes on resources are included in the rankings.

AFSA also realizes that the numbers below tell only part of the picture. Members of Congress vote as they do for many reasons — the perceived merits of the issue, protecting the interests of the home district, or following their party's leadership, for example. In addition, on some issues, the "correct" position may be far from clear. For instance, members generally viewed as "internationalist" have taken positions on both sides regarding Most Favored Nation status for China.

Below, you'll find all members of Congress rated on a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 meaning that the member in every case voted in favor of U.S. engagement and adequate resources (although no one in fact scored a 10). Twelve votes in the House and 14 in the Senate were scored. All votes took place in the 1998 second session of the 105th Congress.

Our table also takes note of whether the members of the 105th Congress are expected back for the 106th. An (R) after a member's name means they

voluntarily retired, (D) means defeated, and (O) means they ran for another office.

The heavy lifting in assembling this scorecard was done by AFSA congressional relations intern Jennifer Roberts.

— Ken Nakamura,
AFSA director of congressional relations

The Senate Votes

Of the 14 Senate votes counted, five directly concerned financial resources and nine dealt with foreign engagement in a policy sense. The resource issues: two votes on full funding for the IMF; funding for operations in Bosnia; foreign assistance; and removing restrictions on U.S. contributions to the IMF.

The Senate's "engagement" votes dealt with: NATO expansion (two votes); Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Preparatory Commission; Korean Energy Development Organization; U.S. troops in Bosnia; requiring congressional authorization for use of U.S. troops in offensive operations; barring visas for foreign officials involved in human rights violations; State/USIA/ACDA reauthorization and reorganization; and Mexico's anti-drug recertification.

SENATE SCORECARD FOR 105TH CONGRESS

SENATOR	STATE	PARTY	SCORE	SENATOR	STATE	PARTY	SCORE
Jeff Sessions	Ala	R	4.3	Barbara Boxer	Calif	D	5.7
Richard Shelby	Ala	R	5.7	Dianne Feinstein	Calif	D	7.1
Frank Murkowski	Alaska	R	3.6	Wayne Allard	Colo	R	3.6
Ted Stevens	Alaska	R	6.4	Ben Campbell	Colo	R	5.7
Jon Kyl	Ariz	R	4.3	Christopher Dodd	Conn	D	7.1
John McCain	Ariz	R	6.4	Joseph Lieberman	Conn	D	7.9
Dale Bumpers ^(R)	Ark	D	7.9	Joseph Biden	Del	D	7.1
Tim Hutchinson	Ark	R	5.0	William Roth	Del	R	6.4

R: Retired; **D:** Defeated; **O:** Ran for Other Office

CONGRESSIONAL SCORECARD

SENATE SCORECARD FOR 105TH CONGRESS

SENATOR	STATE	PARTY	SCORE	SENATOR	STATE	PARTY	SCORE
Bob Graham	Fla	D	7.1	Olympia Snowe	Maine	R	6.4
Connie Mack	Fla	R	5.0	Barbara Mikulski	Md	D	7.1
Max Cleland	Ga	D	7.9	Paul Sarbanes	Md	D	5.7
Paul Coverdell	Ga	R	2.9	Edward Kennedy	Mass	D	6.4
Daniel Akaka	Hawaii	D	7.9	John Kerry	Mass	D	7.1
Daniel Inouye	Hawaii	D	5.0	Spencer Abraham	Mich	R	5.0
Larry Craig	Idaho	R	6.4	Carl Levin	Mich	D	7.9
Dirk Kempthorne ^(O)	Idaho	R	5.7	Rod Grams	Minn	R	5.0
Richard Durbin	Ill	D	5.0	Paul Wellstone	Minn	D	7.1
Carol Moseley-Braun ^(D)	Ill	D	5.0	Thad Cochran	Miss	R	6.4
Dan Coats ^(R)	Ind	R	5.7	Trent Lott	Miss	R	6.4
Richard Lugar	Ind	R	6.4	John Ashcroft	Mo	R	5.0
Chuck Grassley	Iowa	R	5.7	Christopher Bond	Mo	R	5.7
Tom Harkin	Iowa	D	6.4	Max Baucus	Mont	D	7.9
Sam Brownback	Kan	R	6.4	Conrad Burns	Mont	R	6.4
Pat Roberts	Kan	R	6.4	Chuck Hagel	Neb	R	6.4
Wendell Ford ^(R)	Ky	D	7.1	Robert Kerrey	Neb	D	7.9
Mitch McConnell	Ky	R	5.0	Richard Bryan	Nev	D	7.9
John Breaux	La	D	7.1	Harry Reid	Nev	D	8.6
Mary Landrieu	La	D	7.1	Judd Gregg	N.H.	R	5.0
Susan Collins	Maine	R	5.7	Bob Smith	N.H.	R	4.3

C O N G R E S S I O N A L S C O R E C A R D

SENATE SCORECARD FOR 105TH CONGRESS

SENATOR	STATE	PARTY	SCORE	SENATOR	STATE	PARTY	SCORE
Frank Lautenberg	N.J.	D	7.1	Strom Thurmond	S.C.	R	7.1
Robert Torricelli	N.J.	D	7.1	Thomas Daschle	S.D.	D	7.1
Jeff Bingaman	N.M.	D	3.6	Tim Johnson	S.D.	R	6.4
Pete Domenici	N.M.	R	5.7	William Frist	Tenn	R	5.0
Alfonse D'Amato ^(D)	N.Y.	R	6.4	Fred Thompson	Tenn	R	4.3
Daniel Moynihan	N.Y.	D	8.6	Phil Gramm	Texas	R	5.0
Lauch Faircloth ^(D)	N.C.	R	3.6	Kay Hutchison	Texas	R	5.7
Jesse Helms	N.C.	R	3.6	Robert Bennett	Utah	R	7.1
Kent Conrad	N.D.	D	7.9	Orrin Hatch	Utah	R	6.4
Byron Dorgan	N.D.	D	7.1	James Jeffords	Vt	R	8.6
Mike DeWine	Ohio	R	6.4	Patrick Leahy	Vt	D	8.6
John Glenn ^(R)	Ohio	D	5.0	Charles Robb	Va	D	8.6
James Inhofe	Okla	R	4.3	John Warner	Va	R	6.4
Don Nickles	Okla	R	4.3	Slade Gorton	Wash	R	5.7
Smith Gordon	Ore	R	5.7	Patty Murray	Wash	D	7.1
Ron Wyden	Ore	D	7.9	Robert Byrd	W. Va	D	3.6
Riek Santorum	Pa	R	3.6	John Rockefeller	W. Va	D	7.1
Arlen Specter	Pa	R	7.1	Russell Feingold	Wis	D	4.3
John Chafee	R.I.	R	8.6	Herb Kohl	Wis	D	7.9
Jack Reed	R.I.	D	7.9	Mike Enzi	Wyo	R	4.3
Ernest Hollings	S.C.	D	7.1	Craig Thomas	Wyo	R	6.4

CONGRESSIONAL SCORECARD

The House Votes

Three of the 12 House votes counted directly concerned funding of foreign affairs; the other nine were broader issues of engagement. The resources votes were: foreign assistance appropriations; funding for State, USIA, ACDA and international organizations; and the international space station.

The House engagement votes dealt with: assistance to Azerbaijan; funding for U.N. arrears and peace-keeping (two votes); human rights monitoring in China; ABM Treaty implementation; fast-track congressional consideration of trade legislation; troops in Bosnia; MFN for China; and the presidential visit to Tienanmen Square.

HOUSE SCORECARD FOR 105TH CONGRESS

REPRESENTATIVE	STATE	DISTRICT	PARTY	SCORE	REPRESENTATIVE	STATE	DISTRICT	PARTY	SCORE
Sonny Callahan	Ala	1	R	5.7	Robert Matsui	Calif	5	D	6.4
Terry Everett	Ala	2	R	3.6	Lynn Woolsey	Calif	6	D	4.3
Bob Riley	Ala	3	R	3.6	George Miller	Calif	7	D	4.3
Robert Aderholt	Ala	4	R	3.6	Nancy Pelosi	Calif	8	D	5
Robert Cramer	Ala	5	D	6.4	Barbara Lee	Calif	9	D	3.6
Spencer Bachus	Ala	6	R	3.6	Ellen Tauscher	Calif	10	D	6.4
Earl Hilliard	Ala	7	D	7.1	Richard Pombo	Calif	11	R	2.1
Don Young	Alaska	At-Large	R	4.3	Tom Lantos	Calif	12	D	5.7
Matt Salmon	Ariz	1	R	3.6	Fortney Stark	Calif	13	D	5
Ed Pastor	Ariz	2	D	7.1	Anna Eshoo	Calif	14	D	6.4
Bob Stump	Ariz	3	R	3.6	Tom Campbell	Calif	15	R	6.4
John Shadegg	Ariz	4	R	3.6	Zoe Lofgren	Calif	16	D	6.4
Jim Kolbe	Ariz	5	R	5.7	Sam Farr	Calif	17	D	7.9
J.D. Hayworth	Ariz	6	R	2.9	Gary Condit	Calif	18	D	4.3
Marion Berry	Ark	1	D	5.7	George Radanovich	Calif	19	R	3.6
Vic Snyder	Ark	2	D	6.4	Calvin Dooley	Calif	20	D	5.7
Asa Hutchinson	Ark	3	D	2.9	William Thomas	Calif	21	R	4.3
Jay Dickey	Ark	4	R	2.9	Lois Capps	Calif	22	D	5.7
Frank Riggs ^(R)	Calif	1	R	4.3	Elton Gallegly	Calif	23	R	3.6
Wally Herger	Calif	2	R	2.9	Brad Sherman	Calif	24	D	5.7
Vic Fazio ^(R)	Calif	3	D	6.4	Howard McKeon	Calif	25	R	2.9
John Doolittle	Calif	4	R	3.6	Howard Berman	Calif	26	D	6.4

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association



Governing Board

President: Daniel F. Geisler
 State Vice President: vacant
 USAID Vice President: Frank Miller
 USIA Vice President: J. Riley Sever
 CS Vice President: Charles Kestenbaum
 FAS Vice President: Maggie Dawling
 Retiree Vice President: Edward Dillery
 Secretary: Aurelius Fernandez
 Treasurer: Thomas Boyatt
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 USAID Representative: James Dempsey
 USIA Representative: Susan Crais Havonac
 Retiree Representatives: Garber Davidson, Willard DeFree, William Harrop, Clyde Taylor
 FAS Representative: Evans Bravine
 CS Representative: vacant

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 Accounting Assistant: Jennifer O'Neal

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 Coordinator: Richard C. Scissars
 Specialist: James Yarko
 USIA/USAID Labor Relations Specialists: Carol Lutz, Jack Massop
 Labor Management Attorney: Suzanne Brennan
 Grievance Attorneys: Henry Sizer, Ziliana Badrich
 Law Clerks: Peter Hutchinson, Melody Fowler-Green
 Office Managers: Naida Harrington, Karen Batchelder

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 Representative: vacant
 Administrative Assistant: Thomasina Johnson
 Retiree Liaison: Ward Thompson

Professional Programs

Professional Issues Coordinator: Richard S. Thompson
 Congressional Affairs Director: Ken Nakamura
 Communications Coordinator: Kristina Kremer
 Scholarship Administrator: Lori Dec
 Corporate Relations: Mark Lare

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FAX: (202) 647-0265

USAID Office: (202) 712-1941

FAX: (202) 216-3710

USIA Office: (202) 401-6405

FAX: (202) 401-6410

WHAT HAS AFSA DONE FOR JUNIOR AND MID-LEVEL OFFICERS?

by Marilyn Bruno
 AFSA Board Member

I was surprised to hear this question, posed by a new junior officer (JO) at a recruitment luncheon recently. In addition to providing speedy information on any number of issues that acquire huge proportions during one's career (travel, housing, payroll, insurance, etc.), and a regular e-mail feed of what's going on in Washington, D.C. via AFSANET, AFSA pushed for a major milestone for all of us this year: A redefinition of multifunctionality.

READ THIS, IT'S REAL NEWS, unless you have carefully read cables STATE 188248 of 9/28/98 and AFSA 184619 of 10/1/98. To become eligible for multifunctionality, an officer must serve a total of 22 months outside his or her primary skill code (cane) of record while in a grade (O-3, O-2, O-1). In other words, 22 months of consular work done during a JO's first two tours may qualify the JO who entered in the Admin, Pal, or Ecan canes for multifunctionality; a JO in the Consular cane may qualify on the basis of 22

months of rotation work in Admin, Ecan, or Pal. Back in the department, a tour done by an O-3, O-2, or O-1 outside his or her cane or in a bureau classified as G (global issues) also works. Be sure to check STATE 188248, where PER has now categorized interfunctional jobs as A (Admin), E/P (Ecan/Pal), P (Pal), E (Ecan), G (global), or I (interfunctional with the possibility for multifunctionality) to assist during future bidding cycles.

Advantages of multifunctionality: your file will supposedly reflect a greater breadth of experience, and you will definitely get the renowned second bite at a promotion panel. This means that your EERs will be read by two panels, your canal panel and the multifunctional panel. Since we are ranked in comparison with our peers, this second bite may land you a higher ranking, which may either get you promoted or keep you out of the dreaded bottom five percent, which is reviewed for selection out.

That is just one thing AFSA has done for junior and mid-level officers, recently.

• AFSA Dateline •

• 75th Anniversary news: the nation-wide High School Essay Contest was launched the end of November under the generous sponsorship of the Una Chapman Cox Foundation. Details are available an AFSA's website at www.ofso.org.

• AFSA welcomes three new staff members. Naida Harrington is the new office manager for USAID. She is a Foreign Service spouse returning from 14 years abroad, most recently in Coiro where she worked for AID. Maureen Herman joins the Foreign Service Journal staff as the assistant editor. A returning Peace Corps volunteer who served in

Paraguay, Maureen has a degree in international relations, and a joint master's in journalism and international politics. Jack Massop comes to AFSA from the World Bank. His experience in labor relations will be put to use as a labor management specialist working on USIA and USAID issues.

• AFSA is currently accepting contributions in memory of Richard B. Finn and Louis C. Baachever. Donations to fund college financial aid scholarships for Foreign Service children in either of these men's names may be sent to the AFSA Scholarship Fund, 2101 E Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

RETIREE V.P. VOICE

• BY ED DILLERY •

New AFSA Dues Structure Will Benefit Members

I drafted this column in November, after the dues referendum passed by a five to one vote. Thanks to your support, AFSA can begin 1999, our 75th anniversary year, on a sound footing to meet the challenges of a new millennium.

In September, I discussed why restructuring was needed. Some further reflections: after a year on the Board, I am convinced that AFSA is effective, serves its members well, upholds the tradition and culture of the Foreign Service and is staffed by dedicated and able people, who are operating on a shoestring.

The finance committee did a terrific job of paring down budgets and wringing out every possible dollar of income, but it became clear that AFSA could not provide the basic services its members want without more revenue. Also clear was the discrepancy in the dues of members with lower incomes/annuities, compared with those in the higher brackets. Restructuring should help with both these problems.

Some members who apposed restructuring questioned whether the benefits are worth the cost. A few said they would resign if the measure passed. That is too bad, because we need every member we can get to continue representing effectively active and retired Foreign Service people from the five agencies that make up the Service. But the "what have you done for me lately" question about AFSA membership, especially for retirees, deserves an answer.

Most important to me, AFSA is the voice of the Foreign Service to the Department of State, Congress and the public. AFSA is in constant touch with senior administration and congressional

officials, defending the interests of the service and its members, all of whom benefit from this activity.

In addition to this often unquantifiable benefit, AFSA does provide individual help to members, including those who have problems with their retirement benefits. Such problems are relatively few (fortunately), but it is nice to have AFSA there for you when they arise, and none of us can predict when we will need the "insurance policy" of

AFSA membership. Two recent cases: a widow out West had problems with her survivor benefits until AFSA stepped in; and a retiree who has Medicare and works part-time as a rehired annuitant with State was incorrectly told by her health care plan and OPM that Medicare should be

the secondary payer, meaning costly deductibles for her. Her own agency (State) decided to help until AFSA pointed out to all the parties that Medicare in fact is primary in this case.

The point is that these colleagues had been loyal members of AFSA without needing to call on us for anything specific, but when the need arose, help was available from our retiree desk.

Two other membership benefit categories, information and public outreach, are available to the extent retirees wish to use them. I just participated in AFSA's latest Elderhostel program on the Foreign Service, our 17th in all. We hope that colleagues in other parts of the country will put on similar courses, using AFSA material in activities which help us all by strengthening public awareness of our profession.

The board is committed to an agenda that is for the good of the whole AFSA community. The dues restructuring is an important step in this inclusive approach.

"AFSA is the voice of the F. S. to the Department of State, Congress and the public."

DUES REFERENDUM PASSES BY A WIDE MARGIN

by Dan Geisler, AFSA President

AFSA's Election Committee has counted all the ballots on this year's referendum to restructure your dues. Members overwhelmingly approved the proposal with the final tally 84 percent in favor, 16 percent apposed. We were gratified at the heavy voter turnout — over 4000 cast their ballot.

A number of your ballots included very helpful comments which give us a better sense of what issues you want us to address. (Since it was a secret ballot, we can't follow our usual practice of responding individually to your comments, but we will use them.)

The new dues structure will be implemented beginning Jan 1 for retirees. Their dues will be adjusted as their membership comes up for renewal. Active duty members will be on the new system by March 1 or sooner. (Each agency has its own pay schedule, so exact dates will vary by agency.)

As we promised, the additional revenue this structure generates will be used in three areas:

Staff salaries: We get consistent praise from members on the quality of service from our staff. If you have ever tried to get a question answered by your agency, and then asked the same question of AFSA staff, you know why. AFSA salaries have fallen well below Washington market levels. We will use about a third of the added revenue to narrow the gap somewhat.

Technology: Another approximately one-third of the added revenue will go to modernize our information systems and pay for staff to maintain our Web Page, AFSANET, Diplomats on Line program, and other computer-based activities.

Reserve Funds: The final third will go to a reserve fund for building maintenance and emergencies. Right now we have to replace the second floor roof, and upgrade our wiring, security system and fire alarms. New revenue will let us fund maintenance from reserves, rather than borrowing from a bank as we did in the past.

We appreciate the time that so many of you took to consider our proposal and send in your ballot, whether you agreed or disagreed with the initiative. We will use your money carefully, and continue to work on your behalf in our dual role of professional association and labor union.

1999 AFSA ELECTIONS

CALL FOR NOMINATIONS

This election call, issued in accordance with Article VII(2)(c) of the AFSA bylaws, constitutes a formal notice to all AFSA members of the opportunity to participate in nomination and election of a new governing board. All of the officer and representative positions listed below are for two-year terms beginning July 15, 1999. (Note: Legislation provides that USIA will cease to exist as of October 1, 1999. The status of the USIA Vice President and Representative after that date remains to be determined.)

A. Positions to be Filled

1. The officer positions to be filled in this election are:

- President
- Vice President for State
- Vice President for USAID
- Vice President for USIA
- Vice President for FCS
- Vice President for FAS
- Vice President for Retirees
- Secretary
- Treasurer

2. The constituency representative positions to be filled in this election are:

- State Representatives (five positions)
- USAID Representative (one position)
- USIA Representative (one position)
- FCS Representative (one position)
- FAS Representative (one position)
- Retiree representatives (four positions)

Article V(4) of the AFSA bylaws authorizes a constituency vice president for each constituency with a minimum of 100 members and one constituency representative position for every 1,000 members or fraction thereof. The calculation of the number of constituency vice president and representative positions to be filled in this election is based upon the membership rolls as of December 31, 1998.

B. Nomination Procedures

1. Any AFSA member in good standing (i.e., a member whose dues are automatically deducted or who has paid dues as of March 5, 1999) may submit names (including his or her own name) in nomi-

nation for any or all of the above-mentioned positions for which the nominee is eligible. No member may nominate more than one person for each officer position or more than the number of representatives established for each constituency. No member's name may appear on the ballot for more than one position.

2. In order to be nominated, a person must likewise be a member in good standing. Furthermore, the bylaws require that a nominee be a member through June 30 of the year of the election. If a member is nominated who is not on automatic dues deduction and has not paid through June 30, 1999, that member will be contacted and advised that he or she must pay dues through June 30 in order to be a candidate.

3. The Foreign Service Act restricts employees occupying certain positions in the foreign affairs agencies from serving on the governing board. Only employees in AFSA's bargaining unit may serve on the AFSA governing board or nominate others to serve on the board. Therefore, individuals who will be serving as management officials and confidential employees (as defined below) when the new board takes office on July 15, 1999 are ineligible to occupy a position on the governing board. In addition, management officials and confidential employees may not make nominations for governing board positions. For the purpose of the above discussion, management official means an individual who: is a chief of mission or principal officer; occupies a position of comparable importance to the chief of mission or principal officer; is serving as a deputy to the foregoing positions; is assigned to the Office of the Inspector General; or is engaged in labor management relations or the formulation of personnel policies and programs of the foreign affairs agency. Confidential employees are employees who act in a confidential capacity with respect to an individual who formulates or carries out management policies in labor management relations.

Furthermore, the Foreign Service Act also places a two year restriction on the

movement of Foreign Service personnel between certain positions in AFSA and certain Washington-based jobs in the foreign affairs agencies. Pre-AFSA restrictions: Any individual who has served 1) in a management position in Washington in which he or she has engaged in labor management relations or the formulation of personnel policies and programs or 2) as a confidential employee (as defined above) within two years prior to taking office in AFSA is ineligible to hold the position of AFSA president or a constituency vice president. Post-AFSA restrictions: In addition, any individual who has held one of the foregoing positions in AFSA may not serve 1) in a management position in Washington which involves labor management relations or the formulation of personnel policies and programs or 2) as a confidential employee, for two years after leaving AFSA.

Members should consider these restrictions before deciding whether to run for AFSA governing board positions covered by these restrictions. Please direct questions regarding this issue to Sharan Papp, General Counsel, 202-647-8160, FAX 202-647-0265, email pappsl@ms3644wpo.us-state.gov.

4. Nominations may be submitted individually or in slates. To qualify as a slate, a proposed slate must have a minimum of four candidates from at least two constituencies. Slate designations will be noted on the ballot.

5. All nominations must be submitted in writing by letter, cable, fax or email. All written nominations must be addressed to the AFSA Elections Committee, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20037. To be valid, they must, without exception, be received at this address no later than 12 noon on March 5, 1999.

Members overseas can send "AFSA channel" cables marked for delivery to the AFSA Elections Committee. They must be received in the Department's Communications Center within the same time limit. Faxes can be sent to 202-338-6820 and email to prof@ofso.org. Alternatively,

continued on page 4

COMMERCIAL SERVICE
V.P. VOICE
• BY CHARLES KESTENBAUM •

New DG Off To A Good Start

Since my last column, there have been many positive developments to report. Director General Awildo Marquez has assumed the leadership mantle and initial reports from our posts overseas are virtually unanimous in their praise for her dynamic approach to the enormous task of running an organization with more than 130 offices abroad and over 100 domestic locations. AFSA welcomes Director General Marquez and in this public forum, we want to repeat our pledge of full cooperation in her efforts to breathe new life into the US&FCS. Marquez particularly distinguished herself in her tireless effort to mobilize support for the US&FCS victims of the Kenya and Tanzania bombings. Her no-nonsense insistence on cutting through red tape to ensure that our dead and wounded were treated appropriately (including the survivors of our deceased employees) boosted morale immeasurably.

In addition to crisis management in her initial tenure, Director General Marquez has announced the decision to create a long awaited and sorely needed deputy director general position and moved exceptionally fast to fill it with a senior career Foreign Service officer. We commend the Director General for her selection of an outstanding candidate. The new deputy position immediately enhances the career development potential for FSOs in our organization, as does the recent State Department selection of a senior FCS officer as ambassador to a major African nation. These two decisions have given our officer corps a career boost that will ensure we are able to recruit and hold on to the best possible commercial officers. And make no mistake, the US&FCS continues to grow. In 1999, we will have

over 280 Foreign Service officers posted throughout our system.

Director General Marquez's vision extends well beyond personnel matters. She has just announced her highest priority initiative — Innovation 2003. This initiative aims to improve three essential aspects of our commercial service: more effective program integration, information product improvement and modernization of our delivery systems. The immediate goal is to improve the products and services we provide our American business clients nationally and worldwide in a seamless state-of-the-art information technology system. Two recent seminal studies of the U.S. government's conduct of diplomacy have identified precisely these issues as critical to our economic and commercial well being in the global markets of the next millennium. AFSA applauds Director General Marquez for her vision and her inclusive approach which has ensured that officers in the field have a strong voice in the development of Innovation 2003.

Finally, a word about the latest iteration of the International Trade Association reorganization which was recently presented to AFSA. Most of the positive aspects have been retained (such as creation of the new deputy DG) while most of the elements to which AFSA took exception have been either deleted or modified in line with our expressed concerns. At this point we anticipate minimal impact on our terms and conditions of employment and on the support structure necessary for us to carry out our mission overseas. This ITA reorganization appears likely to reach implementation. Much remains to be done — our personnel system in particular needs overhauling. But with leaders like Under Secretary David Aaron and Director General Marquez, the future looks bright indeed for the US&FCS, and more importantly, for America's international trade interests.

AFSA Elections

continued from page 3

nominations can be hand-delivered to a committee member who will be in the AFSA office, Room 3644, Department of State, from 11 a.m. to 12 noon on March 5, or to a Committee representative of AFSA headquarters at 2101 E Street N.W. during that same time period.

6. A nominee can indicate his or her acceptance of a nomination by appending a letter to the letter of nomination or by appropriate notation on that letter, or by communicating with the Elections Committee, AFSA, Room 3644, Department of State, or AFSA, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037, or by fax or e-mail as described in paragraph 5 above. Otherwise, an authorized representative of the Elections Committee will communicate with each nominee (excluding members who nominate themselves) as quickly as possible after the receipt of each nomination to determine whether the nominee wishes to be a candidate. Any member who so accepts the nomination must confirm his or her acceptance in writing through one of the channels described above addressed to the AFSA Elections Committee to be received no later than 12 noon on March 12, 1999. Any nominee whose written acceptance of nomination has not been received by the Elections Committee by the above time limit will be considered to have declined candidacy.

C. Election Campaign

1. All candidates nominated under the procedure outlined above will be given the opportunity to submit campaign statements for dissemination to the AFSA membership in a special mailing. Further information regarding such statements and editorial deadlines will be contained in the "Instructions to Candidates," which will be issued by the Elections Committee on or before March 5, 1999.

2. The AFSA bylaws provide that, should candidates wish to mail supplementary statements to the membership, the association will make available to them on request, and at their expense, the membership mailing list or address labels. Further information on this and other campaign procedures will be

included in the "Instructions to Candidates" mentioned above.

D. Voting

Ballots will be distributed on or about May 15, 1999 to each person who is an AFSA member as of April 30, 1999. Candidates or their representatives may observe the ballot distribution process if they so desire. Each member may cast one vote for President, Secretary, Treasurer, and constituency Vice President, and, in addition, one vote for each Representative position in the member's constituency. Votes may be cast by voting for candidates listed on the official ballot, or by writing in the name(s) of member(s) eligible as of June 30, 1999, or by doing both. To be valid, a ballot must be received by Wednesday, June 30, 1999 at the address indicated on the envelope accompanying the ballot. More detailed balloting instructions will accompany the ballots.

E. Vote Counting and Announcement of Results

On or about July 1, 1999, the Elections Committee will count the ballots and declare elected the candidate receiving the greatest number of votes for each position. Candidates or their representatives may be present during the tally and may challenge the validity of any vote or the eligibility of any voter. The committee will inform candidates individually of the election results by the swiftest possible means and will publish the names of all elected candidates in the next issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*. The elected candidates will take office on July 15, 1999, as provided in the bylaws.

F. Questions, Suggestions, Complaints or Challenges

Any member may file a written question, suggestion, or complaint concerning the conduct of the 1999 election. Such question, suggestion, or complaint should be addressed to "Chair, AFSA Elections Committee" and mailed or delivered to either AFSA, Room 3644, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520 or AFSA, 2101 E Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037 by October 15, 1999.

Members may also file a written challenge to the outcome of the

continued on page 6

USAID V.P. VOICE • BY FRANK MILLER •

LCE Group Grievants Prevail Against USAID in District Court

Five former USAID employees, represented by private counsel, have successfully challenged a 1994 Foreign Service Grievance Board (FSGB) decision. The decision had affirmed USAID's denial of Limited Career Extensions (LCEs) to certain Senior Foreign Service employees despite a reconstituted promotion board's recommendation that they be granted.

AFSA's involvement concerning this issue dates back to 1994, when the agency, over the union's objections, promulgated new regulations providing for just one LCE review within the last two years of time-in-class (TIC), a change from the two reviews provided in previous regulations. AFSA responded by filing an Unfair Labor Practice with the Federal Labor Relations Authority (FLRA) based on the agency's failure to negotiate this change with the union. AFSA appealed the FLRA's subsequent denial of its complaint to the general counsel's office, but the complaint was later denied on a technicality.

At the same time, however, a grievant who had been granted any one review under the previous regulations appealed USAID's denial of his grievance to the FSGB. The Board found that the agency had in fact violated its own regulations in denying the grievant an additional review.

AFSA assisted numerous employees in similar situations filing grievances and provided a brief in support of each grievant outlining the agency's regulatory violation and seeking relief. After these grievances were denied by the agency, the FSGB consolidated all of these claims on appeal into what became known as "the LCE group grievance." Citing its earlier decision, which found that the agency had illegally denied an additional review to a grievant,

the FSGB ordered the agency to reconstitute a promotion board to provide these aggrieved employees with the additional review to which they were entitled by regulation. While the reconstituted board recommended that several of these grievants receive an LCE, the USAID administrator then denied them, citing his discretion to do so.

When these grievants appealed this decision to the board, AFSA provided legal assistance to those grievants who

had not retained outside counsel, drafting arguments regarding the grievants' standing, the administrator's discretion, and entitlement to remedies.

Despite these efforts, the FSGB found for the agency, that is, that the administrator's discretion permitted

him to deny these grievants' LCEs despite the reconstituted board's recommendation otherwise.

It is the grievance board's decision regarding the LCE denials that the District Court has effectively overruled, citing that decision as "arbitrary, capricious, and not in accordance with law" and remanding it back to the FSGB for reconsideration.

LCEs have always been a touchy issue in AID. AFSA believes that LCE authority should be used in the context of overall work force planning to ensure the retention of sufficient senior talent while providing career progression at all levels of the service. However, in our opinion, too many of our best senior officers have been TICed out, resulting in a dearth of role models and mentors that handicaps our ability to manage and develop younger officers.

The District Court is also reviewing an age discrimination case from the RIF of 1995.

AFSA will continue to provide members information on these important cases as new developments occur.

*"LCEs have
always been a
touchy issue in
AID."*

AFSA ELECTIONS

continued from page 5

election. Such challenge must be filed by August 15, 1999 and should be addressed to "Chair, AFSA Elections Committee" and mailed or delivered to either address stated above. The AFSA Elections Committee will respond in writing to the challenge within three months of receipt of the challenge. If the member is not satisfied with the AFSA Elections Committee's response, the member may file a written complaint with the U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Labor-Management Standards. Such complaint must be filed within one month of receipt of the Elections Committee's response.

ELECTIONS COMMITTEE

Members

Robert J. Wozniak, Chair	202-686-0996
Amb. C. William Kontos	202-966-8578
Shirley Pinkham	202-663-3293
Staff	
Richard Thompson,	202-338-4045
ext. 521	

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This private, non-commercial site includes articles written by Foreign Service community members; information from the Overseas Briefing Center, the Association of American Foreign Service Women, and Around the World in a Lifetime; plus an interactive community bulletin board for members to pose questions or post information. It is a useful resource for anyone serving in U.S. missions abroad. Look for Foreign Service Lifelines at www.kreative.net/fslifelines.

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Other online resources that may help with scholarship/financial assistance includes: www.finaid.org, www.ed.gov, www.collegeboard.org and www.mapping-your-future.org.

If you would like an application for AFSA's scholarship program, you can download it from AFSA's web page at www.afsa.org, visit www.fastweb.com and highlight "Foreign Service Employee" under the Parent Activities, e-mail Lori Dec at scholar@afsa.org, or call 202-944-5504. The deadline to apply is Feb. 6, 1999.

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HOUSE SCORECARD FOR 105TH CONGRESS

REPRESENTATIVE	STATE	DISTRICT	PARTY	SCORE	REPRESENTATIVE	STATE	DISTRICT	PARTY	SCORE
James Rogan	Calif	27	R	2.9	Scott McInnis	Colo	3	R	2.1
David Dreier	Calif	28	R	4.3	Bob Schaffer	Colo	4	R	0.7
Henry Waxman	Calif	29	D	5.7	Joel Hefley	Colo	5	R	1.4
Xavier Becerra	Calif	30	D	7.1	Dan Schaefer ^(R)	Colo	6	R	2.9
Matthew Martinez	Calif	31	D	6.4	Barbara Kennelly ^(O)	Conn	1	D	5.7
Julian Dixon	Calif	32	D	6.4	Sam Gejdenson	Conn	2	D	5
Lucille Roybal-Allard	Calif	33	D	7.1	Rosa DeLauro	Conn	3	D	5.7
Esteban Torres ^(R)	Calif	34	D	6.4	Christopher Shays	Conn	4	R	3.6
Maxine Waters	Calif	35	D	6.4	James Maloney	Conn	5	D	5.7
Jane Harman ^(O)	Calif	36	D	5.7	Nancy Johnson	Conn	6	R	4.3
Juanita Millender-McDonald	Calif	37	D	7.1	Michael Castle	Del	At-Large	R	5.7
Stephan Horn	Calif	38	R	3.6	Joe Scarborough	Fla	1	R	3.6
Edward Royce	Calif	39	R	3.6	Allen Boyd	Fla	2	D	6.4
Jerry Lewis	Calif	40	R	5.7	Corrine Brown	Fla	3	D	7.1
Jay Kim ^(D)	Calif	41	R	5	Tillie Fowler	Fla	4	R	4.3
George Brown	Calif	42	D	6.4	Karen Thurman	Fla	5	D	7.1
Ken Calvert	Calif	43	R	4.3	Cliff Stearns	Fla	6	R	3.6
Mary Bono	Calif	44	R	2.9	John Mica	Fla	7	R	3.6
Dana Rohrabacher	Calif	45	R	4.3	Bill McCollum	Fla	8	R	2.9
Loretta Sanchez	Calif	46	D	5	Michael Bilirakis	Fla	9	R	3.6
Christopher Cox	Calif	47	R	2.9	C.W. Bill Young	Fla	10	R	2.9
Ron Packard	Calif	48	R	4.3	Jim Davis	Fla	11	D	6.4
Brian Bilbray	Calif	49	R	4.3	Charles Canady	Fla	12	R	4.3
Bob Filner	Calif	50	D	6.4	Dan Miller	Fla	13	R	3.6
Randy Cunningham	Calif	51	R	2.9	Porter Goss	Fla	14	R	4.3
Duncan Hunter	Calif	52	R	4.3	Dave Weldon	Fla	15	R	4.3
Diana DeGette	Colo	1	D	7.1	Mark Foley	Fla	16	R	3.6
David Skaggs ^(R)	Colo	2	D	7.1	Carrie Meek	Fla	17	D	6.4

CONGRESSIONAL SCORECARD

HOUSE SCORECARD FOR 105TH CONGRESS

REPRESENTATIVE	STATE	DISTRICT	PARTY	SCORE	REPRESENTATIVE	STATE	DISTRICT	PARTY	SCORE
Ileana Ros-Lehtinen	Fla	18	R	2.9	Philip Crane	Ill	8	R	4.3
Robert Wexler	Fla	19	D	7.1	Sidney Yates ^(R)	Ill	9	D	3.6
Peter Deutsch	Fla	20	D	7.1	John Porter	Ill	10	R	3.6
Lincoln Diaz-Balart	Fla	21	R	3.6	Jerry Weller	Ill	11	R	3.6
E. Clay Shaw	Fla	22	R	5	Jerry Costello	Ill	12	D	4.3
Alcee Hastings	Fla	23	D	6.4	Harris Fawell ^(R)	Ill	13	R	5
Jack Kingston	Ga	1	R	1.4	J. Dennis Hastert	Ill	14	R	3.6
Sanford Bishop	Ga	2	D	5.7	Thomas Ewing	Ill	15	R	4.3
Mac Collins	Ga	3	R	2.9	Donald Manzullo	Ill	16	R	2.9
Cynthia McKinney	Ga	4	D	4.3	Lane Evans	Ill	17	D	5
John Lewis	Ga	5	D	5	Ray LaHood	Ill	18	R	5.7
Newt Gingrich ^(R)	Ga	6	R	1.4	Glenn Poshard ^(O)	Ill	19	D	4.3
Bob Barr	Ga	7	R	3.6	John Shimkus	Ill	20	R	2.9
Saxby Chambliss	Ga	8	R	3.6	Peter Visclosky	Ind	1	D	4.3
Nathan Deal	Ga	9	R	3.6	David McIntosh	Ind	2	R	4.3
Charlie Norwood	Ga	10	R	2.9	Tim Roemer	Ind	3	D	5.7
John Linder	Ga	11	R	4.3	Mark Souder	Ind	4	R	2.9
Neil Abercrombie	Hawaii	1	D	5	Stephen Buyer	Ind	5	R	5
Patsy Mink	Hawaii	2	D	5	Dan Burton	Ind	6	R	2.9
Helen Chenoweth	Idaho	1	R	2.9	Edward Pease	Ind	7	R	3.6
Michael Crapo ^(O)	Idaho	2	R	3.6	John Hostettler	Ind	8	R	3.6
Bobby Rush	Ill	1	D	6.4	Lee Hamilton ^(R)	Ind	9	D	6.4
Jesse Jackson, Jr.	Ill	2	D	5.7	Julia Carson	Ind	10	D	5.7
William Lipinski	Ill	3	D	4.3	James Leach	Iowa	1	R	5.7
Luis Gutierrez	Ill	4	D	3.6	Jim Nussle	Iowa	2	R	2.9
Rod Blagojevich	Ill	5	D	6.4	Leonard Bosewell	Iowa	3	D	6.4
Henry Hyde	Ill	6	R	3.6	Greg Ganske	Iowa	4	R	2.9
Danny Davis	Ill	7	D	6.4	Tom Latham	Iowa	5	R	4.3

C O N G R E S S I O N A L S C O R E C A R D

HOUSE SCORECARD FOR 105TH CONGRESS

REPRESENTATIVE	STATE	DISTRICT	PARTY	SCORE	REPRESENTATIVE	STATE	DISTRICT	PARTY	SCORE
Jerry Moran	Kan	1	R	3.6	Richard Neal	Mass	2	D	7.1
Jim Ryun	Kan	2	R	3.6	James McGovern	Mass	3	D	6.4
Vince Snowbarger ^(D)	Kan	3	R	3.6	Barney Frank	Mass	4	D	5
Todd Tiahrt	Kan	4	R	2.3	Martin Meehan	Mass	5	D	6.4
Ed Whitfield	Ky	1	R	3.6	John Tierney	Mass	6	D	4.3
Ron Lewis	Ky	2	R	3.6	Edward Markey	Mass	7	D	5
Anne Northup	Ky	3	R	5	Joseph Kennedy ^(R)	Mass	8	D	5.7
Jim Bunning ^(O)	Ky	4	R	2.1	John Moakley	Mass	9	D	5.7
Harold Rogers	Ky	5	R	5.7	William Delahunt	Mass	10	D	5
Scotty Baesler ^(O)	Ky	6	D	5.7	Bart Stupak	Mich	1	D	5
Bob Livingston	La	1	R	5	Peter Hoekstra	Mich	2	R	4.3
William Jefferson	La	2	D	7.1	Vernon Ehlers	Mich	3	R	5
W. J. (Billy) Tauzin	La	3	R	3.6	Dave Camp	Mich	4	R	2.1
Jim McCrery	La	4	R	4.3	James Barcia	Mich	5	D	4.3
John Cooksey	La	5	R	4.3	Fred Upton	Mich	6	R	2.9
Richard Baker	La	6	R	3.6	Nick Smith	Mich	7	R	2.9
Christopher John	La	7	D	7.1	Debbie Stabenow	Mich	8	D	6.4
Thomas Allen	Maine	1	D	7.1	Dale Kildee	Mich	9	D	4.3
John Baldacci	Maine	2	D	8.6	David Bonior	Mich	10	D	5.7
Wayne Gilchrest	Md	1	R	5	Joe Knollenberg	Mich	11	R	5
Robert Ehrlich	Md	2	R	2.1	Sander Levin	Mich	12	D	5
Benjamin Cardin	Md	3	D	5	Lynn Rivers	Mich	13	D	4.3
Albert Wynn	Md	4	D	6.4	John Conyers	Mich	14	D	6.4
Steny Hoyer	Md	5	D	6.4	Carolyn Kilpatrick	Mich	15	D	5.7
Roscoe Bartlett	Md	6	R	2.1	John Dingell	Mich	16	D	5.7
Elijah Cummings	Md	7	D	6.4	Gil Gutknecht	Minn	1	R	3.6
Constance Morella	Md	8	R	5.7	David Minge	Minn	2	D	5.7
John Olver	Mass	1	D	6.4	Jim Ramstad	Minn	3	R	4.3

CONGRESSIONAL SCORECARD

HOUSE SCORECARD FOR 105TH CONGRESS

REPRESENTATIVE	STATE	DISTRICT	PARTY	SCORE	REPRESENTATIVE	STATE	DISTRICT	PARTY	SCORE
Bruce Vento	Minn	4	D	5.7	Frank LoBiondo	N.J.	2	R	2.1
Martin Sabo	Minn	5	D	7.1	Jim Saxton	N.J.	3	R	4.3
Bill Luther	Minn	6	D	7.1	Christopher Smith	N.J.	4	R	5
Collin Peterson	Minn	7	D	2.9	Marge Roukema	N.J.	5	R	3.6
James Oberstar	Minn	8	D	6.4	Frank Pallone	N.J.	6	D	4.3
Roger Wicker	Miss	1	R	5.7	Bob Franks	N.J.	7	R	2.9
Bennie Thompson	Miss	2	D	5.7	Bill Pascrell	N.J.	8	D	5.7
Charles Pickering	Miss	3	R	2.1	Steven Rothman	N.J.	9	D	5
Mike Parker ^(R)	Miss	4	R	5	Donald Payne	N.J.	10	D	5
Gene Taylor	Miss	5	D	4.3	Rodney Frelinghuysen	N.J.	11	R	4.3
William Clay	Mo	1	D	3.6	Michael Pappas ^(D)	N.J.	12	R	2.1
James Talent	Mo	2	R	2.9	Robert Menendez	N.J.	13	D	5
Richard Gephardt	Mo	3	D	4.3	Heather Wilson	N.M.	1	R	3.6
Ike Skelton	Mo	4	D	5.7	Joe Skeen	N.M.	2	R	3.6
Karen McCarthy	Mo	5	D	7.1	Bill Redmond ^(D)	N.M.	3	R	3.6
Pat Danner	Mo	6	D	3.6	Michael Forbes	N.Y.	1	R	5
Roy Blunt	Mo	7	R	2.9	Rick Lazio	N.Y.	2	R	4.3
Jo Ann Emerson	Mo	8	R	3.6	Peter King	N.Y.	3	R	4.3
Kenny Hulshof	Mo	9	R	3.6	Carolyn McCarthy	N.Y.	4	D	5.7
Rick Hill	Mont	At-Large	R	4.3	Gary Ackerman	N.Y.	5	D	6.4
Doug Bereuter	Neb	1	R	4.3	Gregory Meeks	N.Y.	6	D	5.7
Joe Christensen ^(O)	Neb	2	R	1.4	Thomas Manton ^(R)	N.Y.	7	D	5.7
Bill Barrett	Neb	3	R	2.9	Jarrold Nadler	N.Y.	8	D	5
John Ensign ^(O)	Nev	1	R	1.4	Charles Schumer ^(O)	N.Y.	9	D	4.3
Jim Gibbons	Nev	2	R	2.9	Edolphus Towns	N.Y.	10	D	7.1
John Sununu	N.H.	1	R	3.6	Major Owens	N.Y.	11	D	5
Charles Bass	N.H.	2	R	2.9	Nydia Velazquez	N.Y.	12	D	5.7
Robert Andrews	N.J.	1	D	5.7	Vito Fossella	N.Y.	13	R	2.1

CONGRESSIONAL SCORECARD

HOUSE SCORECARD FOR 105TH CONGRESS

REPRESENTATIVE	STATE	DISTRICT	PARTY	SCORE	REPRESENTATIVE	STATE	DISTRICT	PARTY	SCORE
Carolyn Maloney	N.Y.	14	D	5	Charles Taylor	N.C.	11	R	5
Charles Rangel	N.Y.	15	D	6.4	Melvin Watt	N.C.	12	D	7.1
Jose Serrano	N.Y.	16	D	5	Earl Pomeroy	N.D.	At-Large	D	6.4
Eliot Engel	N.Y.	17	D	5	Steve Chabot	Ohio	1	R	1.4
Nita Lowey	N.Y.	18	D	5	Rob Portman	Ohio	2	R	4.3
Sue Kelly	N.Y.	19	R	4.3	Tony Hall	Ohio	3	D	5.7
Benjamin Gilman	N.Y.	20	R	5	Michael Oxley	Ohio	4	R	5.7
Michael McNulty	N.Y.	21	D	5.7	Paul Gillmor	Ohio	5	R	6.4
Gerald Solomon ^(R)	N.Y.	22	R	4.3	Ted Strickland	Ohio	6	D	5
Sherwood Boehlert	N.Y.	23	R	5.7	David Hobson	Ohio	7	R	3.6
John McHugh	N.Y.	24	R	5	John Boehner	Ohio	8	R	5.7
James Walsh	N.Y.	25	R	5	Marcy Kaptur	Ohio	9	D	4.3
Maurice Hinchey	N.Y.	26	D	5.7	Dennis Kucinich	Ohio	10	D	5
Bill Paxon (R)	N.Y.	27	R	2.9	Louis Stokes ^(R)	Ohio	11	D	6.4
Louise Slaughter	N.Y.	28	D	5	John Kasich	Ohio	12	R	3.6
John LaFalce	N.Y.	29	D	6.4	Sherrod Brown	Ohio	13	D	5.7
Jack Quinn	N.Y.	30	R	6.4	Thomas Sawyer	Ohio	14	D	6.4
Amo Houghton	N.Y.	31	R	5.7	Deborah Pryce	Ohio	15	R	4.3
Eva Clayton	N.C.	1	D	5.7	Ralph Regula	Ohio	16	R	5.7
Bob Etheridge	N.C.	2	D	6.4	James Traficant	Ohio	17	D	4.3
Walter Jones	N.C.	3	R	3.6	Robert Ney	Ohio	18	R	3.6
David Price	N.C.	4	D	5.7	Steven LaTourette	Ohio	19	R	7.1
Richard Burr	N.C.	5	R	2.1	Steve Largent	Okla	1	R	2.9
Howard Coble	N.C.	6	R	2.9	Tom Coburn	Okla	2	R	3.6
Mike McIntyre	N.C.	7	D	2.9	Wes Watkins	Okla	3	R	4.3
W. G. (Bill) Hefner ^(R)	N.C.	8	D	5.7	J.C. Watts	Okla	4	R	3.6
Sue Myrick	N.C.	9	R	2.1	Ernest Istook	Okla	5	R	3.6
Cass Ballenger	N.C.	10	R	5	Frank Lucas	Okla	6	R	4.3

C O N G R E S S I O N A L S C O R E C A R D

HOUSE SCORECARD FOR 105TH CONGRESS

REPRESENTATIVE	STATE	DISTRICT	PARTY	SCORE	REPRESENTATIVE	STATE	DISTRICT	PARTY	SCORE
Elizabeth Furse ^(R)	Ore	1	D	5.7	Marshall Sanford	S.C.	1	R	2.1
Robert Smith ^(R)	Ore	2	R	4.3	Floyd Spence	S.C.	2	R	4.3
Earl Blumenauer	Ore	3	D	5	Lindsey Graham	S.C.	3	R	3.6
Peter DeFazio	Ore	4	D	4.3	Bob Inglis ^(O)	S.C.	4	R	2.9
Darlene Hooley	Ore	5	D	5.7	John Spratt	S.C.	5	D	6.4
Robert Brady	Pa	1	D	6.4	James Clyburn	S.C.	6	D	6.4
Chaka Fattah	Pa	2	D	7.1	John Thune	S.D.	At-Large	R	2.3
Robert Borski	Pa	3	D	7.1	William Jenkins	Tenn	1	R	3.6
Ron Klink	Pa	4	D	6.4	John Duncan	Tenn	2	R	2.1
John Peterson	Pa	5	R	5	Zach Wamp	Tenn	3	R	1.4
Tim Holden	Pa	6	D	5.7	Van Hilleary	Tenn	4	R	2.1
Curt Weldon	Pa	7	R	4.3	Bob Clement	Tenn	5	D	6.4
James Greenwood	Pa	8	R	5.7	Bart Gordon	Tenn	6	D	7.9
Bud Shuster	Pa	9	R	2.9	Ed Bryant	Tenn	7	R	3.6
Joseph McDade ^(R)	Pa	10	R	2.9	John Tanner	Tenn	8	D	6.4
Paul Kanjorski	Pa	11	D	7.1	Harold Ford	Tenn	9	D	5.7
John Murtha	Pa	12	D	7.9	Max Sandlin	Texas	1	D	7.1
Jon Fox ^(D)	Pa	13	R	5.7	Jim Turner	Texas	2	D	5.7
William Coyne	Pa	14	D	5.7	Sam Johnson	Texas	3	R	3.6
Paul McHale ^(R)	Pa	15	D	5.7	Ralph Hall	Texas	4	D	3.6
Joseph Pitts	Pa	16	R	2.9	Pete Sessions	Texas	5	R	3.6
George Gekas	Pa	17	R	4.3	Joe Barton	Texas	6	R	2.9
Michael Doyle	Pa	18	D	5.7	Bill Archer	Texas	7	R	5
William Goodling	Pa	19	R	2.9	Kevin Brady	Texas	8	R	5
Frank Mascara	Pa	20	D	6.4	Nick Lampson	Texas	9	D	6.4
Phil English	Pa	21	R	5	Lloyd Doggett	Texas	10	D	5.7
Patrick Kennedy	R.I.	1	D	5	Chet Edwards	Texas	11	D	7.1
Robert Weygand	R.I.	2	D	5.7	Kay Granger	Texas	12	R	3.6

CONGRESSIONAL SCORECARD

HOUSE SCORECARD FOR 105TH CONGRESS

REPRESENTATIVE	STATE	DISTRICT	PARTY	SCORE	REPRESENTATIVE	STATE	DISTRICT	PARTY	SCORE
William Thornberry	Texas	13	R	4.3	Tom Bliley	Va	7	R	3.6
Ron Paul	Texas	14	R	2.1	James Moran	Va	8	D	5.7
Ruben Hinojosa	Texas	15	D	6.4	Rick Boucher	Va	9	D	7.9
Silvestre Reyes	Texas	16	D	6.4	Frank Wolf	Va	10	R	5
Charles Stenholm	Texas	17	D	5.7	Thomas Davis	Va	11	R	5
Sheila Jackson-Lee	Texas	18	D	7.1	Rick White ^(D)	Wash	1	R	5
Larry Combest	Texas	19	R	4.3	Jack Metcalf	Wash	2	R	4.3
Henry Gonzalez ^(R)	Texas	20	D	7.1	Linda Smith ^(O)	Wash	3	R	2.9
Lamar Smith	Texas	21	R	4.3	Doc Hastings	Wash	4	R	4.3
Tom DeLay	Texas	22	R	3.6	George Nethercutt	Wash	5	R	3.6
Henry Bonilla	Texas	23	R	3.6	Norman Dicks	Wash	6	D	6.4
Martin Frost	Texas	24	D	7.1	Jim McDermott	Wash	7	D	6.4
Ken Bentsen	Texas	25	D	6.4	Jennifer Dunn	Wash	8	R	5
Richard Armev	Texas	26	R	3.6	Adam Smith	Wash	9	D	7.1
Solomon Ortiz	Texas	27	D	6.4	Alan Mollohan	W. Va	1	D	6.4
Ciro Rodriguez	Texas	28	D	6.4	Robert Wise	W. Va	2	D	8.6
Gene Green	Texas	29	D	7.1	Nick Rahall	W. Va	3	D	7.9
E. B. Johnson	Texas	30	D	6.4	Mark Neumann	Wis	1	R	1.4
James Hansen	Utah	1	R	4.3	Scott Klug ^(R)	Wis	2	R	2.9
Merrill Cook	Utah	2	R	2.1	Ron Kind	Wis	3	D	6.4
Chris Cannon	Utah	3	R	3.6	Gerald Kleczka	Wis	4	D	5.7
Bernard Sanders	Vt	At-Large	I	5.7	Thomas Barrett	Wis	5	D	7.1
Herbert Bateman	Va	1	R	5	Thomas Petri	Wis	6	R	3.6
Owen Pickett	Va	2	D	5	David Obey	Wis	7	D	5
Robert Scott	Va	3	D	6.4	Jay Johnson	Wis	8	D	7.1
Norman Sisisky	Va	4	D	4.3	F. James Sensenbrenner	Wis	9	R	2.1
Virgil Goode	Va	5	D	2.1	Barbara Cubin	Wyo	At-Large	R	2.1
Bob Goodlatte	Va	6	R	2.1					

LEE HAMILTON LOOKS BACK



HERSCH HERMAN

A

A CONGRESSIONAL FOREIGN AFFAIRS
LEADER, RETIRING AFTER 34 YEARS,
SHARES SOME WISDOM WITH FSJ.

BY BOB GULDIN

strange quiet pervaded the office of Rep. Lee Hamilton on November 3, 1998. It took a few minutes, but the reason for the slightly eerie atmosphere suddenly became clear: *This was the first federal election day in 34 years that Hamilton was not running for office.*

All around the United States, representatives, senators and staffers were eagerly awaiting exit polls and official returns. But Lee Hamilton was back in Washington, calmly saying goodbyes, sorting through mountains of papers and memories. After 17 terms in the House, after having acquired a well-earned reputation as one of the Democratic Party's most thoughtful leaders in the realm of foreign policy, the congressman from Indiana was leaving.

F O C U S

Hamilton has arguably been one of the more steady presences in the Congress in recent decades, evoking an earlier era of greater civility and bipartisanship. In person, he conveys both a folksy charm and the gravitas of a serious thinker about international issues.

Hamilton was raised in Evansville, Ind., was a star basketball player in college, and earned a law degree. In Lyndon Johnson's Democratic landslide of 1964, Hamilton first won election from Indiana's largely rural ninth district. Once in office he hewed to a moderate line on social and economic issues, but was a strong advocate of U.S. international involvement.

He was chairman of the Intelligence Committee, the House chairman of the Iran-Contra Committee in 1987-88, and chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee from 1993 to 1995. When the Republicans became the majority, Hamilton became the ranking Democrat on the committee.

Though Lee Hamilton is leaving Congress, he's not traveling very far. His new assignment is director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, the federally supported Washington institution on international affairs that, as Hamilton says, "mixes the world of ideas with the world of policy."

From his new perch at 1300 Pennsylvania Ave., Hamilton will keep a close watch on his former colleagues as they debate and formulate foreign policy.

Foreign Service Journal editor Bob Guldin spoke with Hamilton at his Rayburn Building office on November 3, 1998 — the strangely calm election day that wasn't.

Foreign Service Journal: How does it feel to be leaving Congress after 34 years?

Rep. Lee Hamilton: I walk away with some feelings of relief, and some regret too. The work of a member of Congress today is unrelenting. I was here a long time, and I've enjoyed the job. I'm comfortable with my decision to leave.

FSJ: Why did you decide to leave now? I've heard that

*We escaped much
damage on foreign
affairs in the last
Congress, mostly
thanks to the
president's efforts.*

it's less fun to be in Congress when you're in the minority.

Hamilton: The short answer is that 34 years are enough. I'm not walking away angry or pessimistic or dissatisfied with my job. I wanted to leave the Congress on my terms — voluntarily, when my health was good. I've seen too many members stay too long.

Being in the minority party was not a major factor in my decision. If the Democrats captured the House today,

I would still be comfortable with my decision. It is true that being in the majority is more fun than being in the minority. Especially in the House of Representatives, where the minority is really outside the action. That's less true in the Senate.

FSJ: Do you think Congress has changed much over the last 34 years?

Hamilton: There are a lot of negative developments since I've been here, and some positive as well. On the negative side, you can put the money chase.

And there has been a decline in civility. The example I give is that when I was a young member, I made a bad mistake in parliamentary procedure on the floor of the House. And a Republican colleague of mine from Indiana, Congressman William Bray, came over and told me I'd made a mistake (I was not even aware of it) and told me how to correct it — on a bill he didn't support. I can't imagine that sort of thing happening today. There's a different attitude in the chamber.

We have an expanded workload today, but we spend less time here. We're now in the practice of not getting here till late Tuesday afternoon, and members want to be out of here Thursday night. That change in scheduling has come about principally because of the power of the West Coast.

The Omnibus Budget Bill is an abomination. It's one of the practices that makes the Congress less accountable.

On the positive side, Congress is a more open institution than when I came here. The ethics process is better, though still not satisfactory. When I first came here, we

didn't have an ethics committee, or a code of conduct. You could offer me money anywhere, and I could take it. There was no public disclosure of members' finances.

We're a more representative Congress. Most dramatically, we've seen an increase in the number of women — I think 62 or 63 now. That will increase, since more women are moving into state and local government. More Hispanic members, more black members. And incidentally, that makes a difference on foreign policy. It was unheard of that a president of the United States would spend 11 days touring Africa. He did it because there's a lot more interest in Africa — in part from the Black Caucus.

FSJ: It seems that there's been a conflict in Congress in recent years, between those who want the U.S. to conduct foreign affairs unilaterally, and those who see America working more closely with allies and with international institutions. How do you see that issue playing out?

Hamilton: I don't think the United States is going to have a unilateralist foreign policy. But there are strong tendencies in that direction in Congress, and they disturb me. Evidence: our unwillingness to pay our IMF quotas, unwillingness to support the U.N. fully, a long list of unilateral sanctions. At the U.N., we want to dictate reform, we don't want to negotiate. Likewise, we want to impose conditions on IMF loans. I don't think those tendencies will dominate, but they are powerful.

FSJ: How would you say the 105th Congress performed overall?

Hamilton: From my viewpoint, the performance of Congress was quite disappointing. We escaped this Congress with relatively little damage, because those of us who played defense — and that's what we were doing — prevailed on most matters. Not so much thanks to our efforts, but thanks to the president's

*The agencies'
reorganization expands
the power of the
secretary of State;
I'm not surprised she
supported it.*

efforts, a lot of damage was not done.

For example, there was very strong opposition to the money for KEDO [the Korean Economic Development Organization] but we got the \$35 million. If not, there would have been a disaster with North Korea. The only way we were able to get the \$35 million, to carry out the agreed framework with North Korea, was to slip it into an Omnibus Bill.

FSJ: How does the current '99 budget look for foreign affairs?

Hamilton: (Laughs) It looks better than I thought it would months ago. Overall we came out reasonably well. We had a steady decline in resources for the so-called 150 account for years. We changed that last year and we maintained some progress this year. It does not measure up to the request of the president but it is not a decline. On the foreign aid side, we came very close to the president's recommendation. It was helpful that we had a budget surplus this year.

FSJ: What do you think will happen with U.N. arrears?

Hamilton: My view is that the U.S. should pay our dues in full and on time, and we should not try to unilaterally impose conditions on the United Nations. But my view is a minority, and it's an ongoing battle.

I oppose the linkage between funding for the U.N. and abortion and family planning policy. The administration is right when they argue we should not link those two matters.

FSJ: What's your feeling about the consolidation of foreign affairs agencies, USA and ACDA, into the State Department? Some people say that with your clout, if you had really wanted to, you could have stopped it.

Hamilton: I think they overestimate my power. My general view of reorganization of government is that it is largely an executive branch matter. The Congress should give the president, any president,

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considerable flexibility on how he wants to organize his administration. I'm speaking not only of foreign affairs, but domestic as well.

This administration favored the reorganization. To me it was not a matter of huge priority, because of my basic view on reorganization that I just explained. I also think that the effort put into reorganization is very difficult and rarely has much of a payoff. If you look at the amount of time, effort, talent and resources that this administration has put into this battle, it means a lot of other important things were neglected.

Now what's the payoff? Five years from now, I suspect you won't see much difference. But that's an executive branch call. I think it's the role of the Congress to judge the executive by its results, its performance.

FSJ: Wasn't the real force behind reorganization Sen. Jesse Helms?

Hamilton: Sen. Helms has been pushing it. He got part of what he wanted, he didn't get all of what he wanted. I sat in on the conference committees, and the administration was supporting it, working with Sen. Helms on it.

Why would the State Department not support it? It gives more power to the State Department. USIA and ACDA come in, there's more control over USAID — it's a substantial expansion of power of the secretary of State. I'd be surprised if the secretary of State did not support it.

FSJ: Does the current scandal over Monica Lewinsky have much effect on the conduct of foreign affairs, on the president's ability to carry out his responsibilities?

Hamilton: That's a difficult question. It is not fair to say that because the president is beleaguered, he is incapacitated. He sent bombers out against the terrorists after the embassy bombings, he helped negotiate the Wye Plantation agreement, he's moved on Kosovo, he's invigorated the international financial meetings. So I think the president has been active.

*If I were running
the Foreign Service
today, I'd have FSOs
lobbying one-on-one
all over Capitol Hill.*

He's not weak, helpless or passive. I have no doubt that the president is able to respond to top-level foreign policy challenges.

The real question is whether his distractions have diminished his ability to deal with what you might call second-tier problems, or efforts to work ahead of problems. And that's a much tougher call.

Is he weakened in some respect? The answer is yes. He goes to Ireland, he has a news conference — 30 questions, not one of them on Ireland. That means the president is denied an important opportunity to reach the Irish people, to persuade them of the value of the peace agreement.

Now, that's not his fault, but it's a fact. The media weren't interested in Ireland, they were interested in Monica Lewinsky. So you have to acknowledge that the president's powers are somewhat diminished.

FSJ: Is President Clinton trying to make the case for himself, by acting presidential, taking care of all his political duties?

Hamilton: The president is trying to be presidential, and that's exactly what he should be doing. Under the current circumstances, the president is not going to be convicted of the articles of impeachment. I don't think there's an observer in this town who thinks the U.S. Senate is going to convict him. He's not going to resign. That means he stays in office.

My great concern is the effectiveness of the presidency. I don't think it's to any Americans' advantage to have an incapacitated president. We have to think about how to strengthen the president in his final two years.

FSJ: Occasionally at the *Foreign Service Journal*, people write that members of Congress don't think well of the Foreign Service. We're told that they see the Foreign Service as ineffective, or overprivileged, or unconnected to the real world, or plagued by clientitis. How do you think Congress regards the Foreign Service?

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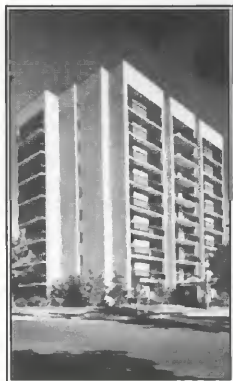
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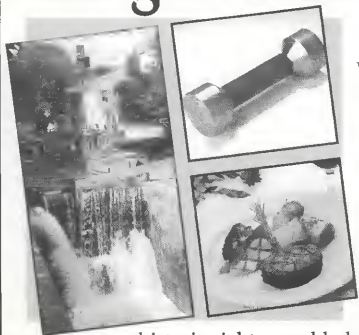
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F O C U S

Hamilton: I have an extremely high regard for the Foreign Service. But you're right, there's a tendency in Congress to think the diplomatic chores are all striped pants and cocktail parties in Paris and London. That's a very narrow view of the Foreign Service. When you have something like the embassy bombings in East Africa, it brings home to the American people that these diplomatic assignments can be very dangerous.

FSJ: Is there any advice you'd give to the Foreign Service, about how it can present itself more effectively?

Hamilton: The Foreign Service does not do a very good job of selling itself to members of Congress. I don't think most members are aware of the hardships they often confront. They have to make the case for it, not so much in testimony but in one-on-one contact. If I were running the Foreign Service today, I'd

have them all over Capitol Hill talking about the job of the Foreign Service on a one-on-one basis. FSOs come from every congressional district in the country. I'd have them contact their representatives and say these are the facts about the Foreign Service, help us out. It's really a matter of the Foreign Service learning to use the tools available to it. You need to blow your horn more, more insistently, more frequently. ■

Have a bone to pick?

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

All submissions go to the *Journal's* Editorial Board for discussion. If an article is accepted, writers will be expected to work with the *Journal's* editors to meet the magazine's editorial and style requirements. Please make submissions via e-mail to journal@afsa.org, by fax to (202)338-8244, or by mail.

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PLAYING RUSSIAN ROULETTE

WESTERNERS AND RUSSIAN POLITICAL INSIDERS
THINK THEY KNOW WHAT'S BEST FOR RUSSIA,
BUT THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE HAVE OTHER IDEAS.

BY VLADIMIR SHLAPENTOKH

When predicting the future of Russia in newspaper articles and scholarly reports, both pessimists and optimists have made the same mistake. These experts have developed their theories while consistently ignoring the thoughts of one of the key players in the drama now taking place: the Russian people. On the rare occasions that American Russian experts turn to polling data, it is not to see what the Russian people are thinking, but to find out which Russian leader or possible presidential candidate is the most popular among them.

Even the president of the United States has fallen in with this trend. Last September, in his landmark speech at the Moscow State University for International Relations, President Bill Clinton made no reference to the Russian peoples' real attitudes toward liberal reforms, privatization or social inequality, not to mention their predilections toward the future of their country. Instead of a speech addressing real issues of concern to the Russian people, President Clinton offered a rudimentary grocery list of suggestions about how they can cure their economic ills, topped by the recommendation that they ought

to pay their taxes. The only solid statistical figure the president offered among his admonitions was data on the number of people who participate in Russian elections.

Still, President Clinton and other foreign leaders and foreign policy experts are not alone in their disregard for what Russians are thinking. Most major players within the Russian political establishment — liberals and communists alike — have a similar attitude. In Russia, tempers flare and debates in the media and in parliament rage on, yet not a single participant cites the views of the Russian people. The collected works of Yegor Gaydar, a modern champion of liberal reform, offer no more sociological data than one would find in the works of former Soviet General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, a Communist stalwart. The same deficiency holds true for other advocates of liberal reform, former deputy prime minister Anatoliy Chubays, former deputy prime minister Boris Nemtsov, as well as the leader of the democratic opposition, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy. Especially remarkable is the failure of the Communists, who might benefit from using public opinion polls documenting the discontent of the masses, to use public opinion to their advantage. For example, it is impossible to find sociological data anywhere in a book written by Communist leader Gennadiy Zyuganov.

While American and Russian politicians, foreign policy experts and the media either snub popular opinion or narrow it to a superficial analysis, dozens of Russian polling firms continue using

Vladimir Shlapentokh, a professor of sociology at Michigan State University, was born, raised and educated in the Soviet Union. Joshua Woods also contributed to this article.

the scientific method to collect and publish massive amounts of public opinion data. Part of the reason those in power ignore the people's voice is that what the people are saying — as shown in polling results — runs counter to both liberal and communist platforms.

Capitalist Running Dogs

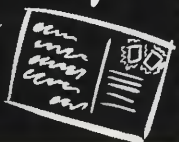
Consider public opinion data and its relevance to the liberal camp in Russia. According to the Public Opinion Research Foundation in Moscow, prior to the August financial catastrophe in Russia when the entire country was on the verge of bankruptcy, only six percent of Russians were convinced that the country was headed in "the right direction," while 54 percent believed Russia was moving in the "wrong direction." When survey questions became more specific about reform issues in Russia, the results were even more negative. Roughly 60 percent of the Russian population are against privatization; only 25 percent favor the sale of state property to private owners. Close to two-thirds of Russians

consider a society with private property and market laws incompatible with equal opportunity; Russians think privatization is "illegitimate" and "inequitable." Three-quarters of Russians favored renationalization of big firms, according to a poll taken in October 1998 by the Center of Social Prognoses and Marketing in Moscow. This same poll found that people attribute the great amassing of wealth in Russia to "dishonesty" (76 percent) and "connections" (88 percent), and only in part (39 percent) to "hard work."

Russians disregard foreign and domestic Russian experts who claim that capitalism in Russia is "abnormal" in its present state, but will radically improve in the future. They blame liberal capitalism for the economic mess in which they find themselves. According to the All-Russian Center for Public Opinion, based in Moscow, 80 percent of Russians ascribe their poverty to the "actual economic system," which they perceive as criminal and oligarchic. In August 1998, another polling firm,

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the Fund of Public Opinion, found that 58 percent of Russians assessed their lives as "bad" or "very bad;" only four percent said life was "good." In the minds of roughly two-thirds of the population, privatization and the rise of the market economy opened the flood gates for corrupt bureaucrats, dishonest business-people and criminals. According to a poll

conducted in January 1998 in which respondents were allowed to select more than one response, 51 percent believed their society was run by criminals, 26 percent said it was run by "corrupted oligarchies," and 25 percent said "corrupted bureaucrats" ran the country, with only 10 percent — a small minority — responding that the country was run by "democratic institutions." The August financial crisis only worsened liberal capitalism in the eyes of the majority of the Russians. Ninety-one percent of Russians responding to a November 1998 survey done by the Fund of Public Opinion said the

economic situation in the country was "bad" or "very bad." In a separate poll by the same organization, a mere 14 percent of Russians said they believed that the crisis would end in the next year.

While the Russian people reject liberal capitalism, they do not advocate communist ideology or a return to the Soviet past, thus making public opinion polling of little interest to the Communist Party. Even though a majority of Russians believe that their material life was better under communism, they cherish their political and economic freedoms. Two-thirds are against reinstatement of a Soviet-style order. Moscow's Center of Social Prognoses and Marketing found in its October 1998 survey that 80 percent

are in favor of free elections, 72 percent cherish the freedom of political activity and strikes, 88 percent enjoy a free press and 85 percent favor the freedom to travel abroad.

Neither Liberal Nor Red

While yearning for an "iron hand" with which to combat crime, corruption and social unrest, Russians are leery of communist-driven initiatives aimed at restoring the repressive Soviet-style system. For this reason, the Communist Party never garnered more than one-third of the votes in both the 1995 parliamentary elections and the 1996 presidential election. Even now, in a climate of political and economic turmoil, only 18 percent of the population supports the communist leader Gennadiy Zyuganov as a possible presidential candidate.

The Russian public also disagrees with the two most pronounced political forces in Russia: the liberals and the communists and their allies the radical nationalists. On one hand, they favor semi-egalitarian ideals, a paternalistic state with repressive attitudes toward crime and corruption and a confrontational, though not aggressive, stance toward the West, ideas deemed unacceptable by the liberals. On the other hand, they advocate a fully open society equipped with both political and economic freedoms, beliefs regarded as improper by the communists and their allies among radical nationalists.

Another reason for the current political establishment's disregard for public opinion derives from its general disrespect or even disgust for the masses. A few days before the financial crisis last August, Aleksey Yulyukayev, the liberal vice director of Yegor Gaydar's Institute of Transitional Economy, criticized the Russian people in the newspaper *Izvestia* for their unwillingness to work as hard as the market requires and for their tendency to shift "the blame for their bad life to everyone but themselves."

The liberals' contempt for the masses is mixed with a pitiless attitude about Russian poverty and the plight of ordinary citizens in

the Russian economy. Recently, the famous liberal writer Vladimir Voynovich tactlessly and cynically advised Russians in the weekly magazine *Ogonyok* that "when you are starving, simple foods taste better than the most refined diet." Less than a month after the August financial crisis, Russian Independent Television aired a program discussing how impoverished Russians could treat themselves to "stinging-nettle cuisine" and "goose-foot stew." However, the most disparaging remark was offered in November on American Russian-language radio station WMNB by former Russian vice premier Alfred Koch. "The Russians deserve their miserable fate," said Koch.

Indifferent, Defenseless People?

Communists and nationalists are no less stinging in their disapproval of Russia's people. Several recent articles in the communist newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya* and the chauvinistic weekly *Zavtra* reveal anger toward the masses because of their refusal to resort to violence to destroy what nationalists refer to as "the regime of occupiers," a term they use to describe Americans and Zionists. The leader of the Communist Party, Gennadiy Zyuganov, condemns the Russian people for their lack of solidarity and their apathy toward national self-preservation. Sergey Kara-Murza, a well-known defender of Soviet society, writes about the paralysis of the people's will, and "the defenselessness of the people's mind." Valentin Rasputin, a renowned "rural" writer, bitterly explained in *Sovetskaya Rossiya* in April how those who once considered themselves "Russian patriots" now harshly criticize their own people, contending that "the Russian nation no longer exists," that "it degenerated, became alcoholic, and turned itself into a group of human beings without will and without ability."

Leonid Borodin, the editor of the nationalist journal *Moscow*, denounced the Russian people in May in *Zavtra* for their "indifference toward the crimes of the regime." According to the communist newspaper *Pravda*, Borodin deems

the majority of his compatriots "unfit for the performance of their civic duties."

Today, information about the attitudes of the people is deemed insignificant by liberals and communists alike, even during election campaigns. Politicians are certain that electoral results depend on who has the deepest pockets and tightest control over the media, not on what the public thinks about various issues.

Power to the People

Moreover, the political actors of post-communist Russia do not fear the potentially obstreperous masses because the political indifference of the Russian people is enormous. Liberals have no reason to fear mass upheaval and communists have no reason to think they can depend on mass upheaval to seize political power. Since the 1918 to 1920 Russian civil war — and perhaps because of it — no anti-government movement has held the attention of a significant proportion of the Russian population.

From 1991 to 1993, during the time when the Soviet Union collapsed and was replaced by a parliamentary system with an elected president, most people in provincial Russia remained passive toward the developments in Moscow. Even in the capital city, only a tiny minority of citizens took part in the political struggle in the streets. The only real exception to this rule was the coal miners' strike in July 1989, when miners demanded a radical improvement of their working and living conditions, as well as economic autonomy from the government.

In contrast, the protest action by the masses against the government last October 7 was quite modest. It did not exert any serious pressure on the government, even if a few million people took part. (No exact figures are available.) The

The political actors of post-communist Russia do not fear the potentially obstreperous masses because the political indifference of the Russian people is enormous.

communist opposition had been so certain that a mass rebellion would result from the protest that it insisted on making the Duma available for emergency declarations. Nevertheless, despite the financial catastrophe of August 17, and even though many months had been spent in preparation, no dramatic events occurred.

Ripe for a Third Force

Today, the major political forces in Russia seem completely immune to the voice of the people. They look upon the masses as pliable, a population that endures rather than rebels, obeying and even voting for the current political authority. In their opinion, the fate of the country has always been determined by politicians in downtown Moscow, particularly those who control the army and police. However, the liberals' and communists' blatant disregard for the voice of the people may be an immense miscalculation. The Russian political landscape is ripe for a "third force," a political movement that could generate mass support by

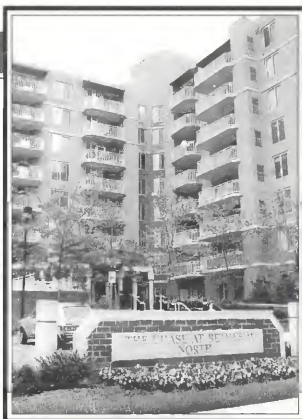
using populist slogans and a combination of egalitarian and capitalist elements. The end result could be a new nationalist, radical political climate in Russia. Both German Nazis and Italian Fascists successfully mixed this type of "ideological cocktail" advocating private property, socialist and egalitarian ideals and aggressive nationalism in order to gain support of the masses.

Taking into account the forces that have shaped Russian history to date, it is extremely difficult to predict who will be victorious in the struggle for power: those who regard the people as contradictory, unstable and irrational, and thus not worth paying attention to, or those who see a future in exploiting the desires of the people. No matter which force is victorious, dismissing public opinion in post-communist Russia runs counter to both Russian and Western expectations and is antithetical to building democracy. For now, however, the grim reality is that the opinions of the Russian masses play nearly the same role as they did in the Soviet past: They don't count at all. ■

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NIXON'S TANGLED FOREIGN POLICY

**A Tangled Web:
The Making of Foreign Policy
in the Nixon Presidency**
William Bundy, Hill and Wang,
1998, \$35 hardcover; 647 pages.

BY BENJAMIN R. JUSTESEN

A Tangled Web: The Making of Foreign Policy in the Nixon Presidency offers a fresh perspective on the man many consider America's strongest foreign policy visionary of the 20th century. It is an exhaustive study of the complicated relationship between Richard Nixon's spectacular successes and his less-publicized failures in foreign policy. The title, taken from Sir Walter Scott's line, "Oh, what a tangled web we weave, when first we practice to deceive," echoes William Bundy's opinion of Richard Nixon. "Most fundamentally, he lacked the qualities of a statesman and builder," writes Bundy. "Nixon's outstanding leadership capabilities were in large measure offset or made worthless by his consistent practice of deception."

Admirers of Nixon's accomplishments in opening up China, engineering detente with the Soviet Union, ending the Vietnam War and averting chaos in the Middle East will likely disagree with Bundy's essentially negative assessment of the 37th

president. Yet Bundy, the former editor of *Foreign Affairs* and a veteran of two decades in various capacities inside the U.S. government, does not demean Nixon's serious accomplishments. Instead, he faults him for a foreign policy that did not involve Congress more, did not seek the advice of experienced professionals within the government and misled the American people at critical junctures. For example, in 1969, at the same time that Nixon was promising to stop committing U.S. forces to the defense of countries under Communist threat, he was ordering the bombing of Cambodia, but keeping it a secret from Congress and even the secretary and chief of staff of the U.S. Air Force. Bundy concludes that Nixon's paradox was that he was a brilliant strategist who lacked a statesman's candor and steady vision, and that this character flaw, in addition to being responsible for the domestic debacle of Watergate, clouded his foreign policy successes.

Bundy does not force this conclusion on the reader, however. Instead, he chooses to amass evidence and let it speak for itself. For example, he traces Nixon's secret relationship with Anna Chennault, the widow of U.S. Gen. Claire Chennault. Mrs. Chennault was Nixon's reputed conduit to South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu in 1968, during the presidential campaign against Hubert H. Humphrey. Bundy theorizes that Nixon used this connection to prod Thieu into remaining inflexi-

ble during the Johnson Administration-sponsored Paris peace talks, thus obstructing the peace process until Nixon could defeat Humphrey. Similarly, Bundy's analysis of the complicated "triangular diplomacy" which allowed Nixon and Henry Kissinger to pursue detente with the Soviet Union while opening the door to a new relationship with China, is detailed and balanced. His discussion of American involvement in the Middle East, particularly during and after the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, is thoughtful and objective; his discussion of the Chilean crisis, on the other hand, is dramatic but somewhat inconclusive.

Bundy relies on the published memoirs of Nixon, Kissinger and Soviet Ambassador to the United States from 1962 to 1986 Anatoly Dobrynin to provide context for his criticism. Still, his prejudices are apparent. He criticizes Nixon for ignoring experienced State Department hands due to the president's long-standing hostility to the Foreign Service, but is gentler to former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, perhaps because he is still alive. (He does complain that Kissinger's arrangement with the Library of Congress to "seal" his personal papers — many of them written on U.S. Government time — was a severe and unfair handicap in writing this book.)

Bundy dwells too long on why certain events were omitted from memoirs written about the era and his

treatment of Nixon's poor health and Watergate as distractions is almost too pat. But these are minor weaknesses in an otherwise well-written, useful book which reveals events of a quarter century ago in a new light.

Ben Justesen, a former FSO, served in Kingston, Copenhagen, Paramaribo, Singapore and Riga.

SAD HISTORY OF KOSOVO'S CONFLICTS

Between Serb and Albanian: A History of Kosovo

Miranda Vickers, Columbia University Press, 1998, hardback, 280 pp., \$47.50; paperback, 328 pp., \$18.50.

BY PATRICIA H. KUSHLIS

Miranda Vickers' well-documented history of Kosovo from Illyrian times through December 1997 is a must for anyone trying to untangle the complex, tragic situation in the heart of the Balkans. For those involved in international foreign policy, *Between Serb and Albanian* raises questions about the strategies that the United States, NATO and the European Union have employed in the region.

"The United States and the European Union have clearly stated that political autonomy with guaranteed minority rights is the only internationally acceptable status for Kosovo," writes Vickers. The problem is, she claims, "autonomy sends negative signals" to both Albanians and Serbs. "To Albanians it is less than what they want, which is independence, and to Serbs it is coded language for the 1974 constitution." The 1974 Yugoslavian constitution included provisions that allowed now-

deceased Premier Josip Broz Tito to rule increasingly restive regions by giving them autonomy. These same provisions diminished the rights of minority Serbs in areas such as Kosovo. In 1989, when the Yugoslav government abolished Kosovo's autonomy, it set off Albanian riots in the province, which comprises 12.3 percent of Serbia and is home to 2.2 million inhabitants, 90 percent of whom are Albanian. Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic capitalized on Serb grievances in Kosovo to make retaining control of the province a symbol of Serb nationalism.

Vickers probes the origins of the current festering conflict between Kosovo Albanians and their absentee, Serbian overlords in Belgrade. Following World War I, the Great Powers decided to keep Kosovo under Serbian jurisdiction. This decision, combined with Albanian inter-clan feuds and disagreements over goals, religions and dialects, prevented establishment of an independent Kosovo. In the following years, Kosovars remained poor and under Serbian control, with little interference from foreigners, except during World War II. Under Communist rule from 1946 to 1990, poverty, financial mismanagement and high unemployment led to unrest in Kosovo. Vickers points out that had Kosovar representatives participated in the drafting of the new 1990 Serb constitution or had the Kosovars themselves voted in the national or Serbian republic elections, as the U.S. and the international community advised, Milosevic and his Serb nationalist ambitions might have been defeated.

Finally, Vickers chronicles the Kosovars' disillusionment with Ibrahim Rugova, a pacifist and leader of the Democratic League of Kosovo, who had pinned his pacifist policies for independence on hopes of U.S.

and E.U. recognition, and traces the rise of the Kosovo Liberation Army, which began small-scale warfare against the Serbs in June 1997. She says that as late as 1990, the majority of Kosovars would have "sanctioned living in an autonomous province within the Yugoslav Federation," a solution that hardly anyone would accept today because Serbian moves to "Serbianize" the province and other actions have served to united the previously disunited Kosovar Albanians.

While the Kosovars have become more determined to achieve independence, the Serbs have borne increasingly heavy financial burdens — which they can ill afford — to keep Kosovo part of Serbia. The Albanians' rationale for the conflict rests on demographics and history. Serbian justifications, writes Vickers, derive "purely from history (dating to 1389) and emotion." Most Serbs will claim that Vickers, a Westerner, lacks objectivity, but they will have a hard time refuting her careful scholarship.

Between Serb and Albanian is the second book by a British writer published in English on Kosovo in 1998. It appeared shortly after former foreign editor of the *Spectator* and political columnist for the *Daily Telegraph* Noel Malcolm's 544-page *Short History of Kosovo*, which Serbian writer Aleksa Djilas vehemently attacked in *Foreign Affairs* for its pro-Albanian bias. Both Vickers and Malcolm spent considerable time researching in the Balkans and both relied on numerous foreign sources. Malcolm's book has received more attention than Vickers', but both draw essentially the same conclusions. Still, Vickers devotes more pages to the modern history of Kosovo, giving her volume the edge for those seeking to understand the current crisis.

Patricia H. Kushlis is a retired FSO who worked for USIA. ■

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Advertising Index

AUTOMOBILES

American Service Center / 8
Bukkehave / 2
Chrysler / C-4, bind-in card / 11
D&M Auto Parts / 40
Don Beyer Volvo / 45
Martens Cars of Washington / 17
Stateside Auto Supply / 39

BOOKS AND MUSIC

Amazon.com / 17 and 39

FINANCE

MCG Financial Planning / 39
State Department Credit Union / 43

HOUSING

Charles E. Smith Corp. Living / 6
Chase at Bethesda / 48
Columbia Plaza / 9
FARA / 9
GeorgetownSuites / 42
Oakwood / 23
Remington / 42
The Towers / 40
The Virginian Suites / 17

INSURANCE

Clements & Co. / 1
Harry M. Jannette International / 6
The Hirshorn Company/Chubb / C-3
Unirisc / 14

REAL ESTATE AND PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

Avery Hess / 52
Diplomat Properties / 51
Executive Housing / 51
Executive Lodging Alternatives / 52
Executive Enterprises Property Management / 54
J.P. Properties / 55
Long & Foster / 53
McGrath Real Estate / 55
MGMB Realtors / 54
North Virginia Homes & Property Mgt. / 51
Property Specialists / 55
Regard / 52
Stuart & Maury / 54
WJD Property Management / 54
Washington Management Services / 51



POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

Requiem for Nuvit

BY FRANCESCA KELLY

I tried not to take Nevzat's weary tone personally when, finding none of the furniture I needed in the embassy storeroom, he suggested that we look in Ankara's shops for a kitchen table, balcony furniture and a desk for my nine-year-old son.

I knew that this strikingly handsome man with haunted, dark eyes, was still mourning his young wife, who had recently died of cancer, leaving him with a year-old son to raise. I felt awkward as we started our errand, with me sitting in the back seat of the embassy's Chevrolet Corsica and Nevzat in the front passenger seat as Nazim, the office carpenter, nudged us through the traffic-clogged, exhaust- and pedestrian-filled streets of Ankara.

Before long we arrived in the charmless, gray furniture district in the outskirts of the city. First, we browsed through a warehouse packed with identical kitchen tables, which made selection easy. Good, now let's get to the desk, I thought. We saw a blonde, traditional desk for 30 million Turkish lira (about \$180). Next store, similar desk, same price. Third store, a fake Shaker desk, same price. How do you say "price-fixing" in Turkish? While we waited for the store clerk to do the paper

Francesca Kelly is a freelance writer and the publisher of the SUN, a newsletter for Foreign Service spouses. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Book Fair "Stamp Corner."

*Nevzat
transported us
to a time
of rustling silks
and water
trickling over
the cool tiles
of a fountain.*



work, Nevzat tapped a cigarette from his pack and offered it to me. "No thanks," I said. "I'm a singer; I can't smoke." He smiled. "I, too, am a musician. I play the oud." Ethnomusicology courses long forgotten, I couldn't recall what an oud was. Nevzat compared it to a lute. The instrument of choice in the Ottoman sultans' lavish courts, it is now used for playing Turkish classical and folk music. "I'd like to hear you play sometime," I told Nevzat.

Our next stop was the bamboo shop. As I picked my way among chairs and loveseats, I spied a pear-shaped, stringed instrument. I noticed that Nevzat had spotted it, too. As we waited at the manager's desk, Nevzat strolled over to the instrument. "Go ahead," said the

manager. Nevzat gingerly brought the dusty object to where we were sitting and wiped it clean with his handkerchief. When the inlaid cherry wood at last gleamed, he tuned it, strummed a few bars, then asked the manager something in Turkish. "Yok," said the manager. There isn't one.

"What is it?" I asked. "What do you need?" "Something to play with," said Nevzat. "Like you use with a guitar." A pick. I rummaged through my purse and found a canceled credit card. "Do you take American Express?" I asked. He smiled, took the card, and shyly started to play.

The oud's delicate tones filled the room. It was surprisingly lyrical for a stringed instrument. Nevzat's playing became bolder; his aristocratic face bent over the instrument. He transported us to a time of rustling silks and water trickling over the cool tiles of a fountain. We temporarily forgot about warehouses, traffic and, perhaps, even larger cares. On the way home Nevzat pointed out a cemetery located on a hillside. "That's where my wife is now," he said, pulling from his wallet a photograph of a young woman with long, thick dark hair and skin like antique ivory. What had been a tragedy before now seemed doubly so when it had a face and a name: Nuvit. Nuvit would never hear her son's first word, never buy him a desk, never again hear her husband's music. ■

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