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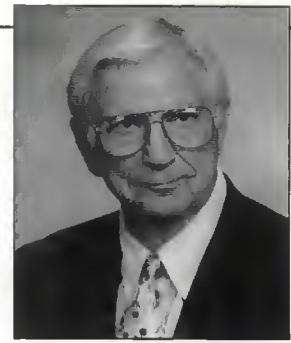
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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

What This Journal Is All About

BY MARSHALL P. ADAIR

Recently, there has been controversy over some of the articles published in this *Journal*. We have tried to answer some of the specific questions and criticisms, but we also need to address the broader question of what this *Journal* should be.

As Ed Marks and Bob Guldin pointed out last month in their "Despatch," the *Journal* is charged with two responsibilities: Communicating AFSA news and views to the membership, and serving as a forum for lively debate of relevant issues in foreign policy. Of the two, I believe the second is by far the most important. The *Journal* is a relatively small operation, and has a two-month lag between the time articles are written and when they are published. That diminishes its value as a platform for current news. AFSANET and cables to the field are more effective in keeping people up to date on current issues.

However, the *Journal* is in a special position to promote constructive discussion of international issues. We would like it to be an accessible and respected forum for debate on the management and implementation of foreign policy. The Editorial Board tries to address issues that are of particular interest to the practitioners of diplomacy. These can range from specific topics, such as the viability of the Foreign Service as a career (December 1999) to broader subjects,

Marshall P. Adair is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.

*The Journal
will sometimes
spur controversy,
that's part
of its job.*



like the "Breaking the Cycle of the 20th Century" (January 2000).

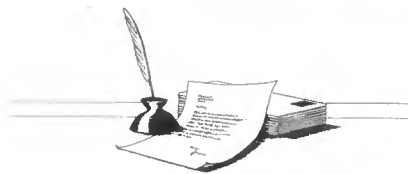
Journal articles should not just provide us with information. They should seek to broaden our perspectives and challenge our conventional wisdom. Since the 1970s, at least, AFSA has tried hard to encourage imagination and independent thinking among our diplomats, a group not always held up as a model for those traits. AFSA gives awards each year to individual officers in all levels of the service in recognition of "initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and constructive dissent." The *Journal* tries to operate in that spirit.

Providing a platform for dissenting views will certainly make us vulnerable from time to time, and it is important that we respect certain boundaries. While we welcome considered criticism of specific policies, and how they are managed, the *Journal* should never become a tool for individuals to attack other individuals for personal reasons. This is particularly sensitive

for AFSA since the foreign affairs practitioners who are criticized are very likely to be our members. They have a stake in this magazine, and it should not be a vehicle used to harm them. The *Journal* should also avoid becoming a spokesman for only one point of view on any given issue; and it should in general refrain from political partisanship.

To encourage creativity and originality, the *Journal* needs a measure of independence. While it is owned and supported by AFSA, it cannot be a company magazine. For this reason, the AFSA by-laws preserve the *Journal's* independence by establishing a separate Editorial Board to oversee *Journal* policy and operation. The AFSA Governing Board has issued very broad guidelines for the *Journal's* operation, and has the option of levying more specific requirements and restrictions, but it does not and should not intervene in daily operations. Most publications, both for-profit and non-profit, experience some disagreement or tension between owner/publisher and editor. AFSA has had its share in the past, and I expect will have more in the future. That is natural and healthy.

We will continue to promote a *Journal* that can add something to our perspective on foreign affairs. We will try to be careful, particularly to protect individuals, but we should not avoid taking risks, and may not be able to avoid future mistakes altogether. Please let the *Journal* and the Governing Board know your views. ■



LETTERS

Why I Didn't Get Out

As a junior officer serving in the consular section of our embassy in Mexico City, I would like to respond to the article "Why We Got Out" (December '99 *Journal*). While authors Nikolai Wenzel and Anthony Ieronimo raise some valid concerns, the overall tone of the article reflects more on the expectations of its authors than on the actual situation in Mexico City, or within the Foreign Service in general.

One certainly cannot deny that JOs are often overworked and, one could argue, undercompensated. Contrary to the authors' implication, however, no one involved in managing consular JOs in Mexico City has ever denied this reality. Indeed, in my view, management has gone out of its way to recognize and, where possible, to alleviate the difficulties of working at one of the busiest embassies in the world. Senior embassy officers routinely visit the section and have scheduled special events to commend the hard work of both JOs and FSNs (many of whom have been nominated for and received meritorious honor awards over the past year). Consular man-

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agement repeatedly procured additional JOs and TDY workers to share the heavy workload, and has been innovative in employing professional associates, consular associates and foreign language fellows to the same end. During the heaviest visa load periods, the consular section chief, deputy NIV section chief, and consul general conducted visa interviews almost daily to allow JOs to leave work at a reasonable hour.



Mexico City (despite its reputation for long hours and difficult work) was high on my bid list, partially because it is a country that I know and love, but also because, as a consular-coned officer, I realized such a post provided an excellent opportunity to observe and experience the widest possible range of consular work and management. I have not been disappointed, and

have never regretted this decision.

On the contrary, I have developed tremendous respect for many of the mid-level and senior managers here, and look to them as mentors and role models. Such officers are struggling daily to improve the situation in Mexico and to implement "best practices" that serve not only the interests of CA and the State Department, but also JOs, FSNs, consular and professional associates and, most importantly, the public. They should be applauded for these efforts and urged to continue promoting change, not criticized for failing to achieve perfection.

*Rachel Schofer
Junior Officer
Embassy Mexico City*

A Wake-Up Call

In my opinion, Anthony Ieronimo and Nikolai Wenzel should be applauded for their courage in writing "Why We Got Out," which highlighted how devastating to an organization poor managers can be, particularly when some of those managers engage in criminal conduct and are allowed to remain in positions of authority. Based on my observations, there are many others who share the views of Ieronimo and Wenzel, but leave State without voicing their reasons for departing.

Such articles should be a wake-up call for the secretary of State, who should be concerned that the culture of the Foreign Service is viewed by many members as dysfunctional. This belief exists largely because State is

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known for rewarding sycophantic behavior while too often ignoring managerial misdeeds and ineptitude. Equally damaging to State is the widespread notion that ambassadors are above accountability.

This view of State causes many highly capable and dedicated people to end their careers early, feeling at odds with State's managers. State's negative image also fosters the disdain felt by some members of Congress, the White House, DOD, and the Washington media.

R. Peter Rice
State Department, retired
Sarasota, Fla.

Two Punk JOs

The *Journal* calls itself "The Magazine for Foreign Affairs Professionals." Evidently, it's not published by professionals. I resign my subscription in disgust over the article by former JOs in the December issue. I have worked in Mexico for the last year and a half with some of the individuals maligned in the article and knew the two punk JOs. How could you?

Jane Gray
Principal Officer
U.S. Consulate Nogales

Visa Mills Keep Grinding

I remember previous "why I left" articles from former FSOs, and the critical comments that poured in afterward. From the stern words on "professional courtesy" in a recent cable to the field, it appears that the service is again closing ranks against criticism. Before we get in an uproar, I'd like to note that I'm a consular officer with more years of visa experience than I care to remember, and I found the comments in "Why We Got Out" were nothing extreme. In visa mills all over the world visa demand dictates workload, and consular priorities are simple: deal with the nonimmigrant

visa crowd (make it go away), deal with the immigrant visa crowd (ditto), and, as you can, and as quickly as possible, issue U.S. passports and resolve citizens' services problems. Keep your head down, keep the crowds and the paper moving, oh, and "best practices," "accountability," "consular management" all that, too.

I can't comment on the allegations of misconduct in Mexico City, but I was assigned there for my first tour and found that the crushing visa workload forced compromises on everyone. I had a good tour, like other Mexico City officers who are also now weighing in, but can't recall anything beyond the occasional "Attaboy" from consular managers who didn't then, and don't now, make the choices necessary to tailor the workload to the resources available. As long as there are consular officers willing to do the unending work and long (uncompensated) hours to get through the day's crisis, the visa mills keep on grinding.

Pressure to process visas has also swept away many of our antifraud programs, but in that area I've concluded that although "fraud busting" can be fun it is often ineffectual unless we can uncover and prosecute a whole network. And who has the time/resources/authority for that? So a decreased emphasis on fraud that we can't control anyway doesn't trouble me but our refusal to control the workload factors that we can manage, dumping the load on consular officers who pride themselves on pitching in and getting the job done, does represent a failure of consular management.

Nobody's looking for a perfect world, in the FS or in life, but a confident system like ours should be able to have a "dialogue" about common problems without losing perspective or discrediting officers who

raise questions. This article, and others in the "You call this a career?" issue, as well as the official "reactions" to them, cover many of the issues that have helped me decide to leave the FS after 20 years, too.

Gail T. Roberts
Consul
New Delhi

Accusations Not Credible

The accusations that disgruntled former FSOs Ieronimo and Wenzel make in their article are not credible. Whatever problems the Foreign Service may have, "old boy network," "currying favor," and "kiss up, kick down" do not remotely reflect its personnel or promotion systems.

The article's authors do not name the officials against whom they vent their frustrations, but it is not difficult to guess the identity of many of them. What kind of cross-checking did the *Journal* do to determine whether Ieronimo's and Wenzel's charges are truthful or slanderous? AFSA has an obligation to ensure the *Journal* complies with basic standards of journalistic ethics.

Paco Scanlan
Principal Officer
Consulate General Krakow

Some Unrepresented FSOs

Congratulations on the excellent collection of articles in the December issue on the question of the Foreign Service as a career. Each piece offered much material for thought and, hopefully, should stimulate more conscientious attentions to the points raised.

As for the positive aspects of the service, I agree with everything Phyllis Oakley said in her article ("I Would Do It All Again"). It made me think, however, that there may be one "constituency" whose views were not polled. It does not seem surprising that those who rise to the top of the service would find the



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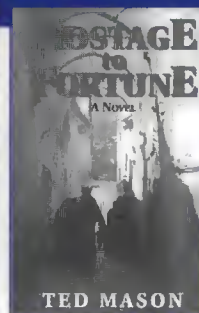
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LETTERS



career attractive. What I would like to read, however, is a thoughtful piece by an FSO-1 who was not fortunate enough to make it over the senior threshold. Probably we all know many excellent officers who did not clear this hurdle. Would they "do it all again," too?

It was disheartening to read "Why We Got Out." One might hope that anyone good enough to get into the service would have given it more than one try before opting out, but I wouldn't want my opinion to be taken as an attempt to excuse weaknesses in management. I suspect, however, that until our leaders are able to convince the Congress to give us the resources required to reverse the recent history of underfunding and under-staffing, and to redouble our training efforts, we are

likely to continue to suffer from weaknesses in management as busy supervisors give priority to "policy" over personnel.

*Charles O. Cecil
FSO, Examiner
Board of Examiners
State Department*

How Assignments Really Work

The authors of "Why We Got Out" are to be commended for taking the time to enumerate the factors which impelled them to separation from the Foreign Service. Members of my class (March 1985) told me of Embassy Mexico's policy of requiring junior officers to work overtime, then pressuring them not to submit requests to be paid for their work. The practice was wrong then, and it's wrong today. I hope it

has been corrected for good.

I was struck by the thought that these young men of great potential were lost to the service, largely because no one with a longer perspective took the time to listen to their concerns and talk to them about how the Service works. Their phrase (in regard to personnel assignments) "little more than a spoils system," begs for someone to buy them a cup of coffee and say, "Well, look, if 1,000 FSO generalists in four cones change jobs every year, and you confine your search to jobs in your cone, you're looking at 250 possibilities. Throw out the ones you're not interested in and you're down to 10 or 20. Throw out repeats of what you've just done, and you're under 10. Now, where do you want to go and what do you want to do?"

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"Tell your CDO and find out who in the target bureau will be weighing in. E-mail them and tell why you should be their choice. Do the same with your prospective ambassador. You don't need an old boys' network to get an assignment, but you have to be able to explain why you have the right stuff to do your dream job.

"First tours are tough, adjusting to new personalities, new job demands, a new culture. You are learning a lot in such an environment, even if you don't realize it at the time. How do you stay focused on results under stressful, distracting conditions? How do you build relationships with a difficult colleague or supervisor? How quickly can you master the visible structure, as well as the invisible one, in order to make the system function for you? You'll need to know these things, wherever you go."

Ieronimo and Wenzel had a great deal to say about their Foreign Service experiences — some of it funny, some astute. They obviously cared enough about the service to take the time to write their article. With their observational and writing skills they might have become change agents, had they hung around for another tour.

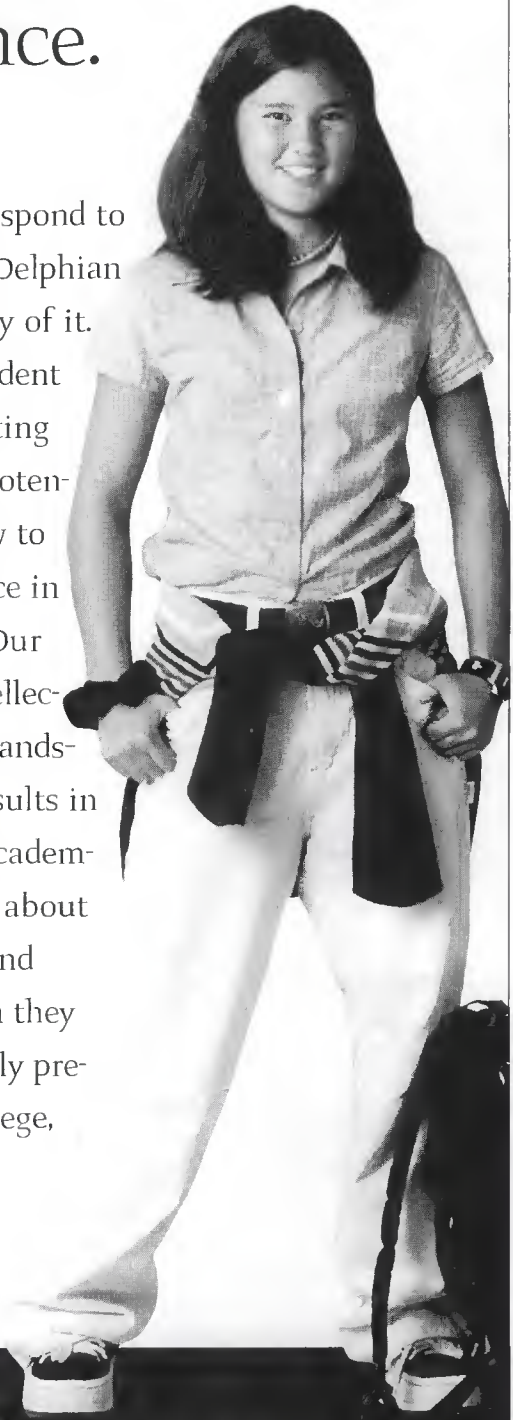
*Dwight Rhoades
Administrative Officer
Embassy Tirana*

Right Outta Georgetown

I shared the experiences of Ieronimo and Wenzel, having myself been posted as a first-tour JO in Mexico City in 1993-94. It was tough! It was, in fact, a baptism of fire. But management had the good sense to rotate us to another embassy section after one year on "the line." My own supervisor, Kay Anske, always seemed to appear at my side at the very moment I was most exasperated, most discour-

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aged. She would offer help — even handle the problem for me, if necessary — and expect me to carry on. And all eight of her JOs did just that. At times we felt she was pushing us too hard. At times we complained among ourselves. But none of us quit.

I think of my time on the line in Mexico City as I think of my time in the delivery room when my kids were born. Yes, it was awful. But yes, it was worth it, for the experiences gained, lessons learned, and ordeals survived.

Ieronimo and Wenzel were members of what I call the ROG (Right Outta Georgetown) crowd. Maybe this traditional source of FSOs is not the best source of recruiting by the State Department after all.

*Linda Eichblatt
Consul
Vilnius*

Jewish FSOs: No Breaks

Upon reading the December issue of the *Journal*, I noted the articles about how difficult it has been for women, Hispanics and others to get into, or get ahead in, the Foreign Service. No one wrote an article on another group that had difficulty breaking in. So I'll fill the void: Up through World War II, there were virtually no Jews in the Foreign Service, or for that matter, in any other branch of the Department of State. There was substantial anti-Semitism in the country and the doors were just shut; it was very simple.

Sometime after WWII, things changed and, little by little, the doors were opened and Jewish candidates took advantage of the new opportunities. There were, however, no special scores. There were no affirmative action programs. They came in on merit. Some made it, and had outstanding careers; some didn't. But once the barriers were let

down, they were treated like any other American who wanted a Foreign Service career.

*Irwin Rubenstein
FSO, retired
Plantation, Fla.*

Alternative Exam Benefits

Your article "Dumbing Down Entry to the Foreign Service" (September *FSJ*) is as revealing for what it doesn't say as for what it does. As a member of the minuscule minority who have taken and passed both the traditional written exam and the Alternative Examination Program, I would like to put forward a few observations.

The interests of FSOs are those of an established group of people who have collective concerns over benefits and career advancement. Not unlike a union at the advent of new technologies, they are faced with obsolescence.

Domestic policy now asserts that job applicants in depressed areas of the country should possess certain skills in order to be "job ready." This is also advice State gives to Third World countries with work forces whose levels of training are not sufficient for a modern economy. Yet "job readiness" among State inductees has been arbitrary for decades simply because the selection process does not test for it. This problem is not unique to State.

Nor does your article address training costs. Few officers have ever told me they were proficient in any of the contemporary software packages. Knowledge of Excel or databases is all but unknown.

The immutable fact is that there is no money. State is going through what many other agencies have gone through over the past 25 years — streamlining through deprivation. Regrettably, this comes at a time

when the Foreign Service is sorely in need of more officers.

The Foreign Service examination system is supposed to be egalitarian, but it works very poorly. It must be disturbing for the average officer to consider that the system which takes so much intellectual rigor to negotiate might also produce results as absurd as this.

Finally there is the small matter of career advancement. The AEP group would deepen the pool of perceived talent, not dilute it. Few would consider an elite for leadership if that group was less than effective going in, costly to train and suspicious of non-initiates.

Foreign Service officers are not taken seriously because of the selection process. By mixing in the AEP group which provides an element of skill and experience, existing Foreign Service officers might be taken more seriously by the Senate at confirmation hearings.

*David Casavis
Regional Technician
U.S. Department of
Commerce
New York City*

Misunderstanding USIA

I feel compelled to answer a couple of the assertions that Peter Galbraith made in his own defense in the January issue of the *Journal*. It is apparent that Ambassador Galbraith and/or his PAO didn't know how to use Worldnet in the most effective manner.

At the posts where I was PAO — Canberra, Caracas and Lima — Worldnet was never seen as a low-budget version of "Good Morning America," competing with the commercial networks on breaking news such as U.S. election coverage. Rather, we utilized targeted Worldnet to deliver U.S. foreign policy messages to high-level policy-

LETTERS

makers, thereby accomplishing mission and USIS country program objectives at relatively low cost. Especially in Canberra, so far from Washington, Worldnet was an absolutely essential weapon in our public diplomacy arsenal.

I also object to Galbraith's personal attack against former USIA Director Charlie Wick. While it is true that we had to deal with Wick's many idiosyncracies, it is equally true that he had a direct line to President Reagan and the White House — the kind of access not enjoyed by any USIA director since Edward R. Murrow. Perhaps that's why the budget for public diplomacy increased under Wick's leadership while the overall foreign affairs budget declined.

As to Galbraith's hope that State "will do better by its people than did USIA," good luck! What I'm hearing from my former colleagues (some in State) tells a much different, and very dismal, story about the first few months of life in the field under the ill-advised State/USIA merger.

Guy W. Farmer
FSO (USIA), retired
Carson City, Nev. ■

Query: Missionaries' Children

Jung Pak, a graduate student in American history at Columbia University, is gathering materials for a possible Ph.D. dissertation on missionaries' children who became involved in U.S. foreign policy-making during the World War II era. If you can provide names or suggestions, please write to Ms. Pak at 231 West 96th St., Apt. 6C, New York, NY 10025 or e-mail at jjp508@columbia.edu.

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“Q: If you weren’t in politics, what field would you like to be in right now?”

A: Foreign Service.”

*— SEN. JOHN MCCAIN,
R-ARIZ.,
FROM AN INTERVIEW IN
THE JAN. 3
WALL STREET JOURNAL*

INSECURITY AT STATE: LAXNESS TOLERATED

A front-page article in the Jan. 17 *Washington Post* summarizes a report by the State Department’s Inspector General documenting massive security breaches in Foggy Bottom and pointing to a bureaucratic culture that tolerates them. In 1998 alone, the IG found, there were 1,673 incidents in which State Department employees mishandled classified documents. Although 218 people were disciplined for committing at least four offenses each — the threshold for disciplinary action — none were fired.

Between 1995 and 1998, State did refer 53 cases in which employees were suspected of mishandling classified information to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Yet even though some department employees admitted when interviewed by FBI agents “the inappropriate and deliberate release of classified information to unauthorized individuals,” not a single person was ever prosecuted.

The study also details the loss by State officials of nearly 240 highly classified documents, concluding that most of the losses were the result of loose controls over who looked at the documents. “Basically, what we are saying in this report is that State Department intelligence officials are not adhering to the standards governing the handling of classified information,” said one official from the inspector general’s office. While auditors will be following up to ensure the implementation of the inspector general’s recommendations for improving controls over the documents, the IG had no plans to issue another report on how many, if any, of the documents were recovered.

Completed this past September (before a Russian intelligence operative was caught monitoring a listening device planted inside a seventh-floor conference room at Main State) but kept confidential until now, the report so upset Congress that it froze some funds earmarked for the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR), the section responsible for safeguarding top-secret documents. To obtain the money, department officials had to submit a plan for improving security by Jan. 31.

Officials at the FBI and State were not immediately available for comment, though a senior official in the Diplomatic Security Bureau noted that at least 50 to 100 additional employees would be needed to implement the report’s recommendations. In a response attached to the report, INR officials downplayed the significance of the leaks. “Of the (nearly) 1,700 infractions, only six involved (highly-sensitive) material.” They also noted that the bureau’s security director was promptly rotated to another job following the release of the investigation’s results.

WHY ARE THERE STILL NUCLEAR ARMS?

Jonathan Schell, the author of the best-selling 1982 anti-nuclear tract *The Fate of the Earth*, raises some interesting questions about the history and current status of nuclear weapons in the January issue of *Harper’s Magazine*.

The Cold War and the nuclear age were intimately intertwined in their origins, Schell notes. In particular, the



CLIPPINGS

totalitarianism of Soviet communism helped to justify what otherwise might have seemed repugnant — the threat to exterminate whole cities and populations: “Reliance on nuclear arms was widely considered an extraordinary, provisional response to an extraordinary, provisional emergency; the threat, as many people in the West believed, to the freedom of the entire world by the Soviet Union.”

But since the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991 — and with it the Cold War — nuclear weapons have not disappeared. What has disappeared, Schell complains, is popular awareness of them. “A whole generation came of age lacking even rudimentary information regarding nuclear arms and nuclear peril.” Citizens “were given little indication that some 31,000 nuclear weapons remained in the world, or that 6,000 of them were targeted at the United States.”

A result of this obliviousness, Schell writes, is that “the web of arms-control agreements that had been painstakingly woven during the last half century of the Cold War was coming apart.”

He cites as examples the recent Senate rejection of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, U.S. moves toward a national missile defense and Russian stalling in START negotiations.

Schell argues earnestly that such complacency is foolish — and he cites various world leaders and strategists, including Cold War hawks like Paul Nitze, who say nuclear weapons can and should be abolished. Unless the nuclear powers take advantage of the present moment, Schell says, the new century is likely to see “many interlocking nuclear arms races in many parts of the globe.”

WE NEED “IT” — SO WE GET “IT”

Writing in the Dec. 27 *Federal Times*, Stephen Trimble reports that Uncle Sam is facing a dire shortage of information technology workers. Nearly half the federal government’s 67,000 IT employees are projected to leave by 2006; in all, the Office of Personnel Management’s Chief Information Officers Council estimates that the government will have to hire 37,000 new information technology workers to replace retiring employees and fill new positions.

A year ago, however, one agency began aggressively pursuing its own strategy to boost pay for IT workers: the State Department. Specifically, State is offering retention bonuses of between 5 and 15 percent of base pay for current employees and up to 25 percent for new recruits who earn professional certification in various computer systems. As Pat Popovich, State’s deputy chief information officer for management, observes: “We’re 25 percent under [private sector salary levels], so now we’re at least on the same page as the private sector.”

For exactly that reason, however, other federal agencies fear that State will lure talent away from their own IT departments. To address those concerns, OPM is considering a directive governing such bonuses, though specific guidelines have not yet been formally introduced at the Chief Information Officers Council.

In the meantime, since February 1999, State has cut its information technology job vacancies in half to just 10 percent and has also improved the quality of its IT applicants through the bonus program.

50 YEARS AGO

“My suggestion is that a large number of the personnel so busily engaged in reforming the operations of the Foreign Service should be returned to productive effort in private life or be introduced to [it] if, which seems more likely, they have never had the privilege of engaging in it.”

— WILLARD L.

BEAULAC, LETTER TO
THE EDITOR, IN THE
MARCH 1950 FOREIGN
SERVICE JOURNAL



CLIPPINGS

*“True strength
restrains itself;
true greatness
sets its own
limits.”*

— CHARLES-MAURICE
DE TALLEYRAND-
PERIGORD

ISLAND NATIONS: PARADISES LOST?

Many of us long to visit tropical islands, especially in the depths of winter. Writing in the fall 1999 issue of the *InterDependent* magazine, however, international environmental law attorney Gail V. Karlsson explains that island nations all around the world face multiple crises which in some cases threaten their very existence.

Probably the best known of these systemic problems are those posed by global warming: rising sea levels, more frequent and devastating hurricanes and typhoons,

and higher ocean temperatures that disrupt fishing. Other threats include economic marginalization and a whole range of environmental hazards: oil spills, marine pollution, depleted fisheries and transport of nuclear materials through territorial waters.

All those problems were discussed at the U.N. General Assembly's September 1999 special session, the latest in a series of conferences dedicated to island nations.

Karlsson concludes: “Because such communities are remote and sparsely populated, most of us will never see the damage. But once the damage is done, something very valuable will have been lost, perhaps forever.” ■



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SPEAKING OUT

State and USIA: Blending a Dysfunctional Family

BY DELL PENDERGRAST

Shuttle buses now roll regularly between Main State and SA-44, the building in southwest Washington that USIA once called home. Today, a shiny new plaque decorates the government façade at the old USIA headquarters at 301 4th Street, announcing that it now houses the Department of State. Still, these symbols don't really address the elusive objective of putting public diplomacy, as Secretary of State Madeleine Albright has promised, "at the core of American foreign policy." It will take more than plaques, shuttle buses and policy statements to make this a reality.

Political and organizational cosmetic changes are not enough. Finding a place for public diplomacy inside the State Department will require an overhaul of traditional diplomatic culture. Foreign policy is no longer the monopoly of diplomats working secretly in foreign ministries and embassies. The world has changed dramatically, opening up international relations to a new, large cast of players who operate in the cacophonous bazaar of the global information revolution.

Separated physically and psychologically from Foggy Bottom, USIA adapted more rapidly to the changing contours of the new global environment. The agency recognized that international relations had become an interactive process,

Dell Pendergrast, a retired USIA FSO, is executive director of the Public Diplomacy Foundation.

State has always been uneasy with advocacy groups, whom they regard as irritants and obstacles to be avoided or preempted.



transformed by new technologies such as the Internet and by almost-instant access to news, and that, because of this revolution, non-governmental organizations must be engaged in the conduct of American diplomacy. The State Department, absorbed in the conventional business of government-to-government relations, lagged behind. The merger of the two agencies provokes a serious concern about USIA's more open, technologically advanced, publicly-oriented style of diplomacy disappearing inside a larger, dominant culture less hospitable to organizational innovation.

Two fault lines separate the two cultures. First, public diplomacy assumes a broader context for international relations. Second, its internal values are different from those of traditional diplomacy. New informa-

tion technologies are changing the world today as much as the invention of movable type revolutionized Renaissance Europe. In a world where instant communication takes place across oceans and state borders, governments cannot manipulate public policy and public opinion. There is too much information clogging the electronic superhighway for that. But the State Department continues to think that the world has not undergone a revolution. This type of "old-think," a style of diplomacy that assumes that public opinion can be controlled, is embodied in the venerable daily State Department press briefing and the ritual of preparing press guidance every morning for the press office. Neither practice takes into account the global communications revolution, which has produced so many other sources of information with faster, more direct and more persuasive public impact that these institutions seem like the Pony Express in the era of the Internet.

In the increasingly decentralized international environment, the State Department retains its old hierarchical patterns of rigid, top-down management, inadequate technology and preference for diplomat-to-diplomat communication. Major studies last year by the Henry L. Stimson Center and CSIS stressed the urgent need for major change in the way that State does business in the 21st century. These recommendations have been ignored, a pattern established in the past with internal

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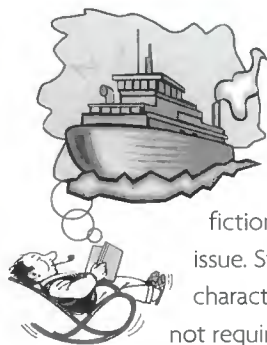
State Department management studies that recommended reform. USIA professionals and their organizational culture may not be received any better.

Today, non-governmental organizations are more active in international relations. In the last decades, more than 15,000 NGOs in the United States have had some role in foreign policy. For many years, USIA pioneered working with NGOs, particularly as partners in reaching overseas audiences and institutions outside the halls of government. The State Department has been always a little uneasy with advocacy groups, particularly those that support unorthodox or opposition views, whom they regard as irritants and obstacles to be avoided or preempted. Sometimes State will summon NGOs for briefings, but an authentic commitment to partnership and open dialogue is still missing. These organizations often have access, capabilities and grassroots influence that the State Department should welcome and cultivate. The USIA experience with NGOs, which has been more of an open exchange and partnership, should serve as a useful model for a reformed State culture.

If the USIA-State merger is to have any impact on the State Department, a culture that values secrecy and the final products of diplomacy must be addressed. The State Department restricts e-mail communication and other Internet access to State offices in Washington, D.C. and overseas missions. This collides with a 21st century world characterized by openness and the free flow of information. While no one would dispute that some elements of foreign affairs — particularly confidential exchanges among governments — must be protected, the technology

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The cultural changes needed to assimilate USIA's public diplomacy function into State are barely visible.

exists that would both open the State Department and protect its appropriately secret communications. It is time to discard the old notion that the State Department must speak in guarded, confidential whispers about the treasures of foreign policy. The world just doesn't work that way anymore.

Diplomats have also been too preoccupied with the final byproducts of diplomacy: a final communiqué, a signed treaty or a brokered government-to-government agreement. But a world awash in foreign affairs information and peopled by many players outside the government cannot wait until diplomats have dropped every bracket and inked every document. For diplomacy to be effective, the tools of public diplomacy must be used throughout the process to explain what is going on, why it is being done and how it is proceeding. Waiting until the ink is dry on a policy statement or treaty and then trying to sell the result is not effective.

So far, all that has happened to integrate USIA with State is that the organizational chart has been redrawn, lines of authority have been established and new letterhead has been printed. The cultural changes needed to assimilate USIA's public diplomacy function into State are, however, barely visible. Indeed,

a former senior USIA officer now working in the State Department, told an audience at an AFSA conference on Nov. 17 that no one is practicing public diplomacy in Foggy Bottom. The only public diplomacy being practiced is overseas, he said. Inside State, the tradition-bound hierarchy prevents public diplomacy priorities and initiatives from percolating up to senior management. Speaking at the same conference, Evelyn Lieberman, the new under secretary of State for public diplomacy and public affairs and a former high-ranking official in the Clinton White House, described herself as a "missionary" to State, because many colleagues, she admitted, do not understand public diplomacy or value USIA professionals' expertise.

The problem, however, goes beyond improved understanding between former USIA employees and State Department personnel. The State Department organizational culture must change and restructure itself not only to absorb new colleagues from USIA, but also to meet the challenges of conducting foreign policy in the next century. This will require bold departures from traditional recruiting and training methods and changes in how the State Department thinks about and communicates with foreign and domestic publics.

On the occasion of USIA's formal merger with the State Department on Oct. 1, 1999, Madeleine Albright declared, "In our era public diplomacy is not simply nice to have. It must be a core element in our foreign policy." USIA professionals welcomed and applauded the secretary's words. But we still wait for evidence that the State Department is prepared to make the fundamental organizational changes that public diplomacy requires in today's world. ■



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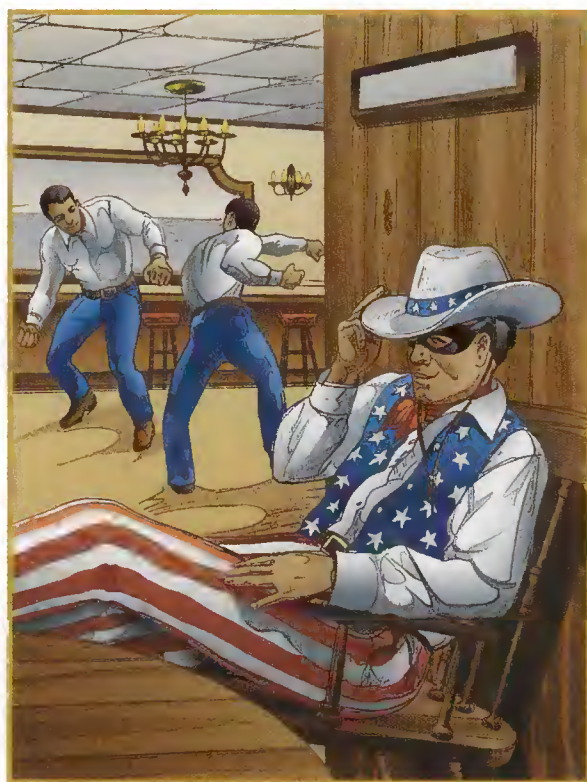
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PAX AMERICANA: THE IMPOSSIBLE DREAM



N THE UNITED STATES HAS EVERYTHING IT NEEDS TO BE A WORLD HEGEMON—EXCEPT THE WILL TO BE ONE.

BY CHARLES WILLIAM MAYNES

ATO's successful 78-day war against the regime in Belgrade last spring has revived debates about America's future global role. The staggering display of technological prowess encouraged some and alarmed others. Some call for America to seize the moment to attempt a global hegemony. Others urge Washington to understand its own limits.

Did the war represent an irrefutable display of America's extraordinary position of power, or did the fact that tiny Serbia held out for 78 days only undermine it? Can Washington now rule the world, if it wishes, or did the war reveal that even the most powerful face limits?

Two sharply opposed views on the consequences of the war against Serbia have developed. The first school sees

F O C U S

the war as a proof of American preeminence, a victory so stunning that it serves as a harbinger of future policy initiatives, even global hegemony. Others see the war as a setback or worse. As one leading Republican congressman declared, "If this is victory, what then is defeat?"

President Clinton, understandably, takes the first view. In speaking before NATO troops in Macedonia in late June 1999, he said, "Whether you live in Africa or Central Europe or any other place, if somebody comes after innocent civilians and tries to kill them en masse because of their race, their ethnic background or their religion and it is within our power to stop it, we will stop it." Others in the alliance are clearly not comfortable with this view. As the war was reaching its denouement, German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder attempted to put the Kosovo decision into a quite different perspective. "Human rights should be inviolable, but we have to look at issues very closely and in fact differentiate between different situations." In the future, he added, NATO action should be confined to its own territory.

Some key U.S. officials share the German chancellor's caution. On June 28, 1999, in a speech in New York City, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright noted, "Some hope, and others fear, that Kosovo will be a precedent for similar interventions around the globe. I would caution against any such sweeping conclusions. Every circumstance is unique. Decisions on the use of force will be made by any president on a case-by-case basis after weighing a host of factors. Moreover, the response to Milosevic would not have been possible without NATO, and NATO is a European and Atlantic, not a global, institution."

Caution from chancellors and U.S. Cabinet officials notwithstanding, there is no question that many see the intervention in Kosovo as the announcement of a new strategic mission for the United States and its allies. The outcome of the war is viewed as proof that in a post-Cold War world, the United States can impose

Charles William Maynes is president of the Eurasia Foundation and is the former editor of Foreign Policy magazine. A Foreign Service officer from 1962 to 1971, he served in the Bureau of International Organization Affairs, and in Embassies Vientiane and Moscow. From 1977 to 1980 he was assistant secretary of State for international organization affairs.

norms of decency on others with very little risk to itself.

There are some, however, who do not see the war as a victory at all. Ironically, one of them is Robert Hunter, former U.S. ambassador to NATO under Clinton. He contends that the war, in fact, marked a historic setback for Washington. The hope, in his view, was that NATO could be converted from a Western alliance binding the United States to the fate of its European allies into the security organization in Europe, one that would deny all non-members of NATO any decisive voice in European security policy. But, fearing the cost of a ground war, he contends, Washington was impelled to turn to Moscow to bring the war to a close.

In support of Hunter's views is the fact that once the bombing stopped, the Serbian army proceeded to leave Kosovo with little evidence of severe damage to its troops or equipment. Regarding the Russian role in bringing the conflict to a halt, the leading British general in the war is on record as stating that the key to ending the war was the Russian decision to help Washington persuade Belgrade to surrender. But it is precisely this Russian involvement that troubles Hunter. He contends that permitting Moscow to gain any significant role in the resolution of the conflict in effect ended the pretense that NATO, led by the United States, could become the only arbiter of European security.

Hunter's views merit special attention because as the recent U.S. ambassador to NATO, he was the very man who worked to transform NATO into the kind of organization that could launch the war against Belgrade in the first place. Through the new strategic doctrine, which he helped craft, no longer would NATO restrict its concern to defense of the territorial integrity of its member states. It would adopt a new proactive strategy designed to carry democratic order beyond NATO's existing frontiers to the rest of Europe, by force if necessary. But if this is the goal, then as Hunter notes, "A Russia asked to rescue NATO from its own limitation is also a Russia better able to challenge NATO's ambition to be the key arbiter of European security for the 21st century."

What kind of institution NATO is capable of evolving into over the next century would seem to be a subject of interest only to security specialists. But in fact, if NATO cannot be Europe's arbiter, profound consequences flow for any effort to create a Pax Americana in Europe

or elsewhere. The American people are profoundly attached to the concept of burden sharing. They will not permit Washington to embark on prolonged military adventures unless the American government can gain two things that only its Western allies can bestow: legitimacy and resources. To put the issue another way, no administration can long sustain public support for a prolonged military engagement unless America's allies bless the effort and help to finance it. If they refuse either or both, the United States is unlikely to stay the course. Any bid for hegemony then becomes folly.

What Hegemony Takes

With these differences in views as background, what can we say about the arguments of those who urge the United States to seize its "unipolar moment" to impose some form of hegemony on the world? What does it take to become the dominant power of this or any other age? There are four characteristics of a hegemonic power: resources, will, strategy and model.

First, military resources are critical. No dominant state in history has been militarily weaker than its neighbors. Rome was stronger than Carthage, China more powerful than its neighbors. The France of Louis XIV and Napoleon was more populous and better armed than other European nations. Germany could make two bids for world supremacy because its military machine was unmatched among the great powers. From this perspective, those concerned about the rise of a Pax Americana should calm themselves — because the United States is very unlikely to muster the resources needed for world hegemony.

True, one lesson from the Yugoslav war was the American military machine could act with extraordinary power and precision. The United States now commands a military establishment that other powers could not match even if they banded together against the United States. But even those who call for a policy of hegemony, like the editors of the conservative *Weekly Standard* magazine, understand that such a policy would require even more resources. They call for the military budget to increase by another \$80 billion. How likely is that to happen?

And there is another point: The resources a hegemonic power must have at its command cannot be military alone. A dominant state must choose its battles carefully. Successful hegemonic powers probably bribe

or persuade more often than they coerce. They are reluctant to dissipate their military power in fruitless adventures. No matter how much one state may tower over others, even a superpower cannot risk being everywhere at once. To preserve its influence and maintain its control, it needs the other components of power: disposable finances and diplomatic presence.

Here the United States is progressively rendering itself less and less capable of imposing on the world a Pax Americana. For reasons related primarily to domestic politics, the United States is unable to play the role it could because its political system will not deliver the financial resources necessary to play in any sustained manner the role of hegemon. In recent years, the United States has been closing consulates and shutting down aid missions. Its embassies look increasingly threadbare. Its aid budget has been repeatedly slashed until the United States is now at the bottom of OECD countries in terms of its per capita commitment. Its foreign assistance budget now stands at less than one-twentieth of its defense budget. And much of the foreign assistance it provides is for strategic purposes related to the Middle East peace process — it should not really be classified as development assistance at all. In effect, the defense budget remains at Cold War levels while the funds needed for the other elements of power melt away like a snow bank in the hot sun.

These developments force an excessive U.S. reliance on the military instrument. This reliance is suggested not only by the number of aircraft and tanks it deploys but also by the number of military missions it has established in recent years. For example, the number of Special Operation Forces deployed abroad has swelled from 38,000 in 92 countries at a cost of \$2.4 billion in 1991 to 47,000 in 143 countries at a cost of \$3.4 billion in 1997. Soldiers are in effect replacing diplomats and development specialists.

For a Pax Americana to develop and endure, the United States must play the role not only of the world's sheriff but also of the international system's steward. It must not only order others to behave but also attempt to create the political and economic conditions that will persuade them to behave.

The Will to Lead

Second, a dominant state must manifest a will to lead. A state may have the capacity to lead but not the

will. Both Japan and Europe in recent decades are examples of this phenomenon. Each has the capability to play a much larger role in the international system, but the will is absent.

As suggested, American leadership groups are divided on the issue of Pax Americana and the price it would entail. At the end of the Bush administration, the Department of Defense prepared a policy statement calling for the United States to exploit the disappearance of the Soviet Union to impose a U.S.-dominated world order on others. Once leaked, the paper was repudiated as un-American. Our people simply do not see themselves as world hegemony. A world leader, yes; the world's boss, no.

This attitude can be explained partly by national traditions but also by recent history. The military historian John Keegan has written of the First World War that the battle of "the Somme marked the end of an age of vital optimism in British life that has never been recovered." Unlike the British, Americans were never eager imperialists but to the degree they ever were, Vietnam had an impact on American optimism similar to that of the battle of the Somme on British optimism. The words of all recent administrations suggest that the "Vietnam Syndrome" is dead; their actions suggest otherwise. This is the primary reason to doubt that the American actions in the Balkans will ever guide U.S. or NATO policy for any sustained period. Although the president seemed to promise that NATO would act elsewhere to prevent the kind of human rights abuses that were taking place in the Balkans, one suspects that the chances of a NATO operation in the Sudan to end the civil war there or in the Caucasus to resolve the bitter conflict between the Azeris and the Armenians are close to zero.

The problem of summoning the will to intervene abroad is made more difficult by the troubling question of legitimacy. The American people tend to fight best when they feel they have legitimacy for their cause. During the Cold War, both the West and the Soviet bloc sought legitimacy in Article 51 of the UN Charter—the right of nations to self-defense. Because in the Cold War, all international politics seemed to be a zero sum game, it seemed plausible for policy-makers to contend that a conflict virtually anywhere affected American

*Now that the
U.S. faces no major
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how can we justify the
use of force abroad?*

national security and that a U.S. intervention was therefore an act of self-defense justified under Article 51 of the charter. The United States, for example, used Article 51 to justify its interventions in Grenada and Panama.

With the end of the Cold War, however, the question of what legitimates the use of military force acquires a new character. Now that

the United States faces no major international security threat, what justifies the use of force? The answer to that question is not clear, yet it is vital to American administrations to secure that legitimacy. The support of the U.N. Security Council, of course, lends significant legitimacy to a military action. But, given the veto power of the council's permanent members, such support is unlikely to materialize in some cases in which the United States wishes to act (including, of course, Kosovo). In some regions, such as Africa or Latin America, the sanction of a broadly based regional organization like the Organization of American States can help to convey legitimacy. In Europe, no such organization exists. Thus, during the war against Belgrade, the NATO allies were forced to improvise. The secretary general of NATO, when asked in a public meeting to cite the source of legality for NATO's decision to attack another country, replied that 19 democratic countries had endorsed the military action. He went on to suggest that NATO had legitimacy to act anywhere on the globe provided all of its democratic members agreed, though he conceded that such agreement was unlikely. It is doubtful that most NATO members or a majority of Americans would agree with that definition of legitimacy. Yet unless the United States could find some way to gain legitimacy for any bid for hegemony, it is doubtful that any administration would be able to muster sustained public support for its policy.

A Sense of Strategy

Third, the establishment of a Pax Americana would require a clear sense of strategy on the part of American policy-makers. There is no evidence that such a strategy exists. Since the end of the Cold War, the United States has announced sequentially a number of "strategies": the development of a New World Order, assertive

multilateralism, the enlargement of the zone of democracy and free markets, the establishment of more predictable and fruitful relations among the major powers, and now humanitarian intervention to prevent ethnic wars.

The United States has gone from one doctrine to another because no administration has been able to develop a strategy to build public support for any of the various doctrines announced. And the reason is clear: All of them were designed to maintain a global role in the post-Cold War world that the American people are uncomfortable with. The electorate does not want to pay the price in dollars or blood of establishing a New World Order or pressing the norms of democracy into countries they scarcely know exist. They are not opposed to more fruitful relations among the major powers, but they are also unwilling to moderate criticism of key powers like China. They are appalled by the barbarism evident in many conflicts around the world, but naively think the U.N. ought to be able to put a stop to such practices without the full support of Washington in the form of paid-up dues and a willingness to participate in U.N. peacekeeping or peacemaking operations. These are not the attitudes of a power that is going to carry out a sustained policy of Pax Americana.

A Model for the World

Finally, a successful hegemonic power must offer a model to others that they will want to emulate. Often this aspect of power is underestimated, but it seems fairly clear that Napoleonic France, Victorian Britain and postwar liberal internationalist America all derived part of their power from the fact that key groups in other societies admired what they had accomplished. Each was able to secure allies within the domestic politics of other countries — allies who worked to promote the kinds of policies that the admired country wished to see put into effect. For a while, even Nazi Germany enjoyed its foreign admirers, until it became clear that the kind of Germany Hitler wanted to build could prosper only by destroying them rather than cooperating with them.

Clearly, America does offer to many an attractive model, which is an important source of its current power.

*The more the
American model is
seen as hegemonic,
the more resistance
to it grows.*

It is seen as the capitalist democratic power par excellence. Its economy is the envy of the world, its politics inspire others to copy its practices for good and ill, and its higher education system attracts hundreds of thousands of foreign students anxious to study at what is regarded as the fount of modernity.

At the same time, the more the model is seen as hegemonic, the more resistance grows. Thus, American pressure on others to open their economies to global forces is encountering opposition — witness the recent turmoil in Seattle — as others learn that globalization can lead to economic instability as well as growth. American demands for political change in areas like human rights also seem to outpace local patterns of change. And in the cultural field, as a Polish cabinet minister once contended to the author, Poland did not get its independence only in order to become a carbon copy of some other society. In his view, the world “may not need more walls, but it does need more fences,” by which he meant that Poland wished to be open to the outside world without being submerged by it. Most nations feel the same way.

To sum up, then: foreign fears of a hegemonic America imposing its will on others are misplaced. The U.S. may have the raw military power to attempt such a role and some influential Americans call for it but the country has not developed the necessary will, temperament or strategy to succeed as a hegemon. It spends a great deal on international affairs, but does not allocate its resources wisely. It is overcommitted in the military field and undercommitted in the diplomatic field. It proclaims strategic doctrines that are designed more to win the next election than to secure international support. Its leadership groups enjoy the aura of world leadership, but they are unwilling to make any sacrifices themselves in pursuit of leadership. Any quest to establish a Pax Americana that involves sacrifice will therefore lack legitimacy. It will be deprived of the political and moral underpinning that makes a sustained effort at global hegemony possible.

The danger in fact lies elsewhere. The world is unlikely to see a Pax Americana but, depending on political fortunes, it might see an effort to attempt one. The effort would fail — but with it would also die the commitment to internationalism that is a prerequisite

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for American leadership. And no one should be in doubt that the loss of that leadership would be extremely harmful.

One can point to a number of examples of the current, very problematical American approach to world leadership. In the negotiations to create an international criminal court, the United States insisted that its citizens be exempt from any possibility of prosecution. Unexpectedly, the rest of the world rejected the U.S. position — and Washington then declared that it would work to destroy the newly established court. It remains to be seen whether others have the spirit to stand up to American pressure.

During the genocide in Rwanda, U.S. officials made it clear to Canada that they did not look favorably on Canadian efforts to organize a rescue force to intervene

***America doesn't allocate
resources wisely:
We're overcommitted
militarily and
undercommitted
diplomatically.***

in that beleaguered country. The Canadians thereupon ceased and desisted. When Japan attempted to organize a financial rescue package for the hard-pressed Asian states, the U.S. Treasury saw a potential rival to its international financial leadership. It told the Japanese to quit the field. They did. Both decisions were mistakes. They were examples of negative leadership — the power to say no.

What the world needs is an America that can be more than a negative hegemon, that can do more than just say no. It needs an America that can say yes to important international initiatives that require money and sustained political commitment. The challenge for the next administration will be to develop the domestic base for this country to offer the positive leadership the world requires. ■

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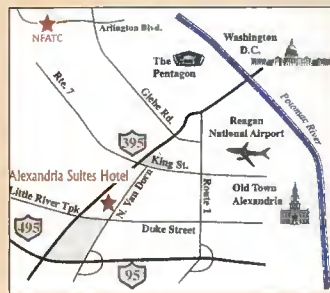
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AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM ABROAD: A BRIEF HISTORY



Garth Clazier

I EVER SINCE 1776, AMERICANS HAVE SEEN THEIR COUNTRY AS SPECIAL. RECENTLY WE'VE INSISTED THAT ALL OTHER NATIONS SHOULD BE SPECIAL, TOO.

BY WALTER LA FEBER

In mid-1941, the founder of the Time-Life publishing empire, Henry Luce, coined the term the American Century. Noting that Americans were not yet formally in the war, Luce rightly assumed they were in fact already deeply involved on the side of the British and Russians. Since the United States would replace a virtually bankrupt British Empire as the "senior partner" in an Anglo-Saxon alliance, he emphasized that "America and only America can effectively state the war aims of this war." Thus the birth of the American Century.

Thus also the reappearance of an American exceptionalism that shaped U.S. foreign policy well before 1941. Arguing that Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal had utterly failed to restore the economy on a "narrow" national

basis, Luce proclaimed that "our only choice" was to create a globally based economy and, as a necessary part of it, an international "moral order." He wanted no part of the national-interest argument later made famous by George Kennan and Henry Kissinger: "We are not in a war to defend American territory. We are in a war to defend and even to promote, encourage and incite so-called democratic principles throughout the world."

Americans would join the war effort, Luce said, as "the most powerful and vital" people on the globe so their nation could be "the dynamic center of ever-widening spheres of influence ... , the training center of the skillful servants of mankind ... , the Good Samaritan." Such altruism did not mean, Luce noted, imposing democracy "on all mankind including the Dalai Lama and the good shepherds of Tibet." Actually, it turned out, Luce did pretty much mean exactly that. For he stressed that the entire "world environment" had to be made congenial to U.S. principles. Indeed, "It must be an internationalism of the people, by the people and for the people."

No wonder Luce's 1941 editorials (later collected in a book entitled *The American Century*) provided the label for the present era. He identified and brought together elements that especially shaped our age: a traditional belief that the United States is a uniquely virtuous nation with immense economic and military power set apart from the usual run of history. Luce was not merely arguing that the United States was different. (After all, each nation is somehow different from all others.) The publisher was instead picking up the belief long held by Americans that they are different because, having been forced out or voluntarily migrated from older, corrupted societies, they have been peculiarly blessed by a Christian God to exploit a virgin continent, develop a democratic system based on individual worth and potential, and then lead other peoples to self-government, individualism, and prosperity.

Walter LaFeber teaches history at Cornell University. He is the author of many works on U.S. diplomatic history, including The American Age: United States Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad Since 1750 (2nd edition, Norton, 1994).

"A Citty Upon a Hill"

American exceptionalism's original and still classic statement is the sermon of John Winthrop to the Protestant immigrants aboard the *Arbella* in 1630 just before they established a settlement in Massachusetts. "Wee shall be as a Citty upon a Hill," Winthrop declared as he outlined why they had to be a settlement of saints. Especially since 1900, when America initially became a major global power, Winthrop's words have been quoted by U.S. leaders, most notably and effectively by President Ronald Reagan.

The meaning of American exceptionalism, however, has by no means been consistent since Winthrop spoke. Two changes are notable: the change from an emphasis on the collective to an emphasis on individualism, and an expansion in application from the North American continent to the world.

Winthrop laid down the marker for the first change when he told his fellow passengers they had to be knit in social unity, much as all true Christians, he added, were part of one body in Christ. To enforce the collective, the Massachusetts Bay elders tried to regulate landed settlement and such business practices as usury. The elders never had a chance. Within a few years, Anne Hutchinson challenged them by arguing that God worked directly through redeemed individuals, not collectives. Within another generation Roger Williams weakened Winthrop's hope for a Christian collective by demanding separation of church and state. The endless opportunities of a vast landed frontier finished what Hutchinson and Williams began. If the new individualism required repeated wars against Indians, it seemed a small price.

By 1776, Winthrop's collective on the hill had become Benjamin Franklin's Poor Richard who laid out the fundamentals for successful entrepreneurs in a frontier society. The success of the American Revolution seemed to validate Franklin's version. In *Common Sense*, the pamphlet that had the most profound effect on the debate over independence in 1776, Thomas Paine declared that Americans had the responsibility and power to break free, for "the cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind." Several months later, Thomas Jefferson explored the universal implications of this "cause" by using John Locke's political theory and the frontier experience to conclude, "All men are created equal."

Another part of *Common Sense*, however, generated more controversy. In discussing the implications of his argument for foreign policy, Paine believed that continental Europeans so badly needed American products (at least "while eating is the custom of Europe") that no political price would have to be paid for their support. Paine was quickly proven wrong. To save themselves and their "cause," Americans had to form a costly alliance with the French.

The treaty with France proved traumatic: It nearly sucked the United States fully into the wars engendered by the French Revolution. But that revolution, with its guillotine, class warfare, and Napoleonic results instead turned out to reinforce Americans' belief that their revolution — which endured none of those problems — indeed proved their uniqueness. "None but Englishmen and their Descendants know how to make a Revolution," British Foreign Minister Lord Grenville opined in 1798. The belief that Americans had pioneered the preferred form of revolution not only set the United States apart, but thereafter became a central assumption of the nation's diplomacy. Those Americans who attempted to explain why, if they were an exceptional people, their revolution could be replicated by others less blessed, solved the dilemma by arguing that American individualism and democracy could become universal once certain impediments — such as European colonialism, economic barriers, or feudal class systems — were destroyed.

Exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny

As historian Richard Hofstadter remarked, the United States was the only nation that began with perfection and aspired to progress. In this sense progress meant expanding American exceptionalism across a continent, then the world. This expansionism is often used interchangeably with an American "mission" of "civilizing" Indians or, in 1898, President William McKinley's stated intention of "uplifting" the newly annexed Filipinos. Mission, however, has the connotation of philanthropy, and in their 400 years of expansionism Americans have been propelled by a feeling of exceptionalism that had the cutting edge of self-interest rather than the mission of philanthropy.

Examples of how this exceptionalism became wedded to self-interested expansionism include two of the most famous and influential phrases from the early his-

tory of American diplomacy: the Monroe Doctrine and Manifest Destiny. Primarily shaped by Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, President Monroe's 1823 message to Congress told Europeans not to try to expand further their systems in the New World. In return, the United States would not take part in European struggles — as long as, Monroe carefully added, those struggles did not involve U.S. interests. Adams soon applied the principle. When the question arose in cabinet whether Monroe's government should help Greece in its struggle against Turkish control, Adams convinced his colleagues to stay out. The American example was sufficient, he argued. Americans were not to come down from their city on a hill.

But it had become a vast hill. It now took in a continent after Adams asserted the first U.S. claims to the Pacific coast in 1819. It was "a settled geographical element," he noted, "that the United States and North America are identical," and attempts to convince the world that Americans were not "ambitious will have no other effect than to convince them that we add to our ambition hypocrisy." The ambition was driven in part by exceptionalism. The Spanish colonial system that shaped much of the hemisphere did not promote either "freedom or order." Instead, Adams warned, "arbitrary power, military and ecclesiastical, was stamped upon" these regions. On the other hand, the success of the American system led Adams to warn the British minister in 1821 there would be no point in arguing "with us about territory on this North American continent." When the minister asked whether this included Canada, Adams reluctantly replied, "Keep what is yours, but leave the rest of this continent to us" — including those parts controlled by "Russia and Spain."

The 1840s and '50s saw the nation deeply divided over whether slavery would be extended to new territories acquired by the United States — the dark side of Manifest Destiny. American exceptionalism in the 1840s mutated into a form best defined by John L. O'Sullivan — a New York newspaper editor — as "the fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions."

Acting on such sentiments, President James K. Polk oversaw the annexation of Texas, acquisition of the Oregon Territory, and the conquest of a vast southwestern territory with the U.S. victory in the Mexican

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War. In a short span, Manifest Destiny added 50 percent more territory to the nation and threatened to move into the Caribbean-Central American region during the 1850s. In his memoirs, Ulysses S. Grant correctly argued that the Mexican War made the Civil War inevitable. No one could find a formula for governing the newly acquired land that would satisfy both northern anti-slave advocates and southern slave-holders. Exceptionalism had created problems it could not solve.

Lincoln and the new Republican Party cut the knot. He believed Americans indeed had a continental destiny, but they had no business trying to impose their values overseas (as the Illinois lawyer made clear when eloquently rejecting the Hungarian Revolution's pleas for help against Russia in 1851-1852). Nor could slave expansion be tolerated. For Lincoln, Manifest Destiny

*The United States was
the only nation that
began with perfection
and aspired to
progress.*

was for whites who had no slaves.

Purged of slavery, and in control of a continent, Americans by 1900 were the globe's greatest economic power. American exceptionalism had long possessed global pretensions, as Paine's words exemplified. But in the 1890s this exceptionalism became united with the competitiveness of Pittsburgh steel mills, cheap wheat and corn of newly mechanized

Midwestern farms, and the power of the Great White Fleet, the taproot of the modern U.S. Navy. President William McKinley employed these results of the industrial revolution (whose incredible success in the United States gave the sense of exceptionalism a new dimension) to defeat Spain in the War of 1898, bring Cuba under U.S. control, obtain the Philippines so he could project U.S. power from Manila into the Asian mainland, and, in 1900, dispatch 5,000 troops into Peking,

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where Western missionaries and diplomats were besieged by the Boxers.

The *Presbyterian Banner* caught the public's views: Annexing the Philippines was "a duty to the interest of human freedom and Christian progress." It later added: "We have been morally compelled to become an Asiatic power . . . America and Great Britain will see to it that China is not Russianized." Americans could do well while doing good. There were, as always, dissenters. In the 1840s Adams and Herman Melville, whose views of human nature did not distinguish Americans from other people, had opposed Manifest Destiny. In 1900, an Anti-Imperialist League bankrolled by Andrew Carnegie and loudly supported by Mark Twain attacked the trans-Pacific manifest destiny made possible by the industrial revolution. As some 4,000 Americans and 200,000 Filipinos died in the Philippine rebellion against U.S. control, Twain asked, "Shall we go on conferring our civilization upon the peoples that sit in darkness, or shall we give those poor things a rest?"

Woodrow Wilson: "Instrument of God"

As a political scientist, Woodrow Wilson had written much on both the uniqueness of the American experiment and the new foreign policy world the nation created for itself in the War of 1898. As president, Wilson concluded that American interests required not giving "those poor things a rest," especially if these people were searching for new forms of government amidst the Mexican Revolution or the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He pledged to teach Latin Americans to "elect good men," then drove home the point by ordering more military interventions in that region than any other chief executive. Wilson anticipated Luce by arguing that a functioning U.S. economy required an international arena. In his Fourteen Points speech of 1918, he outlined a vision for the post-war world revolving around the long-held American belief in self-determination and open-door economic policies — two principles that in China, Latin America, and Africa had already proven to be contradictory. Wilson introduced his plan by saying, "The program of the world's peace . . . is our program, and that program [is] the only possible program."

He traveled to the Paris Peace Conference believing that "if I didn't feel that I was the personal instrument

of God I couldn't carry on." Wilson said directly that he hoped to spread the principles of the Monroe Doctrine to the world, and that such non-interventionism by the great powers would lead to a system of nations ruled by self-determination. It turned out, however, that the Latin American, Spanish, Russian, and British view of the Monroe Doctrine was quite different from the American exceptionalist interpretation. And while Wilson's version of self-determination was in the exceptionalist tradition, his own secretary of State, Robert Lansing, sounded somewhat like John Quincy Adams on the question of how well American principles fit a world in revolution, in this case upheavals sometimes inspired by Bolsheviks. Self-determination would "breed discontent, disorder, and rebellion," Lansing warned. "The phrase is simply loaded with dynamite. It will raise hopes which can never be realized. It will, I fear, cost thousands of lives."

Wilson failed to impose his vision on the Versailles peace, and despite efforts that climaxed with a debilitating stroke, he failed to convince Americans they had to accept a deeply flawed peace pact and League of Nations to "make good" the Americans' "redemption of the world." The United States, however, did not entirely retreat from the world in the 1920s. Instead it tried to devise a different means for spreading the principles of exceptionalism. In the two critical interwar negotiations, the Washington Conference of 1922 that attempted to stabilize the naval balance in the Pacific and the Dawes conference of 1924 that attempted to rebuild Germany, Americans tried to use Paine's economic tools, now vastly enhanced, instead of Wilson's political approach. Those tools only worked until 1929 when the financial crash took down with it the U.S. diplomacy of the 1920s.

During the 1930s, American exceptionalism largely stayed home. But the horrors produced by the decade would convince U.S. officials after 1941 that Luce was right: The American system could function only on an international basis and, further, by the end of World War II the United States at last had the power and will to make it so function. President Harry Truman put it precisely in early 1947: "We must not go through the '30s again." In mid-1945, Truman had believed Americans could obtain "85 percent" of what they wanted in reconstructing the postwar world. By 1947, the Cold War had begun and exceptionalism had a nar-

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rower theater for action. But it retained its power and, when compared with communist systems, even acquired fresh justification and support.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower expressed one form of it: "America is the mightiest power which God has yet seen fit to put upon his footstool. America is great because she is good." But the dominant American philosopher of the mid-20th century, Reinhold Niebuhr, had a different view. Niebuhr warned that Americans, in all their power and righteousness, were little different from all other humans who could never satisfy what he called their will-to-power. Americans, consequently, became more insecure as they became more powerful. He termed this "the irony of American history." (The irony of Niebuhr and many of his followers turned out to be

*In recent decades,
distinguished scholars
have argued that
America was not all
that different from
other imperial powers.*

principles were to be discarded after U.S. occupation pressures lifted). In other parts of the world, exceptionalism was too often used to disguise unexceptional power politics, most notably in coming to terms with a series of right-wing regimes, ranging from Franco's Spain, to the Shah's Iran in the 1970s, to apartheid South Africa.

their inability to apply this insight to distinguish between Central Europe and Southeast Asia. Consequently, in the 1950s and early 1960s, they supported a U.S. military commitment in South Vietnam.)


During the Cold War, many principles of exceptionalism as expressed in U.S. foreign policy helped rebuild Western Europe and Japan (although, as John Dower has shown in his history of post-war Japan, that nation carefully chose which of the



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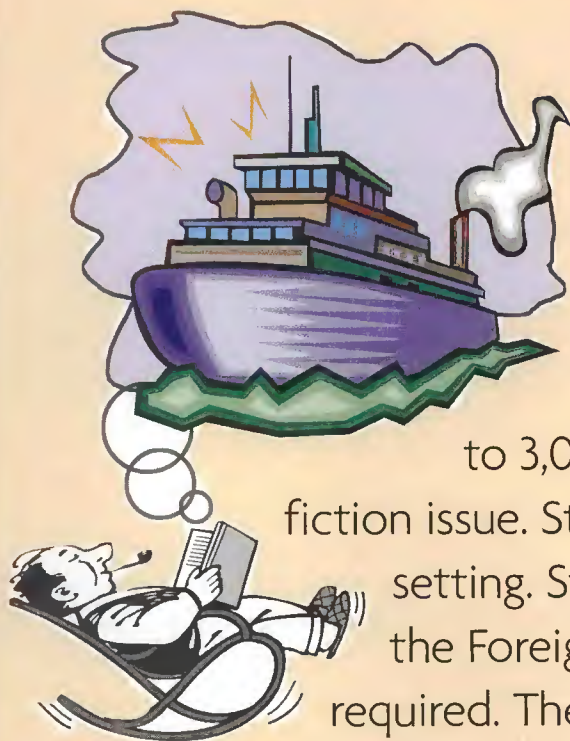
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F O C U S

In the 1980s and early 1990s, some distinguished scholars tried to cut through the rhetoric and myth of exceptionalism by arguing that Americans were not all that different from other peoples who had built empires over the past half-millennium. Without coming to terms with the limitations of their system, these scholars warned, the American empire would inevitably follow the decline seemingly built into imperial cycles.

Meanwhile, social and cultural historians attacked the very idea of a superior American history. These scholars often had their own cause: To raise the visibility of minorities that had long been excluded from the triumphal story of exceptionalism. Such a political agenda was hardly new. From Paine to Eisenhower and beyond, advocates of exceptionalism used it to rationalize, and at times disguise, their own political causes. A central question about the recent scholarship is whether it is honest and well done. With few exceptions, it is. It also, however, has made small progress in convincing

the mass public, many policy-makers or much of the media of its case.

Critic Irving Howe was correct when he wrote that "to recognize the power of the American myth of a Covenant blessing the new land is simply to recognize a crucial fact in our history." That power has been enhanced, moreover, by the successes of the American Century. Howe was wrong, however, when he wrote of a single "myth." There have been several, and they have changed with the nation's needs. Winthrop's collective "Citty on a Hill" was quite different from O'Sullivan's wildly individualistic Manifest Destiny, or from Wilson's and Reagan's conviction that exceptionalism was a democratic-based individualism destined for global application.

American exceptionalism had thus by the 21st century become a phenomenon that was no longer to be exemplified in a city, a collective, or a continent. It had become a formula for making the world over, in America's exceptional image. ■

BOOKS FOR OVERSEAS AMERICANS

Aletheia Publications specializes in books dealing with topics of interest to overseas Americans. Recently published titles are *The Accidental Diplomat: Dilemmas of the Trailing Spouse*, by Katherine Hughes, and *Welcome Home: Who Are You? Tales of a Foreign Service Family*, by Gene and Kathryn Schmiel. Also available are *The Absentee American*, by Carolyn D. Smith, and *Strangers at Home*, a collection of essays by various authors.

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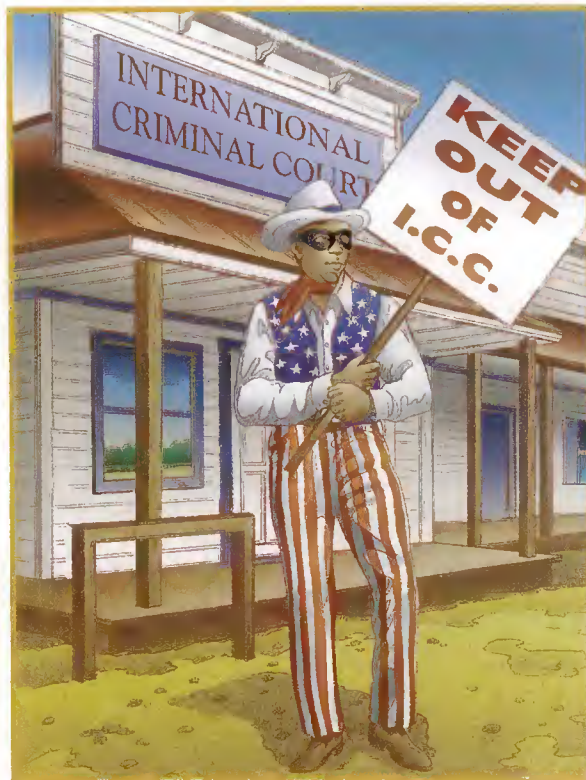


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COURTING DISASTER: THE U.S. TAKES A STAND



Garth Clazier

T NINETY-THREE COUNTRIES HAVE SIGNED OFF ON THE ICC. WHY ISN'T THE U.S. ONE OF THEM?

BY RUTH WEDGWOOD

The United States may be the “indispensable nation” — in Madeleine Albright’s famous phrase — the balance wheel in Asia and Europe, and strategic guarantor of global security. Still it’s hard for most other countries to admit that their decorated armies aren’t world-class contenders, or that regional neighbors might be wary of their plans. They grumble about America’s extraordinary position and power, and chafe at our claim to an exceptional role. Too often, Washington’s failure to explain what it needs to serve the security community leads to a dismissal of American leadership as the whim of a superpower.

A recent example of our embarrassed diplomacy is the snarled attempt to create an international criminal court. The idea of a standing tribunal to try crimes of ethnic hatred — genocide, war crimes, and crimes against

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • March 2000

DELANVAN FOUNDATION CONTINUES SUPPORT

AFSA Establishes Award for Specialists

Thanks to the generous support of the Nelson B. Delavan Foundation, AFSA recently established the F. Allen 'Tex' Harris Award for Foreign Service Specialists. The \$2500 award will be conferred annually on a specialist "who has exhibited extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and constructive dissent," the same criteria used for the existing Herter, Rivkin and Harriman awards for officers.

"AFSA has offered awards for extraordinary performance, independent thinking and constructive dissent to Foreign Service officers for years," says AFSA President Marshall Adair. "For too long we neglected the many other Foreign Service specialists who contribute to our national interest, and AFSA appreciates the Delavan Foundation's help in closing the gap."

Former Ambassador William Harrop and his wife Ann serve as executors of the Delavan Foundation. Ambassador Harrop said they chose to honor Harris in naming the award because Harris devoted so much of his life to AFSA and the Foreign Service. From 1963 to 1999, Harris served as an FSO, and was well known for challenging the system. He received the Rivkin Award in 1984 for exposing human rights violations in Argentina. Many years later Harris received State's sel-

dom-bestowed Distinguished Honor Award for this same work. In the early 1970s, Harris served as AFSA Vice President and worked to unionize the association. He later served as AFSA President from 1993 to 1997.

Harrop calls FS specialists the "backbone of the diplomatic structure.

They have as much opportunity for moral courage as do the officers," he says.

Harrop's distinguished Foreign Service career began in 1954. In 1975, he became ambassador to Guinea. From 1980 to 1983, he served concurrently as ambassador to Kenya and the Seychelles. Harrop next served as inspector general of State from 1983 to 1986, and as ambassador to Zaire from 1987 to 1991. His last post was as ambassador to Israel from 1991 to 1993.

Elizabeth Garney Delavan, Ann Harrop's mother, started the Delavan Foundation in 1983 to honor her deceased husband Nelson. The foundation first became involved with AFSA in 1984. It soon funded AFSA's \$2,500 Delavan Award for Office Management Specialists. In addition to the Delavan and Harris awards, the foundation has generously funded AFSA's outreach activities, including the Speakers Bureau and the recent 75th anniversary activities.

For more information contact Lauren McCuen at (202) 944-5506.



This Issue in Brief:

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GRIEVANCE AND DISCIPLINE CASES

Authorization Act Imposes New Rules

The recently enacted Foreign Affairs Authorization Act for FY 2000 and 2001 contains provisions that will have a significant impact on Foreign Service grievance, discipline and separation for cause cases. The most significant changes are the lengthening of the time records of more serious disciplinary actions remain in an employee's official performance file (OPF), the elimination of prescriptive (or interim) relief for employees recommended for separation for cause, and the shortening of the statute of limitations for filing certain types of grievances. Fortunately, AFSA was able to convince Congress to scale back earlier versions of the act, which would have curtailed employees' rights more sharply.

Section 327 provides that "any

Continued on page 3

AFSA NEWS BRIEF



Membership Drive Under Way

Every spring, AFSA sends a recruitment letter to all active duty non-members. AFSA needs your help in recruiting them. There are currently 6,619 active duty members of AFSA. That means approximately 35 percent of your colleagues have not joined the only professional association and union dedicated to protecting their interests. If you can encourage even one person to join our voice would be that much stronger when we speak to management, congress, and the administration. For additional information, see AFSA's newly renovated web site at www.afsa.org.

AFSA Web Site Updated

AFSA recently updated its web site, www.afsa.org, to better serve its members and the general public with finding the information they need on the



association and the Foreign Service. The new web site, designed for easier navigation, includes a members only section; an online membership directory to help you locate colleagues and update your record; and constituency pages with current information on AFSA and agency actions and undertakings.

New Commercial Service Director General Named

On January 10, 2000, Commerce Department Secretary William M. Daley announced the appointment of Marjory E. Searing as acting assistant secretary and director general of the U.S. Commercial Service. "I'm honored that the secretary selected me for this post," said Searing. "These are exciting times in global commerce, and the Commercial Service's emphasis on innovation, customer service and E-Commerce is a winning formula for helping U.S. businesses—and the U.S. economy—prosper."

From July 1998 to January 2000, Searing served as the department's deputy assistant secretary for Asia and the Pacific. Searing previously served as acting assistant secretary and director general of the Commercial Service from April 1997 to July 1998. During this assignment, she integrated more closely the domestic and international operations in order to provide even higher levels of client service. She also initiated a program to enhance information technology systems in the international field.



DID YOU KNOW?

In 1900, the State Department had 91 employees in Washington, DC and a budget of \$141,000. By 1940 State had 1,128 employees and a budget of \$2.8 million, according to State's Historian's Office. Today, State has 18,065 full-time employees, 10,000 of which are Foreign Service (USAID employs 3,000, 1,500 of which are FS) and the agency's budget for FY2000 has been appropriated at roughly \$4 billion. Please note, dollar figures have not been adjusted for inflation.

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Prepare for a Celebration

The Foreign Commercial Service may be considered the “Generation X” of the foreign affairs agencies: It is relatively “young”; has a somewhat unique mission; and is often accused of developing a new style of diplomacy. On April 1, 2000, the FCS will celebrate its 20th anniversary. Given its maverick and youthful nature, I suggest readers with offices near the Commercial section steel themselves for a raucous celebration.

FCS has come a long way in 20 years. As the old spiritual says, “I’m not as good as I could be, but I’m better than I was.” While



On April 1, 2000,
the FCS will celebrate
its 20th anniversary.

basically adhering to the FAM for operational guidance, FCS has developed its own core programs and personnel systems. Functionally the mission is to help American companies profit from international trade. Over 20 years the mission has not changed, only the process, program and tools. FCS has successfully assisted tens of thousands of companies, who have formed a constituency of loyal supporters.

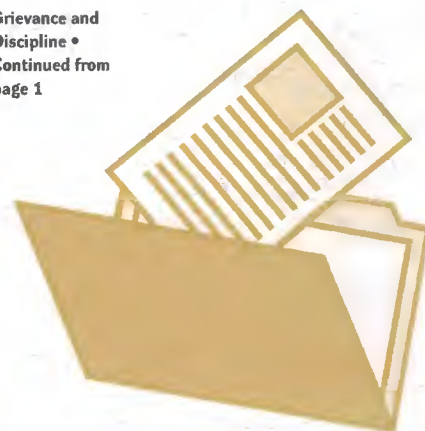
However, the diverse nature of commercial assignments, be they in an embassy, domestic export assistance center, multilateral bank or a trade center, has made the development of the FCS personnel system more difficult. Throughout its existence, FCS officers have had concerns about the assignment system, evaluations, promotions and various other human resources related activities. As a small part of a large bureaucracy, which needs to adhere in part to two different personnel systems, FCS has had problems. AFSA has officially represented FCS officers since December 1996 dealing with four different directors general. The fact that problems exist is not the result of a lack of effort by FCS management or AFSA but rather is indicative of the demands placed on the organization.

I hasten to point out that all the founding fathers moved to Commerce from State. Over its 20-year history FCS has benefited from numerous State TDY’s and other “defections” after the A-100 course. Appropriately, FCS officers have been detailed to State assignments and we are proud to have an ambassador, former DCMs and consuls general among the ranks of commercial officers.

Commercial officers are driven by profit—fortunately not their profit but that of American exporters. As Robert Louis Stevenson once wrote, “Everyone lives by selling something.” Traditionally we think of exchanging money for goods or services; however “ideas” can be sold as well. All of us in the Foreign Service engage in selling, be it goods, services or ideas. Negotiating a peace treaty requires the same elements of salesmanship.

Thanks to the men and women who have been in FCS for the past 20 years, we begin our next 20 years armed with more than a shoeshine and a smile. I ask all the salesmen and saleswomen in the Foreign Service to celebrate with us as FCS looks back with pride and forward with excitement.

Grievance and
Discipline •
Continued from
page 1



record of disciplinary action that includes a suspension of more than five days,” including any correction of that record by the Foreign Service Grievance Board, shall remain in an employee’s OPF until the member is tenured or next promoted. The new provision will apply to all disciplinary actions initiated on or after Nov. 30, 1999 (the date of enactment). AFSA and State are in the process of discussing the new provisions with the goal of revising the applicable Foreign Affairs Manual provisions.

Section 328 requires foreign affairs agencies to place FS employees proposed for separation for cause (i.e., for misconduct) on leave without pay pending final resolution by the grievance board. Prior to the amendment, certain groups of employees proposed for separation for cause were kept in a paid status until the grievance board decided whether State had met its burden of proof to separate the employee. Under the amendment, all employees proposed for separation for cause will be placed in a leave without pay status pending the board’s decision. If the proposed separation is not upheld, the employee will be awarded back pay.

Section 330 revised the statute of limitations for filing non-EEO-based (Equal Employment Opportunity) grievances. The change will go into effect 180 days from Nov. 30, 1999 (on or about May 28). The amendment creates a general two-year statute of

Continued on page 5

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Automotive Discounts

Talk about déjà-vu (Jan. 2000 *AFSA News*): It's almost amusing in a way, but sad, too, to see that the Department (and AFSA) are still dancing a minuet around the subject of allowing its employees to take advantage of the same rights ordinary citizens enjoy in acquiring and disposing of personal property. This latest exercise in breast beating and soul searching with respect to whether employees are fully entitled to discounts being offered by automobile dealers brings back memories of the turmoil surrounding this general topic that we witnessed back in the '70s.

*Robert Dwelley
FSSO retired
Brunswick, Me.*

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V.P. VOICE: USAID ■ BY FRANK MILLER

New System Begins

The first cycle of assignments for the year 2000 under the revised system was completed in mid-January. From my viewpoint as the AFSA representative who attended all the assignment board meetings, the new process worked very well. There was a healthy amount of collaboration among the Office of Human Resources, the various bureau management offices, Global Bureau technical staff and AFSA.

The first step involved identifying priority positions to be filled first. Bureaus were tasked with identifying the top third of all vacant positions based on developmental, foreign policy, and other important variables as determined by each bureau. This step identified 107 positions of which only 30 were in AIDW. Priority was placed where it should be — in field positions.

Eligible bidders were asked to bid on at least one priority position. Many employees bid on several priority positions, thereby increasing their chances of getting one of their top choices. Indeed, approximately 75 percent of bidders were assigned to one of their top three choices.

The second step involved matching bidders with positions. The various entities involved worked hard to balance employee and family needs with the needs of the agency. Contrary to the fears of many officers, no eligible bidders were forced placed. Of the 107 priority positions, only 14 priority vacancies were not immediately filled by the assignment board. Six of the priority vacancies are being discussed with eligible or non-eligible bidders, mid-level new entrants and GS/FS conversions.

Eight priority vacancies are in the deficit backstop categories of health/family planning, contracts, controller and private sector. (The latter two backstops are deficit areas as a result of the RIF in 1996.) Moreover, many of the priority vacancies are in countries with limited schooling and/or difficult family environments, which make them hard to fill.



Human Resources is working closely with other offices to implement an AFSA proposal to offer non-eligible bidders in deficit backstops who are serving in non-priority positions the opportunity to bid out of cycle on vacant positions. The intent is to offer FS-02s more senior priority positions and fill their vacancies with promising FS-03s; new entrants or GS/FS conversions would fill FS-03 vacancies. This option could provide career growth opportunities for FS-02s and enable the agency to meet some of its staffing needs.

The member input I received on the original assignment system proposal by agency management last September was one of the reasons this new system worked well.

AFSA plans to meet with Human Resources and the bureaus to review lessons learned from the implementation of this new system. One area that needs improvement is the development of a common definition for priority positions. A few positions listed in the first cycle appeared to be "hard to fill" positions in priority clothing.

Please send me your views on this new system. Help me make a difference! I can be reached at fmiller@usaid.gov.

AFSA *in*



1999
Annual
REPORT

ACTION

A Message from the President: Marshall P. Adair

In 1999, the American Foreign Service celebrated its 75th anniversary. To commemorate it, AFSA promoted a number of events to better educate Americans about the importance of the Foreign Service to our nation. We organized symposiums around the country, and assembled two photographic exhibits on the Foreign Service to display in U.S. presidential libraries. AFSA also inaugurated a national high-school essay contest and brought the winners to Washington for the 75th anniversary gala dinner on May 24, 1999, where they received their awards from Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. The dinner, hosted by Secretary Albright, included 250 distinguished guests, including past and present FS leaders, members of Congress, the Clinton administration and the media.

In 1999, AFSA worked with Admiral William J. Crowe and others and succeeded in more than doubling the administration's original proposal to Congress on security spending for the FY 2000 budget. However, the amount appropriated was still far below what is needed. AFSA continued to argue for a larger foreign affairs budget, and the appropriation for embassy security of the full amount recommended by the Accountability Review Board. Current indications are the administration's proposal for FY 2001 will be substantially better.

Throughout the year, AFSA redoubled its efforts as the employees' advocate. We proposed three benefits packages that resulted in such bread-and-butter advances as a 40 percent increase in the miscellaneous expense portion of the Home Service Transfer Allowance. We helped hundreds of members with inquiries/problems concerning such things as allowances, assignments and transportation. We assisted more than 200 members with grievances or discipline cases (our records show that about 55 percent of the members we assist win full or partial relief). Late in the year, we submitted important proposals seeking reform of the home leave system and accommodations for unmarried domestic partners of overseas employees.

AFSA also negotiated a new time-in-service, time-in-class

regime that will permit the majority of employees to have longer careers and higher pensions. We convinced State to create a long-term counseling position for employees facing career difficulty. We negotiated new precepts that require State's Tenure Board to provide increased feedback to employees whose tenure decision is deferred; and we increased sharply the two-way information flow between AFSA Washington and our members in the field.

AFSA worked hard to ensure that the USIA-State consolidation went as smoothly as possible, and that the best practices of the USIA are integrated into State management. At Commerce, the AFSA Vice President for the Foreign Commercial Service was established as a quasi full-time assignment, expanding AFSA's services to members there and its role as a conscience to management.

On Capitol Hill, AFSA presented testimony on several issues and worked tirelessly to preserve FS employees' rights in grievances and discipline cases from severe cutbacks proposed by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee majority. We promoted the inclusion of a tax bill provision that would exclude the time spent abroad by FS personnel from being counted in a 5-year look-back period. This period is used to determine whether sufficient occupancy requirements were met for a capital gains exclusion on the sale of a principal residence. While President Clinton vetoed the bill, there is now general acceptance in Congress of the need for such a provision.

AFSA also achieved a FS inclusion for the recent D.C. College Access Act, which gives District residents access to Virginia and Maryland colleges and universities at in-state rates. In September, the House passed a resolution commemorating the 75th anniversary of the Foreign Service. Finally, AFSA completed a four-year effort to amend the Virginia constitution so that Foreign Service personnel stationed abroad can vote as absentees in state and local elections.

In 2000, AFSA is working to expand these accomplishments. The presidential race promises an exciting political environment and we will do our best to take advantage of the opportunities it offers.

AFSA *in* ACTION

1999
Annual
REPORT

Year in Review

January

75th anniversary celebration of the U.S. Foreign Service and AFSA begins.

Changes secured to regulations implementing Law Enforcement Availability Pay for DS agents.

Guidance on overtime issues released.

\$116,000 in financial aid granted to 62 students thanks to contributions from AFSA members, DACOR and AAFSW.

February

AFSA participates in NARFE legislative conference laying groundwork for federal employee/retiree long-term care insurance.

AFSA meets with State concerning assignments to critical threat posts.

8th floor reception for U.S. business in honor of 75th anniversary.

Revitalized Speakers Bureau launched with funding from the Delavan Foundation.

75th anniversary banners distributed to every post.



March

AFSA President Dan Geisler testifies before Congress (HIRC) concerning embassy security.

Negotiations open on a new TIC/TIS regime for State (USIA) generalists and specialists.

President Dan Geisler addresses Arizona retirees.

Bill passes Virginia legislature amending the Virginia Constitution to allow those in the FS to vote absentee in state and local elections.

House passes "Federal Retirement Coverage Correction Act," with FS inclusion provision.

Questions on security in AID submitted to House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations for USAID Administrator Brian Atwood.

April

Dialogue with congressional staff (SFRC) begins, which succeeds in preventing major reductions in the statute of limitations for grievances.

A package of proposals to reverse the erosion of allowances and differentials submitted to State.

California retirees conduct Elderhostel course in San Diego.

AFSA supports Rep. Connie Morella's bill, H.R. 208, which provides for immediate participation in the Thrift Savings Plan (TSP), passes House and is sent to the Senate.

U.S. Ambassador to Poland Daniel Fried addresses AFSA corporate members at monthly meeting.

May

AFSA turns 75.

Secretary Albright hosts gala 75th anniversary dinner and presents first place award to winner of the first



Foreign Service High School Essay Contest. (Pictured)

Foreign Service Day features Secretary Albright's dedication of East African bombing victims' names on AFSA Plaque.

Package of proposals to improve overseas medical services submitted to State.

AFSA proposes extending the definition of eligible family members to include grandparents and seeks a change in the 51 percent financially dependent rule.

Foreign Service Journal publishes commemorative 75th anniversary issue.

June

AFSA awards ceremony honors constructive dissent, and contributions to diplomacy and the FS community.

Agreement reached on a new Language Incentive Pay program.

Improvements secured in the regulations for telecommuting.

AFSA prods State to find alternative to failed Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps.

\$23,200 in AFSA/AAFSW Academic and Art Merit Awards to 30 FS high school seniors.

July

New AFSA Board takes office.

AFSA writes Congress expressing concern about proposals to lengthen hardship tours.

AFSA *in* ACTION

1999
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REPORT

Year in Review

AFSA writes State concerning mistakes and irregularities in the entry process for newly recruited employees.

AFSA contacts House and Senate CJS Subcommittees opposing Senate report language on lengthening FS assignments without further study.

Testimony submitted to House Government Reform Committee regarding corruption in the Foreign Service.

August

State convinced to create a long-term counseling position to proactively counsel employees in career difficulty.

TIC extensions negotiated for USIA employees who completed hard language training.

Senate passes S. 886, State authorization bill containing many AFSA positions and AFSA-negotiated provisions on discipline and grievance procedures.

Congress clears conference report to H.R. 2488 containing the FS provision for an amendment to current law regarding the capital gains exclusion on the sale of a principal residence.

AFSA meets with staff of Senate Subcommittee on Transportation and Infrastructure to discuss security concerns at the Ronald Reagan building.



More than 4,000 ribbons distributed (see picture) to commemorate the one year anniversary of the embassy bombings in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam.

September

Agreement reached with State (USIA) on the new time-in-class and time-in-

service rules that generally afford longer careers and larger pensions.

Proposal submitted to reform the home leave system.

Grievance filed to overturn a tightening of eligibility for educational allowances for kindergartners.

AFSA proposes to State the minimum wait between promotions for grades FS-03 to FS-01 be reduced by one year.

AFSA proposes State institute Metrochek (public transportation assistance) for Washington-based employees.

Retiree VP Bill De Pree addresses New England retirees.

House unanimously passes H. Res. 168 "Recognizing the Foreign Service of the United States on the Occasion of Its 75th Anniversary."

Presentation to Senate staff that Foreign Service should be included in the "D.C. College Access Act," S.856

October



24th Elderhostel week conducted, 1,000th student honored. (Pictured)

Institutional grievances filed against Commerce and the Foreign Agriculture Service for failure to follow assignment procedures.

AFSA works to ensure that the USIA-State consolidation go as smoothly as possible.

AFSA submits to State management a package of 31 recommendations concerning travel, transportation of

personal effects, vouchers and claims.

AFSA writes to State seeking improved diplomatic immunity for DS personnel at consulates.

State VP John Naland visits members in Mexico City.

November

AFSA writes State urging swift implementation of most of the recommendations of the Overseas Presence Advisory Panel.

President Marshall Adair's op-ed on embassy security published in *Federal Times*.

Senate passes S. 1232, "Federal Erroneous Retirement Coverage Corrections Act," containing Foreign Service inclusion provision.

Two new perpetual scholarships are established in memory of William Leonhart and William E. and Elizabeth M. Cole.

December

AFSA writes State proposing measures to ameliorate the inequitable treatment of unmarried domestic partners overseas, and meets with Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff on this issue.

AFSA submits proposal to Commerce to modify the commissioning and tenure policy for CS.

President Marshall Adair addresses Florida retirees.

Foreign Service Journal concludes a year of superb coverage of the Foreign Service and a record-breaking year of advertising revenue.

AFSA welcomes 625 new members who attended a record 17 recruitment lunches in 1999.

AFSA *in* ACTION

1999
Annual
REPORT

AFSA Staff

Finance and Administration

- Accounting
- Financial Management
- Staff Recruitment & Supervision
- Building Administration
- Board & Committee Support



From left: Controller Kalpna Srimal, Acting Accounting Assistant Thomasina Johnson, Executive Director Susan Reardon, not pictured is Accounting Assistant Jenifer O'Neal

Foreign Service Journal

- Editing
- Writing
- Design
- Advertising
- Subscriptions
- Newsstand Sales



From left: Editor Bob Guldin, Advertising & Circulation Manager Ed Miltenberger, Art Director Caryn Suko, Associate Editor Steve Honley; seated from left: AFSA News Editor Rita Colorito, Managing Editor Kathleen Currie



Labor Management

- Negotiations
- Protecting Benefits
- Grievance Counseling
- OIG & DS Investigations
- Member Inquiries
- Informing the Field

From left: Law Clerk Richard Bernstein, Specialist James Yorke, Grievance Attorney Tracy Smith, Labor Management Attorney Zlatana Badrich, General Counsel Sharon Papp, Grievance Attorney Harry Sizer, Office Manager Karen Batchelder, not pictured are Senior Labor Management Representative Carol Lutz and Office Manager Naida Harrington



From left: Congressional Affairs Director Ken Nakamura, Retiree Liaison Ward Thompson, Executive Assistant Lauren McCuen, not pictured are Corporate Relations Director Barbara Bowie-Whitman and Coordinator for Professional Issues Richard Thompson

Member Services

- Member Recruitment
- Post Reps
- Insurance Programs
- Address Changes
- AFSANET
- AFSA Web Site



From left: Membership Director Janet Hedrick, Membership Representative Chrissy Spaulding, Administrative Assistant Ana Lopez

Outreach

- Speakers Bureau
- Elderhostel
- Memorial Plaque
- Foreign Service Day
- Diplomats Online
- AFSA Awards
- Putting a Face on the Foreign Service

Congressional

- Lobbying
- Tracking Legislation
- Hill Testimony
- Grassroots Campaigns

Retiree

- Member Inquiries
- Retiree Newsletter
- Retiree Directory



Scholarship Administrator
Lori Dec

Scholarships

- Financial Aid
- Merit Awards
- Art Merit Awards
- Committee on Education



75th Anniversary Celebration

Essay Contest Director Perri Green and Director Louise Eaton in front of one of the 250 commemorative banners distributed to overseas posts.

limitations for filing grievances (other than those based on discrimination) with a special provision for certain types of grievance. Section 330 states that “in the case of a grievance with respect to the grievant’s rater or reviewer” the grievance must be filed “one year after the date on which the grievant ceased to be subject to rating or review by that person, but in no case

If the grievance is with respect to an employee’s performance appraisal, the employee must file the grievance within one year of the date he or she is no longer supervised by the rater or reviewer.

less than two years after the occurrence giving rise to the grievance.” AFSA interprets this to mean the following: employees must file grievances within two years of the event giving rise to the grievance. However, if the grievance is with respect to an employee’s performance appraisal, the employee must file the grievance within one year of the date he or she is no longer supervised by the rater or reviewer.

For a fuller explanation please see 99 State 238669 or go to AFSA’s website at www.afsa.org. Employees with specific questions regarding the changes caused by the Authorization Act should contact Sharon Papp, AFSA General Counsel at papps@state.gov, 202-647-8160 (phone) or 202-647-0265 (fax).

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A Career Out of Balance

I ncreasingly, the Foreign Service is a career out of balance. Years of lean budgets, expanding commitments, and poor management have resulted in under-staffed offices, over-worked employees, and rising stress levels. This house of cards would have collapsed long ago were it not for our own individual dedication to duty and can-do attitudes.

When State management leaves a position vacant for months, we reflexively step in to shoulder the burden. Even in “fully staffed” offices, many of us routinely work long hours. We rush from assignment to assignment, often at the cost of forgone training or shortened vacations. To borrow a phrase from Alcoholics Anonymous, we are “enablers” whose accommodating actions permit State to avoid facing up to its problems.

Why do we exhibit such dedication? Each of us has a personal answer involving some combination of material and emotional rewards. However, as AFSA President Marshall P. Adair detailed in December’s *Foreign Service Journal*, many of the rewards of service are eroding while some of the burdens are increasing. Moreover, this is happening at a time when the national unemployment rate is at a 30-year low — making the substantial material rewards of private sector employment both more attractive and more attainable.

Maybe we should not routinely agree to do “more with less.”

Last year’s “War for Talent” study by McKinsey & Co. predicted that State will find it increasingly difficult in the coming years to attract and retain top talent. This is obviously true today for individual posts and offices, as shown by the approximately 850 positions on the initial “Hard to Fill Vacancy” list of the current bidding cycle.

AFSA sees this as an opportunity to press State management to bolster the rewards of service and ameliorate the burdens. Toward that end, we have sent forward a large number of bread-and-butter proposals in recent months. We also continue to urge adequate funding for overseas security as well as implementation of many of the big-picture reforms proposed by last November’s Overseas Presence Advisory Panel. State’s response to those issues will give employees a clear signal as to management’s interest in winning its war for talent.

Individual employees, too, should weigh the implications of this “buyer’s market.” Maybe we should not routinely agree to do “more with less.” Maybe we should structure our workday to permit ourselves to go home at a reasonable hour. Maybe we should hold out for that six-week home leave about which our family has been dreaming. Maybe we should insist on being allowed to take that course that would strengthen our skills set. Maybe we should not let our leave accrue to “use or lose” proportions. Maybe employees eligible for overtime pay (everyone except tenured FSOs) should inform their AFSA representative if local management refuses to pay it. Maybe we should learn to “just say no.”

As always, I welcome member input. Contact me at NalandJ@state.gov or by fax at 202-647-0265.



Through A Glass Darkly

The integration of USIA into State brought several shocks. The first was the sight of workmen prying the USIA emblem off the entrance to the building on Sept. 29, 1999. The second was learning that our building would be known as State Annex 44, a "hand-me-down" name from a building in Rosslyn, Va. At least it wasn't SA-666, which apparently is being reserved for AID. But the biggest shock was bidding in State's Personnel Assignment System.

I had been prepared for something different by guest lecturers and the "USIA Readers' Guide" to the State Bid Package, so I was sure I could successfully navigate the process. That wasn't the case. The process of getting a job reminded me of experiences in a Third World tour, where everyone went to the "Meet Market" to display their "wares," charm "customers" and make a "sale."

The first warning signal was when State colleagues explained that you must bid on five jobs you couldn't possibly get and only one you really want. They advised me to forget the "high, medium and low" preference since "nobody pays any attention to it anyway." Over lunch, a State "mole" slipped me a list of "Fair Share" hardship posts on which to bid without worrying about being assigned. It seemed that I had the system figured out, or so I thought.

The next sign of trouble was that the assignment cables

weren't available on SA-44's computer network. Then, I discovered that we couldn't send bid cables from SA-44. With the help of colleagues I managed to locate copies of most of the cables. For those of you overseas, the atmosphere in SA-44 was like the scene in "Gone with the Wind," when all Atlanta fought to see the casualty lists from Gettysburg.

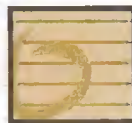
After faxing my bids to a dedicated personnel officer who got them into the system, I sat back to await notification of my assignment. I began to worry as I detected a feeding frenzy in the corridors of Main State. I overheard snatches of conversations where people and positions were being bartered as if they were goods on sale at the Cairo bazaar. Rumors flew of jobs filled. Updated lists of vacant positions poured out of the building but not a single announcement of any officers being assigned.

State friends explained that by next summer *State Magazine* would print all the assignments. Until then, we should compare all the personnel cables to decipher which positions were no longer listed, and determine if our "one true bid" was still there. If not, we would need to start the bidding process all over again.

I complained to a colleague at State that this didn't seem to be good personnel management, much less career development. I was stopped mid-sentence by his comment, "Oh, we know it's terrible. The bidding is transparent but the assignment process is Byzantine and it's not going to change."

That officer's honesty and cynicism was my biggest shock of the entire bidding process. But then there may be a worse shock to come; I'm still waiting on my assignment!

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F O C U S

humanity — was touted by the White House from 1994 onward as the centerpiece to a foreign policy seeking to stem bloody ethnic wars.

In June 1998, after four years of discussions on a draft treaty, the United States went to Rome for a final conference, and left five weeks later in stumbling disarray. The mood and temper of the final days of Rome recalled the mid-1970s, when the U.N. General Assembly proposed a “new world order” limiting free trade and press freedom, and the G-7 were forced to hold their ground. Only this time, Europe joined the fray against the United States. Ironically, the United States could support much in the Rome treaty that achieved the creation of a permanent criminal court ready for work in The Hague, with 18 independent judges and a professional prosecutor elected by the treaty parties. The U.S. took pride in assuring that the court could address civil and ethnic conflicts by expanding the reach of traditional humanitarian law and highlighting the responsibility of military commanders and the scourge of sexual crimes in those conflicts.

Yet in the final vote at Rome, on July 17, 1998, the United States found itself isolated and in troublesome company. One hundred twenty countries, and all other members of NATO, supported the Rome treaty. The United States, Israel, and China voted against the court, together with four other countries variously identified by observers of the unrecorded electronic vote as Algeria, Iraq, Libya, Qatar, Sri Lanka, Sudan, or Yemen. Twenty-one countries abstained.

How this happened may tell us some disturbing things about America's current position in the world, and the state of our multilateral diplomacy. The fracture between the United States and its NATO allies over the criminal court could be chalked up to misunderstanding. But at times it ran closer to disdain for America's role in international security and its attendant burdens.

The work at Rome sought a permanent architecture for the trial of serious war crimes. The project of creat-

ing an international court began in the 1950s. It marked time for three decades while international lawyers debated a “Code on Crimes Against the Peace and Security of Mankind” — an attempt to define aggression that was bound to fail in the hot days of the Cold War and decolonization. Serious work on the court revived in the late 1980s, when Caribbean countries challenged the extension of long-arm extraterritorial jurisdiction in the war on drugs. The Caricom countries questioned the use of a wide-ranging offshore national police power and at the same time doubted their own ability to resist semi-sovereign drug lords. An international court to try large-scale international drug cases was a beguiling alternative.

The project was soon overtaken by more pressing events, with the collapse of Yugoslavia and the violence of ethnic warfare in Bosnia and Croatia. In 1993, with American support, the Security Council resorted to its Chapter VII powers to assemble an ad hoc criminal tribunal in The Hague investigating the outrages of the Balkan conflict. Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter allows the council to take measures against threats to international peace and security, and creation of a court was rationalized as necessary to deter further violations of humanitarian law in the fighting, and to restore post-war stability. Negotiation of a treaty-based war crimes court for the Balkans seemed too slow in the emergency, and the region's heedless belligerents were unlikely to sign up voluntarily.

In 1994, in the face of the Rwandan genocide, the council authorized another ad hoc tribunal — placing the Hutu massacres in the portfolio of the same United Nations prosecutor, a doubling-up which has led to the relative neglect of Rwandan affairs. These ad hoc creations were seen by some as testing the limits of Security Council power, and it was doubted that such improvisation could continue forever. In 1994, the International Law Commission of the General Assembly — a respected group of 34 international law experts — completed its long-standing study of a permanent criminal court and, with the concurrence of the American member, proposed a wide jurisdiction over narcotics, terrorism, and the crimes of war. The genocide in Rwanda and the massacre at Srebrenica made clear that international justice had real problems to address.

The United States took part in indecisive preparatory work over the next four years, and agreed to convene

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F O C U S

in Rome in June 1998 to attempt to finish the treaty text. But core issues were still undecided, and the timing was problematic. It could be called a Y2K problem — for the Rome conference began in a millenarian mood. An unfettered court with the broadest possible powers was the only acceptable alternative to many states and non-governmental organizations, and these supporters insisted that the treaty had to be finished, ready or not, before the millennium closed. It was, at best, to be a breathless run through 1700 bracketed items bordering politically delicate fields.

The precedent of the Ottawa negotiations on a landmines ban was also on negotiators' minds — scattering pixy dust in the political air. In 1997, Canada invited states who were deemed "like-minded" to sidestep the complicated talks of the Geneva committee on disarmament, in favor of a come-as-you-are meeting in Ottawa to ratify a flat ban on anti-personnel land mines. The absence at Ottawa of many of the world's major military actors was not seen as disabling. The Ottawa process was hailed as a new method of lawmaking — agreement by the enlightened, leaving the laggards behind. The necessary balance between aspiration and state practice — and the place of consensus in seeking a workable norm — were obscured for the moment by the belief that civil society could create irresistible pressure to join.

At Ottawa and after, many NGOs believed their own press, spinning for reporters, able to advise country delegations, lending experts to represent smaller countries that could not field their own diplomatic teams. (At Rome, a surprising number of state delegations ended up with funding by western NGOs, including George Soros and the Open Society Institute.) Ottawa also saw a truculent unwillingness to credit U.S. military concerns about the value of landmines in defense of South Korea, despite the Korean peninsula's unsteady posture. Allies committed to the joint defense of Europe did not credit U.S. tactical assessments in other theaters of operation.

So, too, the rhythm of continental politics might have cautioned American diplomats approaching Rome. The "like-minded states" have continued as a rump foreign policy caucus, headed by Canada and Norway, pursuing a "humanitarian" foreign policy. The caucus included 29 states at the time of the Rome conference, including many of our NATO allies, and has "benefited from the coordination of the ... Canadian mission," as one observ-

er put it. Britain was not a member of the like-minded, but Prime Minister Tony Blair's Wilsonian embrace of an "ethical" foreign policy made it difficult for Britain to oppose like-minded positions.

Channeled Britain, ambitious France, and a self-conscious Germany were eager for European leadership, with NATO loyalties likely to fray. Europe's long frustration in Bosnia also moved the post-Maastricht community to show it could act without the United States. And like-minded governments were still beguiled by the notion that law alone, without supporting force, might stop adversaries. (Europe's famous blunder of December 16, 1991 — prematurely recognizing the breakaway Yugoslav republics — evidenced the same wistful belief in law's self-executing force.)

A third storm warning escaped notice in Washington — the stalled debate on Security Council reform. FDR's Four Policemen (together with France) remain as the framemakers of security in the U.N. council, exercising the veto power of permanent membership. The council was enlarged in 1963 from 11 members to 15 members through a charter amendment; but since that time another 77 countries have joined the United Nations. Proposals to expand the council and render it more "democratic" were mooted throughout the 1990s in slow-drifting working group debates, with some countries opposed even to preserving existing permanent seats and veto power. The talkfest got nowhere because regional rivals could not agree on who might fill new permanent seats. (Archaically, in a world of cyberspace and capital flows, the U.N. still lives and breathes by regions.) The rivalries of India, Pakistan, and Indonesia, or the friendly competition of Brazil, Argentina and Mexico, were not easy to resolve.

Council expansion has become a political project of the United States as well, with U.S. support for growth from 15 members to 20 or 21 in order to gain permanent seats for Germany and Japan. America has also supported attempts to open council procedures to wider view — by briefing regional groups and troop-donating countries, and structuring informal council consultations with NGOs and even opposition groups.

Nonetheless, the stalemate on expansion has left the Security Council with few champions. The Rome conference summarily dismissed any major role for the Security Council in the operations of the permanent criminal court. The council will not have exclusive

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authority to refer cases. The council lacks any power to defer prosecutions that might interfere with delicate peace negotiations — except where it can muster the concurring votes of Britain, France, Russia and China, together with the United States. Thus, America lost any veto over the imprudent use of the court's docket. (One can argue that the U.S. really threw in the towel in 1994, when the International Law Commission's consensus draft liberally allowed criminal complaints to be brought by individual state parties, even without Security Council approval.)

Disdain for the Security Council is unrealistic, to be sure. The council is the only organ authorized to enforce the international court's orders against uncooperative states. But many of the like-minded states and NGOs engaged at Rome seemed to prefer a papier-mâché court to muscle and moxie.

Military facts of life complete the story of America's isolation in the Rome process. American forward deployment of 230,000 troops in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia means that American forces will be uniquely exposed to the arrest powers of an international tribunal. Negotiated agreements with host countries — popularly known as Status of Forces Agreements or SOFAs — currently protect overseas American troops from local arrest for official acts. But the extension of SOFAs to international arrest warrants is uncharted.

The United States must also be realistic about its operational responsibilities and their perils. America has the laboring oar in missions such as counter-terrorism, deterrence against weapons of mass destruction, and peace enforcement, as well as freedom of navigation exercises. In hazardous conditions we use forward-leaning "rules of engagement" to ward off trouble before it happens. The casualties suffered in the Marine barracks in Lebanon and Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia, and recollections of the USS Stark, damaged by Iraqi missiles in the Persian Gulf, make it hard to quarrel with a vigilant attitude.

Even in peacekeeping, U.S. rules of engagement delegate wide discretion to unit commanders to use force in self-defense and mission accomplishment, sometimes in ways that our allies may not like. In the Somalia peacekeeping operation, for example, we announced that any truck-mounted automatic weapons brandished in downtown Mogadishu would be deemed hostile —

and this published rule helped to deter local toughs from challenging U.S. forces. In the Persian Gulf Tanker War, we escorted Kuwaiti oil tankers through the Straits of Hormuz and enforced a maritime exclusion zone to protect our transiting vessels. Foreign aircraft and vessels were warned to stand off at a certain range, lest their intentions be mistaken. This is not a traditional power of maritime law, but we judged in the circumstances that it was necessary to avoid dangerous confrontations.

These rules of engagement may not gain the agreement of all the world's governments. They can properly be debated in military working groups, political assemblies, and even church pulpits. But we must face the fact that adversaries will seek to exploit the dramatic setting of a criminal courtroom to oppose military actions that represent good faith applications of humanitarian law and just war principles. Criminal sanctions are designed for deliberate humanitarian violations of the worst kind, not principled interpretations of working doctrines. It is no comfort to an American G.I. to suppose that he can

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be vindicated after a long and tortuous court proceeding.

Mission-level decisions are the other source of concern. A president sometimes can't wait for the Security Council before embarking on military operations — Desert Storm notwithstanding. Article 51 of the U.N. Charter protects the right of unilateral and collective military action in self-defense against an armed attack. But there is no consensus among international lawyers on the permissible limits of self-defense — for example, anticipatory action before an adversary has mobilized, or using force against terrorist groups that operate in the territory of a third party country. And there are cases that don't fit any ordinary model of interstate self-defense — for example, NATO's humanitarian intervention in Kosovo. Using force to stem ethnic cleansing was not in mind when the U.N. Charter was drafted in 1945.

Belgrade's lawyers trooped across Europe to The Hague to oppose NATO's 1999 air campaign, even while the conflict proceeded, complaining of "aggression" and "war crimes." The International Court of Justice, which hears state-to-state civil complaints, dismissed the actions against Britain and America on jurisdictional grounds. But the matter is still pending on the docket against other NATO members. Judge Weeremanthy of Sri Lanka, as acting president of the tribunal, conspicuously noted that the case presents "serious issues of international law." Unlike the proposed criminal court, the ICJ has no public prosecutor and thus cannot summarily reject factually frivolous complaints at the outset — individual states move forward on their own steam. But the Yugoslav example is a caution nonetheless. If the Rome parties took a strict constructionist view of the U.N. Charter — and said, hypothetically, that any use of force without Security Council authorization is aggression, except for self-defense — then NATO would be vulnerable to legal action for its humanitarian mission in Kosovo, good motives notwithstanding. Some countries will not agree with U.S. decisions on the use of force, and will seek to exploit the criminal court to make their point.

The package announced at Rome on the hurried final day met some of these concerns. The crime of "aggression" is placed within the court's jurisdiction only with the proviso that no case can be brought before treaty members agree by majority vote on how to define the crime. Any treaty party that dissents from the definition

will be immune from complaints of aggression. But the treaty does not require a Security Council finding before an indictment — despite the council's traditional Chapter VII role in declaring what is a threat to the peace. The United States will again have lost an effective veto. Other countries also face this problem, but the exceptional nature of U.S. security tasks warrants uneasiness about the court's control and docket.

Military power is a delicate issue in the politics of Europe, with its memory of destructive wars. Japan's constitution still bars any use of force except in territorial homeland defense. A narrow reading of the U.N. Charter — and the suggestion that the charter exhausts all legal justifications for the strategic use of force — is comfortable for European and Asian international lawyers and civilian leaders who do not conceive of security in global terms.

The effect of this on international lawmaking is striking and clear. The use of force to deter disruptive states has been an American engagement, stemming from the U.S. role in the regional balance of power over the last 50 years. American investment in military logistics, airlift, and intelligence, as well as a blue water navy and strategic air command, has created an operational capacity sustained by no other state. In U.N. peace enforcement operations in Korea and the Persian Gulf, the United States has been the keystone. Germany's new constitutional capacity to commit its military forces outside the traditional NATO theater of operations, and proposals for a European rapid reaction force, do not change this specialization of function. With the fiscal limits of its new monetary union, Western Europe defense outlays are unlikely to grow any time soon.

The mismatch between economic capacity and historical past prevents any easy substitution for American power. The United States had a 25 percent share of world GDP in 1998; Japan had 17.5 percent, and Germany had 9.4 percent. (Britain, France, and Italy each had under 7 percent. Each of these nations maintains relatively small armed forces.)

For Germany and Japan, the matter of recollected history looms large. The U.N. Charter drafted in 1945 originally labeled Germany, Japan, and Italy as "enemy states" — archaic language not yet removed despite the admission of these post-war allies to full U.N. membership decades ago. The irksome reference is a reminder, though, that the development of power projection capa-

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bility by many countries would call up troublesome memories. One European political observer recently noted that his country's admiration for the work of German peacekeepers in Kosovo did not prevent a visible chill when Chancellor Schroeder praised the spirit of "deutschen Soldaten." Indeed, one of the reasons for supporting Security Council membership for both Germany and Japan is to find a way to make their defense identity acceptable to their own publics and their neighbors. Regional identity does not easily substitute — it is hard for co-equal powers to agree on military action where the United States is not available to push the proposal.

The allied world's peculiar mismatch between economic capacity and defense capability will thus persist for the foreseeable future, and the United States is likely to feel uniquely exposed in peace enforcement measures. This asymmetry has an unhappy consequence in the development of international law, for it means that the United States has few supporters in the full range of its tasks. International law is most easily changed where there is widespread consensus. Where the United States acts alone, it may find itself on a lonely legal ledge.

There is a third feature that makes the United States, as a deployed and operational military power, more self-conscious of the difficulties of a criminal court. This is the question of justiciability — whether certain questions belong in a court at all. Much of the law of war has been crafted to change how militaries conceive and plan their missions. Training and indoctrination, role-playing and the deployment of lawyers to the field to advise commanders, are methods used by responsible democratic militaries to operationalize the law of war and meet the requirements of proportionality and protection of civilian sites. The criminal framework of the 1949 Geneva Conventions — permitting universal jurisdiction and trial in any country which gains custody of an offender — is confined to the crime of deliberate mistreatment of protected persons — prisoners of war, wounded and shipwrecked personnel, and civilians under occupation.

Other parts of the law of war include the rules on proportionality set out at the Hague Peace Conferences in 1899 and 1907. These involve a sometimes subtle weighing of military advantage against damage to civilians. They have not carried an automatic device for criminal enforcement, either nationally or international-

ly. The first 1977 Protocol to Geneva proposes to do so, but the United States has not ratified it. The difficulties of air warfare — shooting at targets from 30,000 or even 5,000 feet — complicate the operational issues of proportionality. Field personnel may not wish to debate these questions in a criminal courtroom. Many of the choices in dual-use targeting depend on understanding a warfighting plan and frustrating the adversary's strategy. NATO's destruction of Danube river bridges in the Yugoslav campaign forced Milosevic to gamble where to place his armor, though it also inflicted hardship on Serb civilians. (If Milosevic sent tanks south to Kosovo, Belgrade would be exposed to an invasion from Hungary or Croatia, with no easy method of reinforcement.) The experience of civilian judges in reviewing war-fighting plans is limited, and the reluctance of a military to submit to a court's second opinion is fathomable.

A more general future challenge of Rome is addressed to American diplomacy — learning how to cope with a new style of multilateral negotiations. The Rome treaty was designed to create a working judicial institution. A bottom line assessment could not easily be made when isolated parts of the treaty were mooted in the scattered anterooms of the Rome precincts. Deal-breaking issues going into Rome included the court's scope of jurisdiction, how complaints would be initiated, how the court should draw upon the differing traditions of adversarial and inquisitorial legal systems, and much else. A text with so many degrees of freedom spelled trouble.

Many delegations were unable to follow the proceedings firsthand, as Rome drafting chairman Cherif Bassiouni has noted, because there was no time to translate proposed texts into any other working language besides English, and numerous working groups met simultaneously. Much of the informational work was left to NGOs, which offered their own interpretations along with texts and headcounts. Conference governance is often crucial, and in this case, a skilled and respected Canadian legal adviser, Ambassador Philippe Kirche, was called in at the last moment to substitute for an ailing Dutch conference chairman. In light of this, Canada resigned as co-chair of the like-minded caucus in favor of Australia, at the outset of the conference. But the exertions of Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy in pressing for a treaty by the end of the hurried five-week session could not go unnoticed.

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A take-it-or-leave-it chairman's package — forbidding any treaty reservations — was announced to the attending states on the last day of the conference. There had been no prior votes on parts of the package. Rather the conference "bureau" saw its role as taking the temperature of the debates, and putting together a portfolio that would attract the necessary countries. For example, France was won over at the last minute by a seven year "transition period" allowing it to accept only part of the court's full jurisdiction. Russia was won over by a provision limiting the ability of the court to investigate internal conflicts in states that have not yet ratified the treaty. The Arab states were won over by a provision varying the language of the Fourth Geneva Convention on the settlement of occupied areas. U.S. concerns about the legal exposure of its soldiers in international operations if we have not joined the treaty were rebuffed by the bureau.

The ability of the United States to talk with friends and amend the package was limited by the frenzied finish. The delegations had a few hours to read over the draft, which was released at 2 a.m. and subjected to a first and final vote on the evening of the same day. The U.S. asked for open debate on the new and surprising provisions concerning the jurisdictional liability of non-party states. (In international military actions, the court can apparently indict even where the defendant's state has stayed outside the treaty.) The U.S. request was blocked by a "no action" resolution sponsored by Norway, though 16 other countries supported the U.S. procedural request and 25 countries abstained. (The popular contention that there was no sympathy for the U.S. position at Rome must be tempered with this more complicated, if distressing procedural history.) An extension of the conference by several days was not possible, the U.S. was informed in a droll humor, because hotel rooms could not be booked.

This is not a favorable setting in which to conduct great power diplomacy, unless the major issues have been anticipated and worked through national capitals well in advance. The White House gave no guidance to the U.S. delegation until the fourth week of the five-week conference, and by then, it was too late to accomplish any real change in view. The style of diplomacy and conference governance seen at Rome is likely to become more rather than less common. There is a strong view in the human rights community that treaty

reservations should no longer be allowed, and that countries such as the United States should be put to the all-or-nothing decision of joining a whole regime or languishing outside. The like-minded caucus is a continuing voice that may shape negotiations, pulling away European allies from political coordination through NATO. Hence, it is crucial that the United States learn how to shape multilateral negotiations before the grand (or inglorious) finale is announced.

Where to go from here is the question. The Rome statute has been signed by 93 countries, and ratified by six. Senegal was the first state party, followed by Trinidad and Tobago, San Marino, Italy, Fiji and Ghana. The treaty will come into force only after 60 state parties are on board, and there must be several financially capable countries among them to support an international court's daunting budget. The criminal court will have jurisdiction over future crimes only, including war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity — waiting in a gloomy posture for the next bloody civil war. But even preparatory work will be expensive. The ad hoc tribunal for the former Yugoslavia spent \$71 million in its first few years of work, and now costs over \$90 million per year.

Joining the court will require constitutional changes in a number of countries. France has altered its immunity for heads of state, and Germany is amending the rule that forbids the transfer of German citizens to other jurisdictions. The court's strongest backers do not expect the court to become operational before 2002 or 2003.

Even as a non-signatory, the United States has taken part in post-Rome work sessions to pin down rules of procedure and evidence (due to be finished by June 2000) and to specify the "elements" of chargeable crimes. Our rationale for doing so is that even if we remain outside the treaty, it pays to have a well-functioning court that will not be tempted to make rash judgments about legitimate military operations. A calmer mood and better understanding of U.S. security concerns may even persuade our friends to clarify the treaty in ways that could permit signature. (There are other equities at stake as well. The U.S. can be helpful to the court by sending cases from the Security Council, contributing financially or in kind, or lending diplomatic assistance.)

Altering the treaty text to "fix" U.S. concerns is not considered realistic in the aftermath of Rome. But bind-

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ing “interpretive statements” to pin down treaty provisions could be adopted — recommended by the preparatory commission to the assembly of states parties — or could be enshrined as conditions in any cooperation agreement with the court. (A state can pledge to cooperate with the court even without joining.)

An acceptable package would require a standard of judicial deference to good faith military judgments without any disclosure of classified information. It would respect bilateral Status of Forces Agreements — which currently bar local arrest of U.S. troops abroad for official duties — and recognize that SOFAs also bar arrest on international warrants as well. (Any question concerning U.S. military policy should be addressed to Washington.) In addition, we need the assurance that complaints of “aggression” cannot be brought against dissenting states, including non-parties to the treaty, unless there is Security Council agreement. And there must be assurance that while the U.S. remains outside the treaty, no third-party jurisdiction will be sought or

claimed over American soldiers for acts committed in the course of their duties.

It is anyone’s guess if such a fix is possible. Many countries still demand a court with unfettered powers, despite the delicate politics of cases such as Chile’s General Pinochet and Kurdish rebel leader Abdullah Ocalan. Many countries are skeptical that the United States will support or sign the Rome treaty no matter what concessions are made. The early enthusiasm of the White House for the criminal court has faded, and there is little inclination to push the Pentagon on the issue. But at heart, the anxiety is broader than the court — it concerns support for America’s role in international security. Politically skillful governments may keep silent when the United States takes unilateral enforcement action or hammers together a multilateral coalition of the willing. But acquiescence is different from embrace. The impasse on the court may reflect a deeper unwillingness to accept the legitimacy of American military power and its necessary tasks in the post-war world. ■

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THE SKY IS ALWAYS FALLING IN NORTHERN IRELAND, BUT EUROPE'S
LONGEST RUNNING GUERRILLA WAR REALLY HAS WOUND DOWN.

By KURT JACOBSEN

During a grueling 11-week period this past autumn, former U.S. Senator George Mitchell mediated among three governments (the U.K., the Irish Republic and — at diplomatic arm's length — the U.S.) and six local political parties to revive the moribund peace process in Northern Ireland. On Nov. 15, 1999, those negotiations produced a mutually satisfactory "review" of the stalled 1998 Good Friday agreement, vindicating Mitchell's assessment in his memoir *Making Peace* that the accord was a credible political path to a nonviolent future in the troubled province. That wobbly consensus, in turn, clears the way for loyalists (those who prefer Northern Ireland to remain part of the United Kingdom) and republicans (those who want the "Six Counties" to unite with the Republic of Ireland) to take the next precarious steps in the peace process.

Despite the Feb. 11 suspension of the Northern Irish Assembly and the subsequent pullout of the Provisional IRA from talks with the International Commission on Decommissioning, there is no imminent prospect of a return to war. Both events are unhappy ones, but arguably they can serve to concentrate minds on the task of not fumbling away an opportunity for a political solution. In resorting to suspension of the assembly, Northern Ireland Secretary Peter Mandelson averted the resignation of Ulster Unionist Party leader Peter Trimble. Trimble's resignation — which he had promised if the IRA did not begin an arms handover by the

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end of January — would have insured a collapse of the peace process. At the last minute on Feb. 11 the IRA issued a statement agreeing for the first time in principle with the goal of putting weapons "beyond use," thereby serving firm notice that it would not disarm according to the Unionists's schedule. Unionists regarded this as too little too late. Negotiations continue behind the scenes and the Northern Irish Assembly could be up and running again once a new, fragile deal is sealed.

Before Feb. 11, despite paramilitary "punishment beatings" and occasional atrocities, Northern Ireland had blossomed into a highly energetic and exhilarating place since the first Irish Republican Army cease-fire in August 1994. The barricades, barbed wire and checkpoints are mostly gone; the incessant searches, patrols, the detentions, the riots — except during the summer "marching season" when provocative Protestant parades occur throughout Ulster — all seem things of the past. Citizens are breathing easier, the economy is booming and unemployment has fallen to the lowest point since the "troubles" erupted in the 1960s.

Even the two great outrages of 1998 helped to quell the very furies that perpetrated them. A firebomb that killed three children in July 1998 ended escalating conflict between loyalist marchers and republican residents in Portadown, while the "Real IRA" (a small breakaway group of IRA dissidents intent on carrying on the war) bomb in Omagh the next month that killed 29 people and injured many more led to a complete cease-fire by all republican splinter groups.

Still, it is unwise to give way either to celebration or despair about the latest stage in these long and tortuous negotiations toward a peaceful accommodation. A lot of squabbling will still go on in Northern Ireland for years to come, some of it accompanied by acts of violence — albeit much less bloodily than before. But it nonetheless seems clear that Europe's longest guerrilla war really is winding down.

A Time Of Troubles

During the so-called "troubles," between 1969 and the mid-1990s, the residents of Northern Ireland endured nearly 3,300 deaths (equivalent in terms of population to 100,000 casualties in Great Britain), 38,600 violence-related injuries and 10,000 bomb blasts. More than 100,000 people emigrated, many to the U.S. Unemployment rose from 6 percent in 1968 to 12 percent in 1978 and went still higher in the 1980s before finally falling to single digits today.

Catholics bore the brunt of joblessness (and still do) with rates double those of Protestants. Few working class families escaped systematic intimidation and surveillance in a small society of about one and a half million souls in an area the size of Connecticut. The security bill exceeded health and education spending and the North drew a net surplus over revenue of four billion pounds annually from the U.K. In addition, the IRA bombing campaign struck London extremely hard in the 1990s, and Ulster-related killings were committed as far away as Gibraltar and Germany.

For 25 years every peace feeler and initiative crumbled. John Hume of the Social Democratic and Labor Party was vilified in 1988 just for inaugurating talks with Sinn Fein, the IRA's political wing. A few years before that, Margaret Thatcher had scolded U.S. Speaker of the House Tip O'Neill for having the temerity to suggest that Britain "bears heavy responsibility for the failures in recent years on the political front."

So what changed to enable the beginning of even a fitful peace process in Northern Ireland? The end of the Cold War and the settlements in the Middle East and South Africa helped set the stage. But no less important was sheer war weariness in Northern Ireland among all the parties to the conflict, which was sharpened by a general realization that no one could win militarily.

By the mid-1990s, most loyalists were coming to realize that their very peculiar brand of "loyalty" was not reciprocated in mainland Britain, where two-thirds of the population favor options other than keeping Ulster.

The British, who assert that they no longer have a "selfish, economic or strategic interest" in Northern Ireland, were tiring of diplomatic embarrassments over alleged "shoot-to-kill" policies, the wrongful jailing of Irish prisoners and the erosion of civil liberties both in Northern Ireland and on the mainland. But at the same time, the Conservative Party under Prime Minister John Major was

*Despite occasional
acts of violence,
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has blossomed into
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and exhilarating place.*

becoming increasingly reliant on Unionist votes to preserve its slim majority in parliament and thus was not in a position to move boldly.

For its part, Sinn Fein had long ago recognized that the Irish Republican Army could not drive out the British by military means. As early as 1989 Gerry Adams began stressing the need for all sides to "take political risks" to achieve peace; that same year Britain's Northern Ireland Secretary, Peter Brooke, conceded that it was "difficult to envisage a military defeat of the IRA" because the tactics required would only breed more republican recruits. Indeed, the IRA stressed its will-

ingness to engage in "a negotiated settlement, not an immediate withdrawal" so long as the British were willing to put everything on the table.

The U.S. Steps In

The Conservative Party's ill-advised cooperation with the Bush reelection campaign in 1992 diminished Britain's influence in Washington, leaving an opening for the U.S. to enter the peace process. In the fall of 1993, an ad hoc delegation led by former congressman and Clinton confidante Bruce Morrison conducted informal shuttle diplomacy. But the real catalyst for American involvement came when President Clinton — over the objections of his CIA Chief, secretary of State and ambassador in London — reversed long-standing policy to grant Gerry Adams a U.S. visa in 1994 despite Adams's ties to the IRA. Well aware that John Major's government was conducting its own secret talks with the IRA, Clinton shrugged off the ensuing British protests.

Next to President Clinton himself, the most potent symbol of American commitment to the process has been Sen. Mitchell, who joined the process in February 1995. After serving as special adviser to President Clinton on Northern Ireland (in which role he credited his aide, Foreign Service officer David Pozorski, for his local savvy), he eventually became chairman of negotiations, gradually gaining the trust of his interlocutors. But even with his involvement, the negotiations have been anything but smooth.

Throughout the peace process, politicians in Northern Ireland have faced the delicate task of persuading their hard-liners to agree to the kind of terms that enable moderates in other groups to soothe their own hard-liners. The resulting outpourings of double-talk (or triple-talk) do not exactly constitute duplicitous behavior (although

some ethicists may disagree), since all the parties are operating under the same constraints. In fact, seasoned hands realize that episodes of political expediency are bound to occur over the long haul, and tacitly acknowledge the internal pressures on their negotiating partners and the short-term concessions they will be pressed to make. At the same time, any exposure of secret deals, sudden switches or lies undermines trust and puts further progress at risk.

Still, at the end of the day, all sides are keenly aware that loyalists cannot be forced into a united Ireland; the British cannot cut and run; and the IRA cannot turn in its arsenal prior to implementation of all the Good Friday governing provisions. Each opponent likewise understands that exceeding these parameters will sabotage the cease-fire and that whoever destroys the peace process stands to pay a high price.

The U.S. became the honest broker of the peace process in Ireland largely because it alone could assure republicans that Britain would not dismiss peace overtures as signs of IRA weakness or be tempted to renege. But the Clinton administration did commit one major miscue in December 1995, when it reportedly began leaning too heavily on the IRA to disarm prior to establishing new political institutions. It thus seemed to be opting out of the "pan-Nationalist front" (comprising Northern Irish republicans, the Irish Republic and Irish-Americans) on which Gerry Adams and other Sinn Fein peacemakers counted to reassure their own hard-liners that this was a practical path to gaining acceptable terms for a permanent peace. Without that reassurance, the IRA had no motivation to maintain the cease-fire and the peace process temporarily collapsed in February 1996.

*The sky in Ulster
is forever falling and
optimists are thin on the
sectarian ground
beneath it.*

The Good Friday Agreement

Fortunately, the landslide victory of the British Labor Party in May 1997 reinvigorated the talks. The IRA renewed its cease-fire on July 20, 1997, paving the way for (more or less) good faith talks from September 1997 through April 1998. A final burst of around-the-clock negotiations chaired by Sen. Mitchell led to the Good Friday agreement of April 10, 1998.

Most of the major players in Northern Ireland signed the accord: the Irish and British governments; the Social Democratic and Labor Party, the largest nationalist party, led by John Hume; Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army, led by Gerry Adams; the Ulster Unionist Party, the largest loyalist party, led by David Trimble; the small and non-sectarian Alliance Party; and two small Protestant parties, the Progressive Unionist Party and Ulster Democratic Party, which crucially are affiliated with the two largest loyalist paramilitary groups.

In stark contrast, the Reverend Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party, second largest of the loyalist parties, and three tiny Unionist groups fiercely opposed the agreement (and the November 1999 accord) as did, on the republican side, the Irish National Liberation Army (a 1970s offshoot of the IRA). Despite

their opposition, in May 1998 the agreement (including a provision relinquishing the Irish republic's constitutional claim on Northern Ireland) was approved in national referendums by 95 percent in the Irish Republic and by 71 percent in Northern Ireland — though barely half of the loyalist community there voted "yea," the necessary minimum to bring the accord into effect.

In the agreement, the British and Irish governments pledged that they would abide by the peaceful democratic decision of the majority of the Northern Irish population as to its constitutional status. The accord also promotes affirmative action and other policies to achieve a fair civil service, judiciary and police force. (A commission on police reform headed by former Hong Kong governor Chris Patten recommended 175 changes, such as the renaming of the Royal Ulster Constabulary.) It also creates a power-sharing executive and an elected assembly which will require approval by majorities in both communities to pass sensitive legislation. Finally, there will be a bill of rights, reduction of emergency powers and demilitarization consistent with the nature of the security situation.

The agreement also establishes a new North-South Ministerial Council and a British-Irish confederal assembly. The council is seen by nationalists as the embryonic institution of a federal Ireland (after trust has been built) while the confederal institution provides loyalists with a permanent link to the U.K. The beauty of this "double protection model," as Professor Brendan O'Leary of the London School of Economics observes, "is that it eases the pain for whoever gets it wrong about the future. The model ensures that both national communities will remain linked, come what may, to their preferred nation-states."

*President Clinton
overruled his CIA chief,
FBI director, secretary
of State, and U.S.
ambassador in London
to issue Gerry Adams
a visa in 1994.*

No Guns, No Government

Public opinion surveys have consistently shown that the vast majority of loyalists (88 percent) and republicans (93 percent) in Northern Ireland support a cross-community political agreement. In that spirit, Ulster Unionist Party leader David Trimble was named First Minister (in effect, prime minister) of the Northern Ireland Assembly with Seamus Mallon of the Social Democratic Labor Party as his deputy, in May 1998. The next step was to appoint cabinet ministers to fill out the assembly's executive and create the new governing institutions spelled out in the Good Friday accord.

But UUP dissidents immediately forced Trimble to demand that the IRA hand over its weapons before they would continue to implement the accord. That "no guns, no government" stipulation, also known as "decommissioning," has no basis in the Good Friday accord but nevertheless garnered 80 percent support from loyalists, according to polls. Yet paradoxically, the same surveys found that 82 percent of loyalists concurred that an inclusive executive (that is, one including Sinn Fein) needed to be in place first in

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order for any decommissioning to occur.

Sinn Fein responded that the IRA had already declared a cease-fire and that only after power-sharing institutions were securely established would they discuss the exact details of the arms handover. As Gerry Adams plaintively explained, decommissioning of IRA arms "comes with the symbolism of surrender. You're talking about a guerilla army [the British] couldn't defeat in 25 years. Now they want me to do what they couldn't do."

Republicans were also well aware of a widespread loyalist Catch-22 mentality that regards IRA military power as a reason to refuse to negotiate with them and likewise regards any IRA concessions as a sign of weakness and therefore an equally sound reason to refuse to negotiate with them. Not surprisingly, republican hard-liners draw from this attitude the realpolitik lesson that their guerrilla war was necessary to force loyalists into negotiations, which will continue only so long as the IRA remains well-armed.

In insisting on IRA decommissioning, the UUP hard-liners declared that they would not "conspire with murderers," by which they meant Sinn Fein and the IRA. But they customarily neglect to acknowledge over 100,000 licensed weapons — including machine guns "for hunting otters" — which were in their possession even before the "troubles" got under way in the late 1960s (with many others presumably not registered). Indeed, during the 1970s Unionist leader David Trimble (among others) launched his political career in the Ulster Vanguard Party, which had strong paramilitary links.

As republican leader Martin McGuinness, now minister of education, has pointedly remarked, "The IRA campaign is not the only cam-

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paign of violence" in Northern Ireland. Between 1969 and 1989, loyalist paramilitaries inflicted 25 percent of all killings — and three-quarters of the Catholics they killed were not paramilitaries. In fact, from 1991 until the 1994 cease-fire, loyalist squads actually racked up more victims than the IRA. In October 1999, a police raid of an Orange Order (loyalist) hall disclosed British military documents detailing the identities of 300 suspected republicans who were targeted by loyalist paramilitaries. Given that nine of 10 police officers — not to mention the locally recruited Royal Irish Regiment of the British Army — are local Protestants, the threat was clearly serious.

Back On Track

The UUP's "no guns, no government" stance created an impasse so intractable that even President Clinton, who has garnered praise from friends and foes alike for his steady efforts to bring peace to Northern Ireland, finally let his exasperation show at a press conference this past October. While in Ottawa to meet with Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien, Clinton compared the Irish political leaders to "a couple of drunks walking out the bar door

for the last time. When they get to the swinging door they turn around and go back in and say 'I just cannot quite get there.'"

Undiplomatic? Yes. An unfortunate conjuring up of stereotypes? Absolutely. Did a lot of Irish privately agree? Very much so.

For his part, Mitchell was well aware that decommissioning "wasn't an issue but a red herring that had even been used to prevent negotiations from taking place." As he wryly added, "What is needed is decommissioning of mindsets in Northern Ireland." Still, throughout the extremely touchy negotiations of November 1999, Mitchell carefully described both Gerry Adams and David Trimble as "sincere and acting in good faith in seeking the full implementation of the Good Friday agreement. They want devolution and decommissioning. The problem, of course, is that there are differences among the parties as to how these objectives can be attained." This may only have been a more tactful way of restating President Clinton's earlier criticism, but it also reflected an appreciation that at least these two long-time antagonists were finally addressing one another face to face, an event deemed utterly unthinkable just a few years ago.

Ulster Unionist Party dissidents continued threatening to split their party, making any deal untenable, if it settled for less than a substantial handover of weapons before resuming negotiations. But partly due to American urging, on Nov. 27, 1999, Trimble, who definitely is earning the Nobel Peace Prize he shared last year with John Hume, eked out a 58 percent vote from his UUP council in favor of going ahead with a self-rule government.

In turn, the IRA, as stipulated under the Good Friday agreement, quickly agreed to name a representative to work with former Canadian

general John de Chastelain's International Commission on Decommissioning to arrange for the destruction of their portion of the province's huge paramilitary arsenal.

The November "yea" vote cleared the way for the immediate appointment of 10 ministers (equally apportioned between the communities), a functioning Northern Irish legislature and installation of the North-South and British-Irish confederal bodies. They were all in place within a month. Lest one grow too optimistic, however, it is important to remember that the UUP Council was scheduled to meet again in February to determine if the conditions of the IRA arms handover meet their rather exacting criteria. Inasmuch as a sizable Unionist minority believes that nothing less than abject surrender will do, the UUP Council is bound to be dissatisfied and will somehow have to be

***"What is needed is
decommissioning of
mindsets in Northern
Ireland."***

— Sen. George Mitchell

mollified. The IRA's appointed representative, meanwhile, is participating in the International Commission on Decommissioning, which was to report on progress in February, and is pressing for the wider demilitarization of Ulster's official forces as well.

In a White House meeting on Jan. 12, President Clinton discreetly but firmly nudged Gerry Adams to reach a satisfactory deal on decommission-

ing by the end of the month. At the same time Northern Ireland Secretary Peter Mandelson floated the possibility of the IRA rendering its arms "permanently inaccessible" (by sealing its arms dumps) rather than handing over its entire arsenal (which in any case, could not be verified) — an approach the IRA would find easier to adopt. Trimble's party is likely to express displeasure with whatever the IRA decides about the timing and quantities involved in handing over its weapons, but what matters is whether it will be so upset that it will risk destroying the peace process.

Next Steps

A guarded pessimism always has its place in any analysis of developments in Northern Ireland. And who can blame pessimists? British Ulster for over a quarter of a century presented a perfect paradigm of irrec-



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oncilable interests. The Provisional IRA and splinter groups wanted a British withdrawal and Irish unification; loyalists wanted to restore their supremacy; British governments, reluctant to pressure a loyalist majority, wanted to rub out the IRA or, failing that, keep the lid on at "acceptable levels" of costs; and the Irish Republic, fearful of spillovers, wanted to stay out of the line of fire. As long as any side believed it benefited more by fighting than by the likely outcome of negotiations, the war continued. Today's truce, while real, is still fragile enough that if any party to the agreement stops believing that peace serves its interests, a return to violence will not be long in coming.

Thus, the British, Irish and American governments still face the delicate task of allaying unionist fears without alienating loyalists. The inescapable paradox is that this

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requires coordination, which can appear to wary loyalists to be just another conspiracy against themselves. (At the same time, it should be noted that not all Catholics in Northern Ireland are eager to join the Republic right away.)

For all these reasons, it is certain that there will be no "United Ireland" in the near future. Nor will there be a return of Northern Ireland to local control except in the context of a political settlement acceptable to republicans. Instead, the best approach for now is to continue to institute legal and political reforms, revive the economy and introduce an "Irish dimension" as the Good Friday agreement envisions.

Meanwhile, peace slowly generates its own potent momentum, for which Americans receive due credit. A Belfast solicitor, who is a member of John Hume's Social Democratic Labor Party, recently explained why he never cared a fig what President Clinton got up to in his private time. "I no longer have to look beneath my car every day to check for bombs — and I owe that to Clinton and the Yanks." ■

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BONN VOYAGE: BUMPS ALONG THE AUTOBAHN

THE MOVE TO BERLIN WASN'T JUST THE END OF A POLITICAL ERA. FOR MANY IT WAS A SAD FAREWELL TO "LITTLE AMERICA" ON THE RHINE.

By RICHARD GILBERT

Moving vans pulling away from the United States embassy in Bonn, Germany last summer carried more heavy freight than just office furniture and the paraphernalia of a large embassy in transition.

The trucks were laden as much with symbolism as with files, desks and chairs. As they rumbled across the Rhine and pointed north and east toward Berlin, an era of American diplomacy in Bonn was coming to an end. At the same time, with the move of the German government, a new, uncertain period in Europe's history was beginning. All of this rode with the trucks and — as a historic fillip — on the cusp of a millennium too.

The departure from Bonn concluded a decade of "thinking the unthinkable" by embassy managers and the State Department in Washington. At issue was nothing less than shuttering one of America's largest and most important diplomatic establishments in the world, a move that would carry many hundreds of employees and family members from Germany's Rhineland to new jobs and homes in Berlin and Frankfurt. The task was as unexpected as the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the results, at the cost of uncounted millions of dollars, were impressive: the successful return of America's embassy in Germany to Berlin.

There were bumps along the road to Berlin, of course. Most of these resulted from debris scattered in the path of the move by various Bonn-Washington disputes rather than from any flaws in execution or cracks in Germany's usually smooth autobahns.

Richard Gilbert, a retired USIA FSO, served in Thailand, Romania, Finland, Liberia and the USSR. A frequent contributor to the Journal, he accompanied his FSO spouse to Madrid, Bonn and Berlin.

The Rhine to the Spree

The U.S. embassy was following Germany's government and parliament back to Berlin, the culmination of a years-long, inexorable process that began for both sides within weeks of the sudden collapse of the Wall in 1989. Ten years later, a very different German government left small-town Bonn and headed for the cacophony of resurgent Berlin's half-finished ministry buildings and swarming construction cranes. Gone were Germany's familiar — and, for Americans, comfortable — political faces of the postwar years. Their places in government had been taken by a new generation of so-called "68ers" — Social Democrats and Greens rooted in the political protests and cultural wars of the late 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Significantly, their worldviews have been shaped less by an appreciation of America's postwar generosity and firmness in the face of communism and more by shared memories of anti-NATO street protests, surging pan-Europeanism and determination to forge a "rightful" role for a newly self-confident Germany in a new century.

But if there were challenges in dealing with newly-elected German officials, a few of whom only recently admitted to wearing neckties, they were kept hidden behind diplomacy's usual banalities. Less well disguised during 1998-1999 were the State Department's problems in building a suitable infrastructure to house the embassy workplace in Berlin and to replace somehow the quintessential "Little America" community left behind in the Rhineland.

Already in summer 1998 the State Department's difficulties in gaining congressional funding for the construction of a much-heralded new U.S. embassy office building at Pariser Platz, adjoining Berlin's signature location, the Brandenburg Gate, were becoming more and more the focus of German press attention. Then, just as the fund-

ing logjam appeared ready to break, came the terrorist attacks against U.S. embassies in East Africa and the "security waiver" granted the Berlin embassy design evaporated. Since that time, disagreements between the U.S. and Berlin officials about how best to protect the proposed new embassy building have become increasingly acrimonious and embarrassingly public. In one such controversial aside last fall, Berlin Mayor Eberhard Diepgen suggested that the U.S. install a McDonald's restaurant at Pariser Platz, a comment that was reported in *The New York Times* as a sarcastic commentary on the U.S. delay in beginning construction. A few days after the *Times* story appeared, a Berlin newspaper claimed, on the basis of videotape of the event, that the mayor had been misquoted and that his actual words were far more benign.

Meanwhile, U.S. Embassy Berlin does business from four buildings widely scattered across town, a fact of life unlikely to change very soon.

A Small Matter of Housing

On the eve of the move, however, Americans working at the embassy in Bonn tended to be more concerned about the state of the U.S. government housing in Berlin than about office buildings, present or future.

Berlin housing was an old story within the State Department's Foreign Buildings Office, one that Americans living in the occupation-era quarters in Berlin knew only too well. Essentially, in a real estate deal whose advantages for employees remain obscure, the Department of State traded its Bonn housing to the German government for former U.S. military housing in Berlin. The Bonn housing was about to become excess property and the Berlin units had reverted to the Germans with

*News media hoping
for a mass departure of
moving vans would be
disappointed —
the move was almost
invisible.*

the departure of the U.S. Berlin garrison in 1994. Not only was much Berlin housing in need of repair and replacement, but also units were concentrated in a leafy corner of the city across town from the planned location of the new embassy office building and the "temporary" chancery. Few decision-makers seemed concerned then that clustering embassy Americans on the edge of Berlin perpetuated a Bonn-style separation, distanced most staff from the day-to-day pulse at the heart of Europe's most vibrant and changing city and was oddly counter to practice elsewhere in Europe, where Americans often live in leased housing throughout the city.

In 1998, in an article for the first issue of *Mission Germany 2000*, the embassy's monthly newsletter to keep staff informed about the move, I attempted to assuage concerns about the quality of Berlin housing and put a positive spin on what was becoming an increasingly important morale issue. "The quality of housing in Berlin," I wrote, "varies at present from very good to below standard."

The response was mixed. "Yeah," one wag commented, "we know who gets the 'very good' and who gets the 'below standard.'" That comment aside, the article didn't pull many

punches about the facts. "Frankly, Berlin housing, especially in the short term, may not be all that everyone desires," it concluded. The newsletter was cleared by management and was honest about the genuine need for quick improvements.

In the end, further tough negotiations among FBO, the embassy and the Germans resulted in the embassy's current plan to replace some of the U.S. government-owned housing inventory in Berlin with a number of new garden apartment units within the next few years. Funds for some basic renovation and to enlarge a few of the tiniest apartment units also materialized. Several large villas and a limited leasing program — of which I am a lucky beneficiary — complete today's Berlin housing profile.

Whatever the future holds for employee housing, the decade-long transition of the American Embassy in Germany from one city to another is now an accomplished fact. Considering the enormity of the task, it is amazing that it could be done at all, given constantly changing conditions, priorities and personalities, and bureaucratic false starts, back-tracking and side-steps.

Cold War Central

In the very darkest days of the Cold War in 1951, following the designation of Bonn as the capital of the fledgling Federal Republic of Germany, U.S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy brought a staff of more than 1,000 Germans and Americans to the Bonn suburb of Bad Godesburg from their initial postwar headquarters in Frankfurt. Marshall Plan aid supplied the funds for construction of 458 housing units, office space and support facilities in Bonn and Bad Godesburg, which took eight months to build. Moving offices, staff and families took less than 30 days.

From that beginning, the American presence in Bonn grew apace. The High Commission became an embassy in 1955 when Germany regained full sovereignty. Originally located on rough farmland, the housing compound along the banks of the Rhine about 10 minutes down river from the chancery blossomed into a tree-shaded American apartment suburb with its own schools, supermarket, shopping center, movie theater, recreational facilities, and even a New England-style church with picturesque spire and portico seemingly awaiting only the notice of Norman Rockwell. Staff came and went, and often returned for second and third tours, raising families and storing up memories in the Bonn embassy's "Little America," as it came quickly to be called. The embassy complex itself — six buildings originally intended to accommodate 1,500 employees — grew over the next decades into America's largest diplomatic facility in Europe and one of the largest in the world, as more and more staff and federal agencies were attracted to Bonn by the availability of cost-free housing and ample workspace.

In those days, there was no denying the importance of America's embassy in Bonn. It was the vital center of U.S. policy in Europe. From it, and from consulates general and America houses administered by USIS to promote American culture throughout West Germany, American diplomats engaged the events and crises of Europe's post-war history as both observers and participants. With their German and other European partners, they wrote a proud record of accomplishment in pursuit of democratic ideals during difficult and dangerous decades.

Then, one November night in 1989, people pushed, and "The Wall"



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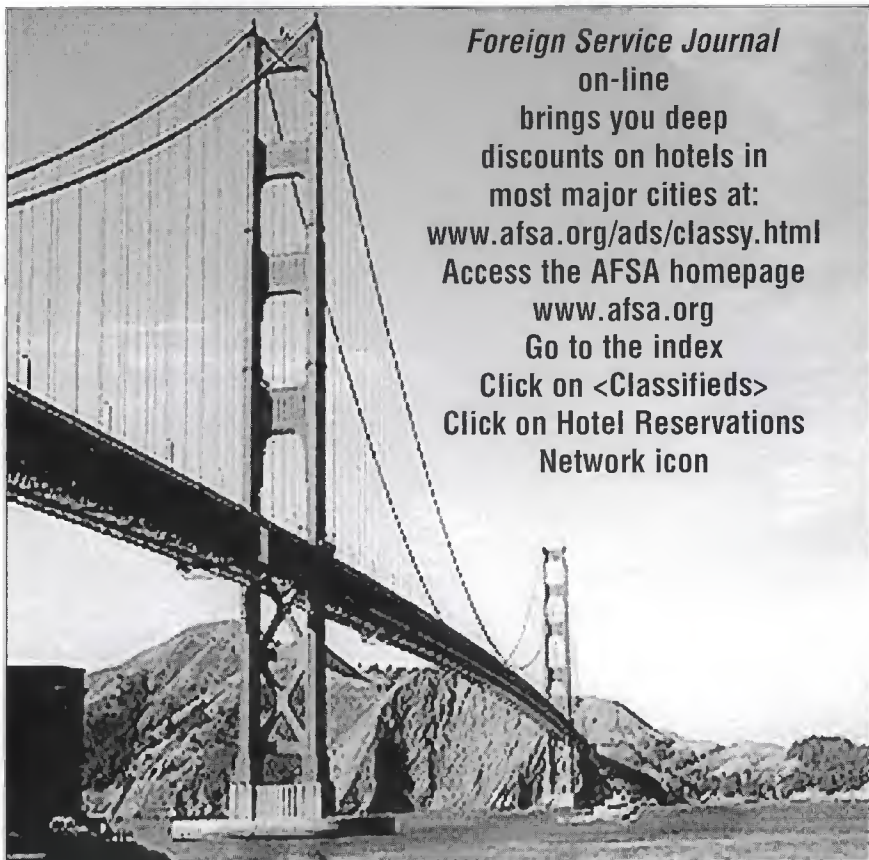
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NO ROOM IN THE PLATZ

An adequate security perimeter — or rather lack of it — has delayed construction of the new U.S. embassy office building on Berlin's prestigious Pariser Platz, beside the Brandenburg Gate. The U.S., newly concerned with security following the car-bombings of embassies in East Africa, has asked Berlin's governing senate to provide a 30-meter "setback" — the distance from a building to the nearest vehicular traffic — from streets on two sides. In addition, other protections to control auto access will be needed at the proposed building's front entrance, which faces the famous square.

These requests pose sticky problems for Berlin authorities. Any effort to move or close streets or restrict pedestrians would surely provoke civic protests. At the same time, zoning restrictions on all buildings on the plaza and the small size of the 1.5-acre U.S. plot make architectural solutions costly.

So, why doesn't the U.S. just find another place to build its embassy? One answer is historic. The U.S., which has held title to the ground since 1931, had to abandon it after declaring war on Germany in 1941. The building, on the periphery of Hitler's government quarter, was badly damaged during wartime bombing. After the war, the East German government cleared the site, and in 1961, the Berlin Wall was built along its western edge, making it inaccessible — until Nov. 9, 1989.

When the newly reunited German government decided to relocate to Berlin, the United States, encouraged by the German government, decided to return to its historic location, too. In Washington, the Berlin project enjoyed sufficient prestige to enable the State Department to announce the first design competition for a new American embassy abroad since Eero Saarinen's design for U.S. Embassy London 40 years earlier. A California firm, Moore Ruble Yudell, in association with Gruen Associates, won the contract with a design that met FBO guidelines to "display a public face that portrays an open, accessible government while accommodating security measures in an unobtrusive manner that does not detract from the architecture."

Congress decreed that the funding for the new

U.S. embassy must come from the sale of surplus U.S. properties in Germany. This requirement spurred embassy salesmanship and wrangling between the executive and legislative branches over the true value of the properties and the accuracy of construction estimates. In 1998, Rep. Harold Rogers (R-Ky.), chairman of State's House Appropriations subcommittee, was instrumental in providing \$9.5 million from the sale of other embassy property to start design work on the Berlin chancery.

Before the August 1998 terrorist bombings of U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam, the new Berlin building enjoyed a "security waiver" from strict standards recommended by a mid-1980s panel on embassy security headed by former Deputy Director of the CIA Adm. Bobby Inman. After the bombings, planning in Berlin stopped. More space would be required to provide for the setback and also keep the building's design.

Difficult traffic patterns around the Brandenburg Gate added to the problems. In 1992, to alleviate congestion, Berlin authorities decided to extend a street "temporarily" across the foot of U.S. property, cutting the plot along its south side and isolating it from adjacent land. The temporary extension became permanent a year later. At the same time, a main roadway was rebuilt on the west side of the U.S. property in front of the Brandenburg Gate, creating a U.S. site bordered by two busy streets. In a final irony, the land south of the site, which under certain conditions might have been used for embassy expansion, is reserved for Germany's yet-to-be-built Holocaust Memorial.

As a result, the U.S. and Germany are wrestling with what constitutes reasonable security in a newly dangerous world. Meanwhile, Pariser Platz has been reborn, with new French and British embassies in their pre-war sites. Sadly, the issue doesn't seem close to resolution. And American diplomats labor a few blocks away at the old East Berlin chancery, now called the "temporary" chancery, where, because the building sits directly on the street with no setback, they are protected by a closed street and a ring of barbed wire. ■

—Richard Gilbert

came tumbling down. Within days, Berlin began to reunite, and Germans and Americans alike were confronted with an utterly changed world. While staff in U.S. embassies in East Berlin and Bonn raced to keep abreast of political events, embassy administrators on both sides of the former East-West divide contemplated the bewildering management challenges brought on by the collapse of the German Democratic Republic and imminent German unity. Almost overnight, administrative structures that had supported the most important U.S. diplomatic landscape in central Europe were rendered obsolete. Accustomed to the post-1945 world with its marked financial advantages for occupying powers, Department of State planners, with one eye on the U.S. government's deepening fiscal crisis, could not be blamed if they regarded German unification and the subse-

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change soon.*

quent decision in 1991 to restore Berlin as Germany's capital as developments representing distinctly mixed administrative blessings.

Planning Begins

From the twisted knot of property ownership — the U.S. owned few properties outright in Berlin — to complicated issues of organization

and staffing involving U.S. missions throughout Germany, the management agenda was complex and overwhelming. Since the embassy's other work never slackened, the move was a bit like remodeling an airplane in full flight.

By the end of 1990 the treaty unifying Germany had been signed. The U.S. embassy in the former East Berlin was out of business and a new entity, U.S. Embassy Office Berlin, combining elements of the former embassy in the GDR and U.S. Mission Berlin, was in operation. Then, after a hot debate, Germany decided to move its government and parliament back to its historical capital, Berlin, just a few miles from the Oder River and the Polish border. The target date was set for 1999. Meanwhile, the U.S. faced the end of the occupation. The U.S., Great Britain, France, Russia and Germany negotiated bilateral and

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multilateral agreements to terminate "occupation rights" under which the four powers enjoyed the use of numerous properties for occupation duties. For the U.S., the agreements signaled the moment when rents — a dreaded concept — would fall due for Berlin properties used but not owned by the U.S. To say the least, it must have been an unsettling time for those responsible for budgets in State's European Bureau. To assume the full financial burden for its operations in Germany and to undertake the move of one of its largest embassies, kit and caboodle, across the country was one thing. To do so when the budget crunch was at its most painful and Congress was eager to recoup savings from reducing the U.S. diplomatic profile in Germany was quite another.

Yet, somehow, it was done. In Berlin and Bonn, "Mission 2000" — embassy shorthand for consolidating, streamlining and making the move to Berlin — began as early as 1990. Plans and projections were made, remade and revised yet again over the next few years. U.S. diplomacy in Germany was reconfigured and reshaped. Huge staff cuts were inevitable. Consulate Stuttgart was closed and a leaner Consulate Leipzig was opened. Under terms of the landmark and hard-fought 1994 property exchange agreement, the U.S. and Germany agreed to trade the properties in Bonn and Berlin. By 1995, plans evolved to centralize most consular operations in Frankfurt. At the same time, a distinction was made between U.S. government activities with a strict focus on bilateral relations with Germany and offices devoted to regional activities coincidentally housed in Bonn's ample space. The former would move to Berlin, the latter to a new, large Regional Support Center to be created in facilities being vacated by the U.S.

*Long corridors once
filled with the sounds of
busy employees were
now silent, lined with
empty offices.*

military in Frankfurt. Within a year, some offices had moved to Frankfurt. The transition from Bonn was under way.

The Final Move

Early in 1998, a transition office was established in Bonn to carry out the final stage of the embassy's move. Now it was time to coordinate the transfer of core State offices and other foreign affairs agencies to Berlin. Actually, by this time, "the final move" was well along. It was a gradual process, much of it invisible to outsiders. The news media, barking after the 1951 model of a personnel move en masse from Frankfurt to Bonn in special trains, followed the wrong scent. There were no long lines of moving vans pulling up to the embassy or organized caravans evacuating scores of families from the American housing area. Instead, jobs were transferred to Frankfurt and Berlin over many months with incumbents departing Bonn and replacements arriving seamlessly at the new location. In many cases, office furniture and equipment were already pre-positioned, eliminating the need for large-scale moving operations. Small loads of files and working papers were transferred day-to-day in embassy trucks with little notice. Staff trickled gradually to new jobs

in new locations. But, judging from the view from outside the Bonn embassy building, things appeared to be pretty much the same.

Inside, however, changes were instantly noticeable. Long corridors once filled with the sounds of busy employees were now silent, lined with empty offices. By 1998, U.S. Embassy Bonn was hardly recognizable by those who remembered its heyday. When I arrived as an accompanying family member that summer, the huge chancery was filled with bare rooms and more offices were being vacated weekly. The cafeteria, once a thriving restaurant with table service and private rooms for VIP luncheons, had been reduced to serving little more than burgers and fries to a few score patrons. The parking lot, formerly jammed to the edge of the vast property with employee vehicles, overflowed with empty parking spaces. The American community's shopping center, designated a "landmark" worthy of preservation by German officials, was scarcely more than a scruffy, run-down strip mall. Half of the housing compound, which had been returned to German ownership earlier, now housed civil servants and other foreign diplomats. The so-called "American Club," once the hub of the community's social life, survived thanks to its German membership and a few hardy old-timers for whom it remained a home away from home.

A Human Dimension, Too

Right up until the final moving van left in 1999, embassy managers' principal focus was on a revised staffing pattern. There was an enormous human dimension to the move. Several years before, when Embassy East Berlin and U.S. Mission Berlin merged, the U.S. had acted hastily and, many felt in retrospect, without careful planning and

respect for the rights of local employees. In the new embassy, there would not be enough jobs for all local employees. Embassy officials tried valiantly to carry out a fair and transparent personnel process that would respect German labor law and give all employees an equal opportunity to compete for jobs in Berlin. It was a luckless, time-consuming task for management. For employees hoping to transfer to Berlin, it was an extremely difficult and stressful period. For some staff, though, the choice was easy. They had no desire to leave the cozy Rhineland for work in distant Berlin, a life change nearly the equivalent of moving from Charlottesville to Manhattan. Others left friends and family behind, accepted new jobs, packed up and trekked eastward.

My brief life in embassy Bonn's transition office had its high points. Though habitually skeptical, I was

*In the
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impressed with embassy management's commitment to ensuring that embassy families had good information about the move and about possible problems that awaited them in Berlin. In the transition newsletter, management tried to address various aspects of the move and to deal with employee concerns. I found it

refreshing when the newsletter addressed "sensitive" subjects like special FSN problems or the housing worries of Americans living in Bonn and copy was not changed. The more information, the better. That was my mandate.

Once under way, the move to Berlin went surprisingly smoothly despite the need to ameliorate occasional disputes over space assignments when agreements made long ago by forgotten staffers came to roost on today's incumbents. Our biggest day-to-day headache in Bonn was convincing sections to move lean, since little of their accumulated clutter would fit into Berlin's reduced workspace.

Watching over furniture and equipment departing the secure, guarded part of Bonn embassy's "core" for placement in secure areas in the Berlin embassy was another challenge. Shipments had to be

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*Bonn-Berlin flights
became familiar,
especially to senior
officers, who shuttled
back and forth to attend
country team
meetings.*

“escorted” under the pretense that an American with a security clearance traveling along somewhere in the vicinity of trucks rolling toward Berlin would inhibit bad guys from planting bugs in a junior political officer’s chair. Finding talent to handle such low-paying escort duties was a never-ending task.

In Berlin, however, there were other, more prickly problems. In September 1998, the embassy had celebrated the beginning of the Bonn-to-Berlin transition year by designating both cities as co-locations of the U.S. Embassy in Germany. With press cameras clicking away in front of the “temporary” chancery in Berlin, Ambassador John Kornblum declared that, after an interval of 57 years, the U.S. embassy had returned to the once-again united city. “We are now — and will be — one embassy in two locations,” he said. For a few Berlin staff, however, the whole “two locations” notion smacked of “a Bonn takeover” and was an unwelcome disruption to their local community. Grousing erupted over management’s prescription of Berlin-only staff meetings. Bonn insisted that fully integrated, Bonn-Berlin, all-embassy

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affairs be the order of the day to demonstrate the "one embassy, two locations" concept. Video conferencing was suddenly in vogue, despite the State Department's primitive technology that often reduced participants to blurred shadows. Bonn-Berlin flights became familiar, especially to senior officers, some resident in Bonn, some in Berlin, who shuttled back and forth to attend country team meetings held in one city or another. Even the employee newsletters at the two posts merged into a single Bonn-Berlin publication with a new name, *Quadriga*, from the statue atop the Brandenburg Gate.

Berlin: The Vacant Lot

The site of the proposed new U.S. Embassy Berlin is today an empty plot. Few could have predicted this in 1993, when, on a cold and sunny January day, Richard Weizsacker, president of the Federal Republic of Germany, Eberhard Diepgen, mayor of Berlin, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Germany's foreign minister and U.S. Ambassador to Germany Robert M. Kimmitt stood together on a podium in the historic heart of Germany's once and future capital. They had come, in the words etched on a bronze plaque, to dedicate "The Once and Future Site of the U.S. Embassy Berlin." To the accompaniment of tunes from a U.S. military band and with the assistance of a U.S. Marine Corps color guard, speeches were given, hands shaken and glasses raised. It was a moment of euphoria. After a half century, America had reclaimed the Pariser Platz site where its embassy had stood briefly until reduced to rubble by World War II.

Today, seven years later, the plaque, still mounted on its pedestal, is abandoned and forlorn at the edge of a vacant lot. As other

countries open the doors to shiny, new Berlin embassy buildings with gala celebrations and VIPs galore, the U.S. site sits silent.

In Berlin, the issue of security for the U.S. embassy is a continuing story often generated by leaks and clouded by public misinformation. Often lost in the barrage of noise has been the understanding that security is a critical issue, not only for the United States and its employees, but also for the embassy's neighbors and the Berlin public. Regrettably, the Pariser Platz site, for all its powerful historical resonance, has tragic flaws. (See accompanying sidebar.)

As the year waned, however, there were signs that with Berlin's 1999 municipal elections now over, serious — and perhaps more fruitful — discussions could be undertaken. Unless necessary goodwill and creativity can be recaptured by all parties, the U.S. and Berlin may be forced to look beyond Pariser Platz and seek solutions elsewhere in the capital city.

Bonn's Last Stand

The U.S. departure from Bonn was a class act. President and Mrs. Clinton dropped by and officiated at the donation of the American community church to the city of Bonn. With heroic last-minute efforts by staff, the embassy published a glossy, dignified, coffee table book entitled *A Vision Fulfilled* containing historic photos and charming memoirs of America's years along the Rhine. The American community celebrated a poignant last July 4th on Ambassador Kornblum's grassy lawn overlooking the Rhine River. And then, a few more truckloads, and the Americans were gone, leaving behind a chapter in U.S. diplomatic history written from Bonn across the face of Europe. ■



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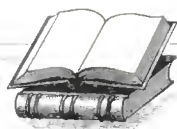
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THE BIOWARFARE GENIE FILES

Biohazard: The Chilling True Story of the Largest Covert Biological Weapons Program in the World

Ken Alibek with Stephen
Handelman, Random House, 1999,
hardcover, \$24.95, 319 pages.

BY TERRY CHIN JONES

Think of 21st century New York, Tel Aviv or Mexico City falling victim to a human-made Black Death. Imagine a rogue state with the ability to kill millions of people with deadly viruses instead of bombs. Suppose a paranoid superpower could rely on biology to combat superior conventional and nuclear weapons.

For Ken Alibek, a microbiologist who defected from the Russian biological warfare program in 1992, these scenarios aren't science fiction. In clear, readable prose that even the science-challenged can understand, he tells the gripping tale of Soviet and Russian efforts to manufacture anthrax and modernize biowarfare. Alibek claims that despite the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention signed by 160 countries and the 1998 agreement between the Clinton and Yeltsin administrations to halt biological weapons programs, the Russian effort to manufacture deadly viruses continues

apace. Specifically, Alibek says that Russia continues research on using the smallpox virus as a weapon at Vector Complex, a key biological research and development institute.

As proof of his claims, Alibek cites an article in *Questions of Virology*, a Russian publication, written in 1997 by Sergei Netyosov, deputy director of the program, and his team, in which they tell of research that mates genetic material from the deadly ebola virus with non-pathogenic smallpox virus. This is the first step in developing a deadly smallpox virus, claims Alibek. Though the United States is light years ahead of Russia in genetic engineering research, he warns that Russia is ahead on production of deadly toxins.

Before he left Russia, Alibek (born Kanat Alibekov in 1950 in Kazakstan), was deputy head of Biopreparat, the agency created to manufacture biological warfare agents in bulk. As a Soviet scientist, Alibek understood that his program was hostage to Kremlin politics and that it would be kept alive by a steady stream of bureaucratic, self-justifying reports. The bureaucrats of Biopreparat continue to win approval from Russian leaders, despite their official commitment to strengthen biological warfare conventions, claims Alibek. Even after U.S. and British intelligence obtained evidence of this from Vladimir Pasenchik, a top Soviet biological warfare scientist who defect-

ed in 1989, they kept their knowledge quiet in return for on-site inspections. Alibek's descriptions of the Western team inspecting Russian biological warfare research sites, which the Russians continued to claim were used for medical research, would make a good TV comedy, if the stakes weren't so high.

Alibek also provides a fascinating, though disturbing, glimpse into biological arms control history. In 1973, only a year after the USSR signed the biological warfare convention, the Kremlin gave Biopreparat a mandate to develop new biological warfare agents and find ways to release them using weapons. In 1979, in Sverdlovsk in the Urals an accident resulted in the release of anthrax that killed more than 100 people, but Western intelligence had few of the facts. The Soviet cover-up was so successful that even as late as 1987 a group of Soviet experts successfully misled a group from the National Academy of Sciences by blaming the anthrax outbreak on bad meat. Alibek claims that Soviet diplomats and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze did not know about the biological weapons production programs, but both former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and former Russian President Boris Yeltsin knew about and supported the efforts.

Alibek warns that there could be a biological Chernobyl in Russia's future. He is skeptical that treaties will be able to monitor biological



weapons research because it closely resembles legitimate medical research and is both sophisticated and portable. The collapse of the Soviet Union has merely meant that the technology and its researchers are spread farther across the globe, he says, making passing reference to the possibility of transfer of technology to criminals and governments in countries such as Libya, Iran, Iraq and Cuba.

Since the biological warfare genie isn't going away soon, Alibek's chilling tale will make thought-provoking reading for most FSOs, but is most important for anyone working in arms control, export control or military intelligence.

Terry Chin Jones, a retired FSO, holds a Ph.D. in chemistry and served as a science and technology officer in ACDA, INR, OES and in Ottawa.

FREYA'S EXCELLENT ADVENTURE

Passionate Nomad, The Life of Freya Stark

Jane Fletcher Geniesse, Random House, 1999, \$27.95, 362 pages.

BY WESLEY ANN GODARD

Passionate Nomad will delight fans of Freya Stark's travel books and introduce the uninitiated to the fearless English woman's exploits.

Despite an unorthodox childhood, a domineering mother, little formal education and limited funds, Freya Stark was determined to experience life. She read voraciously, studied Arabic, and on a shoestring took off alone in 1927 at the age of 34 to explore the Middle East. That first trip foreshadowed a lifetime of adventure.

Pausing outside Beirut to polish

her Arabic, she began the habit of writing her impressions in letters home. Anyone who has struggled with a language can relate to her lament: "Your sentences, intended with just the shade of meaning you desire, come out shorn of all accessories, quite useless for anything except the mere procuring of bread and butter."

She also established lifetime habits on this trip. She lodged with local people, and ate and drank whatever she was offered. Frequent bouts of illness from dysentery to malaria never diminished her resolve. In a letter from Damascus, she described the smelly room she had rented in an Arab family's house where the temperature inside was below freezing, household members wandered in at will and she became accustomed to the company of fleas. "I am trying to think I don't mind about cleanliness; if one could make oneself independent of these physical things, how easy it would be to travel," she wrote.

Stark flouted conventional wisdom and disregarded political tensions. In 1927, Syria was seething with resentment against its French occupiers. She set out by donkey to study the mysterious Druze sect, whom the French had cordoned off in their own region following a failed rebellion. The French authorities detained Stark and her companions — a guide and another English woman — but she charmed the commander into releasing them and even providing them a letter of introduction to the Druze high priest. As a result, she was able to know the area as few Westerners had.

Arab culture and the desert mesmerized Stark. "I never imagined that my first sight of the desert would come with such a shock of beauty and enslave me right away. But I left it feeling that somehow, some time, I must see more of the great spaces."

Back in England, she wrote a well-

received article criticizing the French occupation of Syria and began plotting her return to the Middle East. The allure of travel always outweighed the dilemma of separation from home. "The beckoning counts and not the clicking latch behind you," she wrote.

Geniesse obviously likes her subject, but does not quail from chronicling Stark's insecurities about her conflicting desire to settle down with the right man; her disregard of regulations; her tendency to take advantage of her friends' generosity; and her intense rivalries and jealousies. While Geniesse's psychological analyses are occasionally a stretch — for example, wondering if Stark's preference for the company of men was related to her attachment to her mother "who, after all, was extremely masculine in her aggressiveness" — on the whole she illuminates the passions and needs that drove Stark's complicated character.

Freya Stark wrote 30 books, including a four-volume autobiography. A skilled cartographer, she corrected the maps of the regions she explored and became the darling of the Royal Geographic Society. More than once, hapless British consular officers rescued her from precarious situations. She repaid the favor during World War II, when her expertise helped the British Ministry of Information gauge the loyalties of the Arab world. At the age of 82 she was knighted. At 92 she published the last of her eight volumes of letters. As Geniesse writes, Stark "seized her life and made it a richer adventure than any of those who pitied her in her youth could ever have conceived." Along the way she also changed the way the West looked at the Middle East.

Wesley Ann Godard, an FS spouse, was first introduced to Freya Stark's writing in 1976 while serving in Istanbul. ■



IN MEMORY

Philander Priestley Claxton Jr., 84, former State Department official, died Nov. 20, 1999 of cancer at his home in Bethesda, Md.

Born in Washington, Mr. Claxton earned a degree in English from the University of Tennessee in 1934, received a master's in politics from Princeton University, and graduated from the Yale Law School in 1938.

Mr. Claxton began his government career working for the Justice Department's antitrust division. He then served as a senior attorney for the Tennessee Valley Authority. During World War II he served in the U.S. Navy in Europe.

He joined the State Department in 1947, and served as special assistant in various State offices until 1961. He then served as special assistant to Secretaries of State Dean Rusk, William P. Rogers and Henry A. Kissinger. He received the State Department's Superior Honor and John Jacob Rogers awards. He retired from State in 1974.

Mr. Claxton spent the remainder of his career working on population control issues. He helped start the U.N. World Population Conference held in Bucharest, Romania, in 1974. He served as co-director of the International Population Conference, chairman of the Interagency Committee on Population Matters and deputy U.S. representative to the U.N. Population Committee. From 1978 to 1988, he was a consultant to the Futures Group in Washington on projects involving the U.S. Agency for International Development. He was a

member of the President's Commission on Population and Family Planning in 1968.

Survivors include his wife, Mary Ann Claxton of Bethesda; a son, Philander III, of Middleport, N.Y.; five daughters, Isabelle Claxton of Philadelphia, Kathleen Claxton of Fremont, Calif., Caroline Claxton of Chattanooga, Argyle Read of North Potomac, Md. and Ann Claxton of Silver Spring, Md.; and eight grandchildren.



John J. Ewing, 84, a retired FSO with USIA, died on Oct. 12, 1999, in Eugene, Ore., of heart failure.

Mr. Ewing began his career overseas as a grantee in the State Department, serving as director of American Binational Cultural Centers in Mexico, Brazil, Guatemala and the Dominican Republic. He later served as an FSO in Brazil, Burma, Australia, Indonesia and Venezuela. He retired in 1975.

Survivors include his wife Bertha of Eugene, Ore.



John Patrick Owens, 72, former consul general, died on Nov. 18, 1999, of complications following vascular surgery.

Mr. Owens was born in Washington, D.C., and lived there throughout most of his life. He received a bachelor's in history from American University and a master's in history from Georgetown University. He was a Woodrow Wilson Fellow at

Princeton University from 1971 to 1972. During World War II, he served in the U.S. Navy.

He became an FSO in 1955, and was first assigned to Naples and then to Maracaibo, Venezuela. He served as deputy principal officer in Thessalonika, Greece, political officer in Athens and desk officer for Greece in the State Department. He then served as a political counselor in Helsinki, as the officer in charge of Scandinavian affairs at State, and as political counselor in Stockholm. From 1976 to 1978 he served as consul general in Gothenburg, Sweden. He was at the Northern European Office of the State Department before serving as consul general in Bermuda from 1980 to 1982.

After retirement in 1983, Mr. Owens worked for 10 years as a consultant on U.S.-Soviet nuclear issues. He also contributed to foreign policy journals and was a member of DACOR, AFSA, and the Society of the Protection of Greek Heritage.

Survivors include his wife, Aneta; his son, Brian of Stockholm; two grandsons, Sean and Julian; a sister, Eileen Parker of Silver Spring, Md.; and three brothers, Emmet Owens of Anacortes, Wash., Dermot Owens of College Park, Md., and James Owens of Medford, Mass. His younger son, Robert, was killed in Morocco while serving in the Peace Corps. Mr. Owens was also the brother of the recently deceased Maryland House of Delegates member Joseph B. Owens.

IN MEMORY

Fredrik Hansen Jr., 67, a retired FSO with USAID, died Oct. 30, 1999, at his home in Weems, Va., of cancer.

Mr. Hansen was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., and served in the U.S. Navy from 1952 to 1956, including a tour of duty in the Korean War. He received a degree in engineering from Georgia Institute of Technology in 1959. He then worked in the aerospace industry, and later joined the Navy Ship Research and Development Center in Washington.

In the early 1970s, Mr. Hansen participated in "Operation Breakthrough," a Housing and Urban Development program to use emerging engineering technologies for the construction of affordable housing. While at USAID from 1975 to 1992, he specialized in housing and urban development problems in developing countries. He spent time in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, and Nairobi. He also served as deputy director of AID's housing and urban development office in Washington.

After his retirement, Mr. Hansen worked on urgent housing issues in Russia after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. In his spare time he enjoyed sailing and restoring wooden boats.

Survivors include his wife, retired USAID FSO Kathleen of Weems; two daughters from his first marriage, Cheryl Jones of Chaneyville, Md., and Norah Hansen Murray of Portsmouth, N.H.; his father, Fredrik A. Hansen Sr. of Port Washington, N.Y.; two sisters; a brother; and five grandchildren. A son, Fredrik A. Hansen III, died in 1992.

Honor C. McCusker, 89, retired director of library services for the U.S. Information Agency, died in November, 1999 in Cove's Edge, Me.

Ms. McCusker was born in Providence, R.I. She earned her bachelor's degree from Brown University in 1930, her master's in English and Greek literature in 1931 and a Ph.D. in 1937, both from Bryn Mawr College.

She began her career at Providence Public Library, and then became curator of English literature at Boston Public Library. She served in the Navy from 1943 to 1945, stationed in Washington, D.C. After her discharge, Ms. McCusker served as director of library services for USIA in The Hague, Rome, Athens and New Delhi. She became fluent in several languages.

She retired in 1972 and moved to Damariscotta, Maine. She then served as a communicant of St. Patrick's Church, Newcastle, Me., and on several committees there, and volunteered at Miles Memorial Hospital in Damariscotta.

There are no survivors.

Elizabeth Burke, 68, a retired FSRO, died Oct. 3, 1999, at the Tucson Medical Center in Tucson, Ariz., of complications after surgery for lung cancer.

Mrs. Burke joined the Foreign Service as a clerk in 1957. She served as a consular employee in Tokyo, Belgrade and Manila before her marriage to FSO Tom Burke in 1964, which under the regulations at that time required her to resign her FS position. However, when she and her husband arrived at the embassy in Addis Ababa, Mrs. Burke became a resident hire.

On reassignment to Washington in 1970, Mrs. Burke accepted a Civil Service position in the Bureau of Consular Affairs, moving shortly thereafter to the H Bureau as congressional travel officer, where she

won several performance awards and promotions during her 1971-1975 tenure. After transferring back to the Foreign Service in 1975 as an FSRO, Mrs. Burke served as administrative officer in Kaduna, Nigeria, went into LWOP status during her husband's tour as DCM/Chargé in Port Louis, Mauritius and worked as an international conference officer in the IO Bureau from 1981 to 1985, when she retired to accompany her husband in a final overseas tour to Maseru, Lesotho. They moved to Arizona after residing in San Rafael, Calif., from 1987 to 1992.

Survivors include her retired FSO husband, Tom.

Robert Louis Kinney, 82, a retired FSO, died on Oct. 29, 1999, in Melbourne, Fla., of congestive heart failure.

Mr. Kinney was born in Chillicothe, Mo., in 1917 and grew up in Charlottesville, Va.

After working as a freelance writer, Mr. Kinney edited a weekly newspaper in Mobile, Ala. He joined the staff of the National CIO War Relief Committee as head of Social Services in 1943. He then served as labor adviser to the National Urban League in New York City in 1946. From 1947 to 1951 he was associate labor secretary of Community Chests and Councils of America.

His 20-year span with the Foreign Service began in the Philippines and included posts in Indonesia, Washington, D.C., the U.S. Mission to the United Nations in New York, Nigeria and Malaysia.

He retired to Florida in 1973, where he pursued his love of fishing and boating.

Survivors include his wife Frances of Melbourne, Fla.; and his son Michael of San Francisco. ■

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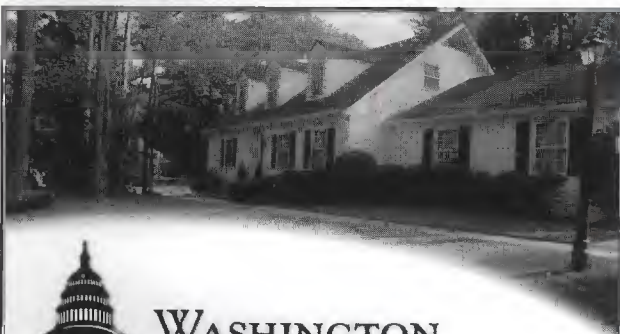
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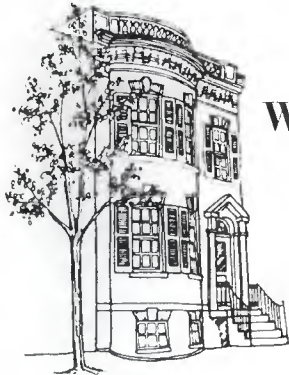
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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

Diplomacy as Crapshoot

BY STEVEN ALAN HONLEY

When an FSO friend of mine recently married a former Peace Corps volunteer, they chose that glitzy international hub, Las Vegas, for their nuptials. They were determined to make their nuptials fun, so what better locale than Babylon on the Mojave?

The festivities began with a pool party and barbecue, for which friends of the happy couple had been instructed to “dress Elvis.” We milled around in costumes reminiscent of the early Elvis: baggy surfer “jams,” tight jeans and blouson shirts for the guys and beehive hairdos and treader pants for the gals. Well into the party, we all donned brightly-colored sarongs woven especially for the occasion in Sri Lanka, the couple’s meeting place and current residence.

Later that evening, the King himself — or more accurately, an Elvis impersonator — officiated at the wedding ceremony in the lobby of the Holiday Inn. And, to the bewilderment of regular hotel guests, he even serenaded the nuptial pair with “Love Me Tender” and other familiar tunes from the King’s repertoire. For the reception that followed, several enterprising guests changed outfits yet again. This time, the theme was Elvis’s mature period: white jump suits and gold medallions for the men and 1970s-era

Steven Alan Honley is associate editor of the Journal. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair “Stamp Corner.”

*Vegas is a
polyglot paradise
where everyone
from limo drivers
to 7-Eleven clerks
can fake several
languages.*



miniskirts and disco attire for the women.

Early in my stay, I realized that Las Vegas could make a fair claim to being the most international city in the United States, maybe anywhere. What other city boasts the Eiffel Tower, the Brooklyn Bridge, the Trevi Fountain and the treasures of the lost city of Atlantis, all within walking distance of craps tables, roulette wheels and one-armed bandits?

Statistics confirm that Vegas is a city that attracts a worldwide clientele. More than three million people a year attend conventions there. Some 100,000 couples fly there each year to be married, either by Elvis impersonators at the Graceland Chapel or by unsung justices of the peace at dozens of wedding parlors.

And then there are the millions of bon vivants who come to savor the top-flight talent at Vegas’ casinos and nightclubs or to plunk their money down at the blackjack tables. It helps that they don’t have to know much English beyond “Dealer, hit me” to have a good time.

Vegas is a polyglot paradise, where, not unlike FSOs on the visa line, everyone from limo drivers to 7-Eleven clerks speaks, or can at least fake, several languages. During the several hours I spent playing blackjack, I learned that the Chinese word for “bust” (as in trying for 21, but going over it) is *pow*. Any FSO willing to make a field trip to Las Vegas during language training might learn many useful words that FSI instructors are cursedly loathe to share, claiming that such words are too crude for the ears of diplomats.

International harmony and cooperation abound in Las Vegas. Chinese and Japanese businessmen rub elbows stretching to place bets at the card tables. Eurotrash high rollers in Armani stand cheek by jowl with American tourists outfitted by J.C. Penney, as they all stuff quarter after quarter into slot machines. Yes, all who come to this city do their part to promote the brotherhood of man, even as they build up their chip piles. For they all know what most State Department desk officers, USAID team leaders and World Bank resident representatives work years to understand: You have to pay to play. ■



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