

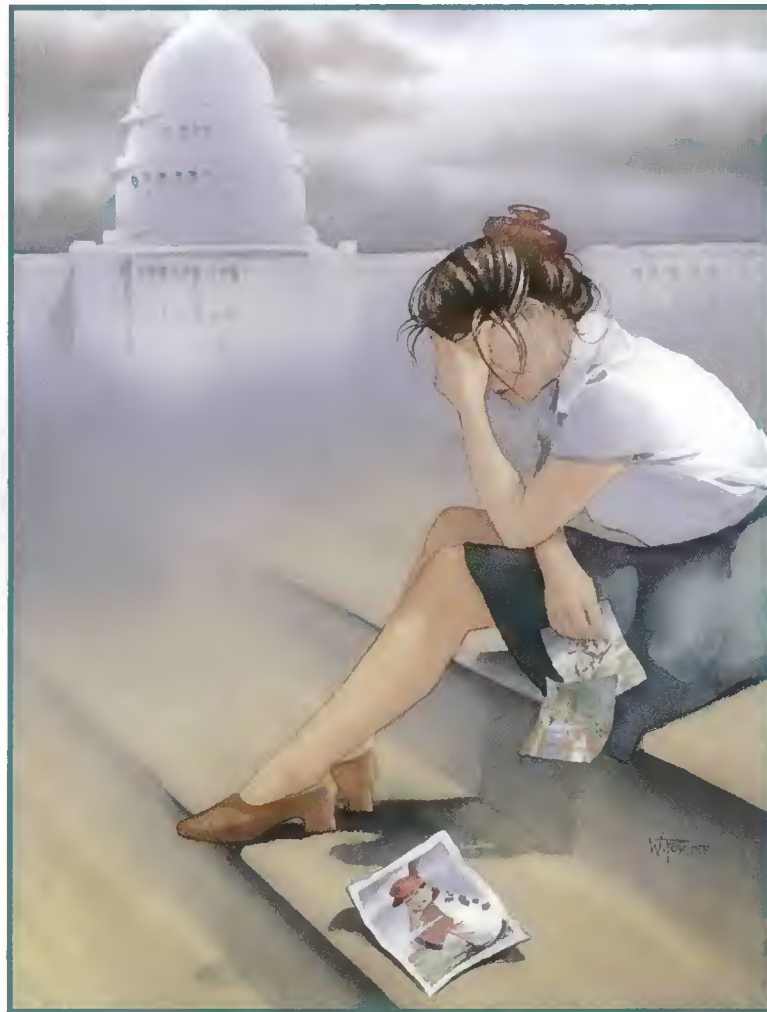
BOOKS BY FS AUTHORS ■ RETHINKING MISSILE DEFENSE ■ DIPLOMACY: THE GAME

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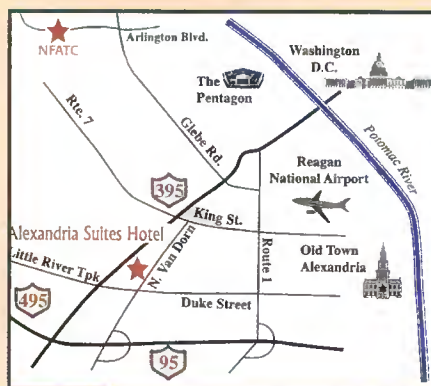
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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

A Tale of Two Services

BY MARSHALL P. ADAIR

The Rogers Act of 1924 created the modern Foreign Service, separate from other government services, with rank in person and availability for worldwide duty. The new service was created for a number of reasons: to have personnel available for unusual service and unusual demands overseas; to develop a corps with the skills necessary for effective diplomacy; to protect against the political spoils system; and to prevent bureaucratic stagnation.

There are now slightly less than 8,000 State Department Foreign Service personnel worldwide. Of those, 3,200 are assigned to Washington and share the working environment of the department with about 5,900 Civil Service counterparts. The two personnel systems are radically different. One recruits primarily at the lower ranks, and trains through extensive overseas experience. The other recruits at all levels, either bringing in specialized expertise from the outside or developing it through continuous service in one place. One has rank in person; the other rank in job. One requires constant promotion or departure from the service; the other offers extensive tenure in any given job. These two services provide different kinds of outstanding talent to the management of foreign affairs. Having two separate services also complicates personnel management. It makes it more difficult to deploy talent across institutional

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

*State
should address
the Foreign Service-
Civil Service split.*



lines, and more difficult to demand the same standards of both services.

Recently, the department forced the assignment of a senior Civil Service employee into a senior Foreign Service job, contrary to its own agreements and regulations, and sharply to the detriment of Foreign Service morale. That assignment is in dispute, and may be for some time to come. Rather than engage in such ad hoc violations, both the department and the government would be better served by more serious, constructive efforts to coordinate or mesh the two systems.

Here are several specific suggestions ranging from incremental to radical:

■ **Compensate for workforce shortages.** The Foreign Service has a real shortage of personnel to positions that discourages career training. Create "education replacement tours" in which FS employees would be temporarily pulled out of the system for training. This action would in turn provide temporary slots for the assignment of specially qualified CS employees not subject to existing cri-

teria for limited appointments.

■ **Institutionalize more cross-fertilization.** Increase mobility throughout the department by limiting all CS job assignments in the department to two to three years (with one possibility of extension). Establish a fixed number of exchanges between Civil Service and Foreign Service per year. Allow both to bid on clearly specified jobs. When critical FS jobs are filled by CS personnel, extend the time-in-class of the FS personnel who bid on them to compensate for any negative competitive impact in the FS up-or-out promotion system.

■ **Renew Wristonization.** In 1954, the Wriston Committee, after studying the previous decade of problems arising from the department's dual personnel system, recommended the consolidation of the two services into one Foreign Service. Most CS personnel were incorporated into the Foreign Service, but not all. Since that time the Civil Service contingent has grown again to almost equal the Foreign Service in size. Make the department one Foreign Service again, with everyone subject to the same standards, demands and rules. It would require CS personnel to become more mobile, and FS personnel to pay more attention to Washington.

There are probably many more ways in which the Civil Service/Foreign Service relationship could be addressed constructively. The department must make the effort to address the issue directly. ■



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LETTERS

Retiree Escorts

It is ironic that almost 10 years after the end of the Cold War, the State Department feels it has to institute security practices (requiring escorts for retirees visiting the department) that go far beyond what was necessary in the not-so-distant cloak and dagger days when we lived under the threat of nuclear annihilation.

The department is overreacting. Why not put a security seal on the top three floors of the department and have less stringent requirements below that level? Few would disagree with the estimate that 60 percent of work activity in the department falls into the non-sensitive category. Rules that may be appropriate for CIA or NSA sites may represent overkill at State.

Robert L. Dwelley
FSO, retired
Brunswick, Me.

A Slap in the Face

The Aug. 15 letter to retirees from Assistant Secretary for Diplomatic Security David Carpenter is a slap in the face. Retirees are now being treated as second-class citizens. In the letter, Carpenter says, "I ask for your

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understanding and hope that this initiative will not be taken personally. We will do everything we can to consider your interests as we proceed with our security measures." Of course this is taken personally. What a joke.

As a member of AFSA, I would like to see some action taken on behalf of all the retirees to see that the new policy is reversed.

Chester W. McElhoo
FSO, retired
Bethesda, Md.

Don't Blame Retirees

Security problems that plague State are nothing new. In my career in the FS, I witnessed many security violations, most by State Department officers and not unescorted retirees. It would be interesting to know how many high-ranking employees leave the department at the end of a work day with classified information in their briefcases.

Why target retired employees, punishing us for the actions of others?

Douglas J. Goodgion
FSO, retired
Falls Church, Va.

Personnel Problems

I want to add my two cents to the earlier letters complaining about the lack of action on the part of State management to various personnel problems. Since my retirement in 1994 I have returned to work, as a rehired annuitant with full benefits, on three occasions. On two of those occasions I was employed by the Administration Bureau. When my

first term of employment ended, it took more than nine months and a letter to the director general before the department resolved my problem. My most recent employment with the A Bureau was for a two-month period, but it took over a year, and a letter to my congressman, to resolve a problem related to that assignment.

Now I see that even with 34 years of service, 25 of them overseas, and with a recent security update, DS has deemed that I am a security risk and must be escorted when I have business in the department. This should not surprise me. I have known for some time that the department views retirees as appendixes, and not really vital. An employee in payroll told me he "had more important work to do than work on a retiree's problem."

Jerry Lujan
FSO, retired
Tucson, Ariz.

Grading the Scorecard

I am disappointed that you have chosen to run a "Congressional Scorecard" again this year (Sept. *FSJ*). The results will appear to many to be politically biased, regardless of the intent. Is it really credible, for example, to list Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., as the poorest performer in the U.S. Senate on foreign policy?

I believe the professional Foreign Service should strive to avoid partisan appearances, particularly on the eve of a national election. AFSA efforts to educate people should be done by quiet diplomacy or open discussion of issues on their merits, rather than

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LETTERS

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Robert J. Martens

FSO, retired

Bethesda, Md.

Overstating the FS Role

Marshall Adair said, "The professional Foreign Service played a key role in implementing the Marshall Plan and constructing the post-war international defense and economic institutions." (*FSJ*, July/August) This is not true. The Treasury Department was the main agency behind the IMF and the World Bank, economic institutions that were created after World War II. To this day, U.S. input and support for these international organizations is mainly the responsibility of the Treasury Department. The role of the professional FS was and is minor.

Adair stated that "the professional FS was almost de-professionalized by Wristonization." Just the opposite is true. Wristonization allowed the Department of State to acquire quickly a depth of professional competence on the economic side that had been thin earlier. State added officers who had years of practical experience and proven expertise. Wristonization served the U.S. well back then and in subsequent decades. Many Wristonized FSOs went on to become senior officers in the FS.

John C. Renner

FSO, retired

Alexandria, Va.

Police Action

I was surprised at the line taken in your editor's Despatch column (*FSJ*, June) complaining about police harassment during the IMF and World Bank demonstrations in Washington. Your comment, "As readers of the *Journal* know, harassment and preemptive strikes are tactics used by rulers around the world against opposition movements," may

be true, but that is not the whole picture. Too many U.S. embassies and FS personnel around the world have been abused, to put it mildly, when local authorities have delayed or withheld prompt and effective police action. I believe that many in the FS support the efforts made by the D.C. police in these demonstrations.

Robert G. Anders

FSO, retired

London

Enough about Love

On renewal of my AFSA membership, which dates from 1958, a comment: The shallowness and dilettante nature of the several pieces about "love" affairs (*FSJ*, July/August fiction issue) was very disappointing. The *Foreign Service Journal* provides a huge stage, which should be used for substance and not trivia.

James Suma

FSO, retired

McLean, Va.

Not the Truman Building

The House of Representatives has unanimously approved a bill to rename the Department of State building after President Harry S. Truman. I admire this great man, but naming the State Department after him is not appropriate. Two of Truman's Cabinet members deserve recognition, former secretaries of State George Marshall and Dean Acheson. Secretary Marshall was probably the most outstanding military figure of WWII, and later served as secretary of defense.

Secretary Acheson was probably the greatest secretary in the 20th century with accomplishments such as NATO, the Berlin airlift and the defense of Korea. Neither of these men has any building or monument in the D.C. area. Former Secretary John Foster Dulles, a less worthy individ-

LETTERS

ual, has an airport. Even former Secretary of Defense James Forrestal has a building named after him.

The State Department building could be renamed for Acheson, and the Pentagon for Marshall. If President Truman were alive, he would second these two choices.

Edward A. Padelford
FSO, retired
Bethesda, Md.

Eyewitness to Terror

Lucien Vandenbroucke's account of the Nairobi terrorist bombing (*FSJ*, June) accurately described the horror and heroism of "Black Friday." My staff at Embassy Nairobi and I had left the embassy building at 10:05 a.m. to go to our warehouse nearby. After hearing the explosion at 10:38 a.m., we tried to call MSG Post One on our radios, but the answer was a deafening static silence. We rushed back to the embassy arriving minutes after the bombing.

I made a quick survey of every floor of the building. Chaos existed around us. Lucien led a short meeting including RSO Paul Peterson, Admin Counselor Steve Nolan, and me, calmly assigning tasks. Lucien's instructions were clear and precise. West Point could not ever produce a better leader. Lucien's ability to bring order out of chaos saved many of his colleagues' lives.

No less heroic, Steve Nolan organized administrative efforts as he was helping the wounded to medical care. He spoke directly to the thousands of Kenyans who formed a sea of humanity around the site. Paul Peterson and a small group of military personnel formed a perimeter around the site. I believed that the crowd would overwhelm and kill us. Paul and his perimeter guard created an invisible barrier that saved our lives. Due to Lucien, Steve, and Paul's efforts, the crowd later dispersed peacefully.

Our FSNs were also heroic. One FSN carried an injured American employee on his back down a blocked stairwell, saving the American's life by transporting her to our medical team before she bled to death.

We, the survivors, are doomed to relive Aug. 7 every day of our lives. Most of us were physically injured in some manner. The bombing mentally scarred all of us. We learned again that the cost of freedom and liberty is high, and how often now the Foreign Service must pay the price.

Let's not let the bombings suffer from the same "old news" syndrome that prevented us from fully implementing the Inman proposals in the 1980s. We need to protect our employees. I suggest that future discussions on security and openness include at least one survivor from a major bombing as a reality check.

While DS is not always the most beloved bureau in the service, I am proud to be a member of this group of professionals. I am also proud to be a member of the Foreign Service community, which reflects the ideals of America overseas. On Aug. 7, 1998, Ambassador Prudence Bushnell offered immediate evacuation to any direct-hire American employee in Nairobi. No one departed.

W. Lee Reed
Security Engineering
Officer
Nairobi Search and Rescue
Leader
Embassy Pretoria

Political Corrections

The "Congressional Scorecard" in the September *FSJ* listed Sen. Daniel Akaka, D-Hawaii, as deceased. He is, in fact, alive and well, and was, at press time, running for re-election. That same article failed to note that Sen. Paul Coverdell, R-Ga., died July 22, 2000. ■



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MANY STUDENTS CHOOSE
CAREERS IN THE PRIVATE
SECTOR RATHER THAN
GOVERNMENT AFTER
GRADUATION**

STATE-USIA MERGER STILL HURTS MORALE

The merger of the U.S. Information Agency into the State Department, which officially occurred Oct. 1, 1999, has been a rocky road. According to a Sept. 13 report by Joel Melstad on planetgov.com, a private Web site that reports government news, morale among former USIA employees is low.

David Kramer, director of the Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, said that, on a one-to-ten scale, the morale of former USIA employees was a three, while that of more long-term State employees was a four.

Combining the two agencies has "been a wrenching experience," Kramer said. He noted that USIA had been more "flexible and less hierarchical" than State.

Before the merger, USIA had about 7,000 employees. Of those, 3,000 have become State employees, mostly within the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs and the Office for International Information Programs. Another 4,000 are now employees of the independent Broadcasting Board of Governors.

Among the complaints of former USIA employees: additional layers of bureaucracy, limited resources and the loss of a feeling of empowerment.

However, one former USIA official, Ralph Ruedy, who now directs State's Office of Public Diplomacy for the New Independent States, disagreed, saying, "Overall consolidation is moving along well. ... We've addressed problems as we've encountered them ... and we can be pleased with the [integration] progress we've made over the last year."

NOT YOUR FATHER'S FOREIGN POLICY

Beginning with its September/October issue, *Foreign Policy* magazine has a new look and a revamped editorial focus. It now looks less like a journal and more like a general interest magazine, with a page size like *Newsweek* or *FSJ*. The new format includes more color graphics, large photos and cartoons.

Coverage will concentrate more explicitly on how economics and politics are changing in today's globalized world — though that topic has also gotten plenty of ink in recent issues. Traditional foreign affairs analysis of "interactions among governments" will presumably be de-emphasized.

New sections include the "FP Interview" and a "Between the Lines" piece which scrutinizes and analyzes important public documents. The effects of the revolution in technology on foreign policy also gets coverage in the new *FP*, with a new feature called "Net Effect."

In the debut issue, editor Moisés Naím argues that for governments to keep pace in the information age, they must make an investment in recruiting top computer talent. This will not be easy, he writes, when the top computer manager at the U.S. Treasury Department or the CIA makes about \$130,000 annually while their counterparts in the private sector make more than \$400,000, not including stock options.

Naím describes a number of ways in which government can cope, including pay raises for key employees, contracting out, and allowing foreigners to fill essential jobs.



CLIPPINGS

STEPS TOWARD PEACE IN KASHMIR

For the past 10 years, violence has shaped the lives of the citizens of Kashmir, a disputed territory claimed by India and Pakistan. Artillery shelling between the Indian and Pakistani camps occurs almost daily. Security roundups and strikes disrupt daily life; tourism has disappeared and agricultural production is down.

Two recent political initiatives to end the conflict in Kashmir have generated hope among Kashmiris, Indians and Pakistanis. In June, the Kashmir State Assembly asked the Indian government to restore Kashmir's autonomy, which it had lost in 1953. In July, the Indian government and the anti-Indian Hizbul Mujahideen, a Muslim Pakistani-supported militant group, reached a ceasefire agreement to permit talks. Though the efforts failed, the *South Asia Monitor's* Huong Trieu reported in the Sept. 1, 2000 issue that the parties may have learned something about how to make peace discussions work.

The chief minister of Indian-administered parts of Kashmir, Farooq Abdullah, supported the Kashmir State Assembly's petition for New Delhi to grant Kashmir autonomy. The Indian cabinet briefly deliberated but eventually rejected the proposal.

According to the *South Asia Monitor*, the ceasefire was the first serious effort to make progress toward peace in Kashmir in 10 years. The Hizbul Mujahideen announced a unilateral ceasefire in Srinagar, part of Indian-administered Kashmir, for three months beginning in late July. The Indian gov-

ernment and the Hizbul Mujahideen initiated talks on Aug. 1. However, two points of contention derailed the peace talks. First, parties could not agree on whether India would continue to hold sovereignty over Kashmir. Second, the two sides could not agree if Pakistan should be privy to the negotiations. Talks collapsed on Aug. 10.

HOW NOT TO LOSE GOVERNMENT SECRETS

After recent lapses in government security, the *Washington Post's* Al Kamen suggested in his Sept. 13, 2000 "In the Loop" column that it may be time to brush up on basics. Kamen recommends that government employees worried about inadvertently revealing classified materials read "The Layman's Guide to Security," published three years ago by the Department of Defense Security Institute and the Joint Industry-Government Security Awareness Group. "It's chock full of common-sense things we can all do," Kamen says.

Its first piece of advice: You should act normal if you are asked to transport classified documents. "Do not attract attention to yourself when carrying classified materials from one office to another ... Place the materials in a nondescript envelope or container."

Proper security requires proper color coordination: Top secret documentation should have an orange cover sheet, secret should have red, and confidential blue. There is another color, a secret color, for things that are so secret they do not fall into this classification scheme. It's important to "conduct annual

50 YEARS AGO

"The thievery and looting in which they engaged, both on a high and large official scale and on a personal level, seem to have left the average Seoul citizen with the conviction that communism and cruelty and thieving are synonymous."

—THE DECEMBER
1950 FOREIGN SERVICE
JOURNAL ON THE
OCCUPATION OF SEOUL
BY NORTH KOREAN
FORCES



CLIPPINGS

*"Diplomacy is
letting someone
else have
your way."*

—LESTER B. PEARSON,
1965

cleanout day" to identify and destroy documents that are no longer needed. And what methods of document destruction get the seal of approval? "Burning (if allowed by your local environmental control agency); shredding; pulverizing; and pulping."

RETIREES IRATE AT STATE ACCESS POLICY

The government's decision to require former Foreign Service employees to be escorted when they visit the State Department has spurred bitter com-

plaints from FS retirees. And the controversy has started to get some coverage in the mainstream press.

George Gedda of the Associated Press reported on Sept. 18, 2000 that retiree reaction has been decidedly unfavorable. He quotes Gilbert Johnson, a career diplomat for 36 years, who called the decision "insulting and disappointing." Michael Smith, the first U.S. ambassador to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trades, said for devoted public servants to now be considered security risks "is beyond the pale." *USA Today* also covered the controversy. The new policy became effective Sept. 1. ■

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SPEAKING OUT

The Mouse That Roared At USAID

By JOHN S. ROSENBERG

My wife, Helene Kaufman Rosenberg, joined the Agency for International Development as a Foreign Service officer in 1977 and retired this past July. Although she was never stationed in Grand Fenwick, her experience with USAID does call to mind the classic 1959 Peter Sellers comedy, "The Mouse That Roared," in which the tiny Duchy of Grand Fenwick realizes that the most profitable thing a small country can do is declare war on the United States — and lose.

We discovered a corollary: The least profitable thing a person can do is file a legal complaint against USAID — and win.

Helene rose rapidly through the ranks and was elevated into the Senior Foreign Service at the top of her class in 1988. After being forced to retire in 1994 because of her time in class, she filed a grievance noting that since entering the SFS she had never had an assignment in which she could be fairly evaluated for subsequent promotion.

Rather than accepting "prescriptive relief" from separation — continuing to receive a high salary for doing no productive work while her case was pending — she petitioned the Foreign Service Grievance Board to allow her to retire while the matter went forward. USAID's office of Human Resources objected, threatening to delay her annuity unless she dropped her grievance, but it was overruled and she retired. (Most agencies fire people they regard as troublemakers. In USAID, the ulti-

*The least profitable
thing a person can
do is sue USAID —
and win.*



mate punishment is coerced retention.)

The reinvention of government often works in mysterious ways, however. Soon after Helene retired, USAID hired her to assist the Bosnia desk under a personal services contract. Her work there was so valuable that the agency offered her a new contract at a higher rate and even gave her an award for her service.

Only The Beginning

Space does not permit a complete discussion of the retribution Helene's grievance provoked. Perhaps the most striking example comes from the main brief of the outside lawyer representing USAID, which supposedly quoted a dozen senior USAID officials disparaging Helene's job interests. Yet each of them (including Frank Almaguer, then head of Human Resources) later stated, in affidavits submitted to the FSGB, that their comments had been seriously misrepresented and misquoted.

In April 1996, the FSGB ruled overwhelmingly in Helene's favor. In a

stinging 37-page rebuke of USAID, it ordered the agency to provide immediate reinstatement, a suitable assignment at her level, and the restoration of back pay and benefits; later, it ordered the reimbursement of legal fees. The decision also pointedly called attention to USAID's malfeasance in submitting doctored testimony from senior officials.

Yet this favorable ruling did not end the matter, as one might have thought. In fact, we had to spend much more money having the order implemented, and responding to the additional retribution it generated, than we did winning it.

USAID argued — and on this point the FSGB reluctantly agreed — that the Back Pay Act required that all Helene's wages for her work on the Bosnia desk be subtracted from the money owed her. In other words every day Helene came to work under the contract — including the six months USAID continued to defy the FSGB's order of immediate reinstatement — she went deeper into debt!

However, in order to avoid the unconscionable result of USAID being rewarded for its wrongdoing and Helene going into debt to USAID because she agreed to work for it, the board also concluded that her obligation to repay the annuity she received while retired should be waived. It therefore ordered the agency "to fully support" her application to State for the waiver and to devote "maximum efforts" to see that it was granted.

As usual, USAID ignored the



order. When prodded by the board, Linda Lion, head of HR, sent a letter to State saying only that the FSGB "directed USAID to 'fully support' [Helene's] request for waiver." This was the same Linda Lion who had promised in an Oct. 11, 1996, letter detailing the terms of Helene's reinstatement that "USAID is prepared to support in writing grievant's request ... for a waiver of net indebtedness."

USAID also submitted two false W-2s to the IRS, generating an investigation by the inspector general and leading to a formal referral to the Criminal Investigations Division of the Justice Department. We were forced to pay our accountant substantial sums (that were never reimbursed) to clean up this mess.

On To Tokyo

After waiting six months for USAID to implement its April 1996 order, the Grievance Board issued a second order requiring it to reinstate Helene and give her a position at her rank immediately or be held in contempt. That threat got USAID moving, but even then, Lion's reinstatement letter threatened Helene with being AWOL if she did not report on the very next day of business. (This was a gratuitously insulting threat, inasmuch as Helene was still reporting every day to the Bosnia desk.)

Helene received a plum position as development counselor in Tokyo — probably because in the short time available to make an assignment before being cited for contempt that was the only available job at her rank. But her tour was shortened from the standard four years to two years and nine months, the bare minimum that would satisfy the FSGB order. (Her predecessor was there more than six years.) USAID also attempted to abbreviate her language training, though eventually it backed down on that.

**USAID submitted
two false W-2's to the
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Her job performance in Tokyo was so impressive that for the first time in the history of the USAID mission the ambassador volunteered to write her evaluation, in which he recommended an immediate promotion. Unfortunately, after the first year in Tokyo our 12-year-old daughter became seriously ill, and the State Department medical office ordered the curtailment of Helene's assignment so she could be treated by specialists at home. In this sad circumstance USAID responded with its customary sensitivity and compassion: it ordered Helene to remain at post while her daughter went home for medical treatment without her. (So much for family values!) Responding to outrage from various quarters, it backed down and we came home in the summer of 1999, although Helene was still required to remain behind for two more months.

Despite a written agreement signed by the acting administrator to provide her with another suitable assignment in Washington meeting the FSGB's requirements, upon her arrival USAID claimed that Helene's "voluntary" abandonment of her post had ended its obligation to her. Faced with the prospect of defending yet another broken promise before the Grievance Board, however, USAID eventually backed down and agreed to honor its original commitment.

Consistent to the End

Retirement finally brought the curtain down on this sad drama, right? Yeah, right. Helene was the only person enrolled in the Foreign Service Institute's retirement class to be marked as AWOL for missing hours everyone missed (including hours when there were no classes), despite the fact that she had sent notification that some of this time was spent with her dying mother.

Meanwhile, USAID withheld all the normal financial information to which retirees are entitled, such as an accounting of accumulated leave and the amount of future annuity payments, and steadfastly refused to respond to increasingly frantic phone calls and inquiries. The reason, it turned out, was that after Helene announced her retirement, HR secretly began preparations to deduct the contested repayment of the annuity received during her "first" retirement (over \$25,000, although according to State USAID had gotten the amount wrong by over \$2,500), even though the waiver request — which it was ordered to "fully support" — was still pending.

As a result, just 72 hours before her scheduled departure, Helene was forced to delay her retirement for two months, putting a new job at risk and forcing her to initiate yet another round of legal proceedings (for which USAID eventually agreed in a settlement to reimburse her, along with restoring her "AWOL" hours). Happily, State finally approved the waiver despite HR's complete lack of support, and Helene was able to retire and start her new job.

In the end, like Grand Fenwick's war, our investment in time, trouble and money paid off, and we had the satisfaction of seeing an office full of bureaucratic bullies finally get their comeuppance. But anyone not willing or able to keep fighting HR is



still subject to a capricious and vindictive office that has never been held accountable for its campaigns of retribution. Indeed, then-USAID Administrator J. Brian Atwood and his deputy administrator, Larry Byrne, either encouraged this behavior or deliberately ignored it. Congress should look at how much has been spent on frivolous legal fees and consider closing down USAID's HR unit and folding it into State.

We also found out the hard way that the Foreign Service Grievance Board, for all its good intentions, has about as much clout as the duchy's army when it comes to enforcing its rulings. The only bright corner of this dark picture is AFSA itself; its USAID vice president, Frank Miller, was stead-

***The only bright corner
of this dark picture
is AFSA itself; its USAID
vice president was
steadfast in his support.***

fast in his support throughout this ordeal.

But the most striking revelation was just how impervious USAID is to outside criticism of its abuses. *The Washington Post* ran nearly a full-page story on Helene's treatment, to

no effect. Our representative, Tom Davis, R-Va., sent a strong protest, and Sen. Charles Grassley, R-Iowa, sent a blistering letter to Atwood stating that "the way USAID has treated Ms. Kaufman calls into question USAID's personnel system and management practices.... [U]nless USAID treats all its successful grievants this poorly, Ms. Kaufman's case would seem to be characterized by an extraordinary pattern of harassment and retribution...."

Alas, Helene's experience was extraordinary only in degree, and in her determination to fight back. ■

John S. Rosenberg is the husband of a retired FSO. He is writing a study of "The Strange Career of Racial Equality" for a Ph.D. in American history at Stanford.



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ABDUCTED CHILDREN: SHOULD STATE DO MORE?



Walter Porter

TWHEN THEIR CHILDREN ARE TAKEN OVERSEAS, LEFT-BEHIND AMERICAN PARENTS OFTEN FEEL IGNORED BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT.

BY GEORGE GEDDA

The State Department is accustomed to complaints about its inability to do more for citizens trapped in difficult situations overseas. Americans get arrested, are caught up in civil unrest or become victims of terrorism, police abuse and kidnapping.

But now some of those complaints about State's lack of support for citizens in distress are coming from within the ranks of the department itself.

Take Thomas A. Johnson, who has spent much of his career as a Foreign Service officer dealing with human rights issues. He has served as legal adviser to U.S. delegations at nine sessions of the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva and has been involved in more than a dozen bilateral and multilateral negotiations on human rights

F O C U S

matters, including the International Convention on the Rights of the Child.

What was once mainly a professional issue has now turned deeply personal for Johnson, who is prodding the department to pay more heed to the tragedy that has befallen him: the abduction of his daughter, now 13, to Sweden by her Swedish-born mother five years ago. As Johnson sees it, under the terms of the 1980 Hague Convention on the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction, Sweden should have returned his daughter, Amanda, years ago, and the State Department should have been pushing Swedish authorities much harder to get her back.

Challenging the establishment does not come naturally to the Illinois native, who has been an attorney with the State Department since 1979 and is a recipient of the department's superior honor award. He also retired recently from the Marine Corps Reserve after 33 years of service.

Yet Johnson, the lead lawyer for the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration, makes no secret of his disdain for the Consular Affairs Bureau three floors above his State Department office ("We are not on speaking terms.") and other government agencies involved in his case. In October 1999 testimony before the House International Relations Committee, Johnson railed against the "dereliction of duty" of government officials, and their "incompetence, inexperience and mismanagement."

Spouses in such situations often spend exorbitant sums in a futile effort to retrieve their children. Since Amanda's abduction in 1995, Johnson has spent savings totaling about \$200,000 on his case. All he has to show for his efforts are a few supervised visits with Amanda in Sweden. Meanwhile, his ex-wife has experienced no comparable financial drain in fending off Johnson because, he says, the Swedish government has picked up her legal expenses.

Johnson has since remarried, adopted two children and fathered another. It pains him that Amanda has siblings in the United States whom she has never seen.

Sweden maintains it has fulfilled its treaty obligations. Sweden's Supreme Administrative Court said that by the time it took up Amanda's case, two years after she had

***Thomas Johnson,
a State Department
lawyer, complained
about "dereliction of
duty" in his child's case.***

been abducted, she had become a "habitual resident" of Sweden. As Sweden see it, this satisfied a key criterion of the Hague Convention.

Tom Sylvester, of Cincinnati, understands what Johnson has been going through. His wife fled with their child, Carina, to her native Austria on Oct. 30, 1995, when Carina was just 13 months old. Sylvester seemed to have won his case for cus-

tody when an Austrian court ordered not long after the abduction that Carina be returned to the United States. The order was upheld by the Austrian Supreme Court on May 7, 1996, six months after the abduction.

When the authorities turned up at Carina's house to enforce the order days later, the grandmother slipped out the back door with the child in her arms, Sylvester said in congressional testimony. There was no further attempt to enforce the order. Thereafter, Sylvester said, Carina's mother used "every possible legal maneuver imaginable" to counter his custody demands. Eventually, he said, she got the same Austrian Supreme Court which had voted against her before to rule that it was in the child's best interest to remain in Austria because she had assimilated into Austrian society.

Circular Logic

Marvin Weiss, a spokesman at the Austrian Embassy, explains that the court took into account psychological evaluations that it would be "gravely damaging" to the child for her to be uprooted and returned to her father.

Sylvester observes, "This situation is best described as circular logic. The child has not been returned because the order was not enforced and now the order will not be enforced because the child was not returned."

His frustration is understandable. His daughter was taken from him in her infancy; since then, he has had only three brief supervised visits with her. He has even thought about going to Austria and retrieving her himself but was told by U.S. authorities that he would be subject to extradition to Austria to face criminal charges if he did so. This leads him to conclude that U.S. officials are more interested in maintaining close

George Gedda, a frequent contributor to the Journal, covers the State Department for the Associated Press.

ties with Austria than in enforcing the Hague Convention.

The Role of Publicity

One of the best-known examples of this sort of miscarriage of justice involves Joseph Cooke, a New Yorker whose German-born wife fled with their two children to her homeland seven years ago. Suffering from depression, his wife placed them in a foster home soon thereafter without his knowledge. In 1995, a German court ruled that the children had already bonded with their foster family and would suffer "severe psychological loss" if separated from them.

Until Cooke's plight was chronicled in *The Washington Post* last May, the German government had pursued a hands-off policy towards custody disputes involving German and American parents, preferring to leave jurisdiction to the court system.

That policy underwent a reassessment after publication of the *Post* article and drew the attention of the Clinton administration as well. German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer admitted he was "deeply impressed" by Cooke's situation. Adding to the pressure, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright raised the issue with Fischer and President Clinton discussed it with German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder. Subsequently, a German-U.S. commission was set up to examine custody disputes involving nationals of the two countries. In addition, the German government has pledged to arrange for Cooke to visit his two children, now 10 and 9. (Until now, only Cooke's mother, Patricia, has had visitation rights, and they have been severely restricted.)

But even before Cooke's case made the headlines, the seven-month custody battle over a Cuban boy, Elian Gonzalez, had begun to increase public awareness of international child custody issues.

Ten weeks after the Cuban boy's rescue in waters off the Florida coast last November, State Department spokesman James P. Rubin said a U.S. government failure to implement the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service order for Elian's return to his father in Havana could "seriously jeopardize" department efforts on behalf of abducted American children.

In a court brief filed in the case, Mary Ryan, the department's top consular affairs official, said, "Because other countries carefully scrutinize the practices of the United States, our credibility and effectiveness depend

upon our ability to adhere to the principles we espouse." Those concerns were eased when the Supreme Court allowed the boy to return to Cuba with his father in late June, over the protests of his Miami relatives.

Johnson believes there are some similarities between the Elian Gonzalez case and cases involving American children abducted to Europe. The Miami Cubans, for the most part, believe that Elian would be "better off" living in a free country. According to Johnson, Europeans' feelings about the U.S. are comparable to the way Miami Cubans regard Cuba.

"It's hard to exaggerate European disdain for the United States," Johnson says. "They look at us and say this is a violent, drug-ridden society with the worst schools in the industrial world with automatic weapons on the playground."

A parent who wants to retrieve a child abducted to Sweden "is perceived as a criminal" simply because the parent wants to take the child out of Sweden, he says. It matters little, he adds, what court orders have been violated, especially if the violator is the Swedish mother. "Swedish culture says that all children would be better off in Sweden and certainly ones that belong to Swedish mothers," Johnson says.

Bound By Convention

So what is the State Department doing on behalf of the thousands of American parents like Johnson and Sylvester who suddenly are separated from their children?

State's actions in all such cases are governed by the Hague Convention, which the U.S. ratified in 1988. This agreement requires signatory countries to "secure the prompt return of children wrongfully removed to or retained in" another member country and "to ensure that rights of custody are effectively respected." It also specifies that the child be returned to the country of "habitual residence."

Towards that end, State assists American parents in filing applications for the return of abducted children with foreign governments and it attempts to locate, visit and report on such children's welfare. It also keeps "left-behind" parents informed of developments such as judicial or administrative proceedings.

Currently, State says it has files on more than 1,100 open international child abduction cases involving Americans. (Congressional investigators estimate that the overall number of such cases is around 10,000; presump-

ably, many of the "missing" cases represent parents who do not seek U.S. government assistance in recovering their children.)

Mary Marshall, director of the Office of Children's Issues in the Consular Affairs Bureau, contends that over the past decade, the bureau has become far more proactive in its efforts on behalf of left-behind parents. She points out that the staffing in her office has doubled since late 1998 and further increases are planned. "We are doing more and more," she says.

Still, some officials in CA say the wrath of parents like Johnson and Sylvester toward the bureau is understandable. "I think any parent who is denied access to their child is going to say that we are not doing enough," says one official. "They always think we can do more."

Marshall does not disagree that there is room for improvement, and the General Accounting Office concurs with that assessment. The GAO, the investigative arm of Congress, said in a report in late March that left-behind parents need more aggressive advocacy from the State and Justice departments.

The report found there were 2,347 abductions from May 1997 to December 1999 that were looked into by federal authorities. Of this figure, 1,199 cases have been closed. In 503 cases, involving signatories and non-signatories to the Hague Convention, the child was returned to the United States and in 50 cases, the left-behind parent was granted access, the study said.

State did not receive all the blame in the report, to be sure. GAO noted that a 1993 law, the International Parental Crime Kidnapping Act, makes it a federal offense to take a child out of the country in violation of a custody order. The law gives the Justice Department the authority to seek the extradition of abducting parents but it has shown little inclination to use that remedy or to criminally prosecute them at all. During the period covered by the report, DOJ indicted a mere 63 parents and obtained 13 convictions.

The GAO also recommended that the government assist left-behind parents with legal, travel and other expenses related to retrieval efforts.

Should We Play Hardball?

Although State has a high success rate in repatriating

Once the issue hit page one of The Washington Post, top officials started to pay attention.

foreign children abducted into the United States, when it comes to repatriating abducted American children, it is a different story. In only about 24 percent of the cases are the children returned or do left-behind parents win visitation rights, according to congressional investigators.

Nancy Hammer, of the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, says the old saw about possession being nine-tenths of the law certainly applies to child custody cases.

"The U.S. has always been a leader on issues of child protection," she says. "Historically, we have been doing a good job in sending kids back to their countries of habitual residence. But even if we do the right thing, there is no guarantee that this will inspire others to do the right thing."

Tom Sylvester notes the State Department has repatriated four Austrian children back to their homeland in parental abduction cases in recent years and wonders why it doesn't halt such deportations in view of Austria's policy in his case. "Why not play the reciprocity card?" he asks. "I guess Carina is not important enough."

But the administration disapproves of applying such tactics. "Two wrongs don't make a right," says CA's Mary Marshall. In any case, a shift to a hardball approach would require intervention at the secretary of State level. "We don't do diplomacy in Consular Affairs," notes Marshall.

How Others See State's Record

The inability of the State Department to secure the return of a larger percentage of abducted children has led to a spate of articles on the issue, most of them critical of its performance. A June 1999 article in *Insight* magazine, a publication of the *Washington Times*, was titled "State Abandons Kidnapped Kids." A March 1999 article in the same magazine suggested that the department places diplomacy above the needs of American children and their parents. It said some parents who complain to the State Department about lack of progress in their cases are dismissed as "annoyances" by (unnamed) department officials.

Mary Ryan, head of the Consular Affairs Bureau, took exception to the article, arguing that it misled readers into thinking that "State Department officers somehow con-

trol the outcome of international parental-child custody disputes. The role of consular officers is to work to ensure the welfare of a U.S. citizen child — not to provide legal assistance to parents,” she wrote. “If a child custody dispute cannot be settled amicably between the parties, it must often be resolved by judicial proceedings in the country where the child is located. We cannot dictate the results of a legal proceeding in another country.”

But Johnson believes such statements overlook the need for these countries to comply with the Hague Convention. And he believes that when the State Department takes on abduction cases, it is influenced by competing interests. “Our own government, in general, doesn’t like to rock the boat,” he says. He believes there are some good people who work the issue but the mindset of State Department desk officers and others is to keep foreign governments happy. “If they are not happy, you’re not doing your job,” Johnson says. “Your job is to eliminate irritants to the bilateral relationship.”

Ray Mabus, a former U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia, likewise acknowledges that embassies could do a better job in child abduction cases. “Embassies take pretty good care of Americans who lose their passports overseas,” he says. “But if you lose your kids, it’s going to be harder than it ought to be to get anybody to listen.”

As ambassador, he tried to help Pat Rosh, of San Francisco, whose two daughters had been taken to Saudi Arabia in 1985 by her ex-husband, a Saudi citizen. He fled with the children notwithstanding a court order awarding her custody. Mabus got the Saudis to agree in 1996 to allow her daughters to spend summers living with her in the United States. Just as the deal was about to go through, Mabus left his post and the agreement collapsed. In 1991, Rosh went so far as to hire a Vietnam veteran with a penchant for adventure to kidnap the children and bring them home. But the mission failed.

Melanie al-Mufti, a Muslim American woman from Texas, said her son was spirited off to Egypt by his



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F O C U S

Egyptian father two years ago. She has had no contact with him despite a court order awarding her sole custody.

The Congressional Front

Three congressional hearings on the abduction issue have been held within the last two years, reflecting growing unhappiness with the State Department as well as with Austria, Germany and Sweden, among others, for not abiding by their Hague commitments.

During a February hearing, Rep. Steve Chevot, a Cincinnati Republican, asked Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to intercede on Sylvester's behalf. But when the State Department duly asked the Austrian government to revisit the case, Weirs, the Austrian embassy spokesman, responded that "the final word has been spoken. There is no further recourse."

Many in Congress are not inclined to accept such fatalism. Chevot once mused about "sending in the Marines" to obtain Austria's compliance with the Hague

Convention. And Sen. Mike DeWine, an Ohio Republican, notes that, "We go after countries that steal our products or violate patent and copyright laws, but not when they are supporting the theft of American children. What does that say about us as a country?"

Another congressman who has taken a keen interest in the overall issue is Rep. Nicholas Lampson, D-Texas, chairman of the Congressional Missing and Exploited Children's Caucus. He says legislation is needed to assist left-behind American parents. He also favors steps to "embarrass countries into abiding by the Hague Convention."

In an election year, there is no way to predict what form such legislation might take or how effective it might be. What is clear is that American parents whose children are taken away will continue to face a stacked deck, where the abducting parent has the leverage, even when the left-behind parent has a court-approved custody arrangement. And the pressure on the State Department to be more aggressive in assisting U.S. parents will surely grow. ■



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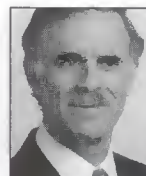
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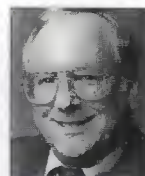
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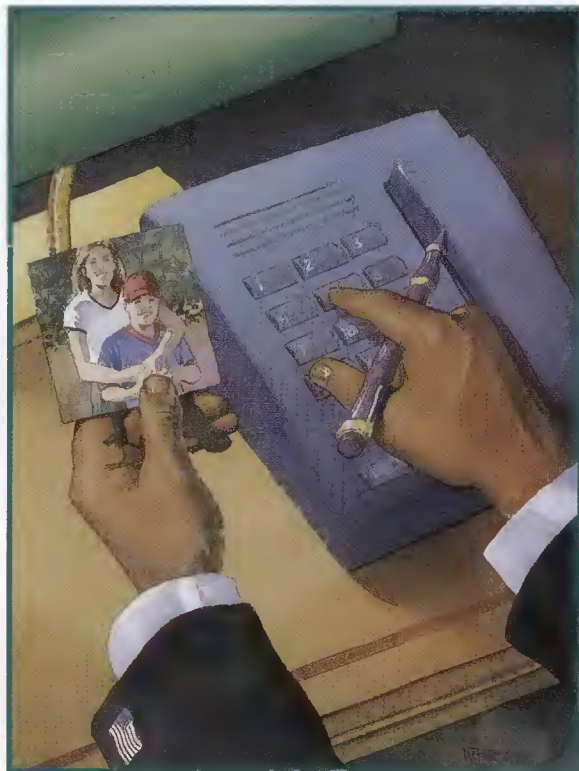
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WHAT WE'RE DOING NOW ABOUT CHILD ABDUCTION



Walter Porter

O RECENTLY, THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS GREATLY INCREASED THE ATTENTION GIVEN TO THE PROBLEM, THOUGH THE EFFORT IS NOT OFTEN RECOGNIZED.

By *BARBARA J. GREIG*

On a Thursday afternoon in October 1999 the State Department Children's Issues country officer for the United Kingdom participated in a conference call with the Office of International Affairs at the Department of Justice, Interpol's Washington liaison officer and an investigator from a California district attorney's office. The call concerned a nine-year-old child whose mother had abducted him to the United Kingdom. Of particular concern in this case was the mother's mental stability.

The California investigator had just learned that although the mother and child were in the United Kingdom, they planned to leave the following day. It was imperative to confirm their actual location, file a Hague Abduction Convention application immediately, and take steps to protect the child. Quickly, each agency determined what role it

would play to bring about the return of the child. Interpol worked with the law enforcement authorities in the United Kingdom to determine the exact location of the mother and child and obtain details of their travel plans. The Department of Justice set in motion an extradition request for the mother (who had no claim to any citizenship other than U.S.) based on parental kidnapping criminal charges. The Office of Children's Issues alerted British officials to the incoming Hague application, and the California investigator worked with the left-behind parent to submit the application and supporting documents by fax.

Early Friday morning, the Hague application and supporting documents arrived in Children's Issues and were immediately forwarded to the U.K. central authority. A solicitor in the United Kingdom had already been appointed to represent the left-behind parent. He immediately obtained a court order prohibiting the mother and child from leaving the United Kingdom until the Hague application could be adjudicated. A "port stop" was put into effect. Law enforcement and social services organizations in the United Kingdom took the mother and child into custody. The left-behind father flew to Britain over the weekend and the child was released into his temporary custody pending the results of the hearings. In less than three weeks, the Hague hearings were held with both parents represented by legal counsel. The United Kingdom court issued an order for the return of the child under the Hague. The California investigator reported to Children's Issues that the father and child were back in California where custody of the child would be resolved by the California courts.

Does this story sound like a made-for-television drama? It's not — it's simply one example of the type of work performed every day by the Bureau of Consular Affairs' Office of Children's Issues.

Since the late 1970s, the Bureau of Consular Affairs has taken action in over 8,000 cases of international parental child abduction. CI has provided information in response to thousands of additional inquiries pertaining to international child abduction, enforcement of visitation rights and abduction prevention techniques.

Barbara J. Greig is a citizens services specialist who works on child abduction cases in State's Office of Children's Issues.

Unrealistic Expectations

It is difficult to say if parental child abduction is increasing or if the public simply has become more aware of the problem. Probably, a combination of the two is at work. Certainly the media have focused more attention on parental child abduction during the past few years.

Many left-behind parents and members of the press have unrealistic expectations of what kind of assistance the government can provide. They often assume that U.S. government representatives abroad will advocate on behalf of left-behind American citizen parents in domestic custody disputes. Another commonly-held belief is that a U.S. consular officer can simply take custody of an American citizen child who has been abducted to another country and put him or her on a plane for home. The basic premise of many news articles is that if an internationally abducted child has not been returned to the United States, then the U.S. government has not fulfilled its responsibilities.

People travel more now than ever for purposes of tourism, work and immigration, making international relationships more common. It is estimated that somewhere between 80 and 90 percent of international child custody disputes involve a parent with ties to another country. Child custody laws vary widely from country to country. Countries may have a gender or nationalistic bias in favor of one parent over the other. Child custody battles can often go on for years, ceasing only when the child reaches the age of majority.

There is no doubt that the actual workload of parental child abduction cases is increasing. In 1996, the Office of Children's Issues opened 67 new cases of children abducted from the United States to other countries. The corresponding figures for 1997, 1998 and 1999 were 338, 401 and 410, respectively. As of Aug. 31, 2000, 848 cases remained open. Further, many parental child abduction cases never even come to CI's attention, since left-behind parents may not realize that government assistance is available.

Most outgoing Hague applications involve abductions from the United States to Mexico, the United Kingdom, Germany, Israel and Canada. Of countries not party to the Hague Abduction Convention, cases most often involved children abducted to the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Jordan and Japan.

Since March 1997, 1,842 cases have been closed. A case may be closed when (1) a child is returned to the

United States, (2) a resolution has been reached and a left-behind parent requests that the case be withdrawn, (3) the child reaches his or her 18th birthday (or 16th birthday in a Hague case), or (4) there has been no contact from the left-behind parent for a long time and the contact information is no longer valid.

For many years child abduction and child custody issues were handled by individual country officers in the Office of Overseas Citizen Services. In 1994, as incidents of parental child abduction increased and the department became aware of the need for additional resources to deal with the issue, the Bureau of Consular Affairs created the Office of Children's Issues in Overseas Citizens Services to handle all parental child abduction matters. Seven officers were tasked with dealing with child custody, abduction and the American Citizen Service side of international adoption matters. In the fall of 1999, CI divided into an Abductions Branch and an Adoptions Branch and added administrative staff. The office now totals 27 employees, but the workload continues to increase.

Many children are abducted because a taking parent with a claim to citizenship in another country feels he or she has a better opportunity to gain custody of a child in his or her country of origin. An abductor may fear losing custody of a child in an upcoming divorce case. Depending on court-ordered custody and visitation arrangements, an upcoming remarriage or job transfer involving one of the parents can lead to an abduction. Sometimes a taking parent may be joining a person they first encountered on the Internet. A parent may be fleeing a domestic violence situation. CI finds that in many of our cases, parents who abduct their children have a proprietary attitude ("this is my child") or may be using the child as a weapon against the other parent.

How the Hague Convention Works

The most important remedy for parental child abduction is the Hague Convention on the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction. The basic premise of the convention is that child custody issues should be resolved in the country where the child was "habitually resident." In other words, the convention does not involve custody

Despite some people's assumptions, a U.S. consular officer can't simply take custody of an American child abroad.

per se, but determines the country where custodial issues should be adjudicated. Unless a voluntary return can be arranged, the case is presented to the appropriate civil court in the country where the child is located.

The Hague Convention was signed in 1980 and is now in force between the United States and 49 other nations. Following the 1988 passage of the International Child Abduction Remedies Act, which implemented the convention in the U.S., the presi-

dent designated the Department of State to fulfill the responsibilities of the "central authority."

Article 3 of the convention defines the conditions under which a left-behind parent may file an application for the return of a child. These include that (1) the convention must be in force between the two countries at the time the child is abducted; (2) the child must be under the age of 16; (3) the child must have been "habitually resident" in the country from which taken and to which the return is sought prior to the wrongful removal or retention; (4) the petitioner must have had some form of custodial rights to the child at the time of the removal or retention; and (5) the petitioner must have been actually exercising those rights. The convention also provides for access, or visitation, to children when for some reason the child is not returned.

There are a few special circumstances in which, under the convention, the child is not returned. For example, if the court determines that the return of the child will cause grave physical or psychological harm, a return can be denied. If more than a year has elapsed, a court can find the child is "resettled" in the new environment. A return can also be denied if the child strongly objects and is "of sufficient age and maturity" to have his or her wishes taken into consideration by the court.

In one case, a 12-year-old child was ordered returned, but en route to the airport, he jumped out of the car at a stoplight and ran away. In that case, the left-behind parent wisely considered how insisting on a return would affect his relationship with his child and withdrew his application. He was awarded liberal access and visits his child on a regular basis in the other country.

Because of its outstanding capability to locate missing children in the United States, the National Center for

F O C U S

Missing and Exploited Children, a private non-profit group, has been designated to process incoming Hague applications for children who are abducted to the United States.

The Hague Convention is certainly not a cure-all. During the past 10 years, many problems with its implementation have come to light. A number of party nations have never enacted laws that would make the convention take precedence over local laws and customs. The courts of some countries have a definite gender or national bias; in others, the judiciary may be subject to political or financial pressure. Some countries have failed to enforce civil judgments issued by their own courts. Some countries, including the United States, have taken exception to the provision of the convention that provides for free legal assistance, and left-behind parents find they do not have sufficient financial resources to pursue an application for return. The central authorities of some nations do not have adequate resources to locate taking parents and children.

Taking it to the Top

The U.S. government, including its most senior officials, takes this issue very seriously. In May 2000 Secretary of State Madeleine Albright met with German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer to discuss the resolution of U.S.-German cases. Soon thereafter, in a meeting with German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, President Clinton raised concerns about German compliance with the convention. Both leaders agreed to establish a binational working group to address Hague implementation issues and specific cases. To date, there have been three meetings of the working group.

In addition, high-level State Department officials have met with Australian and Japanese officials to discuss the abduction problem. Each year, top embassy officials are asked to raise with the governments of prospective member nations the advantages of implementing the convention.

CI also works closely with various law enforcement agencies, to make sure we're using government resources efficiently. In many cases, CI requests the assistance of International Social Services, a network of

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AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • November 2000

A CHAT WITH THE DIRECTOR GENERAL ■ BY SHAWN DORMAN

Meet Marc Grossman

One would think you could dig up serious dirt on anyone inside the Washington world of high-level officials and high-power egos. But the truth about Director General Marc Grossman is, people love this guy.

An FSO since 1976, Grossman has had a stellar career thus far, and stands out as a likely candidate to be one of the service's few career ambassadors. He took the helm as the State Department's new director general and director of personnel (which he renamed human resources) on June 19, replacing Skip Gnehm. Because we are at the end of an administration, there is no telling how long Grossman will serve as DG. He moved to the DG's office from his post as assistant secretary for European affairs, which he held from 1997 to 2000. From 1994 to 1997, he was U.S. ambassador to Turkey, and from 1993 to 1994, special assistant to the secretary of State and executive secretary of the Department of State. He is married to FSO Mildred Patterson, the deputy director of CA/EX.

In conversations with mid-level and senior-level FSOs who have worked with Grossman, the overwhelming message one hears is that he cares about employees of all ranks, and stands out as a good manager. People say he always says hello and wants to know who you are, whether you are an office director or an intern. One mid-level officer recalled, "I was the most junior person in a meeting... Grossman listened



Marc Grossman

to everyone, then turned to me and said, "What do you think?" And he listened. "Kind of nice that he wants the lowly deskoffs to weigh in." He is known for looking out for his people, and inspiring them. Another mid-level officer commented, "He gets results from his officers by letting them know he expects their best. If you hear him say he's disappointed, it's worse than anybody else yelling at you could ever be."

While he impresses people as a down-to-earth and humble fellow, he is also a measured and agile politician. He moves with ease at all levels of government, according to several senior-level FSOs. One of them explained that Grossman "understands that you cannot always act on personal beliefs." Rather than openly fighting battles, this FSO added, "he prefers to first try to find diplomatic ways to shmooze people into doing the right thing." Former Secretary of State Warren Christopher once said, "Marc has a way of presenting ideas and making you believe they are yours." He also knows how to "present terrible messages in a way you can swallow them," said one ambassador.

The DG is AFSA's key point of contact within State management. As AFSA President Marshall Adair explains it, "Marc Grossman's current position may present him with some of his greatest career challenges. The position has dual, sometimes conflicting, responsibilities. He must ensure that the Foreign Service serves the

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HEALTH BENEFITS OPEN SEASON

Time to Review Your Health Plan

Open season for the Federal Employee Health Benefit Program is from Nov. 13 through Dec. 11, and is your chance to review and change your health plan. There will be a FEHB fair in the diplomatic exhibit hall at Main State on November 7 and 8. All current health plan providers will have representatives ready to answer your questions. In addition, you can research current plans on the Office of Personnel Management's Web site at www.opm.gov/insure/health.

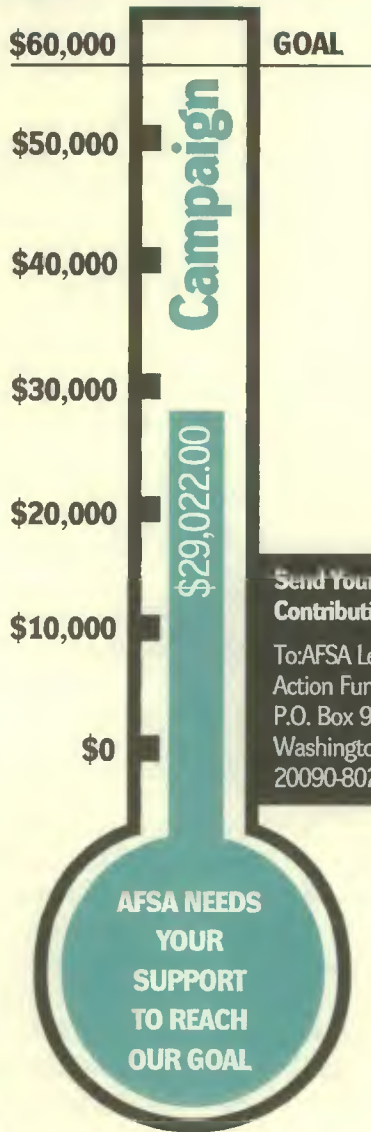
The Department of State medical program provides secondary coverage for any eligible patient who is hospitalized abroad, or is hospitalized in the United States for a condition incurred or aggravated by service abroad. The department will pay the co-payments and deductibles that remain after the primary insurance company has paid its share. Employees

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AFSA NEWS BRIEF



Legislative Action Fund



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President Clinton Signs Long-Term Care Bill

At a White House signing ceremony Sept. 19, President Clinton signed the Long-Term Care bill into law. AFSA President Marshall Adair was in attendance. Active and retired civilian and uniformed federal employees will have access to long-term care insurance at a reduced rate. OPM has until mid-2002 to put a program in place. AFSA was responsible for making sure Foreign Service employees were included in the law.



AFSA President Marshall Adair (right) with Rep. Joe Scarborough, R-Fla., chairman of the House Subcommittee on Civil Service, at the White House signing ceremony September 19.

STAFF CHANGES AT AFSA

Caroline Benner has joined the *Foreign Service Journal* as managing editor. She comes to us from *Foreign Policy* magazine. Shawn Dorman is the new *AFSA News* editor. She is a former Foreign Service political officer who served in Kyrgyzstan, Indonesia, and the Operations Center. Edie Wilcox recently returned with her FSO husband from a posting in Brazil, and joins AFSA to work on the Elderhostel programs. She has been a CLO and a student adviser at a number of U.S. posts overseas.

AFSA Scholarships

AFSA Scholarship Applications for 2001-2002 are now available. The submission deadline is Feb 5, 2001. The merit awards are open to Foreign Service high school seniors and the need-based financial aid awards are for Foreign Service undergraduates. Visit www.afsa.org for an application or contact Lon Dec at (202) 944-5504.

If you would like to make a donation to the AFSA Scholarship Fund, one relatively painless way to do so is to designate #2422 on your Combined Federal Campaign (CFC) pledge. These funds help Foreign Service students meet their college expenses.

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must carry primary health insurance in order for the department medical program to serve as the secondary payer.

Foreign Service medical providers at posts overseas can now issue class one clearances to employees and eligible family members whose last clearance was a class one.

On a related note, there have been changes to the medical clearances program which can expedite the clearance process. You now have two options for updating your clearance. The first option is to complete the traditional medical history form (DS-1843) and to have a physical exam. The other, newer option, is to expedite the process by completing the medical clearance update form (no assigned form number). In addition, Foreign Service medical providers at posts overseas can now issue class one clearances to employees and eligible family members whose last clearance was a class one. □

Points of contact for three of the providers most often chosen by Foreign Service personnel:

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AFSA Rising

AFSA is acting more like a union without acting less like a professional association. Over the past year, many people have told me that they perceive a new attitude at AFSA. A few have cited it as they canceled their membership, but a far greater number have noted it in submitting applications to join or re-join after years of non-membership. In fact, State AFSA membership is at record levels — far above what it was in the mid-1990s when the Foreign Service was larger.



The new attitude has something to do with AFSA acting more like a union without acting less like a professional association. I know that mention of the word “union” bothers some people, but it is indeed AFSA’s job to serve as the exclusive representative of the Foreign Service in negotiations with management over conditions of employment. It is true that, unlike many other unions, we have a 76-year-long history of non-involvement in partisan politics. But, being a “white collar” union does not mean that we cannot also be a strong, pro-employee advocate.

If you read AFSA cables or AFSANet messages, you will know that we are indeed focussing on our role as a pro-employee advocate. We took a strong stand in opposing the department’s assignment of a non-Foreign Service employee as a deputy chief of mission.

We conducted an intense lobbying effort that convinced State to boost promotion rates to FO-03 and FO-02 this year to compensate for the mid/late-1990’s FSO promotion slowdown. We successfully pressed State to hire Office Management Specialists at FP-07 instead of FP-08. We worked to make State’s new security management rules better targeted at the actual problem. (For a fuller list, see AFSA’s website at www.afsa.org/statevp.html.)

While we have accomplished a lot in the last year, much more remains to be done. Recognizing that and seeing how slow the department can be to respond on any given issue, our strategy has been to press forward simultaneously on 100 fronts. That is not a cliché. I have signed over 150 letters to management so far this year. Those proposals, complaints, and/or comments cover a wide range of issues. Many address “bread-and-butter” concerns such as raising allowances and making official travel less of a hassle.

I pledge to continue this effort during the nine months remaining in my term of office. I also hope to do a better job of involving members in developing and advancing new proposals. Many of our best proposals come from members in the field. You are our eyes and ears. You are best positioned to tell us the real world impact of a given regulation or policy. I urge you to let me know if you see systemic problems or have suggestions.

Just as importantly, please make your voice heard whenever AFSA polls members on important issues. It greatly strengthens our negotiating hand with management when we can report that hundreds of members provided input on a given issue. Furthermore, some of the best arguments in support of new proposals come from members in the field.

Let’s work together to make the coming months as productive as possible. As always, you can contact me at NalandJ@state.gov or by fax at 202-647-0265. □

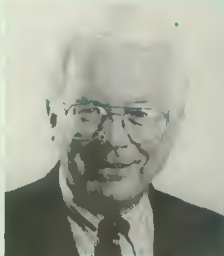
You are best positioned to tell us the real world impact of a given regulation or policy.

I urge you to let me know if you see systemic problems or have suggestions.

or have suggestions.

FCS's Labor-Management Logjam

I have exhausted my efforts to find the proper words to describe the relationship between AFSA and FCS management. Impasse seems too strong. Uncaring is perhaps imprecise. It has been six months since we reached agreement on the major issues of commissioning and tenure policy and precepts as well as the personnel management system. Management has yet to establish a mechanism for formal agreement or implementation. Perhaps as many as 19 of our newer officers will not be eligible for commissioning until the new agreement is implemented. The treatment of these officers could represent an unfair labor practice, because they have not been given the opportunity to be eligible for tenure under the existing regulations. All FCS officers have received the first notification of the need to develop their FY 01 work plan as part of the personnel management system. Unfortunately, the guidelines being sent out are inconsistent with the procedure agreed to six months ago but still not formally approved or implemented.



The way FCS handles grievances is subject to question and honest criticism. Most of the grievances filed by our officers deal with personnel issues, assignments and evaluations. I believe that every grievance submitted to OFSP during the past year has been denied.

I had thought that addressing less significant issues that would be easier to implement might serve to break the logjam. I presented three proposals as part of our mid-term bargaining opportunity on Aug. 1. They dealt with increasing admin leave for pack-out, modifying slightly the per diem calculations for long term TDY, and making FCS's home leave policy consistent with other foreign affairs agencies. Seven weeks later I have yet to get a formal response. It has become painfully obvious that management does not

want to talk about big or small issues and seems to be making every effort to avoid reaching an agreement with AFSA.

In addition to raising the level of frustration, this makes it difficult to raise any new and perhaps more serious issues. The way FCS handles grievances is subject to question and honest criticism. Most of the grievances filed by our officers deal with personnel issues, assignments and evaluations. It should not surprise us that the director of the Office of Foreign Service Personnel, to whom all grievances are submitted, would find all grievances against OFSP or the office of Career Development and Assignments invalid. I believe that every grievance submitted to OFSP during the past year has been denied. Approximately half of them were upheld by the Foreign Service appeals board, but only after lengthy delays and added expense for both sides. If one has a dispute with a mechanic, it is doubtful that one would ask the mechanic's supervisor to determine the merits of the case. Senior FCS management may not realize that they in fact are paying for this somewhat ill conceived process since in many cases, recovery of legal fees is included in the requested relief. FCS ends up paying for Commerce lawyers as well as those defending the officers. A far more cost-effective procedure would be to have an independent adviser, outside of OFSP, judge each grievance and perhaps settle the more obvious ones before legal fees mount. I would appreciate any suggestions or comments on how we might proceed on this issue. □

Grossman • Continued from page 1

political leadership, but also must protect the professional integrity of the Foreign Service to ensure that it is available to effectively serve future political leaders. How he meshes those two responsibilities will be very important to the service."

Prior to sitting down with the *AFSA News* editor September 5, Grossman was in his office being teased about a troubling *New York Times* article published that day. The headline read, "As Diplomacy Loses Luster, Young Stars Flee State Dept.," and Grossman was quoted. He was maintaining a sense of humor about it, grateful to hear that it was front-page news only in the Washington edition, while the New York edition carried it on page 10.

Here are some of his comments.

Q: Do you plan to work closely with AFSA?

Grossman: Marshall Adair and I share a commitment to the Foreign Service and the department. That is a pretty profound and fundamental agreement. I would expect that we will always start from that first principle, and then try to solve whatever challenges come to us. It's the job of AFSA to keep reminding us of the responsibilities we have toward our employees. I think that's good. I hope there will be things we can do with AFSA as joint projects.

Q: From your perspective, what should AFSA focus on?

Grossman: We all must look for ways to bring home to our fellow citizens what it is that we do. This idea that FSOs are living the life of Riley, drinking tea abroad, when we have hundreds of embassies around the world where people are working as hard as they possibly can on behalf of the U.S. — it's frustrating. But that's not the fault of the public, it's our fault. As the Secretary says, we are the first line of America's defenses, we're America's foreign policy, and we shouldn't be shy about that. We're a funny business; ceremony makes us slightly uncomfortable. I think ceremony is very important. The promotion list comes out on Friday afternoon, and people send emails of congratulations to each other, but the institution ought to find some way to honor those promotions.

I don't mean to sound old-fashioned but people want to be recognized for what they did and to be reminded that they are working for their country.

Q: *Retirees are upset about the new policy denying them unescorted access to the State Department building. What are your thoughts on this?*

Grossman: Both Dave Carpenter and I would have preferred that this come out differently. His challenge is to do everything he can to keep this building secure, which means that he has had to make a lot of very hard choices. This was one of them. We certainly understand why people are upset about this. Ultimately, we have to find a way to open up part of the building to those people who need access.

Q: *The McKinsey report sparked more talk about the "war for talent." What are you doing about recruitment and retention?*

Grossman: We need to do an even better job recruiting. We need to make sure we get as diverse a population of FSOs as possible. I want to continue to support the Foreign Affairs Fellows program. In terms of retention, we need to focus on family-friendly and work-life issues. People have so many more opportunities now than they did in the past and they have so many more conflicting needs than they did in the past. We have to deal with that. There are also promotion issues: how quickly people get promoted, how transparent it is. I want to make sure people who serve in hardship posts get a fair shake.

Q: *Would you recommend a Foreign Service career to someone starting out today?*

Grossman: I would. Look, if you're interested in money, this isn't the place for you.

If you're interested in public service and in being involved in our foreign policy, this is the perfect place for you. Are there challenges we have to meet? Absolutely. Is it hard sometimes? Of course it is. I don't think we should pretend there are no problems here. I can't pay you what a dot-com can pay you, but here you work in an office with an American flag, and I think that's worth a lot. □

AEFs and Mid-Cycle Reviews

It is time for mid-cycle reviews for all Foreign Service officers. All FSOs should have agreed-upon work objectives and performance measures. To assist employees, AFSA is providing hints to address problems raised by the 2000 selection board members. Our current focus is to help improve sections one, two and three of the Annual Evaluation Form while there is still plenty of time to make revisions. Any mistakes on the AEF can reduce the board's perception of an employee's competitiveness among his or her peers. Many of the problems have been raised by previous boards and point to continual sloppiness on the part of some raters and appraisal committees. We need to do better.



Section One: Employee Information and Signature Page. Problems in this section are easy to correct. Not all blocks on the form are being filled out. For example, signatures of rating officials, employees and appraisal committee representatives, certifying that work objectives were established on a timely basis and that a mid-cycle review was held, were missing from many AEFs.

Some raters believe that "more is better." Wrong.

Complicated work objectives with multiple performance measures are hard for the boards to follow and difficult for the raters to adequately discuss.

Section Two: Role in the Organization. This section provides an important context for reviewing performance. It is sometimes difficult for boards to grasp an individual's role in an organization and his or her role relative to that of others in the unit. Some AEFs included only a few lines in this section, while others included ramblings about how important the mission was but gave little indication of the employee's role. Some raters inappropriately used this section to describe performance. Raters and appraisal

committee members must make sure that this section of the AEF adequately describes where and how the employee fits into the organizational unit, team, mission or bureau. The size of the unit budget, number of employees and contractors supervised, number of strategic objectives, activities, projects managed by the unit and the rated employee, are useful to include in this section. A sample Section Two suggested by one board as a model is now posted on the USAID portion of the AFSA Web page.

Section Three: Work Objectives and Performance Measures. This section continues to be a serious problem. Some raters believe that "more is better." Wrong. Complicated work objectives with multiple performance measures are hard for the boards to follow and difficult for the raters to adequately discuss. Keep it short and simple. Four objectives with one or two performance measures are most effective. Some work objectives were virtually the same for the past few years. Some of the narratives were a rehash of previous years. Other work objectives were statements of ongoing responsibilities rather than statements of results or products expected. A work objective is a results-oriented outcome developed for a distinguishable task or unit of work. Work objectives should be commensurate with the complexity of the position and meet the skills matrix requirements of the grade level of the employee. In addition, they must be in the employee's span of control.

More hints on writing AEFs and additional recommendations from the 2000 boards and AFSA will appear in a later column. Please direct questions and comments to me at 202-712-0843. □

Q&A

Retiree Issues

BY WARD THOMPSON,
RETIREE LIAISON

Q. Why change health plans during the open season?

A. If your plan is withdrawing from the Federal Employees Health Benefits program in 2001, you will have to select a new plan and send a completed Health Benefits Registration Form (SF-2809) to the Office of Retirement (HR/RET) by Dec. 11. Otherwise, most retirees do not change plans during the open season. This is a good time, however, to review coverage and consider whether you are in the best plan for your needs. Look at the premium cost ratio to benefits received, including service and the intangible benefit of staying with a plan you like. Retirement may be the time to con-

sider an HMO. Retirees with Medicare coverage may want to examine whether a lower-cost FEHB plan will meet their needs since Medicare is the primary payer.

Q. What if I make a change and later regret it?

A. An important FEHB benefit is the annual open season, which allows participants to try a plan for a year and then switch to another. Remember, FEHB plans have no restrictions on pre-

Remember, FEHB plans
have no restrictions on
pre-existing conditions.

existing conditions. If you are not satisfied with any aspect of coverage, you will have another chance to switch 12 months from now.

Q. Where can I find information on the plans?

A. HR/RET will include basic information on FEHB plans in the November mailing of the annual letter to

retirees, with instructions for obtaining plan brochures. Although Foreign Service annuitants should not contact OPM (Office of Personnel Management) regarding FEHB, you can visit the OPM Web site at www.opm.gov/insure/health and click on health plan selection and then open season online for useful information for annuitants. If you decide to change plans, send Form SF-2809 to HR/RET by Dec. 11.

Q. Do former spouses participate in FEHB?

A. A former spouse's health benefits coverage as a family member terminates on the day of divorce, subject to a temporary 31-day extension and the right to convert to a non-group contract with the same carrier. Former spouses may apply, within 60 days of divorce, for their own FEHB enrollment, for which they would pay both their own and the government shares of the premium, if they (1) were covered as a family member in an FEHB plan at any time during the 18 months prior to the divorce and (2) are entitled to a Foreign Service pension or survivor benefit and (3) have not re-married prior to age 55. □

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F O C U S

social services agencies in approximately 180 countries. The U.S. branch is a private, nonprofit organization that coordinates services in social work cases that cross international boundaries. In one case where a 14-year-old child alleged he had been abused by the left-behind parent, the foreign court issued a conditional order for return. The court required evidence that arrangements had been made for the child to stay with a grandparent while a local social service agency investigated the allegations of abuse by the left-behind parent. The final report from the child protection agency stated that the actual "abuse" turned out to be nothing more than a denial of TV privileges until the child's grades reached an acceptable level.

The convention is not available to parents whose children are abducted to non-Hague nations. In those cases, left-behind parents need to pursue custody through the courts of the particular country. CI can provide information on retaining foreign attorneys and also furnish lists of attorneys who practice in the country involved. CI also has public resource flyers for a number of countries containing

general reports on child custody issues and precedents.

However, we try to make clear to left-behind parents in all cases that U.S. government employees abroad cannot reabduct a child or assist a parent in violating host country laws. No refuge can be provided to anyone involved in a reabduction attempt; nor can a government employee take physical custody of a child. The U.S. government cannot pay legal expenses or court fees and cannot act as an attorney or represent a left-behind parent in court, but judicial or administrative proceedings overseas can be monitored. The government can alert foreign authorities to any evidence of child abuse or neglect.

All of our embassies and consulates now have a designated CI post officer. More attention is being focused on training consular officers to deal with child custody and child abduction issues. The Advanced Consular Courses held during the summer of 2000 featured a panel of actual left-behind parents. One parent described how her child was recovered; another talked about the efforts she made to stay in contact with her child until he reached adulthood and re-

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established a relationship; and the third told about the anguish he faced as the parent of a still-missing child. The question-and-answer period following the presentation was an eye-opener to parents and consular officers. These efforts to breach the communication gap will continue.

In the field, consular officers are often asked to arrange welfare visits with abducted children and furnish a report for the left-behind parent. One left-behind parent recently told CI that those reports were his lifeline, since he had been denied any contact with his child for almost two years. This is particularly true in non-Hague countries where realistically there may be little hope of a left-behind parent's ever regaining custody or even having access to the abducted child. During a welfare visit in one Middle East case, a consular officer succeeded in obtaining photographs of the children for a left-behind mother — the first time in seven years she had seen what her children looked like!

Preventing Abduction

The prevention of abduction is of utmost importance, and CI has a wealth of materials available to potential left-behind parents, their attorneys, government officials, and educators. Speakers from CI are available to participate in conferences, seminars and continuing education workshops.

In the spring of 2000, CI assumed responsibility for the Children's Passport Issuance Alert Program, a database of over 28,000 names. While an already-issued passport for a child cannot be revoked, a parent can be told if a passport has been issued to a child or if an application is pending. A parent can also be notified if an application is made by the other parent, and passport issuance delayed long enough for a concerned parent to bring the application to the attention of the appropriate court. If there is either a sole custody order, or an order on file prohibiting the removal of a child, passport issuance may be denied. This lookout is available to any parent regardless of nationality.

Unfortunately, many parents do not understand the concept of dual nationality and that a child may have more than one passport. Similarly, many parents expect that CI has some magical means by which we can prevent a child who is the subject of a custody dispute from leav-

One left-behind parent said that CI's reports on visits with his child were his lifeline.

ing the United States. The U.S., however, has no exit controls.

The Reid Amendment, a 1999 law requiring the signature of both parents on a passport application for a child under the age of 14, will go into effect within the next six months. It remains to be seen if this remedy will have a significant effect in preventing the

removal of American citizen children from the United States.

Many of CI's abduction materials are on its Web site, http://www.travel.state.gov/children's_issues.html. These days, CI officers observe that many interested parties have already researched the Internet for information about child abduction and custody before they contact our office. CI officers receive an average of 15 to 20 calls each workday and no two situations are ever alike. Each of the 11 country case officers works with approximately 60 to 100 open active cases at any one time, both Hague and non-Hague. Some cases can be resolved in a month or less; others may continue for years or even until the child reaches the age of 18.

Recently, a 17-year-old walked into a U.S. consulate in a Middle Eastern country and applied for a U.S. passport. His American mother had sent him abroad to visit his foreign national father 11 years previously and the father never allowed him to return. The young man asked the consular officer for assistance in locating his American citizen mother. Although there had been no contact with CI by the mother since 1996, the country case officer was able to track her down through clues in the old case file. When the CI officer called her, she burst into tears of joy. It was even more thrilling when she described to the CI officer her eventual reunion with her son.

CI work is definitely crisis-oriented and requires officers to be knowledgeable, resourceful, empathetic and patient in extremely stressful and emotional situations. Being impervious to expressions of anger and frustration aimed at the U.S. government is also an asset.

CI employees agree that their work, while demanding, is endlessly fascinating. As one officer commented, the work is "more interesting than all the talk shows and soap operas combined." For the officers of Children's Issues, the work has a meaningful reward — the satisfaction of helping to make a positive difference in someone's life. ■

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PRESIDENT CLINTON WISELY PUT OFF THE DECISION ON WHETHER TO BUILD A BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE. BUT THE QUESTION WILL HAUNT OUR NEXT PRESIDENT.

BY JOSEPH CIRINCIONE

Over the past 15 years, international treaties have destroyed over 3,000 long-range ballistic missiles that posed immediate threats to the United States. Over that same period, active missile defense systems have intercepted none. Yet for the past year, Washington has been consumed with a fierce debate over the administration's proposal to build a complex national missile defense system and Republican counters for larger, more expensive weapons.

On Sept. 1, President Clinton announced, "I simply cannot conclude with the information I have today that we have enough confidence in the technology, and the operational effectiveness of the entire NMD [national missile defense] system, to move forward to deployment." He also cited the diplomatic obstacles, including the sharp opposition to deployment from both Russia and China and the deep consternation among our key European allies. These nations share strong concerns over what American pursuit of a technological defense means for the existing treaty regimes and what it portends for U.S. global ambitions.

In the end, these technical and diplomatic hurdles proved too high to vault. But, as former Secretary of State George Shultz wryly observed, in Washington nothing really ends. The missile defense debate will be back next year. The discussion will be less intense without presidential politics to fuel the passions, but it must still wrestle with the unresolved issues of threat, technology and impact on international security.

Joseph Cirincione is the editor of Repairing the Regime: Preventing the Spread of Weapons of Mass Destruction (Routledge, 2000) and the director of the Non-Proliferation Project at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. A more detailed treatment of the ballistic missile threat is available at the project Web site: www.ceip.org/npp.

A Growing Missile Threat?

President Clinton declared in his September speech that the missile threat "is real and growing and has given new urgency to the debate." But is it really growing? This perception is based almost exclusively on the program and exports of North Korea. At first glance, this appears an unlikely threat; U.S. officials have had a difficult time convincing allied nations of its seriousness. North Korea, after all, is a small nation whose population of 21 million is the same as that of Taiwan, but which struggles to produce a \$14 billion gross national product that is less than 4 percent of Taiwan's. The entire North Korean defense budget is an estimated \$2 billion per year.

North Korea, however, maintains one million men under arms, is the only nation in the world in an active military confrontation with the United States, and has steadily pursued a program to turn short-range Scud technology into longer-range rockets. In the 1990s, North Korea tested and then deployed a 1,000-kilometer-range missile, the Nodong, based on a scaled-up Scud engine. On Aug. 31, 1998, North Korea tested a Taepo-Dong 1 missile in a failed attempt to orbit a small satellite. The Taepo-Dong 1 is believed to be a Nodong with a Scud-like second stage and a small third stage kick-motor. It flew only 1320 km, but its international impact was enormous.

It seemed the dramatic denouement of a tumultuous year. In 1998, the world had witnessed nuclear tests in South Asia, the Iranian test of a medium-range Shahab-3 missile, congressional investigations of alleged Chinese nuclear espionage, the report of the commission chaired by Donald Rumsfeld that warned a new nation might acquire intercontinental ballistic missiles "with little or no warning," and the frenzied drive to impeach President Clinton.

Intelligence officials scrambled to cover their assessments. After years of steady criticism of previous estimates from conservative congressional Republicans, the 1999

National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) on the ballistic missile threat issued a prediction more to their liking. It concluded that over the next 15 years the U.S. "most likely will face ICBM threats from Russia, China and North Korea, probably from Iran, and possibly from Iraq, although the threats will consist of dramatically fewer weapons than today because of significant reductions we expect in Russian strategic forces."

The judgment that North Korea might be able to develop a long-range missile within five years made headlines and was interpreted by Defense Department officials as a firm deadline, driving their timetable for a deployment decision on a national defense system. A closer reading of the NIE reveals that it actually highlights the very narrow nature of the missile proliferation threat.

Moreover, Robert Walpole, the CIA analyst primarily responsible for producing the NIE, testified that non-missile delivery means and non-identifiable adversaries are the most likely threat:

"In fact, we project that in the coming years, U.S. territory is probably more likely to be attacked with weapons of mass destruction from non-missile delivery means (most likely from non-state entities) than by missiles, primarily because non-missile delivery means are less costly and more reliable and accurate. They can also be used without attribution."

Assessing the Assessments

However, the current NIE, like the report of the Rumsfeld Commission, contributed to an exaggerated sense of the missile threat by focusing only on programs in these few developing nations, then magnifying the apparent dangers by adopting a series of worst-case assumptions. It deviated from all previous estimates by emphasizing

what "could" happen over the next five to 10 years. Conflict within the intelligence community over this shift is evidenced by the inclusion in the NIE of an unusual dissenting opinion from one of the intelligence agencies involved in producing the report: "Some analysts believe that the prominence given to missiles countries 'could' develop gives more credence than is warranted to developments that may prove implausible."

A net assessment of developments in all ballistic missile arsenals over the past 15 years reveals that, overall, the ballistic missile threat is confined, limited and changing relatively slowly. Missile proliferation is a serious problem, but it's primarily a regional problem involving short-range missiles. The long-range missile threat to America is actually decreasing, with the number of missiles and the countries trying to build them going down, not up.

Decreasing ICBM Arsenals

During the 1980s, the Soviet Union deployed over 9,540 nuclear warheads on 2,318 long-range missiles aimed at the United States. Currently, Russia has fewer than 5,200 missile warheads deployed on approximately 1,100 missiles. This is a 52 percent decrease in the number of missiles capable of striking the territory of the United States and a 45 percent decrease in the number of nuclear warheads on these missiles.*

If this treaty process is allowed to continue — some in Congress are opposed — over the next 10 years, Russia's force will shrink dramatically. Moreover, in the wake of the Kursk submarine disaster, President Vladimir Putin announced in September that Russia would reduce its military forces overall by almost 25 percent and slash its nuclear forces. Unless relations with the United States deteriorate sharply, Russia says it will reduce down to 1,500 deployed

strategic warheads, or half the number they are allowed under the START II Treaty. About 500 of these warheads would be on ballistic missiles — a remarkable 94 percent decrease from peak Cold War levels.

China, meanwhile, has about 20 DF-5 intercontinental ballistic missiles. If the treaty regimes remain intact, intelligence officials expect China to modernize this fleet over the next 10 years, but not substantially increase the numbers deployed. No other potential adversary has a missile that can strike America.

In addition, the number of deployed intermediate-range ballistic missiles (with ranges of 3,000 to 5,500 km) has also decreased dramatically over the same period. President Ronald Reagan negotiated and implemented the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty, eliminating this entire class of missiles from U.S. and Soviet arsenals. China has some 20 DF-4 missiles in this range, with the first deployed in 1981. No other nation has developed intermediate-range ballistic missiles, though the deployment of a North Korean two-stage Taepo Dong-2 would add a few missiles to this category.

Fewer, Smaller Programs

The number of countries trying or threatening to develop long-range ballistic missiles is smaller than in the past. The nations now attempting to perfect long-range missiles are also smaller, poorer and less technologically advanced than were the nations with missile programs 15 years ago.

We now worry primarily about five nations, in addition to Russia and China: North Korea, Iran, Iraq,

*Missiles are generally categorized by (among other things) how far they can fly: Intercontinental ballistic missiles have a range of over 5,500 km; intermediate-range missiles — 3,000 to 5,500; medium-range — 1,000 to 3,000; short-range — under 1,000 km.

India and Pakistan. Fifteen years ago, North Korea was not a concern, but India, Brazil, Argentina, Egypt, South Africa and Libya were all involved in programs to develop long-range missiles. All but India have since terminated such efforts. Israel retains the capability to develop long-range missiles, but is not considered a threat to the United States or a likely exporter of missile technology.

Fears of America's vulnerability grow when policy-makers speak of threats from missiles to the United States or U.S. interests, such as forward-deployed troops or allied nations. This merges threats from very short-range missiles, of which there are many, with long-range missiles, of which there are few.

The most accurate way to summarize existing global ballistic missile capabilities is that, apart from the five recognized nuclear-weapon states, there are 33 nations with bal-

listic missiles, but the vast majority, or 27 nations, have only short-range missiles under 1,000 km in range. In fact, 22 of the 33 nations only have Scuds or similar short-range missiles of 300-km range or less (Iraq officially has only short-range Scuds but may have assemblies for extended-range Scuds hidden in the country).

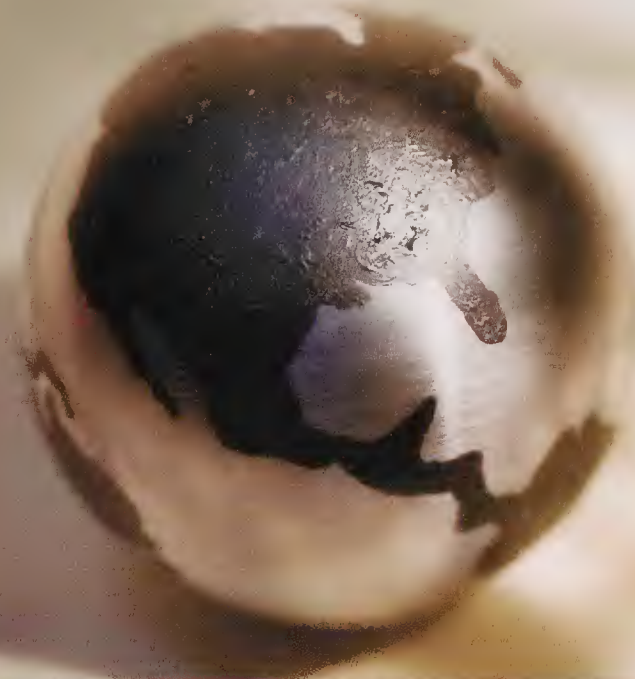
Moreover, diplomatic trends are moving favorably towards peaceful resolution of proliferation concerns. North Korea has followed up a historic summit with South Korea with continuing high-level exchanges, has reaffirmed a ban on missile tests, and is opening trade with the West. The first cases of Coca-Cola have already arrived. In Iran, reformers are gaining political strength, and Congress is considering ending our embargo on food and medical sales. Iraq is still under tight UN sanctions to prevent development of new missile systems; the greater threat is considered to be

chemical or biological weapons delivered by conventional means — not by missiles.

Unfulfilled Technical Dreams

It would still make sense to eliminate a threat with catastrophic consequences, no matter how improbable, if we could do it. But there is not now and never has been an effective national missile defense system. After a wrenching national debate, the United States briefly deployed in the early 1970s a system of nuclear-tipped interceptors to defend the ICBM base in Grand Forks, N.D. After spending \$22 billion (in today's dollars) then-Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld ordered the system shut down in January 1976 as militarily ineffective. The Russians retained their equivalent system deployed around Moscow, but Russian defense officials report that they have now removed the nuclear warheads from the interceptors — completely elimi-

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nating whatever capability for city defense the system may have had.

None of the dozens of national missile defense systems proposed over the past 20 years has ever proven to be technically feasible. It is highly unlikely that any candidate system can be shown to be militarily effective during the next eight years. That is, during the next two presidential terms neither the technology nor our testing methods will provide an assured capability to defeat long-range ballistic missiles. It is possible that the next president may decide to proceed with deployment of a national missile defense system, but that decision will be based on political considerations or the perception that the threat justifies early deployment, not on demonstrated ability to defeat the likely threats.

The original Strategic Defense Initiative during the Reagan and Bush administrations went through space-based X-ray lasers, chemical lasers and particle-beam weapons, ground-based free-electron lasers, ground-based interceptors, space-based kinetic-kill vehicles, and finally a smaller kill vehicle dubbed "Brilliant Pebbles," among others.

All were generously funded. None worked. The space- and sea-based systems proposed in the waning days of the Bush administration were hardly the ready-to-go weapons that advocates now fondly remember. Outside of those with a direct financial or career interest in the programs, few experts or military officers thought any of these programs could deliver real, near-term military benefit.

A Shaky Track Record

What might work are short-range or "theater" systems like an improved Patriot system. These are designed to intercept Scuds and other missiles that fly under 1000 km, that is, the threat systems that troops actually face in the world today. The improved Patriot system could be deployed as early as

George Bush, if elected president, will be forced to confront a hard reality: There is nothing to deploy.

2001, while a naval version, known as the Navy Area-Wide System, could be deployed aboard Aegis cruisers and destroyers as early as 2003. There are no existing systems that can intercept long-range, intercontinental ballistic missiles, despite the expenditure of over \$60 billion since 1983.

In recent years, missile defense has had a shaky track record. On Oct. 2, 1999, the first intercept test of the Clinton administration's proposed national missile defense system scored a direct hit. The Defense Department made clear in its press release that it believed its "hit to kill technology" was a winner that could destroy incoming missiles. Coming on the heels of two successful hits last year (after five misses) for the Army's medium-range defense system, the THAAD, this test boosted confidence that we had leaped over the technical hurdles.

(In the last year, that picture has changed. In January 2000, the missile defense system failed its second test because of a faulty cooling system. On July 7, 2000, the third intercept test of the system suffered a humiliating failure when the interceptor failed to execute a routine booster separation. In total, the U.S. has now conducted 15 intercept attempts outside the atmosphere since 1982. Of these, only 4, or 26 per cent, actually hit their targets.)

But last fall, the successful Oct. 2 test seemed to promise a solution to a political problem for the president.

Republicans were pushing to make missile defense an issue in the 2000 campaign, just as they had in 1996. Though the gambit failed to ignite voter interest four years ago, administration political advisers didn't want to take any chances. They would neutralize the issue, they believed, with a classic Clintonian "triangulation" approach of finding a solution midway between the revived "Star Wars" system of space-based weapons favored by the conservatives and the arms control approach of the liberals.

A Deal Undone

Officials from the departments of state and defense were dispatched to Europe in early 2000 to brief NATO allies and consolidate their support. They hoped to then go on to Moscow to win Russian agreement for amendments to the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, permitting deployment of one interceptor site in Alaska in 2005, and a second possible site in North Dakota within the decade. They could then announce plans to field a limited defense against the limited threat, while preserving the existing treaty regime and good relations with Russia. They would have squared the circle, proving that Democrats do defense better and protecting their right flank during a critical election year.

But it didn't work out that way. What appeared to be a done deal in January became a deal undone by June.

The war in Kosovo had fundamentally altered Russian views of U.S. intentions, and the Senate defeat of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in October 1999 had shaken European confidence in the wisdom and dependability of American leadership. Rather than falling quickly into line, European officials raised serious concerns about the administration's plan. They saw neither the threat nor the technology to defeat it, but they did fear the damage an NMD system

could do to the interlocking network of treaties painstakingly constructed over the past 50 years.

America's European allies were particularly concerned that any missile defense deployment would restart an arms race most had thought had ended with the Cold War. Britain, Germany and France lead the growing European sentiment against any deployments, though with different styles. Britain and France, as nuclear-weapon states, worry that if Russia and China were to be provoked into building their own defenses, it would blunt European nuclear forces, which number in the low hundreds.

If the Senate had not defeated the CTBT, European reaction might not have been as severe. But by rejecting the test ban treaty, the United States was seen to be weakening the nuclear non-proliferation regime. If it then went ahead with national missile defense and abandoned the ABM Treaty, the U.S. might topple the entire interlocking network of nuclear restraints

The Russian Reaction

The European concerns echoed and reinforced growing doubts about the wisdom of deployment among American opinion leaders. Editorial opinion swung decisively against deployment in the spring of 2000 — influenced heavily by the failure of the second NMD test in January. Meanwhile, former senior officials and experts (including Gen. John Shalikashvili, Sam Nunn, William Perry, the American Physical Society, and 50 American Nobel laureates) sent letter after letter to the president urging him to delay a deployment decision.

This growing domestic and international wave of opposition encouraged Russia's own reluctance. Instead of a feeble Boris Yeltsin, U.S. officials had to deal with a dynamic new president Vladimir Putin. The Clinton-Putin

summit last spring, which U.S. officials originally billed as an arms control summit where they would lock up Russian agreement for missile defense, took quite a different turn. Putin, taking a page out of the Clinton playbook, triangulated the issue neatly with the Europeans. He offered to cooperate with the U.S. in either solving the North Korean problem diplomatically or jointly building a regional defense system that could intercept Korean missiles in the launch phase (an easier technological solution). Traveling to Europe after the summit, he spoke of a joint system for dealing with threats from the Middle East, without offering any specifics. Although there has been little follow-up on these vague proposals, by presenting such a reasonable response and alternatives to the NMD deployment, Putin has made it all but impossible for the U.S. to proceed unilaterally.

This is not just a diplomatic chess game. Russians have deep concerns about U.S. intentions, as President Clinton noted in his September speech, "Russia has been reluctant to agree, fearing, I think, frankly, that in some sense this system or some future incarnation of it could threaten the reliability of its deterrent and, therefore, strategic stability."

Russian opposition might be minimal for a site that was truly limited and capable of intercepting only a few warheads, as originally described by U.S. officials. As plans for the site increased, however, so did Russian worries. Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Walter Slocombe told Congress on Oct. 13, 1999 that while the first site would begin operations with only 20 interceptors, plans called for expanding to a full 100 interceptors over the first year, to achieve the capability "of defending all 50 states against a launch of a few tens of warheads accompanied by simple penetration aids." Between 2010 and 2011, the

goal was a capability to intercept "up to a few tens ... of warheads with complex penetration aids launched from either North Korea or the Middle East."

Russia fears that the radar and sensor infrastructure required for this mission would provide the base for a "breakout" from even an amended ABM Treaty, eventually undermining the credibility of Russia's nuclear deterrent.

The Next President's Decision

As we've noted, the first successful test of the administration's missile defense system in 1999 was followed by two failures — in January 2000 and again in July 2000. The test program has been thrown into disarray, with the cause of the third failure still unknown, the development of a new booster a year behind schedule, and further tests postponed until next January, at the earliest. So from a strictly technical viewpoint, it made sense for President Clinton on Sept. 1 to formally defer any action on the program until next year — when a new president will assume office.

The international reaction was a collective sigh of relief. The secretary-general of NATO, George Robertson, praised President Clinton's "prudent course of action." Robin Cook, the British foreign secretary, said he welcomed Clinton's "measured approach" while a spokesman for German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder praised the "wise decision."

After the elections, the political imperatives for rushing into deployment of a system will have disappeared. With the deflation of the domestic presidential politics and the growth of international opposition, the next president will have a fundamentally different calculation to make.

Vice President Al Gore, if elected, will likely slow down deployment schedules, recognizing that the technology does not support a quick deci-

sion. Emphasis may well shift, as it should, to deploying at least a minimal defense against short- and medium-range missiles that U.S. forces are likely to confront in theater operations.

Governor George Bush has promised to deploy a system as soon as possible, but if elected, he will be forced to confront a hard reality: there is nothing to deploy. Ten years after the Gulf War, the country still does not have a reliable defense against even the short-range Scuds encountered in that conflict. (The improved Patriot system is still not tested against realistic threats.) Bush will be told by Pentagon briefers that the earliest they could deploy the kind of ship-based missile defenses he prefers will be 2008, and even then they will have only limited capability. Meanwhile, abrogation of the ABM Treaty — a move favored by some of his more far-right advisers — would trigger an international crisis that could cast a

shadow over his first term. Thus, abrogating the treaty would not result in any demonstrable increase in military capability during his presidency, but would bring a heavy political price.

A skirmish at the July Republican convention may have given some indication of Governor Bush's inclinations. His supporters beat back conservative efforts to insert one clause in the Republican platform saying that Bush would give "prompt notice" that the United States was withdrawing from the ABM Treaty, and another scrapping his position that the U.S. would make unilateral nuclear reductions.

Under these circumstances, it is more likely that Bush will at least wait for the results of the strategic assessment he has promised to conduct, and then seek a middle path. For example, he might do what his father and President Reagan did on missile defenses: Talk tough, spend profusely, but not deploy anything and remain

within the ABM Treaty.

The next president would do well to conduct a thorough independent reassessment of the threat and various available diplomatic and military options, much as the commission headed by Brent Scowcroft reassessed the "window of vulnerability" and deployment options for the MX missile after President Reagan's election. Such independent assessments could go a long way towards forging not just a domestic but an international consensus on how to most effectively confront global missile proliferation. If joined by a new Nuclear Posture Review that avoided the failures of the last review (detailed by Janne Nolan in her brilliant study, *The Elusive Consensus*) it may be possible for the next president to develop, finally, a plan for deep reductions in global nuclear arsenals and increased safeguards against the spread of the most dangerous weapons ever invented. ■

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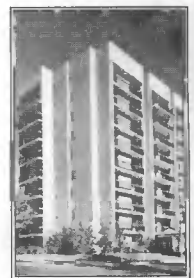
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WHEN DIPLOMACY IS FUN AND GAMES

THE BOARD GAME "DIPLOMACY" MAY NOT RESEMBLE REAL-LIFE FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
BUT FSOs HAVE BEEN PLAYING IT FOR DECADES.

BY CAROLINE BENNER

Diplomats who do not get their fill of negotiating and strategizing at the office can turn to the game "Diplomacy," a geopolitical strategy board game that has attracted a following among many generations of Foreign Service officers. Created in 1954, the board game has remained popular for years, consistently appearing on *Games Magazine's* list of the best games ever. These days Diplomacy has developed a significant cyber-following on the Web, and its publisher, Hasbro, recently launched a computer version.

According to the game's inventor, Allan Calhamer, Diplomacy was inspired by a 1947 article in *Life* magazine which argued that balancing power among many states could ensure peace. The article cited Europe from 1815-1914 as evidence that multipolarity promotes stability. It suggested that following World War II, nations should model their behavior on the pre-World War I era. While the international community did not listen, Calhamer did, and created a game that is based on a multipolar world. However, Diplomacy, originally called "Realpolitik," hardly promotes a harmonious balance of power.

The game requires seven players, who represent the seven great European powers of 1914 — France, England, Germany, Russia, Turkey, Austria-Hungary and Italy. The object of the game is to conquer Europe by gaining control of 18 supply centers; players craft alliances to serve this goal. Clever negotiating is vital, though being blessed with a strong geographical position can help.

Caroline Benner is the managing editor of the Journal.



Hasbro

According to many players, Austria-Hungary is a sure loser. Negotiations occur simultaneously, and players announce their moves at the end of a specified time.

The Well-known "Stab"

So is Diplomacy good practice for the real thing? Foreign Service officer opinion is all over the map. Many FSOs say that the game offers little more than an entertaining diversion from work. Others noted that the game encourages imperialistic behavior. Since the Foreign Service officer vetting process hopefully screens out candidates set on conquering the world, some said the game is not a realistic simulation of diplomatic interaction as practiced by the U.S. government.

While real negotiations require some degree of trust, in the game Diplomacy, the only way to win is to stab another country in the back. This move is so routine that Diplomacy players refer to "the stab" as casually as a chess player would refer to castling. Because you have to betray to win, Michael Kolodner, Diplomacy player and first-tour officer on his way to Yemen, told the *Journal*, "I hope that

Diplomacy hasn't influenced diplomats too much."

The game does emphasize skills — persuasion, negotiation — that are helpful in real diplomatic situations. Indeed, Calhamer calls it "the game that won the Cold War," or at least contributed to the victory. The game was played in some A-100 courses in the late 1960s. In 1968, instructors called off a game of Diplomacy during an A-100 course because it had caused division among the new officers. According to a member of the class, some Foreign Service recruits believed that their performance in the game could affect their cone assignments and so the game became rather unfriendly.

William Armbruster, currently a political affairs officer in Casablanca, used the game at the U.S. embassy in Kuwait during the 1991 Gulf War to demonstrate to fellow officers with less experience with Middle

***Exposure to the game
may give high school
and college students
some insight into —
or at least interest in —
careers in foreign affairs.***

Eastern politics how size and geography can affect a nation's choices. In his opinion, there are "few tools better (than Diplomacy) for issues that approximate zero-sum situations." He noted that though zero-sum negotiations might occur less frequently in modern diplomacy, any negotiations over territory are zero-

sum. Sovereignty issues similarly tend to have only one winner: Debates over who controls Northern Ireland and a small part of Jerusalem are nearly zero-sum games.

The game Diplomacy may be most useful for understanding broad theoretical concepts of international relations, such as Hans Morgenthau's Realism. History and political science classes at universities have used the game for instruction. Kathleen Hamann, a desk officer for Costa Rica, played the game in lieu of taking a final exam for her European diplomatic history course at Carleton College in Minnesota. (For the record, she did also have to write a paper on her experience playing the game.) Richard Betts, director of the International Security Policy program at Columbia's School of International and Public Affairs, has his students play the game during an annual retreat.

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Perhaps though, the game need not be accorded any gravitas to be an important tool to Foreign Service officers. Some officers reminisce about marathon games played over beer and snacks on a Saturday night in a far-off corner of the world. Others use the game as a way of keeping in touch with friends from their A-100 course. On a Monday in September, a group of former A-100 classmates who are stationed in Washington met over lunch mid-game to discuss their moves. "The real value of Diplomacy for Foreign Service officers is to build an esprit de corps," says Hamann.

Not Just for Diplomats

Foreign Service employees are hardly the only fans of the game. Staffers in Nixon's White House played the game, and Kennedy's staff is rumored to have done so. Exposure to the game may give high school and college students some insight into — or at least interest in — careers in foreign affairs. In Kolodner's case, the game got him thinking about how geography can cause international conflict, which helped shape his ideas about the world and a career in diplomacy. Phil Kosnett, an FSO stationed in The Hague, played Diplomacy in his youth, and says that his experience playing simulation games like Diplomacy led to his interest in peaceful conflict resolution and ultimately to a career in the Foreign Service.

Today's young Diplomacy players are entering careers in foreign policy at a time when the conventions that shape interstate relations are more fluid and less defined than in 1914 or during the Cold War. Perhaps the game Diplomacy could be updated for the post-Cold War environment. The only problem? No one is quite sure what the rules for that game would be. ■

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FSOs, IN THEIR OWN WRITE

A ROUNDUP OF RECENT BOOKS BY FOREIGN SERVICE AUTHORS

The *Foreign Service Journal* is pleased to institute what we hope will become a regular feature in these pages: An annotated roundup of the latest volumes written or edited by Foreign Service officers, past and present.

Since this is the first time we have run this feature, we have decided to list books as far back as 1998. (Future iterations of the list will cover a year or less at a time.) While the traditional Foreign Service genres of diplomatic memoirs, travel guides and thoughtful analyses of international affairs are well-represented, our list of 20 titles also includes several novels, a work of science fiction, and even a book on picture postcards.

Our primary purpose in compiling this list is to celebrate the wealth of literary talent within the Foreign Service community, and to give our readers the opportunity to support your colleagues by sampling their wares. Towards that end, each entry contains full publication data (including contact information for those titles available only by direct order from the publisher) along with my capsule description.

While many of these books, all from commercial or academic publishers, are available from bookstores and other sources, we encourage our readers to use the link to Amazon.com from the AFSA web site to order your selections. [See sidebar.]

But enough crass commercialism. On to the books!

Steven Alan Honley, Associate Editor

So, You Want to Join the Peace Corps ... What to Know Before You Go

*Dillon Banerjee, Ten Speed Press, 2000, paperback,
192 pages, \$12.95*

Dillon Banerjee was a Peace Corps volunteer from 1994 to 1996 in Cameroon and is now an FSO currently serving with USAID in Washington. This guide is geared to those contemplating volunteering for the Peace Corps but its insights are widely applicable and of interest to the larger Foreign Service community.

Media Access and the Military: The Case of the Gulf War

*Judith Raine Baroody, University Press of America, 1998,
209 pages, hardcover \$59, paperback \$36.50*

Judith Baroody was a journalist and documentary producer before joining the Foreign Service in 1984; she is now deputy director of the NEA office of public diplomacy. *The Middle East Journal* called her examination of media coverage of wars "thorough, insightful, and balanced," noting that the author's dual background gives her "a keen understanding of both unique cultures."

The United States in Honduras, 1980-1981: An Ambassador's Memoir

*Jack R. Binns, McFarland & Co., 2000, paperback, 407
pages, \$39.95*

Retired FSO Jaek Binns was ambassador to Honduras during the transition between the Carter and Reagan administrations. This memoir, structured in the form of a diary, is based largely on primary documentation, including over 1,000 pages of classified correspondence not previously available to the public. Binns says the principal purpose of his work is "to beam new light on shadowed corners of U.S. policy in Central America" during this pivotal period.

Losing a Continent: France's North American Policy, 1753-1763

*Frank W. Brecher, Greenwood Press, 1998, hardcover, 240
pages, \$65*

Retired FSO Frank Brecher tells the dramatic story of how the French and Indian War ended in the eviction of the French from all of Canada. Although this is a scholarly work, Brecher's exploration of French diplomacy (based largely on primary documents) and his lively style bring this largely forgotten war to life.



DACOR Bacon House

William D. Calderhead, *DACOR Bacon House Foundation*, 1999, paperback, 159 pages, \$17.50 (available by mail from DACOR, Inc, 1801 F St., NW, Washington, D.C., 20006)

Bill Calderhead, a retired FSO, is the curator of Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired's educational and cultural entity, the DACOR Bacon House Foundation. Here he recounts the fascinating history, illustrated with beautiful photographs, of the nearly 175-year-old Bacon House, now DACOR's headquarters.

Cooperation or Conflict in the Taiwan Strait

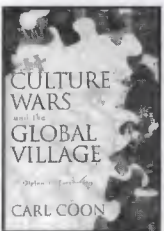
Ralph N. Clough, *Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.*, 1999, 168 pages, hardcover \$54, paperback \$19.95

Ralph Clough's Foreign Service career concentrated on East Asian affairs and included 13 years in mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, as well as service as director of Chinese affairs. He is currently a professorial lecturer at Johns Hopkins University. As his title suggests, the work assesses the various factors favoring and impeding cross-strait dialogue between Taiwan and China, and argues for a U.S. policy of ambiguity towards both parties.

Our Man in Vienna: A Memoir

Richard Timothy Conroy, *St. Martin's Press*, 2000, hardcover, 336 pages, \$24.95

By his own account, Richard Conroy's brief diplomatic career was anything but illustrious, but he certainly has made hilarious use of it in his memoirs. His 1997 book, *Our Man in Belize*, attracted rave reviews: Judith Martin ("Miss Manners") noted that "Richard Conroy is everybody's favorite diplomat, except, of course, the State Department's ... [and] the drollest diplomat since Lawrence Durrell." His latest memoir finds him (still "unmentioned in dispatches," as he ruefully admits) in 1960s Vienna, where he encounters a rogues' gallery of unforgettable characters.



Culture Wars and the Global Village: A Diplomat's Perspective

Carl Coon, *Prometheus Books*, 2000, hardcover, 245 pages, \$27

Carl Coon was an FSO for 35 years and served as ambassador to Nepal from 1981 to 1984. He is also the author of *Creatures of the Earth and the Mind* and *Sic Transit*. Drawing both on his own experiences as an FSO and recent studies on human behavior and cross-cultural differences, his latest book asks why cultural conflicts are so prevalent just when globalization and multi-culturalism are more widespread

than ever. He concludes that enlightened men and women — and governments — can cooperate to overcome them.



National Insecurity: U.S. Intelligence After the Cold War

Craig Eisendrath, editor, *Temple University Press*, 2000, hardcover, 298 pages, \$34.50

Former FSO Craig Eisendrath, now a senior fellow at the Center for International Policy in Washington, not only edited the 10 essays assembled here but wrote the book's introductory and concluding chapters. Writing in the July-August 2000 issue of the *Journal*, reviewer Jack Binns said: "*National Insecurity* is an important work that deserves a wide audience. At a minimum, it should be required reading for all prospective ambassadors and DCMs."



Política y color en Cuba: La Guerrita de 1912 (Black Politics in Cuba: The Race War of 1912)

Rafael Fermoselle, *Editorial Colibri*, 1st edition 1973, 2nd edition 1998, paperback, 213 pages, \$20 plus \$4.50 shipping/

handling outside Florida (available from: Ediciones Universal, 3090 SW 8th Street, Miami, FL, 33135, Phone: 305-642-3234; or by contacting EditorialColibri@mail.sendanet.es).

Rafael Fermoselle recently returned from four years as commercial counselor in Embassy Madrid to serve as a special assistant to the director general of the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service with the office of planning. Although the fact that the text is in Spanish necessarily limits its appeal, Fermoselle reprints some telegrams and memos from Embassy Havana and Washington which reveal as much about the U.S. government's volatile internal dynamics as about the turmoil in Cuba. According to the *Cambridge History of Latin America*, this book is "a classic, definitive study on the subject of the race war of 1912."

Early Salvadoran Postcards, 1900-1950

Stephen Grant, *Banco Cuscatlan*, 1999, oversize hardcover, 328 pages, \$62.50 (available from Librería Punto Literario: Tel: 503-243-7521 or 7522; Fax: 503-243-0412; e-mail: fundmaen@sv.cciglobal.net)

An education specialist with USAID for 20 years currently serving in San Salvador, Stephen Grant has published books and articles on the old postcards of Egypt, Guinea, Indonesia and now El Salvador. This handsome volume, developed and published in El Salvador, displays 100 handsome reproductions with detailed commentary in Spanish and English.

George Henry White: An Even Chance in the Race of Life

Benjamin R. Justesen, Louisiana State University Press, Nov. 2000 (scheduled), hardcover, 424 pages, \$45

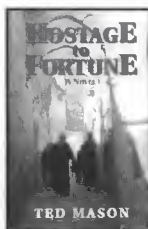
Former FSO Ben Justesen, now a freelance writer and editor, profiles one of the most important African-American political leaders of the last half of the 19th century in this authoritative, exhaustively researched biography. A North Carolina representative from 1897 to 1901, White was the last man of his race to serve in Congress until the 1930s. As Justesen documents, though White was a lifelong conservative by philosophy and a dedicated Republican, he was also a complex man with close ties to Booker T. Washington and the founders of the NAACP.

First Line of Defense: Ambassadors, Embassies and American Interests Abroad

Robert V. Keeley, editor, American Academy of Diplomacy, 2000, paperback, 124 pages, \$9.95

The title of this work really says it all. *First Line of Defense* relates dozens of instances where chiefs of mission intervened successfully to further U.S. interests, even sometimes at

the risk of their personal safety. Retired FSO Robert Keeley, himself a three-time ambassador (Mauritius, Zimbabwe and Greece), lets the stories he has compiled speak for themselves, which they do, quite eloquently.



Hostage to Fortune
Ted Mason, Bartleby Press, 1999, paperback, 266 pages, \$12.95

Retired FSO Ted Mason has drawn on his experiences both as a public affairs officer in a variety of postings and as a political analyst for the Air Force to pen this novel featuring Ambassador Hal Potter. An expert on French colonialism, Potter has to use his expertise and diplomatic skills to overcome a variety of dangers in this action adventure set in the island republic of Sharqiya.

Diplomatic Relations

Robert G. Morris, Denlinger's Publishers, Ltd., 2000, electronic book, \$6.95 (available from www.thebookden.com/diplomatic.html for download via e-mail, or as a 3.25-inch disk for an additional \$3.55

shipping/handling per disk)

This "e-novel" by Robert Morris, a retired FSO, is also set in a fictitious country. His locale is the South American state of Colonia, which is hosting a conference to normalize diplomatic relations with Cuba within the Western Hemisphere. The secretary of State attends the conference amid bomb scares and threats from assassins, not to mention bureaucratic, political and romantic intrigue galore.

Inside Sudan: Political Islam, Conflict and Catastrophe

Donald Petterson, Westview Press, 1999, hardcover, 224 pages, \$25

Donald Petterson was ambassador to Sudan from 1992 to 1995, having already served as ambassador to Somalia and Tanzania. (In 1998, he agreed to come out of retirement to take charge of the U.S. embassy in Monrovia.) Praising this "lucid and detailed memoir," President Jimmy Carter commented: "This authoritative account of U.S. foreign policy toward Sudan offers the insights of an experienced diplomat for greater understanding of both past and future events there."

Into Africa: Intercultural Insights

Yale Richmond and Phyllis Gestrin, Intercultural Press, 1998, paperback, 283 pages, \$18.95 plus \$3 shipping/handling/\$4 outside the U.S. (available from Intercultural Press, Inc., P.O. Box 700, Yarmouth, ME, 04096; Phone: 1-800-370-2665)

Yale Richmond retired in 1980 following a 30-year career as a cultural officer and is the author of several books on intercultural communication. Phyllis Gestrin recently retired after 19 years as a senior technical adviser with USAID, including seven years in Somalia and Zaire. The first half of *Into Africa* emphasizes those cultural characteristics more or less common throughout sub-Saharan Africa, while the rest of the book com-

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pires and contrasts various regions and societies.

**Congo Headmaster:
The Story of an African
Adventure**

Harrison L. Shaffer, Jr., *Whitewing Press*, 1999, paperback, 213 pages, \$14.95

In the 1950s, Harrison Shaffer and his wife Jacqueline spent six years as training teachers in a remote village in what was then the Belgian Congo, now the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Those experiences — the basis of this memoir written after his retirement from USIA, following assignments in Vietnam, Nigeria and the Philippines — helped inspire his decision to become an FSO.

**Czechoslovakia's Lost Fight for
Freedom: An American Embassy
Perspective**

Kenneth N. Skoug, Jr., *Praeger Publishers*, 1999, hardcover, 296 pages, \$65

Kenneth Skoug, an FSO from 1957-1990, served in Czechoslovakia from 1967 to 1969. That gave him a front-row seat on the abortive "Prague Spring," and he uses his journal from the period, supplemented by recent memoirs and documentary materials in the National Archives, to present a full picture of the rise and fall of that all-too-brief reform movement.

The Undesirables

Mary C. Smith, *Black Heron Press*, 1998, hardback, 245 pages, \$24.95

Mary Smith served as an FSO with USIA from 1966 to 1988. Although this novel is classified as science fiction, Smith comments that "The book [also] deals with bureaucratic politics in a 22nd century world, and is as close as I shall come to writing about my career in the Foreign Service." *The Undesirables* won the 1997 Black Heron Prize for Social Fiction. ■

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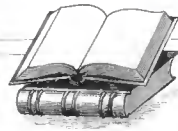
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BOOKS

ENGAGING CHINA REALISTICALLY

Interpreting China's Grand Strategy: Past, Present and Future.
Michael D. Swaine and Ashley J.
Tellis, Rand Corp., 2000, hard
cover \$35/paperback \$20,
308 pages

REVIEWED BY DAVID REUTHER

The current American debate over policy toward China, at least as waged on the op-ed pages, seems stuck at the poles of containment and appeasement. The first approach assumes an expansionist regime growing more hostile to Western interests and ignores the moderating influences of domestic politics. The second focuses almost exclusively on the evolution of China's internal politics and cautions that pressure from the international community will only derail the democratization process. At either extreme, the rigidity of the mindset makes it difficult to garner public support for a consistent, realistic and flexible diplomacy toward Beijing.

The title *Interpreting China's Grand Strategy: Past, Present and Future* implies scholarly confirmation of some fatal aggressive flaw in the Chinese psyche, or a new exposition of the "Yellow Peril" theory. But this tome from veteran Rand Corp. China-watchers Michael

*China's 'grand strategy'
is neither grand nor
unique to China.*

Swaine and Ashley Tellis turns out to rehash Morgenthau's precepts of realism. As presented here, Beijing's "grand strategy" is neither grand nor unique to China.

Swaine and Tellis conclude that "like any other state," China's goals are keyed to three interrelated objectives: the preservation of domestic order and well-being, defense against persistent external threats, and attainment and maintenance of geopolitical influence. Over many centuries, China evolved flexible tactics to achieve these objectives: when weak, try to buy off external aggressors; when strong, take the fight to them.

The authors predict that China will continue to follow this historical "strong state/weak state" pattern until 2020-2025, when they project that it might then begin an extended transition phase to a new security strategy (the thrust of which they do not attempt to forecast). Since this transition phase would itself last one or two decades, that gives the United States at least 40 years (and

probably considerably longer) to evolve a flexible diplomacy. Hence, the standard American debate about preemptive containment or preemptive appeasement is premature.

Yet while asserting that there is time to interact with emerging Chinese leaders, and conceding that "China's rise to greatness is not yet assured," Swaine and Tellis touch only lightly on the long and uncertain road China will have to travel politically, economically and socially before it can assert itself fully on the world stage. Not only is China the last major economy in the world to modernize, but it is also the only nation ever to face the challenge of generating the resources to house and feed 1.2 billion people. Its capital markets are immature and it barely has a central banking system worthy of the name. Beijing's fitful moves to reform state-owned enterprises are sending hundreds of millions of rural workers flooding into urban centers. They also are exacerbating corruption throughout society, right up to the governing elite.

Still, it is precisely because China's future success faces an "inherently high level of uncertainty" that the authors recommend "some form of realistic engagement" as the basis of Sino-American relations for the next 40 years. Towards that end, they offer the following three-part prescription: a) pursue the possibilities of cooperation aimed at obtaining deeper lev-

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els of encounter and mutual trust; b) discourage China's accumulation of capabilities that could unambiguously threaten core U.S. interests; and c) remain prepared to cope with the consequences of a more assertive China.

Only through flexible diplomacy toward China, Swaine and Tellis warn, can the U.S. avoid the self-fulfilling dangers of the op-ed policy debate.

David Reuther, a retired FSO, writes frequently on China.

AN FSO FINDS REDEMPTION

Light at Dusk. Peter Gadol, Picador USA, 2000, hardcover, 288 pages, \$24.00.

REVIEWED BY HERB TREGER

There are not many works of fiction about FSOs, and even fewer featuring working-level officers. Peter Gadol's latest novel, *Light at Dusk*, would therefore be a welcome addition to that small number even without its absorbing (if somewhat far-fetched) plot.

As the story opens, Will Law is a mid-level political officer who has abruptly abandoned his Mexico City posting. He and his coterie are "embassy brats," Americans who grew up moving from one country to another while their fathers served in the military or diplomatic corps. At least partly as a result of his upbringing, Will is already a rising star in the Foreign Service.

Yet one day he abruptly resigns, drifts through all the places where his father had been posted when Will was growing up, and arrives in

Finding the missing boy, Nico, becomes the means by which Will tries to obtain personal redemption for the mysterious tragedy in Mexico.

Paris. There he falls back into the arms of his college lover, Pedro, an American expatriate studying French architecture. But before the two can resume their relationship, Will and Pedro witness the kidnapping of a Lebanese child by a gang of ultra-nationalistic teens who are terrorizing the immigrant population of the city.

Finding the missing boy, Nico, becomes the means by which Will tries to obtain personal redemption for the mysterious tragedy in Mexico. He and Pedro immediately join forces with Jorie Cole, who says she is the boy's mother. Jorie is an American military officer's daughter who, like Will, has spent most of her life overseas. Will eventually confirms his suspicion that at some time in the past she and he had moved in the same orbit, and that recognition proves to be an important element in the novel's plot.

Meanwhile, in the course of a 24-hour chase through the grittier side of Paris to recover Nico, Will comes to terms with his role in events at his last post, which are gradually revealed.

The book feels a bit disjointed at times because Gadol is trying to combine a theme of moral drift in an increasingly ambiguous world with a good old-fashioned page-turner. For example, one passage careens back and forth from an erudite discussion of the architectural features of the tollhouse of Claude-Nicolas Ledoux in the Place de Stalingrad to nail-biting suspense about the search for the boy.

The descriptions of Paris are certainly accurate. Anyone who has lived there will feel at home with Gadol's portrayals of the quays of the Seine, the dreary fall weather, and the graffiti-covered walls found throughout the city. But Gadol's depiction of Foreign Service life is more problematic. In particular, Will's alleged transgression in Mexico City is not really believable since it ascribes more power to him than a mid-level political officer would be likely to have. Most authentic are vignettes such as Jorie and Will's trying to remember if they knew each other while students 20 years earlier at the international school in Cairo. Their exchange is a recognizable variation on the familiar "What post did we serve together at?" routine.

The fact that Will and Pedro are gay and former lovers is refreshingly understated. It is presented merely as a simple fact and does not interfere with reading this novel either as a political officer's pursuit of moral redemption or as a good old-fashioned thriller. Either way, *Light at Dusk* is a good read that is "about us." ■

Herb Tregger is an FSO serving in Kampala. His previous posts included Nairobi, Algiers, Tunis, and Paris.

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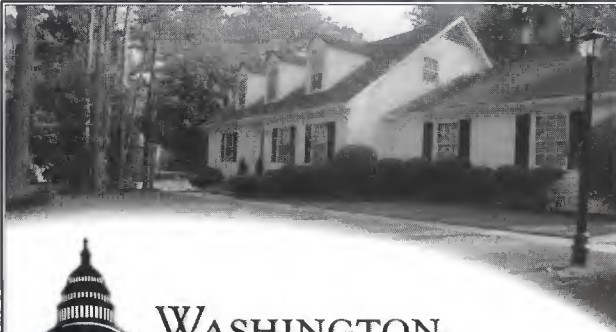

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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

Life Imitates Art in Barcelona

BY ALECA BARAHENI

An afternoon stroll along Las Ramblas — a tree-lined thoroughfare in Barcelona, Spain, where people walk in the center of the street while cars pass on either side — is sinfully gratifying. Men and women, arm-in-arm, young and old, with dogs, with children, stroll past chirping caged birds in vendor stalls, newsstands, musicians, and fortune-tellers. Intoxicated with the perfume of the flower stalls, they smile, exchange pleasantries, laugh, and fan themselves. Bronzed young men saunter down the street, cigarettes dangling from their mouths. Lovers beam at each other. Barcelona's citizens have mastered the art of balance between work and pleasure and allow themselves to indulge in joy for joy's sake. The eyes of passersby seem to wink: "Don't take life so seriously. Be glad for the moment."

I believe this happy appreciation for life in Barcelona is partly inspired by the playful structures and artwork of the artists of the Moderniste school, the Spanish branch of the art nouveau movement of the late 19th century. Art nouveau described humankind's connection with nature and emphasized beautiful design in all aspects of life, from silverware to architecture. The Modernistes freed themselves from the boundaries of histo-

Aleca Baraheni is a freelance writer in Washington. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."

*The architecture
seems to say:
"Don't take life
so seriously:"*



ry and the mores of the Baroque and Classical periods. With the conventions of the past behind them, the artists created enduring beauty for the moment, in the moment.

Art nouveau's legacy in Spain is nothing less than spectacular. Brightly colored mosaics of dragons and lizards decorate the Parc Güell. Tapestries of flowers, stars, and stripes swirl around the pillars of the Palau de la Música Catalana. Christopher Columbus' bronze statue points to the Mediterranean Sea at the Portal de la Pau (the Gate of Peace) on the spot where Columbus first stepped ashore in 1493 after discovering America. Joan Miró's colorful geometric sculptures — including a favorite, *Woman and Bird* — brighten the city.

The work of Antoni Gaudí, among the most famous of the Modernistes and an ardent

Catalonian nationalist, embodies Catalan joy and pride. His architecture is intended to be an expression of the soul. The Casa Milá (1905-1907), one of two celebrated apartment buildings Gaudí designed, is an eight-story building sculpted to look like a reef. The roof and balconies have a curling, wavelike appearance, and its openings are rounded and irregular. The structure has no straight lines.

Gaudí's masterpiece is a cathedral whose magnificence is unparalleled. The Templo Expiatorio de la Sagrada Familia (Church of the Holy Family), begun in 1883, is so original and so holy that it makes your heart flutter. Doves, scenes of the Nativity, faith, hope, and Christ's childhood are carved into its sandstone. The work is massive; it dominates the Barcelona skyline and is still a work in a progress. Only eight out of the 12 spires, one for each apostle, have been completed. Gaudí lived at the cathedral for the last 16 years of his life overseeing its construction, and he is there still, buried in its crypt.

The cathedral, like much of the work of the Moderniste period, lacks the formal design of the Baroque and Gothic schools. Its informality invites you to have a heart-to-heart talk with your God. Perhaps this could help explain this particular Catalan joie de vivre. There is nothing like going into a cathedral and coming out feeling you have spoken, God has heard, and loves you anyway. ■

A person's hands are shown holding a globe of the Earth. The globe is the central focus, with the person's hands visible on either side. The background is a soft, out-of-focus indoor setting.

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