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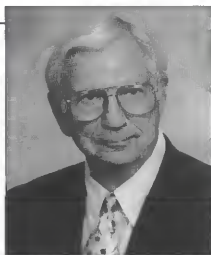
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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *In Praise of Dedicated Public Service*

BY MARSHALL P. ADAIR

I devote my last official column as AFSA president to the people that make this organization such a wonderful example of public service. It has been an honor for me to lead AFSA during these two years, and to work with Foreign Service and AFSA colleagues who are so extraordinarily dedicated to the profession of diplomacy, to the institution of the Foreign Service, and to its people. We can all be proud of AFSA. It is superbly managed — an accomplishment that predated my arrival — and thanks to efforts by Tom Boyatt and Tom Tiernan, AFSA's most recent treasurers, and by Susan Reardon, AFSA's executive director, it is financially solid, and has the flexibility to advocate effectively.

Those who have sought help from AFSA's labor-management staff, led by Sharon Papp and James Yorke, know their dedication and talent. They are highly skilled and knowledgeable, and I wish the State Department would take their advice more often, and avoid the legal show-downs — most of which we win. Ken Nakamura is well known in Congress, and has single-handedly managed legislative fixes of great benefit to Foreign Service families. Lori Dec's compassionate pursuit of scholarship funds helps many students each year. Janet Hedrick has increased both membership enrollment and contri-

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

*AFSA, like  
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Service, owes its  
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the dedication  
of its people.*



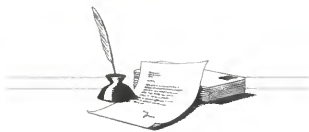
butions to the legislative fund, and Ward Thompson has kept retirees around the country linked to and supporting the Foreign Service when the department has virtually ignored them.

But AFSA still depends on volunteers, and their extraordinary contributions. Bill De Pree started the Elderhostel programs that introduce the Foreign Service to thousands of citizens around the country, and, with Petey Mullin, created a new support organization, Friends of the Foreign Service. He also initiated a workforce planning study that served as a blueprint for the department's "Diplomatic Readiness" report, and its successful campaign to increase funding for human resources. Ed Marks, Aury Fernandez and Caroline Meirs have done tremendous pro bono work helping editor Bob Guldin with the *Foreign Service Journal*. Bill Harrop, Bruce Laingen, Clyde Taylor and Ken Rogers have given invaluable support from their respective organi-

zations — the Delavan Foundation, American Academy of Diplomacy, Cox Foundation and DACOR.

One of my most rewarding duties was visiting retired Foreign Service colleagues around the country, to bring them up to date on developments and to encourage their active support. Colleagues like Irwin Rubenstein in Florida, Jim Rosenthal and Marguerite Cooper in California, Vernon Merrill in Washington, Malcolm McLean in Minnesota, Paul McCarty in New England, Ed Williams in North Carolina, and George McFarland in Texas have devoted extensive time and effort to organizing retiree communities into effective teaching and grassroots support organizations. Others, like Bill Cunningham in Houston, Bob Ryan in Daytona Beach and Frank Crigler in Raleigh have individually made the Foreign Service experience more real for their communities.

Too many have contributed for me to mention everyone by name, but I thank you all for the support you have given to AFSA and to me in the last two years. Most people join the Foreign Service not only for the adventure, but to serve. AFSA is a reflection of that dedication, which is needed more than ever today, both in the service and in support of it. AFSA's next president, John Naland, whose work as State vice president has been so outstanding, will carry AFSA's contribution to new levels. He and AFSA need and deserve your continued support. ■



# LETTERS

## AID Take Notice

I agree with much of James Lindsay and Ivo Daalder's analysis about the dysfunctional nature of the department's structure (*FSJ*, March). However, their assertion that the merger of USIA with State was a positive move toward reform is not supported by the evidence.

While the authors apparently see a symbolic value in bringing more foreign affairs functions into the department — and urge that AID be integrated for the same reason — they do not consider how the USIA move impacted its work. The fact that they fail to mention public diplomacy at all is painfully telling, and an all-too-accurate reflection of the department's own lack of attention to the exchange functions it inherited from USIA.

Reform proposals should take a close look at the USIA case before making recommendations about further consolidation. Placing Fulbright, English teaching, educational advising, and other educational and cultural affairs, or ECA, programs under State's one-size-fits-all regulations has made it difficult to carry out exchange programs.

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Exchanges bring enormous benefits to the American government and American society. Through these programs, the U.S. establishes contact early on with individuals who will one day shape the future of their countries; we count 46 current and 148 former heads of government or chiefs of state who have been participants. But while ambassadors rated exchanges very highly in a survey last year, these programs get little respect from Washington. Regional bureaus are absorbed in the issue of the day, while admin and personnel offices focus on making sure everyone is playing by the same rules. Their efforts to hammer round ECA programs into square State Department holes has left us all bruised. AID take notice.

*Beatrice Camp  
FSO, Bureau of  
Educational and  
Cultural Affairs  
Washington, D.C.*

## The Spoils System

The *New York Times'* expose ("A Mad Scramble by Donors for Plum Ambassadorships," March 17) spotlights the last remnant of the federal spoils system. The Army stopped selling its commands during the Civil War when rich rookies caused grave losses. Selling Civil Service jobs was stopped in the 1880s.

But, it is business as usual today, when the lifetime title of ambassador is awarded. No other national security institution chooses its leadership on the basis of money and political

ties first, and competence second.

The State Department and foreign governments work around what the White House provides without complaint. When State's Inspector General finds an ambassador derelict, the White House protects the incumbent. Only criminal behavior leads to separation.

America's embassies are our first line of defense. The nation deserves our best-qualified leaders, not just the richest and best connected, in each of them.

*Tex Harris  
FSO, retired  
Washington, D.C.*

## Spousal Naturalization

Last month my wife and I travelled to Washington on an R&R with the explicit purpose of meeting her INS appointment for naturalization at the Arlington office. While ultimately successful, the difficulties we experienced highlighted the inadequate treatment that USAID FSOs receive when trying to pursue spousal naturalization.

Under INS code, section 319 (b), FSOs may pursue accelerated naturalization for spouses when assigned overseas. However, while FSOs work in a variety of federal agencies, only the Human Resources Bureau at State has had the responsibility of managing spousal naturalization cases and providing follow-up with the INS. That office, as of several years ago, stopped handling cases for non-State FSOs. The human resources offices of different agencies, including USAID,

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LETTERS

refuse to get involved in this issue. As a result, FSOs at USAID are left falling through a classic bureaucratic crack in the floor: we are eligible to petition for accelerated naturalization, but no office will handle the case.

It is a difficult process to handle without agency support. I eventually learned from a supervisor at the INS Arlington office that in cases where the human resources bureau refuses to intervene, there is nothing barring an FSO from directly filing the application with a letter to the Arlington INS office. That office would seek to accommodate USAID FSOs in this way for scheduling accelerated naturalization. FSOs facing our situation might well try to test this offer, particularly if they have duty orders for departure from the U.S. this summer.

Ultimately we did obtain my wife's naturalization, at more expense and time than was necessary. Why should the treatment of FSOs at USAID, Commerce or USDA be so different from FSOs at State?

*Alonzo Wind,  
USAID FSO, Health  
Development Officer  
Embassy Managua*

**An Expensive Problem**

I want to share an expensive problem I recently encountered with my AFSPA health insurance, because it will probably affect others insured under the same plan.

Announcing the 2001 increase of co-payments by their insured from 20 to 30 percent when using non-PPO health-care providers, AFSPA wrote in their November 2000 newsletter, "In most cases this will be an academic question because of the virtually complete inclusion of doctors and facilities." That is not the case.

Mutual of Omaha administers AFSPA's plan. During 2000, in my

area of south Florida, more than two dozen primary care-givers were summarily dropped from the Mutual of Omaha PPO plan along with a number of specialists.

The problem is that this happened without any advance warning to the insured by Mutual of Omaha, by AFSPA, or by the doctors themselves. To avoid the potential hassle and extra out-of-pocket expense, I urge all FSJ readers who are AFSPA medical-plan participants to check the Mutual-of-Omaha web site ([www.mutualofomaha.com](http://www.mutualofomaha.com)) immediately prior to each medical appointment and to print out the page confirming that the care-giver or facility in question is a current designated PPO provider. Then ask the staff of the doctor or institution to sign and date that print-out to confirm that they, too, can verify the apparent PPO status. I also urge all members of the AFSPA plan to join me in demanding that Mutual of Omaha and AFSPA pro-actively notify all of their insured whenever care-givers who have been participating in the PPO plan lose their status as designated PPO providers.

*John B. Thompson  
FSO, retired  
Lauderdale by the Sea, Fla.*

**A 21st Century Attitude**

The appointment of Colin Powell as secretary of State is a milestone for the United States. It is good for African-Americans, and it is good for the nation. Much remains to be done to make opportunity equally available to all Americans.

Powell's primary challenge will be to convince the country to stop trying to get its diplomacy on the cheap. We cannot have this strong diplomatic establishment if we continue to reduce our embassies in size, fail to hire enough new personnel, and ask existing staff to "do



more with less." Powell is perhaps uniquely qualified to convince the American people, and their representatives in Congress, of this fundamental truth.

It is not clear that the department will take advantage of this opportunity to regain its rightful place in the U.S. foreign policy apparatus. The department has allowed unreasoned prejudices to blind it to where its interests lay in the past. Thirty years ago, State made no protest when USIA wrested away its Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. Many at State felt exchanges of people and cultural programs were not "real diplomacy." While lamenting that it had no domestic constituency, the department allowed this prejudice to cause it to hand over its only bureau which worked with committed volunteers who were interested and active in international affairs all across the country. The bureau was returned to State, with the rest of USIA, only over the department's objections.

When President Clinton appointed Clifton Wharton, Jr. deputy secretary of State in January 1993, Wharton was the first "Foreign Service brat" to attain such a high position in the department. Some at State believed it was not appropriate for a black to be so close to the helm of the nation's foreign policy. Wharton was first told he should have nothing to do with policy, and then later forced to resign in November 1993 when our foreign policy came under fire.

As a black member of the Foreign Service, I am proud to join my State Department colleagues in welcoming Secretary Powell. I hope we at State will take advantage of this opportunity to strengthen our ability to meet the challenges of the 21st century. In order to do so, we will have to avoid

allowing 19th century attitudes to frustrate our efforts.

*Hartford T. Jennings  
FSO  
Columbia, Md.*

#### Listen to ConOffs

As a retired senior officer with a 32-year career of mostly consular assignments, I could appreciate the views expressed in the March issue. In what other career cone do you hear the term "burnout" used for such responsible and demanding work?

In my day, one often heard consular officers say the work of the consular section was not fully appreciated by the political and economic officers, who did not seem to realize that consular officers see and talk with far more local people than the other two sections' officers put together. They have their ears attuned to local political and economic life through the comments of mostly lower level personages who do not say what they think the American officer wants to hear. Consular officers should be encouraged to put in writing their views on local politics and economics for incorporation — with due credit — in the reports of the political and economic sections. I personally had many of my reports scoffed at and rejected.

I hope our young officers will see consular work as rewarding and a great opportunity to be of service to our nation and fellow Americans.

*Robert A. Bishton  
FSO, retired  
Albany, Ga.*

#### An Under Secretary for CA

Your March issue focussed, once again, on the department's perennially underappreciated, overworked, understaffed, underpromoted and underfunded consular cone. The question is, as always, how to reverse



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## LETTERS

this? A good start would be to give consular work equality with the other cones. Right now, Consular Affairs is the only functional area without an under secretary. It is a tribute to Assistant Secretary Mary Ryan that she has been able to accomplish so much as head of a bureau. When she leaves, will her successor carry as much clout? Isn't it time to elevate CA to the Seventh Floor?

Bill Warren  
FSO  
Washington, D.C.

### Implementing State's Policy

In his letter (*FSJ*, March), David Kornbluth cited the restrictions placed on an officer's possible overseas assignments, apparently by a DS rogue elephant running amok.

The Bureau of Diplomatic Security's Office of Investigations and Counterintelligence administers the "pass thru program." In conducting this effort, DS is following the intent of Foreign Service regulations, specifically 12FAM264.3-2, Critical Human Intelligence Posts. It mandates a review of all personnel assigned to such posts to evaluate factors which may render certain members of the service vulnerable to exploitation by foreign intelligence services.

Those factors have been agreed to by Human Resources, the director general, the geographic bureaus, and AFSA, and are not arbitrary findings of DS. They do include such elements as the presence in those countries of close relatives of the employee or the spouse.

DS does not have "veto power" over such assignments, and the final decision is rendered by the director general. In most cases, the DG has supported the DS position.

The promulgation of such instructions by our foreign affairs bureaucracy is a direct result of a bitter harvest of security disasters over the last 50 years,

and the observation by Congress and the public that the department must incorporate into its administrative fabric some means of self-defense and common sense. While these measures might strike the uninformed as mean-spirited, those with an appreciation of the machinations of intelligence and security services realize the intent of these proactive measures is not to punish or call into question the trustworthiness of any officer, but to reduce the possibility of him/her being placed in situations which have historically resulted in pressure being brought to bear against the employee, spouse, or their relatives.

To interpret, as Kornbluth has done, this program as discriminatory in the current politically correct sense typifies an attitude which provides fodder to those inside and outside government who disdain the Foreign Service and the department as the preserve of elitists indifferent or hostile to the security concerns that most can understand.

Christopher Lajons  
Special Projects, Division of  
Counterintelligence, DS  
Washington, D.C.

### APPs and the Death Penalty

American presence posts serve many interests (*FSJ*, February). Recently in France, capital punishment opponents enhanced their careers as activists by selecting the American presence posts as targets of massive coordinated countrywide demonstrations in support of Philadelphia death row inmate Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Thanks at least in part to the then-Ambassador Rohatyn's high-powered American presence posts, Abu-Jamal's pending criminal appeal is now a major national and international news story.

Carl Olson  
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## CLIPPINGS



*“Chairman Powell, people are always asking me to compare you to your father [Secretary of State Colin Powell]. What I tell them is you are just as smart as your father but have a lot more power to affect the world.”*

— REP. EDWARD MARKEY, D-MASS., TO MICHAEL POWELL, CHAIR OF THE FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION, WHO IS SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL'S SON. WASHINGTON POST, MARCH 30, 2001

### CONSULAR AFFAIRS GETS A GRADE OF ‘C’

*Government Executive* magazine, in its Federal Performance Report, gives State's Bureau of Consular Affairs an overall grade of C, even though it acknowledges that CA is a relative hotbed of good management practices within its department. The report, in a special April issue, evaluated a number of federal agencies, but did not rate other parts of State. The magazine, part of the respected National Journal Group, receives help in its ongoing survey of U.S. government performance from the Pew Memorial Trust and George Washington University.

The lengthy article acknowledges that CA “has developed a reputation for effective management within the State Department, thanks to strong leadership and an influx of funds.” Assistant Secretary for Consular Affairs Mary Ryan comes in for special kudos.

But author Susannah Zak Figura expresses doubts about CA's future: “Consular Affairs faces significant obstacles to further management improvement, and some observers question whether the agency can even sustain its current achievements once Ryan eventually leaves office.” Figura also says, “Without a strategic planning process in place to document what's being achieved — and what's going undone — the bureau will face an uphill battle trying to convince Congress that it needs more money.”

While awarding the Consular Affairs an overall grade of C, *Government Executive* gives the bureau a C in “managing for results,” C in “human resources,” C in “finances” and a B only in “information.”

Despite its mediocre overall grade, CA gets points for studying and disseminating best practices within the bureau. Figura also quotes State's Inspector General, who found that employees go “above and beyond the [Foreign Affairs Manual] requirements to provide assistance to Americans in need.”

When the Federal Performance Project asked managers within Consular Affairs to evaluate their own bureau, the results were extremely varied. The bureau got great marks for “managers participate in continual efforts to improve efficiency and effectiveness” — more than half of respondents agreed strongly with that point. But when asked whether the “agency has the right number of people with the right skills where and when needed,” more than half disagreed.

The *Government Executive* article itself had a number of gaping factual errors (such as misstating the number of consular FSOs by a factor of 10), which unfortunately undermines the study's credibility. It also raises that tricky question — who evaluates the evaluators?

### WHO MAKES DCM?

An informed source in State's Human Resources bureau passed along these interesting statistics:

Of the 165 deputy chiefs of mission currently serving at U.S. posts: six are from the public diplomacy cone; 16 are consular; 28 are administrative officers; 42 are economic officers and 73 are political.

That means that political officers, who constitute 28 percent of State's FSO corps, are 44 percent of DCMs — but hey, who's counting?



## CLIPPINGS

### FUNDS TO FIX A STATE OF DISREPAIR

Secretary of State Colin Powell has asked for a 19 percent increase in State's fiscal 2002 budget for personnel, technology, security and other management costs — a request of \$5.67 billion — reported Brian Friel April 10 on *Government Executive* magazine's Web site. (The funding request for the entire State Department is 14 percent higher this year.) Powell's request for more funding for management is unusual — most frequently, secretaries of State ask for more money for foreign assistance and other programs.

"This budget represents the first monetary step in revamping and reinvigorating both the organization for the conduct of foreign policy and the foreign policy itself," said Powell.

The money, if allocated, will go to the creation of 310 Foreign Service officer positions and 50 Civil Service positions. State plans to attract new employees by putting \$7 million into a student loan repayment program, giving every employee full Internet access and connecting all posts to a classified communications network. Another initiative would earmark a quarter of the department's administrative budget for embassy security, construction and maintenance.

### EMBASSY PARIS LIKES ITS PARKING

If you owned a parking lot worth \$10 million, would you sell it? The State Department wouldn't, reports Al Kamen in the April 18 *Washington Post*. State

owns a 0.4 acre 75-car parking lot next to Embassy Paris, valuable real estate that borders the Champs Elysees and has a view of the Elysee Palace. Each parking space is worth about \$133,000. That means that if State sold the lot, it could pay the \$14 daily garage fee in downtown Paris for each of the 28 employees who park there for the next 40 years.

State doesn't want to sell because it believes the lot is necessary to prevent attack or eavesdropping and, besides, the French wouldn't allow the parking lot land to be developed. However, the General Accounting Office looked into the matter and discovered that Parisian officials would have no problem with State selling the lot. Furthermore, the GAO concluded, even if the lot were sold, the ambassador's residence would be guarded by a 160-foot setback, three times the security standard for such infrastructure. State could build an underground parking garage to keep U.S. vehicles from being tampered with.

While they were at it, the GAO looked into the value of some of the gardens near the residence. According to the report, if State sold off some of the flower plots, the total value of parking lot plus garden would be \$30 million.

State is attached to its parking lot and garden, however, and refuses to consider the GAO's suggestions. The GAO has recommended that Congress consider requiring State to reassess its position.

### MACEDONIA GOOD, SERBIA BAD

The approach the U.S. press is taking to covering the conflict in Macedonia is the polar opposite of the approach it

## 50 YEARS AGO

"Three years of Japanese occupation and brutality had shattered the very foundations of Philippine society; the fighting which had attended the American reconquest of the islands had destroyed property to an extent whose only parallel was in Eastern Europe."

— "PHOENIX IN THE  
PHILIPPINES" BY FSO  
JOHN MELBY IN THE  
JUNE 1951 FSJ

## CLIPPINGS

*"Deception is central to most of the techniques of statecraft."*

— JAMES EAVES,  
WRITER ON CANADIAN  
FOREIGN POLICY

took to reporting Kosovo, says an April 13 report by media watchdog organization Fairness and Accuracy In Reporting.

U.S. journalists blamed the war in Kosovo on the Serbian authorities and largely ignored any trouble the Albanian guerrillas were causing. In Macedonia, however, the U.S. press calls the Albanian insurgents the culprits for the violence instead of pointing a finger at the pro-NATO Macedonian government. In Kosovo, Serbian repression and human rights abuses got lots of coverage; today, Macedonia's repression of Albanians is being downplayed.

FAIR's report offers the following example of the different approaches: In October 1997, when the Kosovo Liberation Army began shooting at Serbian police and civilian officials, the *New York Times* condemned the Serbs' response as "indiscriminate repression" and called on Washington to "increase

the pressure on Belgrade" to carry out reforms and allow international monitors.

In contrast, a March 2001 editorial in the *Times* on the brewing conflict in Macedonia declared that "the West must make clear to this militant [Albanian] fringe that they will not be allowed to set off another Balkan war. ... If Macedonia cannot [meet the challenge] effectively, NATO may have to increase its military pressure on the guerrillas."

According to FAIR, American journalists approach the two conflicts differently because they are following the lead of U.S. policy-makers. In Kosovo, the administration was eager to blame the Yugoslav government for the war. By contrast, Macedonia is seen as a loyal regional partner of NATO and a bulwark against instability, so U.S. officials are loath to criticize that government. ■

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# U.S. IMMIGRATION: FACT, FEAR AND FANTASY



THE IMMIGRATION DEBATE IN AMERICA IS OFTEN A DIALOGUE OF THE DEAF. HERE ARE SOME HARD FACTS, AND SOME REALISTIC POLICY OPTIONS.

*By DEMETRIOS PAPADEMETRIOU*

**A**t the dawn of the 21st century, immigration to the United States has again become a national issue of the first order. Four factors account for most of this newfound prominence.

First, the magnitude of immigration, or, more accurately, the rate at which immigration has grown: It may have approached 11 million in the last decade, nearly two-and-a-half times the number in the 1970s.

Second, its composition: It has become overwhelmingly non-European.

Third, its distribution: Although still dominated by traditional destinations (the handful of "gateway" states and metropolitan areas within them), it is spreading throughout the country at remarkable speed.

Fourth, the complexity of its effects: These make an accurate appraisal of immigration difficult and add plausibility to

all sorts of extraordinary claims about it, pro or con.

All of these trends will gain strength in the years ahead, and the national debate about immigration will intensify accordingly. In order to have an intelligent discussion of the subject, we need to answer some basic questions. Among those: How many people are entering the United States these days, and where do they come from? What are the effects of immigration? Is there an innovative way of responding to illegal immigration that may lead to more effective policies? And is the pace of new immigration requiring that we pay more attention to how newcomers encounter and become integrated into our communities?

#### **Record-breaking Numbers**

Legal and illegal immigration to the U.S. in the 1990s broke the record set during the first decade of the 20th century, when nearly 9.5 million persons were admitted. Proportionately, though, we are less a nation of immigrants now than we were 100 years ago. Approximately 10.5 percent of U.S. residents are immigrants today; that compares with nearly 15 percent during the period 1900-1910.

Gross legal (or authorized) permanent immigration now stands at a little more than 800,000 entries per year. This number is thought to be depressed severely by the persistent inability of the government (the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Department of Labor) to keep up with their adjudications workloads — failures that create extended waiting lines among otherwise eligible would-be immigrants. Gross legal entries would probably be close to one million if these agencies did not have a constant backlog. Although reliable net annual migration figures are not available (the U.S. lacks a system for measuring, or even officially estimating, emigration), most educated guesses put emigration at about 20 to 25 percent of

### *The enormously expensive buildup of defenses at the Mexican border has failed.*

that total. This is a drop both from the historical figures of more than 40 percent emigration for certain immigrant groups for the first half of the 20th century and from estimates for 1950 to 1970 of about one-third of gross immigration.

Legal temporary immigration (the term of art is “nonimmigrant” entries) has also climbed substantially in the last decade or so, reflecting and pacing the U.S. economy’s aggressive global expansion. Although detailed figures for each of the 20 major nonimmigrant admission categories have been woefully inadequate, gross figures show dramatic increases in most of them and now stand at more than 25 million visas per year. There is little doubt that U.S. temporary entry programs will continue to grow at a robust pace during the next two decades.

The key source countries for U.S. immigration (legal and illegal, temporary and permanent) in the next 20 years can be expected to be very similar to the ones that currently dominate the flow — making the composition of today’s immigration the best predictor of tomorrow’s flows and composition. There are at least two major reasons for this phenomenon.

First, U.S. law on permanent immigration has long emphasized family reunification. As a result, in about four-fifths of all admissions, the closeness of the family relationship determines whether and how quickly a prospective immigrant can gain permanent access to the United States. This creates a strong bias in favor of those countries that use the system a lot and continuously (so that close family relationships are maintained). In fact, if the nationals of a country lose interest in large-scale permanent immigration to the U.S. for any significant period of time, as most Europeans have done for the last quarter-century, and then suddenly regain interest in it, as the Irish did in the late 1970s and 1980s, it is nearly impossible to recapture their former position in the immigration queue absent special programs geared specifically toward them.

Second, there’s the dynamic of the migration process itself. Once a national group gains a substantial immigration “beachhead,” an ethnic-network-fueled self-feeding process commences that grows in intensity until a significant change occurs — typically in the economic or political circumstances of the sending country.

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*Demetrios Papademetriou is co-director of the International Migration Policy Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Starting in July, he will be co-executive director of the Migration Policy Institute, a new independent think tank devoted exclusively to the study of international migration.*

### Origins and Destinations

Immigration from Western Europe and Canada provide perfect examples of this process. Permanent immigration from these countries has fallen to about 10 to 15 percent of total immigration to the United States, from about one-third of the total in the 1960s.

That decline has been accompanied by commensurate gains by Asia, which now accounts for about a third of the total U.S. inflow, and the Americas, which account for more than half of the total. In the 1990s, one national group — Mexicans — probably made up between 25 and 30 percent of total immigration to the United States (this includes recent estimates of illegal immigration).

Eastern Europe and Africa have been making modest recent gains in U.S. permanent resident visas and are expected to continue to do so. In addition to Mexico, a handful of South and East Asian countries (the Philippines, China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and India), the former Soviet Union, and a few Central American and Caribbean states provide the overwhelming majority of immigrants to the United States and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future.

Early results from the U.S. decennial census are confirming a trend some have been observing — if somewhat anecdotally — for the last decade. Namely, that Mexican immigrants (and gradually others, particularly recent refugees), regardless of status, are spreading out throughout the United States in rates not seen since the great migrations of the 1870-1920 period, making immigration truly “national” for the first time since early in the 20th century. Over the next two decades this process will intensify. Despite this dispersion, most new immigrants — perhaps 70 percent — will continue to settle in areas in which their own ethnic group has already created a significant niche, attracted by the existence of the private social safety net and information infrastructure that newcomers value very highly.

Illegal immigration in the 1990s has also been very strong and, absent new forms of comprehensive interventions that *succeed*, it will continue to be so during the next two decades. The Americas may account for as much as three-quarters of all unauthorized immigrants. The remainder is made up of visa overstayers who originate from just about every other country. About two-thirds of illegal immigration comes from and through Mexico. Still-emerging 2000 census evidence suggests that recent annual net unauthorized migration coming from and

through Mexico may be more than 300,000 — about one-and-a-half times as large as analysts’ earlier estimates. Some estimates put gross annual entries through Mexico at more than 1 million, but most of those persons leave the U.S. within a short time and are therefore not counted as “permanent” immigrants.

### The Battle of the Border

Even if these numbers prove only partially accurate, they provide a strong incentive for the U.S. to take a fresh look at the issue and attempt to reach a thoughtful accommodation with Mexico. Such an accommodation might start from the premise that the enormous — and at about \$1.5 billion annually, enormously expensive — buildup of border defenses has failed to reduce illegal entries. This reality makes a negotiated deal with Mexico one of the few reasonable courses of action left.

The incentives for Mexico to negotiate a dramatic change in the status quo are equally powerful. They include deaths at the border, which approached 500 last year, the disorder that results from the repeated U.S. push-back of many would-be illegal border-crossers, and the clear concern that the U.S.-Mexican argument about immigration may infect the broader relationship. The United States and Mexico share an interest in attacking organized criminal networks that severely undermine the authority of the Mexican government and cause problems for the United States that go well beyond illegal immigration. In fact, the two nations, in tackling this issue, may have an excellent opportunity for broad cooperation on an unprecedented scale.

Presidents George Bush and Vicente Fox have agreed to rethink jointly that relationship. The most likely course of action would in effect make a deal in which each party gets something: The U.S. would grant legal status to most Mexicans now illegally resident in the United States and would issue large numbers of legal, temporary work visas for Mexicans; in exchange, the U.S. would get orderliness at the U.S.-Mexican border and very substantial reductions in unauthorized entries from and through Mexico.

Certainly, illegal immigration is largely a U.S.-Mexican issue, and our two nations need to address that fact. But we also need to acknowledge the deep social and economic forces that drive illegal immigration. Those include: (a) the ready availability of U.S. jobs for hard working Mexicans (who typically make few demands on employers); (b) the existence of mature ethnic networks;

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and (e) U.S. consumer habits and preferences which nurture and reinforce all immigration. The result is a near natural symbiosis between the goals of Mexican migrant workers and their families, on the one hand, and the interests and expectations of U.S. employers, investors, and consumers, on the other hand. Should we be surprised when policies that work against market forces in societies that otherwise idolize free enterprise (as the U.S. does, at least rhetorically) prove to have little success?

Managing illegal immigration will also be more effective in the long term if we commit ourselves to testing alternative management and control methods. For instance, we might choose to deepen cooperation with and increase coordination on enforcement activities with both our contiguous neighbors. (The U.S. and Canada are already moving on this track.) Making available larger numbers of immigrant visas to them might be a good incentive for obtaining their active cooperation.

Similarly, groupings of like-minded states can work together to keep out those without the right to enter or be

in their countries, as the European Union does through the Schengen agreement. The signing by the U.S., Canada and Mexico of two international protocols — one on “Trafficking in Persons” and the other on “Smuggling of Migrants” — last December in Palermo is a good initial step in that direction.

Alternately, the U.S. might wish to focus on managing unauthorized immigration from one or more key countries through a variety of positive incentives and sharp disincentives. Among the former might be offering them preferential immigration benefits, aggressively supporting development programs and loans by international financial institutions, or making additional trade concessions. Suspending some immigration benefits, instituting additional procedures at the border, temporarily blocking international financial institution initiatives, or withdrawing other positive incentives are the negative side of the same coin.

### Does Immigration Benefit America?

Any serious discussion about immigration's overall eco-

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conomic and labor market effects must start by making two points. First, what typically passes as an economic assessment is little more than an accounting exercise of costs and benefits to government — these tend to count only what can be quantified readily. Second, both sides to the political debate about immigration's effects overstate them systematically. The restrictionist side, however, when it seeks to anchor some of its argument on economic and labor market grounds — as it often does — does the greatest violence to the facts, and by a very large margin.

Assessments of immigration reach few truly authoritative conclusions. Nonetheless, there seems to be widespread analytical agreement that, at the aggregate level, immigration benefits investors, employers, consumers, and a country's international economic position and does not adversely affect (at least not in measurable ways) the job opportunities of domestic workers. The record is less

### *A negotiated deal with Mexico is one of the few reasonable options open to the U.S.*

clear on immigration's effect on wages. Some analysts speculate that the effect might be quite large, but in a world of few trade barriers and weak worker organizations, isolating immigration's effect on wages seems to be almost an exercise in futility. The key factor seems to be whether immigrant workers have skills that are similar to those of native-born workers. Workers whose jobs are similar to those of immigrants will face lower wages and, in some instances, restricted job opportunities. Most frequently, such workers are themselves previously settled immigrants and/or minority group members.

An exhaustive 1997 report by the National Academy of Sciences echoes and ratifies these assessments. It also finds that the average net economic benefits to the U.S. government of immigration it was able to measure tend to be small and vary widely with the following factors: the skill, age, and family composition of the immigrants in

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question; the economic sector in which the immigrants enter; the overall economic conditions of their areas of settlement; and the immigrants' legal status.

The academy's accounting exercise did not measure benefits which, though difficult to quantify, are essential to a full assessment of net effects. Among these are the fact that the upbringing and education of immigrants have been paid for by other, usually poorer, countries (immigrants are heavily over-represented among those holding post-graduate degrees, but also among those not having a high school diploma); the value of immigrant-led expansion in immigrant-dependent industries; the trade openings created or expanded by immigrants; and the dollar value of immigrants' personal industry, innovation, and dynamism. A National Research Council study estimated that in 1997 immigrants raised the aggregate

*Immigrants often exhibit values, like thrift, that we Americans aspire to but no longer consistently exhibit.*

income of nonimmigrants in the United States by \$1 billion to \$10 billion. Immigrants also increase the ranks of entrepreneurs and typically exhibit values — including family values and work habits — that most closely approximate those to which we sometimes aspire but no longer seem capable of producing consistently.

The benefits of legal immigration do not imply that all immigrants improve our general welfare or that more immigration will necessarily continue to prove advantageous. Responsible governance requires that immigration levels be flexible, that the impact of immigration on the labor market be monitored (so that immigration policy remains broadly in line with whatever human resource policies we may have), that immigration's demographic effects be clearly understood and in line with the goals of the receiving country, and that unanticipated

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## FOCUS

pated and undesirable social effects (including unwarranted access to the country's welfare system) be addressed quickly, though equitably.

But what of the economics of unauthorized immigration? These may be even more positive than those of legal immigration. However, illegal immigration undermines the principle that successful societies are governed by the rule of law. Thus, it provokes considerable popular anxiety and helps to stoke xenophobic rhetoric. Such rhetoric, in turn, blurs the line between legal and illegal immigration and threatens to turn an always ambivalent public against all forms of immigration. This is why defenders of generous levels of legal immigration can often seem as keen as their philosophical adversaries to eliminate illegal immigration.

### **The Goal of Integration**

When Americans talk about immigration, our arguments tend to fall into two distinct categories. On one level, we have political arguments that are little more than

an ongoing "dialogue of the deaf" regarding immigration's costs and benefits. On another level, policy experts discuss administrative and management reforms that are simply not on the political screen of our country's senior leadership. Among the political arguments, one finds the highly emotional issue of the pace at which the "face" of America is changing, controlling illegal immigration, or resolving deep philosophical differences over temporary labor programs. Within the category of needed reforms, one finds controlling illegal immigration (again), managing the immigration function more effectively, addressing the massive family immigration backlogs, and reducing immigration fraud.

While all these issues are important, I would argue that the key issue at hand is integration — that is, understanding better and intervening successfully in the reciprocal process through which immigrants adapt to the communities they enter and communities adapt to the newcomers. Why integration? Because as U.S. communities become hosts to immigrants in numbers they have not

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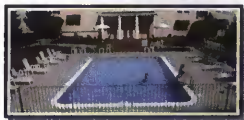
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encountered since the early 20th century, they — and the larger society of which they are part — must address the resulting “stirring of the pot.” That is, the many ways in which public and private resources inevitably are redistributed when large numbers of newcomers join a community. The larger immigration flows projected for the next two decades make the issue even more pressing.

Considering the increasing pace of immigration, our long-term success as a society may be more contingent upon solving the immigration and inter-group relations puzzle (what I call the immigration/integration nexus) than many may appreciate. This requires that we should treat the receiving environment (its cultural, social, political, and economic facets) not just as a “space” in which immigrants “happen” to settle, but as a living entity with which immigrants are always in a dynamic relationship.

Three sets of issues about the encounter of immigrants with receiving communities (and vice versa) require priority attention. They are (a) labor markets; (b) mobility issues; and (c) societal “cohesion.” Together, these issue

areas help shape immigrant integration and determine whether a community's and, by extension, a society's, long-term experience with immigration will be a positive or a troubled one.

Among these three, immigrant labor market and economic participation may be most crucial — at least when one considers the recent politics regarding immigration. It is participation in the workforce that, more than any other factor, affects the host community's view of immigrants as either net contributors to or net consumers of social and economic resources.

On immigrant mobility, an expanding body of literature, much of it written during the “dark days” of the recession of the early 1990s, as well as impressionistic evidence, seem to suggest that upward mobility may be becoming an increasingly distant goal for certain immigrants and possibly their children — our society's future citizen-workers. However, more recent work seems to paint a more encouraging picture — suggesting that the economic conditions of the local labor market which

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immigrants encounter may be the most important variable in the mobility opportunities of immigrants. As the fortunes of U.S. labor markets brightened in the second half of the 1990s, so did the mobility prospects of immigrant families.

Finally, societal cohesion concerns offer a compelling rationale for activist policies that assist immigrants to become socially, politically and economically better incorporated. This rationale is anchored on a powerful premise — namely, that the alternative to the integration of newcomers is not only missing an opportunity to benefit fully from immigration but, of even greater importance, to risk creating different classes of membership in our society. That eventually will affect societal cohesion adversely.

In the context of all three “integration” issues mentioned here, both public and private institutions have crucial roles to play. Our public institutions — schools, bureaucracies, public service delivery agencies, police and judicial systems, political parties — must promote inclusion (and reject exclusion) more effectively than

they have in recent years. Considering our economic and political makeup, however, it may be even more necessary that we consider thoughtfully the roles private institutions — such as unions, individual employers and their associations, banks, churches, social assistance agencies, foundations, and self-help and mutual-aid organizations — must play in offering not only the necessary mediation and conflict prevention/resolution services, but also in advancing inclusion affirmatively.

Cities and the communities that make them up are undeniably the “ground zero” of immigration policies — the place where immigration and integration policies meet. It is in cities that competition for often scarce resources occurs — from housing and social goods to jobs, education, and political power. More importantly, it is cities that are the real laboratories for testing different models of living together as members of a community. Since local communities, then, are the crucibles of integration, it is important that we all work hard and smart to strengthen their capacity for performing this critical (and in many ways very traditional) role. ■

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## THE "MAD DOCTOR"

AN IMMIGRATION TALE WITH A MORAL

BY RICHARD GONZALEZ

"Mr. Gonzalez, the mad doctor is here to see you," announced the Foreign Service National employee.

"Mad doctor? Who is he? Why does he need to see me?"

"Oh, he comes calling frequently. He seeks to make his case before the consul that he is being denied his legal right to be in America."

It was my second day on the job as consular section chief in Accra, Ghana, and I didn't have the time to waste with a nuisance case like the "mad doctor." Over the course of the next 12 months, the mad doctor visited our office several times, seeking to speak with me, but he was turned away as simply another nut case.

The following year, however, the mad doctor managed to slip through the defenses we had erected and was ushered into my office. Shabby but dignified in a frayed dark suit, the mad doctor turned out to be not at all mad. Rather, he was a highly intelligent and articulate man who had practiced medicine in both his native Ghana and the United States for more than 20 years. With tears welling in his eyes, he composed himself to present his case to the consul, a moment for which he had waited 10 years.

"Please, Excellency, I require your assistance in returning to America to be able to continue the life that I began there almost 20 years ago."

Over the next hour, he recounted a story of how circumstances and indifferent and uncaring officials, including myself, had conspired to deny him the basic courtesy of being heard. Twenty years earlier the doctor traveled to the United States to participate in a medical residency program. In the United States he married and became a legal permanent resident. Eight years later, and divorced, he was established in a medical practice in a large U.S. city. At that time, his father died and he was compelled to return to Ghana to preside over the funeral and dispose of his

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*Richard Gonzalez, an FSO since 1982, was stationed in Accra from 1998 to 2000. He is now consul general in Tijuana.*

*The sad Ghanaian man had only a tattered boarding pass as evidence of his tale.*

father's extensive holdings. Knowing that he would not be able to settle his father's estate within the 12-month period legal permanent residents are allowed to remain continuously abroad, he wisely obtained an INS re-entry permit allowing him to remain outside the U.S. legally for up to 24 months. Two days short of two years later, the good doctor boarded an international flight from Accra to London, where he expected to make a connection to the United States. The doctor planned to re-enter the United States with 18 hours of his two years to spare!

Arriving at Heathrow Airport, he proceeded to check in for the U.S. leg of his trip. Reaching the counter with two hours to make his connection, he handed his passport, re-entry permit, and ticket to an airline agent who apologetically explained that his shift was over, but that his relief would shortly process him for his connecting flight. When the relief agent arrived a half hour later, the airline could not locate the doctor's documents, thus causing him to miss his flight and his opportunity to return to the United States. Without his identifying documents, the doctor became just another poor Ghanaian attempting to con his way into the United States. He was soon deported to Ghana.

Other than a tattered boarding pass from his Accra to London flight, he had nothing to substantiate his claim. The doctor's story, however, was so compelling and so believable that I requested a review of his INS file. The file confirmed that the doctor had indeed obtained a re-entry permit with U.S. immigration law. I documented him as a returning resident alien and he was soon on his way back to the United States.

The nature of consular work, particularly in the developing world, requires that consular officers be insulated from the endless numbers of denied applicants seeking to present their cases to a higher authority. As this case so sadly illustrates, however, we must provide for avenues of appeal and remain open to those knocking on our doors to avoid injustices such as that of the "mad doctor." ■

# AMERICA'S SPLIT PERSONALITY ON IMMIGRATION POLICY



Chris Reed

ON A *MACRO* LEVEL, WE WANT MORE RESTRICTIONS, BUT ON A *MICRO* LEVEL, WE WELCOME IMMIGRANTS. NO WONDER CONSULAR OFFICERS ARE CONFUSED.

By BRUCE MORRISON

**I**m migration policy over the last four centuries tells the story of how we constructed the America of today. But what has our past taught us about the America that immigration is creating for the future? On Capitol Hill, in the administration and on the front lines at consular posts around the world, the message is the same: Keep the wrong ones out and let the right ones in without delay. The question is: which ones are which?

For most of our history, immigration has not been well regulated. In recent years, concern and controversy about immigration have grown. In the wake of regulatory failures, many interests have grown up in opposition to fixing defects in our immigration system. For example, illegal aliens and those who employ them resist their deportation.

*One very effective  
way to prevent illegal  
entries would be to  
prevent illegal aliens  
from working.*

Americans focus on the details of immigration only when they want to bring somebody in or keep somebody here. On the other hand, most Americans don't know anyone in that situation and so in general, Americans believe that the country has quite enough people, and that immigration seems out of control.

The policy debates reflect this dichotomy. On a macro level, Americans want restrictions on the number of immigrants who will be permitted to come to the United States. Everyone is quick to insist that immigration policy should keep out the bad ones: criminals, terrorists, and also the ones who would compete with us for jobs, or who, we may believe, aren't enough like us to become real Americans. On a micro level, the views are more nuanced: "I certainly want my relative to be able to visit and stay if he wants." "My company has a critical need for workers which the domestic workforce seems unable to meet." "My ancestors' country of origin should be able to continue to send good folks like me."

These competing instincts have forged our immigration policies. If consular officers are getting a mixed message about what is expected of them, it's not that they are hearing it wrong. Washington is sending out a mixed message. And that is because Washington hears a mixed message from the grass roots.

**Letting the Good Ones In**

Three recent pieces of immigration legislation (the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, the Immigration Act of 1990, and Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996) have tried to balance competing views on immigration. The goal of the IRCA was to "close the back door" of illegal immigration. By offering amnesty to

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*Bruce Morrison was a member of the House of Representatives from 1983 to 1991. From 1989 to 1991, the Connecticut Democrat chaired the House Subcommittee on Immigration; he was the principal author of the Immigration Act of 1990. He is currently vice chairman of GPC/O'Neill & Associates, an international public affairs and public relations company.*

most aliens illegally in the country, and initiating the first pre-employment work site verification of legal status, the legislation's framers sought a grand compromise: Those who had put down roots here would get to stay and work, but in the future, there would be no work for those who entered illegally. It was a good idea, but the flaws in its

construction and implementation are very apparent now. The verification of employment spawned a whole industry for making fraudulent documents. The implementation of the amnesty provision for those already here was generally fair, but the INS's restrictive legal interpretations of amnesty spawned litigation which remains unresolved to this day.

The next step was to create legislation to "open the front door." The Immigration Act of 1990 allowed immigrants with higher skills to join the American workforce more easily and in higher numbers. It was accompanied by provisions to restrict the flow of unskilled workers, to diversify the source countries for immigrants, and to improve the categorization of temporary, non-immigrant admissions. The legislation also made it easier to deport immigrants who commit crimes in the United States while it eliminated ideological restrictions on admission which had been passed in the early days of the Cold War.

As a result of these two laws, the country entered the last decade of the twentieth century with new rules on immigration that, on paper at least, responded well to the growing challenges of global migration. On the one hand, immigration laws would allow employers to hire from a global labor pool of talented people. On the other, the laws on work site verification would keep jobs out of the hands of illegal immigrants and would make immigrating to America illegally less tempting. These laws seemed to strike a balance between the macro and micro immigration interests of the country. But depressed economic conditions in the early 1990's and the flaws in IRCA's worksite enforcement scheme had Congress up in arms about illegal immigration by 1996.

IIRIRA, the third piece of recent immigration legislation, created restrictions on entry and tougher

penalties for misconduct in the U.S. IIRIRA was accompanied by welfare "reform" provisions. For the first time legal permanent residents were to be treated more like illegal aliens, ineligible for most benefits, rather than like citizens, with whom they had been grouped in the past. While this classification scheme for legal residents has been reversed in part, treating those who have immigrated legally like those who have broken the rules blurs the line between legal and illegal. A viable immigration policy turns on maintaining clear definitions of who is here legally and who is illegal.

Much more can, and has, been written about congressional policymaking on immigration over the last two decades. This synopsis is not comprehensive or nuanced. But it serves to underscore the critical point: Consular officers describe a "damned if you do, damned if you don't" feeling when issuing visas. The conflict they feel is inherent in the tension built into our policies. In the face of each applicant, we see the image of an immigrant in our own family. But in the group of those seeking entry as a whole we see a wave of humanity assailing our shores.

Our immigration policies are imperfect in part because we seek to balance our competing interests in maintaining both openness and control. But the United States makes at least two avoidable errors in its immigration system. First, we pursue the problem of illegal entry with excessive emphasis on a border defense strategy. A much more effective way to prevent illegal entries would be to prevent illegal aliens from working. Second, we fail to allocate the resources for prompt and careful adjudications of immigrants' claims.

### **The Border Defense Fallacy**

The U.S. relies on border controls to prevent illegal immigration. Airport inspectors check for improper documentation, and the border patrol tries to prevent entries without inspection. Such controls are necessary, but they are not an effective way to reduce illegal immigration.

*It is impossible to  
dramatically reduce the  
number of illegal  
immigrants in the U.S.  
if they are permitted to  
be gainfully employed.*

The INS estimates that 50 to 60 percent of those living illegally in the United States entered without inspection, and the remaining illegal immigrants overstayed valid visas. While some make the case that the roughly 300,000 person annual increase in illegal immigrants demonstrates a failure of border control, it would be more productive to study instead how so many unauthorized individuals

can support themselves here. They aren't living off the state: Illegal aliens have always been barred from most public benefits, and the 1996 welfare reform made it even more difficult for them to get government support. Illegal immigrants are able to stay in the U.S. simply because they can find jobs here.

The current system to keep illegal workers out of the job market is a disaster. Fraudulent documents can easily be procured. To prevent discrimination against "foreign looking" individuals, documents that appear to be valid must be accepted. The paperwork is a burden for employers, and it does little to prevent unauthorized employment. Many agricultural, small manufacturing and service sector employers don't even bother to deal with the proper paperwork.

Once illegal workers enter the U.S. job market, they can be subject to exploitation. They cannot complain about poor treatment at their employer's hands because they fear deportation. The presence of illegal workers in the U.S. also threatens the livelihood of legitimate workers. Employers may be tempted to replace an authorized worker who registers a complaint about being treated poorly with an illegitimate worker who is powerless to lodge a similar complaint.

It is impossible to dramatically reduce the number of illegal immigrants in the U.S. if they are permitted to be gainfully employed. Beating the border controls, whether in consular processing, procuring fraudulent documents, or avoiding inspection is well worth the costs and the risks for prospective illegal immigrants if they expect to be able to find work here. Border control can only do so much: When we fail to control who is allowed to work in this country, it becomes difficult for the Department of State and

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50 to 60 percent of those  
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United States entered  
without inspection.*

the INS to regulate the massive flows of immigrants who enter the country, no matter how many resources are put at their disposal. However, to the extent that effective work site enforcement and expeditious removal of those without a substantial claim to remain in the United States are implemented, dramatic improvements in consular and border enforcement are possible. People simply won't be as tempted to immigrate illegally to the U.S. if they know it will be hard for them to work here, and thus the pressure large numbers of immigrants exert on the consulates and borders will decrease.

It is possible to better regulate who is allowed to work here. Technology can provide secure encrypted identity verification at the time of employment. These identity checks should be performed not by glancing at a card or a piece of paper but by comparing identity information with a central database. We are already requiring employers to register new hires with a child support enforcement database, so privacy concerns cannot explain the absence of a workable work authorization scheme. Discrimination, fraud, and employer burden could all be reduced by such an approach.

**FSOs or Immigration Specialists?**

That such systemic reforms can make a big difference was demonstrated by the INS asylum reforms of the mid-1990s. Before, individuals could get work-authorization status if they made an asylum claim. This practice spawned phony asylum claims from individuals bent on working in the U.S., and the large increase in asylum claims ensured that the INS would not get around to denying applications for years. By the time his request for asylum was denied, an immigrant would have found another legal avenue to allow him to stay in the U.S. By decoupling work authorization from asylum applications for long enough to adjudicate most applications, INS reduced the numbers to a manageable level and therefore had more time to adjudicate legitimate applications fairly and accurately.

If internal enforcement at the worksite and

prompt removal of the undocumented were effectively implemented, the consular processing load would be less. But there would still be a growing workload around the world. Why can't all this demand pay its own way? And shouldn't the staff assigned to this work be both expert and interested in its efficient and effective execution?

The international travel and migration system should pay the cost of the necessary controls. There are various ways to allocate the costs among individuals seeking or receiving visas, businesses which benefit from those visas, and taxpayers more generally. International travel is expensive and even illegal entrants expend huge sums to gain entry. There is no good reason not to charge enough to all the users and beneficiaries to do the job right. But if that is done, the pitfalls of government fee accounts must be avoided. They must be run like the business they are. The INS fee accounts are an example of what not to do: Services have not been delivered in a timely manner. For example, citizenship applications take over two years, and H1-B visas take six months. Such "nothing for something" pricing would drive any company out of business. A market-driven bottom line will be needed to prevent this result, but adequate funding for immigration processing is worth the effort.

The other factor in the resources equation is personnel. We know we need and want the global flow of tourists, business visitors, temporary workers, and permanent immigrants, but we are afraid of losing the sovereignty and security which borders represent. The importance of the consular processing task requires that it be done well. In my work as an immigration lawyer, I have seen a wide range of attitudes that FSOs have toward consular work. Many FSOs are extremely helpful and competent. Others are distracted and angry about any attempt to influence their decisions. Others express clear biases about individuals and whole countries which they would have been embarrassed to repeat in a different setting. For most FSOs, consular work is a purgatory to be endured before the real work of diplomacy begins.

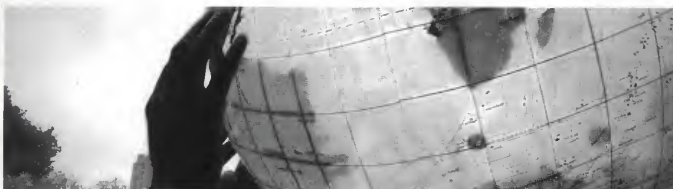
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Should consular work be the province of Foreign Service officers? Would a separate corps of immigration enforcement and facilitation personnel be preferable? In our increasingly global environment, migration issues are among the most challenging we will face in the years ahead. The U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform recommended that the Department of State take over the entire process of granting immigration benefits, specifically the INS visa petition approval process, leaving the Department of Justice with the law enforcement aspects. However, the State Department declined the honor. The State Department may be well served by seeking to expand, not contract, its expertise and specialization in this area. But it seems unlikely that

***State should expand  
its role in the  
immigration process,  
even if it doesn't  
want to.***

consular processing by FSOs who wish they were doing something else is the answer. Some have suggested that an immigration benefit bureau would fare poorly in the State Department because of status distinctions between FSOs and GS employees in the department. But some kind of consular or immigration specialization seems necessary.

Immigration to the U.S. continues to be essential to our economy and our culture of diversity. Openness to global business, tourism, and education are hallmarks of our society and competitive advantages in the world. Consular processing can be the facilitator of these good things. But we need to support the work with effective domestic enforcement, adequate funding, and an expert workforce that is interested in the work. ■



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BOOK REVIEWS, AND MORE . . .

# IMMIGRATION RUN AMOK: WHY WE NEED REFORM



Chris Reed

**N**

CURRENT POLICIES DO NOT MEET  
AMERICA'S NATIONAL NEEDS AND FUEL  
AN UNDESIRABLE POPULATION INCREASE.

By JACK MARTIN

o one imagined that the 1965 Immigration Act, which among other provisions abolished the national origins quota system, would set off a return of mass immigration. Sen. Eugene McCarthy, D-Minn., a cosponsor of the act, said on the Senate floor at the time, "It is a limited measure, since it does not make any substantial increase in the number of immigrants who can enter each year." Yet in fact, the 1965 legislation did spur a substantial rise in immigration: In 1992, McCarthy noted, "The 1965 changes to the immigration laws discounted the human factors that ultimately resulted in effects no one had anticipated." The flow of immigrants into the U.S. when national quotas were in effect was between 250,000 to 300,000 immigrants a year. After the 1965 act, the numbers began to climb to over 500,000 immigrants in 1980, and today,

to over one million per year, when the illegal flow is included.

There are many reasons immigration has returned to the high levels not seen since the beginning of the 20th century. One key factor is chain migration (the process whereby an immigrant who becomes a U.S. citizen is allowed to sponsor family members for obtaining immigrant visas). Other reasons are: illegal immigration; the amnesties which have allowed immigrants to make the transition to legal status and obtain green cards without leaving the country; and immigration law violators. Setting aside the problem of illegal immigration for a moment, the current system of legal immigration is not in accord with national needs, fuels undesirable population increase and cries out for major reform.

### **An Unbroken Chain**

Under the current system, most legal immigrants to the U.S. arrive as a result of chain migration. In effect, Congress gave each new wave of immigrants the power to select the following wave. Chain migration has created a shift in our immigration intake from developed countries to developing countries, in part because immigrants from developing countries tend to have more family members — whom they want to bring to the United States. For example, in Germany, the average total fertility rate is 1.3 births per lifetime per woman. In the Philippines, it is 3.7. An increasing percentage of our immigrant population is poorly educated and poorly skilled, due in part to amnesty provisions and INA Section 245(i), both of which give legal status to illegal aliens. (The 245(i) provision allowed aliens illegally in the United States to make the transition to legal status.)

Other countries look more rationally at their manpower or skills needs in setting immigrant admissions policies. Some countries, such as Australia, set immigration policy according to how it will affect popula-

**Other countries look  
more rationally at  
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immigrant admissions  
policies.**

tion size. They recognize that immigration is a discretionary policy that is a key component of population planning. I recently attended a population conference in Australia where the cabinet minister for immigration set out the government's immigration policy in terms of how it would affect Australia's future age and skills structure and population size. Couldn't we do that too?

Americans need to think more about the implications of population size. When I entered the Foreign Service in the early 1960s, the U.S. population was about 183 million — 100 million fewer residents than today. The recent release of 2000 Census data shows that our population is increasing by more than one percent per year — a rate higher than China's. Demographic studies have shown that the share of the increase attributable to immigration is about two-thirds.

The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) recommends that immigration be restored to a replacement level (meaning that those arriving will approximately number those who die or permanently leave the United States), i.e., about one-quarter to one-third of a million. By doing so, the nation's population would begin to approach a stable level toward the middle of this century. Absent a change of that type, the Census Bureau projects that the population will continue its rapid growth to about 400 million by the middle of the century, with no end to such rates of increase in sight.

### **Closing the Back Door**

This population projection has tremendous implications for all Americans. The more the population grows, the less livable our country is likely to become. We are today more conscious than ever of population crowding, urban sprawl, diminishing rural and wilderness lands, traffic gridlock, and resource limits such as the energy crisis in California. It can be conclusively demonstrated that in the United States the environmental problems associated with urban sprawl owe as much to population increase as to land use patterns.

It is well past time that Congress undertake a major reform of immigration to return it to more

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*Jack Martin was an FSO from 1961 to 1989. He is the director of special projects at the Federation for American Immigration Reform.*

## F O C U S

*By denying  
employment  
opportunities,  
we reduce the  
incentive to  
immigrate illegally.*

moderate levels. Ideas for reform were recommended in 1996 by the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform, chaired by former congresswoman Barbara Jordan, D-Texas. The Jordan Commission recommendations included both reform and reduction for legal immigration as well as measures to correct the wave of illegal immigration. Congress proved incapable of dealing with such a large agenda, and enacted only illegal immigration reforms in 1996. The legal reform agenda still awaits action.

Reforming legal immigration alone will not do the job of curtailing population increase. We must do a better job of controlling the back door too. As a result of the general amnesty for illegal aliens in 1986, we gave permanent residence to nearly three million illegal aliens and empowered them to sponsor family members. 2000 Census data has led researchers to speculate that today's illegal alien population could be nearly double the INS estimate of about six million. Yet there have been additional limited amnesties adopted and there is a push, begun in the last Congress, for another general amnesty. Such policies throw the back door wide open by advertising to the world our lack of resolve to control our borders.

### **Controlling Immigration**

So what are the solutions? First, I believe we must act on the unfinished Jordan Commission agenda to reduce legal immigration to a sustainable level. The reform proposals that await congressional consideration include ending family preference visas for siblings and adult children (except for dependent adult children), and the visa lottery (an implicit recommendation). Combined admissions for family and employment categories and for refugees would total no more than 550,000. This level is higher than the replacement level sought by FAIR, but it is a major step in the right direction.

Second, we should adopt mandatory employer verification of work eligibility for all new employees.

The 1986 immigration reform legislation included adoption of pilot programs to test systems to allow employers to verify the employment documents pre-

vented by new hires to establish their work eligibility. The tests are virtually complete and now are being evaluated. We know that a system that allows employers to verify social security numbers with the Social Security Administration and alien ID numbers with the INS can work, because states have been using such a system for federal benefits for years. By denying employment opportunity, the incentive to immigrate illegally will diminish,

thereby aiding the job of the Border Patrol and allowing internal INS enforcement efforts to be more effectively targeted on employers who deliberately exploit illegal workers.

Third, we should implement entry-exit document matching, both to improve national security and to reveal whether nationals of visa waiver countries are abusing the system by staying in the United States. If Amazon.com can keep track of an inventory of millions of books, there is no good reason that the INS should not be able to match entry-exit records of foreign travelers. The one difficulty is with land border crossings, and that problem can be made manageable by exempting local, limited-duration travel by Canadians and Mexicans.

Fourth, we should stop conferring immigration benefits on aliens illegally residing in the United States. This means an end to amnesties, temporary protected status and adjustment of status.

This last point is especially important. The experience and expertise of consular officers is being underused because they are not consistently empowered to act as the nation's gatekeepers in protecting the country from undesirable immigration. Although consular officers' work in deciding visa eligibility is little understood by the American public, their knowledge and judgment are vital to giving meaning to the immigration law.

Unless those who enter the country illegally or who violate the terms of their visas are made to pay a penalty, the immigration law is nothing more than an easily bypassed obstacle for all but law-abiding people. In FY97 less than half of the immigrant admissions were new arrivals. The majority adjusted their

## F O C U S

status in the United States. The INS doesn't say how many of those who adjusted status were in legal nonimmigrant status, but it is a small share.

The in-country knowledge of our consular officers should be routinely used to evaluate asylum claims. Instead of expert governmental advice, today generic "country conditions" are used to justify permanent U.S. residence. Recently, an asylum claimant gained legal status with a story about facing a circumcision ritual because she was in line to become queen of her tribe in Africa when simple research later proved that her story was a complete fabrication. Where we have consular personnel on the scene, claims to fear persecution should be examined by those who are

***We should stop  
conferring  
immigration benefits  
on aliens illegally  
residing in the  
United States.***

trained and experienced in judging the veracity of visa applicants.

Would our consular sections be overburdened — as the State Department claims — by restoring to them the gatekeeper responsibility that was stripped away by INA Section 245(i)? Now that our consulates are empowered to collect and use visa fees, additional responsibility should justify additional personnel resources and broaden the responsibilities of consular officers.

There should be little doubt that consular personnel, both local and American, are best equipped to investigate and deal with cases that require knowledge of local culture and governmental practices. Such a change would help toward getting immigration back under control. ■

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(signed) Caroline Benner, Managing Editor

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# FOR LATINOS, IMMIGRATION IS A FAMILY AFFAIR



Chris Reed

**O** THE U.S. AND MEXICO ARE FINALLY TALKING ABOUT THEIR SHARED IMMIGRATION PROBLEM, WHICH MAY LEAD TO SOLUTIONS FOR BOTH COUNTRIES.

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BY GABRIELA D. LEMUS

On Feb. 16, 2001, in his first foreign trip as president, George W. Bush journeyed to San Cristobal, Mexico, to meet with President Vicente Fox Quesada and discuss relations between the two countries. At the top of the agenda was the question of how the two governments would address immigration. Both leaders sought a package that would address both U.S. and Mexican concerns.

That the discussion was taking place at all reflected a sea change in attitudes on the part of both sides. Historically, Mexico had not dealt with immigration, viewing it as part of U.S. domestic policy. For the United States, immigration policy has contributed to the creation of an illicit labor market that undermines the rule of law and causes countless unnecessary deaths on both sides of the 2,000-mile border. By engaging in bilateral discussions with Mexico, Bush was

implicitly suggesting that this might change. The two countries had entered into a new working relationship.

"We have spoken on the firm idea that we have of fighting violence against immigrants, and to work based on the law, [on] the coyotes taking our illegal workers into U.S. territory," Fox said following the meeting.

Few issues are as contentious and polarizing for the American public as immigration. Invariably when the topic is raised, strong visceral reactions arise, contributing to stereotypes, which in turn frame public and official debate on the issue. A principal consequence has been a wave of civil rights abuses that often victimize U.S. citizens along with foreign nationals.

### Vigilantes on the Border

Earlier this year, Douglas, Ariz., became the focus of border enforcement policy when ranchers, upset by the U.S. Border Patrol's inability to stop wayward undocumented migrants from crossing their lands, began rounding up immigrants. Effective border control operations undertaken in the early 1990s near San Diego had created a balloon effect that moved the flow of undocumented workers eastward into Arizona, where much of the land adjacent to the border is privately owned or leased from the government for ranching.

Some ranchers have taken the law into their own hands and boast of capturing thousands of "illegals." They chase down migrant workers on horseback and by truck. The ranchers carry weapons and intimidate border crossers, threatening to do them grievous harm. The highly volatile situation along the U.S.-Mexico border threatens to become a dangerous flashpoint for violence and human rights abuses.

Congress, however, has done little to address the problem. Under siege on the border, Latinos became increasingly jeopardized by propaganda which rendered immigrants synonymous with "illegals."

The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) — the oldest Latino civil rights organization in the United States — along with other Latino, civil rights and religious organizations, demanded a full-scale investigation by the FBI and the U.S. Department of Justice into

the actions of the ranchers. It became critical that action be taken to ensure that in their efforts to protect their property, border ranchers did not trigger wide-scale retaliation against the Latino community in the Southwest.

These types of incidents are extreme, but with the widespread availability of the Internet, flames of hate are being fanned across the country, encouraging similar behavior. Documents sent via the Internet and the U.S. mail invite vacationers to help the ranchers defend their properties. A recently created Web site, [www.ranchrescue.com](http://www.ranchrescue.com), claims that ranchers are being overrun by criminal trespassers who assault the ranchers. These reports have proven untrue. Thus far, there have been no reports of assaults on ranchers by migrants anywhere on the border.

There have, however, been shootings by ranchers of migrant workers. Three immigrants were killed last year in similar incidents in Texas. One man was shot and allowed to bleed to death in south Texas because a rancher was upset he had trespassed onto his property. Additionally this year, there were reports of seven other immigrants being wounded in incidents along the border.

It is clear that immigration cannot be ignored and that border policy needs to take into consideration the conflicting mandates of enforcing border security and permitting authorized movement of peoples and goods. The status quo invites undocumented immigration into perilous territory and worsens already-strained relations between foreigners and residents of the Southwest. The challenge facing the United States is how to manage immigration and how to create balanced policies and strategies that do not pit immigrants against U.S. citizens. That requires, first of all, a brief look at the history of immigration.

### A Fading American Dream

The United States, as we've been told ever since grade school, has always been a nation of immigrants. Immigration was the portal to the "American Dream," according to which anyone can succeed if they try hard enough. The proposition is deeply embedded in the national psyche and mythology.

At the beginning of the 20th century, during the last great wave of immigration, individuals coming to the United States were primarily Europeans who came from rural Ireland, Italy, Poland, Germany, and Scandinavia. But the most recent changes in immigration patterns can be largely correlated with the end of the Cold War, glob-

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*Gabriela D. Lemus is the director of policy and legislation at the League of United Latin American Citizens, the oldest and largest Latino organization in the United States.*

*Everyone agrees  
that something needs  
to be done about  
undocumented  
immigration.*

alization processes, and advances in technology. Now, immigrants come largely from Mexico, Central and South America, the Caribbean, Africa, Southeast Asia, China, and other places in the Southern Hemisphere where people are darker, generally poorer, have different cultural values, and often lower levels of educational achievement. And they are coming to the United States in greater numbers than ever before.

The reasons for immigration are many, but usually there are two basic motivations that lead a person to leave home and family and embark on a frightening journey — the promise of economic opportunity, and fear for one's safety.

At the receiving end, there are many reasons why the United States has long provided a safe haven for immigrants. Beyond idealistic notions of the U.S. as a nation of immigrants and sympathy for the downtrodden, there have been practical reasons as well: an ongoing need for low-skilled, low-wage labor and a proliferation of social networks that help newcomers get oriented.

In recent decades, such social forces have resulted in a reliable stream of immigrants — and an environment full of contradictions. Because employers value foreign workers, who tend to be highly reliable, punctual, stable, hard-working, and flexible, there is a large demand for their labor. But suffocating and expensive visa practices unintentionally force immigrants who are in the U.S. without proper papers into a tricky situation: They find it more difficult to return to their home countries than to remain illegally in the United States. Heightened visa restrictions and stricter border enforcement mean that once people are in the United States, they are likely to stay even if they don't want to.

This state of affairs is not entirely new. At least since 1924, when the U.S. passed its first restrictive immigration act with national quotas, many foreign-born residents who might have wanted to return to their home countries have instead remained in the U.S.

Today, this effect has been compounded by the immigration act of 1996, with its three- and ten-year rules. Under that law, should an individual enter the United States illegally, or should their original visa expire and they remain, that individual must leave the U.S. and return to

their country of origin in order to obtain or reinstate their legal status. They must then remain there for a minimum of three and up to ten years before they can return. Of course, that means losing precious time with spouses and children who are U.S. citizens or legal permanent residents.

Given these enforcement problems and painful human consequences, it's no wonder that policy analysts, congressional experts and the Bush administration are all considering reform of the current bureaucratic systems.

### **Which Path to Reform?**

The immigration debate in Washington focuses on two possible legislative components. The first approach would allow millions of undocumented workers who have a long-standing presence in the country to adjust their status, i.e., to become legal residents. The second would create a temporary worker provision to regulate the flows of individuals entering the United States to fill jobs that require lower skill-sets and that no one else will take, primarily in the agricultural and service sectors.

The actors in the debate include a wide array of interests, including non-governmental organizations, consisting primarily of immigration lawyers, religious organizations, labor unions and civil rights groups; legislators who favor resolving the status of the undocumented laborers already in the United States; legislators who seek a reduction in immigration; the White House; and most recently, the Mexican government.

Each group of actors agrees on one important point: something needs to be done about undocumented immigration. But that's where agreement ends. Caught in the middle of the debate are the federal bureaucracies, particularly the Immigration and Naturalization Service, that must implement the final outcome of the policymakers' decisions — and, not least, the immigrants themselves and their families.

Most of the interest groups seeking immigration reform, including LULAC, believe that whatever approach is undertaken must address the failures of previous immigration policies to abate undocumented immigration and, conversely, to improve the processing of documented immigration so as to shorten processing time and reduce backlogs.

Likewise, they seek to find some way to regularize the status of the large pool of undocumented persons who have been living for years in the United States. In their eyes, any legalization bill should consider a wide array of needs that were not met by the passage of the Legal Immigrant and Family Equity (LIFE) Act in December 2000, particularly a re-examination of family backlogs.

The LIFE bill was a substitute for the Latino and Immigrant Fairness Act (LIFA), which died a victim of partisan politics, although it was strongly supported by civil rights and immigration organizations. The LIFE bill did partially address some immigrant problems, but was far from comprehensive. It did permit people who had entered the United States between 1972 and 1982 to apply for legal status, but only if those persons had been included in one of three class-action suits that had been filed against the INS, and if they met certain residency requirements.

However, in what was viewed as a considerable shortcoming by pro-immigration forces, the LIFE Act only temporarily restored clause 245(i) of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act. The newly reinstated clause allowed undocumented persons with sponsoring family members or a sponsoring business to apply for permanent legal residency — but only until April 30, 2001. Individuals who have applied under that clause are allowed to stay in the United States while their status is reviewed for adjustment; they must also pay a \$1000 penalty fee.

As mentioned above, except for those who have filed under 245 (i), persons who want to apply for permanent residency must return to their country of origin for a period of three or ten years. The three- and ten-year bars separate families and cause a loss of workers who contribute to the economy, particularly in small- and medium-sized businesses. The restoration of 245(i) would not affect whether these immigrants qualify for legal status; it would simply change the location of where they wait for the processing of their permanent residence status.

Those who are against the permanent restoration of 245(i) argue that it would encourage more immigrants to cross the border illegally because it would, in effect, reward those immigrants who came to the United States

*Employers value  
foreign workers,  
who tend to be  
reliable, flexible and  
hard-working.*

without documentation. Hence, new arrivals would also presume that eventually their status would change.

Supporters of 245(i), including LULAC, feel that the date needs to be extended, or the clause made permanent, in order for the provision to have any utility. They also call for the provision to be expanded to extended family members such as grandparents, uncles, cousins, nieces, nephews,

brothers- and sisters-in law. President Bush seems to agree, at least partially. On May 1, he wrote to congressional leaders and requested that the 245(i) provision be temporarily extended for six months to a year, as LIFE had not been in effect long enough for all those who were eligible to apply to do so. According to the president, approximately 200,000 eligible applicants were unable to submit their paperwork to the INS on time.

#### **Guestworkers: Pros and Cons**

The second touchstone of the current immigration debate concerns "guestworker" programs, which might apply for example to agricultural migrant workers, many of whom now enter without papers. At the February Bush-Fox meeting, both Mexico and the United States signaled a desire to regularize the status of thousands of undocumented farm and service laborers.

Current policy concerning guestworkers traces to 1964, when the United States cancelled the "bracero" program that had been in place since 1942, and which was intended originally to augment the American labor force during World War II. It was canceled because of a rise in undocumented immigration and its negative effects on native-born farm workers. Simply put, the bracero program allowed for too many abuses.

There is an existing program for temporary visas for agricultural workers — the H-2A visa program that allows agricultural employers in the United States to hire foreign workers for up to 11 months, when there are not enough domestic workers available. H2-A workers must work for one specific employer and are not eligible to remain in the United States beyond their specified period of employment. Though on paper H-2A workers have rights on a par with domestic workers, these temporary workers are in a vulnerable position, which makes it difficult for them to enforce their rights.

It's not hard to understand, therefore, why NGOs, labor unions and civil rights organizations — especially LULAC — are wary of any new guestworker programs, though Fox and Bush have been moving cautiously toward the establishment of such programs. Our position is that American farm workers require decent wages and working conditions, which guestworker programs typically do not provide.

LULAC and allied organizations agree that any guestworker programs that displace authorized workers and undermine worker protections and labor standards should be rejected. Current legislation being proposed by Sen. Phil Gramm, R-Tex., for example, would subject farm workers to poor wages and working conditions and inequitable economic and political status for many years.

Immigration groups believe that there should be no expansion of guestworker programs that do not provide full rights for workers and preserve family unity. Any new legislation should also permit workers to acquire permanent legal status should they choose that option. More generally, LULAC has grave doubts about any program that permanently denies immigrants the option of U.S. citizenship.

Immigrant laborers, especially migrant workers, are among the most easily exploited and politically weakest populations in the United States. They need expanded protection through vigorous enforcement of worker protection laws that cover safety, health, wages and discrimination. Any new legislation should remove incentives for exploitation, and give workers the ability to protect themselves.

A new immigration bill should also feature an alternative to the current sanctions — generally fines — for employers who hire undocumented workers. Those sanctions have proven to be ineffective, as they are too difficult to implement fairly. As the law currently stands, unscrupulous employers can exploit immigrant workers by threatening to turn them in to the INS. As another unintended consequence, fair employers are at a comparative disadvantage.

One possible solution is that sought by Rep. Howard Berman, D-Calif., who sat down with growers and the United Farm Workers union in 2000 to hammer out a bill that would appeal to both sides. The bill contained protections for workers, along with a clause permitting a worker to move on to a different employer should the current employer prove abusive. Berman's bill would also

include housing provisions to accommodate migrant families. While that bill died in the last Congress, its key provisions may surface again.

### A Nation in Transformation

In rendering conclusions about the immigration debate, readers might consider the example of Toni and Cesar. Toni, who told me her story, is a native-born U.S. citizen who lives in Connecticut. Cesar is from Guatemala and came legally to the United States in the early 1990s to be with his mother, a permanent legal U.S. resident.

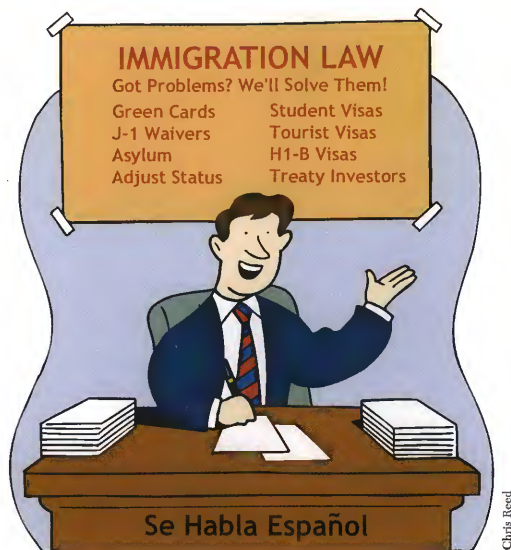
Toni and Cesar followed the rules: They filled out the appropriate paperwork, and got married in 1999. Late in 2000, Cesar had to go back to Guatemala to take care of some family business. On his way back home, in Houston, he was called in for a secondary inspection because an INS officer suspected he was undocumented. He was strip-searched. Terrified, he began to stutter. Although Cesar speaks English fairly well, he learned it as an adult and becomes nervous when aggressively questioned. The INS officer told him to stop acting "dumb" because he knew perfectly well that he could speak English. Cesar became confused and didn't understand the questions. The INS officer took that to mean he was guilty and deported him because he was unable to defend himself.

Toni and Cesar have been separated for almost a year now. She loves her husband and misses him terribly. But Cesar is still in Guatemala wondering when, if ever, he can be reunited with his wife and his mother. Toni just came back from Guatemala. She is angry. While she was in Guatemala, she spoke with U.S. embassy officials, who said that Cesar was subject to the three- and ten-year bars despite the U.S. government's mistakes.

As George Bush settles into his presidency, the riddle of what America should look like and how immigration should be handled continues to vex our society. What is clear is that immigration is a high-priority issue. The 2000 Census reported that there were approximately 11 million undocumented people currently living in the United States. Mexico considers the issue one of the most salient problems in U.S.-Mexican relations.

As the discussion between President Fox and President Bush demonstrates, immigration can no longer be viewed as strictly a domestic U.S. issue. But in resolving a perplexing problem with its neighbor to the south, the United States may well be forced to find a workable solution to a deep internal problem as well. ■

# IMMIGRATION LAWYERS AND FSOs: FRIENDS OR FOES?



**M**

CONSULAR OFFICERS AND IMMIGRATION LAWYERS  
TEND TO SEE EACH OTHER AS OPPONENTS, NOT  
COLLABORATORS. BUT THEY ARE ON THE SAME TEAM.

*By R. PATRICK MURPHY*

any consular officers and other government officials are automatically suspicious of immigration lawyers, based on encounters with a few bad apples. As with all professions, it is an unfortunate reality that not everyone who practices immigration law is ethical and honest. There are lawyers who prey on intending immigrants (often on those sharing their own national origin), taking fees and filing nothing or the wrong thing. Others promise immigration benefits to persons who are not eligible for the benefit promised. Still others hide behind the fact that next to tax law, immigration law is the most technically complex area of practice, requiring detailed knowledge about family, business, tax and criminal law.

Besides consular officers and other officials of the Department of State, immigration lawyers must deal with the officials,

and know the regulations, of a bewildering variety of other federal agencies. Thus, immigration lawyers tend to be specialists, with two-thirds of them spending 75 percent or more of their time on immigration and nationality law.

The fact is that most immigration lawyers are knowledgeable, dedicated and completely ethical. Most abuses do not stem from incompetent or unethical lawyers, who can be disbarred by a state bar, but the many immigration consultants, notaries and freelance paralegals, who are all totally unregulated.

For all these reasons, INS and consular officials should actually welcome the involvement of immigration lawyers in the process. We not only weed out aliens who are not eligible for the visas they are seeking, but we help applicants and their U.S. employers put together the necessary documentation and supporting evidence for issuance of immigration benefits.

#### **What Immigration Lawyers Do**

Broadly speaking, there are two types of non-immigrant visas for which applicants use immigration lawyers. The first is petition visas, which require a petition approved by the INS as a prerequisite for visa issuance. The most common of these NIVs are for H-1B specialty occupation workers (e.g., computer programmers), L-1 intracompany transferees (executives, managers and specialized knowledge professionals who have already worked abroad for one year for a qualified business entity related to their current employment), O-1 "aliens of extraordinary ability" (i.e., persons with extraordinary ability in the sciences, arts, education, business, or athletics that has been demonstrated by sustained national or international acclaim), and P visas (issued both to athletes, individually or as members of teams, and to various kinds of entertainment groups).

Immigration lawyers may also assist persons in obtaining application visas (i.e., visas for which application is made directly to a consular post without an underlying petition), such as E-1 treaty trader visas and E-2 treaty investor visas.

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E-1 treaty traders come to the United States to carry on substantial trade between the U.S. and the treaty country of which he or she is a national, while E-2 treaty investors, who may be senior employees of corporate investors, come here to develop or direct a substantial investment in the United States. In addition, immigration lawyers may also explain permissible B-1 business visitor activities, assist persons in the United States to prepare letters of invitation for aliens abroad seeking B-2 tourist visas, and describe for aliens abroad the kind of evidence that may be presented to prove sufficient ties to the home country to compel their return home in order to qualify for an NIV.

There are very few immigration lawyers with a substantial practice in what is known as "consular law," largely because many consular sections will not allow lawyers to accompany their clients to nonimmigrant or immigrant visa interviews due to considerations of security and lack of space. The few lawyers with a substantial consular practice tend either to live and work abroad or to commute to one or more foreign cities on a more or less regular basis. Basically, these lawyers learn the preferences and shibboleths of the particular post and develop personal credibility with the consular officers in order to get informal reconsideration of initial denials.

The Foreign Service officers and Foreign Service Nationals working the visa line at any post are presumably more familiar with conditions in the country and in a better position to evaluate the specific claims an applicant makes about his or her economic and social status than the lawyers representing those applicants. Conversely, the attorneys will often be far better versed in the applicable immigration statutes, the implementing regulations and the policy guidance — including the notes in Volume 9 of the Foreign Affairs Manual — than their consular counterparts.

#### **How Bad Is Visa Fraud?**

But both groups face the same basic set of problems in evaluating visa applications: Many more people from all over the world want to immigrate to the United States than the system permits. This tension between supply and demand is, of course, the philosophical foundation of the notorious section 214(b) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended, which posits that "Every alien shall be presumed to be an immigrant until he establishes to the satisfaction of the consular officer, at the time of application for admission, that he is entitled to a nonimmigrant status."

Growing numbers of applicants are resorting to desperate measures (read "fraud") to obtain either non-immigrant or immigrant visas. Such individuals present false or inflated claims of marriage, divorce, current employment, job offers, solvency and educational credentials. The true extent of fraud is, of course, hard to measure, particularly since the more sophisticated schemes are sometimes successful (at least initially). Perhaps it is safest to suggest that probably not as much visa fraud or attempted fraud occurs as INS and consular officials believe, but there is nevertheless quite a lot.

That said, the author's 20 years of experience in business immigration law for some of the country's largest law firms exposed him to very few instances of real fraud. There is, however, an unresolved problem faced by all immigration lawyers: To what extent should the lawyer verify the information supplied by the client? For example, in the context of L-1 intracompany transferee visas, such queries might include: Does the home plant in China (for example) really exist; is there really a viable U.S. operation; has and will the beneficiary serve in a managerial or executive capacity? Large, publicly traded, multinational companies who issue glossy annual reports seldom are problematic, but the same is definitely not true for small companies, family businesses, and the like, particularly when they are located outside the capital of the country. The author's — and many other attorneys' — standard engagement letter includes a section in which the client warrants the truth of all information supplied, but this is really for the lawyer's protection in the event the client has not told the truth.

Besides the intentional fraud committed by desperate people, there are also cultural differences that result in fraud or the appearance of fraud. In many cultures, people routinely lie to governmental officials — as well as their lawyers, especially if they perceive their lawyer as somehow being an agent of the government. This is particularly true with persons from former communist countries, where withholding information was a key survival tool. When working with a couple from Russia, for example, the author found out from an unrelated third party that each spouse had children from undeclared prior marriages. But this tendency is not confined to the former Soviet bloc, to be sure. A client from the Indian subcontinent once explained a

***"The truth is a very  
precious commodity and  
should only be used in  
limited quantities."***

*— an Indian visa applicant,  
speaking to the author*

misstatement to me, in all seriousness: "Mr. Patrick, Mr. Patrick, the truth is a very precious commodity and should only be used in limited quantities."

So far, I have concentrated on how many consular officers seem to perceive immigration lawyers. Now I would like to address the other side of the coin.

### **The Good, the Bad and the Ugly**

There is much that is laudable in consular officers' involvement in the issuance of visas. Like most immigration lawyers, most consular officers are honest and ethical. Many are often very helpful and will expedite processing when warranted, for example, in age-out cases where a son or daughter will lose the ability to immigrate with the rest of the family because he or she is about to reach age 21. Consular officers have even been known to engage in the occasional act of gratuitous kindness. Recently, the alien wife of a U.S. citizen client of the author was issued a B-2 tourist visa when the husband was unexpectedly transferred from the South American country where he was posted back to the United States, even though no immediate relative petition was on file.

The negative aspects of the process tend to be things that are beyond the control of individual consular officers or even the post as a whole. The Department of State has been chronically underfunded for years, leaving visa lines seriously understaffed. As a result, visa applicants often stand in line for many hours for a one- or two-minute interview. The result is a system that makes everybody unhappy.

The experiences that actually are ugly tend to be either officer-specific or the result of misplaced bureaucratic loyalty. Some consular officers are arrogant, impolite and even cruel, and abuse their discretion in ways that are capricious and perhaps even contrary to law. Perhaps this is understandable, given the pressures discussed above, but senior officials need to address this issue.

There is also a widely held perception that officers hide behind section 214(b) denials in marginal cases or when they simply do not want to be bothered to make an informed decision. Although denials are supposed to be accompanied by a clear explanation, this is not consistently done. Form letters, when provided at all, tend to be perfunctory and vague, though this is understandable given the

natural tendency of many applicants to return with reams of suspect documentation.

There seem to be both arbitrary and secret rules at many posts. The U.S. consulate in Guangzhou, China, will not issue a blanket L visa without presentation of the original notice of approval. This is not only directly contrary to the applicable regulations, which specify that a copy of the approval notice is acceptable, but can be a real problem for the employer in the event the original notice is not returned or is otherwise lost in the process. This is an example of an arbitrary rule.

Secret or unpublished rules also abound. In a recent case in which the author was involved, a long-time personal employee applied for a B-1 business visa to accompany her employer, a senior executive for one of the most widely recognized multinational companies in the world, to the United States. An initial mail-in application was denied and the applicant was told she would have to be interviewed. After traveling over 400 miles by bus in Argentina, carrying the required documentation of the long-standing relationship with her employer, she was summarily denied without an interview. The consular officer told her she should have brought her employer with her, and went on to claim that "I have issued 1,500 similar visas to 'you people' and none has ever returned." After the author and the attorney of record for the woman's employer became involved, the attorneys were told, in essence, that the matter was dead and that the reported rudeness did not occur.

### **Improving the System**

Everyone involved in the current system of adjudicating immigrant and non-immigrant visas — consular officers, INS officials, attorneys and, most of all, the applicants themselves — can agree that there has to be a better way. Accordingly, I would like to offer fixes for some of the main bugs in the system. Some of these may require statutory changes, but most could be accomplished via issuance of new regulations or changes in State and INS policies. Among them:

*Utilize statistical analyses of visa refusal rates.* This will alert senior officials to individuals and posts with unjustifiably high denial rates, or with rates that run contrary to historical patterns.

*Eliminate secret rules.* Particularly where visa applicants must travel long distances to apply in person, posts should make every effort to ensure they arrive with the right evidence and right people (e.g., the employer in the

B-1 personal employee case, above). Similarly, if the post has a rule of thumb about the size of the investment that will qualify the investor for an E-2 visa, for example, then that criterion should be well publicized.

*Permit applications for waiver of the 3-year and 10-year bars to be submitted with the immigrant visa petition.* The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 changed the old rules that had allowed persons illegally in the United States to regularize their status by leaving the United States to obtain an immigrant or employment-authorized visa at an embassy or consulate. Now, instead of being immediately readmitted to the U.S., such individuals are automatically barred from readmission for three years — if they overstayed their initial authorized stay by more than 180 days but less than a year — or for 10 years, if they overstayed by more than a year. Regardless of how one feels about this requirement, it is not logical, and certainly not humane for the family involved to require denial of the immigrant visa before a waiver application can even be filed. Instead, the waiver request should be accepted as part of the application.

*Abolish, or at least modify, the doctrine of consular nonreviewability.* This doctrine, adopted in the age of sailing ships, makes no sense in an age of instantaneous worldwide communication. At a minimum, refusals of immigrant visas should always be appealable beyond the post level. In addition, denials of the more complex NIV categories, such as E-1 treaty investor visas, should also be appealable to a central authority. (In fact, it may make sense to refer all E visas to a central authority rather than put overwhelmed individual officers at posts in the position of adjudicating highly technical, even arcane, regulations.) Finally, there should be a mechanism for appealing denials of business, tourist, and student visas in extraordinary circumstances. The mere existence of an appeals process might dampen decisions that are arbitrary and capricious or an abuse of discretion.

Admittedly, even if every change I advocate here were made, the system would still be far from perfect. But better communication by U.S. government officials of the various requirements, more understanding of the constraints each participant in the process operates under, and more courtesy all around would go a long way toward lessening the frustration all parties to the visa process currently experience. Above all, let us recognize that consular officers and immigration lawyers *are* on the same team. ■

# AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • June 2001

## AFSA'S RETIREE DATABASE

### Connecting Retirees with Opportunities

Say you need an expert on Middle East affairs for a speaking engagement at a local college. Or a Russia hand to work on a project in Vladivostok. You can find him or her on the AFSA Web site's retiree database, along with other retired Foreign Service employees with vast knowledge, specialties and skills.

The database was designed to tap into the supply of retired Foreign Service employees ready and willing to offer

themselves for employment, university lecturer visits or speaking engagements. The database, created by AFSA Governing Board member Harry Cahill, went online in August 2000 as a resource for retirees, employers, universities, and the State Department. It is a bank of names, which includes relevant bio and skills information.

As of late April, there were over 300 names in the database. Interest from both

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## 2001 AFSA AWARD WINNERS

The American Foreign Service Association would like to congratulate the winners of the AFSA Awards. AFSA will confer its annual awards on June 28 at noon in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room of the Department of State. Everyone is welcome.

### LIFETIME CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN DIPLOMACY:

Lee H. Hamilton

(Read the interview with Hamilton on page 43 of the *Foreign Service Journal*.)

**Awards for extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and constructive dissent:**

#### CHRISTIAN A. HERTER AWARD (for senior officers):

Ambassador John E. Bennett

**RUNNER-UP:** Ambassador Michael Lemmon

#### WILLIAM R. RIVKIN AWARD (for mid-level officers):

Edward J. Kulakowski

**RUNNER-UP:** Marc Norman

#### W. AVERELL HARRIMAN AWARD (for junior officers):

Craig L. Hall

**RUNNER-UP:** Jose Santacana

#### TEX HARRIS AWARD (for Foreign Service specialists):

Charles Slater

**RUNNER-UP:** Phil A. Whitney

#### Awards for exemplary service and professional contributions:

#### AVIS BOHLEN AWARD (for Foreign Service family members):

Carmen Gonzalez-Goldberg

**RUNNER-UP:** Bonnie Miller

#### DELAVAN AWARD (for office management specialists):

Rosalie B. Kahn

**RUNNER-UP:** Susan Harville

#### M. JUANITA GUESS AWARD (for community liaison officers):

Jeanne H. Weaver

**RUNNER-UP:** Regina M. Fitzsimmons □



MARK BLIRNS

**Foreign Service Exhibit opens at Howard University.** From Left: AFSA President Marshall Adair, Howard University President H. Patrick Swygert, Director General-designate Ruth Davis, and Ambassador Horace Dawson. See story page 6.

# AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



## Change in Plaque Criteria

The AFSA Governing Board has recently voted to expand the criteria used to determine whether the death overseas of a Foreign Service employee would merit inclusion on the Memorial Plaque maintained by AFSA in the C Street lobby of the State Department. The new criteria will include any death which occurs "in the line of duty." This criterion will be in addition to the previous criteria of "heroic or inspirational circumstances," and will be applied retroactively to 1972.

A working group, composed of AFSA Governing Board members and members of the Awards and Plaque Committee, has been working on guidelines to help the committee determine whether a Foreign Service employee who dies overseas should have his/her name inscribed on the plaque. Once these guidelines are in place, AFSA will begin to solicit names from family members or research department records to review names that may now be considered to fall within the new criteria and may be added to the plaque sometime in the future.

## Retiree Access Expanded

Retiree unescorted access, which was granted in February for the basement and first two floors of Main State, has been expanded to include access to the third floor library, effective April 2.

## R&R: Let's Go USA



The department has issued a new — and improved — rule concerning R & R travel from post (State 65521). Optional travel to the U.S. for R & R is no longer restricted to a ticket to the closest port of entry in the U.S. Travel to anywhere in the continental U.S. is now allowed.

## Taxing Danger Pay

Sen. Joseph Biden, D-De., has submitted a bill to make the pay allowance tax-free. As he said on the floor of the Senate April 22, "Today I want to right a wrong. It affects a handful of our diplomats who serve in the world's most dangerous places. In some places, such as Bosnia, where our military and diplomatic personnel serve side by side, both receive a special allowance for their sacrifices. The military justifiably receives this benefit tax-free. But our diplomatic personnel do not. Through an oversight in the Internal Revenue Code, diplomats are taxed on their danger pay, even though they often face similar hardships and dangers. I have a bill which would amend the Internal Revenue Code to right this wrong. I urge its quick passage."

### What's In A Name?

On April 17, the name of the Foreign Service Lounge was officially changed to the Employee Services Center. AFSA regrets the change.

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### Governing Board:

*President:* Marshall P. Adair  
*State Vice President:* John Naland  
*USAID Vice President:* Frank Miller  
*CS Vice President:* Peter Frederick  
*FAS Vice President:* Ed Porter  
*Retiree Vice President:* Willard De Pre  
*Secretary:* Aurelius Fernandez  
*Treasurer:* Thomas Tieman  
*State Representatives:* Glen Harms, Nicole Rothstein, Lynn Sever, Joan Wadelton  
*USAID Representative:* Carol Carpenter-Yaman  
*Retiree Representatives:* Harry Cahill, Garber Davidson, George Jones, Robert Lamb  
*FAS Representative:* Vacant  
*CS Representative:* Eric Sletten

### Staff:

*Executive Director:* Susan Reardon  
**Business Department**  
*Controller:* Kalpra Srimal  
*Accounting Assistant:* Thomasina Johnson  
**Labor Management**  
*General Counsel:* Sharon Papp  
*Labor Management Attorney:* Zlatana Badrich  
*Labor Management Specialist:* James Yorke  
*USAID Labor Management Specialist:* Douglas Broome  
*Grievance Attorneys:* Harry Sizer, Tracy Smith  
*Law Clerk:* Neena Parikh  
*Office Manager:* Christine Warren  
**Member Services**  
*Director:* Janet Hedrick  
*Representative:* Vacant  
*Administrative Assistant:* Ana Lopez  
**Outreach Programs**  
*Retiree Liaison:* Ward Thompson  
*Director of Communications:* Thomas Switzer  
*Congressional Affairs Director:* Ken Nakamura  
*Executive Assistant:* Marc Goldberg  
*Scholarship Administrator:* Lori Dec  
*Corporate Relations:* Barbara Bowie-Whitman  
*Professional Issues Coordinator:* Barbara Berger

## The State of AFSA



### TSP Open Season

Open season for the Thrift Savings Plan runs May 15 through July 31. The new contribution limit is 11 percent of your salary. Go to the TSP Web site at [www.tsp.gov](http://www.tsp.gov) for more information or to reallocate future contributions on-line. Or, call the ThriftLine at (504) 255-8777.

### Legislative Staff in Action

AFSA's congressional affairs staff has been busy meeting with Hill staffers to encourage support of President Bush's 14 percent increase for State's budget.

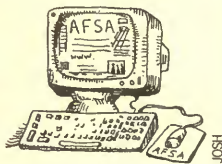
AFSA worked with the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide, the Family Liaison Office, Human Resources, and the staff for Rep. Jim Moran, D-Va. to push for legislation that would allow part-time intermittent temporary, or PIT, employees who worked between 1989 to 1998 to claim creditable service for retirement purposes. The bill, HR1496, was introduced by Moran on April 4.

AFSA is still searching for a Senate sponsor for legislation to allow Foreign Service employees to qualify for the capital gains exclusion on the sale of a principal residence. On the house side, AFSA worked with staff for Rep. Amo Houghton, R-N.Y., who will introduce such a bill when the House reconvenes after the spring recess. AFSA, the Military Coalition and the Employee Relocation Council, who form the core alliance on this effort, met with representatives of the American Bar Association and the National Association of Realtors, all of whom are supportive of the effort.

### AFSA Partners with IT Company

AFSA has partnered with GTSI

Corp. Through the AFSA Web page, you can link to [gtsi.com](http://gtsi.com) to purchase products directly from GTSI for personal as well as government use. GTSI is the largest provider of IT products and services to the federal government. □



In this, my last report to you as AFSA State Vice President, I highlight some of the things that State AFSA has accomplished over the past year. For a more detailed listing, please see AFSA's Web site at [www.afsa.org/statevp.html](http://www.afsa.org/statevp.html). While I am very proud of what our AFSA labor management office has accomplished, it is clear that much remains to be done. Next month, in my first report to you as AFSA president, I will outline our agenda for the coming year.

- **Defending the Foreign Service:** Beginning with a partial victory in the Lima DCM case, AFSA steadfastly opposed encroachments on the integrity of the career Foreign Service.

- **Benefits:** Helped to convince State to seek funding for student loan reimbursements and Virtual Locality Pay. Launched a campaign for full locality pay parity for overseas employees. Worked on the eldercare task force that instituted new emergency visitation travel benefit for elder family member lifestyle changes.

- **Home Leave:** Reached agreement with State to increase the amount of home leave granted on return to the U.S. from 15 to 25 days.

- **Tour of Duty:** Convinced State to exempt 46 non-differential posts from the new four-year tour policy. The exempted posts were either isolated, difficult, or had inadequate schools.

- **FSO issues:** Convinced State to increase dramatically promotion rates in deficit grades in 2000: 21 percent increase for FS-04 to FS-03 and 17 percent increase for FS-03 to FS-02.

- **Office Management Specialist issues:** Convinced State to raise the entry-level grade from FP-08 to FP-07. Pressed State to ensure that OMS employees receive proper overtime compensation.

- **Information Resource Management issues:** Participated on IRM FS Personnel Task Force. Met with senior IRM management to discuss concerns raised by members.

- **Diplomatic Security issues:** Worked to ensure that rules regarding overtime, LEAP, and travel are fairly applied.

- **Public Diplomacy issues:** Pressed State to adopt 25 best practices of the former USIA (final action is pending).

- **Security:** Convinced State to review the security incident files of all mid-level and senior employees and provide remedial training to those showing a pattern of poor security awareness. One purpose of this is to preclude a repeat of the October 2000 promotion list freeze fiasco.

- **Childcare:** Participated in the working group seeking to establish a childcare center at FSI. Proposed that State pay grants for childcare to employees in need of financial assistance.

- **Members of Household:** Convinced State to ensure that overseas missions welcome and assist all members of employee's households residing at post, including unmarried partners, parents, and adult children.

- **Grievances:** Assisted over 200 members with grievances, discipline cases, and security clearance issues.

- **Ombudsman:** Helped around 1000 members with individual problems or requests for information.

- **AFSA institution-building:** Increased AFSA State membership to an all-time high. Actively solicited member input, receiving more than 1300 e-mails on one issue.

In conclusion, it has been my honor to serve as your State AFSA Vice President over the past two years. I express my deep appreciation to AFSA's professional staffers, who deserve the credit for what we have accomplished. □

## Human Resources Management

Over the past five years I have written several articles about weaknesses in human resources management relating to the lack of adequate workforce planning and career development in USAID. Despite this long history of concern, the problems are still serious.

I am not the first USAID officer to raise these concerns. Over the past 20 years, at least a dozen studies have concluded that because of fundamental problems in our personnel system we are failing to meet the human resources requirements of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 and the needs of our agency. These failings impact negatively on AID/W and field staffing, career development, and promotions, and are beginning to impact adversely on the implementation of our foreign policy. Without adequate workforce planning the agency can't recruit and train sufficient employees in order to get "the right person in the right place at the right time."

To date, it appears as though our Office of Human Resources, or HR, is focusing on short-term workforce plans that try to meet shortages resulting from attrition. There is no workforce planning which predicts what positions and skills will be needed in three, five, or perhaps 10 years hence.

The new administration needs to revamp workforce planning efforts and focus on future needs. This effort requires substantially more collaboration between our bureau and field managers and HR in order to develop realistic workforce plans that meet program priorities. HR can't continue to develop plans in a vacuum.

Related to workforce planning is career development, another problem area at USAID. Section 703 of the Foreign Service Act obligates USAID to establish a career development program to assure that members of the service obtain the skills and knowledge required at various steps of their career.

Sadly, the career development function in USAID has virtually died. Developing our human capital has been a low priority. The limited training that takes place is not integrated into any systematic career development program.

In addition, contrary to past practices, HR is now instructing selection boards to limit or avoid career development advice, including assignment and training recommendations, in annual evaluation report cards for FSOs. Some of HR's legally trained staff believe that board advice could lead to grievances if FSOs don't receive recommended assignments or training.

The career development counseling function in HR has been assigned a low priority. The responsibility for career development now rests mainly with employees themselves and enlightened supervisors who take their mentoring role seriously.

What needs to be done? Career development should be given a higher priority. Agency leadership needs to commit itself to developing the skills of our most important resources — our employees. We need to greatly expand training programs for all Foreign Service and Civil Service employees, as well as Foreign Service National employees, who are taking over increasing responsibilities from our shrinking U.S. direct-hire staff. The career development function in HR needs to be revitalized. Selection boards need to return to the practice of giving FSOs career development and training advice.

I am cautiously optimistic that the new administration in USAID will take action to improve workforce planning and career development. Priority action in these areas will improve employee morale and USAID effectiveness as a foreign policy tool. □



## EYE ON SECURITY

### New Rules on Background Investigations

New procedures governing the conduct of new or renewal background investigations have been issued by the Bureau of Diplomatic Security. They come as a result of President Clinton's 1995 Executive Order 12968, which established a uniform federal personnel security program. The new DS procedures closely follow the standards of the executive order and its implementing guidelines.



JOSH

In an unprecedented action, DS afforded AFSA and AFGE the opportunity to submit comments on the new guidelines before they were implemented. While unions do not have the right to negotiate stand-

ards for issuing security clearances, DS made a good faith effort to accommodate AFSA's concerns while still covering the areas of inquiry required.

Employees undergoing background investigations in connection with their five-year periodic reinvestigation will be interviewed by DS, and people serving as "sources" (coworkers, friends, neighbors) will be contacted as well. The employee and the sources will be asked questions covering 13 specific categories of information. Some of the questions may be extremely personal. The 13 areas covered are: allegiance to the U.S.; foreign influence; foreign preference; sexual behavior; personal conduct; financial considerations; alcohol consumption; drug involvement; emotional, mental and personality disorders; criminal conduct; security infractions/violations; and misuse of information technology.

Continued on page 8

## Controversy over A Name Change Proposal

Controversy is brewing about a proposal by the Bureau of Human Resources under former Director General Marc Grossman to change the name of the Foreign Service Star to the Thomas Jefferson Star.

The Foreign Service Star was created as a special honor to be bestowed upon a federal government employee who dies or is

State is considering asking Congress to strip the words "Foreign Service" from the Foreign Service Star and rename it. AFSA argues that the name should reflect the "foreign service" nature of the work.

injured while carrying out foreign service work. "Congress created the Foreign Service Star to serve as the civilian equivalent of the Purple Heart," according to AFSA President Marshall Adair. The idea originated at the Una Chapman Cox Foundation, whose president, Harvie Branscomb Jr., presented it to then-Director General Skip Gnehm in Oct. 1998. Former AFSA president Dan Geisler said AFSA "worked hard with Skip to make sure this would happen." AFSA helped push for approval on the Hill. The Foreign Service Star is now law: Section 321 of Public Law 106-113, passed in 1999.

The Cox Foundation, which exists to support activities that promote the Foreign Service, first proposed the Foreign Service Star with the Foreign Service in mind. As Adair wrote in a letter to Secretary Powell: "It was originally directed primarily at the Foreign Service, since most overseas positions are Foreign Service positions.

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V.P. VOICE: FCS ■ BY PETER FREDERICK

## E-What? E-Stuff! E-nough.

Before reading this month's column you should be aware that my children are convinced I was born just before the invention of the wheel.

I have been concerned about an emerging trend in FCS. Everything we do is moving to e-commerce, e-business, e-training, e-mail, and e-stuff. At a recent planning session, it appeared that development of e-commerce was considered a higher priority than development of trade promotion programs. The direction is clear; the Department of Commerce should emphasize e-business and FCS should lead the e-way. Most of our posts have been well e-quipped, and there is no lack of training. Complaints about lack of support from Washington are hardly realistic. On the other hand, complaints about local e-problems should not be overlooked.

FCS has increased e-activity as related to the assignment process, to budgets, and to officer evaluations. This is both good and bad news. The new assignment process has been improved. Every officer in the service has equal access to the information needed to prepare a bid list. The assignment panel gets the same information in the same format from each bidder, which is much fairer than the old system of button-holing a member of the panel and lobbying for the assignment. Not everyone could play the old game. Everyone can benefit from the new e-assignment process. That's good news.

We now have yet another new e-system for the budget process. The cost benefit concept is a valuable tool. The formula used to analyze the budgets is logical. The electronic maintenance of historical fiscal activity is essential. Budget submissions and historical data are not always the best tools to use in allocating resources. Management should allocate funds based on their own evaluation of each post's activities, needs, and opportunity for success, as well as a review of the e-data. Then they can use the computer program to justify what is done to anyone who might question management's decisions.

We are all anxiously awaiting the introduction of the new personnel evaluation procedure. The first step, changing the evaluation period, has been taken. We have seen signs that management will be looking more at the e-results when preparing EERs. The various e-programs do make it easy to compare performance, assuming all officers have equal access to the Internet and have been equally equipped. For example, it is unfair to use the number of videoconferences conducted as a measure, if not all posts have the capability to conduct them. Officers in countries with spotty if not non-existent Internet service will suffer in a system that uses e-evaluations to determine who is rewarded.

We should not lose sight of the business we are in. If all commerce could be conducted without personal contact, on-site visits and relationships, there would be no need for commercial officers. Everything would be done via the Internet. Ours is a people business. We must be careful not to de-personalize the management of our organization in the name of e-progress.

I happen to know for a fact that the first wheel was made by hand, without any computer assistance. □



Every officer in the service has equal access to the information needed to prepare a bid list. That's good news.

## Bringing the Foreign Service to Students

■ BY LAURA FEDAK, FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL INTERN

For Foreign Service Director General-designate Ruth Davis, the Foreign Service was the best thing she could have done with her life, “short of being a multi-millionaire.” That was the message she was trying to convey to Howard University students at the

for elites.” He said entrance is competitive and open to everyone aspiring to be a diplomat.

Keynote speaker Davis spoke highly of Howard University’s vital partnership with AFSA, which she believes strengthens diversity in overseas representation.

tonight that the Foreign Service is some heavy stuff.”

“My 32 years in the service were filled with extraordinarily exciting things,” said Davis, whose postings have included Zaire, Kenya, Japan, Italy and Benin. “For a child who went to segregated schools in the South, the chance to help little girls in Benin go to school was amazing.”

In his remarks, Howard University President H. Patrick Swygert spoke positively of the university’s continuing



MARK BURRIS

(Above) Distinguished guests at the exhibit opening. (Below) The Foreign Service Exhibit.



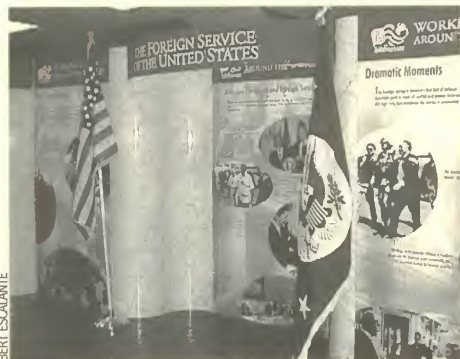
BERT ESCALANTE

It's all about networking. That's Director General-designate Ruth Davis, center.

school's April 16 reception for an AFSA- and DACOR-sponsored photo exhibit, titled "The Foreign Service of the U.S.: Working for You Around the World," aimed at spreading the word about the Foreign Service.

About 30 students, professors, and AFSA and DACOR representatives attended the reception at Howard University's Blackburn Center Art Gallery. The photo exhibit has been shown in presidential libraries and museums. Howard is the first university to host the exhibit. "My hope is the photo exhibit will give busy people a brief glance at what the Foreign Service is about," said AFSA President Marshall Adair in his opening remarks.

Adair also said, "Although the Foreign Service is an elite corps, it is not a corps



BERT ESCALANTE

Davis enthusiastically encouraged Howard University students to consider a career in the Foreign Service: "I jumped at the chance to speak here to encourage you to pursue a career in the Foreign Service... I want to tell the students here

relationship with AFSA. He had kind words for Powell, who served on Howard's board of trustees for five years and "never missed a meeting." Powell's "continuing personal interest" in Howard University, he said, will further strengthen its relations with the State Department.

The Foreign Service photo exhibit was designed as part of the service's 75th anniversary celebrations. Images include an exuberant ambassador re-entering a besieged U.S. embassy after Kuwait's liberation from Iraq, embassy family members assisting refugees in Sarajevo, and Americans abroad adopting Russian children through embassy services.

The exhibit was displayed at the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University for the month of May. AFSA hopes it will be displayed at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, Calif. in the fall. □

## What's on the Books for State?

**O**n April 9, President Bush's FY2002 budget request was sent to Congress. The total appropriations request for State Department programs was \$3.915 billion, up \$651 million, or 14 percent, from estimated FY2001. This request indicated an important recognition of the need to upgrade and enhance the infrastructure of diplomacy. AFSA has stressed to Congress that this funding is long overdue, and in fact falls short of what is needed to modernize and reform the department. That said, the budget request that Secretary Powell shaped and is championing goes far towards strengthening essential diplomatic readiness categories such as staffing, training, security, information technology, and overseas facilities.

### Key Components:

**Staffing:** 1368 new direct-hire American employees, which includes 700 replacements for normal yearly Foreign Service and Civil Service attrition plus 668 new positions.

**Student-Loan Repayment Program:** \$7 million to implement the student loan repayment program.

**Incentives for Hard-to-Fill Posts:** \$11 million in monetary incentives to attract employees to posts that have been most difficult to staff.

**Recruitment:** \$8.5 million to improve and modernize recruitment efforts.

**Spousal Employment:** \$2.2 million to continue and extend the Mexico pilot program that retains local recruiting firms to help find employment for spouses while overseas.

**Training:** \$7.8 million to train new hires and expand existing training opportunities for employees.

**Embassy Security:** \$816 million for worldwide construction security upgrades, up \$154 million from FY2001.

**Information Technology:** \$210 million, up \$113 million from FY2001. □

## Thanks and Farewell

**F**or the past six years, it has been my privilege to serve on the AFSA Governing Board, the last two years as vice president for retirees. These have been troubling, but exciting and constructive years. No AFSA constituency has made a more significant contribution to the work of the board and the Foreign Service than our 4,000 retiree members.

It was largely retirees who, in 1995 and 1996, prepared the written testimony and made the oral presentation before the Commission on the Roles and Capabilities of the United States Intelligence Community (the Brown Commission). AFSA testimony helped persuade the commission not to recommend that the intelligence community be tasked to collect information to improve U.S. economic competition abroad. AFSA contended that, if adequately funded and staffed, the Foreign Service could continue to perform this role, without incurring the risks which clandestine collection would entail.

When the "selling of ambassadorships" surfaced in the media in the fall of 1998, retirees took the lead in exploring congressional and administration receptivity to the establishment of a non-partisan panel to review the qualifications of ambassadorial nominees, and to ratcheting back the percentage of non-career ambassadors below 30 percent. Unfortunately, we found little support for either approach, but were encouraged to go public when egregiously unqualified people were nominated.

In 1999, it was retirees who organized — and raised the money for — the series of splendid celebrations of the 75th Anniversary of the Foreign Service and marshaled congressional support for the Foreign Service Day declaration. Incidentally, retirees continue to contribute the bulk of funding, year after year, for AFSA's Legislative Action Fund.

Retirees have also been the mainstay of AFSA's outreach program, lecturing at universities and schools and to service organizations, and contributing op-ed pieces and articles to newspapers throughout the country. The willingness of retirees to engage in outreach efforts, generally without fee, permitted AFSA to expand its popular Elderhostel programs from four in 1996 to 14 this year, and to move our programs outside the Beltway to Florida, Arizona, Georgia and New York state. Much remains to be done, but we are beginning to build a constituency.

More recently, retirees have been working with and through their individual contacts inside and outside government, and with think tanks and study groups, to generate public and congressional support for increased funding for diplomacy and for reforms of the Foreign Service. A workforce plan for the Foreign Service, developed and urged on the department by retirees, proved to be the impetus and model for the first-ever Workforce Plan, which the department submitted to Congress in March.

As I leave the board, I wish to thank all of you for the strong support you have provided AFSA and the Foreign Service during my period on the board, and as vice president for retirees. Indeed, we did make a difference, just as I'm sure retirees will continue to do under the able leadership of your new retiree vice president, Bill Farrand, and his newly-elected colleagues on the board. □



I wish to thank all of you  
for the strong support.  
We did make a difference,  
just as I'm sure retirees  
will continue to do.

## AFSA Seeking Non-Fiction Foreign Service Tales

**A**FSFA believes that better use could be made of the rich experiences of the American Foreign Service to build esprit de corps within our ranks and to highlight for outsiders the dangers, sacrifices, and contributions of our unique profession. Towards that end, we invite the submission of tales of courage by Foreign Service employees and/or their family members. The stories can be of active courage (for example, saving lives during a riot) or of the quiet courage of representing America's interests day in and day out under hardship circumstances. Don't be modest. We're interested in all kinds of stories that illustrate how unique life in the Foreign Service is.

Because AFSA's 1988 booklet "Duty and Danger: The American Foreign Service in Action" highlighted such stories through the mid-'80s, the new essays should cover the years since then. They should include enough context to convey to outsiders what U.S. national interests were being pursued that justified exposure to personal risk/hardship. Depending on the submissions, we might publish selected essays in the *Foreign Service Journal* and/or include them in an updated version of AFSA's 1996 book "Inside a U.S. Embassy: How the Foreign Service Works for America."

We seek 600- to 800-word essays. Those selected for publication will be subject to editing. Deadline for submissions is August 1. Please send questions and essays to AFSA News editor Shawn Dorman by e-mail (preferably) to [dorman@afsa.org](mailto:dorman@afsa.org) or by mail to Shawn at AFSA, Foreign Service Journal, 2101 E.St., N.W., Washington, DC 20037. □

Eye on Security • Continued from page 4

DS investigators are charged with gathering and reporting facts. They do not offer personal opinions regarding these facts nor do they decide whether an applicant or employee should get or retain a security clearance. It is clear to AFSA that DS recognizes the personnel background investigation process is invasive. However, the interests of national security require anyone with access to classified information to have affirmatively demonstrated, through personal and professional history, loyalty, strength of character, trustworthiness, honesty, reliability, discretion, and sound judgement, as well as freedom from conflicting allegiances and potential for coercion. These traits can only be established through thorough background investigations, which consider all the information as a whole. AFSA believes DS has worked hard to craft its procedures to strike a balance between protecting the national security and respecting a person's privacy.

Employees with specific questions or concerns regarding the background investigation process can contact AFSA attorneys Sharon Papp ([Papps@state.gov](mailto:Papps@state.gov)) or Zlatana Badrich ([badrichz@state.gov](mailto:badrichz@state.gov)) by e-mail or phone (202) 647-8160. □

### GRIEVANCE CASE AGAINST OIG CLOSED

## OIG Report Lacked Objectivity

■ BY SHARON PAPP, AFSA GENERAL COUNSEL

**A**FSFA has reported several significant Foreign Service Grievance Board rulings in a case involving the State Department Office of the Inspector General, FSGB Case No. 2000-044. The grievance board rendered a final ruling on the merits of the case on Feb. 23, 2001, finding in favor of the grievant. (For reports on the other findings in this case, see *AFSA News* June 2000 and February 2001.)

In this case, the grievant alleged that the OIG violated professional investigative standards that require investigations and IG reports to be timely, independent and objective. The grievant alleged that the OIG's mishandling of the investigation resulted in harm to his career.

The board found that the length of time taken to conclude the investigation against grievant (317 days) was not appreciably longer than the average time of other investigations conducted in this time frame (301 days). The board also concluded that the grievant had not established that the OIG lacked independence. The board concluded, however, that the report lacked objectivity, because it reached a conclusion that ignored significant evidence that, in fact, pointed to an opposite conclusion. The board found that the report's failure to even mention the exculpatory evidence was "an egregious failure."

The board found that the grievant met his burden of proof to demonstrate that the report of investigation was significantly flawed and that the error may have been a substantial factor in his failure to be promoted and resulting in his involuntary retirement for TIC. The board then shifted the burden of proof to the Department of State to show that grievant would not have been promoted even if the error had not occurred. Following the board's decision, the parties entered into a settlement agreement, which included, among other relief, the reinstatement of the grievant into the career Foreign Service. □

**The Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide, or AAFSW (formerly Association of American Foreign Service Women), need your donations for BOOKFAIR 2001 — an annual October event for 40 years.**

**BOOKFAIR proceeds are used for Foreign Service scholarships and for advocacy work on behalf of our Foreign Service community.**

**AAFSW would appreciate donations of BOOKS, STAMPS and COINS, as well as items for the ART CORNER (artwork/collectibles) and the COLLECTORS' CORNER (rare books).**

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sides — retirees looking for opportunities and universities and employers looking for talent — has been growing. The database can be used primarily in four ways:

- The department, usually through the



(Left) Luncheon with students at Claremont-McKenna College. Harry Cahill is second from left. (Center) College of Wooster President R. Stanton Hales (center) welcomes retiree Bob Davis to campus. (Below) Students at Juniata College with retiree Hal Fleming (third from left) and Professor Emil Nagenast (third from right).

executive offices of each bureau, can use the database to identify potential employees for WAE, or When Actually Employed, positions.

- Employers outside the department can search the database for appropriately skilled potential employees.

• The AFSA speakers bureau can call on retirees for public speaking engagements.

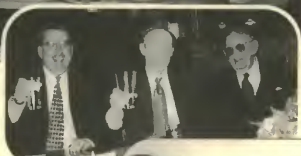
• Colleges and universities can find candidates to participate in AFSA's Visiting Lecturers Program, which sends retirees out to campuses for several-day visits.

As an example of the database's outreach, the Visiting Lecturers Program has included colleges and universities across the country, winning high praise from both participating retirees and academia. It is awakening and motivating future diplomats as well as informing a broad cross-section of Americans about the work and importance of the Foreign Service and the State Department.

AFSA lecturers speak on both specialized topics and general foreign affairs subjects, live on campus for two to five days, teach in various classes, give an evening public lecture, and counsel students and faculty. Russia expert Gifford Malone, who recently spent several days at Lewis and Clark College in Oregon, found students "tremendously" interested and grateful to

meet someone with first-hand experience working in foreign affairs.

United Nations expert Hal Fleming visited Juniata College as one of the first of AFSA's visiting lecturers. He said he would gladly do it again. Meeting a Foreign Service



officer was great exposure for them, he said, "not so they would run out and join the Foreign Service, but so they could take some new ideas into future decisions about their careers." Peggy Blackford, speaking on Africa and global issues at Franklin and Marshall College, found excellent participation and response. Harry Cahill, who developed the program, found his time at the College of Wooster an invigorating mutual exchange where "everybody gained." Latin America expert George Jones found Claremont-McKenna College students strongly interested in the Foreign Service career and eager to learn about his life abroad. His ability to lecture in Spanish was an added highlight.

AFSA invites all retiree AFSA members interested in future opportunities for employment, speaking engagements, or teaching, to add their names to the database. Go to [www.afsa.org/skills](http://www.afsa.org/skills) to sign up or to search the database. For more information, contact AFSA's retiree liaison Ward Thompson at (202) 338-4045 ext. 528. □

AFSA strongly supported this long-overdue recognition of the hazards of overseas service by diplomatic and consular officials.

However, it was broadened to include any federal employee killed or injured while serving abroad under chief of mission authority. AFSA strongly supported this long-overdue recognition of the hazards of overseas service by diplomatic and consular officials."

During the development of this idea, according to AFSA Legislative Affairs Director Ken Nakamura, there was disagreement about what to call the award. In the first draft, it was the Foreign Service Star. In the second draft it was the Overseas Star, and in draft finally sent to the Hill, it was back to the Foreign Service Star.

State management is considering asking Congress to strip the words "Foreign Service" from the Foreign Service Star and rename it the Thomas Jefferson Star. AFSA disagrees with the proposed change and argues that the name should in some way reflect the "foreign service" nature of the work. Cox Foundation Executive Director Clyde Taylor said the Cox Foundation "does not endorse the name Thomas Jefferson Star since it does not communicate the message intended. A name that incorporates U.S. Diplomacy or U.S. Foreign Service communicates the intended message."

Adair's letter to the secretary on the subject expresses "AFSA's strong disagreement with plans by the Bureau of Human Resources to ask Congress to strip the words 'Foreign Service' from the Foreign Service Star. AFSA urges you to retain the name under which this award was established by Congress in 1999. If you feel strongly that adding Thomas Jefferson's name to the award is particularly appropriate to the award's purpose, AFSA will not oppose this as long as the words 'Foreign Service' are retained — for instance, "The Thomas Jefferson Star for Foreign Service." □

## It's Worth a Look

■ BY WARD THOMPSON,  
RETIREE LIAISON

Later next year, federal workers, annuitants, and their families will have a chance to buy long-term care, or LTC, insurance offered by the government. The Office of Personnel Management, which administers the Federal Employees Health Benefit Program, has outlined plans for an LTC program to be in place by October 2002, shortly prior to which an open season will allow initial LTC enrollment.

Coverage options will be established after OPM selects a carrier or carriers based on proposals being presented to the insurance industry. To see how the LTC plan is shaping up, potential enrollees should familiarize themselves with these proposals, on the OPM Web site at [www.opm.gov/insure/ltc](http://www.opm.gov/insure/ltc).

OPM's intention is to offer flexible coverage that: (1) is comprehensive: for care in nursing homes and assisted living facilities,

formal and informal care at home, hospice care and respite care. (2) includes the broad federal community: The 2000 legislation establishing the program specified coverage for employees and annuitants and their adult children, plus employees' parents, parents-in-law and stepparents. OPM could include others like parents of annuitants, spouses of adult children, unmarried former spouses and adult foster children. (3) can be customized: Weekly benefits could be from \$400 to \$2,000 (payable for covered items at 50 percent or 100 percent as determined by the plan), length of policy could be 3 or 5 years or life. Each combination would create a pool of money (e.g. \$700 and 5 years would provide \$109,200 in benefits, which could be drawn on for more than five years if paid out at less than \$700 a week). (4) includes optional inflation protection: benefits would increase by a predetermined percentage each year but premiums would be unchanged for life. (5) offers a future purchase option: benefits would increase by an inflation index and premium increases would accompany benefit increases. Covered individuals would

be able to decline such increases but would then not be able to purchase additional benefits without proof of insurability.

Premiums would be based on age at beginning of LTC coverage and on options chosen. There will be no government contribution to the premium. Applicants other than active duty employees and their spouses will be subject to full underwriting, i.e., a review of their health histories. Employees and spouses will go through a shorter process to determine whether an applicant is currently eligible for benefits. As OPM says, "We intend to select the underwriting approach that will provide the broadest possible coverage while producing premiums and an overall program design that is likely your best buy."

Expected advantages of the LTC program include quality, monitoring by OPM, and a discount which OPM estimates could be up to 20 percent. While this anticipated discount may not be worth the wait for some applicants, OPM anticipates a savings that will more than offset the added cost (from aging) of waiting until October 2002. □

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# STILL GRAPPLING WITH CHALLENGES: LEE H. HAMILTON

AFTER AN OUTSTANDING CAREER IN CONGRESS, FORMER REPRESENTATIVE LEE H. HAMILTON IS HONORED BY AFSA FOR A LIFETIME OF ACHIEVEMENT.

BY STEVEN ALAN HONLEY

**T**his month, former U.S. Representative Lee H. Hamilton will receive the American Foreign Service Association's award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy — and it's not hard to understand why.

During 17 terms in the House, Hamilton, D-Ind., acquired a well-deserved reputation as one of his party's most thoughtful leaders in the realm of foreign policy, among other issues.

Hamilton, 70, was raised in Evansville, Ind., was a star basketball player in college, and earned a law degree. First swept into office in President Lyndon Johnson's Democratic landslide in 1964, Hamilton represented Indiana's largely rural ninth district. Once in office, he hewed to a moderate line on social and economic issues, but was a consistent and ardent advocate of U.S. international engagement.

During his 34-year legislative career, he was chairman of the Intelligence Committee, the House chairman of the joint Iran-Contra Committee in 1987-1988, and chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee from 1993 to 1995. When the Republicans became the majority, Hamilton became the ranking minority member on the committee.

Though Hamilton retired from Congress two years ago, he didn't go far away. He is now director of the prestigious Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, the fed-

erally supported institution that brings academics and policy-makers from around the world together to discuss the same array of challenges that Hamilton says first interested him in foreign policy.

Associate Editor Steven Alan Honley recently spoke with Hamilton in his office at 1300 Pennsylvania Ave.

**FSJ:** *The main thing people probably know about you is that you were in Congress a long time. You're still so close in many ways and yet you're not actually there anymore. How does it feel to be out of the whirlwind?*

**HAMILTON:** Well, it's been a good transition for me. Here at the Woodrow Wilson Center I have the opportunity to keep my hand in on a lot of policy questions that we examine. And I still have a lot of contact with my friends on the Hill and in the

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***Rep. Hamilton has the distinction of being the only person to serve on both the commissions that recently issued reports on reforming the State Department.***

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executive branch of government.

Obviously, this is not the center of activity the way Congress was, but for me, it's been a very good adjustment. I served 34 years in the House and it was time for me to move on.

**FSJ:** *When FSJ editor Bob Guldin talked to you back in 1998, on Election Day, you described the center as an institution that "mixes the world of ideas with the world of policy." Tell us what that means in practice.*

**HAMILTON:** Wilson was the only president of the United States who had a Ph.D. When asked to identify himself, he would say that he was a scholar and a politician. But

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Steven Alan Honley is associate editor of the Journal.

he always believed that each could learn from the other — that the scholar and the politician were engaged in “a common enterprise,” as he put it. So that’s really what we do here. We have over 400 meetings a year, and during the course of a year we will host about 150 scholars, who are pre-eminent in their fields. Almost all of them look at public policy issues. We try to ensure that we mix the scholars and the policy-makers, in the hope and the belief that from that dialogue, better policy will emerge.

**FSJ:** You took this position in 1999, correct? Are there any specific goals you set for yourself when you came here?

**HAMILTON:** Yes, I became director in January 1999. I think my predecessors had emphasized the

academic side of things, and one reason the board asked me to come here was my political experience, and to make the interaction that I mentioned a moment ago more prominent in the activities of the center. I think we’ve been able to do that. This is a very lively place, a very interesting place. In many ways, the dialogue that takes place here is exactly the kind you want to see in a representative democracy. Serious, informed, civil, and sometimes heated, sometimes with strong differences of opinion, but always, it seems to me, searching for reasonable solutions.



Lee H. Hamilton, director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.



Newly elected Representative Lee Hamilton with President Lyndon B. Johnson, 1964.

**FSJ:** Is the directorship a fixed-term appointment?

**HAMILTON:** No, I serve at the pleasure of the board of directors. I operate on a year-to-year basis and I’m not sure how long I will stay. I’m enjoying myself here and have no plans to retire, but we’ll see how things go.

**FSJ:** You mentioned that you still have close contacts on the Hill. Any thoughts on the current Congress (the 107th), how they’re doing so far?

**HAMILTON:** Well, it’s early. Congress never looks very good early in the session and this Congress has showed some energy with regard to handling the budget and the tax cut. But it really has not yet begun to produce legislation.

**FSJ:** And the 106th Congress?

**HAMILTON:** I think they did pretty well without me, I guess.

**FSJ:** Was it strange not to be there?

**HAMILTON:** Sure. You do get a sense of being at the center of things

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*It's fairly easy to lob  
bombshells; it's much  
tougher to build a  
building.*

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when you're in the Congress; there's an excitement there. Whenever I hear bells ring, I still have a bit of instinct, like Pavlov's dogs, to run to the floor of the House to vote.

I certainly miss the people, both the members and the staff, and there are policy issues that come along every so often that I'd like to jump into. On the other hand, I don't really miss the institution. After 34 years, I think the decision I made to retire was the correct one.

**FSJ:** *Let's talk about the two commissions which recently issued reports on reforming the State Department. If I'm not mistaken, you were the only person with the distinction of being on both commissions — one chaired by former Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci and the other by former Senators Hart and Rudman.*

**HAMILTON:** Yes, I served on both.

**FSJ:** *Obviously, the reports have come out and have generated a lot of discussion. In fact, the May 2001 issue of the Foreign Service Journal is devoted to a discussion of the reports by various participants and commentators. What was it like to be on the inside of each commission? Could you give us some sense of how your experiences compared?*

**HAMILTON:** Both panels were serious but they had different mandates. The Carlucci commission cen-



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tered just on the State Department, while the Hart-Rudman commission was much broader; it looked at the whole national security apparatus. It was well-funded, with a very large, professional staff. It did an enormous amount of work, conducted extensive research, and had a lot of meetings.

The Carlucci effort was much more focused, being targeted just on the State Department. It was thinly staffed, but had excellent people; all the members of the commission pulled their share of the load. But it really was quite different from the Hart-Rudman Commission.

**FSJ:** *How were the two groups similar?*

**HAMILTON:** The common feature of the two commissions was that they were both rather critical of the State Department, but also genuinely wanted to strengthen it. Members of both commissions were saying, "OK, we have a problem here in some area of the work of the department. Let's see what we can do to strengthen it."

I remember that in the final drafts

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*I do expect a  
serious attempt to  
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relations with  
China, but I don't  
think it will  
succeed.*

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of both reports, we felt — and I felt — that they were still a little hard on the department, and I think the language was toned down from what it originally was. We tried to make the reports constructive, to not only identify weaknesses in the State Department but also make specific suggestions as to how those weaknesses could be corrected. Generally, that was done. In other words, it's fairly easy to lob bombshells; it's much tougher to build a building.



*Rep. Hamilton with Russian President Boris Yeltsin.*

**FSJ:** *What would you say were the most important points in the Carlucci report?*

**HAMILTON:** A lot of that study focused on the infrastructure of the department: improving its communications, improving embassy security, strengthening the personnel system, and elevating the secretary of State as the chief foreign policy adviser to the president. All of that I fully support.

**FSJ:** *And as for Hart-Rudman?*

**HAMILTON:** That was a much broader report, and in many ways not as extensive with regard to the State Department itself. I think among the more important things it said is that we've got to do a better job with regard to strategic planning in the foreign policy apparatus. Like Carlucci, it wanted to strengthen State, and lower the visibility of the national security adviser. Like Carlucci, it wanted to make the secretary of State the president's chief foreign policy adviser. Then what it did do, which created quite a stir, I guess, was it put forward a specific organizational chart for the department.

**FSJ:** *Yes, I wanted to ask you about that.*

**HAMILTON:** We did that because we felt an obligation to be specific. We felt too many of the other criticisms were too general. But we did not do it with the idea that our organizational chart was the optimum, but because we thought it was better than the present arrangement and would strengthen the department.

**FSJ:** *Well, I would say that based on what I've heard and read, that particular proposal — to abolish some of the functional bureaus and to create five regional under secretaries — has drawn the most fire.*

**HAMILTON:** We all know that when you're dealing with reorganiza-

tion in the government, it is almost by definition controversial. When you change the boxes around, you change the power structure and you step on a lot of toes. You also create uncertainty, and bureaucracy doesn't like uncertainty.

**FSJ:** Now that the reports are out, are you optimistic that some of their recommendations may actually be implemented?

**HAMILTON:** Well, I'd be amazed if any of them were accepted in toto, but I think pieces of them will be, and certainly some of the emphases in the reports will be adopted. I've been doing a good deal of testifying about both reports, and they seem to be getting serious consideration. Maybe that's the best we can hope for.

**FSJ:** I realize Secretary Powell has only been in office a short time, but what's your overall assessment of him so far?

**HAMILTON:** Oh, I don't want to make any assessment of the secretary of State or the administration's foreign policy after just three months. I've been pleased that he's shown an interest in reform of the department. He seems to have raised morale at State, from what I hear, which was very badly needed, and I think that's a very positive thing.

**FSJ:** Any thoughts on the spy plane incident with China?

**HAMILTON:** I think the administration handled it very well.

**FSJ:** Based on what you've heard on the Hill, would you expect any repercussions for Sino-American relations?

**HAMILTON:** Yes, you can't go through an incident like this without repercussions. The question really becomes what kind. I would expect fewer repercussions in the area of trade, for example.



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**FSJ:** *So you wouldn't foresee a serious effort to revoke China's most favored nation trade status?*

**HAMILTON:** Oh, I do expect a serious attempt to oppose normal trade relations with China but I don't think it will succeed. Where you're more apt to see repercussions are in other areas. There's a long list of possibilities: joint meetings with the Chinese military, visas for Taiwanese coming here, the arms sales package to Taiwan, Beijing's bid to host the 2008 Olympics, and various efforts to downgrade contacts and exchanges we have with China. I hope that the incident does not drive our policy towards China, but it does clearly point out the great difficulties and complexity of the relationship.

**FSJ:** *Secretary Powell managed to get a substantial funding increase for State past OMB to the Hill in the FY 2002 budget. But at the same time, the overall budget cuts back or at least eaps some domestic categories like agriculture and transportation. Given that you're from a Midwestern state that is certainly known, among other things, for agriculture, do you think State's funding is going to hold up on the Hill?*

**HAMILTON:** Well, the Bush budget cuts two ways. For this year's budget (FY 2002), there is an increase for State. But for the out years, if you factor in inflation, there is actually a decrease. In addition, the administration is not putting enough money into the budget for the out years to deal with the problems we identified in the commission reports.

But yes, in the immediate budget, State got an increase even as many of the other departments were cut back, so that's a positive. You have some very heavy expenses called for in terms of the infrastructure: new embassies, security procedures need to be upgraded at almost every

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embassy, very large investments in communications networks, and probably most important of all is the personnel. I also think the State Department personnel system, both attracting and retaining top-flight people, is going to need an awful lot of work — and it will not be inexpensive.

**FSJ:** *Is there any advice you'd give the Foreign Service about how it can lobby for itself on the Hill, to get the resources it needs?*

**HAMILTON:** I think there is an increased awareness on the Hill of the problems in the Foreign Service, and that's always the first step in getting corrective action. And I hope the corrective action will follow. I do think the congressional relations aspect of the State Department needs a lot of work.

**FSJ:** *One idea which has not gotten as much attention as some others is the Hart-Rudman commission's call for the creation of a new Cabinet-level agency for the defense of the American homeland — basically to address terrorism. How imminent a threat do you believe terrorism is to Americans at home?*

**HAMILTON:** I think the American people are not as safe as

they think they are, and that we are going to have to pay a lot more attention to terrorism within this country. It's a very formidable problem.

**FSJ:** *Have you noticed any receptiveness to that specific proposal on the Hill and other places when you've testified and participated in briefings?*

**HAMILTON:** I think there's a great deal of receptiveness to this specific idea. We recommended in Hart-Rudman changes in the way the government is organized to deal with terrorism, and one of the more striking conclusions of the report was the fact that all the commissioners — conservative, liberals, and moderates alike — agreed that this is an area which needs a lot more attention by our government.

**FSJ:** *Do you think the time has really come for something fundamental to get done on State Department reform?*

**HAMILTON:** I don't know the answer to that; it really depends on the president and Secretary Powell. They face not an easy choice here. Most secretaries of State have not paid very much attention to organization, simply because they get engulfed in the policy questions that come to them. Even the top-level officers in the department have not paid much attention to it. I think the Powell Department of State clearly wants to pay more attention to management.

But it will take pushing, and pushing hard, by the president and the secretary of State, to gain any meaningful reform in the department. Organizational changes and reform in this city, and in any department, come very hard, and only occur if the White House pushes them.

**FSJ:** *But if they do push reform,*

you think prospects are reasonably good?

**HAMILTON:** Yes, I do.

**FSJ:** When we interviewed you over two years ago, we noted that there has been "a conflict in recent years, between those who want the U.S. to conduct foreign affairs unilaterally, and those who see America working more closely with allies and with international institutions." At that time, you said those unilateral tendencies, while powerful, would probably not dominate. Is that your assessment, or have you changed your views on that?

**HAMILTON:** No, I'd still say the same thing. If you look at the problems that we confront in the world — we were talking about terrorism a minute ago, for example, but also weapons proliferation, environmental conditions, the future of democracy and market economies, disease, national security — none of these problems can be addressed by ourselves. We have to cooperate with others. So the question in my mind is not whether we will cooperate with others, but to what extent, and how successfully.

**FSJ:** Your award from AFSA for lifetime contributions to American diplomacy places you in the same company as Cyrus Vance and George Bush, among others. What is it about foreign policy that has held your interest for so long now? It's certainly a passion you're known for.

**HAMILTON:** Well, the challenges are simply immense. They come with great rapidity and great complexity, and many of them do not have a solution. So you deal with them as best you can, which engages all of your diplomatic and political skills. I guess it's the sheer challenge of the agenda that excites me and challenges me. ■

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# BUILDING A BETTER RUSSIAN BUREAUCRAT

AMERICAN PROFESSORS HELP TRAIN A GENERATION OF  
RUSSIAN TECHNOCRATS TO REPLACE COMMUNIST-ERA APPARATCHIKS.

By MILES POMPER

**P**latygin was talking trash about democracy in Russia. "Democracy in Russia is the ability to throw garbage everywhere that you want to put it," Platygin said. He joked about how students at the university routinely tossed garbage out of the dormitory windows, splattering passers-by. His comments provoked a sharp reaction from fellow student Samira Askerova, an Azerbaijani studying in Moscow. "Democracy has a lot to do with responsibility. You should think of your responsibility not to throw trash around," she said. At this point, Mitchell Orenstein, an exchange professor from Syracuse University's Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, intervened, using the students' arguments to demonstrate that with democratic government, "there is always a tension between liberty — individual freedom — and democracy, what some call 'the tyranny of the majority,'" Orenstein noted.

This lesson is one of many that Orenstein would provide in his semester-long course on "Public Administration and Democracy" at Moscow State. In subsequent weeks, Orenstein and his two dozen students would study challenges that both new and established democracies face, such as coping with minority populations, social welfare protection, and the influence of powerful economic interests. To illustrate his arguments, Orenstein would draw on examples not only from the United States but also from the Czech Republic, Peru and even Russia itself.

*Miles Pomper is a reporter for Congressional Quarterly who visited Moscow State University last fall.*

The course is part of a State Department-funded exchange between Syracuse and Moscow State, one of scores of State Department democratization programs in Russia, which includes faculty and student exchanges and technical assistance from Syracuse in updating Moscow State's public administration curriculum. The purpose of the Moscow State program is to "create a Kennedy School for Russia," said a former State Department official who conceived of the plan,

referring to the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard. By creating a new model for public administration in Russia, Moscow State and U.S. officials hope to change the way Russian government administrators are educated and ultimately to replace

poorly trained, inefficient and often corrupt Communist-era apparatchiks with Western-style technocrats.

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*Democracy in Russia is the  
ability to throw garbage anywhere  
you want to.*

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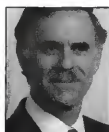
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dents to grapple with real life situations rather than theoretical issues. Moscow State professors hope to develop courses based on issues that Russian public officials have already been forced to confront.

Orenstein has begun to use this real world teaching method. He recently took his students to examine first-hand the realities of Russian garbage. They investigated trash containers, looked at publicity posters for a pilot recycling program, and interviewed a garbage manager who lived next to a garbage chute. This was the first time many of the students had stepped out of the classroom during five years in the undergraduate program. Jeff Strassman, director of the Syracuse public administration program, said that one of Syracuse's biggest challenges is convincing their Russian counterparts that "creating a professional program is more than just a series of courses," but also includes activities such as internships, career placement, and group projects.

### **Physicists Teaching Poli Sci**

The Moscow State public administration program started slowly, overcoming obstacles such as a lack of social science experts to teach the students; Communist limits on political discussion had stunted the growth of the social sciences and many of those behind the launch of the program were mathematicians and physical scientists, who had enjoyed relative intellectual freedom in Soviet days. Yet the program grew rapidly during the 1990s and, today, despite relatively expensive tuition, there is so much demand that Moscow State has started a preparatory school for high school students who want to take the program's entrance exams. Moscow State also recently added a three-year graduate program to its established five-year undergraduate program. These developments and the school's high standards have attracted the

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***"Businesses have less  
sexual harassment  
than government,"  
one female student  
declares.***

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attention of U.S. and Russian officials. Bill Clinton and Russian President Vladimir V. Putin have both recognized the merits of the program.

In trying to help transform the organizational culture of a Russian government bureaucracy beleaguered by political patronage and favoritism, low salaries, diminishing social status and rampant corruption, the school's administrators face a daunting challenge. Looking just at the numbers, the odds that they can change the behavior of two million Russian public servants seem tiny. Only about 150 undergraduates and 50 Ph.D. candidates enter the program each year. But Alexei G. Barabashev, a former mathematics professor who serves as the school's deputy dean, is convinced that the program can make a significant difference. "This is the elite of the future," Barabashev said proudly. "We know that our graduates are like a drop in the sea, so we are trying to work like multipliers." Barabashev pins his greatest hopes on the Ph.D. students who could take up positions in other schools in Russia to promote the school's teaching methods and curriculum after graduation from the program.

Moscow State administrators hope that the curriculum they create with the input of the Syracuse professors will serve as a basis for other public

administration schools throughout Russia, both independent and government-run. They also want to form an independent association of public administration schools so they can lobby as a group for funds and push national curriculum standards. The Syracuse-Moscow State project is creating a distance learning program so that three satellite campuses — Togliatti, Jaroslavl, and Joshkar-Ola — in Russia's distant regions can take advantage of the new curriculum. "We hope to start a new kind of revolution," Barabashev said.

If this revolution is to get off the ground, the Syracuse-Moscow State project will have to succeed where other highly touted attempts to reform public administration education in Russia have failed. In the early 1990s, Boris Yeltsin's government created a special agency to train new bureaucrats and retrain old officials. But the agency lacked clear standards, allowing almost everyone to finish the program, and produced such unsatisfactory results that the Kremlin eventually closed it down. In 1997, a high-level commission examined the problems the school had, laid out a timetable for reform, and then promptly did nothing. Despite the best intentions of university administrators and government officials in both countries, there is no guarantee that the current effort will succeed. Corruption is so much a part of Russia, for example, that some students say that their classmates bought their way into the school rather than passing qualifying exams.

### **Private Sector Preferable**

But, as Moscow State administrators acknowledge, the biggest danger to the future of the program is that only a small portion of the school's undergraduates actually choose to work in government bureaucracies (although a fair number work in state-owned corporations like energy giant

Gazprom or other parastatal organizations) which is in part due to the fact that Russian government bureaucrats remain suspicious of the school's graduates and their modernizing ways.

Those forward-thinking habits of mind, however, are very attractive to the private sector. The school's strong reputation, and the computer and foreign language (especially English) skills it teaches are in high demand in major Russian companies and multinational corporations based in Moscow and St. Petersburg. These firms are able to offer salaries which easily trump those that governments can offer, and they are located in cities which are more attractive to recent graduates than the regional government seats which might hire public administrators.

Even those students who entered public administration school with a sense of noblesse oblige are often lured to the private sector. "It is very difficult to make a choice for public administration," Surin said. Dmitri Marjasin is a case in point. A quintessential Russian yuppie, already equipped with a cellular phone, Marjasin speaks the business vernacular of American English with the ease of a Wharton graduate. Indeed, he aspires to attend a Western graduate school and return to Russia to work for an international consulting firm. The public administration program, he says, is a means of getting a broad education and international expertise. Someday he hopes to use his future business experience and wealth to put himself in a position where he can reform the public sector. Starting at the bottom of a corrupt bureaucracy, he says, would be too frustrating. Furthermore, he believes that he must first be trained in business by a consulting firm to be able to make a difference in the bureaucracy.

Another student, Marina Samokhvalova, expresses similar feelings, saying she is looking for a career

in public relations. "Politics is rather dirty. I would rather end up in business," she said. Another woman, Elena Ivanova, said that Russia's government is a bastion of sexism and lags far behind the private sector in its ability to handle gender issues such as sexual harassment. "Businesses have a lot less sexual harassment than the government," Ivanova said. "Only men work in the government." For that reason, despite her desire to "reform Russia's social policies" — an area in urgent need of reform given the country's lack of an effective safety net — she said that she would look for work with a non-governmental organization rather than with the government bureaucracy. The Russian government's lack of hospitality to the graduates of the Moscow State program is one of many crucial gaps between the ideals of public administration as they are taught at Moscow State and the realities of policymaking in Russia.

Even if Moscow State's students do choose to go into government, they will find that in Russia's current political culture, skills in political manipulation may be more prized than the skills that Moscow State teaches, as a recent article on the School of Professional Politics, a competitor to the Moscow State program, in the *Moscow Times* made clear. Unlike Moscow State, that school's curriculum does not focus on creating a transparent bureaucracy but instead on using the levers of powers to "manage human choice." Sample courses include: "The Nature of Power," and "Information and Psychological Wars." Cynical perhaps, but the School of Professional Politics is endorsed by Putin. Its graduates include many who recently won election to the Russian Duma as members of Putin's new Unity party. It seems then, that Moscow State has its work cut out for it. ■



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## BOOKS

### THE GERMAN QUESTION

**From Yalta to Berlin: The Cold War Struggle Over Germany**  
W.R. Smyser, *St. Martin's Griffin*,  
2000, paperback, 465 pages, \$19.95

REVIEWED BY CHRISTOPHER  
M. POTHOVEN

Former FSO W. R. Smyser frames *From Yalta to Berlin: The Cold War Struggle Over Germany* as the post-1945 version of the age-old "German question": how to prevent Germany from ever again posing the massive threat to European stability and world peace that it did under the rule first of Kaiser Wilhelm and then of Hitler. Towards that end, his account presents a comprehensive examination of the forces that first kept East and West Germany apart and then led to their reunification in 1990.

Smyser first takes us through the creation of the two Germanys, born of the victorious Allies' haggling over the postwar shape of the vanquished country. To put it bluntly, West and East Germany became tools of, respectively, the United States (and, to a lesser extent, France and the United Kingdom) and the Soviet Union, with virtually no scope for independent action.

Beginning in the 1950s, the two countries did gradually gain a larger role in controlling their respective destinies, but even West Germany

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*Smyser points out that  
the division of Germany  
also brought some  
unexpected benefits.*

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remained severely constrained by Cold War politics. Yet both Germanys enjoyed surprising success at influencing their "benefactors." (Smyser's ability to bring out the intricacies of these tricky diplomatic maneuvers should particularly appeal to FSOs.)

In fact, Smyser points out, the division of the country also brought some unexpected benefits. It served as the "essential incubator" for the modern German state, eased wartime emotions on all sides, and gave Germans time to "rediscover and to nourish the democratic roots in their own history, to accept their losses, to recognize and to respect the legitimate fears of their neighbors."

Yet Smyser does not downplay the pain that their enforced division caused Germans. His descriptions of the East Germans' enthusiastic reaction to Chancellor Willy Brandt's 1970 visit, and of conductor Kurt Masur's role in supporting the peaceful East German demonstra-

tions during the months preceding the destruction of the Wall, are particularly moving.

Only in the final chapter does Smyser's skillful analysis weaken, as he poses a new "German question" for the world: how to relate to a nation that is united, powerful and at times assertive but that is also a fully committed democracy with no interest in aggression. While provocative in asserting that Berlin could serve as the locus for a new phase in pan-European relations, thanks to its links with both Eastern and Western Europe (as well as the United States and Russia), much of his discussion of 21st century Germany rests on broad assertions: e.g., the Federal Republic of Germany is a different creature from West Germany. Especially given how cogent the rest of the book is, one wishes for a more trenchant conclusion.

For those familiar with only the basics of German history since World War II (such as this reviewer), *From Yalta to Berlin* offers an especially fascinating account. Smyser supplements his extensive first-hand knowledge of the subject — his Army and State Department service in Germany stretched from the 1950s through the late 1970s — with copious research, though some readers may fault him for focusing almost entirely on political elites (e.g., Brandt, Honecker and Kohl). But even specialists will admire the skill with which Smyser unravels the interlocking histories of the two



Germanys and the great powers that used them to advance greater Cold War strategic interests.

*Christopher Pothoven, the Journal's fall 2000 intern, is a master's candidate in international affairs at George Washington University.*

## SADAT THE STRATEGIST

### The October War: A Retrospective

Richard B. Parker, editor,  
Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2001, \$55.00, hardcover, 396 pages

REVIEWED BY LINDA SHARABY

An oft-repeated and much-lamented truism — one that must particularly irk diplomats — is that sometimes, it takes war to make peace.

Whether that thought passed through the mind of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat on Oct. 6, 1973, at precisely two o'clock in the afternoon, when Egypt and Syria launched simultaneous surprise attacks on Israel's northern and southern borders, is one of several important questions debated in *The October War: A Retrospective*, one in a series of works on diplomacy published by the University Press of Florida.

Edited by ambassador turned Middle East researcher Richard B. Parker, *The October War* documents the proceedings of an October 1998 conference held in Washington, D.C.'s Cosmos Club. Bringing together an impressive group of Egyptians, Israelis, Americans and Russians (and one Syrian participant, described only as

*The book asks, but does not resolve, whether Sadat saw the 1973 war as a necessary prelude to peace.*

a "political consultant") who shaped both the war and its aftermath, the conference delved into many of the controversial issues that still linger about the fourth Arab-Israeli war. These included the failure of diplomacy to avert hostilities; the notoriously delayed U.S. airlift to Israel and the U.S. Def-Con III alert; and the possibility of missed opportunities for peace following the war, particularly on the Israel-Jordan front.

The charismatic Sadat and his inscrutable calculations dominate the narrative. A number of conference participants portray him as a brilliant statesman and shrewd political operator who outfoxed Israel (and perhaps Syria) and both superpowers on his way to achieving his political goals: restoring Egypt's honor, shattered by its 1967 defeat; eliciting intensive American efforts to broker an Arab-Israeli settlement; and piercing the veil of Israeli invincibility so that the two countries could approach the negotiating table on a more equal footing.

What remains unclear, however, is whether, for Sadat, war was a necessary prelude to peace. Some of the participants credit him with making unrequited, if subtle, peace overtures to both Israel and the United States in the years preceding the war. On the other hand, according to the conference's Egyptian

participants, by 1973, Sadat had concluded that only dramatic military action would give him the clout to break with the Arab world and make peace with Israel. Although the book leaves that question open, it does conclude that the 1973 war (also called the Yom Kippur War) was largely the result of Arab frustration with the diplomatic stalemate of the late 1960s and early 1970s that left Israel squarely in control of the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights.

Some readers may be dismayed at the lack of attention paid to Syria's role in the war. But the book does highlight the puzzling lack of coordination between Cairo and Damascus regarding the war's military aims, a snafu that led Syria to press futilely for an early cease-fire even as Egypt maintained its southern offensive.

Strong as the book is, the absence of Henry Kissinger, who apparently declined an invitation to the event, cast a shadow over the entire conference. As the main architect of U.S. diplomacy before, during and after the war, Kissinger's recollections and insights could have clarified some outstanding issues, though some material, gleaned from his many books, did find its way into the discussion.

Even so, *The October War* is strong both in substance and presentation, with a useful chronology — dating back to the previous Arab-Israeli conflict of June 1967 — of events leading up to the war. Students of the Middle East, and of diplomacy, will find it a valuable addition to their libraries. ■

*Linda Sharaby is a student at Columbia Law School in New York. She is the former assistant editor of the Middle East Review of International Affairs.*



## IN MEMORY

**Arthur W. Hummel Jr.**, 81, retired career ambassador, died at home in Chevy Chase, Md. on Feb. 6.

Mr. Hummel was born in 1920 in Shanxi Province of China, where his father, China scholar Arthur Hummel Sr., was a missionary. The family returned to the U.S. when Arthur Jr. was eight years old. He graduated from Westtown Friends School. He dropped out of Antioch College after several years there, and hitchhiked across the Midwest working odd jobs. He returned to China in 1939 to study at the College of Chinese Studies in Beijing, supporting himself by teaching English at a Chinese middle school.

After Pearl Harbor and the Japanese occupation of Beijing, Hummel was interned with others at the Weihsien internment camp in Shandong Province. In 1944, he and a fellow internee escaped and joined the Chinese Nationalist guerrillas in the province. He stayed with them until the end of the war, when he went back to the camp to help arrange the evacuation of the internees. He remained for another year in China as a liaison for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

He joined the Foreign Service in 1950 after receiving an M.A. in Chinese Studies from the University of Chicago. One of his first assignments, according to his *New York Times* obituary, was to

gather material to support the testimony of Foreign Service employees under fire during the Army-McCarthy hearings chaired by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, R-Wis.

Hummel married the former Betty Lou Firstenberger in 1951. He served with USIS in Hong Kong, Tokyo and Rangoon. He later became deputy director of the Voice of America. In 1963, he became deputy assistant secretary in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs at State. He went to Taipei as DCM in 1965, and received a Superior Honor award for the extended period he served there as chargé awaiting the appointment of an ambassador.

Hummel served as ambassador to Burma from 1968 to 1971. After that, he served as deputy assistant secretary for the East Asia and Pacific Bureau. He served as ambassador to Ethiopia from 1975 to 1976, returning to Washington to serve as assistant secretary for East Asia and the Pacific. In 1977, he was appointed ambassador to Pakistan, and in 1981, returned to China as the ambassador. While in Beijing, he was promoted to the rank of career ambassador, the highest Foreign Service rank. He was among the group of American diplomats who pushed for a more pragmatic approach to China, believing that engagement with the communist nation could hasten change there.

When he retired in 1985,

Ambassador Hummel was the department's most senior career diplomat. After retirement, Hummel was active in the Council on Foreign Relations, the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, and other Asia-related organizations. He often returned to China as an adviser to the Hopkins University Nanjing Center.

Mr. Hummel is survived by his wife and two sons: Timothy and William; three grandchildren; and a brother, Sharinan Bookwalter Hummel.



**James Estes Baker**, 66, former FSO, died of lung disease on April 15 at Roosevelt Hospital in New York City.

Mr. Baker was born in Suffolk, Va. He received his B.A. from Haverford College in 1956, and an M.A. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University in 1957. He joined the Foreign Service in 1960. He was the first African-American diplomat posted to South Africa during apartheid. He served as an economics specialist at the embassy in Pretoria from 1973 to 1975.

Mr. Baker left the Foreign Service in 1980 to direct economic and emergency relief programs at the United Nations. He stayed with the U.N. until 1995. He then taught courses on diplomacy and disaster

## IN MEMORY

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relief as an adjunct professor at Long Island University. During those years, he lived in Sag Harbor, N.Y., and Greenwich Village.

Survivors include his companion, John R. Hawkins, and his brother, Percy, of Santa Rosa, Calif.

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**Maria "Connie" Hargrove**, 75, retired Foreign Service secretary, died on Jan. 11 of cancer in Arlington, Va.

Mrs. Hargrove was born in Mexico and married FSO James P. Hargrove in 1955. She accompanied her husband to posts in Curaçao, Stuttgart, Düsseldorf, and Managua. When an earthquake devastated Nicaragua in December 1972, it destroyed the chancery and much of the housing, killed the ambassador's secretary and injured the mission's other three secretaries. Although scheduled for evacuation with her three young sons, Mrs. Hargrove voluntarily remained in Managua and worked under great pressure around the clock, shouldering all the secretarial work of the U.S. mission.

After her husband's death in 1973, Mrs. Hargrove joined the Department of State and served as a bilingual secretary for senior officials in the U.S. Mission to the OAS and in the Bureau of Latin American Affairs. In 1977-1978 she undertook another volunteer tour of hazardous duty in Managua. With a revolution in progress, she worked from a cramped hotel room office for several months on special assignment supporting an OAS Mission, which negotiated the departure of dictator Anastasio Somoza. From 1984 to her retirement in 1993, Mrs. Hargrove was

secretary to the ambassadors to the Philippines (during the "people's revolution" that ousted Ferdinand Marcos), Panama, and the Sudan (during the Gulf War, which prompted a last-minute air evacuation and closure of Embassy Khartoum for two months).

In addition to her devotion to duty, courage and toughness in crises, and superb secretarial and managerial skills, Mrs. Hargrove's warmth, hospitality, and wonderful sense of humor will be long remembered by her Foreign Service colleagues and friends.

Survivors include three sons: James, Richard, and Robert; five grandchildren; one brother; and three sisters. Donations in her memory may be made to Hospice of Northern Virginia, PO Box 1576, Merrifield, VA 22116-1576.

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**Madison (Mac) M. Adams, Jr.**, 68, retired FSO, died March 24 at his home in Spencer, N.C.

Mr. Adams was born in Texasville, Ala. He attended college at the University of Alabama and at Auburn University. He graduated from Florida Southern College with a B.S. in industrial arts and history. He did graduate work in Latin American history at the University of Alabama and in development economics and Latin America at the University of Texas. He joined the State Department in 1957.

Mr. Adams' postings included Costa Rica, Liberia, Mexico, Ecuador, Chile and Australia. From 1975 to 1976, he attended the National War College of the National Defense University. He also served in the State

Department's Office of the Inspector General, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, and in the Office of the Coordinator of Cuban Affairs. He retired in 1987.

Mr. Adams is survived by his wife of 46 years, Mary Carol Collier Adams, daughter Debra Adams, son James Adams, daughter Melanie Ackerman, daughter Karen Hemme, and seven grandsons.

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**M. Gordon Knox**, 88, retired FSO, died March 29 at Collington retirement community in Mitchelleville, Md.

Mr. Knox was born in Catonsville, Md., attended Gilman School and graduated from Yale University in 1934. After a year as a reporter for *Newsweek* magazine, he won a Rhodes Scholarship to University College at Oxford. While there, he worked for *The London News Chronicle* reporting on the League of Nations. On his return to the U.S., he wrote for *The Baltimore Sun*.

In 1939 he joined the Foreign Service. His first post was Berlin. When the U.S. entered World War II, the embassy staff was interned at Baden Nauheim until an exchange took place through Portugal. He spent the rest of the war years at the embassy in Sweden and later was sent to the United Nations. After a year of Russian language study at Columbia University, he was sent to Moscow in 1949. Other posts included the Voice of America in New York, Vienna, London, and Pakistan.

After retirement, he taught at Howard University and the University of Puerto Rico. He lived

## IN MEMORY

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in the Dominican Republic until he moved to Collington in 1999.

His marriage to Ann Brewer in 1947 ended in divorce. Survivors include three sons: Ronald Knox of Berwyn, Penn.; Gordon and Andrew Knox of New York City; two daughters: Ann Knox Velletri of Bethesda, Md.; and Marion Knox of Portland, Maine; five grandchildren; a brother and a sister. His daughter Joanna died earlier.

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**Robert Smallwood Black**, 92, retired FSO, died on March 27 in Exeter, N.H.

Mr. Black was born in Zanesville, Ohio in 1909. He was the son of Robert and Dollie (Van Voorhis) Black. He received a B.A. from Dartmouth College and an M.A. from Columbia University. He taught for two years at the American University of Beirut in Lebanon, and for five years at the Friends School of Wilmington, Del. In 1941, he married Barbara Bell Black, who also taught at Friends School.

During World War II, Mr. Black served in the Naval Reserve overseas at the American embassy in Quito, and in the Civil Affairs Training Schools at the University of Chicago and then at Harvard University. Following the war, Mr. Black joined the Foreign Service. He served one tour in Washington, and served abroad in Egypt, Japan, Mexico, Indonesia, Canada and Thailand.

Mr. and Mrs. Black retired to Cape Neddick, Me. in 1970. When Mrs. Black died in 1993, Mr. Black moved to RiverWoods at Exeter. He is survived by cousins around the country.

**Jeannette Christian**, 75, retired office management specialist, died peacefully Jan. 28 at her home in Dallas.

Ms. Christian was born in 1925 in Kemp, Texas. She studied at North Texas State University, Texas University and Southern Methodist University. In 1967, she joined the State Department. From 1969 to 1972, she served as secretary to three directors of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. She served in Moscow from 1980 to 1981.

When she returned to the U.S., she was the assistant to the director of the National Endowment for the Arts from 1981 to 1986. She returned to Dallas in 1987. Ms. Christian sang with church choirs and enjoyed the fine arts and growing roses.

Ms. Christian is survived by her sisters: her caregiver sister Mary Anna Christian; and her sister Evelyn and Evelyn's husband John Crum.

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**Russell Fessenden**, 84, retired FSO, died on March 4 at his home in Ashfield, Mass. of complications from Parkinson's disease.

Born in Rochester, N.Y., in 1916, he received his B.A. from Oberlin College in 1938 and married Catherine Jane Andrus the following year. After obtaining a Ph.D. from Cornell University, he taught briefly before entering military service. He served in the Army from 1943 to 1946, spending 15 months in the European Theater of Operations.

In 1946, Mr. Fessenden entered the State Department as an international affairs officer with the European Bureau. When he received his first diplomatic assignment abroad, to Paris, he and his family sailed to France in February 1955. In

1958 he returned to the U.S. to serve as deputy director of the Office of European Regional Affairs. In 1962, he went to Brussels, and over the next five years worked on issues related to the development of the European Economic Community. He received the department's Distinguished Service Award for this work.

He later served as DCM at the embassy in the Federal Republic of Germany. In 1971 he became deputy assistant secretary for European Affairs, and retired in 1973.

Following retirement, Mr. Fessenden and his family moved to Ashfield, Mass., where he had spent childhood summers visiting his grandparents. He was appointed chairman of the Conservation Commission, served as president of the Ashfield Water Co. and held positions on the Sewer Board and the Board of Health. He worked for the National Weather Service as a weather observer, and in 1993 was presented with a 20-year Length of Service Award by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration of the National Weather Service. He wrote a monthly weather column for *The Ashfield News*, and compiled a history of the first 25 years of the Ashfield Historical Society. He was an avid gardener and woodworker, and was instrumental in establishing many of the hiking trails around Ashfield. ■

### NOTE:

*Submissions for the In Memory section are welcomed. Please send by e-mail if possible to [Dorman@afsa.org](mailto:Dorman@afsa.org).*

*Submissions can also be sent by mail to the Foreign Service Journal, 2101 E St. N.W., Washington, DC 20037; or by fax to (202) 338-8244.*

# IN SEARCH OF THAT SPECIAL SCHOOL

FOR KIDS WITH LEARNING DIFFICULTIES, FINDING THE RIGHT SCHOOL CAN MAKE A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE.

BY MELANIE KERBER

**T**wo weeks ago, a Foreign Service couple sat in my office to discuss their son's educational needs. The family has lived in three countries over the past 10 years. Upon returning to the U.S., their son was enrolled in a Catholic middle school offering high academic and behavioral standards. Previous testing indicated the presence of auditory processing and written language difficulties. While overseas, he was able to compensate with homework supervision from his mother and accommodations from a caring, well-trained staff. He was in good academic standing when he returned to the states.

But now, he is one of 32 students assigned to a very over-worked teacher. He receives no accommodations for his learning differences, is failing three classes and feeling very defeated.

This is an all-too-familiar scenario with school-age children and adolescents. An estimated 5 percent of students attending public school have been diagnosed with a specific learning disability. Improved assessment tools have helped with the process of identifying significantly more students with weaknesses not severe enough to qualify for academic support under the current federal guidelines. Frequently, parents of these students are frustrated by the lack of placement options, limiting them to selecting an academic program with few accommodations or a special class full of students with behavioral difficulties and low standards.

## The Law on Your Side

In 1975 a law was passed mandating that all students with disabilities receive a free, appropriate education in the least restrictive setting. In 1997, this law was recertified to include

*Melanie Kerber is the director of Commonwealth Academy, a secondary school for students with learning differences in Falls Church, Va. She also is a Foreign Service spouse and an adjunct professor in the graduate school of education at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia. She can be reached at kerberma@ca.pvt.k12.va.us.*

the provision of transitional services to follow a student from high school graduation to a successful move to college, employment or community living. The passage of these two crucial pieces of legislation has resulted in record numbers of students pursuing avenues previously unavailable to them. A higher percentage of these students finish high school and complete college or professional schools. Parents are well aware of their rights under the law and refuse to allow a bright child to fail in school.

Parents coming to Washington and planning to enroll a child in the public schools are likely to arrive in summer when the only personnel available to incoming students are office staff and a harried administrator. Students arriving late in the summer must contend with the flurry of back-to-school preparations and teacher training sessions. Many students tell me that nothing prepared them for arrival at a huge, impersonal school. It is well worth the time, money, energy and effort to plan a trip home months before the move. Ideally, a student would spend a day at the school selecting courses, meeting the teachers and becoming re-acquainted with the student body. This advance work helps a re-entering student to face those first few weeks of a new semester with increased confidence. Advance planning is even more critical when working with a student with learning issues. Many parents have become masterful advocates for their children by using all of their skills in diplomacy and negotiation, producing test results, records and a list of accommodations that have helped students to succeed elsewhere.

Parents pursuing private education are urged to begin the process six to 12 months prior to the move. One of the unfortunate consequences of enormous growth in metropolitan Washington is overcrowded schools. Parents are willing to pay the equivalent of college tuition to buy smaller classes, closer access to school officials and high academic standards. The admissions process includes submitting an application, sitting through admissions testing, and participating in an interview and day visit. Researching these schools in advance helps a parent become familiar with classes, activities, and attitude towards students with learning difficulties.



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(continued from page 59)

### Where to Get Help

Today's parents often decide to seek help when navigating the intricate network of service providers. Most Foreign Service families I speak with have made good use of the Family Liaison Office at State, which offers information, support, networking, and referrals to a variety of agencies including schools, hospitals, outpatient services and testing facilities.

Other families use area educational consultants. These specialists possess master's or doctoral degrees in education or a related field. They travel the country learning about private day and boarding schools for college-bound students as well as residential treatment facilities for chemically dependent, emotionally disturbed or behavior-disordered youth. Parents pursuing this avenue can expect to pay between \$3,000 and \$5,000 to cover the cost of educational testing, interviews, consultations and school visits.

Among the Washington-area resources I have found useful to parents are: School Counseling Group, 202-333-3530, [www.schoolcounseling.com](http://www.schoolcounseling.com), e-mail [guidance@schoolcounseling.com](mailto:guidance@schoolcounseling.com); Georgia K. Irvin & Associates, 301-951-0131, [www.girvin.com](http://www.girvin.com), e-mail: [girvin@aol.com](mailto:girvin@aol.com); Peterson Academic Group, 703-391-1280, e-mail: [PetersenAG@aol.com](mailto:PetersenAG@aol.com); and WISER (Washington Independent Services for Educational Resources), 301-816-0432, [www.wiser-dc.com](http://www.wiser-dc.com).

Accommodations or bypass strategies are vital to the success of the student with learning disabilities. These accommodations may include the use of technology, homework online, organizational support, smaller class size, modified assignments, interactive hands-on learning, and extended time on tests.

Finding the right school for a child is an ambitious but satisfying journey. Often, those who have been most successful have learned to make use of the considerable resources available to them. ■

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School Name	Advertisement Page No.	Enrollment	Gender Distribution, M/F	Percent Boarding	Percent International	Levels Offered	Common Application	Accepts/Offers ADD and LD	Distance to Int'l Airport	Int'l Students Orientation	Dorms w/E-mail-phones	Holiday Break Coverage	Tuition, Room & Board
<b>JUNIOR-SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS</b>													
Andrews School, The	70	205	All girls	28	13	6-12	Y	N	30	Y	Y	N	\$21,750
Cardigan Mountain	66	203	All boys	92	8	6-9	N	N	130	Y	Y	N	27,700
Dana Hall	65	435	All girls	50	14	6-12	N	N	12	Y	Y	N	28,940
Delphian School	73	230	50/50	60	9	3-12	N	N	50	Y	Y	Y	24,748
Grier School, The	74	174	All girls	100	50	7-12, PG	Y	Y	120	Y	Y	Y	24,250
Linden Hall	76	120	All girls	75	25	6-12, PG	Y	Y	30	NA	Y	Y	24,100
Oakland School	76	86	56/30	70	6	1-9	Y	Y/Y	65	Y	N/Y	N	29,000
Oakwood Friends School	70	140	55/45	55	5	6-12	Y	Y	35	N	N	N	25,900
Oldfields	60	188	All girls	80	14	8-12	Y	Limited	35	N	N	Y	26,900
Randolph Macon Academy	69	475	70/30	84	17	6-12, PG	Y	N	60	Y	Y	N	20,400
St. John's Preparatory	67	292	55/45	38	18	7-12, PG	Y	N	75	Y	Y	Y	18,800
Vanguard School, The	76	148	63/37	95	30	5-12, PG	N	All ADD/LD	50	Y	Y	N	27,800
Washington Int'l	70	802	49/51	0	37	PK-12	N	Limited	8	Y	NA	NA	16,400
West Nottingham Academy	68	125	67/33	75	20	6-12	N	Y	50	Y	Y	Y	29,460
<b>SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS</b>													
Christchurch Episcopal High School	65	225	85/15	66	10	8-12, PG	Y	Y	120	Y	Y	N	21,750
Fountain Valley School	69	230	48/52	64	14	9-12	Y	N	70	Y	Y	Y	25,300
Foxcroft School	69	160	All girls	75	13	9-12, PG	Y	N	30	Y	N	Y	26,940
Garrison Forest School	71	213	All girls	46	9	9-12	Y	N	35	Y	Y	N	26,950
Hockaday School, The	68	432	All girls	16	3	9-12	Y	N	25	Y	Y	Y	26,990
Idyllwild Arts Academy	60	250	40/60	90	27	8-12, PG	N	N	120	Y	Y		28,700
Kimball Union Academy	76	306	59/41	69	15	9-12, PG	N	N	120	Y	Y	N	28,200
Lawrence Academy	72	377	55/45	50	48	9-12	Y	N	50	Y	Y	Y	27,800
Mercersburg Academy	72	425	55/45	80	16	9-12, PG	Y	N	50	Y	Y	Y	27,400
Milton Academy	73	660	53/47	40	14	9-12	N	N	10	Y	Y	Y	26,950
Oregon Episcopal School	60	230	50/50	25	25	9-12	Y	Limited	20	Y	Y/Y	Y	27,065
Pomfret School	66	335	55/45	75	12	9-12, PG	N	N	60	Y	Y	Y	28,350

CONTINUED ON PAGE 64

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# Schools at a glance

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School Name	Advertisement Page No.	Enrollment	Gender Distribution, M/F	Percent Boarding	Percent International	Levels Offered	Common Application	Accepts/Others ADD and LD	Distance to Int'l Airport	Int'l Students Orientation	Dorms w/E-mail, phones	Holiday Break Coverage	Tuition, Room & Board
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## SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS *Continued from page 62*

Sandy Spring Friends School	72	207	50/50	18	12	9-12	Y	N	20	Y	Y	Y <sup>1</sup>	19,500 24,050
Saint Johnsbury Academy	74	956	50/50	18	9	9-12, PG	Y	Y	75	Y	Y	Y	\$21,875
Subiaco Academy	74	205	All boys	75	32	9-12	N	N	50	Y	Y	Limited	12,300
Westover School	73	195	All girls	70	20	9-12	Y	Limited	55	Y	Y	N	25,800
Westtown School	72	38	46/54	74	10	9-12	N	Limited	20	Y	Y	Y	24,250
White Mountain School	61	100	55/45	80	5	9-12, PG	Y	Y	100	Y	N/Y	Y	28,500
Wyoming Seminary	65	425	54/46	33	15	9-PG	Y	N	15	Y	Y	Y	25,000

## MILITARY SCHOOLS

Admiral Farragut	66	345	75/25	50	10	6-12	N	N	20	Y	N	Y	18,000
Lyman Ward Academy	71	200	All boys	100	5	6-12	N	Y	100	N	Y	N	13,350
Oak Ridge Military	75	220	80/20	69	15	7-12, PG	N	Y	6	Y	Y	Y	16,985

## SPECIAL NEEDS SCHOOLS

Brehm Schools	68,75	95	70/30	98	3	6-12, PG	N	All ADD/LD	110	N	Y	N	36,950
Gow School, The	68	143	All boys	100	12	7-12, PG	N	All LD	20	Y	Y	N	28,450

## HOMESCHOOLING

Calvert School	75	Homeschooling program. K - 8. For more information, go to <a href="http://www.calvertschool.org">www.calvertschool.org</a>											
Rock Creek International School	74	160	51/48	NA	33	Pre-K-5	N	Limited	25	Y	NA	Y	15,500

## OVERSEAS SCHOOLS

American Overseas School of Rome	63	600	50/50	7	70	Pre-K-PG	N	Y	30	Y	Y	N	21,000 25,000
Brentwood College School	67	425	58/42	78	22	8-12	N	N	42	Y	Y	N	16,500
Leysin American School in Switzerland	67	315	55/45	100	60	9-12, PG	Y	N	75	Y	Y	N	25,000

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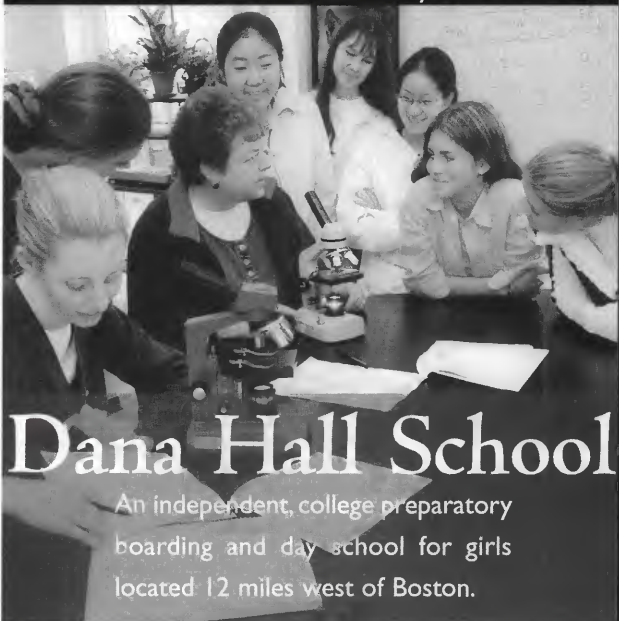
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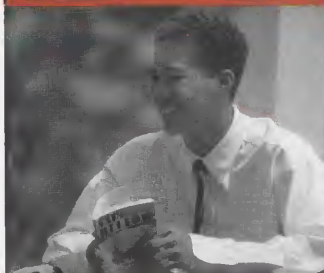
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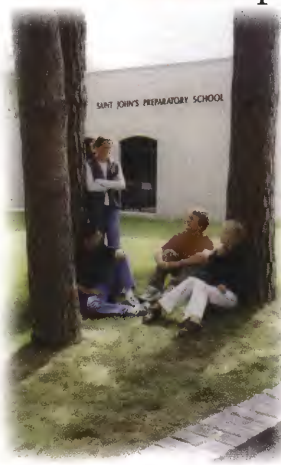
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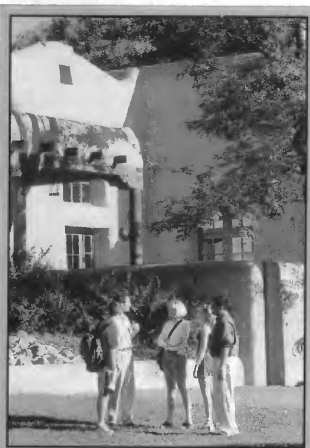
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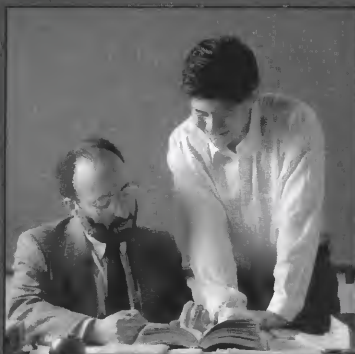
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# POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

## *A Willy Wonka Chocolate Factory*

BY KELLY ADAMS-SMITH

The group of Americans was bursting with excitement as we set out for a tour of Moscow's famed Red October chocolate factory one wintry morning. The rush hour traffic zoomed by through the sleet, splashing us with dirty brown slush. We didn't care. Only one thing was on our minds as we made our way to the factory perched on the banks of the Moscow River, a stone's throw from the Kremlin.

A welcome blast of warm air fogged our glasses as we entered the factory. The smell of rich dark chocolate was thick and heavy. Leading us through the factory's one-room museum, our tour guide explained that the company was founded by two Germans in 1850. After the revolution, the Soviets nationalized the company. Today, it is a joint stock company, and, while some investors might not be too pleased with the value of its stock, the factory continues to operate and produce the chocolates Russians love.

Our guide led us into a tiny room where she told us to put on what appeared to be surgical scrubs — a white coat, hat, and shoe coverings. We made our way to the pristine factory floor where massive pieces of Soviet-era machinery coexisted

*She ordered us to  
choose as many  
chocolates as we  
wanted, and stuff  
them into our  
mouths.*



with state-of-the-art German equipment.

Had this tour taken place in the United States, we would have viewed the chocolate making from a window far from the potentially dangerous pieces of moving equipment, hot ovens and raw ingredients. But we were in Russia, a land where corporate leaders are not overly burdened with concerns of legal liability and, consequently, where almost anything goes.

Our guide encouraged us to test the raw materials: the coatings for different candies, the cream and fruit fillings. When we hesitated, she ordered us to march up to the conveyer belts, choose as many chocolates as we wanted, and stuff them into our mouths. As we walked by bathtub-sized containers of imperfect chocolate bars, with a

broken corner here or a hairline crack there, our guide urged us to sample as much as we wanted.

For the children touring the factory, like those in the children's book *Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory*, this was almost too much. Believing at any moment the tour guide would withdraw her offer of all-you-can-eat chocolate, the kids began stuffing their pockets, socks, and their moms' handbags with pieces of colorfully wrapped candy. Even the adults, most of whom said they were watching their weight or their cholesterol, threw caution to the wind and ate with abandon.

After the free-for-all on the factory floor, we were invited to take off our surgical scrubs and join the guide for some strong Russian tea. A beautifully decorated banquet table with full tea service and massive bowls of candy and boxed chocolates greeted us. At each place setting was an assortment of the factory's candy bars, each bearing an artfully decorated wrapper and a sophisticated name like "Inspiration," "Evening Melody" or "Fairy Tales of Pushkin."

After the tea party we lugged plastic shopping bags filled with leftover candy through the wind and sleet. As we passed a group of Russian pensioners giddily approaching the factory, we realized there was something universal about chocolate that brings out the child in even the most serious adult. ■

*Kelly Adams-Smith is an FSO. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."*

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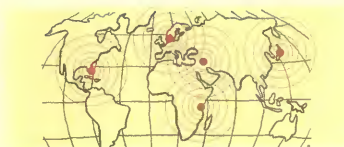
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