

LABOR CATCHES UP ■ RIGHTS IN NORTH KOREA? ■ USIA'S LOST VISION

# FOREIGN SERVICE

JOURNAL

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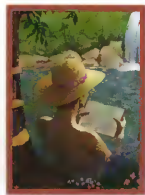
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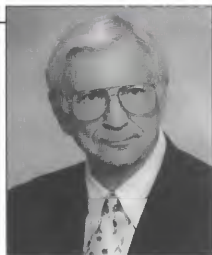
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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *The Future is Now*

By JOHN K. NALAND

We stand at what could be a turning point in the history of the U.S. Foreign Service. A number of trends — some positive, some negative — are coming together to create a unique period of opportunity and danger for our career service.



The opportunity stems from the Bush administration's clear recognition that their own success in foreign policy will depend, at least in part, on strengthening the nation's diplomatic readiness. Under the leadership of Secretary of State Colin Powell, they have moved decisively to seek resources to improve staffing, security, information technology, facilities, and training.

The top priority of the new AFSA Governing Board that took office July 15 is to assist the administration in making the case to Congress and the American people for a sustained infusion of additional resources. It would be difficult to exaggerate the need for those resources or the consequences should they not be obtained.

However, money alone cannot fix all the problems. As innumerable blue-ribbon studies have detailed, organizational reform is also needed. There are many different visions of

*John K. Naland is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.*

*This is a time  
of both danger  
and opportunity  
for the  
Foreign Service.*

what shape reform should take. The danger for AFSA and our members is that some of those visions do not place the career Foreign Service at the core of foreign policy implementation.

Therefore, the second essential task of the new AFSA Governing Board is to engage our members in a discussion of the future of the Foreign Service. As most readers know, the role and function of the career service is sharply questioned by some observers. Arguably, such questioning is healthy. Any organization that fails to adapt to changes in its operating environment dooms itself to eventual extinction.

In fact, our service has changed markedly since its creation in 1924. The Foreign Service Acts of 1946 and 1980 gave us the rank-in-person system (essential for rotational service), established the "up or out" principle, and restricted career status to those who accepted the discipline of worldwide assignment as part of a distinct Foreign Service.

That said, we who have commit-

ted ourselves and our families to a Foreign Service career have much at stake in this debate. We have volunteered for a calling requiring certain rigorous duties and sacrifices not routinely faced by other categories of employees. In return, we benefit from some additional safeguards and rewards. If a future "reform" ever eliminates the features that make us unique, we will inevitably lose the benefits that flow from that uniqueness.

The Foreign Service was established to provide the president with a dedicated corps of professionals who possess keen understanding of the affairs, cultures, and languages of other countries and who are available to serve in assignments throughout the world as ordered. We need to ask ourselves two questions about this long-standing role: Is it the right one for the 21st century? If so, do we currently have the ideal mix of abilities, outlooks, and organization to carry it out? To start the discussion, I submit that the answers are "yes" to the first question and "no" to the second.

You will be hearing a great deal about these issues in the coming months. Four former AFSA presidents have joined other distinguished members of the service in responding to my invitation to serve on the AFSA Governing Board. This strong team, guided by your input, will push to strengthen the career Foreign Service so that it may continue and improve its proud service to our nation. ■

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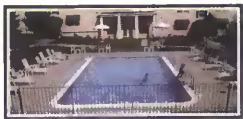
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# LETTERS

## Slashed Differentials?

The State V.P. Voice column by John Naland in the April *AFSA News* perpetuates a myth that will not die in asserting that "State slashed hardship differentials across the board for budgetary reasons."

Though there was a proposal to do exactly that, as there were many cuts discussed during those dire budget times, I can state categorically that there was no slashing of hardship differentials for budgetary reasons. The Bureau of Administration rejected the proposal, and allowances were never reduced as a cost-cutting measure.

*Patrick F. Kennedy*  
Assistant Secretary for  
Administration

## John Naland replies:

According to AFSA's records, the Department of State indeed slashed differentials in 1994 for purely budgetary reasons. A total of 182 post differentials were cut. The 5 percent post differential was introduced (a "slash" in itself) and 52 posts were cut from 10 percent to 5 percent, 43 were cut from 15 percent to 10 per-

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cent, 37 from 20 to 15 percent, and 49 from 25 to 20 percent.

Seven years later, half of those differentials either remain at their 1994 levels or have been cut further. Fifty-nine of the cuts made in 1994 remain to this day, 21 have been reduced even deeper, and 96 have been restored to previous levels. In addition, of the 15 posts that were kept at 25 percent in 1994, two were subsequently cut. This makes a grand total of 95 posts still at or below their depressed 1994 levels with 96 posts having had their differentials restored.

*John Naland*  
AFSA President  
Washington, D.C.

## Getting the Point

Ambassador John Hamilton assures us (Letters, April) that Roberta Jacobson, the civil servant that he brought to Lima as DCM, is very popular and has gotten high marks from embassy staff. But that's not the point. The outrage over her appointment was not because FSOs thought she was incompetent. It was a reaction to management's abrogation of a long-standing agreement with AFSA, and the consequent threat that other senior slots abroad might be summarily assigned outside the agreed rules. It's disappointing that the ambassador is unable to step back and recognize that his action was very damaging to the profession he has otherwise so ably served.

Hamilton also notes that Jacobson's office director slot at

State was filled by a senior FSO. That's not surprising, as filling the job with a civil servant would have meant Jacobson had no position to return to at the end of her tour.

*Marshall Carter-Tripp*  
EST Counselor  
Embassy Buenos Aires

## Inexperienced Ambassadors

Marshall Adair reported in his April president's column that with Secretary Powell's arrival, there is a new optimism in the department. It is good to know Powell is listening to desk officers and pushing for a budget increase. However, our AFSA president and our new secretary seem to be ignoring a key question: Who is Bush appointing to the most senior positions in American diplomacy? Bush's ambassadorial appointments are by and large persons with no relevant experience in foreign affairs.

Secretary Powell comes from a career in which there have been no political appointments for decades. How can he countenance his administration's continuance of the only diplomatic spoils system in the industrialized world?

Powell was appointed by Bush. AFSA was not. AFSA's point of view should be that contained in the Foreign Service Act of 1980: American ambassadors should, with few exceptions, come from the career Foreign Service.

*Peter Bridges*  
Ambassador, retired  
Arlington, Va.



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## LETTERS

### No More Fat Cats

There is a crying need for Foreign Service officer ambassadors. It is wasteful to train bright officers only to have them bypassed at the top by a fat cat contributor to the party or a loyal politician in need of a job. Secretary Powell would never have stacked the Joint Chiefs of Staff with such candidates. The constitution gives the president the right to choose his envoys, but hopefully Powell can defend the Foreign Service with strong advice on ambassadorial appointments.

*Solie Reinhardt  
Widow of FSO, retired  
New York, N.Y.*

### Translation, Please

I joined AFSA when membership was opened to non-Foreign Service employees after attending an Elderhostel program. I enjoy reading the *Foreign Service Journal* every month. It is an educational experience about an under-publicized, but vital, department of our government.

However, I do wish you would spell out terms and names that are abbreviated in various articles. I may be a slow learner, but as your non-Foreign Service readership increases, you need to accommodate those of us for whom "Statespeak" still needs interpretation.

*Robert G. Morris  
Toledo, Ohio*

### The editor responds:

If the DG agrees, we plan on asking the EX office in HR to hire a recently TICed out FSO-01 as a WAE in FY02 to do a TDY at AFSA or FSI to research this problem. But seriously, we will try to do better at explaining abbreviations in the future.

### Death by Bureaucracy

In the early '60s when I was on loan from the U.S. Information Agency to the State Department, I became aware of the obstacles within State's administration to implementing education programs within any reasonable time period. President Kennedy and many of his successors expressed impatience with the slowness of the department to provide the support they needed.

Now that USIA has been merged into State, information and cultural programs run the risk of being smothered to death in the department's vast bureaucracy. I hope Secretary Powell and Deputy Secretary Richard Armitage will seize the opportunity, while talk of reform is in the air, to cut through the mountains of red tape in the department.

Powell was quoted in the press recently as saying he would see to it that what used to be USIA would produce more than "pamphlets" in the future. I cannot believe anyone with his experience in government was unaware of the great variety of information and cultural programs that constituted USIA's operations overseas for more than 45 years. I am going to assume he was misquoted. If not, please, someone brief him immediately!

*Dorothy Dillon  
Assistant Director  
for Latin America  
USIA, retired  
Washington, D.C.*

### Management is More

If David Newsom's placement of Human Resources (HR), Budgets (FMP), and Foreign Buildings (FBO) includes only these three within the purview of an Under Secretary for Management, where do Information Resources Management (IRM), Diplomatic Security

(DS), the Foreign Service Institute (NFATC), Medical Services (MED), Legislative Affairs (H), and Consular Affairs (CA) fit in?

It is evident that Newsom has been away from the department for 20 years. Would an under secretary for information technology be too much to consider? Circumstances have changed.

*Rob Jennings  
IRM/CST/LD/External  
Washington, D.C.*

### DOS of Reality

The submissions in the May issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*, titled "Salvaging State," raised the level of concern to ear-splitting levels.

Now hear this: If your facilities are crumbling, and your benefits and clout are disappearing, it is your fault, because you have failed to justify your existence to the American people. The "good" ambassadorships are awarded as post-election prizes, CNN and the Internet are the most influential sources of information and policy gamesmanship, and the president gives a lot of face time to "those other Foreign Service agencies." But there are things you can do now, and they are relatively light investments of your time and money.

- Start writing a column for your hometown or college newspaper. Use the "Postcard from Abroad" page as a guide. You're writers. It should be a walk in the park for you. You can change the opinions of Americans, one town or campus at a time

- Schmooze your elected officials. The *Journal* conveniently provided us with a pullout list (*AFSA News*, May). On home leave, drop by their offices for a friendly visit. Bring them (inexpensive!) trinkets from post. Use them to visit your home in Conakry (ha ha ha!). Send them holiday cards.

- Start a post Web site right now. You already have potential Webmasters at post: spouses. It is amazing how much talent is wasted in underemployed family members.

- Lose the hierarchical attitudes immediately.

- Do pro bono work in the U.S. and at post. Don't leave all the volunteering to the spouses.

America hates snobs. Americans will never willingly hand over hard-earned tax money for you to live in Paris unless they think you are there on their business. In short, you must step up your public relations and outreach. Diplomacy, like charity, begins at home. Don't wait for AFSA, Secretary Powell, or the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to save you.

*Mary Ternus  
FS spouse  
Algiers*

### Should've Seen This Coming

The United States has been recently voted off the U.N. Human Rights Commission. I am alarmed that the sneak diplomatic attack kicking us off the commission allegedly caught Secretary Colin Powell and Foggy Bottom asleep. According to press reports, the dumbfounded secretary claimed he had "43 solid written assurances" of support for the U.S., yet only 29 voted to keep us on the commission.

Who precisely were the 14 nations that supposedly assured us of their support and then in effect double-crossed us? Why didn't the Foreign Service predict this? How could we have been so overconfident?

I hope we can learn some details about the outcome of what was billed as a secret vote.

*Roy A. Harrell, Jr.  
FSO, retired  
Ozona, Texas ■*



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In diplomacy  
you cover the  
known."*

— AMBASSADOR  
THOMAS PICKERING  
(REPORTED TO BE A  
FAVORITE OBSERVATION  
OF HIS)

## POLITICAL ENVOYS 22, CAREER OFFICERS 5

As of early May, President Bush had announced 27 ambassadorial appointees — 22 of whom are people with ties to the president and no diplomatic experience, reported Laurence McQuillan in *USA Today* May 4. Bush has his recent predecessors beat when it comes to the number of political appointees he has named by that date: Three months into their presidencies, Bill Clinton had named 23 ambassadors, 21 of whom were FSOs; Ronald Reagan had named four FSOs out of nine; and George Bush père had named eight FSOs out of 21 ambassadors.

While the current president has staffed some desirable embassies, such as France, Spain, and the Bahamas, with political appointees, he has chosen FSOs to serve in sensitive places like Egypt and Russia.

As usual, many of the political appointees are big donors. For example, the nominee for ambassador to Ireland gave \$491,100 to the GOP and the nominee for the Swedish post gave \$367,200 to the Republicans.

AUSA president Marshall Adair says he is "troubled by the fact that virtually all of the names are political." But White House officials say they have decided that about 50 embassies out of 162 will be political posts, a figure which is in keeping with the 30 percent guideline most presidents have adhered to.

## NETTING AMBASSADORS

*The Washington Diplomat*, a monthly newspaper, has put together a Web page that may be useful to Foreign Service

employees. It's [www.washdiplomat.com/ambprofnt.html](http://www.washdiplomat.com/ambprofnt.html), and it lists foreign ambassadors posted to Washington, along with photos and official biographies. Most entries include links to the country's U.S. embassy.

## ATTENTION GETTER: THE HELMS CENTER

Ever heard of Wingate, N.C.? There's no reason you should have: It's a tiny town of strip malls, strip clubs and a boarded-up Hardee's. Then why would Margaret Thatcher, Henry Kissinger, the Dalai Lama, Kofi Annan and Madeleine Albright all have made a point of stopping there? Because, as Jason Zengerle explains in the June 4 *New Republic*, Wingate is home to the Jesse Helms Center. The dignitaries have come, as Zengerle puts it, "to show their appreciation of — or to curry favor with — Helms."

The Helms Center, funded by thankful Helms backers such as tobacco companies, is a \$3.3 million structure which houses the senator's papers and mementos. It sponsors lecture series at nearby Wingate University, where Helms attended college, as well as conferences and essay-writing contests.

Jesse Helms is clearly proud of his work as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a post he held until the Senate's recent shift to Democratic control. An exhibit on Helms's January 2000 visit to the U.N. in which he told the international body it would need to reform in order to receive U.S. funds is prominent. A quote from Sen. Joseph Biden, D-Del., on a wall nearby captures Helms' pleasure at his



## CLIPPINGS

accomplishments: "Just as only Nixon could go to China, only Helms could fix the U.N." Dozens of photographs of Helms with foreign leaders hang from the wall below the Biden quote.

### ABOUT THAT PLANE: REGRETS ONLY

Language maven William Safire in his April 29 column in *The New York Times Magazine* dissected the "diplolingo" contortions U.S. officials went through when a damaged U.S. Aries reconnaissance plane landed on China's Hainan island.

Before they released the crew, the Chinese wanted an apology, something the United States was determined not to give.

Safire notes that the word *apology*, when it entered the English language, originally meant a speech in one's own defense, and was not "apologetic" at all. But that use of the word is largely obsolete.

"The Chinese," Safire notes, "demanded not only *bao qian*, as in "sorry I was late," but the much graver *dao qian*, a phrase that begins a formal apology." President George Bush and Secretary of State Colin Powell offered regrets at the loss of the pilot's life, but that didn't cut it for China's leaders.

Eventually, resolution of the standoff came with the aid of Chinese-English linguistic ambiguity. The U.S. said it was "very sorry;" that was translated in a statement from Ambassador to China Joseph Prueher using the syllable *qian*, "allowing the Chinese to infer an admission of wrongdoing," Safire notes. So both sides could claim victory.

But after the U.S. crew was released, Secretary Powell added emphatically, "We should not be fooled by Chinese propaganda that says they got an apology." Glad we cleared that up.

### AMBASSADORS OPPOSE U.S. DEATH PENALTY

Nine retired ambassadors with more than 200 years of service in 18 countries among them are calling for an end to the death penalty for the mentally handicapped, reported Raymond Bonner in the June 10 *New York Times*. The diplomats registered their complaint in a memo to the Supreme Court in response to the case of a North Carolina death row inmate who has an IQ of 67. The ambassadors who signed the memo were Thomas Pickering, Felix Rohatyn, Morton Abramowitz, Stephen Bosworth, Stuart Eizenstat, John Kornblum, Phyllis Oakley, J. Stapleton Roy, and Frank Wisner.

The diplomats argue that the practice of executing the retarded opens the U.S. to "daily and growing criticism from the international community," causes diplomatic problems, especially with Europe, and makes other countries question America's commitment to human rights. According to the *Times*, many FSOs agree with this view but are not at liberty to criticize U.S. policies.

Active-duty FSOs privately revealed to the *Times* that they believe that the death penalty — in general, not just when applied to the retarded — makes it harder for the United States to conduct diplomacy. For example, the Chinese raise the death penalty frequently in their diplomatic negotiations with the U.S.

# 50 YEARS AGO

"Communist mendacity is being exposed by the propaganda of truth. It is on this battlefield of men's minds that the message of the free world, supported by rising economic strength and military security, is winning its battle and proving that man is essentially a devotee both of truth and freedom."

— EDITORIAL IN THE  
AUGUST 1951 FSJ.

COMMENTING ON THE  
ADVENT OF  
PROPAGANDA AS A NEW  
ARM OF DIPLOMACY.



*“Foreign relations are like human relations. They are endless. The solution of one problem usually leads to another.”*

— JAMES RESTON,  
AMERICAN JOURNALIST

U.S.-EU relations are also complicated by the death penalty. Says Rohatyn: “For practically the full four years I was in Paris [as ambassador], there was not a single speech I made where the first or second question wasn’t: ‘How can you people do this? Why do you execute the mentally retarded? Why do you execute minors? Why are there so many minorities on death row?’”

### HIRING HIV-POSITIVE FSNs APPROVED

The State Department will no longer screen foreigners for HIV infection when they apply to work in U.S. embassies, reported Christopher Marquis in the May 31 *New York Times*. Before, the chiefs of mission at each embassy made the decision whether or not to screen potential FSNs for the virus. About 22 consulates

and embassies, seven of them in sub-Saharan Africa, have been checking job applicants for HIV.

Cedric Dumont, State’s medical director, encouraged Secretary of State Colin Powell to end the policy of discriminating against HIV-positive applicants while the secretary was on his recent tour of Africa. An unnamed State official told the *Times* that “we want to be a good employer. We want to do right by our employees.”

Despite the change, the department still will not hire a U.S. citizen who tests positive for the virus and restricts the posting abroad of FSOs who become infected after becoming State employees. It is not clear whether State also plans to eliminate its HIV screening process for Americans who want to enter the Foreign Service. The change in policy is expected to increase insurance costs in many embassies. ■

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# SPEAKING OUT

## *Can Public Diplomacy Rise from the Ashes?*

BY JAMIE FREDERIC METZL

Celebrating the merger of the United States Information Agency into the Department of State in October 1999, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright welcomed USIA's employees as "co-architects in building a vigorous and far-sighted American foreign policy, with public diplomacy at its core; a policy that will lead our nation and the world into a new era."

Nearly two years after the Foreign Affairs Restructuring and Reform Act was implemented, these claims have yet to be realized. The time has come to transform this rhetoric into reality.

### **A Match Made in Heaven?**

Ever since its establishment in 1953, USIA has used public outreach and cultural and educational programs to advance America's values and interests and foster dialogue around the world. But while USIA's 46 years as an independent agency allowed it to develop creative programs, including educational exchanges, jazz tours, and art shows, its bureaucratic isolation removed it from the policy process

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*It has been nearly  
two years since the  
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yet no new vision  
has been put  
forward for  
American  
diplomacy.*



centered at the Department of State.

The State Department, on the other hand, knew a lot about policy but understood less about interacting with non-diplomatic or non-elite populations, and was having a difficult time reorienting itself to face a decentralizing world. Although the U.S. rightly criticized government information monopolies in many parts of the world, these monopolies actually made the diplomat's job simpler. Foreign government positions were often echoed in their domestic media, and so dealing with government officials and a relatively small number of local elites could have significant reverberations throughout these societies.

Now that the Internet and global and regional satellite television broadcasts transcend borders and challenge government information

monopolies, populations are more free to develop, and act upon, their own ideas in all but the most isolated states. The Al-Jazirah satellite television network run out of tiny Qatar in the Persian Gulf, for example, provides Arab populations with interpretations of news events which challenge local leaders and promote popular debate.

Globalization and the proliferation of information technology have also empowered non-state actors like non-governmental organizations and corporations to play a greater role in foreign affairs, often encroaching on traditional government functions. Effective NGO coordination to support a global ban on landmines and to promote the International Criminal Court, and private sector involvement in the Tokyo G-8 Summit and in the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers, an Internet domain name regulatory body, are among the most prominent examples of this transformation. In this new environment, states must learn to interact with other entities as equals.

Meanwhile, the sources of geopolitical power are also changing. Military might and economic largesse — attributes on which the State Department has traditionally focused — are still critical, of course. But what political scientists Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane call "soft power" — the broad-based ability to encourage other societies to share a common vision of the future — is becoming

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## SPEAKING OUT

increasingly central to America's global position.

In light of these global trends, the 1999 merger seemed a match made in heaven. USIA would trade its independence for greater policy relevance and the State Department would inherit badly needed new perspectives. Because USIA's mission has always recognized the importance of building and presenting a credible narrative to explain our country's actions, its professionals were well suited to help their State colleagues adjust to the new reality.

In the nearly two years since reorganization, however, no new vision has been put forward for American diplomacy, and not nearly enough has been done to bring State's mission into the information age. No long-term strategic plan has been adopted that would allow public diplomacy experts to project future flash points or nascent major issues and begin the necessary proactive public diplomacy efforts to stem potential future crises. Although a Clinton administration presidential directive, PDD-68, ordered greater interagency coordination, not enough has been done to bring together the international information programs of the various U.S. agencies maintaining overseas presences. No public diplomacy framework has been established for more systematically reaching out to NGOs and other non-state actors.

Most importantly, little has been done to transform the insular and secretive culture of the State Department. Instead, the public diplomacy professionals of the former USIA are being slowly swallowed up by a State Department culture that rewards those immersed in current crises more than those preempting future ones. Unfortunately for American diplomacy, the more proactive culture of the former USIA is

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*Not nearly enough has  
been done to bring  
State's mission into the  
information age.*

---

slowly merging into the more reactive culture of the Department of State.

### Realizing the Vision

It is not too late to make the merger a success. Indeed, the anticipated confirmation of Charlotte Beers as the new under secretary for public diplomacy and public affairs will provide another opportunity to realize the critical goals of reorganization and reinvigorate the Department of State.

The new under secretary will need to take the lead in developing a coordinated national information strategy that will complement the president's national security strategy and lay out global and regional public diplomacy goals and objectives.

Furthermore, regional public diplomacy interagency coordination bodies, as called for in PDD-68, must be established and empowered to identify the most important future challenges and begin using public diplomacy and other tools to build bridges to governments, international institutions, and NGOs to address them.

In these efforts, a revitalized public diplomacy must promote global cultural pluralism and meaningful sharing and exchange across geographic, cultural, and technological boundaries. Because foreign perceptions of alleged American hegemonic designs undermine America's effectiveness and leadership overseas, sig-

## SPEAKING OUT



nificant money and effort must go into promoting international dialogue.

Enhancing global connectivity to the Internet is one of the major human rights challenges of our generation because this technology can empower underprivileged populations to take a much more active role in solving their own problems. Recognizing this, the U.S. under the Clinton administration made a modest commitment at the 2000 G-8 summit to bridging the global digital divide. This commitment is now flagging and needs to be revived. It is clearly in our national interest to help local communities around the world gain the information and access that are necessary preconditions for empowerment, sustainable development and democratization.

To prevent this connectivity from

being perceived abroad as a tool for greater American cultural dominance, however, the U.S. should also help the poorest countries and communities put their own cultural materials on line and facilitate the building of virtual bridges between museums, libraries, and other cultural institutions around the world. America's young people should be encouraged to share their technical expertise with others in the developing world. The Peace Corps has made important strides in this direction through its new information technology initiatives. The network hardware company Cisco Systems has also set up Internet training academies in almost a hundred countries. These types of public and private efforts must be strongly supported.

America's respect for foreign pop-

ulations could also be demonstrated by appointing State Department spokespeople to give weekly foreign affairs briefings in Spanish, Chinese, and Arabic, making such briefings highly usable (and less distortable) by powerful regional satellite television networks. Sociologists and pollsters should do extensive analysis of how people around the world receive and process their news to help America's spokespeople communicate in ways target audiences are most likely to hear.

In addition to presenting our views in a culturally appropriate and respectful manner and fostering dialogue, however, the United States government and partner NGOs must work to empower voices of moderation around the world. Communities tend to rely on local

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## SPEAKING OUT



*The United States  
government and partner  
NGOs must work to  
empower voices of  
moderation around  
the world.*

news sources before foreign ones in most situations. While the United States must not attempt to manipulate the content of these local media outlets, we should work with international NGOs, international institutions like the World Bank, and others to support the development of reliable, independent media outlets across the globe, even those critical of U.S. policy. Although some of this is already being done, particularly by USAID and NGOs like the Open Society Institute, it must be expanded to a much larger scale. A reinvigorated State Department should take the lead in these efforts.

Ultimately, however, what is needed is nothing short of a complete transformation of the State Department into a more open and accessible organization that engages new and old players in international affairs while speaking the language and utilizing the tools of the information age. The merger of USIA into State still provides a spark for this transformation. The State Department must now decide whether it will let this ember rise from the ashes and light a fire of badly needed change, or whether it will extinguish it as another casualty of "business as usual." ■

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# VISA FOR A DREAM

**K**iko had been foolish. Already the line stretched two blocks down the street. The trip that morning had taken longer than he had expected. He had waited a half-hour for the guagua, and when it had finally arrived there was not a seat left. The vehicle had crept along, a shove and a grunt always making room for one more passenger. With rusted sides like a broken zipper, the overstuffed bus had bounced on down the pockmarked highway, for two hours, all the way to Santo Domingo.

It was 6 a.m. At 8:30 a.m. the doors would open. It would take hours to get to the shade inside. The coming heat was a rolling wave headed his way as the sun slowly rose over Avenida César Nicolás Pensón. He started his mantra. "Positive thinking will get me a visa. Positive thinking will get me a visa." The leitmotif of the training course he had just taken was that every person is in control of his own destiny. This information had been a revelation for Kiko. Yes, luck played a role, but a person who believed he would succeed would carry that aura with him, and in the end this belief would light the way to success.

Kiko had gladly paid the stiff fee for the course. The success stories were so convincing. Course graduates had paraded into the meeting hall, describing how the training had changed their attitudes and thus their lives. The training director's eyes shone with bright assurance; the meeting had been electric

like a Bible jamboree. At one point Kiko had almost jumped up to shout "Hallelujah!" He never asked himself why so many successful graduates of the course were still around to provide testimonials.

As he stood in line, he practiced for the interview, whispering questions and answers. He was the owner of a small shop that sold emergency electricity generators. In the Dominican Republic, every day was an electricity emergency. He needed to get to a generator expo in Houston, where the latest models would be displayed in long, gleaming lines. He had a glossy, color invitation to the expo that had been addressed to him personally at the top of his pile of papers. Just under it in the pile of papers

was his visa application form. He had attached to the application a small photo of himself, where he wore the calm smile of a successful man, a man of business.

On the application, he had listed his destination as "Houston, Nueva York." One of the trainers had shown him the proper spelling of that great land, which he had always heard as "Nueva Yol." It was one of the many ways the training was going to pay for itself.

Right on time, the consulate doors opened. The line surged forward and Kiko's heart raced as he frantically repeated his answers. But the surge ended a block from the door. He took a deep breath to relax just as a truck passed by, lathering him in diesel smoke. Kiko felt the first beads of sweat on his forehead, the sunbeams already starting to throb down. He unbuttoned his collar and loosened his thick tie, careful not to undo it since he didn't know how to retie it. He forced himself



Rich Croote

KIKO KNEW IN HIS  
HEART THAT HE WAS  
A KNIGHT IN A SHINING  
BLUE SUIT OF  
WRINKLE-FREE ARMOR.

BY DAVID SEARBY

*Kiko started his mantra. "Positive thinking will get me a visa.  
Positive thinking will get me a visa."*

---

back to his mantra, and then drifted. He thought of what he would do when he got home, when he would walk into the grocery where Mayra worked and casually mention to her stone-faced father that he was heading for Nueva York. Her father would say that he didn't believe him. Kiko would flash open his passport ever so briefly like a cop's badge, then slide it back into his pocket. Then he would grab a beer, pass Mayra 50 pesos, and say, "I'll be back one day for my change." And Mayra would have to wait for him.

"Move it!" A hand shoved him back to reality. There was a gap in the line ahead and he scrambled forward. Suddenly, for the first time, he was close enough to get a good look at the consulate. Looming ahead of him was a huge, gray, windowless, cement box. Strange antennae, curved wires and shining white satellite dishes sprang from the roof. A ten-foot wall encased the compound. The massive red and white striped flag swayed sentry-like, back and forth. He gazed wide-eyed at the heavily guarded gateway to America. He fought off a surge of despair by repeating his mantra with special emphasis: "Positive thinking WILL get me a visa."

An hour passed as the sidewalks filled with food vendors, shoeshine boys, policemen, visa-fixers, and quick-handed moneychangers. On the fringes of the crowd were scores of assorted souls with no money, no documents, no hope. They huddled and moved together, a bent-backed old man in rotting sandals next to a 12-year-old girl holding her baby, looking toward the consulate with vague expectation, scorned by all, with only the occasional passing Haitian whom they could in turn scorn. They waited out of the conviction that they were in a special place, a crossroads of power and possibilities. Just down the street was the president's private residence, the people's hope for a better life at home just as the consulate promised a way out. They waited for the gates of either citadel to fly open, ready to spring or stumble in either direction, bare-foot Dorothys off to see the elusive Wizard.

---

*David Searby, an FSO since 1988, has served in Santo Domingo, Rome and New York. He is currently an assistant cultural affairs officer in Embassy Mexico City.*

An old man across the street had bottles of dark rum arrayed on a table, ready for those who needed a last minute swig of courage. From a boom box somewhere, a merengue pounded a frenetic beat, helping to hide the truth that most of the people there were going absolutely nowhere. Kiko wished he could move five feet over into the shade, but he would lose his place.

He looked behind as the line stretched back. Ahead, men and an occasional woman all stood in line with a weary, chain gang droop. A busty mulatta in tight jeans bounced by in two-inch heels, but only one man gave her a half-hearted wolf-whistle.

By 11:30, Kiko was nearly to the door, a thick, reinforced lump of steel with a bar across it. He looked at a vendor who was pounding slices of plantain flat and then throwing them on the sizzling pan. He looked from the pan to the pounding sun overhead, and he prayed for clouds and shade, if only for a few seconds. BZZZZZZ. He swatted at the mosquito on his ear, then looked into the consulate parking lot. Inside, drums of trash and pools of stagnant water lay in a haze of swarming, feasting and mating insects, like tiny mosquito Club Meds.

A silver Mercedes pulled up next to him. He looked into the tinted black window and saw his reflection. He was streaked with sweat. He began having doubts about the "wrinkle-free" suit that the visa fixer had rented him. The material was hot to the touch and didn't breathe like normal cloth. He stripped off the jacket, reminding himself to put it on again before he got to the window. He smiled into the car window so that he could see his new gold tooth beam back at him. Such a tooth suggested a man of means. Like the suit, the new front tooth was one of the many major investments in the big day, the main difference being that he hoped to keep the tooth.

A platinum-blond white woman in an elegant pants suit got out of a long, blue sedan, walked up to a grubby man in a T-shirt near the front of the line, handed him some money, and took his place. She soon entered the consulate cool, confident, almost bored. Kiko was about to make it inside the door and into the shade when a mustached businessman in designer glasses came up to the guard, pressed something into his palm, and squeezed

## F O C U S

past Kiko. Kiko spent another five minutes in the sun. Finally, the guard nodded him in. He lumbered inside and waited for the relief, the famous artificial cooling that Americans and rich people enjoyed. Instead, he was surrounded by hot, dead air. Two fans churned helplessly, like spoons in desert sand. The walls had only a thin line of bars at the top for vents, where the mosquitoes let themselves in and out, rich person style.

The line inside snaked back and forth toward the interviewing booths. He saw a thin, wiry woman huddled behind a thick glass window. She, he knew, was the vice consul he had heard so much about. "Doctora No," as she had been dubbed by the visa fixers. She was the toughest of all. A shiver went up his spine despite the heat. He turned the corner and said a silent prayer that he would not have to plead his case before her. The line suddenly picked up speed and he neared the fateful moment when, by luck of the draw, a guard would point him toward the consul who would decide his fate.

In the preceding weeks, he had gone increasingly often to services at a tiny Pentecostal church, where he would join with the others waving their arms in the air and singing. "Ask, and it shall be given. Knock, and the door shall be opened." But he had also paid a visit to the old parish priest from his altar boy days and to the bruja for some Santería charms. Like most Dominicans raised on the national sport, he knew the value of keeping his bases covered.

In the dim light, Kiko squinted to take a final look at his papers. He had the invitation to the expo in Houston, the deed to 10 acres of land in his home town, a title to a 1987 Chevy, a bank passbook showing 163,000 pesos in his account, a long history of good credit, and even a photo of himself as the proud owner standing in front of his store. As in the famous merengue song "Visa for a Dream," his documents were not "sincere." But that didn't matter, because he knew in his heart that he was. He was the essence of sincerity. His sincerity was his sword and his shield. He was a knight in a shining blue suit of wrinkle-free armor. As he neared the line of booths, he straightened his back, knowing what he would do when he got to "Nueva York." He would work like a dog. His mother would be so proud, and she would get to join the line at the Western Union once a month to show that she, too, had someone in America who cared for her. She would never worry about him getting into the wrong sort of business, never see a funeral announcement of her son in the

newspaper with the words "Died tragically in New York," like one of the many casualties who had taken the fast and easy road.

As he entered the final turn to the line of vice consuls, Kiko went over his story again. It was an ingenious ploy, by far the best story in the visa fixer's spiral binder, the catalogue of wished-for lives. Even the rich people hated the blackouts, even the gringos. As the consul stamped the visa into his passport, they would trade jokes about the bad electricity, about the blind president who didn't give a damn if everyone else was in the dark. Kiko would give him free recommendations on the best generators. He had practiced relaxing, smiling, laughing, even what he would do if he were denied a visa. Don't get upset, he told himself. Laugh and smile. Insist pleasantly. But who could turn down a man who simply wanted to bring light to his fellow countrymen?

Kiko swatted at a mosquito on his hand, splattering his invitation letter with a tiny drop of blood. A bad omen. Quick. Sleeve of the jacket. A little spit. He nervously rubbed away at the spot, careful not to rub too hard. After a few tense moments, he was satisfied. His crown jewel gleamed again. He looked dreamily at the rows and rows of bright, polished machines and wished that he really could go and buy some to bring back home, just to show them to Mayra. Who knows, he thought, maybe one day the little fairy tale he was about to tell would come true.

"Next." The guard waved him on. Now was the time. He slipped his jacket on, took a deep breath, said his mantra one more time, and calmly plunged into battle. His confidence soared and he almost laughed when he was waved past Doctora No. He went to the last booth and turned to meet the consul, smiling.

Nothing could ever have prepared him for that moment. Ahead of him was a lean, muscular, switchblade of a man with an angular face and a blonde crew cut: The Baron. Kiko had learned about him from the visa fixers, who had coined the name to reflect his Prussian looks and polite but cool, aristocratic style. Kiko sheepishly shuffled up to the booth, laid down his papers, and started grinning. The Baron looked him over, focusing briefly on the rented polyester suit and then the gold tooth. Was it Kiko's imagination, or did the Baron's eyebrow curve up slightly? Did this man understand the high status associated with a gold tooth and this fine, special suit? The Baron began the questions.

"What do you do for a living?"

The Baron reached under the bulletproof glass and pulled the application from the pile, scribbling "polyester visa-fixer's special" onto the comments section. Kiko launched into his explanation of his shop as he slid the rest of the sweat-soaked papers through the gap. The glass scraped off the layer of the bruja's charm dust, which blew directly into the Baron's face, triggering a brief but violent spasm of sneezes. The Baron regained control, looked for a second like he was going to chastise Kiko, and wrote "Jiu-Jiu dust on papers." He continued the routine.

"What is the purpose of the trip?"

Kiko's well-rehearsed story flowed. But the Baron did not even seem to listen as he saw the expo invitation letter, stripped it from the stack of papers, and added it to a pile of identical letters off to the side. Kiko was shocked. He had assumed his was the only letter of its kind in the world. The Baron shoved the other papers back under the window — the fake car, land, and bank documents that alone had cost a month's wages — without looking at them. He then branded the back of Kiko's passport with some initials and numbers that Kiko didn't understand.

"I'm sorry, but you don't qualify now."

At first, Kiko did not even hear the words because he was concentrating on his lines. But when he did, he stopped talking in mid-sentence, mouth open wide.

"I'm sorry, but you don't qualify now. Next, please." The Baron nodded and looked behind Kiko to the next applicant.

Kiko felt not a shred of willpower to fight on. All the training had flowed out of him, like water from a shattered vase, the mantra already a long-forgotten echo. He fumbled to pick up his papers and staggered away.

**K**iko sat in the rear of the yola as it chopped through the tiny waves. He was lucky. The people at the front were turning a pale green and they were only a few hours into the journey.

The boat had left early to avoid shakedown runs from police and stayed close to the coast to calm the nerves of this distinctly non-seafaring bunch. The shoreline to the south passed by in slow motion. Even at 8 a.m., the sun was already an orange beacon leading to the Promised Land via Puerto Rico. Once again, Kiko reflected, he was enduring the hot sun in order to reach America. But today, with the cool ocean breeze, he would wish for no clouds to block the sun, and only hoped that the placid sea would change its mood.

His new mantra was "Forget how much money you owe." The worst part had been taking his mother's money. He could hardly meet her eyes as he left. On the way out of town, he had gone two blocks in the wrong direction to steer clear of Mayra's house. His shame was an abyss whose depth he had not even begun to explore. He knew he would have plenty of time to do so on the long trip east.

The woman across from him was sobbing softly, holding her knees. Kiko looked away, thankful that her sobs were drowned out by the outboard. The small wooden boat was filled with huddled people and plastic garbage bags, since the weight of real luggage would have brought them even lower to the water. No life preservers, because any mishaps would best be forgotten.

The engine pattered and died. The fat man steering the outboard cursed and got up slowly with one hand on the throttle bar. He moved the rusted, empty can of gas and then reached over to put the full one in its place. He heaved up the full can, started to swing it over the empty can, then squealed and dropped it as he fell, clutching his back. The full gas can fell hard on its sharp corner, puncturing the rotten floor of the boat like a knife wound, and water began pulsing in.

Screams. People jumped up and shouted and the boat started rocking. "Someone start the motor!" Kiko looked at the engine and the maze of wires, switches, and gas lines. "We've got to get to shore!" In the distance, Kiko saw a large, sleek motor boat anchored off a white sand beach and a few dots that might be people on deck. He began waving his arms and yelling. The sobbing woman began bobbing back and forth wildly, knocking over a lady, who spun violently to regain her balance, triggering a domino chain of falling bodies. The boat started to tip.

As Kiko fell into the water, he stayed focused on the boat in the distance and kept on shouting. He hung onto the capsized boat, but soon the gentle waves and the people piling on top pushed it under. With all his might, he kicked and waved his arms in the water, keeping his head above the surface to shout at the boat again. Then he looked around and saw the others flailing around him and he realized, with a dreamy, disembodied feeling, that from a distance he and the others might look like fish in a feeding frenzy. A pretty sight for people lounging on a deck. He stopped flailing. As he went under, a thought passed through his mind: how ironic it was that he had spent his entire life on an island and had never learned how to swim. ■

# MR. FUKUJI

“**T**he guy puts me in mind of Santa Claus,” the consul general’s secretary remarked after laying eyes on Mr. Fukuji for the first time. That was an apt description for him. Though he lacked a white beard, he was fat, had very pink cheeks, a prodigious belly and a bulbous red nose. However, no one ever said he was jolly.

He was a walking encyclopedia who could rattle off export and import figures with lightning speed and spew forth biographical data for all the upper-echelon personnel of the prefecture — the Japanese equivalent of a U.S. state — with which American consulate staff conducted business. Ask him how many votes a Dietman — a Japanese legislator — had garnered in the last election and, *voilà!* — out would pop the answer. His command of English was masterful and his interpretation from Japanese to English was exemplary. He was the assistant to the economic and political officers of the consulate general and constantly looked over his shoulder for any would-be usurper of that prestigious position.

But obnoxious? He was that and more. “Pompous” and “overbearing” were merely two of a dozen pejoratives said of him behind his back. Although he deferred to his superiors, he was contemptuous of his fellow Japanese employees, particularly the distaff side. He said females had no business in the

workplace. “I would be a rich man if I allowed my wife to take a job, but I believe a woman’s place is in the home, preferably in the kitchen or cleaning the toilet,” he said. Nobody liked him except, perhaps, the lovely, soft-spoken, genteel lady who had married him.

Mr. Fukuji smiled and showed emotion only when he spoke of his automobile, a dark green foreign-made right-hand-drive sedan that he had purchased from an English diplomat. He washed and lovingly buffed it every Sunday. He never offered a ride to anybody, no matter what the weather. A female consular clerk once asked him if he allowed his wife to drive his pride and

joy. “Never!” he huffed vehemently. “She, like all women, is too stupid to drive.”



Rich Grote

**FUKUJI SABURO WAS CONVINCED HIS WIFE, LIKE ALL WOMEN, WAS UTTERLY STUPID. BUT HE BADLY UNDERESTIMATED HER.**

*By FRANCES M. KNOWLES*

**H**is wife was not stupid, of course. One evening, while Mr. Fukuji was driving home after an office party at which he had made himself more loathsome than usual, his hands left the steering wheel to clutch at his chest. Gasping for breath, he slumped against the door, and the sedan careened from one side of the road to the other. Mrs. Fukuji, who was seated in the left-hand passenger seat, grabbed for the steering wheel and prevented the vehicle from crashing into a cement wall. But, in saving the car, she scraped its left fender. She squeezed against Mr. Fukuji and, with her right leg, kicked her husband’s foot off the gas pedal and pressed her own foot on the brake. When the car came to a jerking halt, she secured

*She could think of no one in the consulate general who seemed concerned about Mr. Fukuji's accident.*

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the hand brake and turned off the engine. She ran to the nearby police box and begged for assistance. The policeman telephoned for an ambulance. Minutes later, Mr. Fukuji was driven to a nearby hospital.

The vehicle, its keys still dangling from the ignition, was blocking the street, so the policeman told her to move it immediately. Without hesitation, she got behind the wheel, started the motor and, for the first time in 15 years, drove. Once she reached home, she made arrangements with a neighbor to take care of her two children and took a taxi to the hospital.

The consul general was notified the following morning of the accident and he informed the staff. "Who cares?" one saucy female whispered to a co-worker, who, try as she might, could think of no one in the office who did.

Mrs. Fukuji appeared to care, for she was a faithful vigilant, sitting at her husband's bedside every day from mid-morning until she left in the afternoon to care for their two children.

"What about my car?" he mumbled when he recognized her.

"Only minor damage," she equivocated, recounting the events of the fateful evening. He had no memory of it after his collapse.

"If you had any brains, you should have steered it straight," he griped. "Then it would have suffered no damage whatsoever."

"I was overwhelmed!" she answered apologetically.

"Stupid woman!" he rebuked her.

"I am sorry."

He didn't ask where the car was located, so she didn't confess that she had not only driven it to its resting place in the stall under their building, but had added several more scrapes to the dented fender while maneuvering it through the narrow street that led to their apartment house.

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*Frances Knowles accompanied her FSO spouse, Jack, to Kuala Lumpur, Tokyo, Sapporo, Okinawa, and Wellington. They now live in Alexandria, Va.*

The consulate staff dutifully wrote notes of sympathy to the patient. They also contributed yen for a floral arrangement that was delivered to the hospital. Mr. Fukuji was not placated.

"The consul general has visited me only once," he complained to his wife at the end of the first week of his hospitalization. "And my sister has been the only other human being to step foot in this place."

"But the consul general has telephoned me every day to inquire after you," Mrs. Fukuji said to pacify her husband. "Your two brothers, their wives, your brother-in-law, and your nieces and nephews have also called."

"Ha! Them!" he snarled, "They're all waiting to hear that I've died." He loathed his siblings' spouses, especially his sister's husband.

Nor was he noticeably fonder of his immediate family. Throughout their married life, he had criticized every single meal Mrs. Fukuji had prepared for him. If the rice wasn't overcooked, it was underdone; or the miso soup, of which he was particularly fond, was either too thick or too thin. After so many years, his aspersions still wounded her deeply, but they no longer brought her to tears.

Then, as he settled into his chair to read after dinner each evening, Mr. Fukuji would invariably grumble, "Why are *your* children (he never said "*our* children" when he complained of them) making so much noise?"

As his health improved, his wrath only increased. He feared some co-worker might scheme for his position at the office, and he was convinced that his wife had become a profligate, spending his money recklessly.

"Are you dousing the lights when nobody is in the room?" he asked.

"Of course!"

"You needn't buy meat for dinner while I'm in this place. It's expensive."

"We've had none since you've been absent," she reassured him.

"Fish is better for the children anyway. Are they doing their school work properly?"

"Of course."

"And your daughter, is she practicing the piano as she should? Her lessons cost me dearly."

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"Every day. Immediately after school."

Finally, he was discharged from the hospital with a caveat from his doctor: he must not exert himself for the next month. Mrs. Fukuji's life became a living hell. Her neighbor, an aunt to one of the consular clerks, blabbed to her niece that Mrs. Fukuji was looking haggard.

"She's at that man's beck and call every minute. I can't but help hearing him bellowing now that all the windows are open. And her with two children to see to. Fukuji-san is such an unpleasant man. If he were my husband, I'd put rat poison in his rice!"

Mr. Fukuji's younger sister, the only member of his family he could tolerate and who, in turn, could tolerate him, visited the patient.

"Aha!" he greeted her, his voice heavy with sarcasm, "You had nothing better to do so you came to see me."

While his wife scurried about in the kitchen preparing tea and cakes for the visitor, Mr. Fukuji bemoaned his situation.

"Here I lie as though dead and forgotten. I might not even have the same job to go back to when I get on my feet because I'm sure some villain or other is scheming to replace me."

For the next hour he vented his spleen: Life was not fair; his siblings had not visited him; his wife was stupid; and his children were raucous, showing no concern for his delicate health.

"Now, now," his sister mollified him, "the whole family worried when you had your heart attack. After seeing how fatigued you became when I saw you in hospital, I took it upon myself to discourage them from visiting you." He scoffed.

His sister bade him good-bye. At the door she whispered to her drooping sister-in-law, a childhood friend. "Makiko-san, how do you put up with him? He's my brother, but I can take him only in small doses."

"I apologize for my husband," she said, bowing. "The heart attack, you know."

"He should have had a tongue attack!" the feisty woman retorted.

Despite the care showered on him by his wife, Mr. Fukuji suffered a relapse. Although his doctor had prohibited him from over-exerting himself, one day he descended the stairs to inspect his automobile. His wife, returning from shopping, found

him circling it in the stall. He laid into her.

"You told me there was only minor damage. This fender is not only dented, it's been scraped in several places! Why didn't you have it repaired immediately? Rust will set in and I'll have to have the whole thing replaced. Do you think I'm made of money? Can't you use your brain? Of what use was your college education if it didn't train you to think logically?"

So loud was this diatribe, several heads popped out of the upstairs windows in the adjacent building.

"I'm sorry," she apologized, "but there was no time."

Since he had never inquired how the vehicle had found its way back to its stall from the scene of the accident, she thought it expedient to keep mum. She helped him climb the flight of stairs to their apartment. At the threshold he stumbled, staggered to his chair and collapsed into it. His breathing became erratic, his face turned gray, and he pounded his chest. Mrs. Fukuji telephoned for an ambulance.

Mr. Fukuji spent four days in the hospital, his wife his only visitor.

"Look what has happened to me because you didn't get the dent and scrapes repaired," he chastised her.

"I'm sorry. I'll see to it."

"Don't allow the body shop to rob me."

"I won't," she promised.

The next morning, she rationalized that since her husband hadn't actually forbidden her to drive his car, she would take it to the body shop herself. Two days later she retrieved the vehicle, driving and parking it without mishap.

Ms. Fukuji brought her husband back home from the hospital in a taxi, cautioning him to climb the stairs slowly.

"Stop your nagging," he barked.

She settled him in his chair. He was in a foul mood and even his children's hearty welcome did not thaw him. Nothing his wife did satisfied him: His lunch was tasteless; the tea was too strong; and, upon seeing the body shop's repair bill, he exploded.

"It's outrageous! And you paid it?"

"Of course. I thought it was fair."

"Fair? You know nothing about fairness. Those people are leeches. And you are a stupid woman," he reproached her, throwing the bill on the floor.

Mr. Fukuji's incessant grumbling took its toll on all the members of his family. The children were reduced to

## F O C U S

speaking in whispers, their mother's admonishing "hushes" in their ears. They avoided their father who spent all day either lolling in his chair or napping. Noise irritated him so they were not allowed to watch television or play the radio. One day, he slapped his son's cheek because the boy jostled his arm as he read the newspaper. Another day he ranted at his daughter for practicing the piano too loudly and she wept in her mother's arms.

Mrs. Fukuji hardly spoke a word, for whatever she said he twisted to make her appear a fool. She felt like a prisoner in her own home with her husband as warden. Escape seemed an impossibility.

Several weeks later, on a chilly, rainy Sunday in June, with the windows of the apartment closed against the elements, Mrs. Fukuji asked her husband if he would mind if she and the children went to the cinema.

"Mind? What a stupid question. With all of you gone I can take a restful nap for a change. Those children of yours are always tramping about. No wonder I'm not recuperating as fast as I should. You've neglected to teach

your children how to conduct themselves around sick people. You and they have no consideration for me."

"I'm sorry," she mumbled, "but they're only behaving as children will."

"Hah! They're so wild! I was never wild. I sometimes wonder if they are really mine!"

An infamous accusation! Mrs. Fukuji gasped. Her face paled. Her eyes filled with tears. She stifled a sob, staring after him as he shuffled away to his bedroom.

The children, dressed for their outing, were told to wait outside on the landing. Mrs. Fukuji peeked into the bedroom where her husband lay on his bed fast asleep. She made one detour into the kitchen before joining them.

On Tuesday, an obituary appeared in the newspaper announcing the death of Fukuji Saburo. An investigation by the police concluded that while his family was absent on Sunday afternoon, Mr. Fukuji, who had been recovering from a heart attack, apparently had turned on the kitchen stove to use it but had neglected to fully turn off the gas jet, and subsequently had perished by asphyxiation. "Accidental death" was the verdict. ■

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# THE STRANGE JOURNEY OF BECKLES WILLSON

**T**op scientists working in a secret government facility sponsored by Microsoft had made an important breakthrough — or they thought they had. While experimenting with high-speed human cloning, hoping to be able to produce a full-size replica of an adult individual in a span of months rather than years, they had stumbled on an even more exciting find: time travel.

Being wise people, well versed in the ways of new technologies, the scientists knew that the first several versions of their new machine were bound to have some unanticipated flaws. So first they tested the prototype with a robot that had been programmed to obtain and bring back a newspaper from the future. The robot did indeed return with scraps of a newspaper dated 10 years in the future. After the researchers tweaked the technology, the robot came back intact, but with legs where its arms had been and visa versa.

When the robots started to return in roughly the same configuration in which they had left, the scientists moved on to hamsters, dogs and monkeys. In the process, they learned some interesting things. For example, dogs were too easily distracted, often fouling up the experiment by chasing things at inopportune moments. But none of the creatures suffered any noticeable ill effects from the time travel. There were also a couple of happy bonus-

es: a new breed of dog was born out of their experiment and the researchers found that almost every animal they sent into time came back thinner, but healthy. (When Bill Gates heard about the thinning animals, he envisioned a new history/tourism/weight-loss industry that would make him trillions of dollars.)

Finally, the scientists were ready for a test run with a living, breathing human. But since none of them was willing to be the guinea pig, they put their heads together and came up with a brilliant idea. Since the government officially sanctioned their experimentation, they would

give one of the federal agencies the unprecedented chance to let one of its employees travel to the future. First, they considered the Department of Defense, thinking that any military man or woman would love to glimpse the weapons of the future in order to be better prepared for future conflicts. Unfortunately, their inquiries led them to believe that the red tape involved in such an operation would be insuperable.

After careful consideration, the scientists concluded that the State Department had the most to gain from a trip into the future. By seeing what the world would be like in the future, and by learning what had already happened, they would have an unparalleled advantage in dealing with situations in the present. So, after winding through a great deal of bureaucracy, they obtained permission to use a Foreign Service officer as their first time traveler. State's lawyers went over the language in



Rich Grote

DIPLOMACY GETS  
TRICKY WHEN YOU  
CAN VISIT THE FUTURE  
AND CHANGE  
THE PAST.

BY KRISTEN J. HESLINK

the agency's charter in great detail and determined that the clause in FSOs' hiring agreements that required them to be "worldwide available" gave the State Department the authority to demand that an FSO be available to travel to the future. After a great deal of argument, the department decided to send a young staff assistant from the Secretary of State's own office. It was, of course, well staffed, so coverage in his absence wouldn't be a difficulty. And while the Foreign Service was, in general, short of staff and in need of every person, junior officers, the newest hires, were fairly expendable. Not too much had been spent on their training yet, and there were always thousands of eager people anxious to take the test and become FSOs.

The seventh floor habitués also decided that they would deny the designated time traveler any overtime pay, danger pay or per diem. The scientists had assured them that if all went as planned, the officer would return the same day well before close of business and would never set foot outside Washington. Grudgingly, the seventh floor powers did agree that comp time was possible, if the junior officer could prove that he or she had spent at least two hours in the future.

The selection panel settled on a second-tour officer named Beckles Willson. The 27-year-old FSO was a mild-mannered looking chap, with gray eyes and light brown hair. He was of average height and weight, and in excellent health. Furthermore, he had a very easy-going personality. He never complained or sought compensation when he had to work late or come in on weekends. But he also had a taste for adventure. An Anglophile, he had been assigned to London for his first Foreign Service tour, but had leapt at the opportunity to transfer to Sarajevo after only a year. He had then volunteered for three short-term assignments that merited danger pay before returning to Washington. As an added bonus, he had degrees in history and physics. But the clincher was that Beckles was single and had no close living relatives who might sue if things went wrong.

In order not to waste the limited time he would have

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*Kristen Heslink, an FSO since 1998, has served in Budapest and as a staff assistant in the Bureau of European Affairs. She is currently studying at the Foreign Service Institute in preparation for her assignment to Chisinau.*

in the future, the young staff assistant was instructed to send a request for an appointment to the future secretary of State through the time machine, so things would be ready for him when he arrived in 30 years. Everyone assumed that the State Department would still be functioning in the same manner. Still, no one knew how to track or approve an item for a future Secretary of State, so this caused consternation. In addition, Beckles still had to get everyone to sign off on the memo and at every step in the clearance process, each official wanted to put in his or her two cents by adding issues for Beckles to raise during his meeting. After three weeks of this process, Beckles finally had an acceptable one-page memo with four pages of clearances. This went forward — more literally than usual.

Four days later Beckles' memo came back from the future stamped "approved." The only change was that Beckles would have to be satisfied with a meeting with the under secretary for management, who said he had a special message for the creators of the time machine.

With great anticipation, the intrepid staff assistant found himself being escorted, blindfolded, to the secret laboratory. At last, the blindfold was taken away and he found himself face to face with ... an elevator.

"We're just up from here a few floors. We find the machine works best on higher floors," explained his companion, a pleasant and professional looking woman in a lab coat named Dr. Hough. They stepped on the elevator and rode it to the 12th floor. There Dr. Hough's fellow researchers, Drs. Hastie and Johnson, met them.

"Ah, Beckles, such a pleasure to meet you!" Dr. Johnson exclaimed. "Such an honor for you to be the first man in the future!" He paused, "Well, of course there are people there already, you know, but you'll still be first, because you're going there now and they won't be there till then. You understand," he finished, somewhat unconvincingly. Beckles got the feeling that Johnson wasn't quite sure he believed his own words. But then he reflected that since he had received an assignment and was going to have to travel in time whether he liked it or not, maybe he didn't really want to get to know the scientists' thinking any better. He suspected he wouldn't find it a comfort.

"Yes, well, jolly good," he said. "Let's get on with this, shall we? What do I do here?" (Beckles' speech patterns had been permanently affected by his time in London.)

"All we need you to do is to sit here in this special chair.

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We will attach these electrodes here and here, and give you this pill." Dr. Hastie was attaching wires to other wires on the back of the chair, which he then plugged into a big wall socket. He then began adjusting the straps around Beckles's ankles and wrists that would anchor him to the chair. He was tightening the leather around the time traveler's left wrist when Beckles interrupted.

"Excuse me. I thought you initially tested this on robots — how does the pill figure in?"

"Actually, that's just a vitamin. Better safe than sorry," Dr. Hastie explained.

"Oh. How does this thing work? What are the long-term effects?"

"I'm afraid it's much too complicated for anyone to understand who isn't a specialist in quantum mechanics and astrophysics. Suffice it to say that in about a minute, I'll push this button and you'll be instantly transported to the year 2031. If our calculations are correct, you should land in the C Street lobby of the Harry S. Truman Building, where we assume your meeting will take place. And if you would do us a favor, please notice how you feel during and after transport. Tell us whether you have initial difficulty breathing or seeing or any such thing. Oh, and you may experience some weight loss."

"Fantastic," said Beckles. "I could stand to lose half a stone — I've had a few too many of those English fried breakfasts, you know!"

"All right, then, this is it!" Dr. Hough said with authority. "On the count of three-e-e-e. One ... two ..."

"Wait," yelled Beckles, panicking. "How do I get back?"

"Oh, that's simple!" Dr. Hastie said. He chuckled. "You just click your heels together three times and say, 'There's no place like home.'"

"You have got to be kidding me!" Beckles relapsed into purely American speech.

"We're quite serious," Dr. Johnson snapped.

"Well, we did decide on that because we found it droll," Dr. Hough elaborated. "But the mechanism is voice-activated, so the heel-clicking is optional; just say the phrase and you'll return instantly. But all right, now, enough talk. Let's try this again. One ... two ... three ... go!"

Beckles had a sensation similar to the one he had experienced when riding a roller coaster poised right before its descent. First he felt a slight jarring in his knees as his feet hit the ground. He wobbled a bit, suffering a brief but intense headache (like the feeling of sucking too fast at an

ice-cold slushie) as a tiny starburst danced in front of his eyes. Shaking his head, he looked around and found himself in the familiar setting of the C Street lobby of the State Department building. The decor was surprisingly (or perhaps not so surprisingly) unchanged from that Beckles had known in the past, with its festive row of flags of all nations. He tentatively approached the receptionist's desk, and cleared his throat. The guard, an imposing military type with a severe buzz cut and exceptionally well-defined muscles, looked up.

"Hello, I'm Beckles Willson, and I have an appointment with Under Secretary Smith."

"May I see some ID, sir?" asked the guard. Beckles handed over his State Department identification.

"I'm afraid this has expired, sir."

"Ah, yes, well, you see, I'm actually here from 2001, and as you can see, it's valid then."

Beckles spoke a little nervously, because he was worried that he would be immediately escorted to a loony bin. But then he realized that if he was able to come from 2001, time travel was most likely commonplace in 2031.

"Of course, sir," said the guard. "I'll call the under secretary's office and let them know you're here."

Moments later, an energetic gentleman arrived to escort Beckles to his meeting. As they rode up in the elevator, Beckles' companion filled him in on the major historical events of the past 30 years.

"We haven't had a real war since your time, just some peacekeeping missions here and there. In 2005, Saddam Hussein was poisoned. It seems someone got wind of his penchant for contraband sausage and slipped something into one. Now Iraq is one of our closest allies. China was troublesome into the teens, but then they underwent a peaceful revolution and became a democracy. You served in Sarajevo, so you know there is never a dull moment in the Balkans, but there hasn't been any ethnic violence anywhere in the region in more than 10 years. We had a bit of a mess in 2007 when our president, as an April Fool's joke, applied for U.S. membership in the EU, but we got that all worked out.

"Really, the world is nice and peaceful right now. But, of course, that could all change in five minutes. That's one of the things Under Secretary Smith wants to talk to you about."

When they entered the under secretary's office, Beckles saw a distinguished but frazzled looking gentleman with gray hair and a moustache. He was sitting at an

ornate desk, reading a stack of papers. When he heard Beckles enter, he stood up and offered his hand. After introductions were made, Beckles conveyed the greetings of Secretary of State Colin Powell. Then the under secretary launched into an impassioned speech.

"Beckles! A pleasure to meet you. Actually, I know you quite well, but as your older self. You're currently serving as ambassador to Quebec, but until a few months ago you worked right down the hall. Will you get a kick out of knowing that YOU — the older you that is — were here! But I guess you — he — would remember that anyway — or would you? Oh dear, this sort of thing is exactly why I need to send a message to those clowns who started this time travel nonsense!

"But I'm getting ahead of myself. I understand you come directly from Drs. Hastie, Johnson, and Hough. I have a little document I want to send back with you for them, but first I'd like to give you a brief overview of our position on time travel. In a nutshell, we hate it. It has made working — living, really — a nightmare. The current political situation is always changing because some fanatic goes back and changes history. And it has made bureaucratic gridlock worse than ever. People are always skipping meetings, knowing that they can just hop in a time machine and go back and attend them later if they have to. Deadlines are completely ignored because people figure they can always go back and do their work earlier. And it's impossible to track paper — we often have 12 versions of the same thing surfacing, all of them signed by different people — sometimes by the same person. It's awfully confusing and has almost caused hostilities on a couple of occasions when the wrong versions of messages got out to other countries. Oh, how I miss the old days when we thought memo formats were a problem!"

As a staff assistant, Beckles felt simultaneously horrified and gleeful at the mention of formatting woes, because he had dealt with so many of them himself. But his training in history gave him a keen appreciation of the horrors Smith described. Imagine a world where it would be potentially fruitful to second-guess oneself! The array of neuroses that opened up! He shuddered.

Smith continued, oblivious to all but his oration. "No one cares about doing anything now. They're all too busy time traveling to study the past or to find out what happens in the future. We went through a five-year period where the outcome of the 2000 presidential

elections changed every day. There's no regulation. Every time Congress manages to pass a law, someone goes back and thwarts them. And don't get me started on Palestine! Any of these disputes going back centuries offer perfect chances for history buffs to go meddle.

"So I want you to go back and tell those three scientists to smash their machine and never say a word to anyone about it. Secretary of State Tsao and President Martinez agree with me. I have notes from them in this folder. Of course, by the time you get back, they may not have been elected, but Hastie, Johnson and Hough will never know that. Now, get going and stop those scientists! The world as you know it depends upon it!"

Beckles gulped, nodded, and took the folder. With one last look around, he solemnly clicked his heels together three times and said the magic words. Smith immediately disappeared and the three scientists were before him again. Beckles silently handed them the folder from Smith. As they excitedly began to read it, he detached the wires and electrodes from himself and scanned the room for a tool. He grabbed a sledgehammer and smashed the chair that was the main part of the time machine.

"What are you doing?" the scientists cried.

"It's a matter of national security," he explained. "Where are the plans for this thing? I must destroy them before you destroy the world!"

"Hmmm. Interesting. The trip seems to have affected his cognitive abilities," Dr. Johnson speculated.

"It did *not* affect my brain!" Beckles angrily retorted. "Have you three considered the real ramifications of time travel? You have reduced life to an interactive game with alternative endings and far too many players. Finality and responsibility have vanished." He dropped down on his knees. "Please, I'm begging you."

The scientists looked at each other and shrugged.

"What will Bill say?" mused Dr. Johnson. "He was so excited."

"Just tell him it didn't work on humans. He'll never know," Beckles stated firmly.

"Well, you *are* persuasive. Tell you what," Dr. Hastie suggested. "You write us a memo and we'll think about it."

"Some things never change," Beckles groaned. Then, he thought about that, and brightened. "And I think that's wonderful!" ■

# THE BONE COLLECTOR

Later, communicator Greg Lance remembered that he had been sealing classified pouches in the embassy vault when he was startled by a small explosion followed by the crack-crack of gunfire. He had been sure it was another robbery. He remembers stroking his charcoal beard before going to see from the garage opening which Nairobi bank was getting hit.

The vault where classified material was stored was secured behind a five-inch thick metal door located in the subterranean parking garage of the embassy building. After negotiating his lanky frame through the vault door, Greg shuffled up the garage entrance ramp 10 feet away, craning his neck and adjusting his glasses for a better view of the firefight amidst the seething humanity just outside the embassy perimeter.

This is all Greg now remembers of what followed: A mammoth explosion hurled him cart-wheeling into something hard. Later he theorized that he was blown back through the vault door into the only "soft" items the vault held, classified diplomatic pouches piled against a rear wall. He knew if he had hit the wall instead of the pouches, he'd be dead.

Later Greg learned details about the explosion. It had been an attack carried out by a clandestine terrorist group bent on revenge for perceived slights

against them by Americans and their foreign policy. The attack had killed 12 of Greg's colleagues and more than 200 Kenyan civilians. The initial bang had come from a hand grenade tossed by the attackers as they drove a truck full of explosives toward the access gate to the underground garage. The terrorists' strategy was to tail the mail car that made a daily run into the compound through the gate, then enter the garage and detonate the device. Apparently frustrated at being thwarted by the local security guards, the terrorists threw the grenade, hoping to kill the guards and open the gate themselves. When they realized

that the tenacious Kenyans had stymied them, with time running out, they'd panicked, setting the truck bomb off some distance from the embassy building. The glancing blow killed employees inside and outside the embassy, but the majority of casualties were inflicted upon the Kenyans crowding the street beside the embassy building.

When he regained consciousness, Greg was slumped like a contortionist against the orange diplomatic bags, his right arm crushed awkwardly behind him, his legs splayed, his shirt vaporized by the heat of the blast. He moaned instinctively for help, but knew it was in vain; he'd learned that silence follows horror. Greg felt a dull ache in his stomach and lifted his left hand across his body to feel the area. The sticky ooze welling from his belly told him he was in serious trouble. He knew then he'd have to save himself.



Rich Grote

AN ACT OF  
TERRORISM ACTUALLY  
MAKES ONE FSO FEEL  
MORE AT HOME IN  
KENYA THAN EVER.

BY JAMES ANGELL

*When he regained consciousness, Greg was slumped like  
a contortionist against the orange diplomatic bags.*

---

Greg rolled onto his left side. His right arm flopped lifelessly beside him. The pain was excruciating in his upper arm and gut. He pulled himself to his knees, then propped his wavering body on his good left arm. He had lost his glasses in the explosion and there was thick dust billowing all around him, so he could only make out a vague rectangle of light coming through the vault door. Shuffling in the direction of the light, Greg immediately tripped over bomb debris. He steadied himself against the doorjamb, then lurched into the carnage.

Greg hobbled to the garage entrance and toward daylight through chunks of concrete. His left hand stanchied the flow of blood from his abdomen. The seepage was steady, so he staggered beside the obliterated building to where the embassy's front entrance and Marine post were located. The short journey was an obstacle course through hell: an incinerated city bus filled with dead lay blackened on the side street bordering the perimeter, while hundreds of corpses littered the area around it. Greg came around what used to be the corner of the embassy building and saw an information management colleague emerge from what was left of the front entrance. The colleague was guiding the wounded through an apocalyptic debris field, loading them into an embassy van, one of the few that the blast had not damaged. She helped Greg to the van before he passed out again during the high-speed ride to the central hospital.

When he woke, Greg was lying on a gurney in a crowded hospital corridor next to wounded and dying people. There was blood everywhere, even smeared on walls and floors. The acrid smell of burned flesh filled the air. Greg doesn't recall how he ended up in the hospital hallway, but remembers being glad to be off the floor and somewhat removed from the dirge of pain.

---

*James Angell, a diplomatic courier since 1993, has served in Washington, Bangkok and Frankfurt. This summer he will transfer to the Bangkok regional diplomatic courier office.*

When the overwhelmed doctors finally got to him, they bandaged his stomach, which they told him had been punctured by shrapnel, and set his fractured humerus. Later that night he was loaded onto a C-141 for the 18-hour flight back to Andrews Air Force Base. From there, it was a short trip by ambulance to Walter Reed Medical Center, where he spent the next month having metal plates affixed to his upper right arm and bits of shrapnel plucked from his gut. Two months of R&R followed in Yazoo City, Miss., where he spent time recuperating with his parents, his ex-wife and his two daughters. Greg was one of the lucky ones.

Physically sound for the most part, Greg arrived back in Nairobi three months later. He started work again, this time in a temporary embassy building next to the bucolic expanse of Nairobi National Park. His first weekend back in Kenya, Greg did something he had never done in the two years he had been at the embassy. He drove his '86 Chevy pickup alone into the Rift Valley. He found the drive from Nairobi over the forested hump of Kikuyu lands and down the cactus tree-covered escarpment to the parched bottom of the Rift cleared his mind and gave him perspective, so he made a habit of it. Each weekend after that, Greg donned his black fishing hat and explored the dirt roads of the valley, with Little Richard, Elvis, Fats Domino and other greats blaring from the pickup's speakers, sending giraffes, zebras, gazelles and baboons scampering for cover in a trail of billowing rock and roll. The bones of animals were everywhere, especially along dry creek beds. But they were never complete. Greg would always stop and look for the odd animal bone. Often he found impala, eland, gazelle and topi skulls with the horns still attached. Most of the time, though, it was scattered leg, spine and rib bones he'd toss into his pickup. He would then take these remnants of beings back to Nairobi with him.

On one journey he had halted amidst thick acacia under the bulk of volcanic Mount Lorgunono to observe a family group of elephant cows and calves

## F O C U S

*Greg let out a whoop before he hefted  
the lion's skull into his pickup.*

feeding, when a slender, barefooted Masai draped in red cloth emerged from the bush. The Masai, who grasped three long, thin staffs, introduced himself as Adam. Adam noticed the collection of bones in the pickup and offered to show Greg where more complete skeletons might be found, including a lion's carcass.

Greg figured that Adam's ulterior motive was to get a ride back to his village, but it turned out that he hadn't been lying about the lion. After they'd bounced and scraped the bottom of the pickup for a half hour, heading down rocky tracks bordered by contorted cacti, Greg was beginning to have doubts about his newfound friend. Then, he saw beside the road a dull,

white skull with tufts of tawny mane still attached to it. Its teeth were set in an eternal growl. Elvis was filling the silence with "All Shook Up" as Greg leapt from the pickup and circled the grimacing beast. Adam shouted that Greg could take it if he wanted, because a territorial rival had killed it and animal bones were only protected in the parks. Greg let out a whoop before hefting the lion's skull into the back of the pickup with the rest of his collection. Adam pointed out a few of the lord of the jungle's leg bones scattered deeper in the bush. He blamed hyenas for the dismemberment. Greg sought out each bone and tossed it into the back of the pickup, where they joined his prized skull. Adam

*Continued on page 34*

### *Executive Lodging Alternatives*



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# ...IN ACTION

## A Man, A Plan, A Canal

John Bennett was chargé and then DCM at the U.S. Embassy in Panama as the time approached for the 1999 withdrawal of U.S. forces from that country and the final handover of the canal, under U.S.-Panamanian treaty. Over the opposition of the U.S. ambassador and Gen Barry McCaffrey (head of Southern Command), Bennett effectively argued that the U.S. should comply with its treaty obligations and not try to renegotiate them. He is shown here (center) with Panamanian Vice President Tomas Altamirano Duque; that's Gen. McCaffrey in the background. He received the Christian Herter Award June 28.



## CLO in the Know

The M. Juanita Guess Award for an outstanding community liaison officer goes to Jeanne H. Weaver, the CLO coordinator in Sofia. Among her many accomplishments over the past two years has been strengthening the orientation for new arrivals. Here she is creating a collage map of Bulgaria showing places to visit.



## Putting Nairobi Back Together

When a terrorist's bomb exploded at Embassy Nairobi Aug. 7, 1998, Charles Slater was essential to getting the embassy up and running again. A financial management specialist, Slater worked day and night to allocate emergency space for embassy personnel, and made sure that surviving family members and injured employees — both U.S. citizens and FSNs — got fair and prompt compensation for their terrible losses. Slater received the Tex Harris Award for a Foreign Service specialist. The photograph shows Slater with his son Forbes in Kenya at the family's first reunion after the bombing.



## Showing Her Talent

Rosalie Kahn, the office manager of the executive office of Embassy Santiago, is a woman of many talents. In addition to being an unflappable professional and a published poet, she has been called "the heart and soul" of her post. Case in point: Last year, she organized a talent show — the "event of the year" — to assist an FSN family in need. Kahn cajoled the DCM to emcee and 20 other staffers to perform. Here's Kahn, second from right, showing her stuff. She received the Delavan Award for outstanding office management specialist.

# AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • July-August 2001



This year's AFSA Award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy goes to Lee Hamilton, for his lifetime support for the work of the Foreign Service and his contributions to foreign affairs during his many years in Congress.

## LIFETIME CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

### Lee H. Hamilton

Former U.S. Representative Lee H. Hamilton has been selected to receive AFSA's award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy. Hamilton was slated to receive the award at AFSA's award ceremony June 28 at noon in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room at the Department of State. All of this year's AFSA awards were to be presented at the ceremony. (See the interview with Hamilton in the June *Foreign Service Journal*. Coverage of other award winners begins on page 6 of *AFSA News*.)

Lee Hamilton is being recognized for his many years of distinguished service in Congress on foreign policy issues, his continued contributions to foreign affairs as the director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and his lifetime support for the work of the Foreign Service. Hamilton, a Democrat from Indiana, served for 34 years in the House, where he gained a reputation as one of the party's most thoughtful leaders in the realm of foreign policy.

Hamilton also served on two commissions which recently released reports on reforming the State Department, one chaired by former diplomat and Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci and the other by former Senators Gary Hart and Warren Rudman. □



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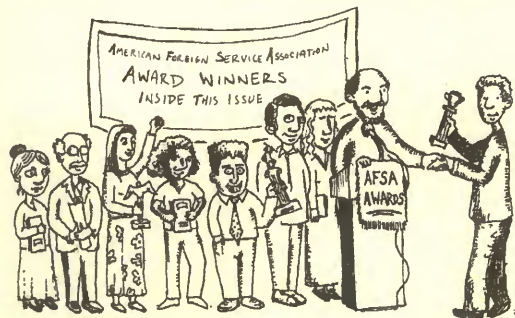
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#### THE FOREIGN SERVICE NAME

### Powell Responds to AFSA Inquiries

AFSA wrote to Secretary Powell on April 4 to request that the name of "The Foreign Service Star," an award similar to the military's purple heart for colleagues killed or wounded overseas, not be changed to "The Thomas Jefferson Star." AFSA argued the new name would not indicate the "foreign service" nature of the honor. The secretary responded in a May 31 letter, noting that the new name was "in no way intended to downplay the hazardous and onerous service faced by those assigned to our Missions abroad." Even so, the secretary accepted AFSA's suggestion that the

Continued on page 5



HSC



## REMINDER: Call for Tales of Courage

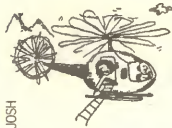
AFSA has invited Foreign Service employees to submit tales of courage. The stories can be of active courage or of the quiet courage of representing

America's interests day in and day out under hardship circumstances. Don't be modest. We're interested in all kinds of stories (1990 to today) that illustrate how unique life in the Foreign Service is.

AFSA is planning to publish selected essays in an updated version of the book "Inside a U.S. Embassy: How the Foreign Service Works for America," and

may also publish selected essays in the *Foreign Service Journal*.

We seek 600- to 800-word essays. Those selected for publication will be subject to editing. Deadline for submissions is Sept. 1 (extended from Aug. 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.



JOSH

## Justice in Embassy Bombing Cases

AFSA commends the U.S. government team that obtained the convictions of four terrorists who took part in the bombing of the U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam on Aug. 7, 1998. Those bombings claimed the lives of 53 U.S. government employees, contractors and family members, killed 171 local civilians, and wounded over 4,600 people. AFSA urges Congress to approve the administration's pending request for \$1.3 billion for overseas security. AFSA President Marshall Adair said, "Everyone recognizes it is impossible to provide 100 percent protection for our diplomatic personnel abroad. However, the U.S. government has a responsibility to protect these people as well as possible, beginning with dedicating sufficient resources to the effort."

## You Can't Take it with You

With the summer transfer season upon us, AFSA urges employees leaving post to earmark the proceeds from the sale of automobiles and other property to the AFSA Scholarship Fund or the Fund for American Diplomacy. Both organizations are non-profits and all donations are tax deductible.

Regulation 22CFR136 states that profits made from the disposition of personal property abroad must be contributed to a charitable organization. The Scholarship Fund provides merit awards and need-based scholarships to Foreign Service dependents. The AFSA Awards Program, the annual National High School Essay contest, and Elderhostel programs are just a few examples of the activities offered under the Fund for American Diplomacy.

Contributions payable to the AFSA Scholarship Fund or the Fund for American Diplomacy can be sent to AFSA, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037. The Scholarship Fund's Federal ID tax number is 23-7045244 and the Fund for American Diplomacy's number is 52-6078372.

## Director General Davis Sworn In

AFSA welcomes Ambassador Ruth A. Davis, sworn in on June 1 as the director general of the Foreign Service and director of human resources. Ambassador Davis is a 32-year veteran of the Foreign Service. Her recent assignments included director of the Foreign Service Institute (1997-2001), ambassador to the Republic of Benin (1992-1995), and consul general in Barcelona (1987-1991). We look forward to working with her in the coming months and years.

## Foreign Affairs Day and Legislative Action

As you know, the State Department has created a new Foreign Affairs Day, replacing the former Foreign Service Day, to be held Sept. 10. Secretary Powell has expressed the hope that Foreign Service and Civil Service retirees will attend and initiate a real dialogue between all State retirees and the department on issues of concern. If you are interested in attending, you may call Peter Whaley at 202-663-2383, Lois Bozilov at 663-3600, or send an e-mail to [foreignaffairsday@state.gov](mailto:foreignaffairsday@state.gov).

AFSA will host an open house at AFSA headquarters for all Foreign Affairs Day participants, and plans to offer additional briefings and arrange for retirees to visit congressional offices. AFSA will host a working dinner with AFSA President John Naland and Legislative Affairs Director Ken Nakamura for all members planning to go to Capitol Hill the following day.

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## Check Out the JO Forum on AFSA Web Site

Apologies to anyone who might have tried to enter the JO discussion forum on AFSA's Web site following our May announcement in *AFSA News*. Because of technical difficulties, the launch of the forum was delayed. It is now up and running in the members-only "corridors" forum, located at [www.afsa.org/discussionforum.html](http://www.afsa.org/discussionforum.html). You can also get there by clicking on any of the Discussion Forum hotlinks.

Sign on by entering the e-mail address that you gave to AFSA when you joined and your last name in lower case. AFSA is currently working on making entry easier.

## AFSA Earning its Keep

AFSA tried for 16 months to convince State management to raise the miscellaneous expense portion of the Foreign Transfer Allowance/Home Service Transfer Allowance, which had not been raised since 1983. There has finally been progress. A recent cable (State 087814) outlines increases in the allowance, effective May 20. Foreign Service employees who are transferring will now receive an additional \$150 (singles) or \$300 (families) to cover expenses. Those amounts, by the way, exceed what most members pay in annual AFSA dues.

## Long-Term Counseling Position

Back in March of 1999, AFSA proposed to management the creation of a special counseling position in Human Resources/Career Development and Assignments. The goal was to hire someone who could provide a longer-term approach to career counseling. During the subsequent 21 months, AFSA faithfully contacted State about every six weeks to check on the status of the effort. The endless steps needed to create and fill a new position were completed on May 21 with the hiring of a qualified employee. AFSA looks forward to the implementation of the new program.

### TSP Open Season

It's not too late to change your contributions to the Thrift Savings Plan. Open season runs 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 online. Or, call the ThriftLine at (504) 255-8777.

V.P. VOICE ■ STATE ■ BY LOUISE CRANE

## AFSA Prods State to Reform

Since returning from overseas I have come to an even greater appreciation of AFSA's role. Last fall, I was assigned to the Office of the Historian in the Bureau of Public Affairs. The office was in the process of updating the history of the department, last published in 1981. I was tasked to write the profile of the Foreign Service at century's end, to contrast with one of the Foreign Service in 1900. I did some research and found that in 2000, the Foreign Service was indeed far more diverse than it had been in 1900. But what I found astonishing was that for the first 75 years of the 20th century, the Foreign Service did not change much at all. In 1975 it was still over 90 percent white and male, just as it had been in 1900. Change only really began in 1976.

1976 was the year that FSO Allison Palmer filed a class action suit which addressed the issue of sex discrimination in the department. Palmer had originally filed a complaint with the Foreign Service Grievance Board, charging she had been denied assignments and thus promotions based on her gender. After waiting five years for a resolution, she took her complaint to court. The court case took a full two decades to settle.

What I learned from this project is that the greatest changes have not come from within the department, but have been imposed from without. It was the courts that found that despite the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1972 Equal Employment Opportunity Act, there was a persistent pattern of racial and sex discrimination in assignments, awards and promotions. My conclusion is that there is stiff resistance to change within the department and there is an equally strong tendency to guard the status quo. However, the status quo neither serves the interests of the employees nor does it propel the department into new ways of management. AFSA is the prod that deters the department from maintaining the status quo.

AFSA has proven itself again and again as not just an organization which protects its members' interests, but which also enhances the Foreign Service. AFSA has been the instigator of many changes in the way the department manages the Foreign Service.

In January, the change in administrations coincided with the emergence of a broad consensus that the way State handles recruitment, assignments, management, promotions, whatever, is broken. The new administration came in with a reputation for good management and a mandate for change. AFSA can make significant contributions to repairing a system that does not expect leaders to lead, does not provide enough training and all too often ignores talent.

AFSA is playing a role in educating the new administration about the Foreign Service. It is not the Civil Service. It is legally different. Recruitment is different, tenure is different, assignments are different. To lump the two services together ignores reality.

My goal during my tenure as AFSA's State vice president is to build on the accomplishments of my predecessor, John Naland. He has done extraordinary service on behalf of all State Foreign Service employees, and we are all fortunate to have him as the new AFSA president. □



There is stiff resistance to change within the department and there is an equally strong tendency to guard the status quo. AFSA is the prod that deters the department from maintaining the status quo.

## Loyalty

**M**y thanks to those who voted for me. I promise to proactively represent the USAID Foreign Service. Best wishes to my predecessor Frank Miller, who fought long and hard for us. Congratulations to our new administrator, Andrew Natsios, who inspired the theme of this message—loyalty. I agree with his emphasis on a “shared vision.” A shared vision will foster mutual respect and trust, which in turn will build loyalty that will encourage the agency and its employees to invest more in each other.



At the May 2 employees meeting, the administrator said that his long-sought goal was to return to and remain at USAID. This is a clear sign of loyalty. He has already recognized the hard work and loyalty of many in the agency. He touched on many issues of vital concern to the cadre of development professionals. We shall continue as a unique agency. We shall simplify our management systems. We shall affirm a shared vision. There shall be no intra-agency parochialism. He has asked for our participation. This is a great beginning.

I believe that a shared vision of the agency's role in international development, U.S. foreign policy, and program implementation will foster a working environment of mutual respect and trust. We will be better able to fit our professional goals to the goals of the agency. It will facilitate workforce planning, guide development of lifetime career training, and help recruitment and retention, which are important aspects of career development. Mutual respect and trust will foster loyalty.

The agency with loyal employees can devote more resources on career development and individual training. Employees in the loyal agency should tailor their careers to match the needs of “their” agency. Loyalty creates an upward spiral; everyone wins.

I would like to suggest some concrete ways that management can address the staffing and workload problems while at the same time demonstrating loyalty to its Foreign Service. First, offset the huge attrition we are now facing (about 100 Foreign Service vacancies in spite of aggressive New Entry Program, or NEP, recruitment) and reduce the crushing workload caused by understaffing by calling on retired officers to fill appropriate vacancies. Be flexible in granting extensions of time-in-class until new recruits can take over. Implement locality pay to encourage officers with an approaching retirement to serve overseas. Implement tuition loan repayment programs to help recruit and retain junior officers.

There are actions we can investigate over the longer term. We can rejuvenate workforce planning and career development. Those now doing workforce planning are as overworked as the rest of us. We should give them some help, bring in more ideas, combine it with career development, and incorporate both into the shared vision.

There is much AFSA can do, and more we can consider. To be most effective, we need to put concrete proposals on the table for USAID management. Please come forward with ideas. I will call on you to help organize working groups. We will all gain more by showing our loyalty towards a strong development agency and a strong Foreign Service within the agency. □

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development agency and a strong  
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## EYE ON GRIEVANCES

### Challenges to USAID's Senior Management Group

■ BY DOUGLAS P. BROOME, AFSA  
SENIOR LABOR MANAGEMENT ADVISOR

**N**o foreign affairs agency except USAID has a formally structured dual assignments system for senior officers that systemically divides an “out-group” from a priestly caste “in-group.” USAID's Senior Management Group, or SMG, is a select grouping of overseas and Washington leadership positions. The SMG functions selectively, selecting some FS-01 and Senior Foreign Service (SFS) officers into its ranks while excluding many, creating an officially favored cadre in USAID's upper ranks. The negative impact on career advancement prospects and assignments for those denied SMG entry has impelled a number of unhappy employees to complain to the Foreign Service Grievance Board.

In a 1996 order the FSGB concluded that “the Senior Management Group is the repository of most of the meaningful SFS positions. For officers ... who have not been entered upon its rolls, this arcane system presents an opaque, while not impenetrable, barrier.” The board ruled in a 1997 decision that “the two-tiered system of senior assignments ... essentially rendered the employee non-competitive.” That resulted, the FSGB found, in “the agency's failure to recognize the employee's career development needs and its responsibilities to address them.”

A November 2000 *Journal* article by John Rosenberg described the SMG travails of his wife, USAID FSO Helene Kaufman. She had challenged the operation of the SMG, arguing it was used as a means of denying her equal opportunity to compete for promotion and to avoid premature mandatory retirement. The

Continued on page 14

award instead be called "The Thomas Jefferson Star for Foreign Service."

In recent months, AFSA has expressed concern about what looked like a campaign to strike the words Foreign Service from the department's lexicon. AFSA disagreed with the renaming of the Foreign Service Lounge to the Employee Services Center. Other recent concerns have been the replacement of "Foreign Service officer"

The secretary accepted AFSA's suggestion that the award instead be called "The Thomas Jefferson Star for Foreign Service."

with "International Affairs officer" in official documents, changing the name of Foreign Service Day to Foreign Affairs Day, and the decision by management to renegotiate the 1983 agreement which protects overseas Foreign Service jobs for Foreign Service officers. AFSA called on department management to either halt the campaign or forthrightly explain to the Foreign Service where it is leading.

On May 11, a coalition of nine organizations concerned with the future of U.S. diplomacy sent Secretary Powell a letter expressing concern, noting that "abandoning the State Department's best known 'brand name' runs counter to your efforts to use the brand concept to strengthen the constituency for U.S. diplomacy."

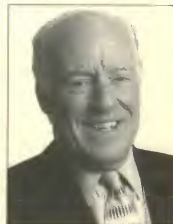
During a May 31 meeting, Under Secretary for Management Grant Green told AFSA leadership that the department was continuing to examine the other Foreign Service name issues raised by AFSA and others. On June 5, Secretary Powell sent a letter to AFSA in which he said that "there is no effort to minimize the role or the importance of the Foreign Service." He went on to say, "I appreciate your endorsement of reform at the State Department. It is needed and it is coming." AFSA appreciates the reassurances from the secretary and looks forward to future cooperation. □

V.P. VOICE: RETIREE ■ BY ROBERT W. "BILL" FARRAND

## Amplifying the Retiree Voice

In this my first communication with the retired Foreign Service community, I want to convey warm thanks to Ambassador Bill De Pree, who worked tirelessly and effectively over recent years advancing the specific interests of retirees and of the Foreign Service in general. During Bill's tenure as retiree vice president, he was ever alert to the need to rouse our community to support measures that would enhance the service and to oppose those that would harm it. His vision and leadership on how the department might revamp its workforce planning was a signal achievement that resulted in real change. I will try my level best to fill the large shoes Bill De Pree leaves behind.

My first order of business will be to acquaint myself thoroughly with initiatives already set in place with a view to coaxing them to successful conclusion. At the same time, I welcome your thoughts and ideas relevant to representing retiree interests in Washington's ever-shifting arena. Large issues come immediately to mind, over which I know the



Retired Foreign Service members come from all over America, but we are not — as retired members — always represented in every congressional district. I will be aggressive in seeking ways to amplify our scattered voices to benefit the Foreign Service, retired and active.

in retirement. For example, the question of eliminating restrictions on the earnings of part-time intermittent or temporary (PIT, including When Actually Employed, or WAE) employees deserves close attention. The same holds true for a host of other dollars-and-cents matters currently in various stages of discussion and negotiation.

As a member of the AFSA Governing Board, I will have plenty of opportunities to weigh in on all such questions, large and small. I seek your input and your willingness, occasionally, to give of your time when important controversies are on the table. In this connection, I fully intend to pursue a suggestion put in my head by Bill De Pree to reconstitute the standing committee of retired members that served so well in the past in an advisory and stimulative role. About this, more later.

Having recently returned from 38 months in Bosnia and Herzegovina, I had occasion to observe at close quarters the highly professional performance of American diplomats and military personnel deployed as part of the civil-military peace operation. It will be no news to most of you that the contingent of U.S. soldiers attracted a steady stream of congressional delegations and visits by ranking administration officials, far more than did the civilian outposts. The reason, of course, is simple: soldiers come from every congressional district in America.

I've learned that while we retired Foreign Service members come from all over America, we are not — as retired members — always represented in every congressional district. That said, John Naland and I will be aggressive in seeking ways to amplify our scattered voices to benefit the Foreign Service, retired and active. □

retired community will be ready to exert its considerable influence. Some of these issues are: the selection of qualified persons to serve as chiefs of mission abroad, the strengthening of the foreign affairs budget and the recruitment and retention of top candidates for the service. Initially, however, my energies will go to bread-and-butter issues that affect all of us

## Christian A. Herter Award

FOR A SENIOR-LEVEL FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER

### Ambassador John E. Bennett

John Bennett, the current consul general in Karachi, was nominated for his courageous and principled dissent while serving in 1995-96 as chargé and then DCM at Embassy Panama. During his posting to Panama City, the time for withdrawal of the U.S. military presence in Panama was drawing near. According to the terms of the 1977 Panama Canal Treaty, ownership of the canal would pass from the U.S. to Panama in 1999.

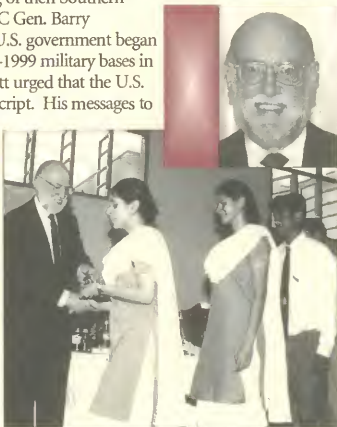
At the urging of then Southern Command CINC Gen. Barry McCaffrey, the U.S. government began to consider post-1999 military bases in Panama. Bennett urged that the U.S. not change the script. His messages to Washington described how U.S. interests would not be served by going against the spirit of the treaty. The department did not respond.

A new ambassador arrived in 1995 with a strong view that the U.S. should keep troops in Panama beyond the 1999 deadline.

Bennett tried to talk him out of this position, arguing that the initiative would fail. The ambassador was not swayed, and instead, considered the dissenting view to be a challenge to his authority. Eventually, Bennett was pushed to curtail, returning to a department that considered him persona non grata.

Just as Bennett predicted, the initiative to retain a U.S. military presence in Panama failed. Bennett paid a price for going against the common wisdom, and it took several years for him to get his career back on track. He was blacklisted for two successive bidding cycles, then spent two years at the U.S. Army Peacekeeping Institute in Carlisle, Pa. In 1998, he was able to return to senior-level work as political adviser to the commanding general of one of three military formations of NATO's Stabilization Force in Bosnia, a hardship unaccompanied posting. He is now serving as consul general in Karachi.

Bennett was born in Atlin, British Columbia, Canada and spent his formative years in the Yukon territory, Alaska, California, and Japan. He graduated from Harvard College and served in the U.S. Army from 1965 through 1969. He joined the Foreign Service in 1971, and his postings have included Madrid, Bremen, Guadalajara, and Lagos. In Kampala, he served as DCM during Uganda's civil war. From 1991 to 1994, he was ambassador to Equatorial Guinea. He is married to the former Barbara (Nickie) W. Nichols, and has two sons, Ian and Seth. He has received numerous honors, including three Superior Honor Awards, and the military's Superior Civilian Service Award.



Ambassador Bennett, in his current position as consul general in Karachi, handing out prize books to the top scholars at the Karachi Grammar School.

## William R. Rivkin Award

FOR A MID-LEVEL FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER

### Edward J. Kulakowski

Edward Kulakowski is currently public affairs officer in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. During three years in Bishkek, he has also served as the de facto senior reporting officer in the political/economic section, as acting deputy chief of mission, and as chargé during a critical period. The ambassador and DCM in Bishkek rely on him to bring fresh perspective, wise counsel, and constructive criticism to every issue.

Kulakowski's intellectual courage and integrity were put to the test repeatedly throughout the past year when Kyrgyzstan, once touted as the "island of democracy" in Central Asia, suffered serious backsliding on civil and political rights. Throughout this turbulent period, Kulakowski provided objective and insightful analysis of the deteriorating situation confronting independent voices in Kyrgyzstan, never losing sight of core U.S. objectives and never missing an opportunity to advance those objectives.

No embassy discussion of political developments or the way forward for U.S. policy was complete without Kulakowski, and indeed, those discussions were never held without him. He has been praised by embassy leadership for providing constructive criticism when he disagreed with the ambassador, DCM, or with Washington's guidance. He provided criticism in a straightforward manner, never grandstanding. His views won out repeatedly due to the logic and soundness of his positions.

Kulakowski's extraordinary leadership saw the embassy through one of its most difficult periods, when in August 2000, on his first day acting as chargé, four American rock-climbers who had been kidnapped by armed militants, were released. With no precedent and a primarily junior staff, he flawlessly managed the process of receiving the Americans and getting them safely home.

His career has come full circle since he joined USIA in 1978 as an exhibit guide in Central Asia. After 10 years at the Voice of America in Washington, Kulakowski served in Yerevan and Moscow. He will return to Moscow this summer as the cultural affairs officer.

Kulakowski with Mamadjan Akhmedov, the Imam-Khatib of Jalal-Abad Mosque in Kyrgyzstan.



## The W. Averell Harriman Award

FOR A FOREIGN SERVICE JUNIOR OFFICER

### Craig Hall

Indonesia's relations with East Timor and its policies in Indonesian West Timor are two of the most sensitive issues in U.S.-Indonesia relations. As a first tour junior officer, Craig Hall effectively challenged the common wisdom on Timor with the embassy front office, the State Department, and colleagues at the United Nations Security Council. Hall's honesty, energy, and leadership enabled him



to do what is rarely done from the field, and even more rarely done by a first tour junior officer: single-handedly influence and change U.S. policy on a high-profile issue.

When Hall arrived in Jakarta in January 2000, he was tasked with backing up the embassy's "Mr. East Timor," Gary Gray.

When Gray was posted to Dili to open the U.S. representative office there in July, Hall became the embassy's East Timor action officer. He was also tasked to cover the serious problem of the East Timorese internally displaced persons, or IDPs, in Indonesian West Timor. Gray told us he had never seen anyone put into such a demanding position immediately out of A-100 class, and said Hall "responded as if he had been in the service for years."

Hall went to West Timor to assess the situation there. During his visit, pro-Indonesia militias blocked the roads out of the city. Fearful local residents evacuated the city by boat. Hall analyzed the situation, then authored a cable calling attention to the unrest in West Timor and clearly calling for foreign humanitarian workers to withdraw. The advice went unheeded. Shortly thereafter, three foreign United Nations staff were murdered by a mob there. Both before and after the tragic murders, Hall worked closely with the U.N. Transitional Administration in East Timor to find solutions to the IDP problem.

Hall is not an ostentatious "dissident." Yet, in his own way he pushed the embassy to reevaluate assumptions about Timor in the very best spirit of constructive dissent.

Hall was born and raised in Merritt Island, Fla. He has a B.A. in philosophy and religion from Palm Beach Atlantic College, and a Ph.D. in religious studies from Baylor University in Waco, Texas. Hall and his wife Meeryung have a daughter, Ana, who is five. He joined the Foreign Service in 1999. His first post was Jakarta, and he is currently in training for a transfer to the consulate in Surabaya.

## The Tex Harris Award

FOR A FOREIGN SERVICE SPECIALIST

### Charles Slater



Charles Slater was completing consultations at the Paris Financial Management Center on his way to his assignment as senior financial management officer in Nairobi when the terrorist bomb exploded at Embassy Nairobi on Aug. 7, 1998. At the same time, a bomb exploded at Embassy Dar es Salaam,

badly injuring Slater's wife Lizzie, who was assigned there. Under these circumstances, he traveled immediately to Nairobi to begin what was to be round-the-clock work on dealing with the aftermath of the bombing there.

Slater's first assignment was to develop a space plan within the USAID building, which had to become the home for the whole chancery, including about 200 employees. Slater worked through the night to draft a plan. Because of Slater's force of will and sense of fairness, the plan was implemented before final approval was possible, and was never questioned. Employees immediately had a space from which to work, and a starting point from which to rebuild.

Next, Slater was tasked with drafting a complex compensation plan for the families of the deceased. Slater believed the employees had not just died during work hours, but died because they worked for the United States. He determined compensation owed, but also added annual tuition payments for dependents under 18 and removed the cap on funeral expenses. He sent his funding request to Washington. The receiving office balked at the high number, asking that the payment be put off until the next fiscal year. Slater strongly and successfully urged that the funding be approved immediately, ultimately enabling more expeditious help to the families while saving the department from the negative publicity that would have resulted from a delay.

Slater used whatever pressure was necessary to get the resources Embassy Nairobi needed, without regard to any career advancement price he might pay later as a result of ruffled feathers in Washington. He was aggressive, direct, and guided by two key interests: obtaining the resources needed to get the embassy back on its feet, and making sure the U.S. government did the right thing for the people who had lost their loved ones. Before the year was over, Slater had brought in \$45 million dollars for such purposes. And, he not only got the money, but made sure it was allocated properly.

Slater has been awarded two Superior Honor Awards, three Meritorious Honor Awards, and a Meritorious Service Increase. While serving in the Office of the Inspector General, he met his wife Lizzie during an inspection of the U.S. mission in Zimbabwe, where she was posted. They have one son, Forbes Allan. The family is now serving at Embassy Port Louis, in Mauritius.



Slater is reunited with his family in late 1998.



Gonzalez-Goldberg on a Sunday afternoon with patients at the Nicaraguan National Psychiatric Hospital.



## Avis Bohlen Award

FOR A FOREIGN SERVICE FAMILY MEMBER

### Carmen Gonzalez-Goldberg

It is not every day that a Foreign Service family member gives to a local community the way Carmen Gonzalez-Goldberg has. A psychologist by profession, she has volunteered virtually full-time at the Nicaraguan National Psychiatric Hospital, donating nearly 2000 hours during the past year in Managua. She began working in the hospital soon after arriving with her husband in January 2000.

The mentally ill in Nicaragua's psychiatric hospitals are usually cut off from relatives and given few meaningful activities. Through her work at the hospital, Gonzalez-Goldberg has made a difference in the lives of thousands of people — hospital patients and their families. She instituted numerous activities, including special Sunday meals to break the monotony, a reading corner, birthday celebrations, a talent show, and fundraising to build a basketball court, all the while providing the more traditional treatments to hospital patients. She humbly notes, "Although my job includes the psychotherapy given to the outpatients and the psychological aspects of helping those interned in the hospital, I like to organize special events and activities for all of the chronic patients as well."

Gonzalez-Goldberg has been particularly effective in drawing others into the lives of the patients. She has found people to teach creative dance, clowning, and a weekly relaxation technique class. She brought in local musicians. She found local university students to teach soccer, and then organized a soccer tournament.

Her contributions send a message of compassion, demonstrating concern for some of the most marginalized people in Nicaragua. Whenever an American serves as a catalyst for good works, American interests are served. If ever there was such a catalyst, it is Carmen Gonzalez-Goldberg.

Gonzalez-Goldberg has accompanied her husband, Robert, to postings throughout Latin America and in Washington since 1979 when he joined the Foreign Service. They have two daughters, Romy Natalia and Adriana Isabel. Gonzalez-Goldberg has a degree in history from the Catholic University of Asunción, Paraguay, and a degree in psychology from the Catholic University in Montevideo, Uruguay.

## Delavan Award

FOR A FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICE MANAGEMENT SPECIALIST

### Rosalie B. Kahn

Rosalie Kahn has been described as the "heart and soul" of Embassy Santiago. She single-handedly lifted morale to new heights and helped build a stronger embassy community. Whether dealing with high-level Chilean government contacts, presidential chiefs of staff or secretaries, irate visa applicants, VIP visitors or members of the motor pool, she is thoughtful, helpful, and always responsive.

In Santiago, Kahn works in the high-stress environment of a very busy executive office, managing a highly demanding workload. She's not shy about bringing issues to the attention of the ambassador, deputy chief of mission, or any other responsible officer in the embassy when she sees a need for action. She's often the inspiration for creative remedies. In just one example, when she sensed that the administrative procedures for handling representational events at the ambassador's residence needed improvement, she initiated and led the effort to reshape the guidelines for events there.

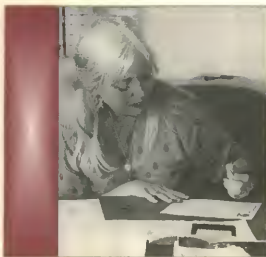
Kahn is a consummate professional who values a job well done as highly as the personal relationships that build embassies into communities. She has organized bake sales to help the Marines raise money for the Marine Ball. She put together an embassy talent show — on her own time — to raise money for the family of a Foreign Service National in need. This event, during which Chileans and Americans joined in song and laughter, brought the embassy closer together than it had been in years, and won praise as the best embassy event of the year.

Kahn personifies what the Delavan Award seeks to recognize — effectiveness, professionalism and high morale. She is also an accomplished author. While in Chile, she has published two books of poetry. One, entitled *My Golden Butterfly*, is dedicated to her adopted son who passed away at age two and a half. Her general approach to life is upbeat: "Whatever you do in life, don't be afraid to express and share the God-given uniqueness that is strictly yours to give."

Kahn joined the Foreign Service 25 years ago, and still remembers the subway ride home from her first interview with State recruiters in New York City. She knew then that "the Foreign Service was for me." Her enthusiasm for a Foreign Service career has not waned with the years. She is married to Guillermo Lopez Lopez. She has served in Ankara, Bogota, Vienna, Johannesburg, Islamabad, Santiago (twice), Managua and Bonn.



Kahn performing, in Spanish, at celebration of Chilean National Day, September 2000.



## M. Juanita Guess Award

FOR A COMMUNITY  
LIAISON OFFICER

Jeanne H.  
Weaver

To truly appreciate Jeanne Weaver's contribution as CLO coordinator, one must first understand the physical layout of the U.S. mission in Sofia. The CLO is located on the 14th floor of a dilapidated office building across town from all other parts of the mission except the health unit. Her office cannot connect to the mission's computer system, effectively precluding timely communications with other parts of the mission and with Washington. While this could severely hamper the CLO's key outreach function, Weaver has regarded these and other obstacles as challenges to be creatively overcome.

Weaver has proven herself as a community builder. During her first year as CLO, she aggressively expanded CLO programs and used innovative means to bring in difficult-to-reach parts of the community. She completely redesigned the embassy's



Weaver checking out handmade textiles for an art exhibition to be held at the ambassador's residence.

moribund orientation and sponsorship program, which has helped make the transition to post easier for new arrivals. She rewrote and reissued publications — such as the "Entertainment Guide" and the "Self-Guided Walking Tours" — that serve as valued references for both new arrivals and more seasoned Sofia residents.

Not content with improving services to the American community, Weaver reached out to the mission's Foreign Service Nationals as well. It was her idea to include FSNs and their families in annual holiday parties held at the ambassador's residence, which served to break down barriers and create a sense of inclusiveness.

Weaver tells us that in her 26 years as a Foreign Service family member, "as a wife, mother, artist, embassy activist, teacher, board member, scout leader, and CLO, I became who I am today — a person who has lived in seven countries, met hundreds of wonderful people, and developed into someone who knows why CLOs count and what they can do to enhance the quality of life in a mission community."

Jeanne Weaver and her husband have raised their four children in Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Hungary and Bulgaria.

### Scholarship Essay

## Best Essay

■ BY KATHERINE BRILL

## The Conflict

As the daughter of a diplomat, I have often been uprooted and transplanted in foreign soil. While living in Calcutta, I walked home from church every Sunday with my father so we could stop and watch snake charmers. During my three years on the island of Cyprus, I passed through the bullet-riddled walls of a U.N. buffer zone to attend art classes in Old

Nicosia. However, of all my experiences abroad, the one that left the most lasting impression on me involved my own country. Living in Cyprus during the NATO air strikes on Kosovo, I felt the need to defend America's actions even as I wondered whether my country's conduct was justifiable. Caught between the distress of my Serbian peers and support for my country's efforts to halt bloodshed in Kosovo, I gained a new appreciation for the complexities of international relations and a desire to learn how to remedy such conflicts.

As an American attending a school with a high percentage of Serbian students, I became a symbol of oppression for many of my fellow students. Having always thought of America as the "land of the free and home of the brave," I was disturbed to learn my Serbian classmates viewed my country as a self-appointed global police force using its influence in NATO and large arsenal to meddle in their country's affairs. From reading stories in the *International Herald Tribune* about the genocide of Albanians in Kosovo and failed efforts to reach a political settlement with Milosevic, I initially accepted the NATO air strikes against Kosovo as a calculated effort to stop Milosevic's ethnic cleansing, not considering whether America and its NATO allies had the authority to attempt to remedy a problem created by hundreds of years of ethnic strife. Watching a boy stumble into my English class late, bleary eyed and exhausted from talking to his grandmother throughout the night to make sure she had survived the latest round of NATO air strikes, I knew I could not justify my country's actions to my classmates. I began to wonder whether I could justify them to myself.

Even as I sympathized with my classmates' distress, I was confronted with the raw anger of Serbians and Serbian sympathizers when they protested outside the embassy compound where I lived. The mobs that daily hurled rocks and vegetables at our home and burned the American flag included girls

Continued on page 11



Ambassador and Mrs. Kenneth Brill with daughter Katherine and son Christopher, in front of the Ambassador's residence in Nicosia, Cyprus, in 1999.

## What's on Our Minds?

In a recent informal member survey, I asked Foreign Agricultural Service AFSA members what's on their minds. Not surprisingly, the top concerns are economic. Specifically, members are dissatisfied with locality pay (or the lack thereof while overseas), spousal employment opportunities (lacking) and capital gains taxes (unfortunately, all too real).

Without a doubt, your top concern is the pay reduction, now nearly 10 percent and expected to rise, that comes with an overseas assignment. AFSA has done the math and is working hard to correct this situation. Hopefully, Congress will approve virtual locality pay this year. Under virtual locality pay, an officer retiring from overseas will receive the same benefits as if he/she were retiring from FAS/Washington. To its credit, top FAS management fully supports this concept for its officers. However, virtual pay is only a virtual solution to a growing problem. If we wish to recruit and maintain high-quality personnel, we cannot cut their overseas pay, especially when spouses often suffer a complete income loss for months, if not longer. During my last overseas tour, all my U.S. private sector colleagues received a pay increase — not a decrease — to move.

You also expressed concern about capital gains taxes. This is another issue which AFSA is working hard to correct, but it is not yet certain when this assignment penalty will be removed. Again, congressional action is required. In the meantime, upon completion of their assignments, officers renting out their homes must either move back in for at least two years or pay potentially significant capital gains taxes.

Outside economic issues, quality of life concerns are paramount to you. Chief among these concerns are:

- families vs. singles: the impact of life choices on assignments;
- travel benefits: one trip per year for educational purposes and one per tour (excluding R&R posts) are insufficient, especially for families.

Some officers feel that "family-friendly" issues may be unfairly tilting the more desirable assignments to married couples and in particular, to those with children. Assignment policy is covered in our contract (Article 27) and family status is noted under assignment policy considerations. I believe it is time we openly discuss this issue. As for travel from posts with no official R&R, several members noted that unlike our private sector colleagues, unless we pay, at post we stay. This can be particularly hard for a spouse who may have sacrificed a career to move.

It was not surprising that no respondents rated Partnership Council issues high on their list. The agency's council has been dormant since the change in administration and apparently can remain so as far as FAS AFSA members are concerned.

I will assume my FAS AFSA VP duties full time in July. One of my early goals is to improve communications between AFSA and its members. I look forward to discussing in greater detail the concerns you raised. In the meantime, I will try to remember, in the words of Benjamin Disraeli, "To be conscious that you are ignorant is a great step to knowledge." □



Without a doubt, your top concern is the pay reduction, now nearly 10 percent and expected to rise, that comes with an overseas assignment.

## AFSA Achievement Award: Janice Elmore

Janice Elmore worked tirelessly for AFSA members in Port au Prince during the last year. She met regularly with post management to discuss issues of vital interest to employees at post. After each of those meetings, she reported back to her members on what had been discussed and what follow-up action had been agreed to. She frequently forwarded member concerns and comments to AFSA Washington. This input from the field helped to shape AFSA's stands on important Foreign Service-wide issues.

Active and concerned about the state of State, she told us, "Throughout my career I have been proud to belong to an organization that has played such a historic role in American policy. I began to notice, however, that we were quickly becoming the poor country cousins. Other U.S. agencies take much better care of their people overseas. It is up to us to reverse the trend and to put pressure on those who can make the changes."

Elmore entered the Foreign Service in 1980. She's a political officer who has focussed on law enforcement issues, including police development and narcotics. She has served in Santo Domingo, Tegucigalpa, San Salvador, Lima, La Paz, Sarajevo and Port au Prince. She has been AFSA representative at several posts. □

## AFSA Awards Runners-Up

### Christian A. Herter Award

**Michael Lemmon**,  
Ambassador, Embassy Yerevan

### William R. Rivkin Award

**Marc Norman**,  
Political Officer, Embassy Warsaw

### W. Averell Harriman Award

**Jose Santacana**,  
Vice Consul, Embassy San Salvador

### Tex Harris Award

**Phil A. Whitney**,  
Regional Security Officer,  
Embassy Phnom Penh

### Avis Bohlen Award

**Bonnie Miller**,  
spouse of Ambassador Tom Miller,  
Embassy Sarajevo

### Delavan Award

**Susan Harville**,  
Office Management Specialist,  
Embassy Berlin

### M. Juanita Guess Award

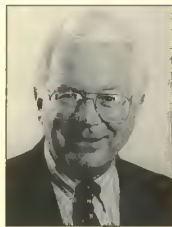
**Regina M. Fitzsimmons**,  
Community Liaison Officer,  
Embassy New Delhi □

I played with on the school basketball team and even people my parents had invited to dinner at our home. Upon returning from a soccer game one Saturday, my family found that hundreds of people blocked the gate into the compound. Retreating to a nearby McDonald's, I prayed that chanting protesters who had stopped to buy cheeseburgers would not recognize my father as an embassy official. My sympathy for the Serbians waned as I pondered if it was this kind of belligerent attitude that caused the division between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo. Yet each tomato pulp I later scraped off my driveway reminded me how complicated the situation was. I knew that it was fear for their homeland and loved ones that had caused the Serbians to throw these vegetables over my garden wall, but also knew that the Albanians in Kosovo experienced similar anxieties. Only upon returning to America did I fully understand why the Serbians harbored such animosity against NATO and America. Talking to a Serbian from Kosovo, I discovered that most Serbians did not support Milosevic and his policies, but knew they were powerless to advocate change as long as he maintained control of the police and army. They also knew that outside pressure would not influence Milosevic and therefore saw the air strikes as punishment for actions they did not condone and could not stop.

Growing up outside the United States challenged me to look at international issues and my country's role in the world from a variety of perspectives — not just those of an American. My experiences as a “foreigner” taught me not to simplify issues, especially conflicts between people, but instead to examine them and try to find ways to solve them. By majoring in international relations and focusing on the history behind many of the ongoing conflicts worldwide, I hope to work to resolve such conflicts. □

## Charging Windmills

This issue of the *AFSA News* marks the beginning of the term for a new AFSA Governing Board. It is remarkable that two years ago I was the newest and least knowledgeable of all AFSA vice presidents. Now after two years of hard work, endless training sessions and great briefings from the AFSA staff, I am the senior VP. The fact that all the other VPs in the class of '99 retired or were elected to higher office has nothing to do with my elevated status. Such is life in the Foreign Service.



As I look forward to the next two years, I feel a bit like Don Quixote seeking guidance from Sancho as to which challenge to face first. FSOs, FSNs and their domestic office colleagues need to continue working together to develop a clearer understanding of each other's activities and problems. Integration efforts to bring the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Services together to date have had some success but spawned many problems. There must be a better way. The level of friction evident between the Office of Foreign Service Human Resources, or OFSHR, and the officers it is supposed to serve is disturbing. Neither group is without some fault. Officers voice their frustrations at certain OFSHR actions, which only serves to elevate the level of friction more. We need to develop a less abrasive relationship.

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FCS has accepted a challenging and rewarding mission. Our officers are among the brightest and best of USG employees. Why do we have morale problems? Officers comment on the

absence of a clear career path, a professional development plan, and realistic career counseling. We need to develop an entrance and exit strategy, to help new officers get off to a good start and provide sound counseling to officers as they reach the end of their careers. There are communications problems. Headquarters and field personnel seem to talk past each other when discussing benefits, allowances and regulations. Family issues are a growing concern. We need more counseling, mentoring and effective personnel management. While both headquarters and the field have recognized and addressed the situation, there is little comfort that the dialogue will lead to something of value.

FCS alumni are the forgotten few. When a FCS officer retires, Commerce passes his or her “packet” to State, which administers the retirement program. FCS loses contact with this potentially valuable resource for ideas, temporary duty assistance, trainers and mentors. State focuses, rightly, on its own retirees, not the newcomers from Commerce, who were never members of anyone's A-100 course!

The next two years will be interesting. Management may determine that none of the above issues are negotiable, which may very well be true. However, all of the above need to be addressed and discussed. The past two years have been spent negotiating with management over actions taken that were in our view outside the accepted policy and precepts. I am hopeful that with our new team the need to act as a watchdog will diminish and the opportunities to work together to strengthen the service will increase. □

# 2001 AFSA/AAFSW Academic and Art Merit Award Winners

The American Foreign Service Association and the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide are pleased to announce the winners of the 2001 Academic and Art Merit Competition.

This program is open to Foreign Service high school seniors for their academic and artistic accomplishments. The local winners were presented their awards at a reception May 10.

The 60 students who applied for Academic Merit Awards were judged on their grade point averages, SAT scores, essays, letters of recommendation, and extracurricular activities. There are 16 Academic Merit Award winners and 7 Academic Honorable Mention winners. Each of the 10 applicants for Art Merit Awards submitted an entry in one of the following categories: visual arts, musical arts, drama, dance or creative writing. Jessica Sammis won the Art Merit award for her cello



**KATHERINE BRILL** - daughter of Mary and Kenneth (State) Brill; graduate of Walt Whitman High School, Bethesda, Md.; commended National Merit Scholar; member of school's chapter of Amnesty International; AFSA/AAFSW Best Essay winner; had an art exhibition at Glen Echo Park in Maryland; attending Rice University in Houston.



**CLAIRE CONLY** - daughter of Shanti (USAID) and Jonathan (USAID) Conly; graduate of National Cathedral School, Washington, D.C.; National Merit Scholar; Advanced Placement Scholar; editor-in-chief of literary magazine, *Halfin-Earnest*; member of crew team; enjoys piano, scuba diving, and photography; attending Yale University.



**FRANCES COWHIG** - daughter of Jessie and David (State) Cowhig; graduate of the International School, Beijing; officer in Model United Nations; National Merit Semi-Finalist; drummer in a jazz band; four-year member of a community service club; attending Brown University majoring in public policy.



**MATTHEW CRANE** - son of Nancy and Charles (USAID) Crane; graduate of American Community School, Amman, Jordan; student council president; 2001 class valedictorian; participant in Model United Nations; percussionist in school jazz band; enjoys working with church youth group; attending Case Western Reserve in Cleveland.



**MARIELENA IVORY** - daughter of Misuzu and Hugh (USIA, retired) Ivory; graduate of St. Johns College High School, Washington, D.C.; captain of varsity tennis team; National Honor Society; member of school's Spanish Club; tutors students and is a school peer minister; enjoys playing the piano and clarinet; attending Georgetown University.



**EMILY KIM** - daughter of Beth Gypser (USAID) and Andrew Kim (USAID); graduate of Oakton High School, Oakton, Va.; Math Honor Society; special interest in photography, winning first place for photo artistry in "Reflections" contest; attending University of Virginia majoring in economics and history.



**AARON MIRACLE** - son of Betty and Charlie (AIT Taipei) Miracle; graduate of Taipei American School, Taiwan; president of school's National Honor Society; captain of varsity volleyball team and badminton team; member of Tri-M Music Honor Society; lead trombone in school's jazz ensemble; attending University of Virginia majoring in biology.



**KELLEY PASTIC** - daughter of Carol and Joseph (USAID) Pastic; graduate of Chantilly High School, Chantilly, Va.; Spanish National Honor Society; captain of varsity swimming and softball teams; AFSA/AAFSW Community Service Award winner; participant in Virginia's Girls State; attending University of Delaware majoring in communications.

## Academic Merit Honorable Mention Winners

**DAVID BENEFIEL** - son of Elizabeth and Michael (Commercial Service, retired); Benefiel; graduate of Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School, Bethesda, Md.; attending Stanford University.

**ASHLEY BOYD** - daughter of Diane and Brent (International Broadcasting Bureau) Boyd; graduate of Lake Braddock Secondary School, Burke, Va.; attending College of William and Mary.

**AMY CRAWFORD** - daughter of Susan and Paul (USAID) Crawford; graduate of Ticonderoga High School, Ticonderoga, N.Y.; attending Cornell University.

submission. AFSA's Committee on Education, along with volunteers from the foreign affairs community, scored the applicants and determined the winners. Winners receive \$1700 and Honorable Mention winners receive \$500. This year's awards total over \$33,000.

Beginning this year, two awards will be bestowed in the names of Mr. and Mrs. John and Priscilla Becker and Mr. and Mrs. Donald and Maria Spigler for their perpetual scholarship donations. Katherine Brill received the Becker Award, and also won the essay contest. Her essay appears on page 9 of *AFSA News*. Kelley Pastic received the Spigler Award as well as the Community Service Award. For more information on the AFSA/AAFSW Merit Competition or the AFSA Financial Aid Scholarship Program, contact Lori Dec at 202-944-5504 or [dec@afsa.org](mailto:dec@afsa.org).



## Art Merit Winner

**JESSICA SAMMIS** - daughter of Elizabeth and John (State) Sammis; graduate of Sidwell Friends School, Washington, D.C.; featured soloist in 2001 American Youth Philharmonic Orchestra; 2001 Honorable Mention in National Symphony Orchestra competition; enjoys cross country and track and field; attending Northwestern University in Chicago.



**ANTHONY DELISI** - son of Leija and Scott (State) Delisi; graduate of the Lawrenceville School; Lawrenceville, N.J.; reporter for school newspaper; president and founder of school's Young Democrats Club; disc jockey for school radio station; member of varsity track and field team; enjoys playing the guitar; attending Stanford University.



**CLAIRE DREESEN** - daughter of Mary and Robert (State) Dreesen; graduate of the American School, Paris; National Merit Scholarship to Rice University; editor-in-chief of school newspaper; member of varsity cross country team; enjoys history and travel; attending Rice University.



**NATALIE HAMMINK** - daughter of Marie-Eve and William (USAID) Hammink; graduate of the American International School, Tel Aviv; co-president of school's National Honor Society; participant in Model United Nations; member of varsity soccer team; attending Brown University majoring in international relations.



**ELIZABETH IRWIN** - daughter of Susan and Lee (State) Irwin; graduate of the International School, Islamabad, Pakistan; National Honor Society; section editor of school yearbook; member of volleyball and basketball teams; member of drama club; attending College of William and Mary majoring in communications.



**JESSIE ROSENBERG** - daughter of Helene (USAID, retired) and John Rosenberg; graduate of Henley Middle School, Crozet, Va.; finished first year of college at Mary Baldwin College at age 14; enjoys singing in her college choir and horseback riding; summer attendee to MIT's Research Science Institute; transferring to Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania.



**AMY SHELTON** - daughter of Elizabeth Turner (former State) and J. Michael Shelton (State), graduate of William P. Clements High School, Sugarland, Texas; first place in chemistry at school science fair; Advanced Placement Scholar with Honors; special interest in theater; attending Williams College in Massachusetts.



**ZEID STALLA** - son of Maureen and Stanley (USAID) Stalla; graduate of Colegio Franklin D. Roosevelt, Lima; four-year first trumpet soloist in school's jazz band; member of varsity softball, volleyball and basketball teams; 2001 class valedictorian; attending Princeton University.



**LAUREN WOOD** - daughter of Cynthia (State) and Robert (State) Wood; graduate of American School of The Hague, The Netherlands; National Merit Commended Scholar; captain of cross-country team; participant in Model United Nations; member of school choir and band; attending Furman University in South Carolina.

**URSULA JESSEE** - daughter of Katyna and David (USAID) Jessee; graduate of South Lakes High School, Reston, Va.; Wellesley College or University of Virginia.

**KATE RICHE** - daughter of Roxanne and Christopher (State) Riche; graduate of Rabat American School, Rabat, Morocco; attending College of William and Mary.

**JOSEPH SCHILLING** - son of Joanne and John (State) Schilling; graduate of Thomas Jefferson High School for Science and Technology, Alexandria, Va.; attending University of Virginia.

**ELIZABETH WANLUND** - daughter of Martha Netherton (State) and William Wanlund (State); graduate of George Mason High School, Falls Church, Va.; attending College of William and Mary.

crux of her complaint was that although she had been promoted into the SFS, despite every reasonable effort on her part thereafter she kept getting excluded from SMG membership by USAID senior career and political officials. That meant she could not obtain the necessary leadership assignments needed to allow her to compete on an equal footing. Thus, she was foreordained for termination through selection out or expiration of time in class.

Kaufman's initial prospects were poor. Legal services of Bridget R. Mugane were key to her overwhelming victory. The FSGB ordered its largest attorney fee award ever, about \$80,000. Never before or since has the FSGB justified awarding fees on the basis of agency bad faith, indicating highly improper behavior by important agency officials.

USAID refused to reinstate Kaufman properly for six months, despite the FSGB decision. The board ordered USAID to "fully support" Kaufman's request to waive reimbursement of pension payments she received while retired. USAID's personnel chief, Linda Lion, simply

transmitted the board's order, omitting a support declaration. The FSGB ranked at such contumacy: "There was no reason in our view why she should not have been restored to the rolls much faster. ...

The Kaufman case established  
new FSGB jurisprudence.  
Namely, the assignment  
process may not be used to  
place an individual at a  
comparative disadvantage.

The agency merely transmitted our Decision and conspicuously failed to write a message of any kind of support, let alone 'full support.'

USAID's personnel office (HR) was not the main perpetrator of Kaufman's travails. Although HR participated enthusiastically, senior career leaders throughout USAID upheld the unfair structural and systemic personnel environment that led to Kaufman's grievance and major win, and

to USAID's stubborn resistance to implementing the FSGB's decision.

The Kaufman case established new FSGB jurisprudence. Namely, the assignment process may not be used to place an individual at a comparative disadvantage, and if an employee demonstrates disadvantage or harm, the FSGB will fashion an appropriate remedy.

Not every USAID employee who has challenged the operation of the SMG has been successful before the FSGB. The circumstances of each case are different, and often seemingly small details determine success or failure. Concerned employees should contact the FSGB or AFSA for name-deleted copies of relevant rulings. □

#### Relevant FSGB rulings:

Case No. 92-078, 2/22/94  
Case No. 93-038, 3/29/94  
Case No. 95-018, 4/26/96  
Case No. 95-018, 9/17/96  
Case No. 95-018, 2/19/99  
Case No. 96-007, 2/3/97  
Case No. 96-025, 7/16/97  
Case No. 97-074, 5/19/98  
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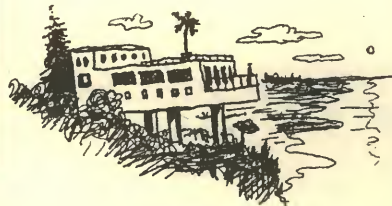
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*He pulled away from the hut in a cloud of dust,  
listening to a tape of the Surfaris singing "Wipeout."*

---

mentioned he had the tail back at his hut. He told Greg that he would be happy to offer it to him as a present. Greg smiled for the first time in months.

Called a manyatta, Adam's home was a one-room stick frame daubed with cattle dung and surrounded by a fence of acacia thorn branches to keep out predators. Adam's barefoot children, dressed in rags, ran to greet them. Maria, Adam's wife, emerged from the smoky darkness of the hut wearing the same red cloth as her husband. Hundreds of multicolored beads hung in chokers around her neck while wire triangles decorated with more beads dangled from her elongated ears. She held a newborn in her arms and smiled broadly at their visitor. She didn't speak English, but Adam translated for her. She offered Greg tea. Greg and Adam sat on a fallen log under the shade of an umbrella acacia, sipping the lukewarm liquid. Neighbors stopped by to meet and greet. In the distance, young boys holding slender staffs moved herds of cattle through the bush as vultures spiraled overhead. As the afternoon wore on Greg began to feel the body ache that crept in when he'd overdone things. He also knew that he should be getting back to Nairobi before the carjackers swooped down upon all who dared drive the streets of that city after dark. When Greg made a move to leave, Adam entered the hut's depths and re-appeared holding the well-preserved tail of a lion. Greg insisted the skull was enough, but Adam urged his new friend to take it, as long as he returned to visit them again.

Greg assured Adam that he would, then he coiled the tail on the passenger's seat and jumped in beside it for the jarring drive home. When he pulled away from the manyatta in a cloud of dust, a tape of the Surfaris singing "Wipeout" was playing and the Masai children waved him goodbye wearing huge smiles. He remembered that he kept a bag of hard candy in the pickup's glove compartment. He reached for it, pitching handfuls out the window at the children as he bumped into the sere landscape. Looking through his rearview mirrors, Greg watched through billowing

dust as the kids dashed toward the wrapped crystal miracles, then leapt elatedly as they found and savored one after another.

When he reached his modest bungalow in suburban Nairobi, Greg carried the lion's skull to the front porch and put it in a place of prominence next to his collection of gazelle, topi, eland and warthog skulls. Behind the row of skulls a menagerie of spine, leg and rib bones leaned against the house. He added the lion's mighty femur and tibia to this arrangement, then uncoiled the tail and took it inside, hanging it on the wall beside an assortment of beaded Masai gourds, rongbus and staffs.

**H**e now had a reason for his rehabilitative weekend drives into the Rift. Even when the rainy season arrived, Greg forded torrents in creek beds that had been dry only two weeks earlier to watch the increasing numbers of game fill the valley; then he would visit his new friends. On these trips, Greg always brought small gifts for the family. In return, Adam gave him fine skulls that had been found by his cattle-herding sons.

It was after a lengthy meander through the bush one Sunday afternoon that Adam told Greg a friend had discovered the complete remains of an elephant, skull and all. They could take the pickup only so far, Adam said, and then they would hike into a rock canyon where poachers had most likely killed the bull. Journeying up the newly green flanks of Mt. Lorgunono to an eroded gully of basalt towers, they set off on foot into a canyon of crinkled lava flows. After scrambling for five minutes over frozen magma, they came upon the elephant carcass. Not only had the skull, which was the size of a Volkswagen Beetle, been picked clean to a blinding white, but it was attached to a skeleton that was complete down to every rib of its cavernous cage, with only a few bits of withered skin flapping in the breeze. All that was missing were its tusks.

Greg circled the monumental creature shaking his head, not speaking, while Adam leaned against his

## FOCUS

*The bones of animals were everywhere,  
especially along dry creek beds. But they were never complete.*

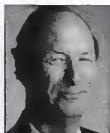
slender staff near the skull, grinning. Adam was the first to speak. He told Greg that he could get neighbors to help them load the behemoth into the pickup, but since the bones were so huge, they could only do so a few pieces at a time. Adam assured Greg that it would take several weekends, but they could get the whole mighty beast back to Nairobi, if he so desired.

A month later, when the complete jumbo lay splayed in the driveway under a basketball net with a faded American flag backboard, left behind by the previous tenants, Greg sat on the porch admiring his new addition to the array of skulls and long bones. He had found the gunshot that killed the bull behind the right ear of its massive cranium. He even considered donating the

remains to a museum when he left Nairobi so that others would be inspired to protect the elephant's descendants.

Greg tried to postpone his departure from Nairobi for as long as possible. Since the bombing, it was hard to get people to fill jobs at the embassy, so he was easily able to keep extending his stay there. And since diplomatic couriers were using Kenya as a hub again, he knew there would be a steady supply of donated used shoes and clothing to share with his Masai friends. He had almost been killed in Kenya, but Greg felt the country's astonishing wildlife, stunning landscape and hospitable people reviving him.

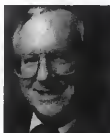
His future dilemma would be a difficult one: Could he ever live without them? ■



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Retired Foreign Service Officer



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# THE VISIT

**I**t was three days ago that I called her from JFK. I had just arrived from Saudi Arabia, where I've been living for the last four years. Delta was putting the final touches on my trip. The paperwork I'd need to claim my bags when they got to New York, via Japan, would take about 15 minutes to prepare. I decided to fill the time by giving her the as-soon-as-you-get-here phone call she had asked for.

The timing seemed right. She visited her doctor on Friday afternoons, so, barring some catastrophe, she'd be home. It was also after 11 a.m., making it a good bet that she'd be up and about or at least awake.

As usual, her initial greeting was lukewarm: a simple "hello."

"Hey, Di, I'm here!" I said.

She said, "Who is this?"

I said, "It's Jackie. I'm at the airport."

She said, "Oh, hi."

Silence.

It's at this point I usually try to say something that will get her past her initial aloofness, so that we can get on with, in this case, our five-day visit. In recent years, before picking which tack to take, I've had to consider her illness. So I hesitated, trying to perceive some pain or tears in her voice. I detected none and proceeded as if she had no medical or emotional weaknesses.

"Did I catch you at a bad time or are you just being a pain in the ass?" I asked.

She laughed, assuring me that my intuition was correct; she was strong enough to deal with my can-

dor. We advanced.

She said, "Don't mind me."

I said, "I won't."

Then she said, "I know."

And then it was over.

"Where are you?" she asked.

"Delta's lost baggage office."

"Oh, no, not again. Where are they this time?"

"Japan."

"Ah so."

"I'm not laughing."

"When can I see you?" she asked.

"How about now? I could be there in two or three hours."

"Oh sure, that's just what I need, a woman in her eighth month of pregnancy who, in the last 24 hours, has crossed eight time zones with two toddlers. Don't be ridiculous. Go to the hotel and call me later, you jerk."

I did call her later. And the next day, a Tuesday, we spoke five times. But she continued to put off a face-to-face visit, which, in truth, was never that important to us. Even when we lived in the same state we rarely saw each other. What we did do, whenever the whim struck us, was talk on the phone. And the whim struck us often.

It's hard to pinpoint when our friendship started, since it really began before we met. We first heard about each other in the late '70s when I took a job designing online systems for Intel's upstart computer services division. My territory was Chicago; she managed



Rich Grote

SOME FRIENDSHIPS ARE SIMPLY MEANT TO BE, AND NEITHER DISTANCE NOR TIME NOR ANYTHING ELSE CAN BREAK THOSE BONDS.

BY JUNE APPEL-WUERTZ

## F O C U S

the San Francisco branch. Though our paths did not cross, people who traveled between the two offices told us that our similarities were uncanny. We not only looked alike, we were told, but I was often mistaken for her on the phone. We were also told that we had identical cocked head, hands-on-hips mannerisms as well as flirtatious, non-sense demeanors and identical caustic wits. But what astonished people the most was the revelation that we both raced the same first-generation Datsun Z car. She worked in the pits for her husband, while I was always behind the wheel.

Everyone who knew both of us couldn't wait for us to meet, which we did, two years later, when we were both kicked up to executive row at the corporate headquarters in New York. When we finally did meet, we found the stories of our sameness not only true but under-reported. As we shared beliefs about morality, ethics and humor, our spirits mated. Our friendship grew strong.

In the beginning, we talked mostly about things like politics and religion. Although these topics are known for their ability to dissolve mere mortal friendships, they were the foundation of ours. Though they continue to be our specialty, we also branched out.

It was her idea actually. About a year into our new jobs, she decided to get me hooked on "her" afternoon soap opera, *General Hospital*, by force-feeding me the details of the story line. I pleaded with her to leave me out of that part of her life, but she refused. At first, the monotony of her detailed monologue day after day was torturous, but I stood firm and refused to ask her a single question. Her persistence, however, eventually overran my resolve.

It happened during the "Sun Disk" story line. The main characters, Luke and Laura, were risking life and limb to retrieve the Sun Disk, a weapon of mass destruction, from the bad guys at the KGB. Saving the world was their reward. Di was giving me my daily GH update when suddenly she became distracted and went off on a tangent. Normally, I cherished her tangents, but this time I found myself waiting impatiently for her to return to the GH gang. Instead of remaining loyal to Luke and Laura, she abandoned them for a story about Billy, her florist brother, and his woes with the Cohen wedding. I erupted

spontaneously: "What the hell happened to the Sun Disk?"

Her silence said it all; she had me. And from that day forward, at 3 p.m. on the dot, we would sit in front of our respective televisions watching the GH gang tumble through life for one hour. No one who knew us bothered to call between three and four on weekdays, unless they yearned to hear the persistent short peep of a busy signal. We hadn't taken the phones off the hook to prevent interruptions; they were engaged. We sat, phones cradled on our shoulders, as we shared our obsessive distraction. I would come to cherish that distraction three years later, because of its merciful ability to transport us, even for one brief hour a day, away from her first confrontation with her mortality.

The first time she was diagnosed with breast cancer, she was very, very sick. But she got better and our friendship survived, though not so effortlessly now that her future was less certain. But then, six years later, when her foot twitched uncontrollably, she learned the cancer had spread everywhere, even across the spinal cord to her brain. She was sick again and she never really got better, though at times she looked like she might improve.

About the time her cancer returned, my gallant husband rode in, fulfilling my wildest dreams to live abroad. His white horse was a contract, through the U.S. Treasury Department, from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Next thing I knew, I was naming our second daughter Riyadh, after the Saudi capital. And though Di and I tried to keep our 10-year-old friendship up-to-date, the cost was too great. One call a week, more or less, was all we could afford. The cutback proved fatal for my relationship with Luke and Laura, and softened my bond with Di. Letters were not our style, though we did try to write to each other. Writing letters just wasn't the same as talking. Ours was a verbal relationship. Weekly phone calls could fan smoldering embers of a once profound friendship, but the 6,000 miles between us took their toll on our intimacy. Even now, though we still give each other best friend status, our relationship is, for me, mostly full of fond memories that our weekly conversations summon to life.

But she knew nothing of how I felt, or, for that matter, much else about my life. Somewhere along the line, she stopped asking about it in any detail. Eventually I took the hint and stopped telling her. My guess is that it became too painful to hear about a life that had a future, one that she would give anything to have in place of her own.

---

*June Appel-Wuertz is a writer who has accompanied her FSO spouse, Bob, to posts in Saudi Arabia, Ghana and Egypt. They currently live in Manila with their children Halley, Aria and Maddy.*

Holding on to our friendship was a heroic effort. But it was not enough. Surely, if we had had more time, we would have talked about her dying. Conversations like that, however, take time and circumstances to make them come to the surface. They can't be scheduled for Sunday phone calls, even if the calls cost hundreds of dollars each month. You can't buy intimacy. And so, instead, our weekly talks served as one-hour vacations from her house-bound existence. They were respites from her pain, anxiety and fear: her reality.

So we continued our weekly chats. Topics of conversation were hard to come by once Luke and Laura were out of the picture and my life was on the "basically taboo" list. We returned to things like politics and religion, but even in these arenas, I found myself caught off guard at times with what I detected as her newfound political cynicism and religious devotion, views I did not recognize or share.

It was not her unfamiliar cynical tone or her lack of sharing that was the main problem. I felt that I should tread cautiously so as not to hurt her; and that feeling restrained me. I sensed that I could no longer trust her to withstand, defend against and, ultimately, mitigate conflict. I sensed that her self, her strong healthy ego, was gone.

And what an ego it was. It had been one of the great egos I've known. I didn't find it difficult to understand how this fine specimen of an ego was fashioned. It was championed by her sense of self-worth, flattered by the eye-catching appeal of her long, full, curly blond hair, her winsome face and her five-foot-four-inch sensual frame. It was sustained by her good intellect, her penetrating wit and creativity, and reinforced by her unnerving ability to see and fearlessly state the truth, especially about herself. But that woman was nearly gone, and in her place, encased in a frail, faltering body, was a frail, faltering ego.

One day two winters ago, I realized the illness had nearly destroyed her true self. We were talking about John, who, at different times, had been, for both of us, a lover, and who now was a friend. His office was nearby and he visited her frequently. After one of his visits, she told me in great detail about how he was seducing her. Though I tried, I could not bring myself to believe her. I could not stretch her words to encompass the facts of her life. I knew too much. I knew that she could not walk, much less dance around the room. I knew that he was not stroking her long tresses destroyed years ago by chemotherapy. I knew that the multiple hip fractures uncovered by her last bone scan would make love-making

unbearable. I hinted at disbelief, but she mistook disbelief for playfulness. I feared, for the first time, that my honesty would not be welcomed. And what if I was actually able to convince her that she was deceiving herself? Would I be threatening her well-being, delusional as it was? How can a friendship survive such dishonesty? But, then again, how can it perish in the sight of such a truth? What right did I have to force her to face the truth, only to hang up the phone and return to my charmed life 6,000 miles away? I didn't have any right.

So I decided to play along, drawing on days gone by for the right words to say. We laughed. I was sad. She was — well, I don't actually know how she was. Hopefully, she was better than she would have been if I hadn't indulged her.

**B**ut it hadn't been necessary to humor her this visit, and hopefully she'll give me an audience today. After all, it is Wednesday and I'll be leaving on Friday. I dial. It rings. I hear her pick up the phone, and then hear it drop. I listen to her distant cursing during the three minutes it takes for her to retrieve the receiver.

"Hello," she says haltingly.

"Hi. What's going on?"

"Hold on," she manages to say, trying painstakingly to catch her breath. Nearly a minute passes before she can continue to speak.

"There, that's better. Now, what's up?"

"Well, what about it? Can I come over?"

"Yeah, let's do it. What time?"

"Great. Let's see. It's 10 now. How about 11:30? I'll bring lunch."

"An hour and a half to get ready and I'm not even out of bed yet. Let's make it one."

"Fine. What about lunch?"

"Me too."

"So what should I get?"

"There's a new deli on the boulevard that makes great subs. You'll want a number six. Get me a number four, no onions, with a side of potato salad. I've got Coke but no diet, so pick some up for yourself."

Her directions are, as usual, excellent. By one o'clock I am at the deli, food in hand. I give her a last get-ready call.

"Hi. It's me."

"Where are you?" she asks.

"I'm at the deli. I was just going to head over."

"Really. Wow. Is it one already?"

## F O C U S

"Yea. Why, do you need more time?"

"Do you mind? I still have all these pills to take, and I need to feed the cats."

"Okay, just tell me what time."

"Give me another hour, okay?"

"Sure. How about some Dunkin' Donuts for dessert?"

"You're bad," she says.

"I know, but which kind, Boston Cream or Honey Glazed?"

"Both."

"And coffee?" I say, hoping she will be capable of turning me down.

"Don't be ridiculous. We love my coffee. I can take care of it. I'll see you at two and don't bother to call first."

So, here I am standing at her front door trying to prepare for the worst, hoping for the best, not really knowing what either means precisely. It's been nearly a year since I last saw her. And that year has been filled with such bizarre medical stories from her that I can't possibly know what to expect.

I knock on the door. My anxiety peaks when, instead of

opening the door herself, she calls for me to come in. I'm disappointed for her. I know how hard she's worked to prove wrong the doctors who told her that she'd probably never walk again. But, I'm also calmed by her voice, which seems to say that it's healthy and that she can't wait to see me again. I breathe deeply and enter, relieved to find her sitting normally on the couch. I go to another couch to sit. She is wearing a wig and her face is swollen, signals that she is on a new drug protocol. Her signature scoop-necked blouse no longer reveals the firm feminine pecs or cleavage she was able to regain after the tedious breast reconstruction nearly ten years ago. Her contours have melted away, leaving a hint of frailty accentuated by slightly stooped shoulders.

Since she has spent 11 months in a wheelchair, I should not be surprised that her once muscular calves have atrophied and are now only slightly larger than her ankles. But I am surprised. Her left ankle has still not regained its color, though the cast is gone. I can see the six-inch scar where metal fittings were used to rebuild brittle bones that, unbeknownst to her, had crumbled.

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## FOCUS

I was on the phone with her last Thanksgiving when she noticed her misaligned foot and leg. We discussed the foot as you would a warped piece of furniture. It didn't take long to convince me that there was something seriously wrong. I fully expected her to get off the phone and call for help. But I didn't understand.

Though the damage would prove to be extraordinary, there was no pain. So to her way of thinking, there was no need to rush. Yes, this was a new problem, a big new problem, but it was, for her, just one more problem in a long line of big new problems. So she didn't get off the phone, but wanted instead to try and figure out how and when the foot became misaligned.

She traced it to a fall two weeks earlier. She didn't recall being at all concerned about her leg at the time. Her recollection of the incident focused on being "turtled" — her casual label for the two panic-filled hours she spent on her back unable to right herself — until the postman heard her pleas for help.

But the worst (of this incident, at least) seems to be behind her now. She looks well and we don't talk about it

or any of the other taboo subjects. The first wave of uneasiness subsides, and we settle back into our friendship. We chat, and then chat some more.

After about an hour I find that I am being distracted by a series of seemingly unnecessary movements she is making. Eventually I realize she is, like an athlete, readying herself for a gargantuan effort. She is preparing to mount the metal walker. As she grasps the walker, my eyes are drawn to her hands. I recognize the strong, sinewy, tensed, ready, deliberate hands of an artist, though she hasn't thrown a pot in years. She hoists herself up, and then stops. I can see her profile as she crosses in front of me, deliberately placing each footfall. After four arduous steps, she rests.

"Hope you're ready for that coffee," she says, cocking her head toward me.

Our eyes meld for the first time this visit.

"You *are* a pain in the ass, aren't you?" I say, hands on my hips.

Subtle but triumphant smiles crease our cheeks where the tears fall. ■

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# THERE'S STILL A PLACE FOR LABOR DIPLOMACY

THOUGH THE COLD WAR IS OVER, SUPPORT FOR WORKER RIGHTS SHOULD BE A CONTINUING PART OF U.S. DEMOCRACY PROMOTION ABROAD.

By EDMUND MCWILLIAMS

**L**abor diplomacy, those aspects of U. S. foreign relations that relate to the promotion of worker rights and, more broadly, democratic society, was a vital element of a successful U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War. At the time, labor offered significant political support to the U.S. government in its efforts to contain and defeat communism. In the years after the Cold War, labor diplomacy has been relegated to the sidelines by foreign policy makers; at the same time, the fight for worker rights has become even more important as globalization has produced new challenges for workers. It is time to recognize that a vibrant labor diplomacy can be a valuable component of U.S. foreign policy once again, this time as it confronts the challenges to U.S. interests posed by the impact of globalization and rising ethnic and religious tensions around the world.

The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights established that worker rights are human rights. It set forth several principles: everyone has the right to work in just and favorable conditions, to be paid fairly for their work, to form trade unions to protect their interests, and to be protected against unemployment. More than a half century later, these rights are still unmet goals — expressed on the

*Edmund McWilliams is the director for international labor in State's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor.*

placards of demonstrators in Seattle or along the picket lines at factory gates around the world — rather than realities in both developed and developing countries.

## Globalization Challenges Labor

Globalization is challenging the degree of real international commitment to defend fundamental worker rights set out in the Universal Declaration. Today's global economy has created a difficult environment for labor. "Flexible" labor markets can leave workers with fewer benefits, poorer working conditions and greater job insecurity — and little recourse to improve their lot. For example, until recently in Guatemala, workers were only allowed to strike at non-harvest time, i.e., when most are not working. Privatization and downsizing, encouraged by inter-

national financial institutions and our own bilateral assistance programs, displace workers, leaving many in countries like China, El Salvador, Ghana or Bolivia to adjust to new economic conditions without benefit of social safety nets or job retraining.

New approaches to "modern" industrial relations can preclude workers from benefiting from collective representation by trade unions and can make it more difficult for workers to turn to national labor laws to address their concerns. In both developing and developed countries, some businesses are pursuing individual contracts between the employer and the worker. These contracts do not allow for collective bargaining. In some countries such as

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*Worker rights are still unmet goals —  
expressed on the placards of  
demonstrators in Seattle or along the  
picket lines at factory gates around  
the world — rather than realities.*

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Colombia, employers may also encourage workers to join cooperative organizations, which contract with an employer to perform labor, rather than join unions. These workers are officially recognized as "cooperative members," not "workers" and therefore, may not be eligible for labor law protections given to workers.

Furthermore, globalization encourages companies to invest in countries where labor standards are lowest, potentially pushing some countries that embrace higher standards for workers right out of economic competition. For example, multinationals will be tempted to transfer operations to China and Vietnam, who are about to join the WTO, because these countries offer incomparably low wages, party-controlled trade unions and massive ranks of low- to middle-skill docile workers. Fragile new democracies like Indonesia or even more established democracies like the Philippines, which are beginning to support worker rights as unionized workers make their demands heard, will lose foreign investment and export revenue as jobs move to places where labor is cheaper.

### **Labor Benefits Foreign Policy**

Globalization's sometimes debilitating impact on labor comes at a time of weakened labor influence in U.S. foreign policy. U.S. labor's role in U.S. foreign policy and U.S. labor diplomacy more generally lost much of their purpose following the collapse of communism.

During the Cold War, a vigorous labor diplomacy, implemented by State Department labor officers, USAID and USIA was critical to U.S. foreign policy. Trade unions and workers, here and abroad, rallied to Washington's call for a struggle against communism and offered political support to shore up Western

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## **Globalization encourages companies to invest in countries where labor standards are lowest.**

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governments. Building on pre-war alliances between U.S. labor and anti-Nazi and anti-Fascist labor movements, many Western post-war governments relied on labor's backing. Other governments, particularly Christian Socialist governments, had large, politically allied labor unions that gave these governments significant organized political support against communist-backed opponents. Labor unions played similar political roles in the developing world, allying with progressive parties against colonialism and often providing leaders for these parties from their own ranks.

The collapse of the Soviet bloc lessened the need for labor as an ally in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy. By the end of the Cold War, USIA and USAID labor officer slots had largely disappeared, and the ranks of State labor officers had diminished to slightly more than 30, less than half the number of officers during the Cold War.

Yet today, labor could play just as significant a role in the formulation and implementation of U.S. foreign policy as it did during the Cold War. Many of the goals that U.S. foreign policy seeks to promote — democracy, human rights, political stability and social and economic development — are the same ones that labor also embraces. In Poland, Indonesia, South Africa, Brazil, Nigeria, Burma

and many other countries, workers and trade unions have been among the leading forces pressing for political and economic liberalization. Democratic trade unions are economic agents because they promote a culture of negotiation through collective bargaining, a process that undermines any tendency to concentrate economic power and wealth in a society. They are also political agents, affording workers a voice in the political process, and thereby strengthening democratic control of economic decision-making. Moreover, at their best, unions function as democratic models with transparent internal mechanisms for electing leaders, debating policy, and resolving disputes. Unions and their leaders are on the front lines in combating extralegal paramilitaries and organized crime (and are often their principal victims) in Colombia, Guatemala, Zimbabwe and Russia. Trade unions, with their mass bases and broad social agendas for progressive change, have bridged ethnic, religious and tribal cleavages in places as disparate as Northern Ireland, the former Yugoslavia and sub-Saharan Africa.

In seeking to reduce the instability and inequities generated by globalization, some governments are turning to trade unions as representatives of workers and the poor in a dialogue about the impact of this economic transformation. Trade unions in many countries are uniquely placed to articulate social as well as labor concerns responsibly and coherently. They serve as legitimate interlocutors for the government in a dialogue about issues such as worker displacement, growing rural-to-urban migration, foreign worker immigration and other destabilizing consequences of globalization.

As proponents of democratization, healers of societal cleavages, opponents of extralegal forces and as

*U.S. labor diplomacy  
lost much of its  
perceived purpose  
following the collapse  
of communism.*

interlocutors for national governments and business seeking to adapt to rapid economic change, trade unions and workers can be valuable allies for U.S. diplomacy.

#### **Returning Labor to the Fold**

In recent years, the U.S. has taken steps to reinvigorate labor diplomacy. At the urging of the Department of Labor, the AFL-CIO and others, the number of overseas labor officers was increased in the late 1990s, especially after the American labor movement played a major role in denying President Clinton's renewal of "fast track" trade negotiation authority. Also at that time, the Department of Labor agreed to an officer exchange with State that provided for the assignment of Department of Labor officers to State labor slots in the field and in Washington. In May 1999, State formed an advisory committee on labor diplomacy to analyze how U.S. labor diplomacy might be reinvigorated. Its September 2000 report offered numerous recommendations aimed at strengthening the role State's 49 labor officers play in diplomacy. While more than half of its recommendations were accepted, it is as yet unclear how thoroughly these recommendations will be implemented.

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labor diplomacy, the United States has made some progress in the fight for workers' rights. For example, the United States has supported efforts to raise labor standards by endorsing the ILO's "Declaration of Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work" (which endorses freedom of association, freedom from forced and compulsory labor, and freedom from discrimination in employment and occupation). America's support for labor has encountered strong resistance among developing countries that believe that if they raise labor standards they could lose their competitive economic advantage. In the absence of a clear global consensus on labor standards, low-wage, low-standard export engines like China, Vietnam, and India could swamp smaller countries whose labor standards and costs, while not necessarily up to ILO standards, are nonetheless higher than those in these powerful competitors.

For the United States, implementing a successful labor diplomacy means addressing these concerns. Specifically, the ILO's Declaration of Fundamental Principles must be more than hortatory. Because the ILO cannot levy sanctions, the declaration's impact on the lives of workers on factory floors worldwide so far has been less than workers have hoped.

The United States should champion worker rights in the trade agreements it becomes party to. The recently signed U.S.-Jordan Free Trade Agreement is the first U.S. trade agreement to include worker rights provisions in the main text of the agreement. It is encouraging that other countries have told the U.S. that the agreement with Jordan is a model that they might like to use as a basis for trade agreements with them. A U.S.-Cambodian textile agreement, which accords increased quotas for exports to the U.S. as an

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*Many of the goals that U.S. foreign policy seeks to promote, such as political stability and social and economic development, are the same ones that labor also embraces.*

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incentive for improved worker rights observance, is a potential model for the future. Yet there is still a long way to go: There is as yet no clear indication that the U.S. intends to include effective worker rights provisions in the discussions regarding a Free Trade Agreement of the Americas. Labor provisions are also absent in the as yet unratified U.S.-Vietnam Bilateral Trade Agreement.

U.S. labor diplomacy has encouraged corporate responsibility by pushing for improved industrial relations among businesses, trade unions and governments. For example, State's Democracy, Human Rights and Labor office administers a fund (worth \$3.9 million in FY01) to award grants to support the adoption of corporate codes of conduct, and to support proposals to encourage partnerships among NGOs, organized labor and corporate alliances to address unacceptable working conditions in worksites overseas. This "Partnership to Eliminate Sweatshops" seeks to end sweatshop labor conditions in worksites abroad that produce for the U.S. market. In 2000, the fund

awarded grants totaling \$4 million to NGOs, business associations, and the ILO to support specific initiatives such as training monitors, building partnerships among workers and employers and helping workers learn their rights. Projects funded under this initiative are under way or about to begin in Asia, Central America, Africa and other developing countries.

While resistance to improving worker standards is strong among some multinationals, which contend that the competitive environment in which they operate will not allow them to raise standards or wages, increasingly, multinationals have responded to calls for "corporate responsibility" from the U.S., European governments and consumers worldwide. Some firms have turned to auditing agencies, NGOs and business associations to monitor their overseas production, though company-sponsored audits are not able always to provide the kind of accounting necessary to identify problems and provide for real, lasting reforms. Firms have also discovered that improving industrial relations means cooperating with trade unions, which have a far deeper understanding of worker rights and conditions at individual worker sites.

A Bush administration could mean less attention to labor diplomacy since the Republican Party has not traditionally shared many of organized labor's domestic political objectives. There are significant differences between organized labor goals and the early agenda of the new administration. Organized labor has been sharply critical of the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas, faulting it both for process, which labor contends has excluded civil society, and for content — labor claims that worker rights and environmental concerns

are getting short shrift. Labor is concerned that the administration will pursue expanded trade without concern for worker rights. It would be easy, labor fears, for the administration to accept the argument against worker rights that many governments make, namely that such rights issues belong only in the ILO and not in the WTO.

On the other hand, the administration has spoken of its commitment to protecting worker rights. In his remarks to the advisory committee on labor diplomacy on May 9 at the State Department, Secretary Powell noted that "the rights of workers must be protected and supported. It is not enough to say 'let's create wealth' if we don't care about the María Soledads (a poor Honduran worker) — workers around the world who struggle to pay basic household and child-rearing costs." Workers should get "the lion's share" of the new wealth created. "Unless we protect labor we truly won't be touching (workers)," with efforts to promote free trade and democracy, Powell concluded.

The U.S. would benefit from engaging international labor in the pursuit of shared goals such as democratization, political stability and equitable economic and social development. An alliance between the U.S. and labor today would focus on worker rights, including ensuring that economic development is not based on the exploitation of child labor, forced labor or employment that discriminates against women and minorities, and on economic justice, ensuring that globalization's benefits flow to all and not simply to the few best placed to profit from it. A revitalized labor diplomacy today would foster democratic freedoms by shoring up fragile democracies, just as the U.S.-labor alliance of the Cold War era did. ■

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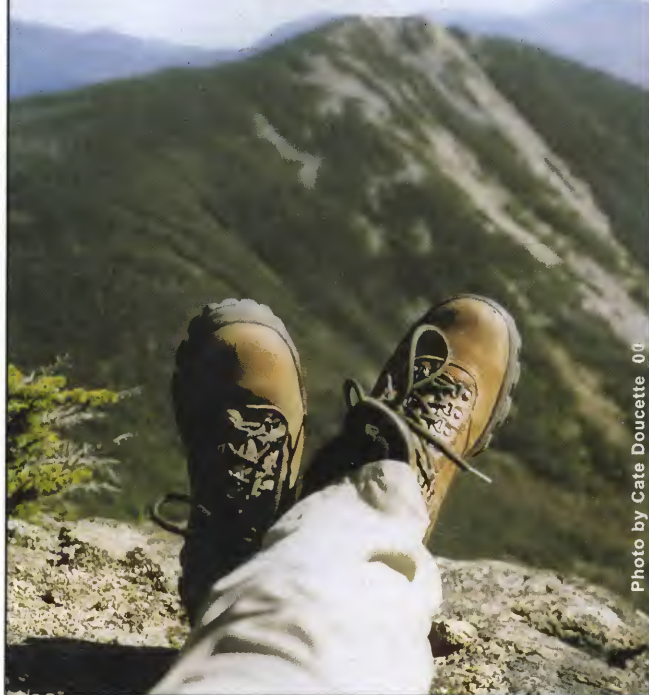


Photo by Cate Doucette '00

# CAN LABOR CATCH UP WITH GLOBALIZATION?

UNIONS ARE FORMING NEW ALLIANCES ACROSS CONTINENTS  
TO PROTECT WORKER RIGHTS IN MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS.

By ROBERT SENSER

**I**t had the earmarks of a David and Goliath confrontation. A small local union in the little Alabama town of Sylacauga was taking on a giant multinational based in Paris. A 28-year-old factory worker who had never crossed the Atlantic, Keith Fulbright, was flying off to Brussels, London, and Paris, on his own vacation time, to line up European support for his union's cause.

But the David from Alabama was not aiming to slay this Goliath. Keith Fulbright did go forth armed — with a French-subtitled videotape that portrayed the plight of his union through the words of a dozen rank-and-file members. One of those members explained the terms of the confrontation. “We aren't against the company,” he said, “but we all like to be treated fair. I feel like the only way we can accomplish that is with the union.”

That union, Local 3516 of the national Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical, and Energy Workers' Union (PACE) was fighting for its life. A merger negotiated in Europe in 1999 pushed two plants located across the street from each other, one unionized and the other not, into the same corporation, a leading international producer of industrial materials named Imerys. Thanks to this transaction, the unionized workers became a minority of the merged work force, now totaling 400 workers. Imerys decided that it would no longer recognize the union, which had represented workers at the unionized plant for 29 years; it argued the union was not qualified to speak for its workers.

Fulbright's European assignment in January 2000 was to challenge that position. A skilled worker at the non-union plant, he was joined by Joe Drexler, an experienced staffer of Local 3516's national union. With the help of the

video, they told Belgian, British, and French labor leaders of worker support for the union and management opposition to it. “Unions must work together,” Drexler said, “to keep multinationals from destroying us.” Their presentations were especially effective in France and Great Britain, where Imerys has a record of friendly cooperation with unions. At several of the company's largest plants in Britain, union stewards began wearing stickers saying, “Stop Imerys Union Busting in the U.S.”

The participation of an ordinary American worker in a solidarity mission to Europe was a new twist on a technique that has worked well in the United States: bringing in rank-and-file workers from Central America to testify at college forums and congressional hearings about abuses in factories producing for U.S. consumers. Fulbright's innovative mission was a turning point in an intensive year-long campaign to win support for the union's cause.

In March last year union dignitaries descended on Sylacauga to speak at a large barbecue and rally. One flew in from Brussels — Fred Higgs, the general secretary of the International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine, and General Workers' Unions, or ICEM for short, the “global union” with which PACE is affiliated. Higgs told the rally that ICEM, with 20 million members worldwide, was putting its full weight behind the workers in Sylacauga. He called Imerys a “chameleon corporation” for trying in America what it would not dare attempt in Europe, and promised: “We'll make it so hot for Imerys that they will be looking for a solution.” In a public demonstration of solidarity, some 250 people, with Higgs in the lead, marched a mile through town before peacefully dispersing at the Imerys factory gates.

Then, in May last year, Drexler and European labor leaders took their story directly to the annual meeting of Imerys shareholders in Paris. Although Sylacauga was not on the agenda, it unexpectedly dominated the last half of

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*Robert Senser is a former State Department labor attaché who currently edits a Web site, Human Rights for Workers, at [www.senser.com](http://www.senser.com).*

the meeting. The shareholders heard presentations from the floor that sent a shudder through the audience, according to the Paris newspaper *Libération*. A French-speaking ICEM representative pointedly asked: "Mr. Chairman, why is your company involved in anti-union practices in the United States while at the same time your company is improving its relations with unions in Europe?" In response Imerys CEO Patrick Kron promised that "the company would not campaign against the union."

Meanwhile, the labor movement used the power of the World Wide Web to communicate the union's message far beyond its own immediate constituency. People far and wide could read all they wanted to know (in English and French) about the struggle, including details of Imerys' corporate history, excerpts from a manual Imerys used to train managers on keeping the plant "union-free," and the text of a PACE-ICEM complaint filed with the State Department charging violations of the Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises adopted by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

The campaign worked. In a secret ballot election conducted by the National Labor Relations Board on June 22 last year, the union scored a 205 to 181 victory to represent Imerys's 400 workers in Sylacauga.

### Lessons from Sylacauga

Adapting to globalization is a crucial challenge facing the labor movement around the world, from the small unions in towns like Sylacauga to global union confederations like ICEM. To remain close to their constituents, unions function largely on a geographically limited basis. Modern corporations do not; they cut a wide swath across multiple political geographies, far beyond the range of traditional union structures. To bridge that gap for the struggle in Sylacauga, unions mobilized local, national, and international resources within the labor movement itself while also pursuing an external campaign by appealing to Imerys stockholders, the OECD, and the general public via the Web. That pattern comprises the framework of a larger union plan to cope with globalization, not only by greatly strengthening their own internal networks across international boundaries but also by reaching outside those ranks to enlist the cooperation of non-governmental organizations, intergovernmental agencies, and even

multinational corporations. In short, the lesson for unions is that they, too, must globalize.

Unions have not kept pace with today's vast, shifting global production system, comprising 63,000 multinational parent firms with 690,000 foreign affiliates and thousands of cross-border mergers and acquisitions a year. "We're 20 years behind," says Kenneth S. Zinn, ICEM's North American regional coordinator. Despite that immense lag, he is optimistic about catching up. "We have no choice but to fulfill our obligations to workers and the communities where they live."

Happily, the environment for catching up has improved in recent years. The idea that working people everywhere have basic rights is becoming more widely accepted than ever, at least in principle. More than 90 years of missionary work by the U.N.'s International Labor Organization is finally winning some converts among the elite, including the leaders of some multinational corporations and some international agencies. In 1998, U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan convinced CEOs of 50 multinational corporations to join human rights

organizations and trade unions to embrace a global compact in support of worker rights, including freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining. In his January 2000 swan song after three years as chief economist of the World Bank, Joseph Stiglitz delivered an address loaded with ideas considered radical for someone with his background in mainstream economics and in the top ranks of an international development organization. His main point: "Labor unions and other genuine forms of popular self-organization are key to democratic economic development."

### New Initiatives with New Partners

Recent activism by the labor movement and its allies is partly responsible for creating this more favorable environment for worker rights, and unions are taking advantage of it by pursuing new arrangements with new partners to meet worker needs in the global economy. The major organizations involved in this endeavor are "global unions" (such as ICEM), which are international associations of individual national trade unions grouped by industrial or occupational sectors. Now ten in number, the global unions, traditionally called international trade secretariats, have updated their technologies, hired new people, and restructured themselves to handle a large range

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***"Unions must work together to  
keep multinationals from  
destroying us."***

—Union Staffer Joe Drexler

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of global issues, including world environmental policies. Their size alone (ICEM covers 10 sectors) is bound to impress, and it puts them into a position to pursue labor strategies on a global scale. For example, ICEM and some other global unions are pressing individual multinationals to adopt formal "framework" agreements that 1) set the broad labor policies that cover all the corporation's workplaces, even those without a union and 2) establish procedures for regular meetings between management and union representatives.

Take the global framework agreement signed last July between ICEM and the Freudenberg Group, the German-based conglomerate which makes components for other manufacturers, particularly in the auto, engineering, and footwear industries. The agreement, covering 30,000 people in 41 countries, commits the corporation to respect the ILO's core labor standards in all the worksites of Freudenberg and its subsidiaries. Unlike internal codes of conduct adopted by many corporations these days, the Freudenberg-ICEM agreement is fully verifiable by the union.

"We see here our future," says Truus Erkins, a Dutch trade unionist who sits on Freudenberg's European Works Council. In the future that he foresees, the standards of European workers will be eroded by globalization if workers in the U.S. and elsewhere are denied the protection of a union contract. Erkins was one of the four members of the Freudenberg European Works Council who visited the U.S. last year to learn about labor conditions in general and specifically in Freudenberg's unionized and non-unionized facilities in the United States. A U.S. industry journal, *Rubber & Plastic News*, praised

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*The idea that working people everywhere have basic rights is becoming more widely accepted than ever, at least in principle.*

Freudenberg "for demonstrating a social conscience ... [and] for being smart."

ICEM also negotiated a framework agreement with Statoil, the Norwegian-based oil company, in 1998. Other global unions have made similar arrangements with some employers or employer groups in the international shipping, garment, metal, and other sectors, although so far they have reached only a tiny number of the world's multinationals.

To cope with globalization, unions today are negotiating with another set of powerful players in the global economy: intergovernmental institutions. Unions, who traditionally have represented worker interests to employers and government, now also represent worker interests in institutions such as the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and regional multilateral banks. They are asking those institutions to follow the precedent of the OECD, in which labor, like business, has a voice through an advisory committee. Such a change would enable union representatives to influence policies and projects that affect workers' lives and their right to organize and bargain. Some knowledgeable experts, including



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economist Joseph Stiglitz, agree with the labor charge that the present policies of international financial institutions often undermine worker rights, especially the right to organize and bargain.

Promoting worker rights in the rules that govern the global economy has long been a major priority of the world union body, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which groups national union federations like the AFL-CIO, and of global unions such as ICEM. Historically, they have successfully concentrated these efforts on the International Labor Organization. But their five-decade-long, on-and-off effort to match the influence business has in the World Trade Organization and its forerunner, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, has been an utter failure.

Labor's efforts at the World Bank and at the International Monetary Fund have done a little better. During a half-century of existence, the World Bank and IMF, founded, funded, and controlled by governments, have paid most of their attention to governments and the financial fraternity close to governments. Only recently have they come to grips with the role of civil society, the network of private institutions operating in the landscape between individuals and the state. The World Bank now has civil society specialists on duty in Washington and in about 75 of its 90 offices in the developing world. And according to information the bank top officials gave union leaders, the bank now does take several core ILO rights — anti-slavery, anti-child labor, and non-discrimination — into account in its activities, but not freedom of association and collective bargaining.

Despite setbacks, the union campaign to reform intergovernmental institutions is now a high priority,

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*Recent activism by the  
labor movement  
is partly responsible  
for creating a more  
favorable environment  
for worker rights.*

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increasingly pursued in formal or informal cooperation with non-governmental groups which share the goal of making the bureaucracies more sensitive to the needs of civil society. For example, last year the Asian Development Bank agreed to a dialogue with a network of trade unions, non-governmental organizations, and academics from Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand, grouped together as the Asian Labor Network on IFIs (International Financial Institutions). At the end of an open-ended session with five network representatives at ADB headquarters in May 2000, a senior official, Ayumi Konishi, expressed warm appreciation for the discussion. He said that the ADB welcomes outside input, "especially to challenge our assumptions," and that it needs to engage in "dialogue on overall issues — we have not done this."

The labor movement's strategy of seeking dialogue with major centers of global power meets resistance from inside the power centers, of course, but also from small groups on the outside convinced that multinational corporations and international agencies are hopelessly beyond reform. After several union

leaders (including ICEM's Higgs) joined corporate CEOs in launching Kofi Annan's global compact, a group of human rights and environmental activists objected. They publicly criticized the compact as a sham, a means for corporations to "wrap themselves in the flag of the United Nations to 'bluwash' their public image while at the same time avoiding significant changes to their behavior."

If labor's reform strategy fails to achieve significant changes fairly soon, criticism of their efforts, which is still isolated and subdued, will become louder, more radical, and perhaps more influential. Meanwhile, unions throughout the world are pursuing a non-radical strategy to deal with the transformations wrought by the global economy. Will that strategy make a difference where it counts the most — in the places men and women work, both in industrialized and developing nations?

In Sylacauga, the results are mixed. In early February, seven months after the union's election victory, Imerys and the union signed a three-year collective bargaining agreement with pay increases of about 3 percent each year, plus improved benefits. A few weeks later, the two sides came into conflict after management unilaterally adopted two sets of personnel policies, including employee guidelines listing 39 infractions that would lead to discharge or lesser penalties. A flurry of worker grievances followed, as did a complaint from the union to the National Labor Relations Board that the company wasn't playing fair because it failed to negotiate the policies. Says Keith Fulbright, now president of the Sylacauga union: "It's a struggle. But we're getting an education in how to cope." ■

# DO NORTH KOREANS HAVE HUMAN RIGHTS?

REALPOLITIK SAYS SECURITY ISSUES COME FIRST, BUT THE WEST MUST SPEAK OUT ON  
PYONGYANG'S TERRIBLE ABUSES OF ITS OWN PEOPLE.

BY GEORGE GEDDA

Since the United States opened high-level contacts with North Korea, there is one key issue U.S. officials have found convenient to ignore: human rights. If the relationship continues to develop, human rights will eventually become part of the agenda, much as it has with China. In China's case, it was a process that took almost two decades after the initial contacts in 1971. That pattern could well be the same with North Korea — but for now, security issues predominate. The goal of U.S. policy is to convince Pyongyang that its interests are not served by a policy of military threats and by the development and export of long-range missiles. North Korea has been a major obstacle to international efforts to curb missile proliferation for years.

In contrast to China and Cuba, successive U.S. administrations as well as the Congress have never shown much interest in examining human rights problems in North Korea. That may seem strange in light of North Korea's reputation for mass abuse of its citizens, but a lack of solid information has hampered public debate. The first and only congressional hearing on the issue did not occur until April 22, 1999. It was convened by Sen. Craig Thomas, R-Wyo., chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations East Asia subcommittee. It generated little interest. No senators besides Thomas showed up, and the media presence was scant. The inattention was unfortunate because the proceedings helped illuminate just how desperate conditions are. The witnesses were three former inmates and one former guard at North

Korean prison camps; all had fled the country and settled in South Korea.

One witness, Kang Chul-hwan, said he was imprisoned during the 1980s at age nine with other family members for the alleged misdeeds of his grandfather. The arrests were consistent with North Korea's policy of punishing three successive generations of supposed class enemies. "Children in concentration camps seeking relief from hunger eat anything ... rats, frogs, snakes or earthworms," Kang said. "Rats are especially favored as a source of meat." On one occasion, Kang said security agents exposed hundreds of dead bodies when they were bulldozing a hill to plant crops. Inmates were

ordered to dig a pit deep enough to dump all the corpses. From age 16 on, Kang's tasks included carrying and burying dead bodies. He said prisoners competed for the assignment because those inmates got extra corn noodles for the evening meal.

Not long after the hearing, the Voice of America decided to do an editorial on human rights problems in North Korea, using the testimony of Kang and his colleagues. But the State Department vetoed the initiative on grounds that it could disrupt delicate negotiations with North Korea that were about to begin.

## A Show for the Secretary of State

Former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright got a firsthand look at some of the excesses of the regime during her ground-breaking visit to North Korea last October. The visit was dominated by talks over the missile issue. But perhaps the most memorable moment occurred about 12 hours after her arrival when she found herself sitting in an outdoor stadium next to North Korea's supreme leader, Kim Jong-Il.

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*Prisoners were glad to carry corpses,  
since they got an extra ration of  
noodles after doing that work.*

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

For 70 minutes, Albright and an accompanying traveling party that included this reporter witnessed an extraordinary acrobatic and dance exhibition that extolled the virtues of the country's army, its workers, its teachers, its children and, of course, its leaders. The precision of the thousands of performers, many dressed in spectacular costumes, awed the visiting American delegation, not to mention the 100,000 or so spectators who packed the stadium. Supplementing the performers on the field were thousands more in a flash card section. At one point, the card section fashioned the image of a rocket pointed upward, as if in flight. The crowd, filled mostly with party loyalists, roared their approval.

Overall, the exhibition was a vivid display of the adoration Kim can command from his controlled masses. It was also a performance that recalled the glorification routinely showered on Stalin and Mao Tse-Tung during their respective heydays. The performance was not created specifically for Albright's visit but rather was a rerun of a show two weeks earlier initially designed as a celebration of the 55th anniversary of the founding of the ruling Korea Workers Party.

Albright was not introduced to the gathering and, indeed, it is doubtful that more than a few people there had any idea who she was as she entered the stadium with Kim at her side. Kim, of course, needed no introduction. On arrival, he was greeted by an exuberant, three-minute standing ovation, coupled with a thunderous full-throated roar of approval, and his send-off after the show was much the same.

Days after her return to Washington, Albright acknowledged in an interview that she was "absolutely" uncomfortable watching the performance. Her mere presence at such an event raised eyebrows in some media circles, but Albright said she was, in effect, ambushed. During an

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*The VOA planned a  
critical editorial on  
human rights abuses in  
North Korea, but the  
State Department  
vetoed it.*

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unscheduled meeting with Kim that day, he surprised her, Albright said, by saying, "I want to take you to a show." Under such circumstances, she said, "It's a little hard to say no."

The incredible precision of the performers obviously required a herculean effort and raised many questions. For example, were the children who performed removed from school so they could learn their routines?

In a society as reclusive as North Korea's, the answers to such questions are virtually impossible for outsiders to learn. But this time the regime unwittingly let the secrecy veil drop a bit.

#### **The Good Doctor**

In June 1999, the government invited a German doctor, Norbert Vollertsen, to work in North Korea as a volunteer. He found the country to be an awful place, one where hospitals lack drugs, syringes, disinfectants, electricity or running water and where small towns feature ubiquitous fresh graves bearing the remains of children who had starved to death. But nothing, he said, was more ghastly than the preparations for the gymnastics/dance exhibition that Albright eventually was to see in October 2000.

As far back as October 1999, Vollertsen came across young girls practicing their routines. "I wondered what in the hell they were doing there

at 5, 6, 7 o'clock in the morning and at 5, 6, 7, 8 o'clock in the evening," he says.

"I saw them the whole wintertime — December, January and February. It was awfully cold. They were not allowed to take warm things with them. Several times I took care of those girls because they suffered from breakdowns."

There was no letup in the summer either, he says. Girls would often pass out from heat exhaustion. "I gave medical assistance again and again and again," Vollertsen says, adding that as the October performance date approached, the daily training regimen lengthened, sometimes lasting all day and well into the night.

The situation was much the same at Kim Il-sung Square where preparations for a mass parade were under way. Like the gymnastics/dance exhibition, it, too, was intended as part of the festivities for the Korea Workers Party anniversary. Vollertsen recalled the surreal sight of 1 million spent Pyongyang residents parading through the streets during a 2 a.m. rehearsal, and their collective outrage when, after they were dismissed, the subway system was not up to the task of accommodating a mob of that size.

Not long after Albright's visit, Vollertsen decided to speak out against the abuses. He was ordered out of the country last December and told never to return. He has since been traveling extensively, attempting to convince audiences in many countries that the suffering in North Korea must not be allowed to continue, that decisive international action against the regime is imperative. He believes that countless North Koreans will die before diplomatic efforts to induce change in the country yield results.

Albright said human rights issues were raised during her Pyongyang visit but only in general terms, and there was no discussion of the North's shortcomings.

Albright's visit to North Korea was followed up six months later with a visit by a European Union delegation led by Swedish Prime Minister Goeran Persson. The delegation gingerly raised the human rights issue but Kim seemed dismissive of their comments, noting that there were differences between Western rights concepts and "Asian values."

### **A Retreat from Belligerence**

Realists, of course, are aware that respect for human rights cannot be imposed on the North Koreans. In the short term, the United States can progress in its relations with North Korea only on economic and security issues. On security matters, concern goes beyond the North's missile and nuclear programs, to a more basic question: Can the North be persuaded to live in peace with the South? There is no Washington consensus on these questions.

Democrats generally have been more optimistic than Republicans about the potential for an early breakthrough, pointing to the highly successful summit a year ago between Kim Jong-Il and South Korean President Kim Dae-jung. In a departure from past practice, the North's Kim generated surprise by referring to his South Korean counterpart as "president."

Another source of encouragement has been Pyongyang's record of compliance with a 1994 agreement with the United States to, in effect, get out of the nuclear weapons business. The North also has abided by a September 1999 pledge not to test long-range missiles — a concession the Clinton administration was able to extract just a year after the North caused shock waves in the region by launching a missile that sailed over Japan. (The North insisted that the rocket firing was an attempt to put an artificial satellite into orbit and didn't pose any threat to other countries.)

Pyongyang's retreat from belligerence was evident in other ways. It established normal diplomatic relations with a number of Western European countries and with the European Union. And, in a dramatic departure, it has begun releasing official data about the social and economic catastrophe that has befallen the country over the past decade. In a report presented in May to a UNICEF conference in Beijing, Pyongyang conceded that famine and economic collapse cut the life expectancy of North Koreans by more than six years during the 1990s. It said the mortality rate for children under age 5 rose during those years from 27 deaths per 1,000 to 48 per 1,000. The decision to release the data, though not the facts themselves, surprised analysts.

But Republican skeptics and others want further evidence to be convinced that North Korea is embarked on a new path. They note that Pyongyang continues to engage routinely in disreputable activities, quite apart from the mistreatment of its own people. As an example, it derives income through making large quantities of counterfeit dollars and selling drugs, sometimes using overseas embassies as trafficking centers.

In addition, the North's overtures to the South in recent years have not included a relaxation of its military preparedness. Indeed, the Council on Foreign Relations said in March that Pyongyang "has spent the past two years building up its capacity to inflict damage on South Korea and Japan with new deployments of artillery, fighter aircraft, special operations forces and ballistic missiles."

And questions about Kim Jong-Il abound. As a top lieutenant years ago to his father, Kim Il-sung, he is widely believed to have been the mastermind of a terrorist bombing of a South Korean passenger plane that killed 115 people when it crashed off the

Burmese coast Nov. 29, 1987.

In 1997, three years after taking over for his father, Kim's official biography was released, a strange blend of fact and fiction which attributes nearly superhuman powers to him. It is not easy to square these claims with the comments of Westerners who have spent time with him and who describe him as a well-informed man who behaves normally.

The future of U.S. relations with him could well depend on Kim's willingness to give up his missiles, including missile sales to the Middle East, and to accept U.S. verification demands. There is also the issue of how much Kim will demand in return. He is presumably eager for generous economic benefits but Washington already has made clear that assistance outlays in cash are out of the question.

### **The Bush Team's Harder Line**

The inauguration of George W. Bush ushered in a serious re-examination of U.S. relations with North Korea. It was concern over the verification issue in particular that prompted President Bush to hold off on resuming missile negotiations where Clinton had left them. (Secretary of State Colin Powell wanted an immediate resumption but was overruled.) Bush ordered a review of North Korea policy in March, generating concern in some circles that he was squandering away the momentum toward an accommodation with Pyongyang that had been built up during the Clinton administration.

The Bush team's skepticism about the North was evident in its revived use of the term "rogue state" to describe the country. The Clinton administration had dropped the term a year ago in light of its attempt at accommodation with Pyongyang.

Not surprisingly, Kim was put off by the more pugnacious attitude in Washington after Clinton stepped down. His efforts at reconciliation

with the South slowed dramatically and Pyongyang's rhetoric toward Washington recalled an earlier era. An official commentary in late March said, "It is the invariable strategy of the U.S. imperialists to stifle (North Korea) by means of war and invade and dominate Asia, taking the whole of Korea as a springboard." In early May, Kim told the visiting European Union delegation that he planned to continue missile exports because his country needed cash, countering the impression he had left with Clinton administration officials.

Also in May, North Korea threatened to pull out of its 1994 nuclear deal with the United States, saying Washington had failed to uphold terms of the agreement. The North had agreed in 1994 to freeze its nuclear program — which U.S. officials suspected was being used to make nuclear weapons — in exchange for two nuclear reactors to be built mostly with South Korean and Japanese financing. The two light water reactors are considered far less useful for making nuclear weapons than the plutonium-producing models they are intended to replace. To help Pyongyang meet its energy needs during the interim, the United States agreed to provide \$100 million in heavy fuel each year until the first reactor is on line.

But funding and contractual problems, as well as political tensions, have delayed completion of the reactor project until 2008, five years after the original target date. Pyongyang has said the delay entitles it to extra compensation above the \$100 million in annual fuel deliveries. The complaints have been dismissed by Charles Kartman, the American who heads the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO), which is building the light water reactors. Kartman says the 2003 was a target date, not a contractual date.

Some administration critics

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***Kim Jong-Il demands  
extra compensation  
for the delayed  
nuclear reactors,  
but the U.S.  
dismisses the claim.***

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believed that Bush's combative attitude toward Pyongyang was based on a desire to deploy a national missile defense. If North Korea were to give up its missile program, that would remove a key rationale for pursuing NMD, or so the theory goes. The North, after all, is believed to have missiles capable of reaching U.S. territory, although Kim told EU leaders that he planned to extend the 1999 test moratorium until 2003.

#### **New Negotiations**

Despite these tensions, President Bush, after a three-month policy review, announced in early June he was ready to resume negotiations. The discussions would be broader than those conducted during the Clinton era, which were focussed on missiles. No conditions for opening the talks would be imposed on North Korea. But Powell made clear that, in addition to missile controls, talks should cover the North's large troop presence near the South Korean border.

Also on the U.S. agenda was the possibility of easing U.S. sanctions against North Korea and of providing humanitarian assistance. In addition, the United States would encourage continued efforts between North and South Korea toward reconciliation. A week after Bush's announcement, low-level talks were held in New York with

North Korea to lay the groundwork for a resumption of negotiations.

Clearly the most controversial item on the broadened U.S. agenda was the proposal to ease tensions along the border with South Korea. The North maintains what Powell calls a "huge army" of 1 million near the Demilitarized Zone within easy striking distance of Seoul — and of the 37,000 U.S. soldiers stationed in the South.

Amid all the concern about the nuclear threat and the missile menace, it is not surprising that human rights issues have taken a back seat. Such a policy is feasible against countries too weak to fight back (e.g., Cuba and Burma) or where there is an international consensus (e.g., Iraq and Afghanistan). But the United States often declines to call dictators to account because they are important strategically, a description that certainly applies to North Korea.

So official comments about the human rights situation in North Korea likely will be limited to the few pages that the State Department's annual human rights report devotes to North Korea. While that report is strongly worded, it does little to pressure the authorities in Pyongyang to change their methods. Indeed, the report is little more than a chronicling of the existing situation.

It may be that the United States has little opportunity to do more at this time. No doubt, avoiding an armed conflict on the Korean peninsula is a necessary objective (there could be no greater human rights catastrophe than a second Korean war). Still, the abysmal human, material and political conditions in North Korea should not be put on the back burner forever. The political traditions, ideals and interests of the United States — and of the West more generally — demand action to remedy that terrible and long-neglected situation. ■



# BOOKS

## TRYING TO HELP

### **Intervening in Africa: Superpower Peacemaking in a Troubled Continent**

*Herman J. Cohen, St. Martin's Press,  
2000, \$65, hardcover, 228 pages*

REVIEWED BY AJIT JOSHI

Ambassador Herman J. Cohen's *Intervening in Africa: Superpower Peacemaking in a Troubled Continent* offers seven case studies of conflicts he attempted to resolve while serving as assistant secretary for African affairs from 1989-1993. (See also "Waging Peace in Africa" by Cohen in the May 2000 FSJ.)

In organizing the discussion, Cohen draws a helpful distinction between "mature" wars, primarily those preceding the Bush administration (Angola, Ethiopia, Sudan, Mozambique), and those that fired up during his tenure (Liberia, Rwanda, Somalia). Institutional history was especially important in analyzing appropriate U.S. policy toward the former group of countries, while the other conflicts primarily required what was then a relatively new type of intervention: crisis management.

As his case study of Angola reveals, the U.S. focused on high-level negotiations even though they produced little but frustration and wrangling over details. Yet in Mozambique, a country with a broadly similar history, the U.S. enjoyed success precisely because it did not try to work out

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*In analyzing African  
conflicts, Cohen  
considers not only the  
root causes but the  
involvement of both  
superpowers and other  
regional players.*

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every single detail of the transition ahead of time but concentrated instead on completing the disarmament and encampment of the warriors. Of course, as Cohen notes, it also helped that Washington and Moscow worked together to bring about a peaceful resolution to that conflict.

Sadly, Mozambique proved to be an exception. In Rwanda, State's Bureau of African Affairs determined that the U.S. should not take a leading role even as the situation worsened dramatically and the French failed to intervene. Cohen also acknowledges that the myopic focus on drafting a peace agreement (known as the Arusha protocols after the location where negotiations began in 1994 and continued thereafter) ignored what lay beneath the violence both in Rwanda and neighboring Burundi.

In discussing Somalia and Sudan,

Cohen usefully broadens his analysis to consider the root causes of the conflicts (e.g., clan loyalty and competition for water and land) and the involvement of both superpowers and other regional players. He also reveals how disagreements within the U.S. government over the best way to coordinate assistance hampered the American response to the resulting humanitarian emergencies. In Somalia, it would take President Bush's personal intervention before Operation Provide Relief could get going in 1992. As for Sudan, even today there still is no clear consensus about how vigorously Washington should intervene.

From those experiences, Cohen draws seven lessons for those dealing with conflict in Africa: (1) Decision-making and willpower at the working level can make a difference. (2) The network of U.S. embassies in Africa and Europe is a vital element in an activist approach. (3) Coopting the U.S. national security community is essential. (4) Starting early is better than late. (5) Talk to everybody. (6) Bring in the multilaterals early. (7) Beware of "signature obsession" (i.e., obtaining the parties' assent is really only the beginning, not the end, of the peace process).

Yet he warns that even these principles only work when there is political will and cooperation within the U.S. government (e.g., among State, USAID and DOD) and when the available information about the situation on the ground and the positions

of the various parties to the conflict is clear enough to deal with a volatile environment.

And sometimes, as this candid account shows us, nothing works.

*Ajit Joshi, the Africa Bureau team leader on conflict, has been with USAID since 1998.*

## COLONIALISM'S LEGACY

### The Imperial Mantle: The United States, Decolonization, and the Third World

David D. Newsom, Indiana University Press, 2001, hardback, \$35, 256 pages.

REVIEWED BY DAVID REUTHER

In his previous books, Ambassador David Newsom, a distinguished retired FSO, has analyzed the relationship between diplomacy and human rights, the role of the media and lobbyists in formulating foreign policy, and the evolution of American diplomatic practice, among other subjects. His latest volume, *The Imperial Mantle: The United States, Decolonization, and the Third World*, follows in that proud tradition, examining how history shaped the attitudes of the post-Cold War international community towards America and the West.

Newsom's central thesis is that the historical process that has most shaped the opinions of the non-European world is colonialism — the "imperial mantle" of his title. He therefore advises that finding "solutions to some of the most significant foreign policy problems of the United States in the 21st century will require coming to grips with the emotions, attitudes and disorder of those nations that, in much of the 20th, were colonies of the West."

He sets the stage for the discussion by describing the main ways in which imperialism arrived in the non-European world (mainly by violence), and then illustrating how imperialists administered their domains. As he notes, not all colonial regimes were harsh, but even the most benign ones displaced local elites and exploited natural and human resources for the benefit of a select few.

World War II paved the way for almost every colony to seek its independence, both by weakening the European powers' ability and desire to maintain control and by making the Third World an arena for competition between the two superpowers. But, as Newsom points out, because the Cold War required Washington to organize its allies to contain the Soviet Union in Europe, the U.S. had to moderate its support for decolonization. True, when a European ally had little room for maneuver, Washington could more directly pursue an anti-colonial agenda; for example, Newsom cites strong American support for the independence of Indonesia (where he served) from the Netherlands. But in most cases, the U.S. could not take a leading role in the process, and even found itself assuming its own "imperial mantle" in places like Vietnam. And while that was part of what it took to win the Cold War, he warns that it may also be the only thing that some countries remember about America.

Drawing on his experiences as an FSO in many a former colony, Newsom also reminds us that dismantling colonialism was sometimes highly destabilizing, though its effects varied widely even among neighboring, outwardly similar colonies. He backs up this observation with a tour d'horizon of case studies starting in Asia, moving through the Middle East and into Africa.

In keeping with the idea that "the

past is prologue," Newsom observes, Americans are supposed to remember the Alamo, mark the day that will live in infamy, and learn the lessons of the Vietnam War. Yet the American op-ed debate on foreign policy issues often starts with pundits convinced that Africa should forget the brutality of colonialism, China should forget its century of humiliation, and Korea should forget the decades of Japanese occupation and domination.

Newsom reminds us that Foreign Service officers put history aside at their peril. In fact, on the front lines of diplomacy — across the table from a foreign interlocutor — one gains leverage the better one understands the other nation's history.

That lesson, and many other insights gained in a lifetime as a practitioner of diplomacy, make *The Imperial Mantle* valuable not only to the Foreign Service community but to academia and the public at large.

*David Reuther, a retired FSO, is a regular contributor to the Journal.*

## TWO TREES

### The Baobab and the Mango Tree: Lessons about Development — African and Asian Contrasts

Nicholas and Scott Thompson, Zed Books, 2001, \$69.95 (hardcover), \$25.00 (paperback), 224 pages.

REVIEWED BY MAUREEN DUGAN

*The Baobab and the Mango Tree: Lessons about Development — African and Asian Contrasts* analyzes the paths of economic development taken by two non-Western countries — Ghana (a paradigm for Africa) and Thailand (representing Asia). The authors are a father and son duo: Scott



Thompson (the director of Southeast Asia Studies at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy) and Nicholas Thompson (editor of *Washington Monthly*). Scott Thompson lived in Ghana during the mid-1960s while doing dissertation research but subsequently focused on Asian development; he has lived in Thailand. Nicholas Thompson visited both countries in 1998 following graduation from college.

Their book, an engaging if uneven blend of development theory and personal observations, attempts to explain why Thailand has done so much better than Ghana in terms of most economic and social indicators and to see if those lessons can be applied more generally to other countries.

As the Thompsons explain in the initial chapters, the first part of the book's title comes from a legend recounted in *The Little Prince* by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry. In that story, a prince tries desperately to rid his tiny planet of baobabs — large trees native to Africa with extremely thick trunks that produce only a few small, gourd-like fruits and never stop growing as long as they have room to expand — so they will not consume everything in sight. The authors liken the governments of many developing nations to baobabs, which suck up resources and constrain development without giving much in return.

The complementary mango tree image comes from an old Sanskrit story about two mango trees in a royal courtyard. Once the king has tasted the fruit of the trees, then anyone else can pick it or take a branch without restriction. However, if the people are greedy and take too many mangoes, the tree will stop giving fruit and will wither away. One tree remains laden with fruit because the people exercise

self-restraint and focus on the long term. But the second tree is forever bare because of greed and failure to plan. So it is, the authors contend, with countries that use up all their resources and fail to save or make provision for the next generation.

The authors' thesis is that three fundamental factors explain the differences between development in Ghana and Thailand: historical trajectory (culture, geography, ethnic patterns, colonial experience, and luck); leadership; and the degree of openness in society. While in many of these areas Thailand had natural advantages over Ghana from the beginning, Ghana does not lack natural or human resources, and actuality has more to work with than many neighboring countries. Yet largely due to short-sighted political and

economic leadership (recent governments have been more responsible and responsive to the country's needs), most Ghanaians today — unlike their Thai counterparts — are poorer now than they were at independence nearly fifty years ago.

The book's rather breezy tone and paucity of hard data probably will not appeal to specialists in development issues. But general readers may find it accessible enough to pick up more information than they would have garnered from heavy economic tomes. ■

*Maureen Dugan, an FSO since 1985, has served in Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East. A member of the Journal's Editorial Board, she currently works in USAID/Washington.*

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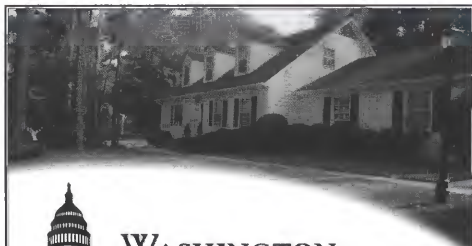
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# POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

## *Moving Transcendence*

BY DEBORAH LLEWELLYN

I once heard of a woman whose newborn baby boy was packed by the moving company. It's true the basket holding the baby was small, and perhaps the drape of the yellow flannel blanket concealed the baby's fuzzy head. To the eyes of the men wearing gray World Wide Packers jumpsuits, it is likely that the floppy, stuffed animals that filled the basket, one of which was brown like his hair, camouflaged the baby. The movers' focus was not on the particular possessions of this strange, foreign family but on finding a suitable sized box for the oval-shaped basket. To their relief, the awkward bundle easily slid inside a cardboard crate designated for bed coverlets.

When the mother started screaming, the packers quickly found the box and slit open the webbed tape with exacta blades. That is, they did so once the mother located the English-speaking foreman sitting out back with a Coca-Cola and hysterically described the situation while wringing her hands. The foreman leapt to attention (toppling the Coke bottle) and demanded that the baffled workers find a large, egg-shaped basket. Fortunately the baby lived and grew up retelling the story.

The potential for loss confronted

*Deborah Llewellyn is a writer in Bangladesh. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."*

*I can't do much  
about my shipment  
once it leaves me  
but I have  
fine-tuned the  
mechanics of  
packing.*



us the first time we packed our things to go overseas.

"Where are you going?" the young packer asked.

"We're moving to Peru."

"Well, good luck to you," he said in a sympathetic drawl. "We just had a client coming home to retire after living in those foreign countries." He scratched his head, trying to remember the story as he had heard it, and then continued: "Her stuff made it all the way back to the port at Wilmington, North Carolina, when a crane picked it up and dropped it in the sea, right beside the dock."

I can't do much about my shipment once it leaves me but like most of us in the Foreign Service, I have fine-tuned the mechanics of packing. It's the emotional part of packing that's a little more difficult to harness. How do I label, categorize and move

the pieces of my life? It's a daunting task.

Every time I move, I get to review my life. Moments of deep contemplation are thrust on me when I touch useless but precious objects that have silently gathered dust in a drawer — a feather from a hike, a sequin from a costume, a baby tooth removed from under a down pillow. They are everywhere, and I don't know what to do with them.

When I go into the homes of very old people who have passed their adult life in the same place, I see similar precious objects. Eventually an heir will pack up these vestiges of their lives and put them into a Goodwill truck. Unlike them, I am not allowed the comfort of passing blindly through my life, willing its remnants to the next generation, because every few years I have to repackage all those memories.

The real issue, in the long run, is not how to pack it, but how to look at it. In some ways, moving is like breaking a good china plate. You can pick up the pieces and glue them back together but the cracks are still there. That's not what I tell my children, however, because although their life is broken, it is also continuously renewed. They have always found new best friends, incomparable adventures and hidden talents nurtured by caring adults in our adopted communities. The broken, then mended, plate is a symbol for a life well lived. ■

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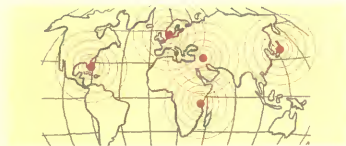
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