

GAMING AT STATE ■ THE SENATE CHANGES HANDS ■ GAYS IN THE FS

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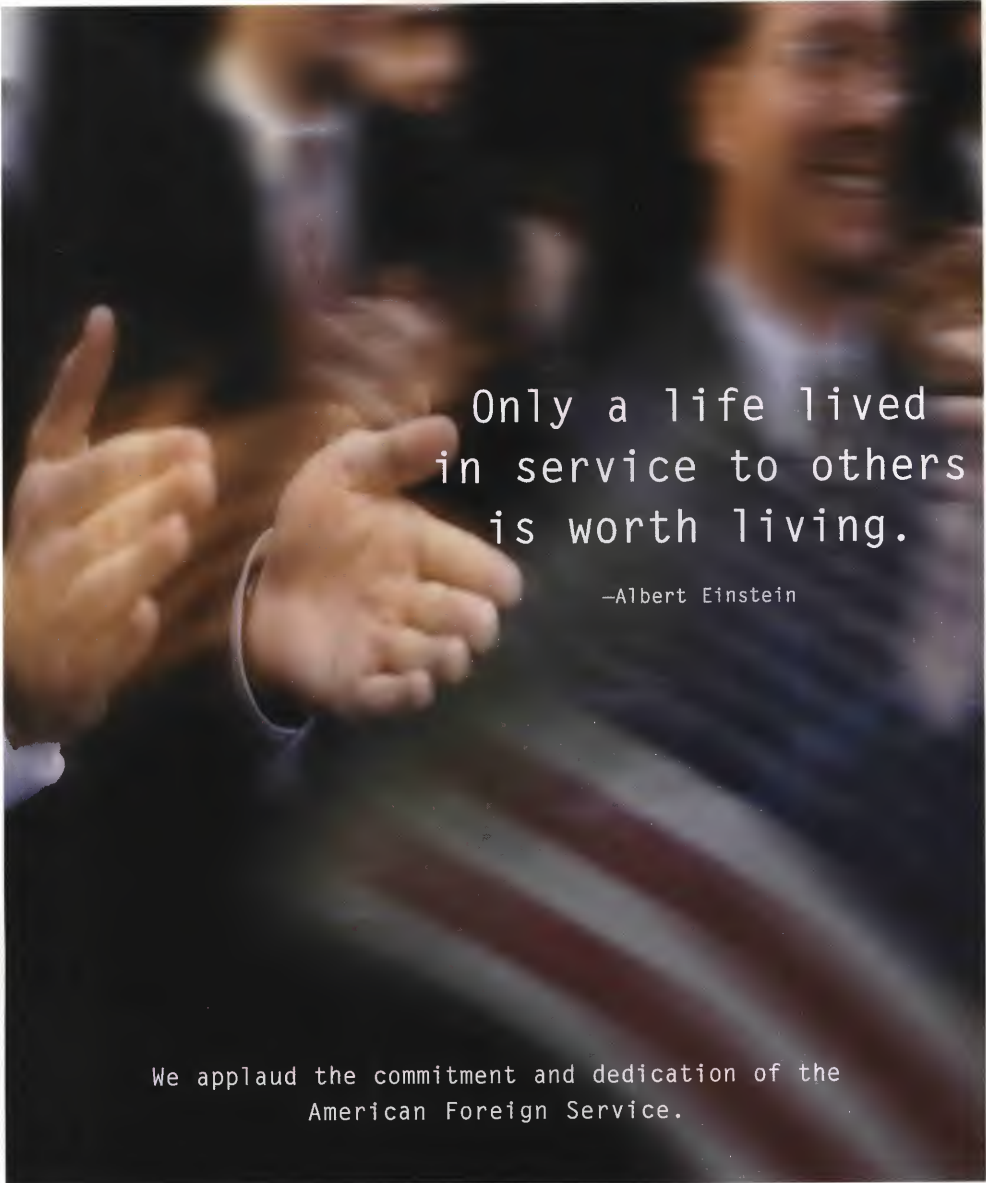
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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## At Your Service

By JOHN K. NALAND

You have probably seen advertisements by companies and other organizations using the slogan, "Service is our middle name." At AFSA, that is more than a slogan; "service" literally is in the middle of our name. Moreover, our professional staff has a well-deserved reputation for being highly responsive to the needs of members. The AFSA Governing Board that took office in July warmly applauds this track record. However, we also believe that there is always room for improvement in any organization. With that in mind, I would like to tell you about two initiatives designed to make AFSA even more responsive and effective.



The first concerns the *Foreign Service Journal* itself, which is both AFSA's most prominent public face and our largest budgetary expenditure, though it covers two-thirds of its expenses through advertising revenue. Since the magazine began publication in 1919 as *The Consular Bulletin*, its content and format have undergone numerous changes. So in this issue you will find a reader's survey designed to get your input on how today's *Journal* is meeting your needs. I urge you to take a few moments right now to complete and return it.

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

*Our staff has a well-deserved reputation for being highly responsive to the needs of members.*

We are particularly interested in finding out what you believe the proper balance should be within the *Journal's* coverage of substantive foreign policy and of Foreign Service-specific professional and personnel issues. If a critical mass of readers responds to the survey, the *Journal's* Editorial Board and editorial staff will use the results to guide them as they do their important work in the coming years. So please let us know your views so that we may serve you better.

Second, AFSA recently joined the majority of high-performing organizations in adopting a clear statement of core values. This is not management consultant mumbo-jumbo. Every successful organization strives to create a work environment that allows its employees to put forth their best effort. To do so, most identify a list of core values to guide both employees and the organization itself toward mission accomplishment.

Below are the core values that AFSA has adopted for its elected officers and professional staff members.

Living as we do in an imperfect world, I cannot promise you that we might not fall short on occasion. But I can assure you that we will do our best to live up to these values.

The next time that you visit one of our offices, you will find the following list posted on the wall and printed on our governing board's and staff members' coffee mugs:

- **Responsiveness:** We listen to our members and actively promote their interests.
- **Effectiveness:** We act with a sense of urgency, get results, and make a difference.
- **Integrity:** We demonstrate openness, honesty, and fairness in everything we do.
- **Efficiency:** We carefully expend our resources where they can have maximum impact.
- **Community:** We foster teamwork, respect each other, and enjoy our time together.
- **Courage:** We encourage responsible risk-taking in order to achieve results.
- **Patriotism:** We are faithful to the grand and enduring ideals that gave our nation birth.
- **Empowerment:** We trust each other to give our best efforts guided by these core values.

As always, I welcome your comments and input. You may contact me at [naland@afsa.org](mailto:naland@afsa.org), by phone at (202) 338-4045, or by fax at (202) 338-6820. ■

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# LETTERS

## Losing the "Service"?

As I contemplate the removal of the term "Foreign Service" from the Foreign Service Lounge and departmental correspondence (*AFSA News*, June and July/Aug.), it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that those who conceived these changes were insensitive to the special mystique of the Foreign Service.

To those of us who have given a substantial portion of our lives to the diplomatic profession, the term Foreign Service symbolizes the achievements, the camaraderie, the occasional hardships, and the risks of that life. The Foreign Service Lounge represented a recognizable link to "home base." No one would ever think of changing the respective armed forces designations in the Pentagon; to remove a similar symbol of service so cavalierly shows a lack of respect for a significant American institution.

But, perhaps, these changes inadvertently represent a trend in the career. In an age when young people may see the Foreign Service as just another job, the term "affairs," with its suggestion of transitory commit-

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ments, may be more appropriate than the term "service."

*David Newsom  
Career Minister, retired  
Charlottesville, Va.*

## Recognizing Reality

The leaders of the Foreign Affairs Council, which includes AFSA and DACOR, sent a letter to Secretary Powell on May 11, complaining about the Secretary's deletion of the phrase "Foreign Service" from various State Department activities and titles. Although I am a member of both AFSA and DACOR, I think the secretary got it exactly right and I am diametrically opposed to the position of the Foreign Affairs Council leaders on this matter.

Living outside the Washington Beltway in New Jersey, I have the impression that most Americans nowadays have no idea what the Foreign Service is. They do know, however, that we have a foreign policy and they understand titles like "international affairs." I think Secretary Powell is doing what is necessary to make the activities and titles understandable to the present-day American public. Unfortunately, the leaders of the Foreign Affairs Council seem out of touch with the current scene.

I know how important the Rogers Act was in 1924 in modernizing the then diplomatic and consular services. I also know that law was updated in 1980. But the American public, for the most part, is unaware of these things. What the State Department

has to do — and what Secretary Powell is doing — is make the names of these activities and titles understandable to the American public.

Let's stop complaining and start recognizing reality.

*G. Michael Bache  
FSO, retired  
Lavallette, N.J.*

## Our Balkan Past

As an intelligence officer myself since 1983, I applaud the long overdue openness represented by H.K. Roy's "Betrayal in the Balkans" (*FSJ*, May). Our operatives deserve appropriate public recognition, and their activities should be subject to appropriate, open debate among U.S. foreign policy professionals. That said, the article highlights several reasons why the CIA has a less than satisfactory reputation in certain quarters.

Roy's "daily meetings" at the Bosnian Interior Ministry were probably of questionable intelligence value. CIA association with, cultivation of, and reliance on "friendly" security services as sources is not good value for money. But it does produce unreliable intelligence and is a regular cause of guilt by association, political embarrassment or worse. The reliable intelligence sought by Roy was not obtainable in the smoky, intrigue-filled corridors of the Bosnian interior ministry. In fact, accurate and timely intelligence about the horrific events there came from Dutch and British soldiers on the scene and from technical sources.

I am most taken aback by his state-

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*LETTERS*

ment that in his dealings with Bosnian government officials he "always held out the possibility that eventually the U.S. might intervene militarily on the side of the Bosnians." On whose authority? I do not believe this was the official U.S. government position at the time.

Appearing to take sides with the Bosnian government undermined our relations with all the other parties involved, particularly our NATO allies, and limited our options for effective action. The Bosnian government (as distinct from the Bosnian people) were not the angels of the Balkans by any measure other than in degree, relative to their Croat and Serb cousins, of brutality, corruption and callous abuse of their citizenry for narrow personal and political gain. The tendency to look for and promote good guys versus bad guys is an unfortunate historical attribute of CIA analysis that diminishes its credibility.

Similarly, the fixation with Iranian and "Soviet" influence missed the point in the Balkans. The Cold War was over and the Iranians never amounted to much more than another party to be exploited and manipulated by the Bosnian government. No amount of Iranian support to Bosnia could have won the war, and any Iranian influence gained would have been wiped out by a defeat.

I agree that U.S. policy in Bosnia was flawed, but for different reasons. We waited far too long to take a decisive stand amongst a coalition of allies that could have ended the conflict years earlier, saved thousands of lives, pre-empted millions of refugees, and made the objectives of reconstruction and long-term regional peace and prosperity more attainable. While our European and Canadian allies struggled and bled in appalling conditions in Bosnia from

1991 to 1995, two U.S. administrations dithered and lectured from the sidelines. The massive NATO operation to stabilize and disarm Bosnia, impartial in regard to warring factions, which we eventually led in 1995, could have been conducted in 1993 or 1994 with much the same result, sparing us the entry of Srebrenica into the lexicon of 20th century atrocities. Bosnia was a sad and blatant case of failed American will and courage, a shrinking from what was right in the face of facile political temperance, and it should stand as a lesson to current and future American administrations. A superpower without what U.S. Grant called "moral courage" will not long retain the title.

*Jim Dorschner  
Foreign Service spouse  
and former Army  
intelligence officer  
Washington, D.C.*

**Aiding the Taliban?**

A women's organization to which I belong brought to my attention an article from the May 22 *Los Angeles Times*, stating that Secretary Powell had announced the awarding of \$43 million to the Taliban rulers of Afghanistan to discourage farmers from growing opium. According to the article, this aid — to the same government that is harboring Osama bin Laden — is to "help prop up the Afghanistan economy." In other words, the money will probably not even go to the farmers who are being asked not to grow opium poppies and they will probably continue growing it.

The idea that we are giving economic aid to a government which has blatantly disregarded the human rights of all its citizens — its women in particular, denying them the right to work, to obtain medical treatment,

## LETTERS

and even to leave their homes — is appalling. We have, for a variety of reasons, supported some pretty unsavory governments in the past, but usually it was for recognizable reasons of national interest. I cannot see what national interest is served in this case.

I am a great admirer of our current secretary, but he must have been out to lunch on this one.

*Bonnie Lincoln  
FSO, retired  
Fort Myers, Fla.*

### Declining Benefits

I'd like to put the recent discussion of four-year tours and the salary differential into long-term perspective.

In the early 1980s, the category of five-percent differential was eliminated. Then Congress created the locality pay system. Neither State nor AFSA realized that this would mean that Foreign Service personnel transferred overseas would take a pay cut. The Washington locality pay is now about 10 percent higher than the overseas base pay. Everyone who transfers from Washington to a non-differential post takes a pay cut, which for some people actually costs more than the benefit of free housing overseas.

Within 20 years we have gone from a system where a good percentage of those assigned overseas had some additional base pay to one where the vast majority serving overseas take a cut. Only those at high differential and danger posts receive more pay for being overseas.

I have also witnessed the erosion of most of the rest of the pay package. The recent tiny increase in the miscellaneous portion of the transfer allowance still leaves it laughable. Travel in any place except the back of the (now always crowded) airplane is

a distant memory (at least for Foreign Service employees of State). All the posts we have been at in the last 20 years no longer authorize any temporary lodging on departure, and most do not provide such in hotels on arrival.

The cuts have not been just in front dollars. Back when the Inspector General declared that too many people were on the diplomatic lists, many were taken off. The IG ignored the fact that other countries routinely included all of their imported staff on their dip lists, and the potential impact on those not on the list in unfriendly countries. Everyone ignored the financial impact on those taken off the lists, in areas such as duty-free import.

The pressure on the benefit package continues. I worry about the "voluntary" waiver of medical examination and about the entire medical support structure. Why has there never been a real system for keeping formal permanent medical records for FS employees, as has been routine in the military for many decades? Why did I read nothing about lead air pollution in the debate on four-year tours? Many cities have lead pollution levels far in excess of what any growing child should have to endure.

There seems to be a systematic urge to define benefits in the narrowest possible way. It is time for a comprehensive study of the entire pay and benefits package. The study should include all federal employee groups whose career opportunities are essentially limited to Washington and overseas. None should take a cut in pay and retirement because they leave the home office.

*Dan Gamber  
FSO, retired  
Brussels, Belgium ■*



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# CLIPPINGS



*“Some Foreign Service officers believe the new name has the charm of an auto repair shop.”*

— STEVEN MUFSON OF  
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DECISION TO CHANGE  
THE NAME OF THE  
FOREIGN SERVICE  
LOUNGE TO THE  
EMPLOYEE SERVICE  
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## DWI: DIPLOMATS WITH IMMUNITY?

The *New York Daily News* calls it the diplomat's guide to drinking and driving. The State Department calls it: "Diplomatic and Consular Immunity — Guidance for Law Enforcement and Judicial Authorities." This 26-page State Department booklet covers the most common crimes committed by diplomats, including DWI, shoplifting, assault, and traffic infractions such as speeding and illegal parking. Diplomats cannot be arrested, subpoenaed, prosecuted or handcuffed for these offenses, the handbook explains, nor can cops enter their residences and cars. The guide recommends that diplomats who are pulled over for driving drunk be driven home by the police officer, put into a taxi, or given the chance to sleep it off at the precinct stationhouse.

According to Joanne Wasserman in the June 3 *Daily News*, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani released the handbook to the media after becoming involved in a battle with the State Department over the city's plan to tow the cars of consular officials who owe \$250 or more in parking tickets. State Department officials have protested the plan, saying that it would have "broad international consequences." But New York is fed up with the traffic violations accumulated by foreign diplomats taking advantage of their diplomatic immunity; as of mid-July, the diplomatic corps had racked up \$21.3 million in fines for traffic violations and paid only \$160,682. The State Department is aware of the problem, sources say, but so far all it has done to correct the problem is send monthly reports to all the worst offenders, reminding them of the outstanding

amounts they owe the city. Egypt leads with 15,924 offenses; its diplomats have paid \$965 from a bill of \$1.63 million. Nigeria, Kuwait, Indonesia, Russia, Brazil, Morocco, Malaysia, China and Pakistan also made the top-10 list.

## DIS-CHORD AT THE U.N.

Tunisia objected to musical interludes that British representatives played during a recent U.N. Security Council conference to lighten the mood, reports Richard Beeston in the June 14 *London Times*. The Tunisians found the music, which was played for two minutes between negotiations, inappropriate for a conference on the future of the Iraqi sanctions regime. "We are not amused at the lack of seriousness" toward the debate on sanctions against Iraq, Moureddin Mejdoub, the Tunisian envoy to the U.N., said. He asked his colleagues "to stop that music out of respect for those who live in unhappiness and for the sake of this council's credibility." The Iraqis, too, found the music in poor taste: "Now our children will have milk, toys and clothes because of this music, because [diplomats] will be relaxed by this music," said Muhammad al-Dourhi, the Iraqi envoy to the U.N. During the conference, the Chinese offered traditional music, the British played "Wild Wood" by Paul Weller, and Bangladesh chose a mournful shepherd's lament, among other countries' selections. Diplomats who were looking forward to hearing the French choice, a sexy duet, were disappointed by the decision to cancel further musicales, so the Norwegian envoy joked that the negotiators should hear one more song before getting back to



## CLIPPINGS

work, perhaps the Abba hit "Mamma Mia," with its line "Here we go again."

### INTERNATIONAL STUDIES AND STUDENTS

Less than half of the master's degree students at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy are Americans, according to a report by Lee Lawrence in the July 17 *Christian Science Monitor*. Institutions like Fletcher, once the training ground for Americans heading toward Foreign Service careers, increasingly find themselves educating foreign public servants and diplomats. Among the 18 institutions that belong to the Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs, foreign students now account for about 30 percent of the graduate-level students.

This change is reflected in the schools' curricula. Instead of the Cold War-era focus on security and East-West relations, these schools now offer concentrations in areas like international development, international trade, and environmental and health policy. A solid grasp of advanced economics is now a requirement for nearly all students.

According to Lawrence, foreign students are attracted to U.S. schools both because they like the American approach to international affairs education, with its mix of practice and theory, and because the U.S. is a global superpower. As Stephen Szabo, academic dean at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, puts it, "We're the imperial center right now, and we influence so much financial and military policy." Both foreign and American students agree that having so many foreign students enriches discussions and provides

new perspectives — something that comes in handy when, as sometimes happens, alumni end up on opposite sides of the bargaining table.

### THE UNWITTING SPY STORY

A photojournalist working in Central America during the 1980s discovered later that his photos may have aided the CIA's espionage efforts in the region. Jeremy Bigwood tells his story in the July/August issue of the *American Journalism Review*. During the El Salvadoran civil war, Bigwood gained the trust of, and then photographed, guerrilla groups, civilians, and an elite El Salvadoran military force. He assured his subjects that he was not working for the U.S. government, and that his photographs were intended to be sold, through a photo agency, to publications such as *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *The Washington Post*.

Upon returning to the States he discovered that a woman who identified herself as a "State Department representative" had repeatedly combed through the agency's collections of his pictures, and sent intriguing ones on to Washington. Her activities were perfectly legal; she claimed the photos she bought were intended for *State* magazine and other Department publications.

The problem was, as Bigwood discovered, *State* magazine didn't publish color photos at the time. He filed dozens of Freedom of Information Act petitions to uncover the woman's true purpose. It turned out that *State* had no record of the woman ever having worked there. When Bigwood asked about her at *State's* Graphics Section, an employee

# 50 YEARS AGO

"Both Vadsø and Vardø [Norway] were bombed by Russian airplanes in 1944 and largely razed by the resulting fires. But since this dislodged the Germans, and since the Russians were generally well-liked in the Varanger area, there was little resentment."

— FSO HENRY  
VILLARD IN "FLIGHT  
TO FINNMARK,"  
SEPTEMBER 1951 FSJ



*“When in charge, ponder. When in trouble, delegate. When in doubt, muddle.”*

— JAMES BOREN, LATE  
20TH CENTURY  
AMERICAN HUMORIST

there told Bigwood that he should “look up the river,” referring to the CIA. CIA employees are allowed to claim they work for another division of the federal government. The CIA, as is its legal right, refused to disclose any information about whether the woman may have worked there. Bigwood will probably never find out if the woman was indeed snooping for the CIA, but he hopes that the agency will not again use the trust a subject places in a photojournalist for its own ends.

### DOMESTIC SLAVERY IN EUROPE’S EMBASSIES

Domestic slavery is a growing problem in Europe, particularly in embassies, according to a July 4 report by Tamara Thiessen in Singapore’s *The Straits Times*. More than four million Asian

women, predominantly from South or Southeast Asia, are being forced to work in menial positions, often without pay, and are sometimes locked up and abused. Women working for diplomats represent about a fifth of the cases, says Luxembourg MP Lydie Err. The Council of Europe, a Strasbourg-based human rights organization, reports that the diplomatic employers of the abused come from the Middle East, Asia, Europe and the Americas. These diplomats currently cannot be prosecuted because of the diplomatic immunity granted them under the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic and Consular Relations. Politicians and human rights advocates have called for a revision of the Vienna Convention, allowing diplomatic immunity to be lifted if there is an “arguable claim” of a human rights violation committed outside the performance of a diplomat’s duties. ■

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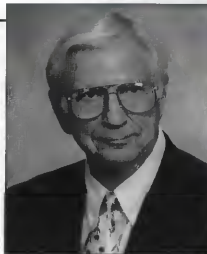
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# SPEAKING OUT

## *The Foreign Service and Gay Rights: One FSO Speaks Out*

BY DALE V. SLAGHT

On Dec. 1, 1999, the AFSA Governing Board recommended a series of measures to State management to address the department's treatment of their employees' unmarried partners when serving abroad. The organization Gays and Lesbians in Foreign Affairs Agencies had sought AFSA's support for these changes, and the association's endorsement emboldened the department to approve eight of the 13 recommendations. These included requiring posts to assist unmarried partners in obtaining residency permits and travel visas, requiring posts to allow partners to be considered for post employment, and allowing partners access to the services of the Family Liaison Office and the Community Liaison Offices abroad.

AFSA described the full list of GLIFAA's recommendations as "modest administrative accommodations," and it does appear that State chose to implement only the least controversial ones. (The department rejected proposals to give unmarried partners access to training opportunities at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center, use of the diplomatic pouch, and use of post medical facilities on a cost-reimbursable basis.) Nevertheless, as a Christian and concerned Foreign

*Dale V. Slaght, a career minister in the U.S. Commercial Service, has been an FSO since 1977, serving in Montevideo, Panama, Washington, Munich, Toronto, Moscow and Ottawa. He is currently the commercial counselor in Mexico City.*

*I believe these concessions to gay rights advocates will take State in a direction few would have it go.*



Service officer, I believe these concessions are anything but modest in their design and their implications for the department, and could lead the department where few would have it go.

For that reason, I reluctantly resigned from AFSA last year, as did some other members. As a career Foreign Service officer, public dissent does not come easily to me. But I disagree so strongly with the department's decision — due both to my religious convictions and on other grounds — that I have no choice. Since Christian discipleship calls for action, I have decided to speak out in this forum.

### **The Electorate Has Spoken**

While the measures implemented are seemingly innocuous, they are likely to be but the proverbial camel's nose inside the tent. Is there any doubt that this decision will lead eventually to demands by GLIFAA for the complete recognition of homosexual unions by the department and to all that that implies, morally, financially and otherwise? Yet such a decision would move

State away from the mainstream values of Americans. In March 2000, Californians voted overwhelmingly (61 percent) to recognize as marriages only those unions between one man and one woman. Voters in most other states, large and small, have made the same decision, leaving no doubt that the American electorate has spoken clearly on this matter. Even Vermont's much-discussed "civil union" law, implemented not as a result of ballot choice but court mandate, does not fully sanction homosexual marriages.

We hear much talk these days about the Department of State's "war for talent." If we really want to recruit and retain the best people, then we should promote workplace values that reflect the values of the majority of the American people, and not those values that mirror the views of a small, but very vocal, minority. Any public-sector organization, including the U.S. Foreign Service, that undervalues the importance of the dominant religious values of the people it represents will soon be unable to recruit and retain capable staff who are representative of America. Yes, we are in a war, but it is a cultural war, and it appears the State Department (at the tail end of the Clinton administration) chose to pitch its tent on the wrong side of the battlefield with this decision.

The theological and practical aspects of the treatment of homosexual unions are very important matters to a large body of Christians and to the majority of other religious traditions in our country. Indeed, the recognition of

*Continued on page 16*



# SPEAKING OUT

## *The Foreign Service and Gay Rights: A Gay FSO Responds*

BY BROOK HEFRIGHT

In his "Speaking Out" piece on gay rights and the Foreign Service, Mr. Slaght draws on his faith to present an impassioned, and obviously heartfelt, argument against recent steps the State Department has taken to treat its gay and lesbian officers with greater respect and sensitivity. As a person of strong spiritual and ethical convictions myself, I respect Mr. Slaght for the strength of his beliefs. However, as a gay man and a Foreign Service officer, I must respond to his poorly informed characterization of the situation of gays and lesbians in the Foreign Service. I must also speak out strongly against proposals that would further hamstring the State Department in attracting qualified employees.

First of all, Mr. Slaght's nostalgic call for a return to the "status quo ante" glosses over a shameful history of persecution of gay and lesbian Americans. Gays and lesbians have served in every sector of the federal workplace, including the Foreign Service and the armed forces, sometimes with distinction. However, in

*Brook Hefright, a mid-level Foreign Service generalist, is the president of Gays and Lesbians in Foreign Affairs Agencies (GLIFAA). Since joining the State Department in 1994, he has served in Yekaterinburg, Bonn and Washington. He is currently in long-term language training in preparation for an assignment in Chengdu, China.*

*Mr. Slaght's nostalgic call for a return to the "status quo ante" glosses over a shameful history of persecution of gay and lesbian Americans.*

1953 McCarthy-era hysteria led President Eisenhower to sign Executive Order 10450, which made homosexuality grounds for exclusion from federal employment. For the next 40 years, no matter how well gay and lesbian FSOs did their jobs, exposure of their personal lives was enough to end their careers and destroy their lives. Those few officers fortunate enough to find committed same-sex partners despite these enormous pressures lived in even greater fear of discovery.

Only in 1992 did the assistant secretary for diplomatic security determine that DS officers would no longer consider sexual orientation an automatic disqualification for the issuance of security clearances. Two years later, State issued its first policy prohibiting discrimination in hiring, promotions and

assignments on the basis of sexual orientation. President Clinton issued executive orders in 1995 and 1998 institutionalizing equality in employment and the granting of security clearances for gays and lesbians throughout the federal sector.

### **A Modest Beginning**

Over the past decade, hundreds of gay and lesbian officers have taken advantage of the new atmosphere to assume their place as full members of the Foreign Service community. At least two dozen Foreign Service posts currently have one or more gay or lesbian families. Yet incredibly, the "modest administrative measures" outlined in the December 2000 guidance concerning "members of household" (a term of art which includes all accompanying family members not on orders) mark the department's first — and so far only — official recognition of this unfolding demographic change.

Mr. Slaght is correct in one respect, at least: The measures are indeed modest. Members of household who accompany an employee overseas still travel on tourist passports and enjoy no privileges or immunities. They are out-of-pocket for all travel and moving expenses, and ineligible for U.S. government contract fares. Once at post, there is no guarantee that they will have any access to the chancery, including commissary and pouch mail facilities, or be able to visit the post med-

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Slaght • Continued from page 14

such unions as legal would be contrary both to traditional Judeo-Christian and Muslim teachings, which have always regarded heterosexual monogamy as the foundation of society. If the demands to change that standard were to be met in full, where then do we draw the new line? Or will there be a line at all? The department's decision will only embolden GLIFAA and other like-minded groups to try to move that line further. If each of us is free to choose for ourselves what is right in our own eyes, how can community be developed?

Going beyond the feelings of individuals like myself, this is also an important issue on an institutional level. The U.S. government, unlike private companies, has more at stake than profits and the short-term avoidance of controversy when deciding how to respond to the demands for acceptance by homosexual activist groups. Protecting heterosexual marriage is in our country's interests and is a recognized goal of this and likely all future administrations. Such protection safeguards the family, the basic unit in every society that is responsible for propagation and the raising of children.

### The Question of Tolerance

There is an important distinction between tolerance, which we all should practice, and unquestioning approval. The homosexual should expect tolerance from the heterosexual community. But the homosexual community has no right to expect approval by society at large of homosexual behavior, let alone the use of taxpayer money to promote the agenda of homosexual activists. This is particularly true given that most Americans reject the idea that respecting someone's rights requires approval of political claims for equality in all areas of life and acceptance of their life choices.

Gay rights activists would have us believe that homosexuality is caused by

an inborn condition and, therefore, full acceptance is justified. But science has a long way to go just to provide an explanation of homosexuality, much less to determine that there is a "homosexual gene." Even if neuroscientists do eventually prove that some men and women are born with an inward homosexual orientation, that predisposition will not provide society with justifications for moral standards. After all, even innate character traits are subject to change by experience and choice.

Yet the confusion of tolerance with approval leads some activists to charge heterosexuals with homophobia or bigotry if they express anything less than total support for gay rights. Let me be clear: There is a difference between expressing our personal views on this issue, and harassing those with whom we differ. There must be zero tolerance for the latter kind of behavior. But raising my voice, with respect, against what my religious tradition views as proscribed behavior is hardly bigotry. In addition, there must be the freedom of open debate on this issue (or any other) without coercion and rhetorical terrorism on either side.

During the presidential campaign, Sen. Joseph Lieberman, D-Conn., said the following in a speech on faith and values at the University of Notre Dame: "We are still arguably the most religiously observant people on earth, and share a near-universal belief in God. But you wouldn't know it from national public life today. The line between church and state is an important one and has always been hard for us to draw, but in recent years we have gone far beyond what the Framers ever imagined in separating the two. So much so that we have practically banished religious values and religious institutions from the public square and constructed a 'discomfort zone' for even discussing our faith in public settings — ironically making religion one of the few remaining socially

acceptable targets of intolerance."

### Return to the Status Quo Ante

I do not want the reader to believe that I blame the degenerating moral fiber of our country mainly on the behavior of a very small part of the population. (Estimates of the percentage of Americans who are homosexuals generally range from 2 to 5 percent.) Important as this facet of the problem is, it is certainly not my sole focus. More important causes are the moral lapses and the lack of human kindness demonstrated by us heterosexuals.

That said, it was AFSA which chose to support the interests of a vocal minority at the expense of the silent majority. Additionally, on more pragmatic grounds, I cannot imagine a better way for AFSA to diminish its already small base of support for its issues of broader member interest on Capitol Hill. Does the board really believe that its support for the GLIFAA proposals would not be of interest to members of Congress?

This issue is clearly sensitive. There is no doubt that my personal views will not be uniformly shared or supported, even by some other Christians, much less by my gay friends and colleagues. I also sympathize with State management's attempt to craft a workable policy on the matter. But public policy and administrative regulation on this issue must be congruent with the dominant values and sentiments of the vast majority of the American people and in conformity with the best long-term interests of our country.

I therefore call on Secretary Powell to reverse the previous administration's ill-considered acceptance of the GLIFAA proposals, or, at a minimum, to go no further in implementing them. Failure to do so will distance the Foreign Service even further from our appropriators, and from the people we are supposed to represent, with negative consequences for us all. ■



Hefright • Continued from page 15

ical unit, even on a cost-reimbursable basis. In an emergency, partners do not fall within the post emergency evacuation plan, presenting the wrenching possibility that an employee's loved one might be left behind. Gay and lesbian officers find it hard to believe that any heterosexual employee would remain in the Foreign Service if his or her spouse were subject to similar indignities.

Mr. Slaght need not worry that these first, tentative steps toward addressing the most basic needs of gay and lesbian employees may lead to "complete recognition of homosexual unions." First of all, only individual states, not the federal government, may recognize same-sex marriages as such, and none has (though many state and local jurisdictions throughout the country have extended domestic partnership benefits to their own employees). Second, if any state chooses to do so in the future, the 1996 Defense of Marriage Act would prohibit any provision of federal benefits to the couple. (Incidentally, Mr. Slaght's reference to marriage as the institution "responsible for propagation and raising of children" highlights the fact that children in gay and lesbian families are penalized because their parents are forbidden to marry.)

This is all irrelevant, however. Neither GLIFAA nor AFSA has pressed for recognition of any sort of union. Instead, gay and lesbian employees are simply asking for reasonable accommodations to remove the most onerous burdens facing their families overseas. Nor is this just a "fringe" position; a May Gallup poll shows that 85 percent of Americans support enacting laws to protect gays and lesbians from job discrimination. (Indeed, 44 percent now favor allowing homosexual cou-

ples to form civil unions and receive some legal rights of married couples.) Mr. Slaght also gives the impression that Congress is uniformly opposed to acceptance of gays and lesbians. Yet this year House members introduced bills to extend partnership benefits to federal employees (February, Rep. Barney Frank, D.-Mass.) and immigration rights to same-sex couples (February, Rep. Jerry Nadler, D.-N.Y.), and praised the department's reporting on persecution of sexual minorities overseas (June, Rep. Tom Lantos, D.-Calif.), while the Senate looks set to vote on a hate crimes bill that provides equal protections for gay and lesbian Americans. Closer to home, when AFSA submitted its partnership proposals to the Foreign Service community for comment in November 1999, it received the largest response ever to such a request, with 80 percent of respondents voicing support for the measure. It is not AFSA that is out of touch with the views of the American public and the Foreign Service — it is Mr. Slaght.

### Straight, But Not Narrow

I am also concerned about the impression Mr. Slaght creates that all people of faith subscribe to his narrow view that gays and lesbians are not welcome in the community of believers. It is true that many American Protestant denominations are still divided over such issues as holy unions and ordination of gay clergy. But many churches and synagogues already welcome gays and lesbians into their congregations and lay leadership positions; some, including the Unitarian-Universalist Church and the Church of Christ, even ordain openly gay men and women. Even within more centralized religious traditions, such as the Roman Catholic Church and the

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, groups of believers are challenging their spiritual leaders to re-examine traditional beliefs in the light of Jesus Christ's message of love and acceptance of all people. Similar debates are occurring within communities of Jewish, Muslim and Buddhist believers.

Ultimately, these are all matters of faith, and each believer must act as his or her conscience dictates. However, it is simply misleading for Mr. Slaght to portray his own religious views on homosexuality as representative of all Christians or of the American people in general. Even if he were correct, whatever else the establishment clause of the Constitution does, it certainly forbids the government to give pre-eminence to any particular set of religious doctrines. And however small a minority gay and lesbian Americans might represent (some estimates are as high as 27 million Americans, many of whom are adult citizens who vote and pay taxes), our country was founded on the principle that the views of a majority, no matter how large, do not trump the basic rights of every individual to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

### Fairness For All

What concerns me most, however, is that, despite the modest measures it has taken so far, the State Department is falling dangerously behind the private sector in adopting the kinds of human resources policies that it needs to regain its competitive advantage. Increasing numbers of companies extend full domestic partnership packages to their employees: 4,257 employers nationwide now offer such benefits. These include 140 of the Fortune 500 companies, 153 colleges and

*Continued on page 18*

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SPEAKING OUT

universities, and 110 state and local governments. These benefits generally include health insurance coverage and relocation assistance, and thus far outstrip GLIFAA and AFSA's modest, no-cost proposals. American business — famously unresponsive to political pressure — is making this shift with its eye firmly on the bottom line, keenly aware that a diverse workforce is an essential tool in the global economy.

These are the issues at the very heart of the department's "War for Talent," and their impact reaches far beyond equal treatment for gays and lesbians. If the Foreign Service wishes to recruit and retain the best and the brightest, it desperately needs to do a better job by all families. This means providing realistic child-care options for single parents, recognizing the needs of employees with elderly family members, improving the prospects for tandem couples to be assigned together, and reaching out to utilize better and more flexibly the valuable skills of spouses and partners overseas. These measures will not only enhance State's ability to compete with the private sector, but will also remove any doubt about our commitment to the goal of making the Foreign Service truly representative of America — a core value of our organization which Secretary Powell has personally endorsed.

It took the State Department far too many years to accept that it had systematically denied opportunities to women, African-Americans and other minorities. Today, gays and lesbians in the Foreign Service increasingly feel that compensation and assignment policies that ignore their families are unfairly impeding their ability to advance.

Unlike Mr. Slaght, I applaud AFSA for recognizing the basic truth that there is no place for discrimination of any type in our workplace. ■

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# THE E.U. SERVES GERMANY: WILL IT SERVE THE E.U.?



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FOR THE EUROPEAN UNION TO BECOME A GLOBAL FORCE, GERMANY WILL HAVE TO BECOME A MORE ACTIVE EUROPEAN PLAYER.

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By CHRISTOPH BERTRAM

hen the Berlin Wall came down over 10 years ago, Germany became one nation again and the legal restrictions imposed on its sovereignty since 1945 fell away. Since then, many in Germany have called for a more assertive definition of the country's national interests, implying that previous policies had fallen short of this. Many abroad have been wondering when this big country in the middle of Europe would become more self-centered in its foreign policy, implying that previous policies had been unnaturally subdued.

In fact, both approaches are wrong. Moreover, they misread the real problem facing German foreign policy at the beginning of the new decade: The problem for Germany is not how to become more of a traditional power, but how to assume greater responsibility for the formulation and implementation of the European Union's international role.

### **The New Consensus is the Old**

When Gerhard Schroeder took over as chancellor in late 1998, he called for a foreign policy of "enlightened self-interest." Had the time not come for a redefinition of German national interests now that the country had become fully sovereign, and the world was no longer dominated by Cold War concerns? It was a question asked not only in the eastern part of the country, which had little experience with Atlantic and European integration, but also by a younger generation in the western part who wondered if consideration for the sensitivities of Germany's European neighbors had not shaped previous policies overly much. Indeed, Schroeder initially seemed to lend support to such thoughts by demanding a smaller German contribution to the E.U. budget, doubting the wisdom of monetary union and even questioning the E.U.'s commitment to the Union's enlargement.

Yet the new chancellor soon discovered that the European Union provides the optimal framework for the pursuit of German interests. Germany had chosen to become part of the European project not to please others but to serve its national interests, and Europe had served them well. Not only had embracing Europe given defeated and disgraced post-war Germany international acceptance and respect, it had also proven itself the most effective way to realize German objectives, even prosperity to national unification — a lone Germany would scarcely have received such widespread support when its eastern half finally joined the Federal Republic in 1990. As early as January 1999, Schroeder's charismatic foreign minister, Joschka Fischer, once an anti-establishment protester and now leader of the erstwhile pacifist Green Party, put the new government firmly back on the track to European integration, which, it too had discovered, eminently met the requirements of enlightened self-interest.

### **A European Germany or a German Europe?**

Like many Germans, Germany's allies and partners were unsure about the impact unification would have on the country's international direction. Would Germans continue to be committed to the European Union and accept the restrictions on national power that member-

ship requires? And if so, would they try to dominate the Union, exploiting its institutions to both optimize and camouflage their own influence? Unification contributed to these concerns by adding to the 60 million West Germans who had become familiar with and trusted the West some 16 million East Germans who had never experienced Germany as part of the West.

Indeed, when the wall fell and the communist regime vanished, most East Germans believed they were joining a traditional nation-state. Nationalism, the unifying creed for other East European countries freed of communism, likewise inspired enthusiasm for united Germany in the large majority of East Germans who chanted "Deutschland, Deutschland" on the streets of Leipzig, Dresden and Berlin in the early months of 1990. But the Germany that East Germans joined so eagerly offered them not the collective warmth of traditional nationalism but the openness of a post-national society increasingly oriented toward the European Union. If today there is still a sense of separateness dividing the former East from the West, it is probably due to this fact more than to the persistent difference in living standards and employment opportunities in the two regions.

Right after unification, therefore, it was indeed appropriate to ask how the more "nationalistic" views of the East German newcomers would affect the more "European" inclinations of those they joined. Would the Berlin Republic be a less cooperative partner than the Bonn Republic and would the move of the capital from the Rhine to Havel and Spree signify not just a different location for German policy-making but a different mind-set?

A decade later, the answer is fairly clear. The choice of the West is now that of the East. While East Germany, that former sphere of communist propaganda, initially had reservations, particularly toward NATO, there is now increasing acceptance of the European and alliance framework that has been natural for West Germans for so long.

Perhaps things would be different if European integration had ceased with the Cold War. But instead it has continued, and even picked up speed. Monetary union within the E.U. has been in force since January 1, 1999. In 2002, the euro will replace the national currencies of the euro zone: The departure of the Deutsche mark is unpopular throughout Germany but is accepted as a matter of fact. Meanwhile, the protracted Balkan tragedy

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*Christoph Bertram is the director of the Foundation for Science and Politics in Germany.*

## F O C U S

has underlined the need for a more coordinated European foreign policy as well as for creating a Rapid Reaction Force for crisis intervention. While it is uncertain whether there will ever be a European force capable of intervening around and beyond Europe — witness the reluctance of the Berlin government and others to provide the funds necessary for defense or, alternatively, to pool their military resources more effectively — there is no question that, over the past decade, the European framework has become even more firmly rooted. The fears that a newly independent Germany could turn away from the European adventure have evaporated.

The Schroeder-Fischer team has proven its commitment to the E.U. by its deliberate effort to promote the debate about the Union's future constitution. In a speech, given ostensibly as a private citizen and not as foreign

### ***The European Union provides the optimal framework for the pursuit of German interests.***

minister, in May 2000, Fischer launched the first Europe-wide discussion of the future of the common union, which leading politicians in other E.U. members soon echoed with their own contributions to the debate. In April 2001 the chancellor himself joined in. Calling for a clearer delineation of powers between the Union and the member states, as well as the return of some E.U. tasks to national governments, Schroeder suggested turning the Brussels Commission into an effective E.U. executive, increasing the powers of the European Parliament and transforming the Council of Ministers (through which member states control E.U. decisions) into a proper second parliamentary chamber. While these ideas were met with considerable resistance by other E.U. governments and thus seem at least premature, if not illusory, they enjoy wide support within Germany.

It is, of course, too early to tell if these proposals will

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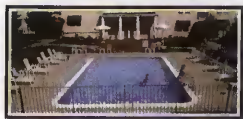
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ever become reality. The point here is not to predict the future of the E.U. but to underline the depth of Germany's European commitment 10 years after unification. Germany's commitment — not to all aspects of Brussels management but to the principle of supranationality on issues that demand common decision — is even more important now than it was during the Cold War years, when German power was restrained by division and NATO integration. Today, Germans view a commitment to Europe as the best way to make Berlin's new strength compatible with the interests of its neighbors as well as to enhance their regional and international influence. Subjecting Germany to common decision-making, in which it can be overruled by a majority of member states, is the best guarantee of a European Germany instead of a German Europe.

#### **A Leadership Role?**

While Germans recognize that integration into Europe is the best way to serve the country's interests, working within the E.U. framework has also provided a convenient way for Germans to avoid the burden of leadership on challenges to international order. Indeed, for a nation conditioned by its past to avoid such a role, it has been a perfect arrangement, allowing Germany to take part in decisions but not to stand out.

Considering the challenges which Europe must face, however, Germany will not likely be able to avoid the responsibilities of leadership for long. The Union is no longer primarily about the internal market among members and their external trade. Rather, it is increasingly focused on influencing the shape of international order, beginning with the Union's European periphery but not stopping there. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine a functioning international order in the 21st century that does not involve a European Union. After all, the E.U.'s population exceeds, and its GDP matches, those of the U.S. Its combined military strength is the second largest in the world.

While the initial group of E.U. members was limited to the rich and stable countries of Western Europe, once enlargement occurs, the new peripheries of the E.U. will stretch into some of the poorer and crisis-prone regions of the world. With the accession of Finland, the Union has a 700-mile border with Russia. Once Poland and Slovakia join, Belarus and Ukraine will become immediate neighbors. Once Cyprus is admitted, the Union will

be adjacent to the troubled Middle East; if Turkey joins up one day, the "arc of crisis" spanning from Northern Africa to the Southern Caucasus will become the Union's southern frontier.

Thus the E.U. with all its members will be sucked into responding to instabilities along its boundaries, just as it was sucked into the Balkan quagmire. According to polls, for the citizens of the Union, creating a common foreign and security policy to respond to challenges like the Balkans is now among the most important tasks the Union faces; judging by the force of events, governments have no other choice but to implement a common foreign and security policy. National foreign policies are unlikely to be very influential without the support of European partners.

In the past, the European Union shielded Germany from assuming a more visible international role because it had none itself. In the future, the Union will have to take on a role commensurate with its international weight. It will not, however, be able to do so unless Germany is willing to practice leadership within the Union for the simple reason that without the active support of its largest member state, the E.U. will be unable to act internationally with any credibility.

Yet leadership is not a term Germans like. When President George Bush offered them "partnership in leadership" back in 1991, they felt both flattered and uncomfortable. Conscious of the enduring mark left on the name of their nation by the Hitler years, they have maintained a low profile, unaware that their unwillingness to articulate a national interest often aroused more suspicion than relief among their neighbors. German politicians and elites are used to furthering their interests within a collective framework. They are much less mentally prepared to ask what they themselves should do if others choose not to act in the common interest.

Assuming a leadership role is an essential, if difficult, step for Germans to take. The reason that this step is difficult is not, as many abroad tend to assume, because Germans have an inability to formulate and pursue national interests. Germans have done so most effectively — and, judging by the record, more effectively than any other major European state — over the past 50 years. The impression that Germany feels inhibited from pursuing its objectives because it is unsure of its national identity or fearful of awakening memories of the Hitler era is simply wrong.

## F O C U S

The analytical error lies in the assumption that Germany, if it had any real national interests, would assert these outside the European construction. But, as has been pointed out earlier, the European framework has offered the optimal environment for pursuing the country's major goals; there was and will be none better.

### **There Is a National Identity**

Nor does German discomfort with the notion of leadership result from a lack of a sense of a national identity. It is true that for a country that has been late in finding expression as a modern nation-state, and which has been in the tumble dryer of history for most of the 130 years since, defining a national identity has not been as easy as for other countries. The knowledge that, until utter defeat, destruction and division in 1945, Germans for over a decade allowed

***Though Germany  
would prefer to leave  
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role around the globe.***

to a stable and peaceful Europe. East Germans too are increasingly feeling this confidence in their nation. There is no identity crisis.

It is not a lack of a sense of the nation, therefore, which inhibits Germans from taking on a leadership role in the European Union. Rather, it is their lack of familiarity with such a role and the knowledge that a leader-

a gang of criminals to lead them into unprecedented barbarism has made that process even more painful, at least for the generations coming into adulthood in the half-century since.

Yet Germans have come to terms with their sense of nationhood. They feel quietly proud of the way in which democracy and tolerance have become firmly rooted in their society, of the place and recognition they have found in the West, of the contribution they have made, together with others,

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ship role will be more demanding and burdensome than a more passive posture. With few exceptions — Chancellor Kohl's effort to establish a more cordial E.U.-Russia relationship and the Balkan Stability Pact launched in 1999 come to mind — German governments have generally preferred to leave initiatives on Europe's foreign policies to others.

For the Union to become a global force, Germany will have to become an active European player. Its role will be most crucial whenever the going gets rough on the European periphery. The new Rapid Reaction Force, if it does materialize, will not be deployed in a crisis unless Germany takes a major role in winning support for such a decision among the E.U. membership and assumes a high degree of political responsibility throughout the operation. A long-term E.U. policy toward Russia — instead of the E.U.'s current "common Russia strategy" — will only emerge if Germany puts its weight behind it. Whether in dealing with the Middle East, a new energy crisis or conflict in Asia, a credible E.U. policy demands credible German input. Leadership will require a will-

ingness to address those challenges, to think for the Union as a whole and on this basis formulate the objectives, consider the instruments, and then work hard to generate support within the Union. There will be no German monopoly on this kind of leadership, of course; other major E.U. states face the same challenge and carry a similar responsibility. But if Germany fails to take the initiative when it is in a position to do so, the others are unlikely to get very far.

Though Germany would prefer to avoid hard choices and leave leadership to others, it has already begun to take on a more active role around the globe: witness the activities of German NGOs in parts of the world Germans once considered distant, or the widespread public support for German soldiers to serve in the Balkans and beyond with international peacekeeping forces — a prospect unimaginable for many only a few years ago. The nation will come to terms with these new challenges because it will understand that Germany's international involvement — like European integration — best serves its interests. ■

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# THE NEW GERMANY IN THE NEW EUROPE



**I** GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY HAS GROWN MORE ASSERTIVE AND LESS IDEALISTIC IN RECENT YEARS. CONSIDER ITS CURRENT APPROACH TO EUROPE.

By *JEFFREY ANDERSON*

In late April 2001, news reports linked German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder to a memorandum drafted by his political party that called for comprehensive reform of the European Union treaty framework. Editorial reactions in neighboring countries revealed the ambivalence that many Europeans still feel about the Germans. For some, the news item reaffirmed their belief that Germany remains firmly committed to political integration into Europe. Others reacted far less benevolently, portraying Schroeder's interest in reforming the E.U. as further proof of Germany's primordial drive to project power beyond its national borders. These contrasting assessments of the chancellor's motives flowed from divergent historical interpretations of Germany and the Germans.

Immediately after the fall of the Berlin Wall, many Europeans feared that unified Germany's political future would

be patterned on its dismal pre-war past, seeking parallels in the tragic experience of the Weimar Republic, Germany's abortive attempt at democracy between 1918 and 1933, or the calamitous trajectories of Second and Third Reich foreign policy. These pessimistic predictions treated the four decades of peace and prosperity in West Germany after 1945 as a period of historical remission, during which Germany's predisposition toward aggression and instability was pushed into the background to await the return of more permissive circumstances. Such traditional ways of thinking are ill-equipped to illuminate post-unification Germany and its relationship to Europe.

In fact, there were good reasons to believe that four decades of stable democracy, economic prosperity, and membership in western international organizations like the European Community and NATO would bestow a weighty legacy on unified Germany. Rejecting historical templates of instability and aggression, one might have predicted a continuation of two hallmarks of West German foreign policy: a reflexive multilateralism (or, put another way, a distaste for solo initiatives); and an innate willingness to transfer national sovereignty in order to advance joint initiatives at the European and international levels. Similarly, one could have made a strong case for foreign policy continuity after unification, given longstanding German commitments to free trade in manufactures, agricultural support programs, and ambitious environmental protection standards, to name just three.

The decade since formal unification confirmed the difficulty of making predictions about unified Germany's political future based on the country's post-1945 history. There have been no radical departures in policy rhetoric and action. This is not to suggest, however, that the Germany we observe in 2001 is simply an older and larg-

*Elected governments of  
the West German republic  
forged and sustained  
productive relationships  
with the European  
integration project.*

er version of the stable democracy anchored in Western Europe at the end of the 1980s. German foreign policy has grown more assertive and less idealistic in recent years because unification created new political and economic challenges for the country. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Germany's approach to Europe.

**Germany in Europe**

Elected governments of the West German republic, both left and right, forged and sustained productive, even symbiotic, relationships with the European integration project. For West German political elites, joining a Europe committed to multilateral cooperation and democratic principles dovetailed neatly with their intent to rebuild democracy at home and to rehabilitate the country's ruined international credentials. Moreover, European integration provided a ready vehicle for achieving specific policy objectives they considered vital to the success of the German economy, such as protecting domestic agriculture, securing access to neighboring markets for manufacturing industry, and promoting free trade with countries outside Europe. Unification threatened this productive equilibrium by throwing both the country's European objectives and its domestic economic policies into a state of potential disorder.

The German government adopted a unification policy aimed at nothing less than the wholesale transfer of the "West Germany in Europe" model to eastern Germany.

Amid the chaos and uncertainty unleashed by the process of unification, there is no evidence that mainstream political elites reassessed the utility of institutional memberships such as NATO, the European Community, or the United Nations. This suggests that German support for multilateralism had become part and parcel of the German definition of national interest, and the question entertained by policy-makers in 1989-1990 was not whether to remain ensconced in Western multilateral institutions, but how to reconcile unification to the obligations of membership. At the same time, German leaders called on international organizations in the region to reform in ways that acknowledged changed realities in a post-Cold War Europe; in the case of the E.C., enlargement took on a greater urgency.

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*Jeffrey Anderson is a professor of political science at Brown University and Director of Studies at the American Institute of Contemporary German Studies in Washington, DC. He is the author of German Unification and the Union of Europe (Cambridge, 1999).*

The post-unification period soon exposed flaws in Bonn's plan to extend the "West Germany in Europe" model to the former East Germany. Almost immediately, tremendous social and economic problems erupted in the new federal states (Laender) and spilled over into the rest of Germany. Countless eastern German firms, many of them dependent on export markets in the former eastern bloc that were rapidly approaching a state of total collapse, went under, generating regional unemployment rates that soon rivaled those registered during the Great Depression. As a more detailed picture of the truly decrepit state of the eastern regional economy took shape, the federal government's bill for reconstructing the former German Democratic Republic ballooned.

Eastern German actors, emboldened by the failure of the federal government to replicate the post-1945 formula for economic success in their region, began to question basic principles underpinning many West German economic policies. In particular, they challenged the official faith placed in market mechanisms and processes, as well as the general bias against direct government intervention in the economy. Because many existing European Community policies supported these and other traditional West German economic precepts, unification fed a debate over European integration.

### **The "New" Germany and the "Old"**

More than ten years after unification, this debate has resulted in an intriguing pattern of continuity and change in Germany's policies toward the European Union. Many signature characteristics of the "old" Germany's policies toward Europe, such as a fundamentally pro-integration orientation and a clear preference for collective approaches to problem solving, remain in place. However, with the costly addition of the poorer regions of eastern Germany and mounting public concern over who will foot the bill for Europe's grand plans, there is newfound sobriety in the "new" Germany about the future trajectory of the integration process, as well as a new assertiveness in defending national interests — some of which have changed appreciably with unification.

The old Germany's approach to the E.U. is still recog-

## ***The debate in Germany over European integration has resulted in a pattern of continuity and change in Germany's policies toward the European Union.***

nizable in several policy areas; for example, Germany's desire to secure the free movement of goods, capital, services, and people within the existing boundaries of the E.U., as well as its consistent support for free trade in manufactures, remain largely unchanged. However, there have been subtle shifts in Germany's stance on policy issues linked to the costs of unification, which were prompted by concern

in the business community over the worsening investment climate in the country. Specifically, the German government has adopted a more market-oriented approach to energy policy, with an eye to reducing energy costs for domestic manufacturers; in the mid-1990s, Bonn became a late convert to the European Commission's initiative to liberalize electricity and gas markets throughout the E.U. On environmental matters, the Germans have proceeded more cautiously — or perhaps better said, with less fervor — on several European initiatives that would raise the costs of doing business in Germany, such as an "energy tax" designed to reduce carbon-dioxide emissions.

More dramatic changes in Germany's European policies are the direct result of the addition of the eastern regional economy, with its socialist legacies and post-socialist peculiarities. Germany's objectives for the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), a complex assortment of price-support mechanisms and programs designed to assist in the restructuring of farm enterprises, today recognize the needs of larger, competitive farming units — a clear departure from pre-unification days, when Bonn focused exclusively on small family farms, the staple of the West German agricultural sector. This policy shift resulted from the addition of the vastly larger farms of the former German Democratic Republic in 1990. Germany's new CAP policies have moved the German government somewhat closer to the efficiency-oriented agricultural camp in the E.U. (e.g. the Netherlands, the U.K.), which seeks to reform the CAP by, among other things, eliminating expensive price-support programs, thereby favoring larger, more competitive farms. The German shift on agriculture comes at a time when the CAP framework is undergoing intense review in the run-up to eastern enlargement, and at a minimum opens up additional

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options for market-oriented reform proposals down the road.

On the issue of industrial subsidies, the Germans showed a much greater willingness in the 1990s to prop up inefficient companies than they had prior to unification because they needed to preserve jobs to avoid social unrest in the eastern region. This carried serious implications for E.U. competition policy, which is designed to limit market distortions caused by illegal or excessive subsidy practices of the member governments. West Germany historically had been one of the most vocal supporters of a strict E.U. line on industrial aid, but in the absence of German backing after unification, E.U. competition policy weakened over the course of the 1990s, despite aggressive efforts, under the leadership of Competition Commissioner Karl Van Miert, to reduce and even phase out many subsidy programs popular among the member governments. Today, under new leadership, the Commission has halted its drive to eliminate coal and shipbuilding aid for European producers, without even the tiniest objection from the Germans.

The German approach to E.U. policies designed to assist underdeveloped regions and declining industrial areas — cohesion and structural funds — has also changed dramatically. After unification, Bonn found itself in possession of some of the poorest regions in all of Europe, and it quickly moved from disinterested yet austere paymaster, contributing many more Deutsche marks to these E.U. policy endeavors than it could ever hope to receive in return, to ardent supplicant, concerned with getting a fair share of Brussels' resources to cope with the difficult economic situation in the eastern German region. This in turn generated a difficult dilemma for the German government: It was asking for expanded benefits through the structural funds for its eastern region on the one hand, but on the other, it continued to demand strict limits on overall E.U. spending, and by extension on its own financial contributions to the E.U.

**Larger Integration Objectives**

Lifting our gaze from concrete policies like trade and energy to the general process of integration in Europe, Germany's approach to the E.U. since unification reveals a blend of old and new as well. Berlin remains an ardent proponent of the long-term E.U. goals of widening (eastern enlargement) and deepening (institutional reform). The government's approach to foreign policy is still that of an inveterate multilateralist. For example, along with Britain, Germany has been in the forefront of the drive to extend and develop the E.U.'s Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and to develop an E.U. military arm that is capable of conducting operations such as peacekeeping and humanitarian and rescue missions within the European space.

However, new accents in Germany's approach to the E.U. are unmistakable. Since unification — and for the first time in decades — European integration has become the subject of political controversy in Germany, particularly where economic and monetary union, national

contributions to the E.U. budget, and enlargement are concerned. Berlin's commitment to fiscal conservatism in Europe is a direct result of mounting fiscal pressures at home, in no small part due to the debt overhang associated with unification and the budgetary rigors of joining the single currency. The German political leadership now displays a more balky attitude to eastern enlargement born of a greater awareness of the financial costs of admitting populous, poor members from Central and Eastern Europe. Although German political and business elites still support enlargement, they are no longer in a rush to see it through. More broadly, elites and the mass public in unified Germany now have a keener sense of the limits of political integration. For several years now, there has been no starry-eyed talk of a "United States of Europe," at least not at the official level.

Last December, at an E.U. summit in Nice designed to prepare the European Union institutionally for enlargement, the post-unification blend of continuity and change in Germany's European policies was on full display. Summit participants grappled with a contentious agenda:

Decision points included a firm date for E.U. enlargement; the size and composition of the European Commission; the voting weights assigned to members in the Council of Ministers; and the size and composition of the European Parliament.

At Nice, the Berlin government appeared intent on living up to the country's long-standing E.U. commitments. For example, Chancellor Schroeder deferred to key French demands, including continued parity in Council voting weights for France and Germany, out of respect for the Franco-German partnership and because he feared the consequences of a failed summit. The Nice agreement held the door open to the east, something that the Berlin government, despite increasing doubts, still supported. On these and other policy questions, the "old" Germany was clearly visible.

However, the "new" Germany sought unabashedly to secure a privileged institutional position, along with the other large member states, in an enlarged Union. Schroeder refused to endorse the "double majority" formula for making Council decisions (a majority of member

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states representing a majority of the E.U. population must agree for a decision to be binding), a proposal backed by the European Commission and the smaller member governments. Instead, Schroeder insisted on a new threshold for Council decisions (Council majorities representing less than 62 percent of the E.U. population will not carry), which puts Germany in an advantageous veto position. Berlin also demanded a follow-up summit to Nice, which will aim to establish a clear division of responsibilities among the various levels of governance in the E.U.

### **A New Germany in Europe**

Unification failed to launch a sweeping reevaluation of Germany's place in Europe. Still, to describe the united Germany's relationship toward Europe in terms of seamless continuity would be a gross overstatement. In the past, West Germany consistently evaluated Community decisions in terms of the integrity of existing rule frameworks, rather than "who got what." This was less true in the 1990s; increasingly, Bonn is paying attention to the bottom line in Brussels.

Unification transformed the domestic context in which European policy is made, making it impossible for the German government to satisfy domestic constituencies with its traditional policy priorities at home and in Brussels. The sum total of the mix of policy shifts and policy continuity constitutes a new Germany in Europe, one that is normalizing.

The implications for Germany and the European Union have yet to sort themselves out. One thing is clear — they have complicated immensely the process of widening and deepening the European Union. The simultaneous achievement of these objectives will depend, as it always has, on the ability of the member governments to agree on expensive side payments to the prospective losers. Germany's weakening inclination to foot the bill, coupled with a less stary-eyed approach to Europe and a growing interest in securing a fair return from E.U. policies, has complicated interstate bargaining over integration, slowing the pace of progress, lowering the sights set by European leaders, and raising the level of discord among the member states. ■

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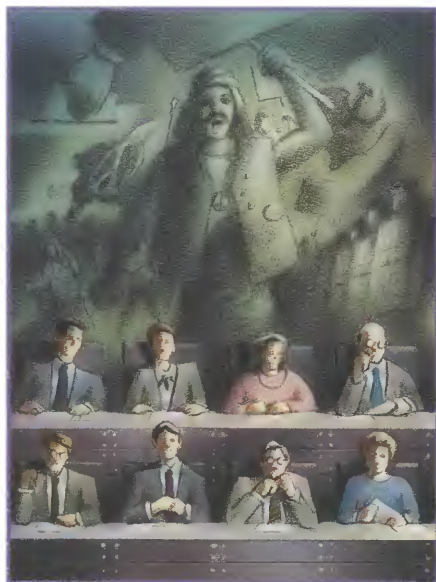
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# IN SEARCH OF THE GERMAN LEFT



Eric Reese

**T**HE GERMAN LEFT'S POLICIES HAVE HISTORICALLY BEEN MORE POPULAR THAN ITS POLITICIANS. IT HAS REMADE ITSELF TO WIN POWER, BUT WHAT ARE ITS PROSPECTS?

BY NORMAN BIRNBAUM

The German left has a history stretching back over two centuries. It claims descent from the American and French revolutions and British Chartism, but regards the Soviet revolution, especially Stalinism, as an unnatural ancestor. Its adherents have sought not just economic and social equality but a democratic and modern culture which promotes civic equality and social justice, values civic rights and representative government, and treats concentrated property and unchecked state power as threats to the autonomy of the citizenry.

Despite its distinguished lineage, however, the German left suffered defeat upon defeat for 150 of the past 200 years. Bismarck appropriated its social ideas in imperial Germany, yet a majority of the nation thought liberals anti-national.

*Continued on page 34*

# THE GERMAN RIGHT: MARKETS, MORALITY AND MIGRATION



Eric Reese

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IF GERMANY'S CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION WANTS TO TAKE VOTES AWAY FROM THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, IT MUST FORGE A MORE MAINSTREAM IDEOLOGY.

JAN-WERNER MUELLER

avy political observers recognized a decade ago that the implosion of communism would prove a short-term victory and a long-run curse for conservative parties in the West. For decades, anti-communism provided the glue that held a diverse coalition of social conservatives, nationalists and libertarians together. This was particularly the case in countries on the front lines of the Cold War, such as Italy and West Germany, where Christian Democratic parties never quite had to answer the famous British conservative Lord Salisbury's question: "What is it that you wish to conserve?" After 1989 — and after the transatlantic revolution of neoliberalism — conservatives had little to offer in terms of the "vision thing," except for more of the same: more tax cuts, more privatization and more assertive foreign policies.

*Continued on page 38*

*BIRNBAUM • Continued from page 32*

Anxious to prove its patriotism, the left did not oppose World War I until too late. After the war, a divided left failed to defend the Weimar Republic against its enemies, largely because the primary loyalty of German Communists was to the Soviet Union. As a result, National Socialism, with its fusion of imperial revenge, revolutionary rebirth and anti-Semitic anti-modernism, triumphed.

Over the past 50 years, however, much of the left's battle has been won. In place of the authoritarianism and imperialism of modern Germany, and its obsessions with geopolitical encirclement and spiritual uniqueness, the nation's political culture is now much like that of its West European partners. For that, the German left and the Social Democratic Party in particular, can claim a good deal of credit.

#### Paving The Way

That victory did not come easily, however. In Soviet-occupied Germany, the Communists forced the Social Democrats into a Party of Socialist Unity which obliterated their democratic identity. That affiliation, in turn, made it harder for the western wing of the party to credibly advocate a disarmed and reunited Germany. Instead, fearful of Soviet conquest, West Germans acquiesced to integration in NATO and the seemingly permanent division of their country.

The successive center-right coalitions led by Konrad Adenauer had their own version of the welfare state known as the "social market economy," an appealing synthesis of Christian social doctrine and Keynesianism. As the standard of living rose, a largely satisfied and apolitical public concentrated on rebuilding their private lives, spurning the left's calls for civic participation and social reconstruction. In fact, the Social Democrats actually garnered fewer votes during the 1950s than they had under the Kaiser.

Recognizing the dire straits the Social Democrats were in, Willy Brandt — who would assume the chancellorship in 1969 — and his allies began changing the party's rhetoric to appeal to citizens who wanted to live as West Europeans or Americans. The party's new program, adopted at Bad

Godesberg in 1958, affirmed that the Social Democrats were a reformist party, and abandoned revolutionary language. They accepted Germany's role in NATO, and asserted that political and economic integration in Europe was the most effective way to defend the national welfare state in Germany.

Changes in German society began to enhance the appeal of the left during this period. The younger, university-educated Social Democrats thought Adenauer a Wilhelmenian relic, and increasing numbers of German women voted Social Democratic to oppose the patriarchalism of the culture. As employers began taking a harder line on wages, the unions developed a new militancy. The middle class demanded reforms in culture, education, health care and justice. Thus, traditional themes of redistribution and programs of social renewal complemented one another.

The Adenauer government was unable to respond to these challenges. The erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961 mocked Adenauer's claim that his refusal to deal with the communist German state would bring it down. In 1962, his government seized the offices of the weekly *Der Spiegel* and arrested its editors on very thin pretexts. Many citizens thought this a regression to the worst aspects of German history, and the Social Democrats won the support of a broad civic rights movement.

#### The Brandt Era

Beginning in 1964, the party also had a leader of uncommon instincts and historical sense, Willy Brandt. As mayor of West Berlin he was versed in Germany's geopolitical dilemmas. As a youthful member of the early anti-Nazi resistance and then a Norwegian citizen he embodied cosmopolitan democracy. A son of the working class who enjoyed the good things of life, he had a great capacity to communicate — not least with the young and women.

The Social Democrats entered government as junior partners of the Christian Democrats in 1966. As foreign minister, Brandt began to work on a new politics of détente. The elections of 1969 enabled him to form a government with the Free Democrats as junior partners, and three years later, the Social Democrats became the largest party. By then he had achieved treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland, and a new relationship to Communist Germany, for which Brandt was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1971.

At home, the government initiated a large reform pro-

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*Norman Birnbaum is university professor emeritus at the Georgetown University Law Center. He is the author of After Progress: American Social Reform And European Socialism In The Twentieth Century (Oxford University Press, 2001). A grant in aid of research from the German Marshall Fund is gratefully acknowledged.*

# AFSANews

American Foreign Service Association • September 2001

## AFSA Awards Ceremony June 28, 2001



AFSA President Marshall Adair thanking Deputy Secretary Richard Armitage for participating in the ceremony.



Adair, Deputy Secretary Armitage and Director General Ruth Davis enjoying Lee Hamilton's remarks at the ceremony.



Lifetime Achievement Award winner Lee Hamilton accepting the award.



Adair greeting Alma Powell.



Lee Hamilton and Frank Carlucci talking to AFSA Communications Director Tom Switzer.



Award presenters and winners at the ceremony.



A toast for award winner Rosalie Kahn (second from right) at the AFSA luncheon.



### *This Issue in Brief:*

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### AFSA ACHIEVEMENT AWARD

## Honoring Thomas D. Boyatt and William C. Harrop

The AFSA Achievement Award was established to recognize and honor active and retired members who have made significant contributions to the goals of the American Foreign Service Association. This year's award for a retired member was presented at the June 28 AFSA award ceremony to two distinguished and long-serving AFSA members, Ambassador Thomas Boyatt and Ambassador William Harrop.

When presenting the award, AFSA President Marshall Adair said that ambassadors Harrop and Boyatt have not only contributed to AFSA, they are in large part responsible for making AFSA what it is today. They have been making significant contributions to the organization for the better part of four decades and both are for-

Continued on page 4



## AFSA Plaque Ceremony Sept. 10

AFSA will hold a plaque ceremony at 10 a.m. on Foreign Affairs Day, Sept. 10. In accordance with the expanded criteria for plaque inclusion adopted by the AFSA Governing Board (any death overseas by Foreign Service personnel which occurs in the active performance of official duties now qualifies), the Awards & Plaque Committee has recommended to the board that the following names be added to the Memorial Plaque: Seth Foti, Phil Lincoln, Kirby Simon, Nancy Lewis, Pasquel Martinez, Robert Hebb, Gamett Zimmerly, Edward Cheney, Bruce Bailey and Luther McLendon, Jr. AFSA will continue to consider other names brought to the attention of the Awards and Plaque Committee which meet these expanded criteria, retroactive to 1972, and welcomes any nominations. Any questions about the plaque can be directed to Barbara Berger, Coordinator for Professional Issues, tel. 202-338-4045, ext. 521, or e-mail: [berger@afsa.org](mailto:berger@afsa.org).

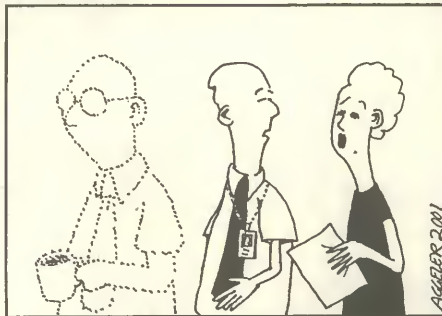
## Stop by on Foreign Affairs Day

AFSA is hosting an open house at AFSA headquarters from noon to 6:30 p.m. during Foreign Affairs Day Sept. 10. AFSA is also arranging for retirees to visit congressional offices on Sept. 11.

## AFSA Seeking Reps

The transfer season is ending and many of our AFSA representatives at posts around the world have moved on to new assignments. AFSA urges you to consider becoming an AFSA rep for your post. Although many employees contact AFSA Washington directly for assistance, it is still vital that AFSA have a rep at each post. For more information on what AFSA reps do and how they are elected, go to [www.afsa.org/postreps/index.html](http://www.afsa.org/postreps/index.html) or contact AFSA's membership office at [member@afsa.org](mailto:member@afsa.org) or (202) 338-4045, ext. 525.

AFSA News is pleased to introduce a new monthly cartoon feature, "Life in the Foreign Service," by well-known Foreign Service officer cartoonist Brian Aggeler.



"Merv isn't getting virtual locality pay, so we're getting virtual Merv."

## Changing of the Guard



New AFSA President John Naland (right) presents former AFSA President Marshall Adair with a plaque in appreciation of service.

## AFSA Welcomes New Membership Rep

Ingrid Hubbard has joined the AFSA staff as Membership Representative. A native Chicagoan and recent graduate of the University of Illinois at Chicago, Ingrid recently completed an internship with the Coalition for American Leadership Abroad.

### How to Contact us:

**AFSA News Editor:** Shawn Dorman  
(202) 338-4045 x 503  
[Dorman@afsa.org](mailto:Dorman@afsa.org)

**Internet Addresses:**  
[www.afsa.org](http://www.afsa.org) (AFSA Web site)  
[afsa@afsa.org](http://afsa@afsa.org) (Association)  
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[journal@afsa.org](mailto:journal@afsa.org) (FSJ)  
[afsanews@afsa.org](mailto:afsanews@afsa.org) (AFSA News)

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**DACOR Seeking Executive Director**

Here is a great job opportunity for the right person. The Executive Director of Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired has responsibility for day-to-day operations of the corporation, management of DACOR Bacon House, routine public affairs activities and foreign affairs liaison. The incumbent implements the policies and programs of the DACOR Executive Committee and Board of Governors. Foreign affairs experience is preferred. Resumés will be accepted through Sept. 15 at DACOR Bacon House, Attention: Search Committee, 1801 F St. N.W., Washington, DC 20006. Call DACOR with questions at (202) 682-0500 or (800) 344-9127.

**Credit Union Awards \$20,000 for Scholarships**

The State Department Federal Credit Union's Board of Directors has announced the winners of its 25th annual scholarship competition. Since 1976, the SDFCU has awarded over \$100,000 in scholarships. This year's winners were: Rick Bair, Audrey Brunson, Raphael Denbow, Fredric Donaldson, Neil Hanson, Madjimbaye Namde, David Berry, LoreLee Christensen, Walter Diaz, Carmen Figueroa, Marcella Jones, and Ruth Osborne. The winning students are all credit union members who have completed at least 12 credit hours at an accredited college. Each February, scholarship applications are available from the credit union.

*More News Briefs on page 6.*



JOSE

**YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED TO ATTEND BOOKFAIR 2001**

EXHIBIT HALL

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OCTOBER 12 - 21

Opening Ceremony: Oct. 12 at 2PM

Open to the public:

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**Can You Find What You Need?**

The State AFSA office is in a strategic location, immediately across from what is now officially called the Employee Service Center, but which the stubborn Foreign Service persists in calling the Foreign Service Lounge. I urge all of you transferring, transiting, or visiting, to cross the hall to tell us how we are doing representing your concerns. Give us ideas on how we can better serve you or tell us about issues you believe need to be addressed.



As you read this, the 2002 assignment cycle will be in full swing. The bidding packets will be in your hands and the vacancy lists will be arriving every two weeks. Think about the process itself and share your thoughts with AFSA. Are the rules clear? Are they fair? Is the assignment process transparent? Is it timely? Do you understand the rules? As stated in the assignment package, the process is designed to place qualified personnel in appropriate positions while responding to both the needs of the service and the employees' professional development. Does the assignment process fulfill these goals? If not, where does it fail? How could it be adjusted to better meet those goals?

If you want access to the "bidding tool," you'll need INTRANET access to surf Human Resources' excellent Web site. How easy is it to access this from your office? In my previous office, there were 27 people, but only one workstation with access to INTRANET. Thus, 27 of us had only one source for department telephone numbers, room numbers, fax numbers, addresses of overseas posts, etc. It was the sole source for department notices, the Foreign Affairs Manuals (FAM), forms, etc.

Is human resources service timely? As you know, Career Development Officers (CDOs) have a large number of clients. Is your CDO responsive? Does she acknowledge your queries? Does he provide sound professional counseling? Do you see your CDO as your advocate, or are you pretty much left to your own devices to get an assignment? Does your work suffer because you must work the phones and e-mail to lobby for your next assignment?

This brings me to my final and what some might consider frivolous question. Do many of you feel handicapped by the lack of an up-to-date department telephone book? The last one was issued almost two years ago and its electronic equivalent is woefully inadequate. I suspect employees value a current print version of department telephone numbers and room numbers, not to mention the alphabetical listing of employees, the secure phone (STU III) directory, listing of Foreign Service posts and key officers. For those of you who are content with the incomplete INTRANET version (or who use the "properties" function of the unclassified Microsoft Outlook to look up numbers), remember, you can't access it from home. One day you might need the information a real hands-on telephone book would provide when you are far from the department without access to INTRANET or Outlook.

I look forward to meeting you when you transit the Foreign Service Lounge. For those who will not be dropping by this year, keep those cards and letters coming! You can find me at Cranel.K@state.gov. □

The bidding packets will be in your hands and the vacancy lists will be arriving every two weeks. Think about the process itself and share your thoughts with AFSA. Is it timely? Are the rules clear? Are they fair?

## Filling Immediate Vacancies

As the time neared to leave my position at USAID to move to AFSA, my supervisors pointed out the urgent need to fill vacant Foreign Service positions. They asked me to favorably consider converting positions to Civil Service in order to minimize vacancy periods. I agree that it is vital to fill agency vacancies. "Doing more with less" is just a worn-out cliché that mocks the gallant effort made by virtually all of USAID to accomplish its mission. Crisis management works best on the battlefield, not in implementing development strategies.

Some concerned managers believe the skills needed can most easily be obtained by converting Foreign Service positions to Civil Service positions. It is easiest because it is virtually the only option that Human Resources offers. But it is not the right way to go. It is time to think outside of the box.

The original division of Foreign Service- and Civil Service-designated positions was made with the intention of maintaining a long-term cadre of technical and policy experts in Washington, and of building broad FS career experience for effective service in the developing world. AFSA has already spoken out on the vital importance for the agency to include in its comprehensive review of organization and mission more emphasis on, and support for, workforce planning, recruiting efforts, meaningful career development and effective career training. We should not upset the FS/CS balance without first going through proper workforce planning. We still have around 100 chronic vacancies in Foreign Service-designated positions, and we need to do better identifying recruits with skills that will match the evolving needs of the agency.

Meeting short-term needs by converting Foreign Service-designated positions is a risky expedient, because it diverts focus from maintaining a vibrant Foreign Service cadre. AFSA will be deeply concerned about continuing ad hoc changes of this type. While we can't wait for implementation of long-term measures alone, there are other short-term actions available that would close the personnel gap now in ways that complement, or at least not compromise, long-term measures.

Granting Limited Career Extensions (LCEs) to meet short-term needs in the Senior Foreign Service is one of these options. More can be done. Officers should be encouraged to delay retirement. At the time of this writing it is not known if our write-in campaign to save virtual locality pay will be successful. The agency needs to remove the annuity obstacle to retiring from an overseas post. If the effort is not successful this year, we must continue to push for that change. Another option is to recall retired FSOs. Rehired annuitants are a bargain at 50 cents on the dollar. The agency could also lengthen time-in-class limits in ways that do not disadvantage mid-career FSO promotions.

Our bureaucracy needs a push to develop and vet these proposals. I will raise these options with the administrator and front office senior management, and will report progress on the AFSA USAID web site. I look to AFSA members to volunteer their expertise on an AFSA working group to monitor and interact with management on issues of reorganization, changing mission, workforce planning, recruitment, and career development. AFSA can and should cooperate in matters that affect us all. □



From left: Ambassador William Harrop, AFSA President Marshall Adair, and Ambassador Thomas Boyatt.

mer AFSA presidents. They were both part of the "young Turks" movement in the 1970s, and have served together on AFSA boards, entertaining colleagues with their friendly gibes at each other for many years. AFSA decided it was appropriate to honor them together. Ambassador Boyatt agreed, and added that "to receive an award from peers is especially meaningful and hardest earned."

During a critical period for AFSA, 1971-1973, Harrop was AFSA president and Boyatt was vice president. During that time, the U.S. government accepted an exclusive bargaining unit for the Foreign Service, and the State Department had to decide on the representative. Boyatt, as vice president and later as president, led the successful campaign for AFSA to gain that role.

In more recent years, Harrop and Boyatt have continued to make significant contributions to AFSA. Both have been key players in ensuring AFSA's financial future. Harrop and his wife Ann have provided substantial funding to AFSA programs since 1983 through the Delavan Foundation. As Adair explains, Boyatt, as a board member, treasurer and a member of the Finance Committee in the 1990s, truly guided AFSA to financial stability. At least one-fifth of AFSA's current net worth is due to Boyatt's decisions over the past three years.

AFSA is honored to have both Boyatt and Harrop back on the AFSA Governing Board for the 2001-2003 term. □

## Outreach for Foreign Service Youth

■ BY MELANIE NEWHOUSE, FSYP ADMINISTRATOR

When my husband became a Foreign Service officer, he was a single graduate student. Children were, as yet, an abstract notion. The Foreign Service offered travel and adventure. In fact, his exact words were "a lifetime of honeymoons" (another issue altogether). Nonetheless, we did discuss the possible impact of international relocations on our imaginary children and thought, and still think, "What an unparalleled opportunity!" Our internationally experienced children would have a global perspective, speak many languages and develop the skills and talents required in an increasingly globalized and mobile world.

Eventually, as with every Foreign Service family, reality set in. I had never considered the side effects of malaria prophylaxis, the disparate quality of international schools, or the constant potential for evacuation from the host country, to name just a few of the challenges facing diplomatic families.

Parents can find support for these transition issues in several State Department offices. But their children have unique needs. These "third culture kids" face a lifetime of short-lived relationships, repeatedly leaving homes, schools and countries. The return to the U.S. is often the most difficult move they will ever make. These kids are Americans, but they may have only experienced their home country as a vacation destination.

The stress of transition, feelings of isolation and questions of identity confronting our children all need to be acknowledged and supported. The Foreign Service Youth Foundation (FSYF) was established in 1989 to coordinate the efforts of various State Department offices interested in helping Foreign Service youth meet the challenges of their transient lifestyle. FSYF is the only private, non-profit organization dedicated to informing, advocating and providing outreach services for U.S. foreign affairs youth in the United States and overseas.

By identifying the special educational and

informational needs of our youth, FSYF helps these mobile children derive the fullest benefit from their international experience through publications, community service awards and clubs. Support and promotion of Around the World in a Lifetime, the D.C. area-based teen club, and Globe Trotters, the pre-teen club, are two of the major functions of FSYF. Members write monthly newsletters for FS youth worldwide, pro-

viding a forum to share their experiences and re-entry challenges and successes. Social activities and training events allow youth to discuss issues related to their mobile Foreign Service lifestyle and to maintain Foreign Service connections.

FSYF depends on the generosity of FS families and friends to provide innovative and quality programs. Enthusiastic volunteers, new board members and donations (of any amount) are always welcome. For more information, write: FSYF, P.O. Box 39185, Washington, DC 20016; phone: (301) 404-6655; e-mail: fsyadm@aol.com; or visit the Web site at [www.fsyf.org](http://www.fsyf.org). □

### FOREIGN SERVICE YOUTH AWARDS

## Deputy Secretary Armitage Presents Awards

The 2001 Foreign Service Youth Awards were presented on June 29 in the Treaty Room of the Department of State by Deputy Secretary Richard Armitage. The annual awards, sponsored by the Foreign Service Youth Foundation, the department's Family Liaison Office, and the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide, are given to Foreign Service teens who have exemplified significant community contributions, volunteerism, and outstanding leadership skills. Each awardee received a \$1,000 U.S. Savings Bond. The three recipients were:

Jane Symington, 16, of Quito, Ecuador, daughter of State Department Political Officer W. Stuart Symington and Susan Ide Symington, for her continued good work on behalf of her fellow students, the elderly and the disadvantaged.

Laura Wagner, 16, of Brussels, Belgium, daughter of State Department Counselor for Narcotics Affairs Jim Wagner and Ruth Wagner, for her ongoing work on behalf of the environment and of those less fortunate in her community; and

Roy Zwahlen, 18, of Ankara, Turkey, son of Assistant Army Attaché Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Zwahlen and Susan Pyper Zwahlen, for his commitment to action whenever the need has arisen, especially his work on behalf of children with cancer and earthquake victims.

Deputy Secretary Armitage also presented Certificates of Appreciation to the editors of Wings of AWAL, a monthly teen newsletter of Around the World in a Lifetime. AWAL is an organization of Foreign Service teens in the Washington, D.C. area and abroad. The certificates were awarded to Courtney Hastings, son of Norm and Lily Hastings, and James Wackerbarth, son of Paul and Cindy Wackerbarth. □



From left: Congressman Ike Skelton, D-Mo., Jane Symington, Laura Wagner, Roy Zwahlen, Courtney Hastings, James Wackerbarth and Deputy Secretary Armitage.

THE WORKS OF THE  
SENIOR LIVING FOUNDATION

## Taking Care of Our Own

■ BY PAULA JAKUB, SLF DIRECTOR

The Senior Living Foundation was established by the American Foreign Service Protective Association in 1988 to assist retired members of the American Foreign Service who are physically or mentally unable to cope with old age. In many cases, these people have barely enough financial resources to cover their normal living expenses. When something changes, which often is the case as one grows older, they find themselves in trouble.

It has been an exciting and dynamic year for the foundation as it has reached more of our colleagues in need. This year the foundation will give almost \$160,000 in grants for items such as home health care, transportation to medical appointments, and prescription drugs. While many of these grants become ongoing cases, some people request temporary or one-time assistance. As of today, 20 colleagues depend on the foundation for help each month and many others are under consideration.

Recently the Senior Living Foundation assisted a 94-year-old Foreign Service widow whose husband had had a long and productive career. Several years ago her relatives placed her in a nursing home that does not accept Medicaid, the government program that assists nursing home patients pay for their care. Too often, retirees assume that their assets will be adequate to pay for their long-term care. In fact, nursing home fees range from \$3500 to \$7000 a month and, unless financial assets are enormous or the nursing home

accepts Medicaid patients, a retiree could be out on the street.

The 94-year-old Foreign Service widow is cognitively impaired and needs full assistance with all of her activities of daily living. Two months ago, one of her few surviving relatives contacted the foundation, stating that the widow had depleted her assets and could no longer stay at what has been her home for the past three years. The home did not accept Medicaid and would

It has been an exciting  
and dynamic year for the  
foundation as it has reached  
more of our colleagues in need.  
This year the foundation will  
give almost \$160,000 in grants.

not permit her to remain there. After numerous contacts with state officials, the owners of the nursing home chain and other agencies, it was clear that the action of the nursing home, while repellent, was legal. The foundation awarded a monthly grant to the widow to offset the difference between her small pension and the monthly fees. In this way, her assets could be stretched out for approximately two more years.

This is an example of how the Senior Living Foundation is "taking care of our own."

The foundation has volunteers who contact and/or serve as friendly visitors to our elderly colleagues. In areas outside of the metropolitan Washington, D.C. area, we work with the local Foreign Service retiree associations. Regular communication is necessary to improve the individual's outlook on life.

The Senior Living Foundation may be able to help you or someone you know with information and/or financial assistance for:

- Home health care
- Groceries
- Transportation to medical appointments
- Prescription medication
- Friendly visitors

For more information, please contact the Senior Living Foundation of the American Foreign Service at 1716 N Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; phone: (202) 887-8170; fax: (202) 872-9320. □

## AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

### DACOR Conference on North Korea, Oct. 12

The annual DACOR Bacon House Foundation Conference is being held Oct. 12 at the World Bank in Washington. The topic is "North Korea's Prospects: The View of the Major Northeast Asian Countries and the United States." The conference is co-sponsored by DACOR and the American Enterprise Institute. Participants will include retired and active-duty ambassadors, think-tank experts, and a high-level State Department official. The program begins at 8:45 a.m. The price is \$35.00 for the morning program including lunch, or \$10.00 for the morning program only. Pre-registration and payment are mandatory, so please call DACOR at (202) 682-0500 ext. 17 by Oct. 1 to sign up. Contact Sue Faircloth by phone at DACOR or by e-mail: sue\_faircloth@dacorbacohouse.org or Robert Warne by phone at (703) 528-8782 or e-mail: robwarne@prodigy.net.

### Charles DelMar Foundation Donation

The Charles DelMar Foundation provided a \$2,000 award in May to fund the AFSA/Thursday Luncheon Group (TLG) intern, Sarita Jackson, who worked in Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage's office this summer.

### Melvin L. Manfull Annual Scholarship Established

Through memorial donations, a \$2,500 scholarship will be awarded in September in Melvin L. Manfull's name under the 2001 AFSA Financial Aid Program. Manfull passed away in September 2000. He enjoyed a 30-plus year career in the Foreign Service, including appointments by President Nixon as ambassador to the Central African Republic in 1971 and to Liberia in 1972.

### PMA Scholarship Donation

In May, the Public Member Association of the Foreign Service, or PMA, donated a \$3,000 scholarship to the 2001/2002 AFSA Financial Aid Scholarship Program in memory of J. Burke Wilkinson. This need-based scholarship will be awarded to a college junior or senior majoring in foreign affairs. □



From left, standing: PMA member Dr. Hatten Yoder, Jr.; AFSA Education Committee Chairman Ambassador

Edward Dillery; seated from left: Francis Wilkinson, and PMA President Rita Johnston.



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### Independent Auditor's Report

Governing Board of the  
American Foreign Service Association  
and Associated Organizations

We have audited the accompanying consolidated statement of financial position of the American Foreign Service Association and Associated Organizations (the Association) as of December 31, 2000 and 1999, and the related consolidated statements of activities and cash flows for the years then ended. These consolidated financial statements are the responsibility of the Association's management. Our responsibility is to express an opinion on these consolidated financial statements based on our audits.

We conducted our audits in accordance with auditing standards generally accepted in the United States of America. Those standards require that we plan and perform the audit to obtain reasonable assurance about whether the consolidated financial statements are free of material misstatement. An audit includes examining, on a test basis, evidence supporting the amounts and disclosures in the consolidated financial statements. An audit also includes assessing the accounting principles used and significant estimates made by management, as well as evaluating the overall consolidated financial statement presentation. We believe that our audits provide a reasonable basis for our opinion.

In our opinion, the consolidated financial statements referred to above present fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of the American Foreign Service Association and Associated Organizations as of December 31, 2000 and 1999, and the changes in their net assets and their cash flows for the years then ended, in conformity with accounting principles generally accepted in the United States of America.

*Lang Group, Chartered*

Bethesda, Maryland  
April 2, 2001

**American Foreign Service Association and Associated Organizations**  
**Consolidated Statement of Activities**  
**Years Ended December 31, 2000 and 1999**

	2000	1999
<b>Revenue, Gains, and Other Support</b>		
Member dues	\$ 1,609,556	\$ 1,509,640
Contributions	604,582	449,562
Advertising sales	410,779	421,693
Other	227,012	145,649
Dividends and interest	127,214	130,001
Rental	33,708	30,767
Subscriptions	8,121	9,005
Net realized and unrealized (losses) gains on on marketable securities	(69,020)	711,001
<b>Total revenue, gains, and other support</b>	<b>2,951,952</b>	<b>3,407,318</b>
 <b>Expenses</b>		
<b>Program services</b>		
Journal	638,389	686,352
Labor relations	497,647	506,364
Scholarship	345,296	302,527
Elderhostel	207,656	137,674
Congressional affairs	161,407	144,937
Membership services	89,952	66,413
Professional issues	86,362	87,895
Retirees	60,866	91,617
75th Presidential libraries	47,952	28,617
Public education	30,197	22,476
Public affairs	24,560	18,497
Club	23,985	13,381
Essay contest	22,332	16,809
Outreach / Speakers bureau	21,636	11,768
International Associates	19,506	51,468
75th anniversary	---	105,266
<b>Total program services</b>	<b>2,277,743</b>	<b>2,292,061</b>
 <b>Supporting services</b>		
Management and general	281,467	277,026
Membership support	124,349	149,819
Board and President	32,136	42,275
Fundraising	12,635	6,750
Election	2,816	15,737
<b>Total supporting services</b>	<b>453,403</b>	<b>491,607</b>
<b>Total expenses</b>	<b>2,731,146</b>	<b>2,783,668</b>
 <b>Change in Net Assets</b>	<b>220,806</b>	<b>623,650</b>
 <b>Net Assets, beginning of year</b>	<b>6,016,115</b>	<b>5,392,465</b>
 <b>Net Assets, end of year</b>	<b>\$ 6,236,921</b>	<b>\$ 6,016,115</b>

A complete set of the audited financial statements are available at the AFSA office 2101 E. St. NW Washington, D.C. 20037

**American Foreign Service Association and Associated Organizations**  
**Consolidated Statement of Financial Position**  
**December 31, 2000 and 1999**

	2000	1999
<b>Assets</b>		
<b>Current Assets</b>		
Cash and cash equivalents, including restricted cash of \$165,782 in 2000 and \$108,025 in 1999	\$ 259,142	\$ 98,813
Short-term investments, including restricted short-term investments of \$45,049 in 2000 and \$29,889 in 1999	69,098	38,098
Accounts receivable, less allowance for doubtful accounts of \$20,161 in 2000 and \$20,000 1999	119,779	171,192
Contribution receivable	100,000	---
Accrued interest and dividends	21,988	14,777
Prepaid expenses and other assets	<u>127,637</u>	<u>82,457</u>
<b>Total current assets</b>	<u>697,644</u>	<u>405,337</u>
<b>Noncurrent Assets</b>		
Land, building and equipment, net of depreciation	597,381	585,105
Temporarily restricted marketable securities	4,886,439	4,888,829
Unrestricted marketable securities	<u>424,511</u>	<u>469,811</u>
<b>Total noncurrent assets</b>	<u>5,908,331</u>	<u>5,943,745</u>
<b>Total Assets</b>	<u>\$ 6,605,975</u>	<u>\$ 6,349,082</u>
<b>Liabilities and Net Assets</b>		
<b>Current Liabilities</b>		
Accounts payable	\$ 26,750	\$ 43,104
Accrued expenses	67,626	66,113
Deferred revenue	<u>274,678</u>	<u>223,750</u>
<b>Total current liabilities</b>	<u>369,054</u>	<u>332,967</u>
<b>Commitments and Contingencies</b>	---	---
<b>Net Assets</b>		
Unrestricted	1,300,511	1,163,344
Temporarily restricted	<u>4,936,410</u>	<u>4,852,771</u>
<b>Total net assets</b>	<u>6,236,921</u>	<u>6,016,115</u>
<b>Total Liabilities and Net Assets</b>	<u>\$ 6,605,975</u>	<u>\$ 6,349,082</u>

A complete set of the audited financial statements are available at the AFSA office 2101 E. St. NW Washington, D.C. 20037

# Q&A

## Retiree Issues

BY WARD THOMPSON, RETIREE LIAISON

### Q: How does AFSA influence retiree benefits legislation?

A. For benefits that apply to all federal annuitants, AFSA works with other interest groups, such as the National Association of Retired Federal Employees, the Fund for Assuring an Independent Retirement (FAIR), and the Coalition to Assure Retirement Equity. AFSA helps make sure that the Foreign Service retirement systems are included in new legislation, such as that providing for long-term care coverage. For benefits more exclusively related to the Foreign Service, AFSA acts alone or with an issue-specific ally, as we are doing in our joint effort with the Retired Officer Association and Military Coalition to change the capital gains tax leg-

islation covering the sale of houses by people assigned overseas.

### Q: What is AFSA doing to enable retirees to use pre-tax dollars to pay health care premiums?

A. This is a good example of AFSA's work through FAIR, which has taken the lead in trying to extend this benefit, granted to active duty employees last year, to retirees. Legislation is required, and the necessary bills have been submitted by Sen. John Warner, R-Va., and Rep. Thomas Davis, R-Va. FAIR welcomes efforts by AFSA retirees to urge support for these bills.

### Q: What about ending limits on earnings of Foreign Service retirees who go back to work for the government?

A. Limitations on earnings for military retirees were removed by the National Defense Authorization Act for FY 2000. Civilian annuitants continue to face limitations, which prevent the combination of earnings and annuity from exceeding one's salary at retirement or the salary in the rehired position, whichever is higher.

AFSA must take the lead on this issue

because AFSA believes there is an important distinction between the Foreign Service and other federal civilian annuitants who do not have mandatory retirement. AFSA discussed this issue on the Hill beginning in late February and also with the department. State adopted AFSA's recommendation to lift the ceiling for part-time rehired Foreign Service annuitants but included the Civil Service, a proposal opposed by the Office of Management and Budget as too costly. AFSA wrote to Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Joseph Biden, D-Del., in June and met with Sen. Paul Sarbanes, D-Md., in July, urging that a Senate bill remove limitations for Foreign Service retirees rehired by the federal government. Noting that the Foreign Service personnel system is more like that of the uniformed services than the Civil Service, AFSA wrote that "The same reason that the limitations were lifted for the uniformed services — separation from the Service at an early age, mandatory retirement, the opportunity to utilize the accumulated skills and knowledge of those separated to the benefit of the government — should be considered for the Foreign Service." State remains silent on this matter. □

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gram in education, health care, and civic rights — including worker participation in management in larger firms. Brandt's injunction, "Let us dare more democracy," characterized those years. He anticipated the environmental movement by promising "blue skies over the Ruhr." The unions enjoyed unlimited access to government: their leaders became parliamentarians, occasionally ministers. A redistributive Keynesianism compensated those nostalgic for the class struggle.

### **The "New Left"**

The Sixties generation altered German society — humanizing its culture, rendering the powerful accountable, even institutionalizing systematic irreverence. A network of food shops, newspapers, nurseries, residential communities and self-help groups evolved into an alternative culture, dominating neighborhoods in the larger cities.

Many younger Germans admired the capacity of American universities to connect with society. But some of them took as their model not the Harvard of the Kennedyites but the Berkeley of the student movement. The German "new left" expressed the repugnance of the postwar generation for its parents' complicity in Nazism, the persistence of authoritarianism in many institutions and the continuing subordination of women. Many in that generation were raised by war widows and had empathic super-egos. Consequently, the new left was ambivalent toward the Social Democrats, viewing them as too ready to compromise. Out of such tensions emerged the Green Party, which began to reduce the Social Democratic vote.

Brandt, as party leader and chancellor, did much to integrate many new leftists in the party, Gerhard Schroeder amongst them. However, an espionage scandal was used by Brandt's rival, Helmut Schmidt, and his allies to force Brandt from office in 1974, though he remained party chairman.

As chancellor for the next eight years, Schmidt's relations with the party's left, old and new, steadily worsened. A Lutheran Church elder from the Hamburg working class, an educated figure with a firm sense of his own competence, Schmidt complained (rightly) that his standing outside his party was far greater than within it. The business leaders and unionists supported him, despite growing economic recession. The party's vote declined under Schmidt,

*The "new left"  
abhorred its parents'  
complicity in Nazism  
and the persistence of  
authoritarianism in  
German institutions.*

but the coalition with the Free Democrats won the elections of 1978 and 1980.

### **Back Into Opposition**

The coalition ended in 1982 when the Free Democrats refused new redistributive measures to maintain living standards and instead took the Christian Democrats as senior partners. But an equal source of rupture was the stationing of new U.S. missiles in Germany.

Schmidt had favored deployment, the better to negotiate an arms control agreement with the Soviet Union. His opponents feared that the U.S. sought nuclear superiority in Europe. Millions of citizens formed a peace movement, converting much of the Protestant Church into a protest organization. The movement's leaders included several prominent Social Democrats — led by Brandt, who declared: "There are worse things in our history than peace demonstrations."

No doubt, but a narrow majority was unwilling to risk rupture with Washington — the more so as the Social Democrats were without new economic and social ideas. As a result, Helmut Kohl led the Christian Democrat-Free Democrat coalition to victory in the election of 1983, and three subsequent ones, while the Social Democrats had four unsuccessful chancellor candidates in a row. The party buried itself in internal argument, even as a half-satisfied nation kept re-electing a conservative government which preserved, even extended, the welfare state. The more the Social Democrats attempted to respond to a changing society (the erosion of heavy industry, changes in family structure, environmental problems, immigration, Germany's role in Europe) the more skeptical the public became. It was not that Germans thought the Social Democrats wrong, but that they doubted the ability of politics to set things right.

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 did not profit the Social Democratic chancellor candidate in 1990, Oskar Lafontaine, who insisted that the hasty economic unification of the two states would burden the west and devastate the east. Though his prediction turned out to be all too prescient, he lost when Kohl promised the East Germans "verdant landscapes." The Social Democrats expected their party to do well in its traditional strongholds in the east and were shocked when the working class stuck with the

Communists or chose the Christian Democrats. It would take eight more years for the Social Democrats to win decisive numbers of votes in the east and return to government, thanks both to the disappointments of unification and its new leadership.

The Social Democrats' route back to power ran through the states. It was a minister-president, Gerhard Schroeder of Lower Saxony, who led them to victory in 1998. In the home state of Volkswagen, he learned to maneuver between capital and the unions. His political talents were such that even Kohl early pronounced him a future chancellor. But they also rendered his party thoroughly uncomfortable. Although they reluctantly accepted his television-style electoral campaign, they insisted that he form a coalition with the Greens.

In its first year, the new government stumbled into recurrent defeats, losing a series of city and state elections. The Greens came close to ending the coalition several times. Lafontaine devastated the party by resigning as finance minister and party chair and withdrawing from politics. He saw no chance of persuading Schroeder to adopt a new Keynesianism and no way to challenge him without incurring the government's fall. Schroeder then published a vacuous Third Way paper with Tony Blair and the party seethed in overt revolt. The Social Democrats adamantly refused to convert to the theology of the market and dismantle the German welfare state.

In 1999, Schroeder pulled his government together. He made it clear to the party and the unions that he was still a Social Democrat. The welfare state would be reformed, not ended.

The new finance minister, Hans Eichel, quickly became the cabinet's strong man, reducing taxes on companies and households. A new pension system entailed partial privatization — with considerable government subsidies. Business was publicly instructed on its social responsibilities. Worker representation in company management was extended. In foreign policy, the government's determination to assume European military responsibility had large public resonance. Schroeder's championship of more European integration won support across party lines, as did his successful veto — in alliance with the European unions — of allowing unrestricted takeovers of European companies. German opinion generally approves of his opposition to the Bush administration on the death penalty, global warming, and new arms systems.

In addition, the corruption scandal enveloping the

Christian Democrats and their internal quarrels have allowed Schroeder's coalition a large margin of maneuver. The recent eviction of the Christian Democrats from the government of Berlin may be a sign of things to come. However, the current recession is a huge problem for a government that asked to be judged on its economic competence. The Christian Democrats have alternately criticized the government for failure to deregulate German capitalism and for reducing social benefits.

Their ultimate weapon, as the economy worsens, is unashamed manipulation of the profound xenophobia of many citizens. Nine percent of the population are foreigners; to Germany's credit, it is the highest percentage in the European Union, but there is no consensus on the question. Schroeder has appointed a bipartisan commission on immigration policy — but his government has been singularly ineffective in dealing with everyday violence. That, in turn, increases the atmosphere of insecurity from which the opposition plans to profit, especially among working-class voters.

Schroeder has been severely criticized for systematic opportunism. Yet there is every reason to suppose that his command of both party and nation will deepen — and that the Social Democrats will win the election of 2002. But with which allies, and with what long-term goals, they will govern thereafter remains unclear.

### **The Other Left: Greens and Post-Communists**

What the Social Democrats can accomplish in the future will depend, to a considerable extent, on their capacity to master change by forming effective coalitions. The two other leftist parties, the Greens and the post-Communist Party of Democratic Socialism, are both allies and antagonists. The Greens are partners in national government and in several states. The former Communist Party is a coalition partner in Mecklenburg-Pomerania and part of the governing majority in Berlin and Saxony-Anhalt.

The Greens have substantially altered German politics since they entered the Bundestag in 1983. Environmentalism is now honored by all the parties. Their feminism has been emulated by the Social Democrats, and the Christian Democratic leader is a woman, Angela Merkel. The Social Democrats share the Green emphasis on economic development and human rights in Germany's foreign policy, and Joschka Fischer, the foreign minister, is a Green.

Nevertheless, the Greens are in some danger of fading

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because of their success. They began with a radical critique of capitalist civilization, but that has given way to a modulated reformism. Fischer is a major figure, yet his insistence on the German assumption of full military responsibility in NATO reversed his party's position. (Should his party fail to enter the next Bundestag, he is well-positioned to join the Social Democrats.) It is an open question whether the middle-aged Greens can attract younger voters who take what once were original ideas for granted.

As for the post-Communist Party of Democratic Socialism, it is burdened by a contradiction. Its new leaders present themselves as duly chastened (if belated) critics of the Socialist Unity Party, the old German Communist Party that was the sole proprietor of the East German state. They envision an authentically democratic party to the left of the Social Democrats, critical of the latter's compromises with the new capitalism. Yet their aged members regard the party as the defender of their old identity, while the public, especially in the west, remembers it best for the Berlin Wall, the secret police, and a stagnant economy.

The party is likely for the indefinite future to retain its 20

percent of the vote in the east (40 percent in east Berlin), but the chances of increasing its minuscule vote in the west do not seem very great. However, its witty television star, Gregor Gysi, is running for mayor of Berlin. Should he win, his party's appeal throughout Germany could be enhanced. However, a serious threat from the left would be met by the Social Democrats as they met the Green challenge: by imitation and incorporation.

In general, then, the problems faced by the German left in its several identities are exactly those of the other leftist parties in Western Europe — and, indeed, of the Democratic Party in the U.S. The international mobility of capital is undermining the national welfare states of the past century, yet in privatized cultures and depoliticized societies — consequences of the industrialization of culture — it is very difficult to advance projects of transformation. It remains to be seen whether the German left (and above all the Social Democrats) can draw upon its traditions for a new political pedagogy. If it limits itself to defending the social conquests of the past, it may be challenged by newer social movements, very possibly of an undemocratic cast. ■

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MUELLER • *Continued from page 33*

When Helmut Kohl's Christian Democratic Union was crushed in the federal election of 1998, Germany's longest-serving chancellor left behind a party that was not only ideologically exhausted, but also in organizational shambles, because the entire party had been organized around Kohl. Though the CDU swiftly rose in the polls again due to the initial blunders of the inexperienced and internally divided Red-Green government, it soon plunged into the most profound crisis of its history when the party's illegal financing methods were uncovered in late 1999.

With Kohl disgraced, and the old party machine dismantled, the Christian Democrats are now in ideological and organizational limbo. Like other conservative parties, the CDU is still viewed as the representative of cold-hearted capitalism, and it has had great difficulty in finding a credible ideological response to the Social Democratic "Third Way." In theory, however, the CDU is well placed to go down the road of compassionate conservatism. The party was never as clearly neoliberal as Republicans or British conservatives, and its Catholic social doctrine already contains many of the policy prescriptions that conservative parties in the West are now selling as ideological innovations.

Yet, in the short term, the CDU's prospects remain bleak: Its new leadership has been hapless, the scandal over Kohl's illegal finance practices has yet to be fully resolved, and the present left-of-center government has proved to be more competent in handling the economy than expected. More importantly, if a more compassionate CDU moves to the left, political space might open up again for the far right in German politics.

#### **CDU's Disgrace: Price of Personalized Politics**

No party in the history of German democracy ever seemed to have recovered from a crushing defeat more quickly than the CDU after the federal elections in the fall of 1998. Gerhard Schroeder's first months in office were characterized by mismanagement — a particularly grave disappointment, since, as in 1969, the left had only won because it billed itself as the more competent choice and

made vague promises to create a more modern Germany. The CDU got back on its feet after its strategists hit on what seemed to be a winning issue: the Christian Democrats fiercely opposed the planned liberalization of the citizenship law, which would have significantly lowered the barriers to the naturalization of foreigners in Germany. CDU supporters were particularly opposed to provisions for dual citizenship, and the party collected more than a million signatures against them. Campaigning mainly on the citizenship issue, the CDU comfortably won the state election in Hesse in early 1999, thereby depriving the government of its majority in the upper house.

Then the CDU's recovery was decisively derailed by revelations of illegal financing practices under the Kohl regime. Faced with revelations of numerous undeclared donations and news about secret Liechtenstein accounts breaking almost daily, Kohl, who ran foreign and domestic policy on the basis of personal friendships with Bill, Boris and various domestic allies, refused to release the names of donors. He couldn't, he claimed, because he had given them his personal "word of honor" that he would not. Personal trust, he asserted, "was more important than purely formal criteria."

Nobody suggested that Kohl was personally corrupt — but everybody could now see where the so-called "Kohl system" of patriarchal patronage had led. Kohl had inherited a party for which raising funds in the fight against communism was more important than the campaign financing laws it had itself enacted. Kohl continued these practices, eventually putting personal power above everything else.

#### **The CDU in Ideological Limbo**

When it seemed that the CDU might collapse like its Christian Democratic sister party in Italy had a few years earlier, CDU general secretary Angela Merkel, writing in a conservative daily in 1999, courageously asked Kohl to come clean. The media — and many CDU members — took an immediate liking to the soft-spoken East German pastor's daughter and called for her to take over the party. While Merkel had served in Kohl's cabinet for eight years, she was not tainted by the Cold War politics of the old Bonn Republic and, more than Kohl's hand-picked CDU leaders in the federal states, promised a clean break with the past.

Merkel was elected CDU leader at what seemed more

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*Jan-Werner Mueller is a fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. He is the author of Another Country: German Intellectuals, Unification and National Identity (Yale University Press, 2000).*

like a religious revival meeting than a party conference in March 2000. Merkel's ascendancy in itself constituted nothing less than a cultural revolution for the German right. The first female leader of a major party, a divorcee, an Easterner and a Protestant, Merkel seemed as far removed from the old, oligarchical, Rhineland Catholic and patriarchal CDU as one could possibly get. She immediately promised a kinder and more colorful party. And for a while it seemed as if the CDU could indeed become more diverse, decentralized and democratic, with a larger role for women, younger members and Easterners.

Nevertheless, while Merkel clearly embodied a vision of a different CDU, the party's political direction remained less clear. While the CDU never embraced neoliberalism in quite the same way that Thatcher's Conservatives or Reagan's Republicans did, the party came to be perceived as cold and heartless. Now, Merkel advocated a more compassionate society and, at the same time, a "new social market economy" to make Germany successful in the leaner, meaner world of globalization.

Yet by the time the CDU began to reorient itself, the government had found its bearings aided by the departure of Schroeder's rival and standard-bearer of the socialist left, Oskar Lafontaine, and by the largely successful conduct of the Kosovo War. More importantly, after years of blocked reforms, the Social Democratic Party stole the CDU's neoliberal clothes and enacted major changes in the tax and pension systems. The Social Democrats could begin to claim that they too were competent in running the economy, the CDU's traditional strength. Schroeder, the popular "chancellor of consensus," systematically closed down political space, as his reforms favored corporations, but his party managed to convince Germans that it was most concerned with social justice. As in Tony Blair's Britain, the Third Way seemed to lead, above all, to comfortable re-election.

Schroeder also narrowed the options of the opposition by adopting de facto CDU positions in foreign policy. For example, during the Kosovo War, the SPD-Green government was, if anything, overeager to prove its reliability to its allies. While Schroeder had initially shocked his European partners with speeches about a new German

***The far right lacks ideas; it lacks a charismatic figure of the Haider type; and it lacks strong national organizations.***

assertiveness and a more self-confident promotion of the German national interest, he soon reverted to a kind of pragmatic multilateralism which was not all that different from that of his predecessors. He might not be a European at heart in the way Kohl, with his personal memories of the war, was, but he remains no less willing to push European integration and E.U. enlargement. Consequently, the CDU, as pro-European as ever, has found it difficult to identify an angle from

which to attack the government.

The Third Way knows no enemies, as its ideologies are eager to satisfy both the proponents of the market and the promoters of social justice. Not surprisingly, the CDU has had a hard time sharpening its profile in opposition. The party thought it had detected the government's weakest spot when it campaigned against the new citizenship law. The SPD and the Greens in particular eventually had to back down on the plan to allow dual citizenship. Yet, when Schroeder proposed a German "green card" to attract highly qualified specialists in technology to make up for the shortfall in computer experts in Germany, the CDU's infamous campaign for "Kinder statt Inder" — "Let us have children instead of Indians," a higher birthrate instead of highly qualified immigrants — backfired badly. Not only did the party lose the elections in Germany's most populous state, North Rhine-Westphalia, but it also appeared xenophobic and out of touch with the realities of globalization. Nationalism, or even a kind of "neonatalism," simply did not seem a convincing answer to the declining German birth rate.

The CDU's long-standing denial that Germany was a country of immigration (which of course meant that no immigration policies were required) seemed belied by the fact that there are more than seven million foreigners in the country, and the fact that business leaders were complaining constantly about a lack of native specialists in information technology. Even for the CDU's traditional supporters in industry, then, the politics of fear and denial simply would not work.

Nevertheless, the Christian Democrats tried the national card again, when they advocated a specific German Leitkultur — an almost untranslatable German concept for a "guiding culture" to which immigrants were supposed to

subscribe. Much subsequent mudslinging between government and opposition did little to clarify what Friedrich Merz, the leader of the CDU caucus who had first proposed the idea, actually meant. While Merkel, in a vain attempt at clarification, eventually claimed that *Leitkultur* was an "open concept," its very openness ultimately suggested that the CDU had little to offer as a coherent vision of Germany as a liberal multicultural society.

In a subsequent, equally inconclusive debate on patriotism, the party leader Merkel eventually settled on the slogan that she was "proud to be living in this country." Even for the Germans who agreed, this in itself would have been hardly a reason to vote for a party that is still in visible ideological disarray. Like the British Conservatives, the CDU is unlikely to win elections on issues of national identity and by subliminally appealing to fears about immigration. The reason is simply that voters are insufficiently concerned about these questions — at least in comparison to major social and economic issues — not to mention the fact that a campaign against immigrants and asylum-seekers does not really go together with the idea of a more compassionate conservatism, unless the CDU and other parties become openly nationalist and advocate the confinement of compassion to co-nationals. In a country with Germany's history, however, open nationalism remains out of the question.

In the past, the CDU had always been able to find substitute sources of social cohesion, whether religion, anti-communism, Atlanticism or Europeanism. Now, some of these sources have dried up, but nationalism still is a poisoned well. Consequently, the CDU faces a new dilemma in addition to the problems of conservatives in general: it remains an advocate of community, but has become unsure which community it should advocate. It is an open question whether the party will ultimately come out of denial and seek a cross-party consensus on immigration; the fact that leading CDU politician Rita Suessmuth was willing to chair the official commission on a new immigration law points in this direction. Yet confrontation instead of consensus remains a permanent temptation, as long as the CDU remembers its success in Hesse — and listens to the pollsters who find that almost 70 percent of all Germans oppose more immigration.

### **The CDU in Organizational Limbo**

Meanwhile, the party has also been weakened by internal competition. The only thing faster than Merkel's rise

in the eyes of the German media has been her downfall. The very qualities she was initially praised for — independence and deliberation — have now become signals of weakness: She has been accused of being indecisive and unable to lead, even from within her own party. The rivalry between her and Merz, the CDU advocate of a German *Leitkultur*, is an open secret. Not least, the technophile physicist Merkel and the deeply Catholic Merz are divided on substantive issues such as genetic engineering — a topic on which the party has yet to find a common voice.

Given Merkel's weakness, it is not surprising that Edmund Stoiber, prime minister of Bavaria and head of the CDU's Bavarian sister party, the Christian Social Union, has been positioning himself as the most likely conservative candidate for the federal election in 2002. Stoiber is an ambitious technocrat who has demonstrated in Bavaria that competent economic management and an emphasis on conservative, particularly Catholic, values can still go together. He frequently flirts with the very idea that made Joerg Haider and Silvio Berlusconi popular: namely, that politics should be run like a successful business. On the other hand, Stoiber knows all too well that the CSU cannot force a candidate on the much larger CDU. After all, when the CSU last fielded the joint candidate for chancellor — Franz Josef Strauss in 1980 — the blustering Bavarian did not have the full backing of the CDU and turned into an electoral disaster.

As in other countries, it seems that the CDU can only win if a left-center government proves less than fully competent in managing the economy, as in Italy, or is plagued by scandals, as in the U.S. No conservative party has yet reinvented itself in the way left-wing parties did in the 1980s and 1990s in response to the neoliberal revolution. Absent new ideas on social and economic questions, conservative parties are tempted to refight the culture wars of the past. In the controversy surrounding foreign minister Joschka Fischer's history as a left-wing radical, conservative intellectuals have tried to argue that the German student rebellion of '68 was on a par with the Nazi era, since they are both pasts with which the Germans have not yet come to terms. Yet such culture wars are of little interest to the electorate, and Fischer has remained one of the most popular politicians. In this regard at least, for better or for worse, the Germans remain pragmatists: Competent policy management in the present is more important to them than the fact that a politician may have a shady past.

**'Nationally Liberated Zones'**

But if the CDU were to move closer to the SPD on issues of immigration and citizenship, would that not open political space for the far right in German politics? The question has been a persistent one since unification, but the electorate has hardly given a clear answer. On the one hand, it still seems highly unlikely that either an openly racist party like France's National Front or even a neoliberal-cum-nationalist party like Haider's Free Democrats in Austria will have lasting success in Germany. On the other hand, Germany's three major far-right parties have celebrated sporadic successes, even though they have generally not been able to unite their forces, and, like in other countries, remain plagued by internal ideological and personal conflict.

Most spectacularly, the xenophobic Deutsche Volks-Union (German People's Union) picked up almost 13 percent of the vote in the state election in Saxony-Anhalt in 1998. As is so often true in Germany, anti-foreigner sentiment was unrelated to the actual presence of foreigners — Saxony-Anhalt has one of the lowest proportions of foreigners in Germany. Moreover, as was quickly recognized, the DVU was essentially a phantom party without real politicians and without a party infrastructure — even though it still boasts the largest membership (roughly 17,000 nationwide) of all the extreme right-wing parties. DVU election success had essentially been bought by the party's sponsor, Munich-based businessman Gerhard Frey, who has made his fortune with books and newspapers dedicated to historical revisionism. Not surprisingly, the party proved to be incompetent in parliament and plagued by frequent defections. Its last success came in September 1999, when Frey yet again put massive funds into a state election campaign and got five seats in the Brandenburg legislature in return. It was also one of the few occasions when two far-right parties — in this case, the DVU and the Republikaner — did not field candidates in the same election and therefore did not take votes from each other.

The far-right parties have fallen into a pattern of electoral success, gained by protest votes, followed by parliamentary failure and then electoral oblivion. The Republikaner, the far-right party which tries hardest to stay in the mainstream of German party politics, was

**A "Third Way" Left  
has stolen the  
Christian Democratic  
Union's neoliberal  
thunder.**

thrown out of the parliament of the Land of Baden-Wuerttemberg in March 2001, after eight years of continuous presence in the legislature. Like the DVU, it has seen its membership decline in the last few years. Moreover, there is simply not enough political space between the right wing of the CDU and the border beyond which parties could actually be outlawed for extreme nationalism and anti-democratic tendencies.

Yet even if party politics holds few prospects for the far right, it can still focus its efforts on long-term strategies to transform German political culture. The National Democratic Party, the oldest of the far-right parties which almost made it into the Bundestag in the late 1960s, has reoriented itself to pursue grassroots activism. In so doing, it has attracted free-floating neo-Nazis and in turn has become increasingly radicalized. Young NPD activists have declared "nationally liberated zones" primarily in the former East Germany. In such "centers of counter-power" foreigners, the disabled, the homeless, homosexuals and leftists are supposed to be expelled and right-wing youths are to provide social services and cultural activities for "proper Germans" only. In these enclaves governed by a bizarre (or perhaps all too familiar) mixture of extreme nationalism and municipal socialism, local youths see themselves as a right-wing avant-garde that puts into violent practice what their elders only dare to think.

Of all the parties, the NPD has focused most clearly on the young. It has established highly trained cadres to penetrate youth culture and establish loosely organized local "comradeships," which are often able to fly under the radar screen of the local police. The NPD also is the only party that was actually able to increase its membership last year (if only slightly), and now sees itself as the head of a broad social protest movement fighting for the streets, rather than focusing its efforts primarily on electoral success. "Organization through disorganization" became its watchword for a strategy of strengthening the spontaneous, anti-institutional subcultures of right-wing protest. Unlike the other far-right parties, the NPD realized early on that eastern Germans were not all that interested in the "national question," historical revisionism or Holocaust denial, but that Easterners still put much more trust in the state and care more about social justice than the West

Germans. Generally, eastern youngsters have become increasingly alienated from the political system, and the East in general is now distinctly more inclined towards the far right than the West (whereas until the mid-1990s, the western part of the country registered more extremist views). Consequently, the NPD re-invented itself as primarily a national socialist party that would even praise the social achievements of the GDR. The NPD now stands mostly for anti-capitalism and ethnic pluralism which demands a strict separation between Germans and non-Germans.

Areas of "extra-parliamentary national resistance" — which are still more myth than reality — could at some point prove to be hotbeds of anti-democratic agitation and violence. The exact relationship between the electoral fortunes of far-right parties and actual violence against foreigners remains obscure. Yet it is certain that crimes against foreigners reached an unprecedented peak in 1992 and 1993 but declined significantly toward the late 1990s, as the strength of right-wing parties waned as well. Last year, however, these crimes were very much on the increase again, and it seems that the new strategies of the NPD and various neo-Nazi groups might be a significant factor in this. On the other hand, most crimes are committed by small cliques of youngsters whose behavior seems to be better explained by boredom, aggression, alcohol and a longing for comradeship, rather than organized right-wing ideology in any real sense.

In response to the rise in racist and, particularly, anti-Semitic violence, the Interior Ministry has moved to ban the party under the provisions of the Basic Law, which permits the prohibition of parties that seek to undermine the "free and democratic basic order" of society. In addition, Schroeder has appealed to society to begin an "uprising of decent citizens," calling for demonstrations and other kinds of democratic activism.

There is little doubt that the NPD has turned into a safe haven for neo-Nazis and that even its official publications repeatedly call for overcoming the democratic system through a national revolution. Germans' views on the government's move to outlaw the party have been mixed, however. Some observers predict that right-wing activists will merely be driven underground; now, at least, one can monitor the activities of such parties. Others have attacked the whole idea of a "militant democracy" that infringes on the right to free speech and association. And others again have predicted that the party may not be

ruled unconstitutional — perhaps even for merely procedural reasons — in which case the legitimacy of the NPD's positions would be affirmed in the most dramatic way possible.

Nevertheless, the immediate election prospects for the far right remain bleak. It lacks ideas; it lacks a charismatic figure of the Haider type; and it lacks strong national organizations. Yet, with a looming recession, E.U. expansion and the imaginary threat of East Europeans flooding the German labor market, the right might be on the rise again. Meanwhile, the silent expansion of what the British journalist Nicholas Fraser has called "separate mini-republics of hatred" in the East might prove the most dangerous long-term threat to democracy.

#### **Dilemmas of Contemporary Conservatism**

So how will the German right reshape itself in the future? In the past, conservatism has proven itself to be the most adaptable of all ideologies. Like the British conservatives, the Christian Democrats have often seemed (and seen themselves as) the natural party of government and as a formidable vote-gathering machine. Yet, for the moment the CDU suffers from the same problem as other conservative parties in the West. A Third Way Left has stolen its neoliberal thunder, but, by and large, has been able to close down political space to its own left.

There are also more specific challenges. Increasingly, federal elections are being decided in the east. For a moment, Merkel seemed a perfect symbol for recognizing the East German experience, and for a CDU that would become the first genuinely all-German party. Yet, with the increasing respectability of the post-communist SPD, the Social Democrats might have more leeway in forming variable majorities, as a "red-Green-red" coalition no longer seems unthinkable even at the federal level — which means that the SPD could now have a coalition with any of the other parties in Germany. The CDU, on the other hand, remains restricted to the neo-liberal Free Democrats as a coalition partner (even though there have been some experiments in CDU-Green cooperation at the local level).

It seems, then, that if the CDU wants to regain the ideological initiative, it at the very least has to make its own peace with the Sixties and with the presence of almost eight million immigrants. And it might want to advertise for a new chief ideologue. ■

# TERMS OF ENDEARMENT: U.S.-GERMAN RELATIONS



Eric Hesse

AMERICAN AND GERMAN INTERESTS COINCIDED DURING THE COLD WAR. BUT NOW THAT GERMANY'S PRIMARY FOCUS IS THE EUROPEAN UNION, THEY ARE COINCIDING LESS.

By ROBERT GERALD LIVINGSTON

**G**rizzled transatlanticists fondly recall the nearly perfect U.S.-German alliance of the Cold War when divided Germany lay at the center of U.S. foreign policy-making and the two shared vital interests. The most vital was their common interest in defending the West, especially West Germany, against the Soviet threat. In contrast, today's united Germany is becoming politically more distant from the United States. Its primary policy focus is now the European Union, while America's attention has been shifting to face new enemies and rivals. The Cold War-era power disparity between Germany, who depended on the U.S. for protection, and the United States, a Cold War superpower, is diminishing. The European Union, with Germany its strongest member, is slowly becoming a power center to rival the United States, and the U.S.-German relationship must change accordingly.

**A Nearly Perfect Relationship**

At the outset of the Cold War, as communism threatened the West, Germany, the former enemy, quickly became a primary ally of the U.S. for several reasons. First, as long as "hard" issues like military security dominated the American foreign policy agenda, the strategic value of a German bastion could scarcely be denied. Second, American political leadership of the time was naturally oriented toward Europe. The three immediate postwar presidents had all had personal European experience: Harry Truman as an artillery captain in World War I, Dwight Eisenhower as supreme commander of the allied forces in World War II, and John F. Kennedy as the college-age son of Franklin Roosevelt's ambassador to London. Policy-making was in the hands of "wise men," charter members of the East Coast establishment such as Dean Acheson, John Foster Dulles and John McCloy, many of them with links to Germany going back to the 1920s or 1930s. And foreign policy leaders weren't the only Americans with personal connections to Germany: As late as 1960, Germans ranked number one among groups of foreign-born Americans. The America of the time was still a country of immigrants from Europe who supported American engagement there.

But most critically, the U.S. and Germany quickly became allies because their vital interests coincided almost seamlessly. In the atmosphere of the Cold War, no American president could contemplate "losing" Germany to communism. The Federal Republic was central to U.S. policy-making in the 1950s and early 1960s for one simple reason: It was, until Vietnam, the chief battleground in America's worldwide struggle against communism.

Following the communist power grabs in Europe in the late 1940s, the North Korean invasion of the south in 1950 raised concern in Washington. Americans worried that North Korea's attack of the south was but a prelude, that East Germany might be a similar staging area from

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which an invasion would be launched against the weak American, British and French armies occupying West Germany. The American strategists' conclusion? German soldiers and industrial power were needed immediately if an effective defense were to be mounted against such danger. Accordingly, the United States quickly forgave Germany for its Nazi past and became the principal champion of West Germany's rehabilitation, encouraging it to rearm and ally itself

with the United States.

This policy accorded with the Wilsonian missionary strain in American foreign policy. It appealed to Americans' desire to feel good about U.S. undertakings abroad; Americans were pleased with the thought that West Germany had been redeemed from pride and sin by American Marshall Plan generosity and transformed into democracy thanks to American re-education and influence in framing its new constitution. With American patronage, West Germany became a member of the U.S.-led North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1955, and with American encouragement, it joined France, Italy, and the Benelux countries in the European Community (later the European Union) two years later.

During the Cold War the Federal Republic was dependent on the United States for protection. As many as 250,000 American troops were stationed at times in Germany, far more than anywhere else abroad. Not permitted nuclear weapons and with its army integrated into NATO's operational structures, West Germany could not contemplate, much less carry out, any independent military action. Its NATO and European Community memberships constrained it politically as well. Berlin was held in trusteeship for Germany by the Americans, British, and French, giving the trio much potential leverage in German politics.

German governments did not necessarily see these constraints on their country as handicaps. Rather, with their foreign ambitions strictly limited for a long time to reestablishing respect for Germany, they regarded America's lead role in NATO and its presence in Berlin as ties binding the United States firmly to the Federal Republic. At the core of American commitments was the guarantee to protect West Germany, if need be with nuclear weapons. For Bonn, the relegation of reunifica-

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*Robert Gerald Livingston is a Senior Visiting Fellow at the German Historical Institute in Washington, a former director of the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies at Johns Hopkins and a former president of the German Marshall Fund.*

## F O C U S

tion, which did not much interest the U.S., to the distant future, and fidelity to the United States, were small prices to pay for that protection.

When reunification did happen in 1990, the United States discovered that unified Germany shared many values and policies with America's old ally, the Bonn Republic. Like the Federal Republic, unified Germany has continued to embrace democracy at home and self-restraint in its foreign policy. Rather than insisting on greater national independence, Germany has remained firmly integrated in NATO and the E.U. Yet as Germany has become more firmly committed to Europe, it is finding that U.S. and German interests, which frequently coincided during the Cold War, now are coinciding less.

### Diverging Interests?

As E.U. policy-making affects German domestic affairs more and more, elected politicians in Germany are bound to give Europe relatively greater attention and the United States relatively less. Germans have come to accept that

their interests are well-served by E.U. membership. For example, in trade disputes with the United States, German economic interests are usually best protected by maintaining solidarity within the E.U., whose total economy equals that of the United States. With world trade expanding more rapidly than economic growth, E.U.-U.S. disputes are likely to multiply and irritate the German-American relationship, with more fights over products like bananas, gene-modified corn and hormone-injected beef. On defense matters, should the E.U. succeed in setting up its own rapid reaction military force, Germany is bound to pay less heed to its defense relationship with the United States, even though NATO relations have traditionally been given high priority.

With the end of the Soviet threat in Europe, the United States has turned its foreign policy attention away from Germany and Europe and toward other dangers, a realignment of priorities that was dramatically and suddenly illustrated in 1991 when the U.S. rapidly shifted its attention from the newly unified Germany to the Persian Gulf.

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Though there may be dangers in Europe — as the Balkans demonstrate — for America (if not for Germany and Europe), they are minor ones. With different policy foci now, Germany and the United States will inevitably be less closely concerned with each other than they were during the Cold War.

Common values, praised by politicians in both countries as the bedrock of the alliance, remain, but those values that are not common are getting more attention these days. As more Germans come to know the United States better, disdain for elements of the American way of life, such as the death penalty, the culture of guns, street crime, religiosity in public life, heedless consumption of energy resources, and glaring inequalities of income and wealth is becoming more widespread.

Differing political ideologies also separate the two countries. The Social Democrats, in power in Germany since 1998, are not as reflexively pro-American as the Christian Democrats are. Social Democratic Party principles such as social justice, state regulation, and income redistribution have little in common with the thinking of the Republican administration in Washington. With the departure of Helmut Kohl and the Christian Democrats, a generation socialized by Germany's defeat and revival with help from America's Marshall Plan passed from the political stage.

Furthermore, changes in American society since the 1950s have weakened the constituency that has traditionally been sympathetic to, or at least interested in, Germany. The grip on foreign policy-making of the East Coast establishment, with its understanding of European problems, is slipping. America's economic and cultural centers of power are no longer confined to the Northeast, with its European orientation. Kennedy was the last easterner to hold the presidency. All but one of his eight successors have come from the South or West. German-born residents now rank only tenth among foreign-born Americans.

#### **What Future for the Relationship?**

Should Germany and the U.S. then despair that their nearly perfect alliance of the Cold War is destined to deteriorate so that differences and disputes become its hallmarks? Yes and no.

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E.U. partners.*

There are sure to be more disputes between the countries than there were in the past, because, if pushed to choose between the U.S. and Europe, Germany will more readily side with its E.U. partners. For example, just recently, the split between the United States and Germany — and the other E.U. members — over the Kyoto Protocol on global climate change illustrated the countries' different attitudes toward government regulation of the environment. Germany took the E.U.'s position on this issue, as it

has on a number of economic and trade disputes, such as E.U. anti-trust policies that block American companies' merger plans or prohibitions on genetically modified food. Because America and Germany no longer share interests that can be called vital, such disputes are no longer as easily repressed as they were during the Cold War.

Still, German and American interests remain largely congruent. Both are active exponents of promoting democratic freedoms, human values, and the rule of law, and also (the Americans more enthusiastically than the Germans) free markets in their foreign relations. In the Balkans and elsewhere in Eastern Europe, both are defenders of the status quo and favor activist intervention to uphold it. (After initially hesitating, President Bush acknowledged that America's role in Bosnia and Kosovo was essential, both militarily and politically.) Germany and the United States work together in a range of NATO-related military projects in Eastern Europe.

The old Cold War adversary, Russia, also presents fruitful terrain for German-American cooperation: Both Germany and the United States want to advance democracy and the rule of law there and open up the country to the outside world. Both have established good relations with Russia's President Putin.

NATO serves, as it always has, as the primary platform for the German-American relationship. Since it has found new life providing institutional shelter for new democracies in Eastern Europe and handling peacekeeping and peace-enforcing duties, it is not likely to go out of business any time soon.

In addition, Germany and America are among the Western powers most committed to the Middle East

peace process. They are Israel's staunchest allies. The U.S. is bound to Israel because Israel is a vigorous democracy with a powerful constituency and effective political lobby in the United States. Germany supports Israel because Germany is very conscious of its tragic record of crime against the Jewish people. Were there to be an Arab-Israeli war, both the United States and Germany would have no choice but to back Israel to the hilt. Knowing that, both are determined to make every effort to help avert such a war. Germany is well placed to work with the U.S. here after more than five decades of assistance to Israel, most of it little publicized. It also funds much of the E.U.'s large financial aid program to the Palestinian Authority. Germany has been more active in the Middle East peace process in recent years than is usually recognized in the U.S. For instance, Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer brokered a ceasefire between Israel and the Palestinians after a Tel Aviv nightclub bomb attack earlier this year.

Germany can also help further U.S. objectives in countries the U.S. has difficulty working with, such as Iran. While Washington has shunned relations with Iran, Germany has been in the forefront of Europe's cautious dialogue with the country on issues such as weapons of mass destruction and human rights, issues which interest the U.S. In addition, Iran and Germany have extensive business and personal connections; for example, President Khatami once lived in Hamburg.

Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, a prime objective of any American president, is another U.S. policy that enjoys full German support. As a state without nuclear weapons itself, Germany wants to see as few others with them as possible. In fact, the Germans are a valuable ally for the U.S. on arms control policies of all kinds. During the Cold War, West Germany was a strong supporter of arms control agreements such as the Antiballistic Missile Treaty. To the degree that the Bush administration turns away from the ABM treaty, continues to avoid ratifying the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty or expresses doubts about implementing the 1972 ban on biological weapons, arms control — an interest which the U.S. and Germany shared for so long — may start to become a divisive issue.

Count on Germany, too, for support on global policies in which the United States takes a major interest — the drug trade, terrorism, and AIDS. Don't count on Germany spending much money on these policies, however, because the present German government's fiscal

austerity program has resulted in cuts in its foreign affairs, developmental aid, and defense budgets.

For over five decades now the German and American economies and societies have drawn closer, shrinking the Atlantic. Each country has extensive direct investments in the other. Mergers like Daimler-Chrysler or Deutsche Telekom and VoiceStream multiply personal and institutional connections at a rapid pace. The multifarious and complex friendships, linkages and infrastructure that have developed as a result provide the relationship with so solid an underpinning that political problems can be anticipated and averted and clashes preempted and compromised away. Such bedrock renders hostility between Germany and the United States inconceivable, no matter what foolishness governments may come up with.

Certain U.S. government institutions have cultivated particularly close relations with their German counterparts: the army, intelligence organizations, and the Federal Reserve, to name but three. Non-governmental organizations promoting everything from German-American goodwill to professional advancement thrive. Public opinion of each other's countries remains highly positive as polls have been showing for decades: American respondents rank Germany their favorite country after Britain and Canada, and Germans regard the United States as their most reliable ally. The many German tourists to the U.S. — over 500,000 visit Florida alone each year — the generally favorable experiences of millions of ex-GIs who have served in Germany, and the nostalgia among transatlanticists about the good old days of the perfect Cold War alliance cannot, naturally, be quantified. But their beneficial impact on the overall relationship is evident and likely to endure.

Washington's strategic decisions in the late 1940s to stand by Germany and remain politically and militarily engaged in Europe effectively made the U.S. a "European" power. Even though it does not belong to the European Union, the United States will remain a power on the continent as long as it preserves its close relationship with the strongest country within that Union. Germany well knows that were the United States not in Europe, its own power would be all too conspicuous and certain to induce coalitions against it. America's presence in Europe once constrained West Germany's, but now enhances united Germany's, freedom of action. Not altogether a bad basis for the continuance of a strong relationship. ■

# THE SENATE CHANGES HANDS: WHAT'S IN IT FOR STATE?

DESPITE IDEOLOGICAL CONTRASTS, THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE IS NOT LIKELY TO OPERATE VERY DIFFERENTLY UNDER DEMOCRATIC CONTROL. HERE'S WHY.

BY MILES POMPER

**W**hen Democrats took control of the Senate on June 5, liberal foreign policy activists were thrilled. No longer would conservative Republican Jesse Helms of North Carolina chair the Foreign Relations Committee. Instead, it would be headed by liberal Democrat Joseph R. Biden, Jr. of Delaware. And another liberal Democrat, Patrick J. Leahy of Vermont, would now head a key spending panel on foreign aid.

The ideological shift could not be clearer: Helms long ago won the sobriquet "Senator No" for his opposition to most arms control treaties, his prowess at holding up and killing countless Clinton administration ambassadorial nominees, and his ability to block attempts to expand the reach of international law and multilateral organizations. In contrast, Biden is instinctively inclined to support liberal activists' demands, ranging from disarmament measures to closer ties with the United Nations to support for U.S. forces in peacekeeping missions overseas.

But what those activists failed to recognize is that both Biden and Helms are old legislative hands who came to the Senate in 1973, are accustomed to seeking compromises to pass legislation, and want to restore the authority and prestige of the Foreign Relations panel. Biden is also well aware that despite his new role, the current alignment of political forces in Washington does not offer many additional opportunities to alter the Bush administration's foreign policy agenda.

In fact, Biden downplays the potential for major changes, pointing out that President Bush, Secretary of State Colin Powell and the leaders of other nations are likely to have a much greater role in shaping U.S. foreign policy than he or Leahy. "There's not much we can do. The administration

and, even more, world events set the agenda — not us," Biden said.

Biden also notes that "not one vote was changed" by Sen. Jim Jeffords' May 24 decision to leave the Republican Party and declare himself an independent. Democrats may have the majority in the U.S. Senate, he notes, but they still hold only 50 votes out of 100. And since Senate rules make it easy for the minority party to block legislation in a closely divided chamber, Biden says he and Leahy must compromise with Republicans if they are to advance their legislative goals.

## The Odd Couple

Thus, even though Biden gained an additional Democrat on the committee — Sen. John D. Rockefeller IV of West Virginia — when the chairmanship changed hands, the panel is likely to be largely governed by the same calculations that held sway when Helms controlled the gavel. Partly that's because Biden tends to defer to the secretary of State, even if he or she hails from the opposing party. But more importantly, it is a matter of personal chemistry between Biden and Helms. Despite their sharp ideological differences, the two senators have established a close working relationship since Biden became the top Democrat on the panel in 1997. Biden frequently refers to himself and Helms as "the Senate's odd couple," and he also boasts a long friendship with Sen. Strom Thurmond, R.-S.C., dating back to the 1980s when they were the top members of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

That cooperative spirit is evident on matters both large and small. Several years ago, the two worked together to pass a measure (commonly known as the Helms-Biden Act) that paid off a large portion of U.S. arrears to the United Nations in return for a set of systemic U.N. reforms. The deal also achieved a long-standing Helms objective: folding the U.S. Information Agency and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency into the State Department.

*Miles Pomper is a reporter for Congressional Quarterly.*

Another reason the change will have less impact than one might expect is that Helms' formal control of the panel often masked the behind-the-scenes influence exerted by Biden. Even before taking formal stewardship of the panel, he had emerged as its key power broker on many issues by holding together his Democratic colleagues while reaching out to establishment Republicans like Richard G. Lugar of Indiana, who frequently disagreed with Helms' strongly conservative stands. Together, Biden and his GOP allies forced Helms to move bills on issues such as alleviating the debts of poor nations and approving a treaty banning the production and distribution of chemical weapons.

In fact, in some ways, Biden may have a harder time now that he is formally running the committee, for his desire for compromise will be tested by more ideological liberals like Barbara Boxer of California and Paul Wellstone of Minnesota.

### **Holding the Pursestrings**

Despite even stronger liberal leanings, Patrick Leahy faces a similar calculus as he chairs the foreign operations appropriations subcommittee, the subpanel that each year allocates the cash to assist foreign countries. Appropriators have traditionally subordinated partisan or ideological differences to a common, bipartisan effort to dole out pork-barrel spending and other tangible benefits for constituents.

Few observers expect that tendency to change under new Appropriations Committee Chairman Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia. In fact, that trend may only intensify; Byrd is renowned for his ability to win taxpayers' dollars for his home state by showing similar generosity toward his colleagues' requests. Byrd's focus on domestic spending is likely to mean that when he has to spread funding among his 13 appropriations subcommittees, foreign aid will fare particularly badly.

Nor does it help that the available pool of potential resources is shrinking rapidly: the \$1.35 trillion tax cut Congress approved earlier this year single-handedly eliminated most of the budget surplus except for the money earmarked for the Social Security and Medicare trust funds. Secretary Powell's predecessor, Madeleine Albright, was able to partially reverse post-Cold War declines in foreign aid spending, often by convincing Congress to enact supplemental measures beyond what she had originally requested in her annual budget submission. That tactic made available additional funds for priorities from Colombia to the Middle

East. In today's tighter budget environment, however, the Bush administration and House Republicans have resisted efforts to approve supplemental spending even on popular programs such as additional military aid to Israel and treatment of HIV/AIDS overseas. And Powell's FY 2002 budget request calls for only a \$300 million increase in the foreign assistance account to \$15.2 billion, barely enough to cover inflation, with projections for the next several years actually showing a decline in such spending.

Without a growing foreign aid budget, Leahy will have few opportunities to put his own stamp on overseas assistance. (His impact will largely be limited to cutting programs he does not like,

such as a cut of nearly one-fourth in U.S. anti-drug aid to South America included in a fiscal 2002 foreign aid spending bill approved by the Appropriations Committee.) Like his predecessor, Sen. Mitch McConnell, R-Ky., Leahy will oversee an aid budget that is shaped more by ethnic politics than ideology; thus, politically powerful groups are likely to continue to exert disproportionate influence in allocating foreign aid. For example, Jewish Americans have helped Israel win \$3 billion in U.S. assistance annually, substantially more than the United States gives to all of sub-Saharan Africa. In fact, Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs calculates that together Israel, Egypt, Jordan and the Palestinian Authority receive close to half of the whole foreign aid budget. That means that Leahy, like McConnell, will find his ideological preferences largely hemmed in by budget realities and long-standing political obligations. In the budget resolution that Congress approved earlier this year, the foreign aid budget barely kept pace with inflation.

Still, Leahy hopes to change how his panel's dollars are spent. The same cannot be said for Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C., the new chairman of the Commerce-Justice-State appropriations subcommittee, which oversees spending for the State Department and international organizations such as the United Nations. Hollings is almost as sharp a critic of such spending as his predecessor, Judd Gregg, R-N.H. At a May 3 hearing, Hollings complained to Secretary Powell about the rising cost of constructing U.S. diplomatic facilities overseas. Citing the cost of constructing an embassy in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, Hollings snapped: "Ninety-seven million dollars? For \$97 million, we could buy the whole place." Leave out the Charleston accent and the folksy manner and the remarks could easily have come out of Gregg's mouth.

But the fact that things are not expected to change with

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*When Democrats took control of the  
Senate on June 5, liberal foreign  
policy activists were thrilled.  
But their glee was short-lived.*

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Democratic control of the subcommittee should also be seen as good news for the State Department. That's because with the popular Powell in charge at Foggy Bottom, both Democrats and Republicans have been tripping all over themselves to get more resources to the State Department. Powell's budget request, which called for a \$700 million — 15 percent — increase in State Department spending, was greeted warmly by most members of both parties. It has already largely been endorsed by the more conservative House in its version of the annual spending bill and in proposed authorization legislation for the State Department. Looking ahead to FY2003, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee called for a 10 percent increase in State's funding.

In the Senate, both Republicans

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like Helms and Democrats like Biden have supported the request and the notion that the State Department should get more resources in return for reforming its management structure. The proposed reforms, called for

by a task force headed by former Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci, include widespread changes, such as improving the personnel system, upgrading the department's obsolete computer systems, and speeding up construction of new diplomatic facilities while lowering costs. Democrats have tended to push for the resources to precede the reforms, while Republicans have called for the management changes to come first. But these differences are likely to be muted in the Senate, which is inclined to give Powell the benefit of the doubt in administering his department.

### Picking Sides

To a certain extent, this deference can be expected to extend to President Bush's diplomatic nominees. Even though he has been fully in charge of the committee for only a few weeks, Biden has moved quickly to confirm many of Bush's nominees, including ambassadors to China, Russia, Israel, Egypt, India, and France. However, some political appointees could be in for a rougher ride. Sen. Christopher J. Dodd, D-Conn., the new chair of the Foreign Relations Committee's Western Hemisphere Subcommittee, has reiterated his strong opposition to Bush's selection of Otto J. Reich, a former U.S. ambassador to Venezuela and prominent Cuban-American, as assistant secretary of state for Western Hemisphere affairs. Dodd and Reich are long-standing foes who have quarreled over issues from aid to the contras to U.S. policy towards Cuba.

Democrats like Biden know that they may not be able to alter the outcome of votes on key foreign policy issues. But they also know that Bush would like to preserve the appearance of bipartisanship in foreign policy by achieving consensus, at least in public. Bush knows that the more he can keep policy disagreements

## HOW THEY RATE

The September 2000 issue of the *Journal* featured an AFSA Congressional Scorecard which rated all senators and representatives on how strongly they supported American involvement in world affairs. The survey looked at two broad categories of votes: those dealing with active U.S. participation in the world (called "engagement" in our methodology) and those concerned with providing adequate resources to support our foreign policy.

For the Senate, AFSA looked at 29 "engagement" votes and eight "resource" votes, all cast during the first session of the 106th Congress or the first half of the second session (1999-2000). The scores are on a 1-10 rating scale, with 10 representing a voting record that fully supports AFSA positions. Bear in mind, however, that these ratings are floor votes, so they exclude crucial committee votes where bills are worked out so they can pass on the floor. Nor can any rating ever present the whole picture of a legislator's record, particularly since these data are now a year old.

Nevertheless, with those caveats, we believe that this partial Congressional Scorecard still provides a useful review of voting records for the current members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

— Steven Alan Honley, Editor

### SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE MEMBERS

DEMOCRATS				REPUBLICANS			
Joseph Biden Jr.	Del	D	7.3	Jesse Helms	N.C.	R	5.1
Paul Sarbanes	Md	D	7.1	Richard Lugar	Ind	R	6.8
Christopher Dodd	Conn	D	8.3	Charles Hagel	Neb	R	6.3
John Kerry	Mass	D	7.6	Gordon Smith	Ore	R	7.1
Russell Feingold	Wis	D	5.9	William Frist	Tenn	R	7.3
Paul Wellstone	Minn	D	7.1	Lincoln Chaffee	R.I.	R	10.0
Barbara Boxer	Calif	D	6.3	<i>(started 11/4/99)</i>			
Robert Torricelli	N.J.	D	6.8	George Allen	Va.	R	*
Bill Nelson	Fla.	D	*	Sam Brownback	Kan	R	6.8
John Rockefeller IV	W.Va	D	7.8	Mike Enzi	Wyo	R	7.1

\* denotes a new member of the committee for whom no rating is available.

behind closed doors, the stronger his hand will be in international negotiations.

An example of this indirect influence is the current debate over constructing a national missile defense. Bush has made deploying such a system a top priority, but key Democrats are highly skeptical. They have insisted that the administration first reach a deal with the Russians on a new strategic framework before replacing the 1972 anti-ballistic missile treaty which bans such defenses.

Even before Democrats won control of the Senate, they and moderate Republicans already held enough votes to prevent a deployment without prior talks with the Russians. But the enhanced ability of Majority Leader Tom Daschle, D.-S.D., Armed Services Committee Chairman Carl M. Levin, D.-Mich., and Biden to command media attention means that their opposition will be more widely heard, and will encourage foreign opponents from European allies to the Kremlin.

In short, even at the risk of disappointing more partisan colleagues, Biden has a fairly modest — but perhaps more achievable — aspiration: to ensure that the center of gravity in the Bush administration's national security policy is Powell, not Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld. After all, Powell's personal philosophy and institutional interests closely mirror Biden's own preference for a foreign policy that calls for close consultation and cooperation with European allies and multilateral organizations, and seeks opportunities for cooperation, rather than competition, with potential antagonists like Russia and China. "I want to help the Powell faction defeat the Rumsfeld faction," Biden said. If he's successful, that approach could lead to a surprising era of bipartisan cooperation — at least until the 2004 presidential race begins in earnest. ■

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# FOREIGN POLICY GAMING AT STATE

ONE OF FSI'S BEST-KEPT SECRETS IS ITS OFFICE OF SPECIAL PROGRAMS, WHICH HAS CONDUCTED OVER 80 DIPLOMATIC POLICY EXERCISES FOR STATE OVER THE PAST 15 YEARS.

ALAN G. MISENHEIMER

**T**he atmosphere is tense as the two delegations begin a third hour of discussing the latest confrontation on the Korean peninsula. A smug North Korean team pursues a strategy of exorbitant demands and procedural delays. The U.S. negotiators feel frustrated and outmaneuvered. Follow-on talks set to include China and South Korea appear in doubt.

Three years later, in 1999, negotiators representing India stonewall and bluster in rejecting Pakistani claims over Kashmir. The talks collapse. War, possibly involving nuclear weapons, appears to be imminent.

Fortunately, the security of Asia was not imperiled in either case. For the venue of these diplomatic encounters was not Geneva, New Delhi or even Pyongyang, but the Foreign Service Institute campus in Arlington, Va. And each event is "just" a game: the sort of interagency policy exercise that FSI's Office of Special Programs puts on five or six times a year.

In fact, the leader of the North Korea team and of the India team was the same man: William Clark, former Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs and now president of the Japan Society. His counterparts on the U.S. team were senior officials who currently shape Asia

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*Alan Misenheimer, an FSO since 1985, has served in London, Amman, Tunis, Cairo and Washington, including a tour in the Office of Special Programs from 1997 to 1998. He is now political counselor in Rabat.*

policy. Clark notes that the exercises he took part in "helped the department obtain a better fix on events that subsequently occurred." For that reason, he sees gaming as "a valuable tool [which is] greatly underused by the State Department."

## Gaming Comes to State

The idea of policy gaming at FSI first surfaced in 1955, when director Harold Hoskins proposed a program of "political, economic and strategic 'game exercises' in cooperation with senior officers of other agencies." It was more

than 30 years later, however, that the State Department contracted former National Security Council global issues director Lincoln Bloomfield to launch such a program in FSI's Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs.

Bloomfield launched Dilex I, the Sputnik of State Department gaming, in May 1986. Its theme, political developments in South

Africa, exemplified the four criteria he set for future scenarios:

- (a) Emphasize neither current crises nor issues that are too remote or far-fetched;
- (b) Examine complex regional and multilateral issues (unlike the traditional two-sided war game);
- (c) Focus on the reactions and interplay of non-U.S. actors, drawing on State's ready supply of experienced country and regional experts; and
- (d) Reflect the secretary of State's policy priorities.

Shortly after that first exercise, senior congressional staffer and former foreign correspondent Fred Hill came

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*The Office of Special Programs  
constantly looks for diplomatic  
situations which can be gamed  
before they become crises.*

---

aboard to head the program. Except for dropping the diplex ("diplomatic exercise") moniker, he retained Bloomfield's blueprint. Early 1987 exercises on the Persian Gulf and South Asia elicited an endorsement from then-Assistant Secretary Richard Murphy, who found them "so convincing and realistic that [they] produced an immediate impact on the thinking of the officers who participated." Retired Ambassador Teresita Schaffer, who participated in several games set in South Asia while serving as a deputy assistant secretary and later as director of FSI, agrees that State's policy games offer a valuable means of looking ahead at complex issues. After taking part in an April 2001 game that Special Programs conducted with her current office at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Schaffer said the exercise demonstrated how internal developments in China and Russia could have a larger than expected impact on U.S. options in a South Asian crisis. "The game shed light on how two areas of U.S. foreign policy that are normally looked at quite separately could be linked."

The Office of Special Programs already had a solid track record of 15 exercises by the time a 1989 internal study by Amb. James Goodby concluded that gaming made "a very important and almost unique contribution to the department's analytical capabilities." A State Department inspection the next year observed that "including congressional staffers and other non-State officials in games has improved department[al] outreach, contributed to professional development and promoted interagency cooperation." Having proven its value and earned high-level support, the gaming program — newly dubbed the Office of Special Programs — was the only part of the Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs to survive the division's termination in the early 1990s. All told, it has now conducted more than 80 policy exercises, as well as dozens of specialized games for FSI language trainees and university demonstrations.

### What's In A Game?

Benjamin Disraeli once observed that "What we most anticipated seldom occurs; what we least expected generally happens." In that spirit, the Office of Special Programs constantly looks for items on the policy horizon that can be examined in a game before they become crises.

Such scenarios most often are derived from a "What if?" question: "What if Cyprus deployed Russian missiles? What if China's economy stagnated? What if the Euphrates Basin suffered a major drought? What if Nigeria's political transition stalled? What if North Korea collapsed? What if India, Pakistan and China brandished their nuclear arsenals in a new war over Kashmir?" The designers of the game then project the opening scenario — be it a looming


succession crisis, an impending arms control negotiation or a simmering regional dispute — six months to four years into the future.

Not every foreign policy problem is susceptible to "taming by gaming," of course, but Hill and his small staff have developed an innovative one-day format that is highly adaptable. Traditional political-military issues are still a mainstay (e.g., a 1997 game on Russian missile sales to Cyprus, two mid-1990s games on Kashmir and a pair of 1990 games on Iraq's occupation of Kuwait), but other popular categories include internal political transitions (Nigeria, the Soviet Union, Kosovo, Kenya); international negotiations (U.N. Security Council expansion, NATO enlargement); and economic affairs (Asian competitiveness and Caspian energy).

Games on global issues — including the risk of nuclear pollution in the Arctic (1995) and potential conflict over water resources in the Nile Basin (1996), Euphrates Basin (1997) and Mekong Basin (1998) — are a recent innovation. Richard Ives, head of the Interior Department's International Office, considers policy games especially valuable in the post-Cold War world: "We must take a proactive interest in the balance between development and the environment just as we do in traditional security issues. State's environmental games are steering us in the right direction."

Even the most compelling scenario can fail without the right mix of participants to explore it, however. Most games involve 30 to 40 players from up to a dozen agencies besides State, as well as outside experts from NGOs, universities and think tanks. Play typically includes a series of bilateral and multilateral encounters among "national" teams, but the rules are flexible. Thus, any team can launch its own initiatives, boycott negotiations with other teams or seek alliances with others, just as occurs in the real world. In that respect, the games provide a unique opportunity for "red-teaming." The term, born of Cold War exercises designed to help U.S. planners see the world through red-tinted Communist glasses, has come to refer to simulating the role of any potential rival or adversary.

The Office of Special Programs works especially closely with its military counterparts, most notably the gaming centers at the Army War College and the National Defense University. Through the 1990s, those three entities jointly conducted an annual interagency exercise on how the United States might respond to a major crisis (known in the trade as a "complex contingency") in a sensitive region. Since 1999 a senior fellow has been assigned to the office each year from the U.S. Army. Last year's fellow, Col. Dennis Murphy, now heads the Gaming and Operations Center at the Army War College. Hill also invites military counterparts to State games and recruits State participants



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for military exercises.

The Office of Policy Planning and the Bureau of Intelligence and Research have been frequent collaborators with Special Programs in designing and running scenarios, but gaming is a resource available to every office in State. Hill welcomes game suggestions, and develops scenarios and participant lists in close cooperation with the offices involved. In return, he arranges for the sponsoring bureau's assistant secretary to receive an executive memorandum or briefing summarizing the game's outcome. This feedback has been known to influence policy considerations on several occasions. For example, a 1987 exercise made Amb. Ron Neumann, then an official in the Near East Bureau's Office of Arabian Peninsula Affairs, realize that Saudi Arabia might defy then-current expectations and request American assistance if it faced a major threat — as it did just three years later. "It looks obvious today," says Neumann, now ambassador-designate to Bahrain. "It was not at that time."

### Gaming As Policy Tool

Hill admits that policy games cannot predict the future, but he has a clear vision of what they can do: "Our games deal with the ambiguity of complex political and diplomatic situations rather than the precision of battles and new weapons. A game can clarify options, pressure points, warning signs and thresholds. It can stimulate lively discussion and throw light on difficult issues which are on or just beyond the horizon."

Nevertheless, State's gaming program does face some problems. First, the Office of Special Programs is small, with an annual budget smaller than the cost of some single games put on by the Defense Department. More importantly, the low visibility of the program within

State leaves Hill rowing against the tide of an overburdened, understaffed office culture. As Richard Jackson, former dean of FSI's School of Professional and Area Studies, points out, "Most State Department offices, with their continual deadlines and interruptions, offer no setting for reflection. FSI's policy gaming provides that setting."

Yet State officials at all levels are often the ones least able, or willing, to commit themselves to a one-day policy game, while officials from other agencies are usually delighted to receive an invitation from Special Programs. Edmund Hull, past participant in several policy exercises and current ambassador-designate to Yemen, points out that a military officer can advance his or her career through participation in well-chosen gaming and training exercises. At State, gaming is less appreciated and, along with most types of short-term

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*Game designers  
start with a  
"What if" scenario,  
then project it six  
months to four years  
into the future.*

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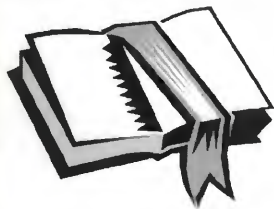
training, is viewed as an unwelcome distraction from productive (and more career-enhancing) work.

Nor does it help that FSOs often have an instinctive aversion to letting outside experts "interfere" in "their" issues. Indeed, State offices sometimes resist gaming any issues they deem "too sensitive," regardless of

the potential payoff in terms of fresh perspectives.

Nevertheless, the outlook for the Office of Special Programs is promising. For starters, the division's budget has doubled over the past three years. In addition, Hill is encouraged by the new administration's call for longer-term planning and strategic thinking, which his office is well-positioned to provide. "Secretary Powell has said several times that he welcomes differing opinions, and that should encourage senior officials throughout the department to look at a variety of scenarios and options."

Such high-level support for raising the profile of gaming — perhaps by creating a more explicit link with Policy Planning or with the under secretary for political affairs — could help the department derive more systematic benefit from this valuable and extremely cost-effective tool. ■



## *Year-End Roundup of* **FOREIGN SERVICE** **AUTHORS**

**T**he *Foreign Service Journal* once again will publish a list of recently published books by FS authors in an end-of-the-year special section. FS authors who have had a book published either by a commercial or academic publisher in the last two years (2000-2001) should send a copy of the book, along with a press release or backgrounder with information on the author, to:

Leslie Hoffecker  
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Foreign Service Journal  
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(No self-published or vanity press books, please.)



## BOOKS

### A JOURNALIST LOOKS AT EUROPE

#### **History of the Present: Essays, Sketches, and Dispatches from Europe in the 1990s**

*Timothy Garton Ash, Random House, 2001, \$15.00, paperback, 405 pages.*

REVIEWED BY JAMES E. MILLER

For non-specialists, Timothy Garton Ash has long been one of the key points of reference in understanding the unfolding dramas of war and democratization in Central Europe. His essays, usually appearing in *The New York Review of Books*, have been timely and incisive. His concern for and empathy with the peoples of this region, as well as his willingness to make ethical and political judgments, make Ash the prototype of the historian-journalist, or, as he would have it, practitioner of the "history of the present."

The volume under review, a collection of 29 of Ash's essays covering the decade of the 1990s, provides a model of the strengths and weaknesses of this form of contemporary history. As a group of essays, it is disconnected, a fact which reflects the breadth of the author's interests. The normalization of politics in the northern half of Central Europe, the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, Germany's post-unification problems, British post-imperial problems, and the future of the European Union all vie for attention as Ash attempts to place the events of the 1990s in a larger per-

spective. In addition, more space is allocated to analysis of recent events than to those of the early 1990s, although the former were arguably more important for understanding the state of Central Europe at the beginning of the new century.

Ash tries to compensate for the gaps and lack of balance in the volume through two devices, neither fully satisfactory. One is to link the story with a discussion of the historian's art. Ash apparently is reacting to skepticism from his academic critics about his impressionistic essays. He makes a good case that the sort of work he does is an essential part of the historian's job of getting the story right. As a linkage device, however, it fails to deliver the continuity the author seeks. The other device, a chronology interspersed among the essays, is equally ineffective at providing a smooth transition.

Yet while the book fails to provide a convincing "history" of the events of the 1990s, the individual essays stand on their own merits. His critique of the myopia of leaders of the European Union states in dealing with Central Europe is telling if at times a bit overstated. His critique of the decision to carry forward with the European Monetary Union is in the best traditions of British "Euro-skepticism." On the other hand, his contention that "EU-rope" could not enjoy the benefits of further integration, while at the same time beginning the widening to the East, appears counterfactual. The slowness of accession processes in Europe had as much to do with the glaring political and economic weaknesses of Central Europe as with the

dithering of Western Europe's leaders. Finally, his reporting on the crisis in Kosovo is arresting but exposes one of the primary problems of writing the "history of the present" — the same tendency toward instant analysis and impatience that frequently mars contemporary journalism.

Ash, in fact, is less a new type of historian than one of the best examples of that timeless European art form: the political essayist. His work combines a moral core with finely tuned political prognosis. Read less as a coherent book, which it is not, but as a collection of interesting comments on specific Central European states, these essays remain a useful introduction to a critical area of U.S. and European concern.

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*James Miller, who recently retired as FSI's Coordinator of European Studies, teaches at Johns Hopkins-SAIS and is preparing a book on modernization in southern Europe.*

### WALKING A FINE LINE

#### **Turkey Today: A Nation Divided over Islam's Revival**

*Marvine Howe, Westview Press, 2000, \$26.00, hardcover, 284 pages.*

REVIEWED BY RICHARD MCKEE

Turkey boasts a large population with great economic potential, and links the oil and other natural resources of the Caucasus and Central

## BOOKS

Asia to markets in the West. As a NATO member, it helps keep the peace in the Balkans, enjoys good relations with Israel, and is the linchpin of U.S. efforts to contain Iraq.

Having largely subdued Kurdish, leftist, and Islamic terrorists, Turkey's leaders now have an opportunity to bolster its democratic institutions and, pressed by the E.U., U.S., and IMF, to enact long overdue human rights, banking, fiscal, and administrative reforms. If they seize that chance, Turkey could become the equal partner of the West that its NATO membership foreshadowed. But Turkey's prospects hinge on one more factor: its leaders' ability and willingness to work together to create and sustain a *modus vivendi* between democracy and Islam. Whether they succeed in doing so or, alternatively, "Islamic democracy" prevails in Turkey, has ramifications extending well beyond the Muslim world.

Marvine Howe's *Turkey Today: A Nation Divided Over Islam's Revival* takes a look at this epic societal struggle. Howe, a *New York Times* correspondent in Turkey 20 years ago, returned on her own in 1995 to explore the continuing confrontation between secular followers of modern Turkey's founder, Kemal Ataturk, and Islamists seeking a larger place for religion in public life. Her timing was fortuitous; the faith-based Refah (Welfare) Party had recently elected mayors in many cities, including Istanbul and Ankara, and in December 1994 won a narrow plurality in national legislative elections.

Deploying her well-thumbed Rolodex, Howe interviewed friends in politics, academia, journalism, business and the arts. She also touched base at Embassy Ankara, where she found well-informed but suitably anonymous sources. And most importantly, she sought out Islamists, who had counted for little earlier.

Howe skillfully delineates the

major aspects of the secular-Islamist dispute. She explains the distinctions between Muslims of the majority Hanifi sect, heterodox Alevis, and ecstatic Sufis such as the "whirling dervishes." She relates the Ataturkist views of Directorate of Religious Affairs civil servants who serve as imams and hatips (administrators and preachers) in Turkey's mosques. She dispassionately describes the perspective of Islamists in the Fazilet (Virtue) Party, created after Refah was outlawed in January 1998, and those of believers from all walks of life who remain apolitical. Her closest friends are tenacious members of the secular elite, especially women. They augmented the pressure that the Turkish General Staff brought to bear on the Refah-led coalition government so that it fell in 1997, after just a year in office.

Howe is hopeful that multiplying non-governmental organizations will help bridge the gaps that separate pious from secular citizens, the nouveaux riches from the newly-urban poor, Turks from Kurds, and thriving western Turkey from the southeast, devastated by 15 years of conflict between Kurdish PKK terrorists and often brutal Turkish security forces. Yet she offers little evidence, and there is ample reason for pessimism on this score.

That said, *Turkey Today* is rich in revealing vignettes, which alone are worth the price of the book. My favorite involves a professor who defended the right of a female student to wear a head scarf, symbolizing politicized Islam to the education establishment. When asked whether her friends, if they came to power, would defend his right to drink alcoholic raki, she replied, "You will change." ■

*Richard K. McKee, a retired FSO, was posted to Ankara in the mid-1990's. He now works as an analyst in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research.*

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## IN MEMORY

**L. Dean Brown**, 80, retired ambassador, died on May 2, 2001 in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Brown was a native New Yorker. He received his bachelor's degree from Wesleyan University in 1942. He served as an infantryman in World War II and received a field commission as a lieutenant.

Mr. Brown joined the State Department in 1946. He served as ambassador to Senegal and Gambia, and was named ambassador to Jordan in 1970. He was there when the Black September War broke out between Palestinian guerrillas and the Jordanian Army. He had to travel in an armored personnel carrier to present his credentials to King Hussein.

According to *The Washington Post*, Mr. Brown was known for his cool-under-fire manner and his dry sense of humor.

In 1973, he was called to Washington to become deputy undersecretary for management. As one of Secretary of State Kissinger's key aides, he played an important role in reorganizing the State Department and securing appropriations from Congress. In 1974, Kissinger sent him as special envoy to Cyprus after the American ambassador there was shot to death during an anti-American demonstration. When Mr. Brown retired in 1975, after 29 years in the State Department, he was given the Wilbur J. Carr Award, one of the department's highest honors.

Only a few days into Mr. Brown's

retirement, Kissinger asked him to set up and direct an interagency task force to help the thousands of refugees fleeing Saigon before the Vietnamese communists took the city. Mr. Brown worked throughout the night to organize an emergency airlift.

A few months later, Kissinger again called on Mr. Brown—who had taken the post of president of the Washington-based Middle East Institute—to serve as special envoy in Lebanon.

During his tenure at the Middle East Institute until 1986, Mr. Brown was a frequent critic of U.S. policy in the Middle East. He also served on various boards, including the American Institute for Islamic Affairs, the American Academy of Diplomacy and Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired (DACOR). He was the president of the Jordan Social Development Fund and an adviser to the National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations and the Council for Palestinian Social and Economic Development.

In 1947 he married June Vereker Farquhar, who died in 1986.

He is survived by a son, Michael Farquhar Brown of Gordes, France; and a granddaughter, Megan Brown of Virginia.

**Garrett C. Burke**, 68, retired FSO, died April 30, 2001 of lung cancer in Sarasota, Fla.

A native of Marshalltown, Iowa, Mr. Burke graduated from the University of Iowa in 1956 and served as an infantry

officer in the United States Army for two years. He began his Foreign Service career in 1958, serving most of his assignments as a consular officer. He served in London, Manchester, Munich, Lima, Bern, Tokyo, Oslo and Frankfurt. After completing a tour as consul general and counselor for consular affairs in Athens, he was detailed to the 1983 Senior Foreign Service selection boards before becoming chairman of the consular cone for the Board of Examiners.

In 1986 Mr. Burke retired to Lake of the Ozarks in Missouri, where he and his wife remained until moving in 1997 to Sarasota, Fla. He was an aficionado of the classical guitar, was interested in all the arts, and enjoyed oil painting and sculpture.

He is survived by his wife, Anna, a former USIA employee whom he married in Lima in 1966; a brother and a sister; and eleven nieces and nephews.

**Kimie I. Burleson**, 81, wife of retired FSO Hugh Burleson, died of liver cancer on June 18, 2001 in Bellevue, Wash.

Mrs. Burleson was born and raised in Japan. She married Hugh in 1947 and accompanied him on assignments to Japan between 1960-69 and 1975-78, where her bilingual skills were highly valued. Besides Niigata and Tokyo, Mrs. Burleson served with her husband in Saigon, Madras, New Delhi, Seoul and Washington, where she was known

## IN MEMORY

for her sociability and beautiful handicrafts.

She is survived by her husband; her son, Hugh of Lopez, Wash.; her daughter, Rits Geoghegan of Haymarket, Va.; four grandchildren; and two great-grandchildren.

**Dr. Fredric B. Irvin**, 87, retired FSO, died on Feb. 28, 2001 in Phoenix, Ariz.

Dr. Irvin received his B.A. from Temple University and his Ph.D. from the University of Pittsburgh.

Dr. Irvin married Ruth M. McElhaney of Jamestown, Pa., in December 1940. In the 1940s, following military service during World War II, he served as a Lutheran missionary in south India, and became the vice president of Andhra Christian College.

In 1952, he became president of Thiel College in Greenville, Pa., a position he held until 1959, when he joined the Foreign Service. Dr. Irvin served abroad in Berlin, Bonn, Hamburg, and Islamabad, concluding his tenure as an FSO with a Washington, D.C. assignment. In 1970, he became the president of Newberry College in Newberry, S.C. He retired in 1975, but continued to teach English literature and German in the Phoenix area community college system for eleven years.

Dr. Irvin is survived by his wife, Ruth; his daughter, Sara Shields of Owyhee, Nev.; his son, Pastor Joseph F. Irvin of Glendale, Ariz.; and six grandchildren.

**Robinson McIlvaine**, 87, retired career minister, died of cancer on June 24, 2001 at his home in Washington, D.C.

He graduated in 1931 from the South Kent School in Connecticut,

and received his B.A. from Harvard in 1935. During World War II, Mr. McIlvaine served in the U.S. Navy in Panama. He was later captain of a destroyer escort on Atlantic convoy duty, attaining the rank of commander.

In 1946, Mr. McIlvaine bought a moribund weekly newspaper, *The Archive*, in his hometown, Downingtown, Pa. He and his first wife developed it into a prize-winning journal and co-authored a book on their experiences, *It Happens Every Thursday*, which was made into a movie starring Loretta Young and John Forsythe.

In 1951 Senators Henry Cabot Lodge, James Duff and Frank Carlson asked Mr. McIlvaine to set up an "Eisenhower for President" headquarters in Washington, D.C. Immediately after the headquarters was opened, Mr. McIlvaine went to New Hampshire, recruited Gov. Sherman Adams to the Eisenhower cause, and arranged to place the general's name on the New Hampshire primary ballot. He worked on the Eisenhower campaign through the election in 1952, when he returned to the newspaper.

In 1953 he returned to Washington as deputy assistant secretary of State for public affairs. In 1956, under the Wriston program, he was integrated into the career Foreign Service, with a two-level reduction in rank, and sent to Lisbon as deputy chief of mission and consul general. In subsequent years he was promoted to the rank of career minister.

A specialist in African affairs, Mr. McIlvaine served as consul general in the Congo and ambassador to Dahomey (now Benin), Guinea and Kenya. Two days after his arrival as ambassador in Conakry, Guinea, Mr. McIlvaine and all other Americans in the country were put under house arrest by the Marxist president,

Ahmed Sekou Toure, in retaliation for the kidnapping of the Guinean foreign minister from a Pan Am plane by Ghanaian authorities in Accra. The U.S. came close to breaking diplomatic relations with Guinea but in the end, after two weeks of negotiations and the help of three African foreign ministers, Mr. McIlvaine was able to resolve the controversy and get an apology from President Toure.

Retiring from the Foreign Service in 1973, Mr. McIlvaine headed the African Wildlife Leadership Foundation's Nairobi office for two years before returning to Washington to be president of the organization until 1982. He covered 10 African countries on a regular basis in a small Cessna aircraft, developing and keeping track of projects. One of the most successful was the consortium he formed to protect the threatened mountain gorillas of Rwanda.

In recent years Mr. McIlvaine was a volunteer and board member of the Ward Circle-Georgetown Meals-On-Wheels group. An ardent sailor, he and his wife also spent three to four months every summer on their 35-foot sloop sailing from the Chesapeake to Maine and back. While in Washington, he was seen almost daily on his bicycle, on which he racked up about a thousand miles a year.

He is survived by his wife, Alice Nicolson McIlvaine; a son, Ian, an architect in Los Angeles; a daughter, Katherine, deputy director of the CARE mission in Kosovo; a son by his first wife, Stevenson, a career Foreign Service officer currently stationed in Washington; and three grandchildren. A daughter by his first marriage, Mia McIlvaine Merle-Smith, was lost at sea in 1971 while trying to cross the Atlantic with her husband in a sailboat.

**John Clinton Sauls**, 79, retired FSO, died Apr. 5, 2001 in Daytona Beach, Fla.

Mr. Sauls was born in Macon, Ga., and attended George Washington University. He served in the U.S. Army before being recruited by the State Department during World War II. He was chief of the International Recruitment Service from 1961 to 1967 and served as assistant director of personnel with the International Monetary Fund from 1967 to 1970. A six-time member of U.N. General Assembly Administrative and Budgetary Committee, he was also a delegate to the U.N. Economic and Social Council and the Assembly of International Civil Aviation Organizations. He retired as deputy director to the U.N. Budgetary and Administrative Policy staff in 1976, the year he received the State Department's Meritorious Service Award for his work on General Assembly matters and international pay systems.

After his retirement, he moved to Ormond Beach, Fla. and was active in Volusia County planning, chairing the North Peninsula Zoning Commission in 1985. He served as a board member and secretary of the Kiwanis Club, and as a board member and vice president of the U.N. Association.

Mr. Sauls is survived by his wife of 53 years, Mavine; a son, Danny of Alexandria, Va.; two daughters: Patty Sauls of Richmond, Va. and Barbara Carter of Springfield, Va.; a sister, Laverne Summers of Palm Harbor, Fla.; and eight grandchildren.

Memorial donations may be made to Hospice of Volusia, 2800 Woodbriar Trail, Port Orange, FL 32127.

**Joseph Wright Twinam**, 66, retired ambassador, died on June 12, 2001 in Charleston, S.C.

Mr. Twinam was born July 11, 1934 in Chattanooga, Tenn. He attended the University of Virginia and was an officer in the U.S. Navy from 1956 to 1959.

He began his Foreign Service career in 1959 and served in Amsterdam, Kuwait, Beirut, Jeddah and Washington. He was named as the first resident American ambassador to Bahrain in 1974 and became director of the Office of Arabian Peninsula Affairs in the State Department two years later. He served as deputy assistant secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs from 1979 to 1982.

Mr. Twinam served as a visiting professor and diplomat-in-residence at the University of Virginia from 1982 to 1983, and as dean of executive seminars and of professional studies at the Foreign Service Institute in Washington. Friends remember him for his keen understanding of American interests and his superb sense of humor.

After retiring, Mr. Twinam was named to the John C. West Chair of Government and International Studies at The Citadel in Charleston in 1985. His good friend and 1959 A-100 classmate Amb. Jack Perry said that "Twinam was one of the best diplomats and most interesting people I ever knew, and he was a great credit to the Foreign Service."

Mr. Twinam's wife of 48 years, Janet Ashby of Parkersburg, W. Va., preceded him in death in 1997. He is survived by a daughter, Courtenay Twinam Golden of Franklin, Tenn.; a son, Marshall Ashby Twinam of Dallas, Texas; as well as a half-sister, Virginia Twinam Smith of Atlanta, Ga.

Memorial donations may be made to the Charleston Museum for the Joseph Manigault House, 260 Meeting Street, Charleston, SC, 29403.

**Robert Forbes Woodward**, retired ambassador, died on May 18, 2001 in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Woodward graduated from the University of Minnesota, which later honored him with the Distinguished Service Award. He received an honorary LL.D. from the University of the Pacific in Stockton, Calif.

A career Foreign Service officer from 1931 to 1968, he served as ambassador to Costa Rica, Chile, Uruguay and Spain. In 1961 he was appointed assistant secretary of State for Latin American Affairs.

He was a member of the Metropolitan Club of the City of Washington, the Chevy Chase Club, the Sulgrave Club, the Washington Institute for Foreign Affairs, the Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired and the American Academy of Diplomacy.

Mr. Woodward is survived by his son, Robert Jr. of Boyds, Md.; his daughter, Mary Woodward Truland, of Germantown, Md.; and six grandchildren.

**John J. Degan, Jr.**, 80, retired FSO, died unexpectedly May 10 in Viareggio, Italy, while visiting family.

Mr. Degan was born October 18, 1920 in Syracuse, N.Y. He graduated from Niagara University in 1943 with a bachelor's degree in economics. While in college, he played football and also participated in ice hockey, baseball, skiing and golf. He did graduate study in classical languages at St. Bonaventure College. He did additional graduate work, while an FSO, in economics at the University of Wisconsin, where he was appointed lecturer in U.S. immigration law. He also took graduate trade expansion courses from Harvard University.

Mr. Degan's diplomatic career began in 1946 with an assignment

## IN MEMORY



to Frankfurt, where he was obliged to wear a uniform for ease of identification in post-war Germany. His next assignment took him to Rome, where he met and married Liliana Piera Funicelli. Mr. and Mrs. Degan celebrated their 50th anniversary in 1998.

Mr. Degan served a number of times in Italy, and was also posted to England, Greece, Turkey, Iran, British Honduras (now known as Belize), Curacao and Washington, D.C. He served variously as economic officer and as consul. During his last posting, to Naples, Mr. Degan served as acting principal officer.

Mr. Degan retired from the Foreign Service in 1980, and accepted an offer to direct the Tolstoy Foundation in Rome, which he did for three years, before he and his wife moved to Cape Cod. The foundation was created by Count Leo Tolstoy's youngest daughter, Alexandra, to enable political refugees, among others, to relocate and settle in the United States.

Mr. Degan found great pleasure in serving others, which he continued doing as a volunteer mediator with the Consumer Assistance Council in Hyannis, Mass., from early retirement until the time of his death. He also gave of his time and resources to many charitable causes.

He was active in community theater. He read widely and had a voracious appetite for current events. He also enjoyed spending time with his family, visiting Italy and playing golf.

Mr. Degan is survived by his wife, Liliana of South Yarmouth, Mass.; two daughters: Maria Degan Carnevali of Torre del Lago, Italy and Francesca Degan Hayes of Yarmouthport; and one son, Daniel J. Degan of Norwich, Vt. He also

leaves a sister, Mrs. Charles J. Veith of Wilmington, Del.; six grandchildren; two great-grandchildren; and numerous nieces and nephews.



**Susan Tivol Tait**, 79, retired Foreign Service Reserve Officer, died of lung cancer at her home on Apr. 10, 2001 and was buried at Arlington National Cemetery.

Mrs. Tait was born in Kansas City, Missouri on April 26, 1921, and reared and educated in San Francisco. She graduated from the University of California at Berkeley with a degree in journalism in 1942. Immediately thereafter, she began her government career with the Department of Civil Defense. From 1946 to 1955, she served as an intel-

ligence analyst with the Department of the Army in Tokyo. She was honored for her intelligence work in 1954 when she was awarded the Medal of Freedom. It was in Tokyo that she met and married her husband, Col. David Selwin Tait, who died in 1962.

She joined the Department of State in 1955, and spent many years as an analyst in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. She became a FSRO in 1976 when she transferred to the Office of the Director for Management Operations. She retired in 1980 after 36 years of government service.

After her retirement, she continued to work part-time in Management Operations, and then in the Historical Documents Review Division. ■

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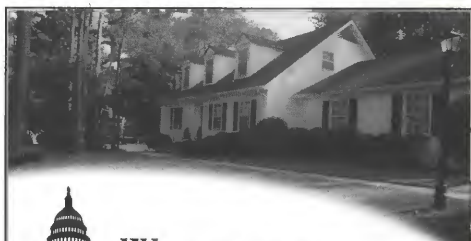
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Since the *Foreign Service Journal* began publication (as *The Consular Bulletin*) in March 1919, it has undergone numerous changes in design and content. So that we can know how today's *Journal* is meeting your needs, please take a few minutes to complete and return this short survey. Thank you.

**Demographics:** Please tell us about yourself.

1. What is your Foreign Service status?     Active             Retired             Non-FS
2. If on active duty, where are you stationed?     Overseas             U.S.
3. Are you a member of AFSA?             Yes             No

**Journal Features:** How often do you typically read the following monthly features?

4. AFSA President's column             Always/usually             Sometimes             Rarely/never
5. Letters             Always/usually             Sometimes             Rarely/never
6. Clippings             Always/usually             Sometimes             Rarely/never
7. Speaking Out             Always/usually             Sometimes             Rarely/never
8. AFSA News             Always/usually             Sometimes             Rarely/never
9. Book reviews             Always/usually             Sometimes             Rarely/never
10. Obituaries             Always/usually             Sometimes             Rarely/never
11. Postcard from Abroad             Always/usually             Sometimes             Rarely/never

**Journal Focus Sections:** Each *Journal* publishes a collection of articles on a focus topic. Here are the themes from the last eight issues. Please tell us how much of each focus section you actually read.

12. Summer Fiction (7-8/01)             Most/all             Some             Little/none
13. Immigration Policy (6/01)             Most/all             Some             Little/none
14. State Department Reform (5/01)             Most/all             Some             Little/none
15. Space and Diplomacy (4/01)             Most/all             Some             Little/none
16. Consular Affairs (3/01)             Most/all             Some             Little/none
17. Promoting Democratization (2/01)             Most/all             Some             Little/none
18. Religion and Foreign Policy (1/01)             Most/all             Some             Little/none
19. Clinton Foreign Policy Record (12/00)             Most/all             Some             Little/none

**Coverage:** As "The Magazine for Foreign Affairs Professionals," the *Journal* covers both substantive foreign policy and Foreign Service-specific professional/personnel issues. However, the balance between the two has varied over the years. What balance would you like to see?

20.  75% foreign policy     60% foreign policy     50-50     60% professional     75% professional

**Changes:** How might we adjust the *Journal's* coverage to better meet your needs?

21. Foreign policy topics analyzed by outside experts             More             Less             Same
22. Foreign policy topics analyzed by Foreign Service professionals             More             Less             Same
23. Foreign Service-specific professional/personnel issues             More             Less             Same
24. Foreign Service life (living overseas, money, retirement, etc.)             More             Less             Same
25. Overall: How satisfied are you with the *Journal* overall?             Very             Somewhat             Little

**Comments:** Please suggest in the space below any topics you would like to see the *Journal* cover:

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# POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

## *Back from Chitral*

BY MARY KILGOUR

The hotel on the mountain road between Chitral and Peshawar had straw on the floor and was lit by kerosene. We arranged our cots of woven rope side by side and went to bed in our clothes expecting to be bitten by bedbugs and spiders. Still, it was good to be out of the snowstorm that had dogged our drive through the mountains.

I fell asleep quickly and didn't wake until light streamed through cracks in the wooden shutters. My companions, vacationing development workers like me, were already up. The room was warm from our body heat. We took turns using the toilet and the washbasin in the hallway. Dabs of cold water erased sleep and dust, enough for now.

The sky outside was gray and raining. We had been lucky. The weather had stayed clear for our five days of hiking the mountains and valleys of Chitral while living on the roof of Ali Ghulam's house. He was the schoolmaster and our host in the little village tucked into the mountains of northwestern Pakistan.

What a fantastic trip. We thought we'd sleep alone on the bank of the river that we had followed to reach our destination. But it had overflowed recently and the guide suggested we'd be more comfortable in the village, so he arranged our roof lodging.

*Mary Kilgour is a retired FSO. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."*

*The room was  
warm from our body  
heat. We took turns  
using the toilet and  
the washbasin in  
the hallway.*



There was a party to celebrate the completion of the local forester's house. He was a lowlander who had been assigned to these mountains 12 years before and never asked to transfer. For the party, he killed a goat and had rice and vegetables prepared.

At the celebration, teenagers courted each other with shy glances and bold folk dancing. The girls' shell headdresses shook. Their pale cheeks flushed. The soldiers of Alexander the Great had come this way and some had stayed, leaving their mark on the local people's eye color and skin. The girls' feet and hands were black from pressing the oil out of walnuts, their one cash crop.

Was their contentment only in our eyes? Were they happy in their mountain fastness, in poverty and illiteracy?

My reverie was interrupted by the scents drifting in from the kitchen:

fresh baked chapattis, curried vegetables and lamb. We had eaten only granola bars since yesterday's early lunch in Chitral.

After breakfast we squashed ourselves into the jeep once again, our equipment tied to the back and roof, and headed down the mountain to Peshawar. The road was still rough, the drop-offs daunting, the countryside stark, with just an occasional patch of green carved into a valley floor.

We stopped at a tea shop for a lunch snack. There were eggs, packaged biscuits, cigarettes, and condoms for sale.

Truck traffic increased on the road toward Peshawar's twinkling lights. The air became heavier and warmer, the land greener, the road smoother. We started seeing men dressed in the loose clothes and felt hats of the Pathan tribe walking along the road with donkeys or goats. We were out of Chitral.

We eased ourselves from the jeep and stretched like cats then went to the airline office to see if a flight back to Lahore that night would be possible. Inside the office, we saw other Americans or Europeans, or perhaps Russians, all neat and clean. Businessmen? Military attaches? They looked at us with apprehension, then with hostility, then disdain, all in the course of a few seconds. They saw our grubbiness and thought we were hippies strung out on hash rather than development workers high on our mountain trek. ■



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