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# FOREIGN SERVICE

JOURNAL

THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS



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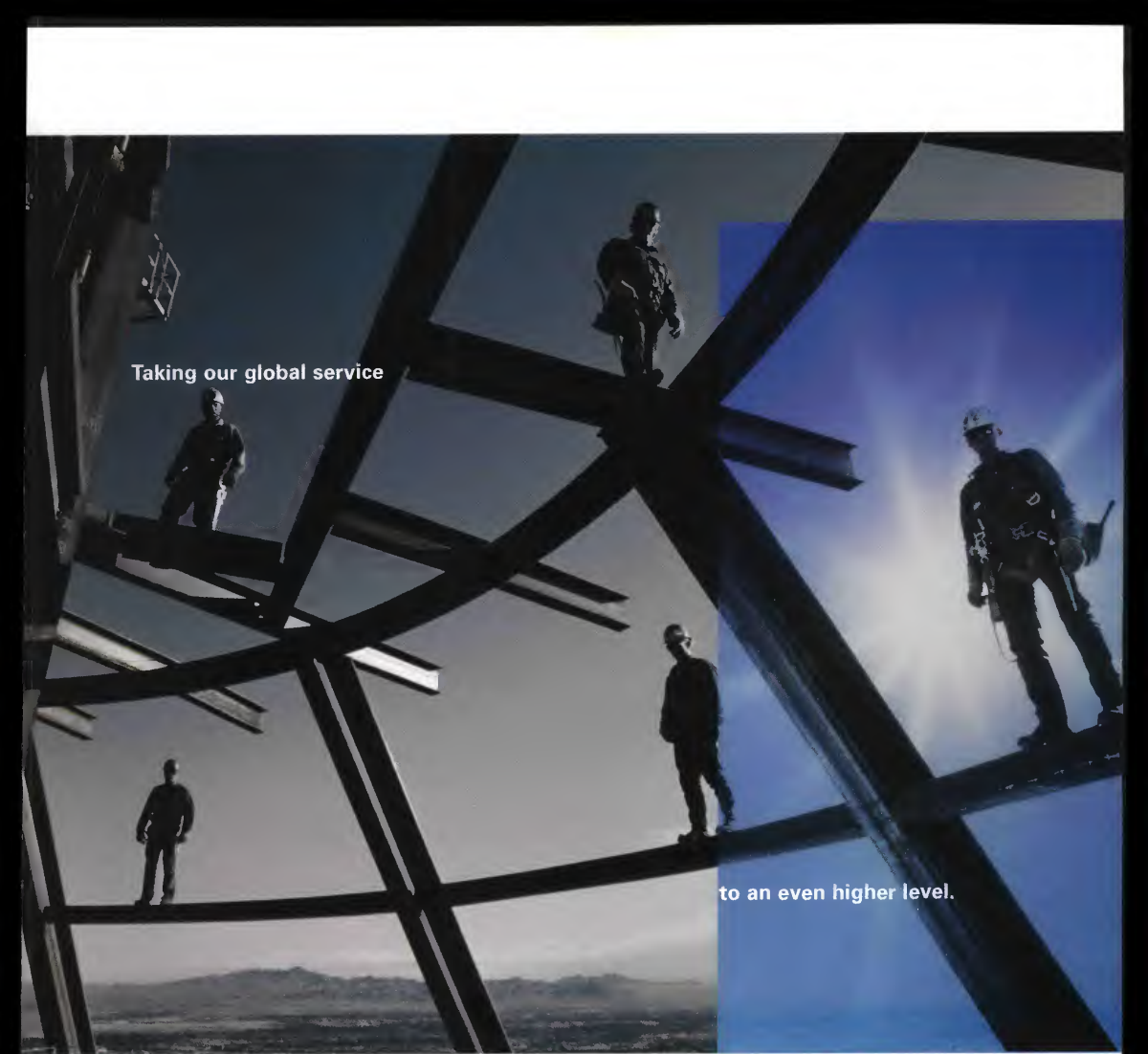
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As this issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* was going to press, we witnessed the September 11 bombings of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

AFSA mourns the loss of the employees, airline passengers, rescue personnel and many other people killed by the terrorists. We extend our deepest sympathies to the families, friends and colleagues of all who were killed or injured or are still missing.

Cover and inside illustrations by Jennifer Thernes

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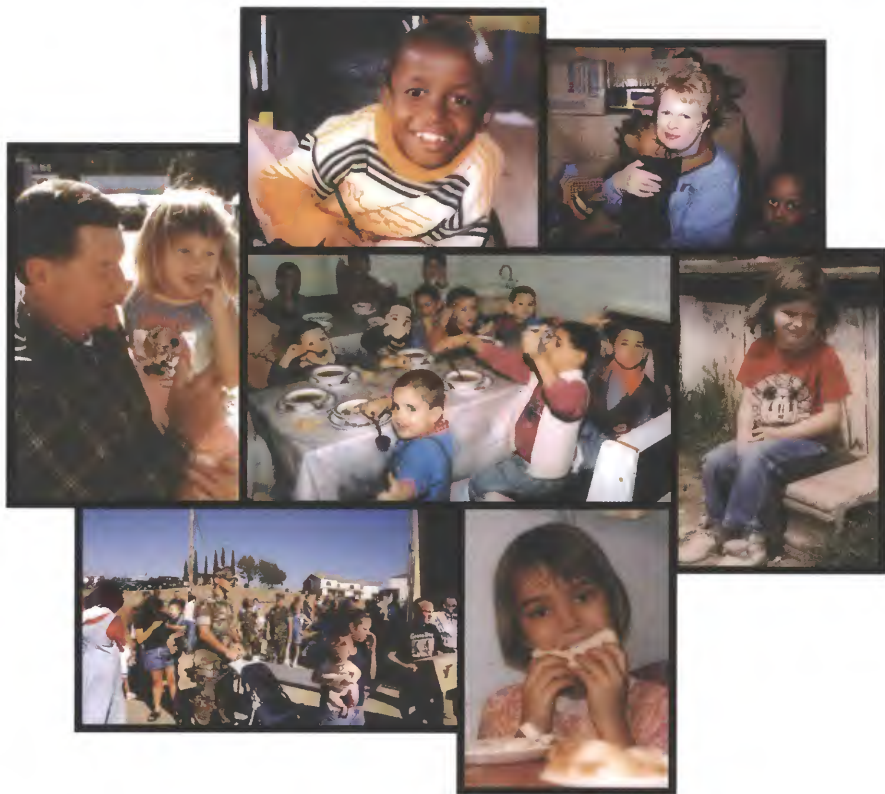
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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *The War for Talent*

By JOHN K. NALAND

Although some may find the phrase overused, there is indeed an ongoing "War for Talent" in which the foreign affairs agencies are competing with other employers to attract and retain talented personnel. This competition is especially acute for our largest foreign affairs agency, the Department of State, under the leadership of Colin Powell, aims to hire over 1,000 additional Foreign Service employees in the next three years. The big question is, "Can they do it?"



State Department officials say that the answer is, "We must and will." To make good on that pledge, State is working to reform its much-maligned recruiting operation. That is certainly a necessary condition for success, but it is by no means a wholly sufficient step. Instead, State and the other foreign affairs agencies must address four longstanding problems if they are to succeed:

**Overseas Comparability Pay.** The exclusion of overseas employees from the locality pay system has created a huge financial disincentive to serve abroad. The pay cut this effectively imposes on overseas employees not only reduces the value of post allowances and differentials, but also reduces employees' retirement savings (including the Thrift Savings

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

*Clearly, a pressing task for management is to better match ability with authority.*

Plan). If our foreign affairs agencies do not follow the lead of the Central Intelligence Agency and fix this problem, the only people joining the Foreign Service will be those who are independently wealthy, have renounced worldly riches, or are financially illiterate. That does not describe the universe from which we hope to draw future Foreign Service members.

**Spousal Employment.** Most Foreign Service spouses earn substantially less over their lifetimes than they would if they did not have to move to a different country every few years (where they earn modest embassy or host-country wages or, even if they find better paying jobs, do so only after a period of unemployment). While this has always been true, the sharp rise in the proportion of two-income families in recent decades has caused the total lifetime compensation (including retirement income) of Foreign Service members to decline compared with that of comparably graded counterparts elsewhere in the government. State management is now conducting a

pilot program in Mexico that it hopes will lead to a worldwide solution. AFSA hopes it will succeed. But if not, our agencies will need to urgently seek another solution.

**Meaningful Duties.** Once hired, the greatest motivator for employees to stay is for them to be assigned work commensurate with their abilities and interests. Yet outside the senior ranks of our service, that is often not the case. Too many employees spend much of their day pushing unnecessary papers up to unresponsive superiors. Those who are doing meaningful work often must do so in the face of inadequate resources. Clearly, a pressing task for management is to better match ability with authority. Without progress here, many of our most talented employees will seek greater responsibilities outside the government.

**Work Environment.** Finally, I once attended a meeting billed as "How to Improve Diversity in the Foreign Service." I expected the outside facilitator to lead a detailed discussion of how and where to broaden our agencies' recruiting efforts. Instead, he had a remarkably simple, but powerful, message: "Research has shown that the best way to increase diversity is to make sure that the receiving organization is viewed by all current employees as being a great place to work." How many of your postings have qualified as that?

These are make-or-break challenges confronting our agencies. Let's get to work. ■

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let us remember the unselfish  
sacrifices of those who serve  
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despite the many dangers  
and risks to their lives.**



## CLIPPINGS



*"The [Bush] administration seems to have forgotten an essential fact of today's global age. With the Cold War over, fear of a common enemy no longer keeps our allies by our side. Our allies will follow us only if we use our unparalleled strength and prosperity to advance common interests. Only then will our power inspire respect, instead of resentment."*

— SENATE MAJORITY LEADER THOMAS DASCHLE (D.-S.D.), IN AN AUG. 9 ADDRESS TO THE WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS

### REFLECTING ON THE UNTHINKABLE

In 1998, it was a scene of implausible devastation. Today, it is a place for quiet contemplation. But at its dedication on the third anniversary of a terrorist bomb that killed 219 people and injured more than 5,000, the August 7 Memorial Park — on the former site of the U.S. embassy in Nairobi, Kenya — was the focus of both reflection and frustration.

Thousands gathered to remember the 207 Kenyans and 12 Americans who died in the bombing, for which four followers of Islamic militant Osama bin Laden were extradited to New York and convicted. The official dedication ceremony, led by Kenya's president, Daniel arap Moi, went off without a problem, but when Moi and his entourage left, the crowd — too large to be accommodated within the park — surged forward against the fences, temporarily trapping U.S. Ambassador Johnnie Carson. Carson was pulled to safety as the crowd trampled over the security barriers.

Moi was joined at the ceremony by Prudence Bushnell, who was U.S. ambassador to Kenya at the time of the bombing and is currently ambassador to Guatemala. He said that the bombing demonstrated "in a most crude and violent manner that peace is a fragile entity that should not be taken for granted." For her part, Bushnell acknowledged the frustrations that still exist: "I want to say to you again, as a fellow human being, *pole sana*" — Swahili for "very sorry."

The U.S. government has provided more than \$42 million in indirect aid — primarily school fees and medical care — to victims and their families. The aid is soon to end, though, and that angers

Kenyans who feel that Washington should take responsibility for the attack. "We suffered because of America," one man who lost an eye in the blast told *The New York Times*.

Other Kenyans were angry for a different reason: The park is charging an admission fee, equivalent to about 25 cents, for maintenance. "[When] we go to Uhuru Park [the city's largest], we never pay," another man told *The Washington Post*. "Why should we pay for this one? We are not able to pay for lunch."

One American who returned for the ceremony, Edith Bartley, was frustrated as well. Bartley, who lost both her father and her brother in the bombing, told the *Post* of her fear that the almost simultaneous blasts in Nairobi and in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania (which killed 11), had not resulted in greater security for U.S. diplomats.

"I feel that this is a day that our government needs to take a moment and put security high on their list of priorities, because it has not been," she said.

### UNSOLVED MYSTERY: MURDER, HE WROTE

Smith Hempstone, U.S. ambassador to Kenya from 1989 to 1993, is being sued for libel in a Nairobi court, London's *Daily Telegraph* reported on July 31. The plaintiffs? Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi and Trade and Industry Minister Nicholas Biwott.

Hempstone's *Rogue Ambassador: An African Memoir* claims that both Moi and Biwott were involved in the February 1990 murder of the country's popular foreign minister, Robert Ouko. Unidentified



## CLIPPINGS

sources in Hempstone's book allege that upon the return of Moi, Ouko, Biwott and other officials from a visit to the United States — where Ouko reportedly upstaged Moi in a meeting with President George Bush and Secretary of State James Baker — Moi personally beat Ouko, had him tortured and killed, and then conspired to have the body burned to hide the evidence.

The murder was never solved, although bloody riots in reaction to Ouko's death prompted the Kenyan government to request an investigation by Scotland Yard. Both that investigation and a government commission of inquiry implicated Biwott and Hezekiah Oyugi, the government's chief of internal security; however, Moi disbanded the commission before it completed its work, allegedly for dwelling too much on "hearsay," and no charges were ever filed.

In their libel suit, Moi's lawyers say that portions of Hempstone's book are "wholly or entirely false and unfounded and defamatory" and have brought the president into "public scandal, odium and contempt." Moi and Biwott have also filed suit against one of the largest bookshops in Nairobi for selling the book. *Rogue Ambassador* was published by the University of the South Press in 1997; it is unclear why the president and the minister waited so long to file the lawsuit.

### NO IMMUNITY: PAY UP — OR ELSE

If you've amassed more than \$230 in parking violations in New York City, the city can tow your car and keep it until you pay up. That's what it was planning to do

to cars owned by foreign consular officers, who — unlike diplomats accredited to the United Nations — do not have immunity from parking tickets.

But on Aug. 1, the day the towing policy was to take effect, a diplomatic breakthrough was achieved. An agreement was reached with the city's Parking Violations Division that, State Department spokesman Richard Boucher told the daily briefing, both encourages payment of the tickets and upholds "the international obligations that we have diplomatically for the United States."

Under the agreement, announced by New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani at a news conference, the State Department will use its formal debt collection service to go after the scofflaws. Normally used in the context of commercial transactions, the collection process can, in extreme cases, lead to the expulsion of foreign nationals. In addition, the State Department will refuse to issue its own registration — either new or renewal — to any vehicle whose owner owes more than \$230 (equivalent to the total in fines, penalties and surcharges for two unpaid tickets) for parking violations.

The towing threat did what it was supposed to do, the city noted in an Aug. 1 news release: The Australian Consulate promptly paid off its debt of about \$10,000, and 34 other countries have contacted the city's Department of Finance to set up payment plans.

### IS UNCLE SAM GETTING GENEROUS?

Government service has some unique perks, such as the opportunity to travel to

## 50 YEARS AGO

"I am always most distrustful of the eagerness of young officers to get into, and stay in, so-called political work. They have the illusion of doing something important which, as a matter of cold fact, they are not yet equipped to do. They are missing the experience they really need, in economic, public affairs, and even consular and administrative work, to round out their abilities."

— "HOW TO GET  
AHEAD IN THE FOREIGN  
SERVICE," BY FRANK  
SNOWDEN HOPKINS  
(FSJ, OCTOBER 1951)

## CLIPPINGS

*"It is the business of the statesman to provide a decent burial for the past and to facilitate the birth of the future."*

— *Sir VICTOR WELLESLEY*

far-flung parts of the globe. But if you're a federal employee and you're traveling on official business, those frequent-flier miles you accumulate don't go into *your* account, waiting for redemption when it's time for vacation. They go instead to Uncle Sam, who theoretically uses the mileage credits to reduce travel costs. ("Theoretically" is the operative word here: A General Services Administration survey found that the government was able to use only \$823,000 worth of free travel between January 1995 and September 2000, while total travel costs during that period were \$190 million.)

That could change soon, though, under legislation approved in late July by the House and, as of the summer recess, awaiting action in the Senate. Co-sponsored by Reps. Dan Burton, R.-Ind., and Connie Morella, R.-Md., HR 2456 would allow government employees to keep their frequent-flier miles and

accept upgrades and access to airline clubs, as long as the government workers were treated no differently from any traveler.

"It's good employee relations," Burton told the July 26 *Washington Post*. "A lot of the time, employees have to travel on their own time. Letting employees keep their frequent-flier miles compensates them for lost time they could be spending with their families. It also helps companies hold on to their good employees. That's the approach the federal government ought to take."

Though the Bush administration did not announce a formal position on the bill, Sean O'Keefe, deputy director of the Office of Management and Budget, told the *Post*: "We're intrigued by the concept of repealing these restrictions and ... heading in the direction of reversing a longstanding pattern of treating public servants like second-class citizens." ■

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# SPEAKING OUT

## *Why State Is Not Reformable*

BY DENNIS JETT

The May 2001 issue of the *Journal* was one of the best ever, taking a comprehensive look at the various proposals currently being offered as ways of reforming the State Department. While these initiatives often appear to be attempts to rearrange the deck chairs on the ship of State as it steams full speed toward an iceberg, I would argue there is no reason for panic. The situation is not dire. It is hopeless. In fact, debates about reform will remain as permanent a feature of the department as mediocre meals in the cafeteria.

There are three reasons for this. First, while everyone is in favor of reform, different people will define it in different ways. Second, the steps prescribed invariably deal with the symptoms of the problem and not the causes. Third, regardless of the steps taken, the symptoms won't be alleviated because the causes are incurable.

### **Six Degrees of Separation**

These three conclusions, in turn, arise from the fact that there are six main participants in any discussion of foreign policy: the White House, Capitol Hill, the political appointees at the top of State's bureaucracy, the career employees at State, non-governmental organizations and the

*Ambassador Dennis Jett retired last year after nearly 28 years in the Foreign Service. He is now dean of the International Center at the University of Florida in Gainesville.*

*The situation at  
State is not dire.  
It is hopeless.*



news media. Each actor brings a different perspective to the foreign policy debate and thus to what constitutes reform.

For the White House and the National Security Council, good foreign policy is any international action, position or statement that helps get the president re-elected. The politicians on Capitol Hill apply the same yardstick to their individual electoral prospects. For instance, if an American gets arrested overseas, the senator or representative could not care less whether the person is guilty or not. She knows only that the detainee's family lives in her district or state and therefore the foreign judicial system is unfair and inadequate. Trade is another example. The overall benefit to the country of a particular trade policy does not matter nearly as much as whether a factory in the congressman's district is closed as a result.

The secretary of State and other political appointees that run the department are rarely interested in elective office but, like politicians, do not suffer from an underdeveloped ego. Thus, for the secretary

and the rest of the seventh floor, a good policy or position is one that will improve the secretary's place in history.

Then there are the career bureaucrats at State. Whether Civil or Foreign Service, their opinion is formed by two considerations. First, the highest priority of any bureaucracy is its own care and feeding. Second, the senior bureaucrats of the Department see policy formulation as a laboratory experiment where inconvenient factors like crass political influences can be ignored. They prefer to compile a balance sheet that contains what they see as the costs and benefits of a particular policy to the nation. From this the careerists deduce what is the real national interest, which must be preserved, promoted and protected, especially from the politicians. Thanks to State's personnel system, this calculation increasingly also reflects what they believe will best serve their second careers after they are forced to retire young.

NGOs bring yet another perspective to the debate. Almost always, they are created to advance a single cause. Thus, any U.S. policy that puts that objective first, even at the expense of other American interests, is a good one in their book. Finally, television — most people's source of news — reports foreign developments only when there is heart-rending footage available. For this reason, as Henry Kissinger says in his latest book, the "ubiquitous and clamorous media are transform-

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## SPEAKING OUT



ing foreign policy into a subdivision of public entertainment."

### Defining Reform

What do all these different points of view on policy have to do with prospects for reform? Everything. No one opposes the idea of reform, just as everyone says he loves his mother, likes apple pie and salutes the flag. But one's perspective on foreign policy determines how reform is defined in practice. For the politicians in the White House, on Capitol Hill and on the seventh floor of State, reform means making the bureaucracy more rapid and responsive to their desire to make themselves look good. For the bureaucrats, reform means having the resources to make their lives safer and more comfortable and their jobs easier. For the NGOs, it means a State Department that more effectively promotes their particular cause. (Of the six groups I have outlined, only the media are not interested in reform — just ratings, circulation and the profits that arise from them.)

These clashing visions of what foreign policy is, and of the measures necessary to improve it, are not going to change. In fact, these six groups have only become more isolated from each other since the end of the Cold War. When the question was whether capitalism would triumph over communism, there was at least an organizing principle to which all the individual agendas had to conform.

And that growing divergence ensures that reform will ultimately remain impossible. One might ask if the situation could be improved if the participants in the foreign policy debate could arrive at a new organizing principle. It could, but it won't happen. Nothing focuses the mind


## SPEAKING' OUT



*The policy vision of the Bush White House is limited to the conviction that what's good for America's corporate elites is automatically good for everyone else.*

like the threat of nuclear annihilation, but there is nothing on the horizon that would appear capable of generating a consensus even faintly as strong. Nor does it help that partisan backstabbing now seems to be a permanent feature on Capitol Hill, not a temporary phenomenon driven by the hatred of the right for former President Clinton.

Couldn't leadership from the executive branch help the situation? Perhaps, but it won't happen under this administration. The policy vision of the Bush White House is limited to the conviction that what's good for America's corporate elites and a few key core constituencies is automatically good for everyone else. What other explanation is there for tax "reform" that gives millions to the wealthy, nothing to the poor and chump change to the middle class — other than it rewards those who bought Bush the presidency? In foreign affairs, the lack of vision translates into the National Rifle Association dictating our policy on small arms transfers and the anti-abortion crowd deciding what family planning assistance is permissible for U. S. support abroad.



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## SPEAKING OUT

The leadership that would help formulate a more noble organizing principle for foreign policy won't come from the seventh floor of the department, either. Secretary Powell is a great American with a well-deserved reputation for integrity, management ability and outstanding public service in uniform. Yet if he has a concept of where he wants to take American foreign policy in the 21st century, he has kept it well-hidden. And without it, he will be lucky to overcome the resistance of the Pentagon to even the most minimal engagement abroad.

### Muddling Through

Perhaps an overarching philosophy that gives rise to consensus may be impossible for anyone to achieve in the post-Cold War era. The task is made doubly difficult by the not uncommon tendency of all Americans, including white males, to feel themselves part of a disadvantaged minority and to want a foreign policy that serves their personal interests.

Even if there were agreement on overriding principles, State won't be able to sustain reform over the longer term because of its budget. True, in the short term, Secretary Powell has successfully used his personal gravitas to win generous increases in the department's fiscal resources. The prospect of having enough money to update State's antiquated computers and buildings and to increase hiring to close the staffing gaps has the career bureaucrats positively giddy.

But while State's budget may be fat for a year or two, that will not last. The Bush tax cut is designed not just to enrich the rich, but to hollow out government as well. The department, with its perpetual lack of a domestic constituency, will not be spared in the lean years ahead. In the future, debate about how to finance further reforms will be the only thing not in short supply around State.

*While State's budget may be fat for a year or two, that will not last. The Bush tax cut is designed not just to enrich the rich, but to hollow out government as well.*

So those who like to sit on committees charged with deciding how to reform the department should not worry about having to put their blue ribbons in mothballs. They will have job security. The many competing voices in the foreign policy debate will also always have a role, since their starkly different perspectives will ensure nothing like consensus is reached. In short, State Department reform, no matter how it is defined, will continue to be something everyone agrees is necessary, but no one will see realized.

While this is a pessimistic scenario, the good news is it probably doesn't matter. The department won't fall apart. Bureaucracies, like the countries they serve, continue to run with varying degrees of inefficiency and rarely collapse completely. In the corporate sector, the task of producing a product is simple and the balance sheet is always available to define success precisely. Governments, on the other hand, will always struggle to define their goals, refine their means and calculate their impact. And as they do, those who want to make things better will not lack for ideas to improve the process, without regard for the fact that they have probably been tried before. ■

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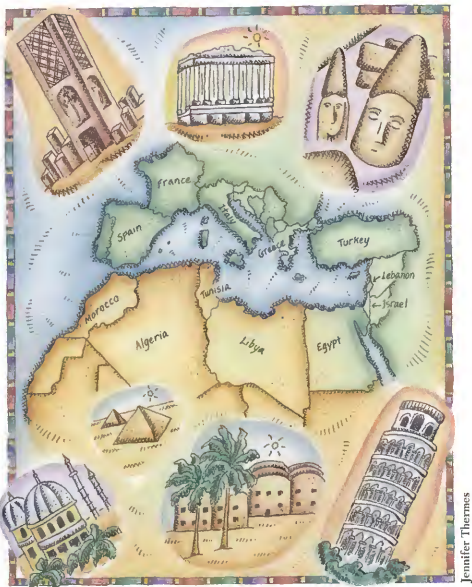
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# THE RENAISSANCE OF MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY?



Jennifer Thomas

THE MEDITERRANEAN IS CENTER STAGE FOR THE GRAY AREA OF SECURITY ENVIRONMENTS THAT ARE NEITHER STRICTLY EUROPEAN NOR MIDDLE EASTERN.

BY IAN O. LESSER

**F**or much of “modern” history, the Mediterranean has been at the center not only of European affairs, but of international affairs generally: It was, after all, where the political, economic and military fate of European and Middle Eastern societies was shaped. Over the last decades, many observers have been critical of the Cold War tendency to relegate Mediterranean affairs to the periphery in security terms. This Cold War marginalization was real enough, but it also obscured the fact that the Mediterranean has, with a few exceptional periods, been declining steadily in geopolitical importance since the 15th century. Against this historical background, the Cold War contributed a further measure of political and strategic marginalization. Despite the role of events in the eastern Mediterranean in setting in train the Cold War policy of containment, from 1945 through the end of the 1980s the

## F O C U S

### *For Mediterranean societies, security continues to be a matter of internal security.*

strategic center of gravity for East and West lay elsewhere.

Yet over the last few years, debate about Mediterranean security concerns has intensified, and the European Union's Barcelona Process and NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue have given these discussions a more substantive character. Renewed Israeli-Palestinian conflict, an economic crisis in Turkey, continued instability in Algeria and a changing transatlantic relationship are affecting the strategic environment in important ways.

Are we witnessing a belated post-Cold War renaissance in the strategic importance of the Mediterranean — a movement from the center to the periphery and back again? In grand historic terms, there is little to suggest that this is the case. The leading centers of international power and potential are elsewhere; there are no real candidates for "superpower" status around the Mediterranean, with the possible exception of the European Union itself.

But power and potential are not the only measures of importance, and a good case can be made that the renaissance of the Mediterranean in security terms will be based on its growing importance in the strategic calculus of Europe, the United States and the Middle East. The growing interdependence of traditionally separate security environments — a result of political spillovers, economic interaction and the expanded reach of modern military and information systems — is producing a significant gray area of problems that are neither strictly European nor Middle Eastern. The Mediterranean is at the center of this phenomenon.

Many developments could derail the trend toward greater interest in the Mediterranean over the next decade, including the rise of new tensions with Russia and insecurity in Eurasia, not to mention adverse developments farther afield. For the moment, however, Mediterranean issues are taking a more prominent place in security debates — and are imposing new intellectual and policy challenges on both sides of the Atlantic and on both shores of the Mediterranean.

#### **The Internal Dimension**

For many societies around the Mediterranean, security continues to be, above all, a matter of internal security, and many foreign and security policy questions derive impor-

tance from their ability to affect the stability of existing regimes. Along the Mediterranean's southern and eastern shores, political futures remain unresolved and many regimes are facing significant challenges to their legitimacy. The ongoing turmoil in Algeria provides the most dramatic example of internal insecurity and violent opposition to the political order. Whether the Algerian regime suc-

ceeds or fails in containing the Islamist and Berber challenges, the Algerian experience is likely to have a profound effect on the security of North Africa as a whole, as well as on the overall perception of risk from the south in Mediterranean Europe. It has also spurred attention to the Mediterranean within both the E.U. and NATO.

The problem of political legitimacy and internal stability is closely tied to demographic and economic trends across the region. The dilemmas posed by expanding and younger populations coupled with slow economic growth have been widely discussed. From Morocco to Turkey, attempts at economic reform and the emergence of a more dynamic private sector have widened the gap between haves and have-nots, with potentially destabilizing consequences. Reforms aimed at promoting longer-term prosperity and encouraging foreign investment may well reinforce stability over that longer term, but the shorter-term political risks are substantial, especially where dissatisfaction with the existing political order is already widespread. Rising expectations will be difficult to meet and can prove a powerful source of political change where the established political class proves incapable of promoting a more equitable distribution of wealth and opportunity. In the eastern Mediterranean, Turkey's Islamists and, more recently, nationalists have benefited from popular dissatisfaction with the political and economic order — a reality underscored by the country's current economic travails.

These political and economic stresses are compounded by the relentless urbanization affecting virtually all Mediterranean societies. The southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean are among the most highly urbanized areas in the world, and cities such as Istanbul and Cairo have experienced extraordinary rates of growth over the last few decades. Urbanization has shaken traditional patterns of behavior and placed enormous new demands on already hard-pressed governments. The inability of governments to meet the needs of urban populations has led

to an increasing tendency of urban citizens to organize their lives without reference to the state, and has provided an opening to political movements with effective municipal organizations. In security terms, continued urbanization suggests an environment in which cities will be the focal point for instability, opposition and political rivalries, both violent and non-violent. If "security" across much of the Mediterranean is about internal security, then cities will be the focus of insecurity within societies where insecurity is pervasive.

Societies on both sides of the Mediterranean share a growing perception of declining personal security. In places as diverse as Algeria, the Balkans and southeastern Anatolia, the threats to personal security are direct and obvious. In Israel, the election of Ariel Sharon can be regarded less as a referendum on the peace process than on the question of personal security. In southern Europe — and, indeed, in Europe as a whole — the concern about spillovers of political violence from crises across the Mediterranean compels the attention of political leadership and public opinion because terrorist risks can (and do) strike at personal security as well as at the security of the state. In France and Italy, right-wing movements have used the personal security issue (crime, terrorism, drug trafficking), in addition to economic and "identity" arguments, in support of their views on immigration policy.

The information revolution is also a factor in the Mediterranean security environment. First, the growing ease of telecommunications is likely to bolster the power and flexibility of opposition movements, both violent and non-violent, within Mediterranean states and in "exile," with implications for the stability of many regimes in North Africa and the Levant. Second, it will facilitate the growth of networks, including terrorist and criminal networks. As a consequence, the potential for spillovers of political violence (e.g., Algerian Armed Islamic Group terrorism in France, Kurdistan Workers' Party fundraising and violence in Germany) will increase, and the decentralized and freelance behavior of "networked" groups will be difficult both to monitor and counter. Even the more benign aspects of globalization may pose serious chal-

lenges to southern Mediterranean states, such as Turkey and Egypt, with traditions of strong state control and rigid ideas about sovereignty.

The pressures for political and economic change in Mediterranean societies will be accommodated in different ways and with different degrees of success. Given the experience of Algeria and the lower-level crises ongoing elsewhere from the Western Sahara to the Caucasus, however, it is reasonable to expect that the future Mediterranean security environment will be characterized by multiple instances of turmoil within societies, with the attendant risk of spillovers. Whether or not demographic pressures and internal instability lead to the pattern of chaotic violence and failed states characterized by Robert Kaplan as "the coming anarchy," the Mediterranean Basin certainly includes a number of societies where outcomes along these lines are possible.

### **The Regional Dimension**

The combination of internal political change and the continuing effects of the loss of Cold War moorings will have significant consequences for the strategic environment around the Mediterranean and within key sub-regions. Over the last decade, it has become fashionable to see political Islam as a key driver of internal and external security challenges. Islam is indeed likely to be a continuing force in the political evolution of many states in the region, as well as a factor in foreign and security policy behavior. But it would be unwise to dismiss the power of nationalism as a critical factor in the Mediterranean environment. As an example, the Turkish approach to regional policy; as well as to relations with the United States and Europe, will be strongly influenced by such impulses. If the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla emerge as a flash point in Spanish-Moroccan relations in the future, the driving force is likely to be Moroccan nationalism. Egyptian nationalism will inevitably be a significant force behind Cairo's attitude toward issues affecting the Mediterranean and the Middle East as a whole. Similarly, successive crises in the Balkans underline the destructive power of frustrated or unchecked nationalism on the Mediterranean's northern side.

Much discussion about the emerging strategic environment in the Mediterranean and the Middle East focuses on "soft" and unconventional risks. This should not obscure the continuing problem of the conventional defense of borders and the preservation of the territorial

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## F O C U S

*The future security environment will be characterized by multiple instances of turmoil within societies, with the risk of spillovers.*

Maghreb, to adopt a more independent line on security issues when the political climate permits.

Emerging links between NATO and Mediterranean non-member states suggest the possibility of a future in which European or Mediterranean institutions provide an alternative to security arrangements centered on the Middle East.

The recent experience of multilateral frameworks to address Middle Eastern security problems has been mixed, at best: Whereas Europe has an elaborate security architecture, with multiple institutions (NATO, the E.U., the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe), North Africa and the Middle East lack effective security institutions. Attempts at regional security cooperation have been made through the Gulf Cooperation Council, the Arab Maghreb Union, the Arab League and the Organization of African Unity; while all have some bearing on the Mediterranean scene, none offers the par-

status quo. The Mediterranean provides some important cases where conventional clashes over territory and resources are possible. Prominent examples include the Western Sahara, Spain-Morocco (over the enclaves), Morocco-Algeria, Libya-Tunisia, Egypt-Sudan, Israel-Syria/the West Bank/Gaza, Greece-Turkey and Turkey-Syria. Quite apart from the important potential for cooperation on counter-terrorism and non-proliferation, the Mediterranean is a place where future demands for conventional peacekeeping, confidence-building measures and security guarantees are likely to be high.

The end of Cold War alignments and the changing character of the Arab-Israeli dispute have opened the way for new security relationships. Examples of this new fluidity in regional geopolitics include the emergence of substantial Turkish-Israeli strategic cooperation and the inclination of smaller Arab states, especially those in the

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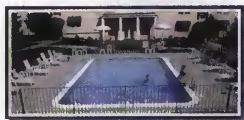
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ticipants collective security and reassurance on the European model.

In the Mediterranean setting, at least, some states may prefer to develop ties with existing European or Atlantic institutions based on a sense of affinity or the need for tangible security guarantees. For the moment, however, the state of the Middle East peace process has complicated all of the existing Mediterranean security initiatives, including those organized by NATO (the Mediterranean Dialogue, which includes non-members Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia) and the E.U. (the Barcelona Process, which includes non-members Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Malta, Morocco, the Palestinian Authority, Syria, Tunisia and Turkey).

### **The Trans-Regional Dimension**

Some of the most striking developments affecting the strategic outlook in the Mediterranean concern the steadily increasing interdependence of the European, Eurasian and Middle Eastern environments. In political, economic and military terms, developments on both sides of the Mediterranean will be interwoven to a substantial degree.

On the political front, public and official opinion in North Africa and the Levant will be influenced by events in the Balkans and the Caucasus, as well as within Western European societies, that affect the position of Muslim communities. The Bosnian experience was a watershed in this respect, and has served — rightly or wrongly — to confirm widespread suspicions in North Africa and elsewhere about European policy toward its Muslim periphery. In the eastern Mediterranean, economic and political problems in Turkey may confirm many Europeans' longstanding perceptions of Turkey as a Middle Eastern rather than a European state, complicating its already troubled E.U. candidacy. Turkey remains a key member of the Atlantic alliance, and the presence of security risks on its borders will directly affect Turkey's European allies. But difficulties in Turkish-European relations contribute to a climate of mistrust that can affect transatlantic security questions, as seen in the unresolved debate over Turkish participation in the E.U.'s emerging European Security and Defense Policy.

European allies have long pressed for a greater role in Arab-Israeli negotiations and in Middle East diplomacy more generally. A deepening of the Israeli-Palestinian crisis will tend to encourage even more active European

efforts in this direction, not least because Europe has a great deal at stake, both economically and in terms of stability on the periphery of the continent. Similarly, much of the energy behind E.U., NATO and other initiatives toward North Africa and the Mediterranean has come from southern European states such as Portugal, Spain and Italy, which have a special interest in North Africa and a history of involvement in North-South diplomacy. This is likely to be an important and continuing factor in shaping a European agenda that might otherwise be devoted almost entirely to challenges in eastern and central Europe.

In economic terms, there are many critical trans-regional linkages. Southern Mediterranean states recognize the extraordinarily important role of economic relations with the E.U. for their future prosperity, even if they are often uncomfortable with the reality of economic dependence. The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership launched in Barcelona in November 1995 flows from this recognition, coupled with Europe's understanding of the need to foster development and stability across the Mediterranean.

New lines of communication, including important new energy routes, are another key point of interdependence. From the western Mediterranean to the Caspian, the expansion of oil and gas pipelines is creating new opportunities for cooperation and conflict, with implications for the security and prosperity of north and south. With new pipelines across the Maghreb and across the Mediterranean, and the potential for some part of future Caspian oil production to reach world markets via the eastern Mediterranean, the Mediterranean region is becoming a focal point for energy trade and energy security concerns. Balkan reconstruction and the revival of ports such as Thessaloniki and Trieste would further reinforce the importance of the Mediterranean as a conduit for oil shipments from the Middle East to eastern and central Europe. Farther afield, the opening of new trade and energy routes from Turkey, Iran and Central Asia will offer the possibility of economic links to Europe via the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, rather than through Russia.

In "hard" security terms, the era of European sanctuary with regard to instability and conflict across the Mediterranean and beyond is rapidly drawing to a close. European societies have long been exposed to the spillover effects of turmoil in North Africa and the Middle East. In addition, Europe's greater Mediterranean periphery —

## F O C U S

### *The expansion of oil and gas pipelines is creating new opportunities for cooperation and conflict.*

from Algeria to Iran, Iraq and as far afield as the sub-continent — displays a striking concentration of proliferation risks. The spread of weapons of mass destruction — nuclear, biological and chemical — coupled with the proliferation of ballistic missile systems of steadily increasing range is transforming the strategic environment around the Mediterranean. Southern Europe and Turkey will be the first within NATO to feel the effects of this exposure (major Turkish population centers are already within range of ballistic missiles deployed in Iraq, Iran and Syria), but over the next decade it is likely that every European capital will be within range of such systems.

For the most part, the quest for regional prestige and “weight” — rather than the desire to target Europe — is driving the acquisition of longer-range weapons. Given the diversity of frictions among neighboring countries in the southern Mediterranean, it is likely that the Middle Eastern and North African neighbors of proliferators will

face the first, most direct threat from weapons of mass destruction. (The Iran-Iraq war, the civil war in Yemen and the Gulf War offer examples along these lines. To date, the only concrete instance of ballistic missile attack against Western territory has been the ineffective Libyan Scud attack against Lampedusa in April 1986.)

From a European perspective, the risk of attack by WMD or ballistic missiles will acquire more serious dimensions where it is coupled with a revolutionary orientation on the part of the proliferator, or when Western intervention creates a rationale for strikes against bases or population centers.

As a result of proliferation trends, Europe will be increasingly exposed to the retaliatory consequences of U.S. and European actions around the Middle East and the Mediterranean Basin. Conventionally armed ballistic missiles deployed on Europe’s periphery are unlikely to possess the weight or accuracy to constitute a militarily sig-

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nificant threat. But as a political threat and a weapon of terror capable of influencing the European calculus in crises, their significance could be considerable. Would southern European allies have offered the United States the same sort of access to facilities and military cooperation during the Gulf War if their population centers had been exposed to a credible threat of retaliation? Perhaps, but the deliberations would have been far more difficult and the demands for defensive arrangements far more serious. In this context, regional defenses against ballistic missiles are likely to form an important part of the wider transatlantic debate on missile defense, with particular implications for the Mediterranean.

### **The Extra-Regional Dimension**

The consequences of trends in the Mediterranean security environment will reach well beyond Mediterranean shores. Under Cold War conditions, the Mediterranean derived its primary strategic significance as an arena for competition between extra-Mediterranean superpowers. The current environment has gone a considerable distance toward the visions of French (and many nonaligned) observers who have called for a "Mediterranean for the Mediterraneans." Russia has withdrawn from the Mediterranean in security terms, although it retains a stake in maritime access and Mediterranean political developments and, under certain circumstances, could play a more active role in the Balkans and on Turkey's border. The United States remains an overwhelmingly important military and diplomatic presence, especially in the eastern Mediterranean. Challenges in the Aegean, the Balkans, Turkey and the Levant, not to mention the logistical tie to the Gulf, suggest that Washington's engagement in the Mediterranean will be durable. To the extent that NATO devotes more energy to the region, this too will tend to encourage a significant U.S. role. But the European involvement in Mediterranean security is substantial, and the critical economic and political relationships between north and south are, first and foremost, an E.U. responsibility. In this respect, the situation in the Mediterranean is quite different from that in the Persian Gulf, where the United States plays a dominant and often unilateral role as security guarantor.

In broad terms, the concerns of Mediterranean states, both northern and southern, will be difficult to address without the engagement of key non-

Mediterranean states and wider European and Atlantic institutions. The range of hard and soft security issues characteristic of the region, from proliferation to migration, favors multilateral approaches, and many would be politically uncomfortable or too costly to address unilaterally. To the extent that the E.U. develops a more active common foreign and security policy, and a more effective defense capability, these efforts will find a natural focus in the Mediterranean. At the same time, NATO's focus on new tasks and the potential for further enlargement in the Balkans will encourage the alliance to look southward. All of these trends will place a premium on closer U.S.-E.U. cooperation in managing Mediterranean problems.

Mediterranean security will also be influenced by actors beyond the European, Atlantic and Eurasian spheres. The arms and technology transfer practices of China, North Korea, India and Pakistan will have a bearing on the character and pace of WMD proliferation around the region. Anarchy and conflict in sub-Saharan Africa, Sudan and the Horn of Africa could produce refugee crises affecting North Africa and Egypt, along with potentially destabilizing spillovers of political violence. If Europe is increasingly concerned about the risks emanating from the southern Mediterranean, it should not be forgotten that states across the Mediterranean also face risks flowing from the even poorer and less stable regions to their south.

### **Looking Ahead**

The security environment in the Mediterranean is being shaped by substantial change and uncertainty at several levels — internal, regional, trans-regional and extra-regional. It has become fashionable to see the Mediterranean as part of an "arc of crisis" stretching from the Maghreb to Central Asia, but it might more accurately be described as an "arc of change." Societies around the southern Mediterranean face daunting challenges of adjustment and reform. These challenges are made more acute by the imperative of strengthening relations with Europe, the leading economic partner for all southern Mediterranean states, and an increasingly important political and security actor in the region. In many respects, the security future of the Mediterranean will be determined, above all, by developments within key states such as Algeria, Egypt and Turkey.

The fate of existing regional initiatives, including

## F O C U S

### *The Mediterranean*

NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue and the political and security aspects of the E.U.'s Barcelona Process, will be strongly affected by developments in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The current crisis exacerbates long-standing Arab suspicions regarding Western security institutions and makes an effective multilateral dialogue on north-south lines difficult or impossible.

Under these conditions, it is not surprising that there has been a revival of interest in sub-regional forums such as the "Five plus Five" dialogue in the western Mediterranean, which brings together five southern European countries (Italy, Spain, France, Portugal and Malta) with five partners in the Arab Maghreb Union (Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Libya and Mauritania). In the eastern Mediterranean, the emergence of a more relaxed relationship between Greece and Turkey has reduced the risk associated with one of the region's most dangerous flash points. But the core issues of Cyprus and the

*is part of the "arc of crisis,"*

*but it might more accurately be described as an "arc of change."*

Aegean have yet to be addressed, and the outlook for Greek-Turkish détente is likely to depend critically on the uncertain relationship between Turkey and the E.U.

The United States has been a Mediterranean power in some fashion for 200 years, and has been the leading security actor in the region

since 1945. Mediterranean crises and assumptions about the need to project military power to regions such as the Gulf and the Caspian will continue to compel American interest, even if Washington is disinclined to develop a specific Mediterranean policy. A critical open question is how United States and European roles in the Mediterranean will evolve as the E.U. becomes a more prominent actor and as the U.S. re-examines its foreign and defense policy priorities. Cooperation in the Mediterranean, Europe's "near abroad" but close to areas of vital American interest, is a promising area for a more concerted transatlantic approach. ■

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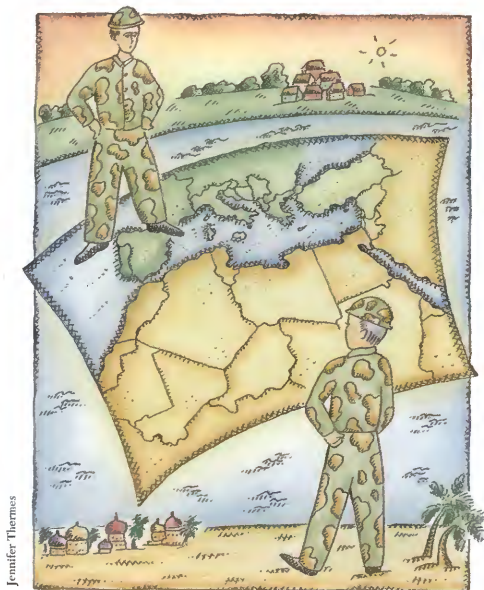
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# MEDITERRANEAN RELATIONS: A SOUTHERN PERSPECTIVE



WHY ARE EUROPE'S RELATIONS WITH THE SOUTHERN SIDE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN NOT AS WARM AS EUROPEANS SOMETIMES LIKE TO THINK?

By BECHIR CHOUROU

**I**n biology the interdependence of two organisms is called symbiosis, of which there are three varieties: mutualism, in which the interdependence is beneficial to both organisms; parasitism, in which one organism can satisfy its needs only by causing harm to the other; and commensalism, in which the organisms come together for a specific purpose but remain free to separate, and their relationship is either beneficial or harmless to both organisms.

Similar forms of interdependence exist between humans: Marriage, friendship, soup kitchens, kitchen cabinets, feudalism and non-governmental organizations are all forms of symbiosis. However, any attempt to classify them as examples of mutualism, parasitism or commensalism is bound to be controversial. For instance, slave owners, pimps

*There is no doubt that  
Europe and the West do  
not project a positive  
image in the Arab world,  
Mediterranean or  
otherwise.*

and arms dealers might all consider themselves to be illustrations of mutualism, not parasites. In other words, a symbiosis will be evaluated differently by smaller and larger symbionts as well as by outside observers.

The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership is a case in point. When the 15 members of the European Union and 12 states from the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean — Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Malta, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey and the Palestinian Authority — met in Barcelona in 1995 to set up this partnership, they intended to create a zone where all would live in peace, security and shared prosperity. Could there be a loftier endeavor or a better example of mutualism? But I would argue — at the risk of being called a revisionist or, worse yet, dismissed as politically incorrect — that the EMP was not built on the model of mutualism. Instead, it actually symbolizes the antagonistic type of symbiosis called parasitism between North and South. In other words, the general belief in the southern Mediterranean region is that the main concern of EMP proponents is not the promotion of democracy or the welfare of people, but the protection of self-serving interests at most people's expense.

**Double Talk**

The EMP project suffers from a number of weaknesses that threaten its very foundations. To begin with, the signatories proclaimed their adherence to a number of principles and their belief in certain values such as democratic rule, respect for human rights and international law. Yet at the time of signing, most of the non-E.U. countries had rather poor records in the area of human rights, which have not improved signif-

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*Bechir Chourou is a professor of international relations at the University of Tunis in Tunisia. He has written several academic articles and book chapters on various aspects of Euro-Mediterranean relations. He has recently testified before the European Parliament and submitted written testimony to the British House of Lords on approaches to reinvigorating the Barcelona Process.*

icantly in the six years since. In addition, at least one signatory was forcibly occupying the territories of other partners in defiance of international law.

It may be objected that the EMP *intends* to bring about the implementation of those principles and respect of those values. But that argument fails to convince many citizens in the Maghreb and

elsewhere, who believe that their rulers remain in power mostly as a result of support they receive from Europe (and the United States), and that their sponsors will continue to back those regimes even if their human rights records deteriorate further.

If there were any doubts about that, they were quickly dispelled by the widespread sigh of relief breathed in the region, as well as in the E.U. and the U.S., when the Algerian army announced its decision to cancel the second round of the legislative elections held in January 1992 once it became clear that parties associated with Islamic fundamentalists would gain control over the legislature. Tunisia and Morocco, two EMP members, welcomed the cancellation on the grounds that if Algeria fell to the fundamentalists, they and the rest of the Arab world would follow (in application of the well-known domino theory). And since everyone "knows" that the fundamentalists are terrorists who are opposed to democracy, tolerance and progress, it is morally right and politically imperative to stop them by whatever means necessary.

People in the southern Mediterranean are fully aware that their rulers remain in power because they have been given material and political support from powerful patrons. During the Cold War, all a leader had to do was to declare his support for one camp or the other to receive lavish support. Many countries joined the Western camp and obtained everything they needed to eliminate communists. Every time they encountered opposition, of whatever kind, they declared it to be communist and dealt with it ruthlessly. In some cases, the repressive machine the West helped build over the years for this purpose grew so powerful that when some of the leaders (e.g., Saddam Hussein) became undesirable, their erstwhile patrons could not get rid of them.

### Ends and Means

After the Cold War, the victorious camp could no longer be blackmailed by threats to switch to the enemy, so leaders had to find another justification for continued support. (However, unbelievable as this may sound, even today there are a few regimes that claim there is a communist conspiracy against them.) Rather conveniently, some radical groups claiming to be defenders of Islam had by then become quite notorious as a result of terrorist acts carried out in various parts of the world. So Islamic fundamentalism was proclaimed the new enemy of the West and declared to be even more dangerous than communism. The world was asked to brace itself for a "clash of civilizations." Regimes in the Mediterranean region gallantly joined the battle, since it was a way to stay in power and keep the goodies coming.

The enemy is new but the alliance and its *modus operandi* are familiar: You hunt the bearded devils and we won't ask questions. To further sweeten the deal, additional concessions were exchanged: You keep placing orders to keep our armament industry afloat, you purchase our refrigerators and washing machines, you keep the oil flowing, you anchor your economies and finances to ours, and in return we will say you are nice guys. This generalization may sound superficial, even crude, but it is how the fundamentalists are depicting relations between Arab dictators and Western governments. And a growing number of Arab citizens accept this as an accurate reflection of reality and are convinced that the West has never really abandoned its old colonialist reflexes.

Indeed, after sifting through all the rhetoric, one can identify Europe's three real concerns in the Mediterranean: oil, markets and immigration. This characterization is particularly true of France, Italy and Spain's relations with North Africa. At present large quantities of North African oil and gas are shipped to southern Europe, and important investments have been made on fixed infrastructure to transport Algerian gas across the Mediterranean. With respect to trade, Europe is the recipient of some 80 percent of the Maghreb's exports and the supplier of a similar proportion of its imports. However, E.U. trade with the entire southern Mediterranean represents an insignificant part of its trade with non-members.

As for immigration, an increasing number of young

North Africans who were victims of the economic stagnation and growing unemployment that hit the region since the early 1980s thought they could get relief in Europe. The backlash in Europe was quick and its intensity increased as unemployment became a problem there as well. The thesis, widely propagated by right-wing parties, was that migrants were taking jobs away from the natives. In reality, the situation was not much different from that of Mexicans in California. Local businesses needed workers to do difficult or menial jobs in agriculture, construction or sanitation, and immigrants were the only people willing to accept such jobs. If they are illegal, they present the added advantage of not being too picky about working conditions and pay. But politicians could not present those realities to voters, so they took severe measures to make access to Europe — legal or not — as difficult as possible. A visa regime was instituted and made so complicated that obtaining a visa became an event worth celebrating. But the policy failed to transform Europe into a secure fortress. Its main effect was to discourage potential *bona fide* visitors from going to Europe. I for one have not set a foot in France since visas were instituted in the late 1970s simply because their requirements and consulate personnel are particularly unhelpful, to put it politely. As for illegal migrants, they rarely consider applying for a visa among the methods they contemplate to enter Europe. Consequently, it is widely believed that their number has not decreased despite the toughening of visa procedures. By definition, they cannot be counted, but scores cross every day from Morocco into Spain and from Tunisia into Sicily.

After the Barcelona summit, the decision was taken to try to deal with the root of the problem. It was thought that if people had jobs they would not try to leave home. But the problem was how and how fast can jobs be created. All the classical tools were envisioned: increasing investments, expanding existing businesses, opening European markets to goods from the south, etc. But implementation did not follow. Foreign investors do not consider the region sufficiently attractive or secure. Free trade led to higher unemployment because many local businesses could not stand up to competition from European producers. In sum, the Barcelona Process had results exactly opposite to the ones it set out to achieve: more unemployment, less welfare, and greater desire for migration.

*I would argue that the  
Euro-Mediterranean  
Partnership represents a  
parasitic relationship, not  
a mutually beneficial one.*

Nevertheless, every nation remains free to define its own interests and foreign policy objectives. So if any or all E.U. members want to close their borders to certain categories of foreign nationals, or to obtain oil at a low price or at no cost at all, or to seek markets for their products, they have the right to do so. Similarly, non-European members have the right to seek unlimited access for their people and goods, to regulate the quantity of natural resources that they want to sell, to obtain the cancellation of their debt, to solicit substantial grants and gifts and free access to scientific knowledge and technical know-how.

However, no nation is — or should be — free to use any means to achieve its objectives or protect its interests. When two entities want to exchange things, they bargain. Naturally, each one tries to cut the best deal, and to that effect it uses its strong points and exploits the partner's weak ones. However, the entire process is supposed to respect certain ground rules such as fair play, equity, transparency, level playing field, etc.

Unfortunately, negotiations within the EMP, while appearing to stick to the letter of these rules, have not always respected their spirit. Assuredly, when the southern leaders signed the Barcelona Declaration, there were no visible guns pointed at them; they were acting on their own free will. But that is precisely the problem. The southern leaders represented only their personal unchecked will, whereas the northern leaders signed on the basis of mandates given to them by their electorates and for which they would be accountable. Consequently, it is legitimate to ask: What is the legal value of a contract signed by a party that does not have proper accreditation and authority, or that may in fact be in collusion with the other co-signer? Admittedly, hardly anyone bothers to quibble about such minor details. But it is perhaps time that someone did.

#### Correcting Past Mistakes

The influence of fundamentalism may have waned but it has certainly not disappeared, as the current situation in Algeria, the Arabian Peninsula, Afghanistan and elsewhere dramatically shows. In Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia, the movement is said to be eradicated or

under control, but that may be wishful thinking. To kill this proliferating tree, it will not be sufficient to cut its branches. One has to find its roots and eliminate the nutrients that keep the tree alive and thriving: poverty, dictatorial rule, nepotism, abuse of power, injustice and despair.

There is no doubt that the region's Muslims have succeeded in bringing political and economic issues into the religious sphere, and in tarnishing Western civilization thereby. However, the trend may still be reversed, provided that new voices with alternative proposals are allowed to compete for popular attention. So far the political scene in Arab and Muslim countries around the Mediterranean and elsewhere has been monopolized by the ruling regimes and the fundamentalists. The record of those regimes has been dismal by any standards, but their most serious mistake has been their unrelenting cling to power. By repressing criticism and by rejecting demands for accountability, they let problems — and resentments — accumulate. Some of these leaders tried to deflect attention from political and social issues to religious and cultural ones, and allowed religious leaders to denounce the “rampant Westernization of Muslim societies.” For example, in the late 1970s, Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba actively encouraged university students to create a movement called “Ennahdha” as a counterweight to socialist, communist and liberal parties that were challenging his rule. However, that tactical move quickly backfired on its initiators, because the imams did not unleash their wrath solely against miniskirts and bikinis but also against social ills and those responsible for them. That was sufficient to reveal them as “subversives.” The fundamentalists also delved into foreign affairs and declared their support of the Palestinian cause and their opposition to Zionism and imperialism. And that was enough to brand them as an international terrorist organization bent on destabilizing the existing international order.

Algeria demonstrates vividly how damaging the denial of democracy can be. In 1988 it was not the Muslims who pushed people in the street; in fact, the army called on them to help quiet things down. That

revolt may have been averted had there been forces to impose checks on the military junta that ruled the country since independence. In any event, political reforms became inevitable, and when they were adopted, their benefits went mostly to the Muslims, who had a number of advantages over the multitude of parties that proliferated at that time. They had been active for a long time before being legalized. They supplied social services and concrete help to citizens when public services came to a complete halt. They were the first to denounce corruption and incompetence in government — and the first to pay the price for their courage. With that kind of legitimacy and credibility, their victory should not be surprising.

The current situation in many current and prospective EMP members is similar to that of Algeria in 1988 in substance, if not in severity. The partnership agreements that have gone into effect have created more problems for the southern partners than they have solved. In particular, they led to a decrease in government revenues, an increase in unemployment, a larger trade deficit with the E.U. and greater social inequality. As a result, the EMP is aggravating the very problems that it seeks to solve, such as immigration, poverty and instability. At the same time, the political and cultural aspects of the agreements (democracy, rule of law, respect of human rights, cultural exchanges) have been more or less ignored. Ultimately, by failing to bring about shared prosperity and greater understanding between societies, the EMP is supplying ammunition to radicals and paving the way for their future success.

Until recently, the European reaction has been to argue that these are unavoidable problems that will go away after a transitional period. But a young Algerian who holds a university degree, can't find a job of any kind, has to share a run-down apartment with a dozen family members, has no prospect for founding a family and leading a decent life, and knows that the country is awash with petrodollars, would have difficulty accepting calls for patience and understanding. He would be particularly suspicious when such calls come from countries that claim to support popular sovereignty and democratic principles but do not practice what they preach. And there are millions all over the southern Mediterranean who hold similar views.

In the last few months a number of E.U. institutions and members have started to change their attitudes

towards the Southern Mediterranean countries and the implementation of the EMP. There are more frequent and open calls for going beyond the commercial aspects of the partnership. Criticism of dictatorial rule and high-level corruption has been more forthcoming. Pressure is said to be exerted behind the scenes to coax reticent regimes to allow genuine democratic practices. Attempts are being made to distinguish between radical and moderate Muslims. Even the United States appeared to be going in that direction during the Clinton administration, although it is doubtful that the current administration is much interested in the promotion of democracy or, for that matter, of anything that would bring tangible benefits to the Third World. JFK, Humphrey, Fulbright and Carter, where are you?

#### **Credibility and Boldness**

The future of European-Mediterranean relations is uncertain at best. There is no doubt that Europe and the West in general do not project a positive image in the Arab world, Mediterranean or otherwise. Shared confidence and mutually beneficial relations between North and South can be instituted and sustained only if all actors gain greater credibility and show a disposition to adopt bold, innovative policies. At present, southern public opinion is struck by glaring inconsistencies in Europe's declarations and policies toward the Mediterranean. For example, the E.U. supports free trade in the case of industrial goods but not of agricultural products. It wants the free movement of goods and services but not of labor. It proclaims that the South does not present a military threat but creates rapid intervention forces (EUROFOR and EURO-MARFOR). As members of NATO, why do European countries not re-examine the need to maintain the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean? Do they really believe that training seminars on civilian control of military forces can be of any use to officers who already exercise political authority? Why should Iraq and Libya be punished for transgressing international law, but not Israel?

These are but a few of the contradictions and inconsistencies that would have to be resolved. If and when the West opts for a fresh start in its approach to the region, it should adopt a number of new principles to be buttressed by specific actions. To be brief and to the point, I shall limit myself to the following:

## F O C U S

1. The United States may find it useful to consider that the Mediterranean is not limited to its eastern basin, and that in addition to the Israelis it is also home to millions of other people who may have legitimate aspirations for justice and equity. In light of this, the U.S. may want to abandon the current approach of dealing with the Maghreb countries as single units separate from the rest of the Arab world and only on the basis of crises or single events. In this respect the second Clinton administration took what appeared as a hopeful initiative. Under the leadership of Undersecretary of State for Economic, Business and Agricultural Affairs Stuart E. Eizenstat, the United States sought to institute a U.S.-North Africa Economic Partnership as a first step toward strengthening relations between the parties. The initiative seemed to signal a change of policy toward North Africa, but it would

*After sifting through all the rhetoric, one can identify Europe's three real concerns in the Mediterranean: oil, markets and immigration.*

have been only a half-step in the right direction. Stronger U.S. ties with the Union of the Arab Maghreb would be a most welcome prospect, but the initiative offered no hope that the U.S. would incorporate the North African sub-region into its Middle East policy. In any event, the idea vanished with the Clinton administration. Even so, perhaps Washington would be willing to take a fresh look at the region on the basis that policy there cannot be made solely in light of what Israel wants.

2. The structure of the EMP has to be drastically revised. At present, the partnership involves the E.U., which acts as a unit, and 12 southern countries that rarely play as a team. This is like pitting the Lakers against the Chicken Hawks, the basketball team of aging academics to which I belong.

3. Eight of the 12 southern partners are members of

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## F O C U S

the Arab League and would, therefore, have difficulties undertaking anything that would be inconsistent with that status or with their status as Arab and Muslim states. This is why basing participation in the EMP on a geographical criterion is unrealistic, and why the principle was not strictly applied from the very beginning. To be more efficient and better balanced, the partnership should be between the E.U. and the Arab League or some other suitable structure that would represent countries directly involved in the region's affairs.

4. Arab states have not been willing to act in unison despite the fact that they have signed numerous agreements linking them in various fields. This is not because Arab populations are against unity or integration, but because Arab rulers have always preferred being big fishes in individual small ponds to being small fishes in one big pond. Arabs have never been given an opportunity to choose between balkanization and integration, but the question can be put to them only if

there is an appropriate democratic setting. However, the fact of the matter is that the Arab world is the only region in the world that has not been affected by any of the successive waves of democratization. Many of us are unhappy about being so singled out and are wondering who is so afraid of democracy.

All Arabs are confronted with the challenge of guiding their caravan out of the storm in which it has been caught for over half a century. Throughout that period, whenever the hot desert wind threatened to quiet down, powerful wind machines would be activated from the North. To counter that phenomenon, some are calling for the construction of a high concrete barrier on the southern shores of the Mediterranean. Others want some sand to be put in the strategic gears of the great northern machine. But there are still a few who continue to think that cooperation is better than confrontation or isolationism. For the mutual benefit of all, that endangered species should be protected and nurtured before it disappears. ■



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# KEEP OUT: EUROPE CRACKS DOWN ON IMMIGRATION



**T** MIGRANTS FROM NORTH AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE SEE THE MEDITERRANEAN AS THE WAY TO A BETTER LIFE. BUT THEIR EUROPEAN HOSTS DON'T SEE IT THAT WAY.

BY CHRISTOPHER M. POTHOVEN

he defenses along Spain's southern coast may be changing — radar nets and electronic walls, rather than the traditional stone and mortar strongholds of centuries past — but for the throngs of migrants across the Mediterranean Sea, the message is the same: Keep Out. This is the southern outpost of what has been dubbed "Fortress Europe," and immigrants are not welcome.

That message has not stopped the thousands of people who each year travel to Morocco to attempt to enter the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla, risk their lives by crossing the Strait of Gibraltar in rickety boats, or stow away in unguarded, Europe-bound truck trailers in Tangiers. These migrants see the deep blue border of the Mediterranean as their gateway to a better life in Spain or elsewhere in Europe, and neither laws, radar nets nor electronic walls will discourage them.

True, some are captured and returned by E.U.-member state authorities, while hundreds — perhaps thousands in recent years — die while trying to make the difficult voyage across the Mediterranean. But despite the risks, anywhere from 300,000 to more than 1 million people succeed in illegally entering the 15 countries of the European Union each year. Observers suggest perhaps one quarter or more migrate from Africa, with the Mediterranean as their primary route. Spain's proximity to North Africa makes it the most accessible entry point, but Italy and Greece are points of entry for migrants coming from Tunisia, Turkey, the Middle East, and even Southeast Asia. The islands of Cyprus and Malta, two potential E.U. members, also have become important "shunting stations" for illegal immigrants.

European countries, both individually and collectively, have responded in recent years with a variety of measures to reduce the largely unwanted flow, including stronger border controls, tougher immigration policies, and increased aid to less-developed countries. Ferruccio Pastore, an immigration researcher at the Center for the Study of International Politics in Rome said in a recent phone interview that "In most countries, zero immigration [became] the unofficial political slogan" in the 1970s. Economic conditions are better now, but fears of poverty and Islamic fundamentalism entering the continent are rising, Pastore says.

For their part, many residents of North Africa, as well as Turkey and the Middle East, view the E.U. countries' security measures as selfish and racist. "For most of North Africa, especially the younger ones, the restrictive measures taken by the E.U. pertaining to their freedom of movement are intolerable," said Algerian-born Benjamin Stora, a professor of history at the University of Paris VIII-St. Denis, and a scholar at the Center for Social Sciences in Rabat, Morocco. "They live this situation as a humiliation, a sort of punishment inherited from the colonial period." This, says Stora, leads to a double movement: Some adopt a fundamentalist identity, while the majority "try by any means to 'burn' their lives by trying to cross, at the risk

of their lives, the Strait of Gibraltar, for instance."

Stora is one of a growing number of scholars, policy-makers and others who see the current security and economic measures as largely insufficient to tackle the real causes driving illegal immigration. Instead, they say the E.U. and its member states need to work more closely with the African countries as equals. Their voices include that of award-winning African filmmaker Soriou Samura, whose 2000 documentary *Exodus* traces the route of migrants from sub-Saharan Africa to Morocco, and then across the Mediterranean.

"We are not saying the West should leave their gates wide-open to allow Africans to flood in," Samura says on his website, [www.sorioussamurafrica.org](http://www.sorioussamurafrica.org). "Yet neither are we saying they should continue spending those millions of E.U. money to raise high-tech fences to keep African migrants away. All we are saying is that if the situation is not handled properly — sooner rather than later — a type of war may one day occur, with Africans charging through those barriers in their thousands if not millions, simply to be recognized as members of this one world."

### **Push And Pull**

The Maghrebi countries (Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria, with Libya and Mauritania also included by some) comprise the largest source of both legal and illegal trans-mediterranean migration, but increasingly, refugees from countries such as Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire and Senegal also are making their way north. Some analysts predict 15 to 20 million will, legally and illegally, penetrate western Europe via the Iberian Peninsula between 2000 and 2015.

A number of causes both "push" and "pull" thousands of Africans to risk their lives each year to enter Europe. The "push" factors — i.e., reasons that force people out of their own countries — are mostly economic and political. Many are leaving countries mired in poverty. Rankings from the U.N. Development Program's 1999 human development index offer a telling snapshot of the disparities around the Mediterranean. France, Italy, and Spain ranked 11th, 19th and 21st, respectively, while Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco were 102nd, 109th and 126th. "The Mediterranean continues to be probably the deepest socioeconomic and demographic fault-line in the world," says Pastore.

The remittances immigrants send home to family members form a sizable portion of the economy in many

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*Christopher Pothoven is a second-year graduate student at the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University, pursuing an M.A. in international affairs with a concentration in international security studies. He was the Journal's editorial intern in the fall of 2000.*

# AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • October 2001



BERT ESCALANTE

Secretary of State Colin Powell presents AFSA's National High School Essay Contest winner, Marguerite Gabriele, with her certificate at a ceremony August 15. From left: Richard Gabriele, Kathleen Gabriele, Marguerite, and Secretary Powell. See story on page 6.



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## FINAL CHAPTER IN DS FLSA OVERTIME GRIEVANCES

### Grievance Denied, But LEAP Overtime is Silver Lining

■ BY SHARON L. PAPP, AFSA GENERAL COUNSEL

AFSA regrets to report that on June 18, the District Court for the District of Columbia upheld the Foreign Service Grievance Board denial of the cohort grievances filed by attorneys Greg McGillivray and Molly Elkin on behalf of 359 diplomatic security agents seeking back overtime pay under the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA). The FLSA is the law that requires an employer to pay overtime at the rate of one and one-half times the employee's hourly rate of pay for work beyond forty hours a week.

In 1998, the grievance board found that the DS positions at issue — in the protective liaison and dignitary protection division of the Office for Protection, in DS field offices, in the Office of Investigations and Counterintelligence, and shift leaders on the

secretary's detail division — were "administrative" positions under the FLSA, and therefore "exempt" from the law. The court's decision marks the final chapter in a seven-year legal battle. In AFSA's view, the court's ruling goes against numerous previous decisions by courts and arbitrators that have held law enforcement employees are not "administrative" employees under the FLSA.

While AFSA is disappointed in the June court decision, the grievance did lead to several positive developments for all DS agents. First, a number of employees assigned to the secretary's detail, the senior watch, and watch positions — some of whom were grievants and some of whom were not — received substantial amounts of back overtime pay,

amounting to more than \$400,000.

Perhaps more significantly, the grievances played an important role in the obtainment of Law Enforcement Availability Pay (LEAP) for all diplomatic security agents. LEAP is an alternative type of overtime compensation for federal law enforcement personnel, and employees who receive LEAP are by law exempt from the FLSA. LEAP is highly desirable because it is part of basic pay for retirement purposes.

Prior to the filing of the grievances, the department had asked Congress to specifically exclude DS agents from LEAP, because it believed it would be too costly. When threatened with the prospect of losing the FLSA grievances and having to pay

Continued on page 8



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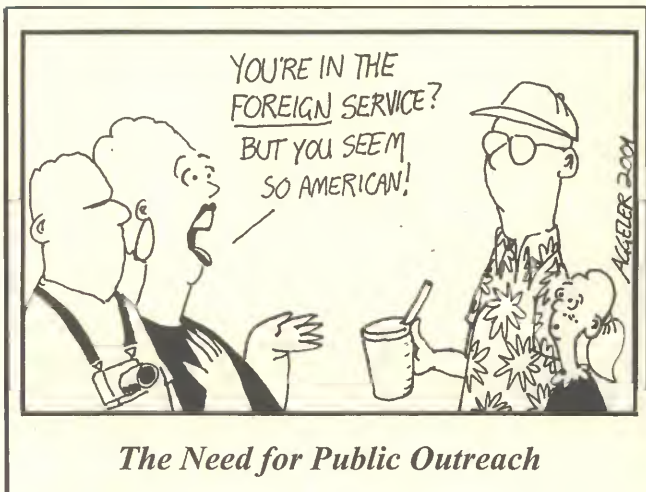
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Please submit your 400- to 500-word essay/column to *AFSA News* editor Shawn Dorman at [Dorman@afsa.org](mailto:Dorman@afsa.org). There is no deadline: this is a standing call for submissions. All submissions will be seriously considered.

Life in the Foreign Service ■ BY BRIAN AGGELER, FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER & CARTOONIST



## FAS AFSA Holds Recruiting Event

On July 19, the Foreign Agricultural Service AFSA division, with much-appreciated support from AFSA headquarters, held a recruiting and visit-with-colleagues gathering at AFSA headquarters. The event was part of the annual FAS Global Life Conference. About 50 people stopped by, including FAS junior employees considering careers in the Foreign Service. They spoke with current FAS FSOs about issues such as spousal employment and locality pay, and listened to numerous stories beginning with "When I was in . . ." The consensus was that earnest young government employees will continue to pursue careers in the Foreign Service. This was welcome news, in part because at last count, there were approximately 160 FSOs in FAS, down 20 percent from eight years ago.

There was mention that next year's conference may be truly global, with officers from all posts invited to attend, irrespective of leave status. If so, AFSA FAS looks forward to seeing you in FAS/W next year.

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## ON THE WEB



JOSH

## FSI Childcare Center Opens

The pilot childcare center, which opened in September at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center, accommodates approximately 25 children, ages six weeks to five years. The weekly rates are: \$238 for infants ages six months to 20 months; \$228 for toddlers 20 to 36 months; and \$175 for preschoolers 36 to 60 months. If you want more information, contact the provider, Beatrice Tierney, by phone: (703) 525-0593; fax: (703) 525-0555; or e-mail: [beatierney@aol.com](mailto:beatierney@aol.com).

Fees at the FSI center are somewhat higher than those at Diplotots, which primarily serves Main State employees. (For a preschooler, the cost at FSI is \$175/week vs. \$151/week at Diplotots.) In meetings with State management, AFSA expressed concern about the cost of childcare at FSI and proposed several tuition assistance options. The department is currently working on implementing a childcare assistance plan for low-income employees. AFSA is a member of the childcare working group that made recommendations to senior management on subsidy levels.

## Photo Credits

Photos of the AFSA Awards Ceremony and the AFSA Governing Board lunch, published in the September issue of *AFSA News*, were not properly credited. These wonderful photos were taken by photographers Bert Escalante and Mark Bums. □

Following are some Internet sites and other on-line resources we thought you might find useful. It is by no means a comprehensive list, and we welcome any suggestions for future AFSA News notes on Web sites most useful for the Foreign Service community.

### AFSA is the Place to Start

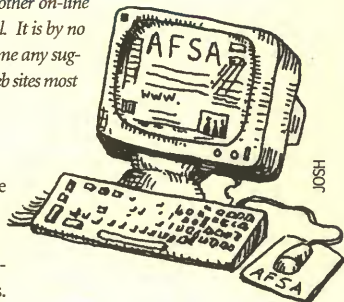
The American Foreign Service Association Web site — [www.afsa.org](http://www.afsa.org) — is a great resource for all kinds of information about the activities of the association and general Foreign Service issues. Find discussion forums on key FS issues, congressional updates and links to congressional offices, links to U.S. embassy Web sites and many other helpful sites, *Foreign Service Journal* excerpts, and much more.

### Sign Up for AFSANET

Due to publication timing, *AFSA News* cannot provide up-to-the-minute coverage of AFSA efforts and activities. If you're interested in receiving real-time (or close to it) updates from AFSA by e-mail, sign up for AFSANET. AFSANET is a free service of the American Foreign Service Association designed to provide updates on issues of interest to the foreign affairs community. To subscribe to AFSANET, go to <http://www.afsa.org/forms/maillist.html>.

### AFSA E-mail Forwarding Service

AFSA has a new e-mail forwarding service for members. Your AFSA e-mail address will remain constant even if you change your Internet provider or your work or home e-mail addresses. All of the mail sent to your AFSA e-mail address will be forwarded to any address you provide to AFSA. You will never need to change your e-mail address again! You can update the addresses you want e-mail to go to as often as you need. However, you must be an AFSA member to take advantage of this service. If you do not have an AFSA member login ID and password, contact AFSA at [member@afsa.org](mailto:member@afsa.org). For more information on this service, go to [www.afsa.org/members/emailforward.html](http://www.afsa.org/members/emailforward.html).



### AFSA's Online Retiree Database

The AFSA skills database contains information on several hundred retired members who agreed to make their data available to the public for use by prospective employers and/or for potential speaking or teaching engagements. AFSA

AFSA is making a special effort to encourage the State Department to draw on the database for their temporary staffing needs.

is making a special effort to encourage the State Department to draw on the database for their temporary staffing needs. While anyone can use the database, you must be a retired AFSA member to be included in the database. Find the skills database at [www.afsa.org/skills](http://www.afsa.org/skills).

### State's Sporty New Recruiting Web Site

The State Department Foreign Service is in hiring mode. Check out the new and improved recruiting Web site at [www.foreignservicecareers.gov](http://www.foreignservicecareers.gov) and send anyone you know who might be interested in a Foreign Service career to the site. It is now possible to register on-line for the Foreign Service written exam.

Continued on page 6

## Big Changes Ahead?

The Fiscal Year 2002 appropriations bill hasn't even been passed by both houses yet, but thanks to Secretary Colin Powell's efforts, it appears the department in FY 02 will have the resources to do many of those jobs which have been postponed year after year for lack of funds. There will be money for technology upgrades and training. There will be money for security and facilities. Most of all, there will be money for people. So, those hard-to-fill and not-to-fill lists should quickly recede from modern memory along with those 14-hour days and seven-day workweeks.

Over the next three years, the department plans to hire 1200 Foreign Service employees over and above attrition, which is approximately 225 people a year. The department has launched an impressive recruitment campaign. Go to the Web site [monster.com](http://monster.com), type in "foreign service," and see what pops up. Or go directly to [www.foreignservicecareers.gov](http://www.foreignservicecareers.gov) and you will find yourself at State's new recruiting Web site, where you can register for the Foreign Service written examination. Linking the secretary's star quality with the Foreign Service brand name, there have been ads in the employment sections of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* featuring Secretary Powell above a caption reading, "This man wants to talk to you about a really important job."

The written exam, which will be given twice a year beginning next year, is not the only path to the oral exam. The department has devised the Alternative Examination Program as an alternative to the written examination. It is restricted to only three cones—Admin, Consular and Public Diplomacy—and only certain individuals are eligible. These individuals include current federal employees, Action and Peace Corps Volunteers, Presidential Management Interns and Boren, Pickering and Fasel Fellows. The department has created a surge capacity to cope with the need for speedier medical and security clearances and training to bring all these new recruits on the payroll in a timely fashion.

In many ways, this large influx of Foreign Service employees will fundamentally change some aspects of Foreign Service life and will exacerbate others. Because most of the jobs will be overseas, it is likely employees will spend more of their careers abroad, which will have an impact on such issues as spousal employment and children's education. These new hires will not just alleviate the deficit, they will also create the possibility for a training float. Thus, employees can also expect to spend more time in training, and not just language training. There will be more opportunities for training in leadership and people management (which are in very short supply), as well as the global issues of an increasingly multilateral world.

This major influx of new talent may prompt the greatest change at State since "Wristonization" in 1954. As the organization closest to the Foreign Service and its day-to-day concerns, AFSA can help the department retain these employees and prepare them for this century. □



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## AFSA Core Values

The new AFSA governing board, which came to office on a campaign pledge to promote a new AFSA and a new Foreign Service, has adopted a set of core values to guide the organization into the future:

- **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. □

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V.P. VOICE: **RETIREE** ■ BY BILL FARRAND

## Lobbying Congress for You

From my first day on the job, I have been impressed by the enthusiasm and commitment of each AFSA governing board member to the long-term vitality of the Foreign Service and to your interests. This is one dedicated bunch, let me tell you. They are dedicated to the welfare of all AFSA members — whether from State, AID, Commerce, Agriculture, or the International Broadcasting Board. Every board member is fully engaged and focused on the issues at hand.



Immediately after taking office, I went to Capitol Hill, once with Legislative Affairs Director Ken Nakamura and AFSA President John Naland, and a second time with Nakamura, to push for a fair compensation package for Foreign Service retirees rehired by the State Department. Currently, Foreign Service annuitants temporarily rehired to fill a wide variety of positions (left vacant by a decade of shortsighted management decisions) may only earn the difference between their annuities and either their salary at retirement or the full-time salary of the new position. We want to change the law so rehired FS annuitants will be treated the same way as retired military who, when rehired at the Defense Department, can be dually compensated without regard to pay caps.

Why, you might ask, is the VP for retirees engaging directly in lobbying Congress? The answer is simple. For more than three decades as an FSO, I watched the State Department “manage” its relations with the Hill. My impression was that, lacking clout in numbers and a constituency, the department tended not to compensate for these built-in shortcomings by spending more time on the Hill. Now that I have the chance, I find the efforts highly instructive. Each of our Hill interlocutors expressed the desire to be in closer touch with AFSA on the issues that concern us.

While modifying the salary cap will be a challenge, our contacts on the Hill were receptive to our plea for equal treatment with retired military, recognizing that both systems are distinguished by mandatory retirement and selection out. They were equally receptive to our point that economic benefits would also accrue to the State Department and the taxpayer. If a critical position needs to be filled, it will be filled one way or another. What better way to fill it than to bring back an experienced employee who has the language, professional knowledge, and cultural sensitivity to undertake a tough task without a lengthy period of breaking in?

The above point about clout in numbers is vital. As the dual compensation issue illustrates, when our unique retirement system needs attention, we must work extra hard to get that attention because we are so small. Yet, of a total population of 11,000 Foreign Service employee annuitants, only 4,000 currently belong to AFSA. We need to tap into the large pool of those who for one reason or another refrain from joining and strengthening the one organization that speaks for their unique interests in Washington. I welcome your ideas on how we can work to expand our membership rolls and amplify the retiree voice for the future of the Foreign Service. □

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## Secretary Powell Honors AFSA's Winner

Secretary of State Colin Powell presented the first place certificate for AFSA's third annual National High School Essay Contest to Marguerite Gabriele of Dallas, Texas, during an Aug. 15 ceremony in the State Department's Treaty Room. Marguerite is currently an 11th grader at the Hockaday School in Dallas. Her essay, entitled "Today's Global Challenge of Peacekeeping: A Long-Term Effort of Diplomacy," was selected as the best out of the 750 entries. Her parents, Richard and Kathleen Gabriele, accompanied her to the ceremony.

During his remarks, Powell praised AFSA for the success of the essay contest and

"for giving us another way to reach out into the American community, especially the young part of the American community, to encourage people to serve their nation, but especially to serve their nation in international affairs."

Powell expressed admiration for Marguerite for writing such an outstanding essay. He noted that the purpose of the contest is not just to single out one youngster, "but also to encourage more youngsters across America to have an interest in ... foreign policy, and, to be perfectly blunt, to whet their appetites with respect to the Foreign Service." To Marguerite, he said, "I hope a day will come when you will say,

"You know, that Foreign Service stuff is pretty cool. I think I am going to become a member of the Foreign Service."

Reaching out to America's youth is something close to the secretary's heart. Marguerite was most impressed that the secretary had actually read her essay. He spoke to her of the substance of it, and complimented her on her use of footnotes. Marguerite described the ceremony and her informal chat with Secretary Powell as "the most important five minutes of my life."

The essay contest, co-sponsored by AFSA and the Nelson B. Delavan Foundation, is designed to stimulate interest among high school students nationwide in the Foreign Service and the conduct of U.S. diplomacy. Look for details about the 2002 essay contest in a future issue of *AFSA News*. □

### WEB SITES • Continued from page 3

#### State Dept. Online Directory

Looking for someone, but all you have is the 1999 State Telephone Directory? Try the much more current on-line directory at: [www.state.gov/m/a/mms/phn](http://www.state.gov/m/a/mms/phn). It was updated in August 2001.

#### Overseas Briefing Center On-line

State's Overseas Briefing Center — which provides training, information and referrals to U.S. government employees and family members assigned to diplomatic posts abroad — has loads of useful information about your overseas posting on-line at [www.state.gov/m/fsi/obc](http://www.state.gov/m/fsi/obc). Go to this site for FS-related information on organizing for a move overseas, immunizations, overseas schools, automobile shipping, spousal employment, and much more. The site includes a useful "Pet Chart," which contains up-to-date information from around the world on issues like quarantines, import restrictions on certain breeds, housing restrictions, and unusual local laws concerning pets.

#### LifeCare Resource and Referral Service

LifeCare, sponsored by State Human Resources, is a life event and management services referral service. LifeCare provides information on eldercare services, estate planning, pet care services, moving companies and more. Go to [www.lifecare.com](http://www.lifecare.com), and select "services" on the homepage. To register as a new user, write "statedepartment" as the company code. Follow instructions with the "employee ID" help button to sign on as an eligible user. The phone number is (800) 873-4636 and the e-mail address is [specialist@lifecare.com](mailto:specialist@lifecare.com).

#### Family Liaison Office

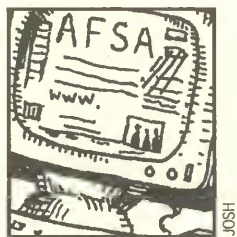
The Family Liaison Office provides services to family members of all foreign affairs agencies, and has a strong focus on family member employment. The FLO Web site includes valuable information on education and youth issues, expeditious naturalization for Foreign Service family members, support services (adoption, divorce, evacuations, etc.), and family member employment. You can e-mail the FLO office to subscribe to the FLO e-mail

newsletters, including: The Network, which comes out every two weeks and is for job seekers in the Washington, D.C. area; and the Global Employment Monthly, which covers local jobs — inside and outside the embassy — for family members overseas. The FLO on the Internet is at [www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo](http://www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo) and on Intranet at <http://hrweb.hr.state.gov/flo/flo.html>.

#### Tales from a Small Planet

The Tales from a Small Planet Web site evolved out of the original photocopied publication called the Spouses' Underground Newsletter (SUN), which began in 1991 as a newsletter written by and for Foreign Service spouses. SUN creators, writer Francesca Huemer Kelly and writer/editor/Webmaster Fritz Galt (both Foreign Service spouses), teamed up to create the Tales from a Small Planet site.

As described on the site, Tales "is a Web magazine offering the best in travel writing and humor — the wild, the wonderful, and the weird — from the unique perspective of those who live and work in foreign lands. The magazine is for expats, diplomats, writers, journalists, explorers and — most of all — anyone who has a lively curiosity about the world and an offbeat sense of humor." Perhaps



## Senate Consideration of Authorization Bill

On Aug. 2, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported out for full Senate consideration the State Department authorization bill for fiscal year 2002 and 2003. In terms of funding, the amounts authorized are generally at or above the Administration's FY 2002 request. Authorization bills set the maximum amount that can be appropriated for a specific program and the conditions, if any, under which those funds can be used. The FY 2002 appropriations amounts will be determined when Congress returns in September.

Among the specific issues of interest to AFSA, the bill would allow provision of vir-

tual locality pay in the computation of an individual's retirement if the person retires soon after serving abroad. For those on unaccompanied tours, the bill allows greater flexibility for family visitation travel as long as it does not cost the government more. The bill would also allow a dependent to commercially store his/her property between school terms as long as it does not cost the government more than the costs of shipping the property back to post. It also enables family members who worked at posts and missions abroad under a PIT appointment between 1989 and 1998 to buy back their retirement time. The bill includes the AFSA request that presidential rank awards for

Senior Foreign Service be made at the same higher level currently given to the Senior Executive Service. The bill accepts the compromise reached between AFSA and the Department of State to rename the Foreign Service Star as the Thomas Jefferson Star for Foreign Service.

The full Senate must still pass this bill after it returns from the August recess. We have yet to see the administration's position on this bill, which includes policy and infrastructure issues in addition to funding and personnel issues. Thus, there could be policy provisions that the administration will have problems with. After the bill passes the Senate, the differences between the House- and Senate-passed versions need to be resolved in a conference of both houses before it goes to the president for signature. □

most useful for the Foreign Service community are the Real Post Reports, which offer "on the ground" unofficial and uncensored commentary on posts in over 100 cities worldwide. Check out this Web site at [www.talesmag.com](http://www.talesmag.com).

### Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide

The Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide (AAFSW) is a non-profit organization that has represented Foreign Service spouses, employees and retirees since 1960. The AAFSW Web site is full of relevant information pertaining to Foreign Service life. Look there for information about: spousal employment, the Book Room, housing reviews, the evacuee support network, and various spouses groups including foreign-born spouse groups and language conversation groups. There is a members' bulletin board where you can view and post announcements, as well as links to many other helpful FS-related sites. Check out the Web site at [www.aafsw.org](http://www.aafsw.org).

### A Worldwide Network on Livelines

Do you want to be plugged into the Foreign Service community and exchange views with Foreign Service officers and

spouses about issues that matter in your everyday life in the Foreign Service? If so, consider joining the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide (see above) and participating in the Livelines forum, an e-mail discussion group. Livelines is like a 24-hour helpline. You can e-mail [Livelines@aafsw.org](mailto:Livelines@aafsw.org) or go to [www.aafsw.org/activities/livelines/livelines.htm](http://www.aafsw.org/activities/livelines/livelines.htm) for more information. To subscribe to Livelines, send a blank message to [livelines-subscribe@yahoo.com](mailto:livelines-subscribe@yahoo.com).

### Foreign Service Youth Foundation

The Foreign Service Youth Foundation was created in 1989 to coordinate the efforts of various State Department offices interested in helping Foreign Service youth meet the challenges of their transient lifestyle. FSYP 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 abroad. Go to the FSYP Web site at [www.fsyf.org](http://www.fsyf.org).

### Overseas Schools

The Office of Overseas Schools Web site is a great place to learn about international and American schools worldwide. Go to [www.state.gov/m/a/os](http://www.state.gov/m/a/os). □

### NEW PROFESSIONAL ISSUES COMMITTEE

## Weighing in on Personnel Reform

The new AFSA governing board was elected on a reform platform. The campaign statement noted that fundamental reform of the Foreign Service is long overdue: "Quite simply, we cannot become what we need to be by remaining

"AFSA has increasingly sought to become a more responsive and effective pro-employee advocate."

as we are. Recognizing this truth, AFSA has increasingly sought to become a more responsive and effective pro-employee advocate." If the Foreign Service can "strengthen our professionalism and adopt attitudes geared towards the 21st century," the statement continued, "we will reassert our indispensable role in the active promotion of American interests abroad. That, in turn, will make the Foreign Service a better-supported, more respected, and more

Continued on page 9

agents overtime under the FLSA, in addition to increasing pressure from AFSA and the Diplomatic Security Special Agents Association, the State Department requested that LEAP be extended to DS agents. In 1998, the law was amended to provide LEAP for all DS agents.

### Grievance Background

The issue of overtime for diplomatic security agents first arose in 1994, when a special agent assigned to the secretary's protective detail filed a grievance challenging the department's classification of his position as FLSA exempt. AFSA prepared an extensive legal brief in support of the grievance. The department's grievance staff agreed that the agent had been improperly classified and paid back overtime pay for the two years preceding his filing of the grievance. However, the department declined to pay interest or liquidated (double) damages. The grievant appealed the department's decision to the grievance board. In August 1995, the board found in favor of the grievant with regard to the issue of liquidated damages and awarded him an amount equal to his back pay award. Neither party appealed this ruling.

In the meantime, at AFSA's urging, the department undertook a review of all DS

positions in the United States. (Note: The FLSA does not apply overseas.) In 1996, the contractor retained by the department to perform this review determined that most DS jobs were properly exempt from the FLSA, with the exception of non-supervisory agents on the secretary's detail, the senior watch and in watch positions in the former DS Coordination Center. The department reclassified these job categories and provided back overtime pay, but not interest or liquidated damages, to DS agents who had occupied these positions. The grievants' counsel challenged the department's decision not to pay interest or damages before the grievance board. However, the board denied the request for interest or liquidated damages. After the lawyers filed an appeal with the D.C. District Court and the judge indicated that he was about to award interest to the plaintiffs, the case settled with the government paying.

In 1996, the attorneys appealed to the grievance board the department's determination that the positions in the field offices, the Office for Protection and the Office of Investigations and Counterintelligence, are "administrative" and thus properly exempt from the FLSA. In 1998, the board rendered a series of decisions in agreement with the department's determination. The grievants' counsel appealed these decisions in 1999. In

June 2001, the District Court found that the plaintiffs failed to demonstrate that the grievance board acted arbitrarily and capriciously in determining that the grievants were "administrative" employees within the meaning of the FLSA. In reaching this conclusion, the court afforded substantial deference to the board's interpretation of the undefined legal term "administrative" employee and to the board's finding of fact. The court concluded, "It is well understood that in such circumstances a court may not substitute its own judgment as a matter of law." □

## OMS FLSA Status

■ BY TRACY L. SMITH,  
AFSA GRIEVANCE ATTORNEY

Last summer, AFSA labor management attorneys began discussions with the department about the exempt/non-exempt classifications for office management specialists under the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA). AFSA asked the department to review position descriptions and to determine if the positions were properly classified under the FLSA. After the analysis was completed, the department was to notify us of its determinations.

In July 2001, AFSA met with department management to discuss its findings. The department advised us that 1) very few bureaus responded to management's request for updated OMS position descriptions; 2) none of the changes that were sent in were substantive; and 3) the department believes that the OMS positions that are classified as "exempt" are properly classified. We continue to disagree with the department regarding the classification of some of these positions and have requested that those who believe that their positions have been misclassified contact AFSA for assistance with the grievance process. The hazard in requesting a non-exempt status is that the position may be downgraded. However, the monetary benefits for receiving overtime compensation may outweigh this downgraded status.

## IRM FLSA Grievances

■ BY SHARON L. PAPP

Private attorneys Greg McGillivray and Molly Elkin represented a number of Foreign Service Information Resource Management (IRM) employees who claimed they had been incorrectly classified as exempt from coverage under the "administrative" exemption of the Fair Labor Standards Act. The IRM employees were assigned to provide support for secretary of State VIP visits. As with the DS agents described in the accompanying article, the department hired an outside expert to review these positions. As a result of this review, the department determined that certain employees (team members and team leaders but not branch chiefs) had been improperly classified as FLSA exempt. As a result, several positions were reclassified as FLSA non-exempt and 27 IRM employees — some who had filed grievances and some who had not — who served in these positions between June 20, 1993, and October 23, 1999, received retroactive overtime payments. The total amount paid to the group was \$240,462. The department, however, refused to pay interest or liquidated (double) damages on the back pay. This issue is pending before the grievance board, as is the issue of whether branch chiefs were properly exempted from the FLSA.

# Q&A

## Personnel Issues

BY JAMES YORKE,  
LABOR MANAGEMENT SPECIALIST

**Q: I know that I can claim workers' compensation if I injure myself in the embassy. What if I fall and crack my knee in the stairwell of my government-assigned apartment overseas?**

**A.** AFSA was recently involved in a case in which a member who broke his ankle on the stairs in his government-assigned apartment block was granted a settlement by the Office of Workers' Compensation and Pension. OWCP initially denied the claim on the grounds that the employee had not shown that the injury occurred in the performance of duty. On appeal, however, OWCP accepted that "the injury took place at a place where [the employee] might reasonably be expected to be in connection with the employment," since he was required to live in the housing unit where he sustained his injury. In its decision, OWCP stated that the Employees' Compensation Appeals Board has held that "where an employee is required or expected to live in quarters or premises furnished or made available by his employer and is injured during the reasonable use or occupancy of such premises, the injury arises out of and in the course of employment." OWCP applies this finding under what is known as the "Bunk House Rule," and so employees may be able to claim compensation under certain circumstances when injured in assigned quarters.

HSH

Clearly there are many circumstances in which you would not be eligible to claim. If you fell off your Nordic Track while working out in your apartment, for example, that would probably not be considered to be in connection with your employment and would therefore not be eligible.

**Q. Can I use personal frequent flier miles or personal funds to upgrade to business or first-class when on official travel?**

**A.** The answer to this is "Yes, but..." And the but is a big one. The department recently sent a cable (01 State 11639) confirming that employees may use personal funds or personal frequent flier miles to upgrade to premium class. However, U.S. airlines will almost never allow travelers to upgrade a government contract fare to business class. This is a ben-



**REFORM • Continued from page 7**

satisfying place in which to work and raise a family."

At its Aug. 8 meeting, the AFSA governing board formed the Professional Issues Committee, which will make specific recommendations to State management for reforming the Foreign Service personnel system. The committee will be seeking input from AFSA members around the world.

The goal of the reform recommendations will be to assure that the career Foreign Service:

- Has the ideal mix of abilities, outlooks,

effit you can only use if you are traveling on a route where there is no contract fare — in other words, on a full-fare economy ticket or its equivalent.

A bill currently in Congress would allow federal employees to keep the frequent-flier miles they have accumulated while on government-funded travel. The rationale is that frequent-flier miles are awarded to the passenger and therefore cannot be used to save money on an agency-wide basis, and thus there is no incentive for agencies to keep track of frequent-flier miles. As a result, no savings are made and the miles go to waste.

### Regarding State Taxes: A Request

We receive questions each year about taxes for individual states. We do our best to ensure that all information for each state is up-to-date and accurate in our annual Tax

Guide published in *AFSA News* every February. Sometimes members find more detailed information than we have on specific states. It is helpful when readers send me (at [yorke@state.gov](mailto:yorke@state.gov)) updated information or point out cases where they have found that our information does not match their experience. This helps to ensure that we are asking the right questions when we write to the states each November before putting together the new Tax Guide. □

and organization to carry out its role of implementing the president's foreign policy, and

- Is a profession affording a reasonable balance between the rewards and the burdens of service.

The committee will examine issues such as workforce utilization (e.g., assignment rules, including fair share and worldwide availability); training; organizational culture; and pay and benefits. The committee will develop draft recommendations to be sent to members for review and feedback. □

# INSIDE THE FS COMMUNITY

## Honoring FSO Harry Bingham IV

The July 27 *Washington Post* carried an article by Ilene Pachman, "Honor This Hero," about Foreign Service officer Hiram "Harry" Bingham IV, who died 13 years ago. Bingham risked his career to issue life-saving visas during the early years of World War II. He helped rescue between 2,500 and 5,000 Jews and anti-Nazi activists while stationed in Marseilles, France, from 1939 to 1941. Disregarding orders from his superiors, he secretly issued visas and assisted thousands fleeing the Nazis through southern France, according to the *Post* article. Among those he helped escape were: painter Marc Chagall; anti-Nazi writer Franz Werfel; Nobel Prize-winning biochemist Otto Meyerhof; historical novelist Lion Feuchtwanger; and historian Golo Mann, son of novelist Thomas Mann.

Bingham, who was the son of a U.S. senator and former governor from Connecticut, was never honored by his country for his life-saving efforts while in France. In 1999, Bingham's son Kim began an effort to gain approval from the U.S. Postal Service's Citizen Stamp Advisory Committee to issue a commemorative stamp to memorialize his father. It is extremely difficult to succeed in such an effort, but the proposal for a Bingham stamp has gained the support of more than a third of the members of the U.S. Senate. The article concludes: "Such an honor would serve as a reminder to the men and women of the Foreign Service that members of the diplomatic corps ought never lose sight of basic American principles — freedom, justice and human rights — in the conduct of the nation's foreign policy."

## Saigon Reunion

There will be a reunion of all civilian, Marine Security Guard and attaché military personnel who served at American Embassy Saigon until its closing in 1975. The reunion will be held at the Clarion Hotel in San Diego, Calif. (phone: 619-696-0234) from Oct. 17 to 20.

The hotel is located about three miles from the San Diego airport, near restaurants, night clubs, theaters, and waterfront attractions. Transportation is available to the San Diego Zoo, Sea World, and Balboa Park. Planned activities include a welcome and icebreaker reception on Oct. 17, an Oct. 19 visit to the U.S. Marine Corps Recruit Depot and Marine Corps graduation ceremony, and an Oct. 20 banquet.

Former military personnel desiring more information may contact J. John Valdez by e-mail at [valdezzj@mail.ccp.usmc.mil](mailto:valdezzj@mail.ccp.usmc.mil). Civilian personnel should contact Mary Marcolina Collias by e-mail at [mjcollias@aol.com](mailto:mjcollias@aol.com), or by telephone in the evening hours (EDT): (703) 671-2210. □

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*Neither laws, radar nets  
nor electronic walls will  
deter illegal migrants  
from crossing the  
Mediterranean.*

of these countries. Mauritanian, Moroccan, Algerian and Tunisian migrant workers from throughout the world sent home the equivalent of more than \$3.6 billion during 1999, according to figures from the World Bank, with most of that coming from E.U. countries. Gregory White, a North Africa expert and associate professor of government at Smith College in Massachusetts, found that Morocco's \$2.1 billion in 1998 remittances represented five percent of its GDP — equivalent to 16 percent of its exported goods and services. Given this dependence on remittances, "The governments of Morocco, Libya and Tunisia all pay lip service to the issue of illegal immigration, but they have no real incentive to stop the outflow," White says.

Government repression, ethnic strife, civil conflict and human rights violations also push citizens of many African and Middle Eastern countries to escape and seek better conditions. Many apply for asylum, but E.U. member states grant full refugee status to fewer than 25 percent of the applicants (fewer than 10 percent in many countries), according to statistics from the Council of Europe's Social Cohesion Committee. Others never even attempt to legalize their status.

The primary "pull" factor is the demand for cheap and flexible workers throughout Western Europe, particularly in construction, agriculture, tourism and the service industry. Many businesses in these sectors, in order to remain competitive, seek illegal or semi-illegal foreign workers who are willing to work for below-minimum wages. European trade regulations help protect these sectors at the expense of their competition in developing countries, White says, which in turn may exacerbate the "push" of high unemployment and the "pull" of demands for cheap migrant labor. The attraction of European culture also provides a strong, if unmeasurable, allure for immigrants.

**The E.U. Pushes Back**

In the United States, President George W. Bush's proposal to grant legal residency to some illegal Mexican immigrants is only one of the latest signs that anti-immigration sentiment in the U.S. has decreased in recent years. But it seems to have skyrocketed in countries such as France, Spain, and Germany during the past two decades — so much so that earlier this year, U.N.

Secretary-General Kofi Annan criticized European leaders for being anti-immigrant. One of the worst manifestations occurred in February 2000, after a North African immigrant allegedly killed a Spanish woman in the town of El Ejido. A mob of Spaniards took to the streets for three days, burning Moroccan businesses

and terrorizing immigrant farm workers, while local officials stood by. In Italy, Cardinal Giacomo Biffi of Bologna — regarded by some as a possible successor to Pope John Paul II — has warned that "Christian Europe" is threatened by a "Muslim invasion." Last year, at a conference on immigration, he said, "The vast majority of Muslims come here intent on remaining outside our humanity as well as the most essential and non-negotiable aspects of our secular identity."

Many Europeans fear that an influx of diverse ethnic and cultural traditions will dilute their national identities. "In a sense, migration is not about economics," Stephen Dearden, an immigration specialist in the economics department at Manchester Metropolitan University in Manchester, England, points out. "In Europe, it's about social issues, culture, politics and security."

Dearden notes that "there is a significant difference in perception of the problem from country to country, based on their situations." However, the E.U. has set the goal of implementing a common set of asylum and immigration policies by 2004. There has been some movement toward this goal, most notably a plan by Antonio Vitorino, the E.U. commissioner for justice and home affairs, to create an E.U. "scoreboard" to monitor differences in policies across the 15 member states. One objective of this scoreboard is to force member countries to examine their own policies more closely, says E.U. spokesman Leonello Gabrici. "You cannot discuss European immigration policy if you don't have clear ideas on your own national immigration policy." The E.U. is expected to work out a final agreement on the scoreboard under the current presidency of Belgium, which has announced it will host a conference on migration this month.

Earlier this year, justice and home affairs ministers from the E.U.'s 15 member states pledged to coordinate refugee policies to lower the number of false claimants for asylum who stay in Europe illegally, a move Gabrici says could cut

five to 15 percent of the immigration pressures. But movement on other immigration issues will be difficult, Dearden believes. "The asylum issue is dominating the debate in Europe now — in a sense, it's symptomatic of the broader debate about immigration, which is much more politically sensitive," he says.

In general, individual government responses to the growing influx of migrants are growing tougher. Although Madrid earlier announced a partial amnesty for illegal migrants, last year it enacted a tough immigration law that cut off many education, housing and welfare benefits to undocumented immigrants, in hopes of eliminating incentives for the masses gathered across the Strait of Gibraltar. Spain also is working to install a \$120 million radar warning system along its southern sea border, based on Israeli anti-terrorist technology — essentially, a 350-mile "electronic wall." Italy has been criticized in the past for not taking tougher steps to prevent unwanted immigrants, earning it a reputation as the "leaky sieve" of Europe. However, new Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi ran on an anti-immigration, anti-asylum platform, and in August hardliners in his center-right coalition introduced a bill that would jail illegal immigrants for up to four years and also enact other controversial measures.

But many analysts, especially those outside the structures of national government, claim these restrictive policies do not necessarily halt emigration from the Maghreb and other sources. Instead, such restrictions only send them toward new countries, states the International Organization for Migration in Geneva, as happened when immigrants began seeing Spain and Italy as destinations rather than stops on the route to Germany and the U.K. The IOM also contends that the measures actually encourage the growth of the lucrative underground industry of illegal human transport — generating huge profits for traffickers and organized crime syndicates while exposing the migrants to physical dangers, exploitation and human rights violations.

### **The Roots of the Problem**

Despite their hardline stances, many officials from E.U. member states also understand that illegal immigration will not cease so long as the current disparities between North and South continue. For that reason the E.U. — spurred by Mediterranean countries such as Spain, Italy and France — has taken several steps in recent years to promote development in the Maghreb region and build a

Euro-Mediterranean partnership. Following the 1995 Barcelona Conference between ministers from the E.U. countries and their counterparts around the Mediterranean Basin, the E.U. decided to send nearly \$6.1 billion in aid to the Maghreb for development of the private sector. That year also saw the signing of "partnership accords" with Tunisia and Morocco to phase in free-trade zones over a 12-year period. "It's very clear that the use of development aid is to try to deter immigration from North Africa into Europe," Dearden says.

But many see these measures as insufficient. Less than one percent of foreign investment from E.U. countries goes toward the Maghreb; and while the European Commission has allocated \$7.8 billion in development aid for the region over a seven-year period that began in 2000, a *Time Europe* analysis found that bureaucratic red tape is so obstructive that it would take Brussels nine more years at the current rate to spend the money committed for the previous seven years.

White says E.U. programs have produced economic conditions that actually encourage emigration from the Maghreb. "The basic European assumption remains valid: economic development and widespread prosperity are the best remedy to unwanted immigration," he wrote in a 1999 *Third World Quarterly* article. "But the concept is somehow too absolute and too much long-term-oriented to be used in present and short-term circumstances." He and others argue that the reform programs and economic liberalization emphasized by the E.U. will have too negative an impact on the general population, leading to severe economic dislocation. Jean-Pierre Garson, head of the International Migration Unit at the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, discussed the potential effects in a 1997/1998 *OECD Observer* article. In the medium term, Garson says, the transition to a free-trade area between the E.U. and some Mediterranean countries (proposed to begin in 2010) will mean lower government revenue because of the removal of customs duties, and a heavier trade deficit as imports rise more quickly than exports. This likely would require the levying of higher domestic taxes, and at least initially unemployment and poverty may worsen — strengthening the very factors that push people to migrate out of their home countries. To avoid economic destabilization, the E.U. will need also to focus on measures to attract more foreign direct investment in the Maghreb and target the social classes most affected by such changes.

***The European push for  
more democratic rule in  
the Maghreb is unlikely  
to be popular with the  
governing elites there.***

White suggests four reforms the E.U. should undertake to supplement current development and aid policies and ease the transition into more open economies. He urges the E.U. to change its Common Agricultural Policy, which effectively shuts out Maghrebi agricultural products — their primary exports. White also urges European leaders to call for improved political rights in the southern Mediterranean region and stop overlooking human rights violations for the sake of diplomatic harmony.

White's final two reforms are more idealistic (even he calls one of them "a tall, if not impossible, order"): Europe should change its patterns of consumption, which result in overexploitation of the Maghreb and cause environmental damage, lack of export diversity and creation of low-wage sectors; and E.U. members should expand the currently restrictive notions of European identity, so that "foreigners" are more accepted.

Beyond the importance of remittances to many North African countries, there are several other factors that currently impede the region's full cooperation with Europe on addressing the roots of the illegal immigration issue. A push for more democratic rule in the region and equitable distribution of wealth is unlikely to meet a very favorable response from many of the governing elites; nor is there an end in sight to such destabilizing civil conflicts as the struggle between fundamentalists and the central government in Algeria, for example. North African leaders complain that the E.U. does not treat them as equal partners in discussions of immigration, and persists in viewing the issue as a security problem, rather than an economic one. Thus, they have responded angrily to demands that they impose visa controls on sub-Saharan states and allow E.U. immigration officials to police their ports. For their part, some Europeans believe that Maghrebi leaders are merely using the immigration issue as leverage to extract greater development aid and trade concessions.

Meanwhile, a growing number of European analysts and policy-makers are actually calling for greater immigration flows into the continent to offset a potential demographic crisis. They warn that a falling birth rate, combined with a rapidly aging population and the impending retirement of Europe's baby boom generation, could spell serious trouble for the continent's economy in the next 20 to 30 years. Projections vary, but Eurostat, the E.U.'s statisti-

cal information service, estimates the E.U. will need 44 million more adults by 2025 to offset labor shortages and pay into overburdened pension systems.

"Immigration must become a means of fostering development," wrote Romano Prodi, president of the European Commission, in an article

last year for *Euromed Report*. "In the years to come, Europe's need for new workers is bound to increase, together with immigration flows. Only through a joint effort on both sides of the Mediterranean will it be possible to handle this situation and benefit from its potential." At the moment, most of the push for opening immigration policies comes from those who favor an increase in highly skilled migrants, with abilities in areas like information technology. Few of the Africans attempting to enter possess such skills, but news reports indicate the commission also recognizes both the demand for unskilled workers and the importance of avoiding a brain drain from developing countries. Still, fears of immigrants taking needed jobs, especially in countries with high unemployment rates, continue to drive many political responses.

As a result, many observers doubt there will be any movement toward a more open-door immigration policy in Europe anytime soon. Even a discussion of "replacement migration" (maintaining a level of international immigration that offsets population decline and aging in a country) last year by E.U. ministers provoked major controversy, with then-French Interior Minister Jean-Pierre Chevènement calling it an employers' tool to try to depress wages. British immigration specialist Dearden suggests that a more open policy would only allow the E.U. to avoid the real structural changes needed to sustain growth, such as investment in education and training of its own workforce.

Consequently, many believe Europe will continue to rely on stepping up anti-immigration efforts instead of focusing on the substantial societal and structural changes needed on both sides of the deep blue border. "The sad thing is that the more Europe tries to prevent immigrants from coming, the more dangerous the journeys will be," said filmmaker Samura in a *Time Europe* interview last year. "We need to revisit the immigration laws and let Africans come and work on a competitive basis, just as people do from Eastern Europe. In the meantime, they'll keep coming." ■

## THE BARCELONA PROCESS: WHOM DOES IT REALLY SERVE?



THE SOUTHERN MEDITERRANEAN STATES CANNOT IGNORE THE BARCELONA PROCESS, EVEN THOUGH IT IS A DIKTAT, NOT A PARTNERSHIP.

BY GEORGE JOFFÉ

**A**t the end of June, to audible sighs of relief in Brussels, the Egyptian government signed an association agreement with the European Union. Though the negotiations had been completed a year earlier, the Egyptian authorities had hesitated, quibbling over the new agreement's political and economic conditions.

In the end, however, the Mubarak regime bowed to the inevitable, recognizing that its economic future is inextricably linked with the nations to its north. The European Union is Egypt's biggest trade partner, providing 36 percent of its imports and absorbing 35 percent of its exports in 1999 alone, and Egypt's trade deficit with Europe accounts for almost half of its total worldwide trade deficit. In addition, over the last decade Egypt has received more than \$1.8 billion in grants and loans from European nations and the European Investment Bank — a figure

***Europe's Mediterranean  
initiative is a security  
measure that responds to  
growing anxieties over the  
potential security risks  
within the southern region.***

that is set to grow even as U.S. aid to Egypt declines.

Egypt's new association agreement with the European Union has a wider significance as well, for it marked an important stage in the construction of the E.U.'s vision of a new Mediterranean policy. This policy, conceived in November 1995, involves all the littoral southern Mediterranean states, from Turkey and Jordan to Morocco, and covers social, political, security and economic concerns. Of those southern Mediterranean states, only Algeria, Libya, Syria and Lebanon remain outside the new economic arena that Europe is constructing. Algeria and Syria are currently in negotiations with Brussels, Lebanon will join once Syria is satisfied, and Libya — for its own reasons — prefers to remain an observer, rather than join its neighbors in a full commitment to Europe's Mediterranean policies.

Ironically, Libya's decision to remain outside the ambit of the new policy highlights the real nature of the policy itself. Now that United Nations sanctions imposed because of Libya's role in the 1988 Pan Am bombing have been lifted, making Libya again eligible to participate in multilateral agreements, the Qadhafi government says it has chosen not to do so because the Barcelona Process (formally known as the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, or EMP) is ostensibly dedicated to creating a zone of shared peace, stability and prosperity in the Mediterranean — yet two of the partnership's members, Israel and the Palestinian

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Authority, are at war. Thus, until they are excluded from the Barcelona Process, either temporarily until their conflict ends or permanently, Libya will not join but will remain an observer as a special guest of the European Union's presidency.

The argument is, of course, specious; the real reason for Libya's refusal to join is that it cannot bring itself to accept the so-called

Barcelona acquis: the accumulated agreements to which the other members have already agreed and which include a commitment to democratic governance and liberal economies. But the Libyan objection hits at the nub of what the Barcelona Process is really about.

**The Barcelona Process Revealed**

In reality, Europe's Mediterranean initiative is, ultimately, a security measure. It responds to growing European anxieties over the potential security risks within the southern Mediterranean region, particularly those connected with migration, drug- and people-smuggling and the potential spillover of violence. It is an attempt to provide economic, social and "soft" security responses to these potential dangers in a holistic manner, in which all the states concerned are brought into a partnership directed toward a common good.

That is what the creators of the Barcelona Process would have us believe. In fact, it is Europe that is the most immediate beneficiary and, as befits an entity that, in Tony Blair's words, is not a state but a "great power," it seeks to do so at the least inconvenience to its member states.

In addition, the E.U. has sought to build upon earlier initiatives to create confidence among a group of states with widely different backgrounds, objectives and ambitions. The roots of the Barcelona Process reach back to the Helsinki Conference of 1975. Helsinki, of course, had a specific importance as part of the process of détente and, more covertly, as a mechanism to sap at the strength of the Socialist bloc, but it also sought to facilitate the process by which European states of very different traditions were learning to live together.

There are many formal similarities between Helsinki and Barcelona, for they have similar objectives. But there are differences, too. Helsinki, after all, formed part of the cement for the Cold War's stable balance of power — in

which the United States and the Soviet Union learned to appreciate the benefits of mutually assured destruction. Barcelona is much more the product of the European realization that it needs to attend to its southern periphery so that the development of the E.U. itself — particularly its eastward extension — will not be impeded. And in this sense, at least, the Barcelona Process is not quite so benign as it at first appears; in reality, it is a European diktat that the southern Mediterranean states cannot ignore because there are no alternatives.

### **The Barcelona Mechanism**

In practice, Europe's Mediterranean policy initiative reflects a colonial legacy. When the European Economic Community was first conceived in 1957, Algeria still was a French colony, and France had other colonial interests in North Africa; while Morocco and Tunisia had achieved independence the year before (as had Libya from Italy in 1951), strong economic ties persisted. At French insistence, the Treaty of Rome — which established the EEC — essentially allowed Paris to use subsidies to ensure its colonies' continuing economic dependence. Starting in 1969, this provision was transformed into a series of more benign measures through bilateral agreements, whereby the southern Mediterranean states were given tariff-free access for their industrial goods into Europe in order to stimulate their new industrial sectors — although agricultural products, in which these countries had real comparative advantage, were hindered by a complex quota system designed to protect European agriculture. Raw materials, of course — particularly Algerian, Libyan and Egyptian gas and oil and Moroccan phosphates — were welcomed.

Officially, the purpose of these agreements, which were accompanied by five-year financial protocols, was to stimulate economic development by improving domestic levels of prosperity within the southern Mediterranean region. Left unspoken was the European desire to reduce migration flows, particularly from Turkey and the Maghreb. By the 1970s European states were increasingly concerned over domestic xenophobia and social tensions caused by migrants. It was not that migrant flows were large — only 2.4 million of Europe's 10 million foreign workers came from North Africa, and there were around 1.58 million Turkish guest workers in Germany. However, with the general decline in economic activity caused by the 1973 and 1979 oil price shocks, Europeans had become more resentful of foreign encroachment and of the effect of eth-

nic minorities on their otherwise homogenous societies.

This somewhat ignoble concern — it had, after all, been European demand for cheap labor after World War II that had led to migrant inflows — was tied to more genuine security issues. The political and ethnic tensions in the Middle East during the 1970s and 1980s had in part been played out on the streets of European cities, and the impending conflict with Islamic fundamentalists in Algeria caused even greater concerns, particularly in France. In addition, Europe's economic policies toward the region seemed to have failed: In 1994, for example, the European Commission noted that average GDP growth in the southern Mediterranean (including Israel) had been 1.5 to 2 percent annually over the previous decade, while population growth had averaged 2.6 percent per year. In other words, the populations of the southern Mediterranean had, in absolute terms, become poorer. All that seemed to grow were the numbers of migrants, despite strict national controls, and the inflow of soft and hard drugs — primarily from Morocco, where the trade was estimated to be worth \$1.8 billion each year, and Turkey.

In 1990, Italy's charismatic foreign minister, Gianni de Michaelis, and his Spanish counterpart, Francisco Fernandez Ordoñez, put forward an elaborate plan to deal with the problems of the Mediterranean region — which, in de Michaelis' expansive mind, stretched into the Persian Gulf and Central Asia. As its title suggested, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean bore more than a passing resemblance to the old Helsinki ideal. It was, in essence, a confidence-building measure that would address the political, economic, security and social problems of the Mediterranean region at a single stroke. European statesmen looked askance at this flamboyant dynamic construct — and breathed a sigh of relief when Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait rendered the whole issue irrelevant.

The problem did not go away, however, and European leaders became uncomfortably aware that while the United States had taken charge of the Middle East peace process after 1991, problems elsewhere in the Mediterranean continued unabated. European responses continued to be ineffective so, during the Spanish presidency of the European Union, a new initiative — the Barcelona Declaration — was launched in November 1995, again based on Helsinki and the bilateral economic experiments of the past. (Interestingly enough, in a fit of pique at U.S. and Israeli insistence that Europe could help

### *The Barcelona*

#### *Declaration's purpose*

*was to create a zone*

*of shared peace,*

*prosperity and stability.*

pay for the Middle East peace process but could not interfere in its political evolution, Europe, at the behest of France, decided that this was an initiative in which the United States would have no part.)

The Barcelona Declaration clearly laid out the elements of the new policy. Its purpose was to create a zone of shared peace, prosperity and stability in the Mediterranean by stimulating economic development and enabling cooperation between states and peoples that would lead to improved governance and mutual cultural and social respect in an area of common interest. It would do this through three "baskets" of measures.

One, dealing with security and political issues, would seek to create a cooperative security system for the Mediterranean and to advance the cause of democratic government, together with improved respect for human rights. Another would seek to improve civil society in the countries of the southern Mediterranean and to create mutual respect for social and cultural values across the Mediterranean. The third would target the economic conundrum of how to stimulate economic development — in order to reduce the "push" factor for migration — by creating jobs and attracting foreign investment.

This was to be done by requiring southern Mediterranean states to remove their tariff barriers to European industrial exports, just as Europe had long ago opened its industrial-goods markets to them. The idea was that a simple move of this kind would force the southern Mediterranean states to modernize their industrial sectors and overhaul their investment legislation to avoid the decimation of their industries by European competition. Once that was done, their comparative advantage in labor costs and their closeness to Europe would ensure that foreign investment would flow in. Of course, adjustment would take time and the removal of tariff barriers was to take place gradually over a 15-year period, up to 2010. And the pill was sweetened by aid — a five-year aid program of 4.685 billion euros (around \$4 billion) in national and regional funding, with a similar amount available from the European Investment Bank as soft loans.

#### **Barcelona in Practice**

But what sounds simple in theory is rarely so in practice. The economic basket was the key to the initiative, and

the southern Mediterranean states could not resist it because their economies were so closely tied to the European market. Between 50 and 70 percent of all the trade of Mediterranean littoral states is with Europe — only Jordan has a lesser dependence, and the Maghreb is even more dependent. So if this is

what Europe wanted, these nations were in no position to disagree. Of course they realized, as did the European Commission, that the most obvious outcome would be even greater dependence on Europe, but they also believed — as did the European Commission — that a by-product of the new policy would be to force ever greater integration of the southern Mediterranean market and, through regional synergies, to improve economic interactions there too.

The immediate outlook was bleak, however. Tunisia calculated that one-third of its industries would disappear and another third would be threatened unless \$2 billion in transition aid became available. In Morocco, 60 percent of the industrial base was under threat unless \$5.4 billion was available. In Algeria, where the economic problems were immeasurably greater — 450,000 workers were losing their jobs through an International Monetary Fund economic restructuring program — nobody even ventured a guess at the additional costs.

And there was another danger as well: The removal of tariff barriers meant the loss of customs fees to national treasuries, an important part of fiscal revenues in countries where enforcement of personal taxation had always been a problem. Indirect taxation was the answer, but because it made essential goods more expensive, this had the immediate effect of increasing domestic poverty. Not surprisingly, neither southern Mediterranean governments nor their citizens have been very enthusiastic about Europe's new policy, particularly since European investors continue — with the exception of oil and gas properties — to be stubbornly uninterested in investing in the Mediterranean. Only half the expected levels of investment have actually arrived, despite privatization programs, stock exchanges and new investment codes.

Nor was this the end of the story. Although the bilateral economic agreements that form the core of the process also require signatories to observe democratic governance and respect for individual human rights, there are no

*The 27 member states of  
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enforcement mechanisms. Southern Mediterranean governments — which, with few exceptions, are profoundly illiberal and intolerant — have simply ignored these provisions and complained loudly when timid European initiatives to enforce them have emerged. This was the case in Algeria in 1998 and in Egypt earlier this year when, in a startling display of indifference to Western sensitivities, Saad Eddin Ibrahim, a respected sociologist and an American citizen, was sentenced to four years in prison for electoral fraud and the illegal use of funds. Even Israel, which enjoys a special free-trade area agreement with the E.U., has objected loudly to European attempts to hinder its exports from settlements, which is illegal under European and international law.

Thus, the new policy has done little for civil rights or democratic governance. Nor has it done much for cooperative security. Despite five years of wrangling, the 27 member states of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership still have not been able to agree on a common definition of Mediterranean security. In part, of course, this is because the Arab-Israeli conflict continues to frustrate such ambitions, but that is not the only problem.

Southern Mediterranean states continue to be suspicious of European intentions, particularly since NATO approved a new strategic concept in April 1999, expanding the alliance's willingness to respond to crises affecting the interests of its members. These states also distrust European and U.S. motives in the Balkans and certainly do not believe that NATO intervened in Kosovo to support Muslim populations there. They have similar suspicions about Western intervention in Macedonia.

**An Alternative Future**

Nor is the United States too pleased at Europe's attempt to freeze it out of Mediterranean affairs. In 1998 and 1999, North African states were electrified by an initiative, conceived by U.S. Undersecretary of State for Economic, Business and Agricultural Affairs Stuart Eizenstat, that sought to encourage private-sector cooperation to promote collective economic growth. This proposal followed the lines of the old Middle East-North

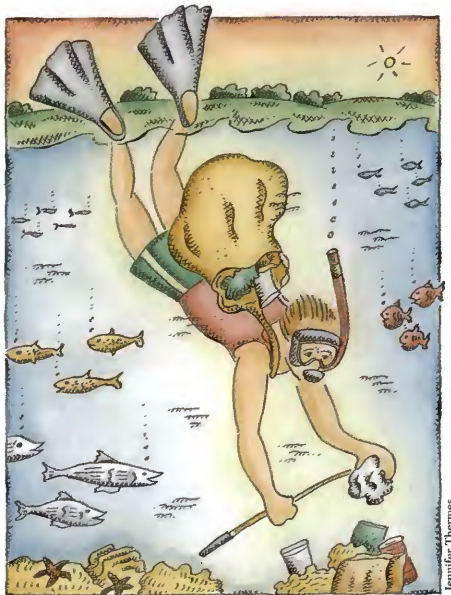
Africa Economic Summit Process, which had formed part of the multilateral track of the Middle East peace process until the Netanyahu government in Israel undermined it irretrievably. Eizenstat's initiative seemed like a cost-free alternative to Barcelona. But U.S. attention appears to have been diverted once again, both because of the change of administration and because the proposal

does not resonate to America's real economic interests in the region. U.S. economic involvement in the Mediterranean basin has declined; trade with the region accounts for only five percent of total U.S. trade, and only 2.4 percent if just the southern Mediterranean is considered. Foreign investment levels are similar and, even as a direct source of oil, the Middle East and North Africa lag far behind South America, Canada and Africa.

Even if the economic dimension is unimpressive, the United States has clear strategic interests in the region, most centrally the security of Israel. Nor is Israel the only state of interest; Turkey and Egypt are seen as dominant forces in the region, and Algeria is a pivotal state — or would be if its domestic situation would improve. In contrast to the E.U., the United States believes that the problems of the western and eastern Mediterranean are not the same, even if the sea itself is a strategic line of communication. Yet despite the continuing anxieties over "rogue states" such as Iraq, Iran, Libya and Syria, the region is not high on America's strategic horizon, and Europe will continue to be the dominant voice there.

For the same reason, despite all its problems, the Barcelona Process has already built up a momentum that will carry it forward, simply because it is the only game in town. It is, after all, the European periphery to which Brussels and the E.U. members will pay attention because of its potential effect on them — through drugs and migrants, legal or illegal. It also supplies much of Europe's imported energy — 25 percent of its gas now, and more in the future. Despite all its noble objectives, the Barcelona Process is not an exercise in disinterested development; in reality, it is the imposition of European order through realpolitik. But that is, perhaps, the only way it could be. ■

## CLEANING UP THE MEDITERRANEAN



ALTHOUGH THE MEDITERRANEAN ACTION PLAN HASN'T LIVED FULLY UP TO ITS INITIAL PROMISE, IT HAS DONE A LOT TO CLEAN UP THE REGION'S FABLED WATERS.

BY PETER M. HAAS AND JULIE ZUCKMAN

**J**ust three decades ago, unregulated emission practices in the 18 nations bordering the Mediterranean Sea — including tanker operations, coastal industries, agriculture, untreated municipal waste and excavation operations — were pumping over 31,000 tons of unregulated industrial waste into the Mediterranean annually.

That onslaught left the Mediterranean's fabled wine-dark waters so full of algae, tar balls, oil slicks and floating garbage that widespread beach closings were commonplace. Those swimmers foolhardy enough to brave the waters anyway had a one-in-seven chance of catching diseases like typhoid and hepatitis or of developing a skin infection. Celebrity ocean scientist and explorer Jacques Cousteau, an early and effective advocate for Mediterranean pollution control, announced

in 1972 that marine life that had been abundant just 30 years earlier had nearly disappeared.

Although regional officials had started in the late 1960s to gather information about the sources, types, and extent of such marine pollution, as well as possible solutions, those early efforts were unfocused and inconclusive. At preliminary United Nations Conference on the Human Environment meetings held in 1968 and 1969, for example, delegates had trouble even agreeing on a definition of the word "pollution." Although it was clear that all countries polluted, though in different ways and to varying extents, the preliminary discussions of the problem tended to reinforce North/South disagreements about the distribution of pollution-control costs.

Leaders of lesser-developed countries, fearing that strict environmental controls would retard their critical development plans, favored limiting such measures to offshore tankers and municipal wastes. As Algerian President Honari Boumedienne said in the early 1970s, "If improving the environment means less bread for the Algerians, then I am against it." Industrialized nations had their own concerns, such as France's worries that the costs of compliance would give their economic rivals comparative advantages if they were not similarly hobbled. In Italy, one mayor who warned the public of the health dangers of contaminated beaches faced an immediate recall, symbolizing the weak support in many countries for acknowledging the problem, much less rectifying it.

Moreover, existing regional political animosities tended to challenge the fundamental premise that joint negotiations were desirable or, in some cases, possible. Israeli/Arab, Turkish/Greek, Libyan and other disputes hampered the development of a regular pattern of pan-regional cooperation.

All of these issues were potentially destructive to any cooperative effort, since the solution to each posed a challenge to the core of international legal order, which is grounded on the sovereign right of control over activities within national borders.

A shortage of scientific information was another serious initial impediment. Egypt and Lebanon were the only two developing countries in the region that possessed any domestic monitoring capabilities at all at the time.

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Consequently, there were enough data to spur nations to action, but not enough to determine what kind of action to take.

### Paving The Way

Despite such difficulties, 10 Mediterranean countries attending yet another preparatory conference in 1971 were able to agree to several partial initiatives for pollution control — initiatives that acknowledged the need for a shared regional agreement. That consensus paved the way for the historic UNCHE conference in 1972 and, three years after that, the Mediterranean Action Plan.

The United Nations convened the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in 1972 to focus on regional sea issues, among others. UNCHE, which also inspired the creation of the United Nations Environment Program as the environmental conscience of the U.N. system, became the coordinating body that oversaw and shaped the development of a new Mediterranean environmental regime. UNCHE Secretary-General Maurice Strong, a Canadian; Peter Thacher, a former U.S. diplomat; and Stjepan Keckes, a Yugoslav oceanographer, were all instrumental players in leading UNEP to address the pollution of the Mediterranean and other regional seas.

They did so by pursuing a two-pronged strategy: fostering understanding of environmental threats and the science of Mediterranean ecosystems while creating policy, or, in UNEP's terms, assessment and management. Scientific understanding of the nature and extent of regional marine pollution advanced through several steps. First, UNEP conducted a survey of regional scientific capabilities, identifying first a core group of like-minded marine scientists (who later worked with sympathetic policy analysts and policy-makers) around the region. These scientists shared a commitment to preserving the Mediterranean. They also shared a causal understanding of the multiple sources of contamination and of the various thresholds for distinct pollutants that the region could tolerate. Yet their views were dramatically at odds with those of environmental NGOs, who believed in issuing declarations, as well as with those who favored more traditional diplomatic approaches, such as establishing uniform compromise reductions for all contaminants.

The quality of the science was often disappointing at first, as research ability varied extensively from country to country and the results of many studies were inconclusive. Still, the collective activity served the political function of

## F O C U S

transferring equipment and training to developing countries and elevating the profile of marine scientists within those countries. They also became better domestic advocates for stronger measures to protect the Mediterranean.

### The Mediterranean Action Plan

Encouraged by their early progress, the Mediterranean countries invited UNEP to develop a regional plan for the area in 1974. The result was the Mediterranean Action Plan (now known as the Med Plan), a loose blueprint for subsequent efforts resting on law, assessment, management, and administrative components, which 16 governments signed in Barcelona in February 1975.

Though it turned into one of the great success stories of multilateral environmental protection, as well as the blueprint for wedding science to policy in conference diplomacy, in some respects the plan was a diplomatic anomaly. It originally built on pre-existing efforts by the Food and Agriculture Organization to address pollution-

caused fishery problems. But through complex alliance-building at both national and international levels, UNEP carefully advanced a program of political compromise and technical consensus as the foundation for a regional approach to environmental protection. It also developed programs to study environmentally sustainable policy alternatives to existing economic growth policies.

To get there, UNCHE Secretary-General Strong promoted a political strategy driven by his favorite dictum, "The process is the policy," and intended to create an evolutionary process of collective bargaining that would grow, over time, increasingly comprehensive and effective. In other words, the political design of the Med Plan was intended to lead governments down a slippery slope toward increasingly comprehensive coastal zone management. This strategy has since been replicated and modified in many other international environmental regimes.

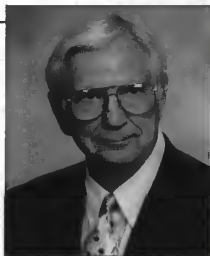
The Med Plan consists of an interconnected set of four components: treaties, coordinated research and monitoring, integrated planning and administrative and budgetary



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*Just 30 years ago,  
a swimmer in the  
Mediterranean had a  
one-in-seven chance of  
contracting a disease  
or infection.*

support. The integrated planning activities exemplify the potential of governments to learn from their participation in international regimes. The "Blue Plan" and Priority Action Programs are integrated planning components designed to elaborate more comprehensive economic planning strategies for the region's governments and thus to avoid environmental contamination from economic development. Those, in turn, would lead to the introduction in the 1990s of the Coastal Area Management Program, which encourages neighboring countries to integrate their coastal zone management approaches and educate regional officials in such techniques.

Negotiations for legally binding treaties progressed simultaneously with these research efforts. Thus, policymakers, many of whom were initially unfamiliar with the technical aspects of the issues with which they were dealing, learned through ongoing interaction with experts who repeatedly briefed them on the current state of knowledge. These experts reported through regional science committees organized to conduct research, as well as serving as consultants to governments or as members on negotiating delegations.

#### **Implementing the Plan**

In 1976, 12 participating nations adopted the Convention for the Protection of the Mediterranean Sea Against Pollution (the Barcelona Convention), after which four protocols were negotiated: governing dumping from ships and aircraft (1976); enhancing cooperation in cases of oil spill emergencies (1976); controlling pollution from land-based sources (1980); and establishing specially protected areas (1982).

In 1979, the Med Plan became self-supporting when participating governments created a trust fund to pay for its activities. Three years later, the secretariat moved to its current headquarters in Athens, where it works with other regional activities centers. Member governments nominate and choose the director, while the staff is drawn from UNEP (which continues to play an informal coordinating role) and other U.N. agencies. Salaries and projects are funded through a trust fund, administered by UNEP on behalf of the Med Plan, with annual contributions from

Mediterranean governments on a scale roughly proportionate to their economic size. Since 1987 the organization's annual budget has held steady at roughly \$4.1 million, but beginning in the 1990s, supplementary project funding came from other international institutions. Operational activities are reviewed by a bureau drawn from the region's governments.

In the years following the adoption of the plan, UNEP developed several programs to support collective research activities. New monitoring and marine research programs, called MedPol, generated findings about developing threats to the Mediterranean. MedPol's first report, "Med X," issued in 1977, compellingly demonstrated the need for dealing with land-based pollutants and pollution transmitted by rivers. Its findings set the agenda because they established that industrial and municipal wastes were creating more problems in the Mediterranean than oil pollution. In fact, 85 percent of all pollutants in the sea were found to originate on land; 80 to 85 percent of land-based pollutants were transmitted to the Mediterranean by rivers; and over 80 percent of the sewage entering the Mediterranean was untreated. (It also discovered that much of the oil in the Mediterranean came from automobiles whose owners were draining their oil pans into municipal sewers.)

Historically, the pivotal legal effort in this process was the 1980 Land-Based Sources Protocol. It was the most politically difficult to achieve, as enforcement entailed real economic costs for member countries. Moreover, it had to address profound North/South splits over the importance of pollution control. Its successful adoption rested on the persuasive power of the region's scientific community. This group was particularly influential in persuading Algeria and Egypt to support stringent controls for land-based sources of pollution, as well as Israel, Greece, Spain and Tunisia.

The LBS Protocol applies science to policy. The protocol is based on scientific assessments of the most important threats to the Mediterranean, selected on the basis of their toxicity, persistence and bioaccumulation. The protocol bans the use of the most toxic substances, those on its "black list," and requires discharge permits for the less toxic but still dangerous substances on its "gray list." The

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black list covers 13 categories of substances and 20 particular elements and their compounds.

After the LBS protocol entered into force in 1983, specific environmental standards had to be adopted or set for substances on the gray list. Since 1985, member governments have adopted 15 measures to control specific contaminants. Each varies in terms of emission or ambient standards, and each reflects scientific judgments of the desirable or acceptable concentrations of such substances in the sea: bathing waters (1985), mercury (1985 and 1987), shellfish waters (1987), used lubricating oils (1989), cadmium and cadmium compounds (1989), organotin compounds (1989), organohalogen compounds (1989), organophosphorus compounds (1991), persistent synthetic materials (1991), radioactive pollution (1991), pathogenic microorganisms (1991), carcinogenic, teratogenic and mutagenic substances (1993), zinc, copper and their compounds (1996) and detergents (1996).

This list corresponds to a 1985 work plan that listed 28 of the most hazardous contaminants and (optimistically) called for counter-measures to be implemented by 1995. In 1985, participating governments also identified a list of priority goals (the Genoa Charter) for environmental protection in the region. These were reaffirmed in the April 1990 Nicosia Declaration.

It is difficult to assess the extent to which these goals have been achieved, due to the absence of strong monitoring provisions in the Med Plan and the weak quality of data available from many countries around the Mediterranean about demographic and geographic conditions. Some progress has been achieved in constructing sewage treatment plants, passing national environmental legislation, identifying and protecting historic sites, and establishing marine preserves. The Med Plan reports that over one million hectares of land are now protected coastal areas, and most of this protection has occurred since 1975.

### **Losing Momentum**

By the late 1980s, the region was experiencing difficulty in maintaining program momentum. Protocols were revised and streamlined, and two new ones were drafted. Yet few of the revised protocols are in force today. Recalling that the first round of treaties in the 1970s entered into force within two to three years of being signed, we may well ask why 10 years have passed since the adoption of even the most recent measure.

Several factors underlie this lack of progress. First of

all, by 1990 many scientists actively involved in the scientific network retired or moved on to other environmental issues, such as climate change, sustainable development and bio-diversity. This broadening of the environmental agenda, which only accelerated after the 1992 Earth Summit in Brazil, has no doubt diffused political will and diminished the political and technical influence of the region's scientific network.

Second, the program was in some ways a victim of its own success. The sense of urgency about the problem of marine pollution felt in the 1970s, with its tone of extreme crisis imparted by Jacques Cousteau and Rachel Carson, among many others, faded. More countries are now involved, many of which are experiencing the kind of domestic turmoil that seriously impedes effective international negotiation.

NGOs later picked up some of the slack and are now playing a larger role in Mediterranean environmental governance. For example, Greenpeace established a Mediterranean office in 1995 that launched campaigns against land-based sources of pollution and trade in hazardous wastes and for clean renewable energy and the protection of endangered species. The organization's successful targeting of the waste trade led to the 1996 adoption of the Prevention of Pollution of the Mediterranean Sea by Transboundary Movement of Hazardous Wastes and Their Disposal Protocol (not yet in force).

Most importantly, governments encountered problems financing their commitments. UNEP lacked the financial resources to enable governments to meet their obligations and, as the number of regional seas programs grew, was increasingly stretched thin in its efforts to support its multiple secretariat responsibilities. UNEP tried to pursue efficiency by overlapping projects across geographic areas (regional seas) and by piggybacking marine protection activities onto climate change and sustainable development projects.

With the growth of environmental consciousness, governments began reaching out to international institutions involved in promoting environmental protection. The E.U. and the World Bank were similarly eager to join ongoing successful multilateral environmental protection efforts. So in 1988, the World Bank and European Investment Bank jointly established the Environmental Program for the Mediterranean to "address the environmental policy, institutional and investment-related needs of the Mediterranean countries."

## F O C U S

In 1990, the E.U., the EIB, the U.N. Development Program and the World Bank jointly launched the Mediterranean Environmental Technical Assistance Program to channel financial resources to the region. METAP's four priorities were coastal zone degradation (including loss of biodiversity and issues relating to urban environments), solid and hazardous wastes, water resources and marine pollution. From 1990 to 2000, METAP mobilized around \$62 million to fund technical assistance.

The E.U. launched its own Mediterranean Environmental Action Program in 1991, initially focusing on North African states. Four years later, MEDSPA expanded to become the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership of the European Union, aimed at developing integrated coastal zone management and channeling resources for sewage treatment and adjusting planning. In 1999 alone, the institutions identified 109 critical sites

***The plan suffers from a weak ability to monitor water quality and to verify government compliance with its guidelines.***

toward which to target investments. Currently, the Global Environmental Facility contributes \$6 million a year to the Med Plan, and a further \$1 million comes from the French GEF.

Unfortunately, the funds have mainly been devoted to feasibility studies and project design, rather than to finance projects or for integrated coastal zone management training. As a result, these programs may be too narrowly defined and inadequately funded to build sewage treatment plants and oil reception facilities or to significantly transform environmentally unsustainable planning methods in the region.

In the wake of the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development and widespread endorsement of a new doctrine of sustainable development, the Med Plan expanded its mission to include sustainable development. In 1995 it revised and streamlined the protocols to reflect regulatory changes (not yet in force) and

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created a new Mediterranean Commission for Sustainable Development, thus broadening the scope of the Med Plan still further. That commission adopted a new list of priorities to pursue until 2005: integration of the environment and development; integrated management of natural resources and coastal zones; waste management; agriculture; energy and industry; transport; tourism; urban development and the environment; information; assessment and prevention of marine pollution; conservation of nature and wildlife; and protection of historic and cultural sites.

#### **Assessing the Med Plan**

Over the last 30 years or so, the coastal states (originally 16, now 20 including the E.U.) have cooperated to harmonize national pollution control policies and development practices. These accomplishments have been achieved through a long-term process of learning. The United Nations Environment Program has worked in conjunction with a network of regional environmental scientists to educate the region's governments about the pressing need for effective pollution control measures based on scientific understanding of the ecosystemic behavior of the Mediterranean Sea. Capacity-building provided by international institutions has also helped states to pursue the new goals they learned.

For example, the quality of the sea has improved significantly since the implementation of the Med Plan a quarter-century ago. Sewage treatment plants have been built or are under construction in 12 port cities throughout the region. Such plants now serve 79 percent of cities with populations of over 100,000 and 69 percent of cities with populations from 10,000 to 100,000. In addition, beach quality has improved throughout the region. Toxic emissions into the Rhone were reduced by 44 percent during the 1970s, and oil reception facilities are being built in some of the major ports. Regional scientists believe that the pollution level has at least stabilized and is now about the same as it was in the early 1970s, a major accomplishment in light of rapid coastal population growth and industrialization over the past 20 years.

Many of these environmental changes are due to policy shifts by governments, but the Med Plan was instrumental in those changes. It provided a forum for governments to coordinate policies, and to exchange and learn from one another's experiences with environmental management and sustainable development. Assistance from the World Bank and the E.U. provided resource transfers

of money, equipment and training. These transfers built capacity in the region both by improving environmental planning and by funding the construction of sewage treatment plants. The Med Plan has also helped educate government officials to the urgency and magnitude of threats posed by environmental degradation in the region.

Yet much more still needs to be done. Funds are still short to build additional sewage treatment plants. Despite increases in funding in the 1990s, there are recurrent administrative conflicts among UNEP, the World Bank and the European Union about how financing should be directed. The E.U. and World Bank still see their goal largely in terms of supporting specific projects or project development, whereas the poorer Med Plan aspires to integrated coastal management.

Domestic political support for environmental protection is still modest in many countries. Public education and NGO involvement would reinforce the political pressure for collective action by governments. In most countries, environmental ministries remain underfunded and politically marginalized within their own governments. Effective sustainable development requires strengthening these ministries, as well as creating closer ties between them and other functional government ministries whose responsibilities directly affect activities that feed into the Mediterranean. The Med Plan itself still suffers from its weak ability to monitor the quality of the Mediterranean and to verify government compliance with the Med Plan protocols and guidelines.

Many problems still threaten Mediterranean environmental quality. The coastal population continues to grow, creating a greater need to maintain and upgrade pollution controls. Consumption of scarce resources in highly sensitive coastal zones continues to exert stress on the sustainability of the coastal zone. In addition, tourism continues to be a major force in the area. Continued improvements require a reinvigoration of the scientific network, broader training in integrated coastal zone management, and further mobilization of financial and institutional resources to pay for environmental protection.

In the final analysis, then, the Med Plan is a qualified success story. The Mediterranean is not and probably never will be pristine; the toll of urbanization and industrialization can be mitigated but not eliminated. Yet without the Med Plan, the sea was headed for extinction; with it, the sea remains diseased but enjoys a considerably better prognosis. ■



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# FRIENDS APART: EUROPE AND AMERICA

AT A TIME WHEN COOPERATION IS CRITICAL, THE U.S. AND ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES ARE PUBLICLY CLASHING ON A WIDE RANGE OF ISSUES. BUT IT DOESN'T HAVE TO BE THAT WAY.

BY HARRY C. BLANEY III

All is not well with America and Europe. In almost every area, there are serious clashes on important issues dividing the two sides of the Atlantic: National Missile Defense, the European Defense Initiative, a host of arms control treaties and other international agreements, the climate change negotiations and other environmental policies, trade and investment (e.g., aviation subsidies and "open skies"), and dealings with "problem states" like Iran, Libya, and Iraq, to name just a few.

To most Europeans, America's continued embrace of capital punishment has become a symbol of all that is wrong with U.S. culture and society. Characteristic of this view is a book by French Parliament member Noel Mamere, *No Thanks, Uncle Sam*, in which he asserts that in view of America's cultural imperialism, "it is appropriate to be downright anti-American."

Virtually every day, the European media harshly attack U.S. policies and America's supposed arrogance. Editorials and columns in respected, traditionally friendly newspapers call for disengagement from the U.S. and NATO. For their part, many European politicians, both in private and in public, are calling for a reexamination of the basic transatlantic relationship.

The Bush administration and U.S. diplomacy are being sorely tested. Despite initial soothing words, portents from Washington are causing our European friends much distress.

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*Harry Blaney, a retired FSO who served at the U.S. Missions to NATO and the European Community and on the Policy Planning Staff and in the White House, is the president of the Coalition for American Leadership Abroad, an alliance of 40 non-profit U.S. foreign affairs groups. During his recent sabbatical from COLEAD, he was a Visiting Fellow at the Royal Institute for International Affairs in London, where he studied U.S.-European relations. These views are his own.*

In the coming months and years, the price of appearing not to listen to their concerns could be very high for America's long-term interests.

After all, in an age when China is growing in power, the Middle East is ablaze, and the developing world is filled with growing crises, the Europeans are still our closest and most important allies. They are also indispensable in dealing with a faltering and unpredictable Russia and in keeping the Balkans from turning into a wider conflagration.

Similarly, the economy of the European Union and its population are roughly equivalent to those of the United States, as is the standard of living in most member-states. The E.U. also remains our largest trading bloc. Across the board, our ties to Europe, both current and historical, are matched by those of no other region.

## Salient Issues

National missile defense is a particular sore point in the current transatlantic relationship. Many European political and opinion leaders of all stripes criticized the Clinton administration for the modest steps it took to pave the way for a ground-based NMD. But now that President Bush has made clear his determination to deploy an even more robust system, the drumbeat of criticism has grown louder and steadier. Not a single NATO ally supports NMD or believes it will work.

Oddly, however, it is not the notoriously anti-American French who are the loudest critics of missile defense, but the normally supportive Germans. True, Berlin has been careful to reaffirm that America's presence in Europe remains a vital policy goal, and it has tried to downplay its opposition to NMD. But the Germans have made clear their concern that deployment of the system could trigger a new arms race with Russia (and possibly China), and the perception that they are not being consulted seriously on matters affecting their security is bound to rankle.

In the end, the Europeans will probably — grudgingly —

accept the reality that the U.S. is going ahead on NMD, with or without them. But the wounds caused by Bush's heavy-handed tactics will take a long time to heal — and if there is indeed a negative Russian reaction, there will be an even higher long-term price to pay.

The Kyoto Protocol is another example of the serious fissures growing between Europe and America. Each day, the media report more and more hard scientific evidence of serious climate change effects. Yet the U.S. remains the major holdout from efforts to come to grips with the serious impacts of greenhouse gases and to put in place effective ameliorative actions. In this case, however, Bush's intransigence actually backfired: The Europeans and Japanese joined forces to save the treaty at the July meeting in Bonn.

Elsewhere, many Europeans are advocating increased dialogue and even expressing sympathy for the likes of Iran, Libya and Iraq. Partly this stems from a genuine policy disagreement about whether the carrot or stick is more effective in bringing such "rogue states" fully into the family of nations; increasingly, our allies are arguing against what they see as an American-led confrontation with these states. After the February 2001 air strikes by American and British pilots on Iraqi military targets, for example, commentators on numerous British television stations asserted that the action was illegal and fatally flawed and echoed the French government's claim that the strikes were done without consultation. Noting that no other country joined the attack, some commentators went so far as to claim that Britain was little more than a lapdog to America.

If such carping remained the province of the left, Washington might be justified in ignoring it. However, many European businesses are pushing hard to do business with Iran, Iraq and other "problem states" regardless of the potential dangers they pose.

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Toward that end, some of these companies have launched an intensive media campaign to do away with "U.S.-led" sanctions, bringing together many politicians on both ends of the political spectrum.

Finally, there are the many policy disputes Bush inherited, such as genetically modified food, depleted uranium shells, intellectual property, and a host of other trade, technology and health disputes. Most of these disagreements are relatively minor in and of themselves, and are amenable to negotiation and compromise. But the administration's hard-line stances have helped turn them into areas of chronic, lingering conflict.

#### **Perceptions and Perspectives**

It is, of course, true that the European Union is not a monolith, and some countries are considerably more pro-American than others. In Britain, which has long enjoyed a "special relationship" with the U.S., Prime Minister Tony Blair has been "making nice" with the new administration despite his obvious preference for Bill Clinton's policies, with the calculation that influence from the inside is better than carping from the outside. But while he wants to maintain close ties to Washington, he also maintains that Britain should not have to make a choice between Europe and the United States. Blair and his government think that cooperation with

America is still a *sine qua non* for global security and stability.

In contrast, departing Conservative Party leader William Hague and former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher give the same answer to the "special relationship" question: Britain should choose the U.S. and turn its back on Europe. However, Tory "Euroskeptics" do not necessarily love America. Rather, they are often xenophobic "Little Englanders" who want to turn their back on much of the world. In their hatred for the European Union, these Tories are the ideological twins of America's neo-isolationist, right-wing Republicans.

As for the rest of the British political spectrum, many leaders in both the Labor and Liberal Democratic parties seriously question American leadership and intentions. However, their opposition tends to focus on specific American policy initiatives like NMD, which they fear will destroy the current system of arms control agreements they see as vital to the West's security. Thus, their criticism of the U.S. stems from genuine disagreement with policies they see as antithetical to European or international interests and values, rather than simply anti-American feelings.

In France, however, those attitudes are particularly strong. Most French commentators consistently portray American culture as insensitive and degenerate, even as it has become steadily more popular and influential. America has become the easy scapegoat for every problem from fast food, gun violence and crime-filled movies to illegal drugs.

Such sentiments carry over to the political level. For example, at The Hague world climate conference last November, the French took the lead in rejecting America's offer to "count trees" as a contribution toward clean air rather than taking more serious and costly measures to reduce greenhouse gases. The question of how to deal with

"problem states" is another issue that the French have taken up as their own, in opposition to U.S. policies. In large part, their motivation is commercial: they are bent on efforts to make oil deals with many of these nations. But they also believe they gain politically from such stances, particularly in the Middle East, where they want to play a larger role (even though their prejudices make a leadership function non-viable).

In Germany, the picture is more complex. In private, many commentators and politicians express deep reservations about many aspects of both American culture and policies. Yet they do not want to be seen as anti-American. With respect to missile defense, however, they point out that they are closer to Russia and would view with special alarm the resumption of the Cold War and a new arms race.

At the same time, Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder has made it clear that his vision is for the European Union to become more cohesive even as it incorporates the nations of Eastern Europe, with Germany playing a key leadership role in the process. At the same time, it is a Europe in which America and NATO remain a key presence for the sake of long-term stability.

Within Germany, however, there are other voices — from the neo-Nazi far right to some on the far left, including many Greens — who are closer to the French desire to get America out of Europe. The U.S. stance on issues like the environment, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and NMD have alienated many who would otherwise be neutral or supportive. German intellectuals also are increasingly raising the issue of a choice between Europe and America.

### Going It Alone?

Related to the debate about relations with America is the current European political argument over the

future of Europe, the move to enlarge the European Union, and an emerging security framework for Europe. In the 21st century, Europeans still are not sure whether they prefer an America that is fully engaged, a kind of "global gendarmerie," as one influential German journalist put it (off the record), or a United States that is a rather detached, isolationist hegemon. They probably are a bit afraid of both possibilities.

For example, in a January article in *The Observer*, Andrew Rawnsley argued that Britain must choose Europe and end its special relationship with the U.S. In the same newspaper, Ed Vulliamy drew a picture of the U.S. and its policies resembling a rogue elephant unable to avoid stepping all over the concerns and interests of its friends and in pursuit of a far-right agenda antithetical to the views of most of the world. In *The Guardian*, Peter Preston has asked: "Why ... not adjust to a 21st

century in which the European Union is an economic competitor of Washington, whose defense concerns cannot be wholly ordained from inside a distant Beltway?"

Ironically, some in Congress and the administration seem to feel the same way. These unilateralists/hegemonists push for an "America Triumphantist" that seeks a simple, militaristic, unilateral solution for even the most complex foreign policy challenges. The narrow, messianic view of NMD that prevails in some quarters is the most powerful symbol of this world view. Yet such an approach would destroy all the trust and common burden-sharing that were put in place at the end of World War II, and have well served the West and democracies around the world for over half a century now. That world, based on the idea of common values, common risks and common burden-sharing, is in danger of being undermined by foolish poli-

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It would be a disaster if America did not acknowledge the concerns and interests of others in formulating and implementing our foreign policy. The obligation of a leader is not simply to say we will "consult," but to take into real consideration the views of others, mindful that they, too, have legitimate security concerns and interests. Recognizing this, both Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle, D-S.D., and House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt, D-Mo., have decried the unilateralist tendencies of this administration and called for a more cooperative approach to dealing with global problems.

The picture is not entirely bleak, to be sure. Europeans respect the experience of Secretary of State Colin Powell and some may see him as a brake on President Bush's more extreme advisers. They like his pronouncements about cooperation with allies, and especially the recent statements on staying with our allies in the Balkans. But there are lingering questions about the administration's commitment to providing the necessary resources to combat global problems and its willingness to put the military in harm's way in distant crises.

Nor does it help matters that many European political writers have personalized the debate by focusing on George W. Bush, whom they equate with all that they dislike about American society and U.S. dominance on the world stage. Perhaps as a result, America has become the fall guy for many of Europe's and the globe's problems, even when it did not create them or is working to address them. In recent opinion polls taken by the *International Herald Tribune* and the Pew Research Center, for example, European respondents said by a 3-to-1 ratio that Bush understands Europe less well than earlier American presidents. The greatest objections were to

the administration's stances on global warming and missile defense.

In part, the U.S. is getting tarred for both bad and good policies indiscriminately. But this should be a wake-up call for us to take a closer look at our own policies. Although we have "saved the day" in Europe and elsewhere many times, we have also sometimes made a mess of things. One side does not have all the answers.

### Rebuilding Trust

Both sides of the Atlantic still need each other. America needs a strong European defense capability but not one that undermines the alliance. Europeans want a security policy and entity that will express their common growing power and identity. Compromise is still possible, even likely. But Europeans who argue for disengagement have it wrong in both the military and the economic spheres. Europe and America are so intertwined that efforts to "disengage" can only prove disruptive to the already close security ties and economic integration that exist today.

Underlying the fundamental question of U.S.-Europe relations is the function and role that NATO plays. Increasingly, for many Europeans, NATO is only the instrument by which American hegemony over Europe is expressed. As long as it is seen as such in Europe, we can only expect continued and growing opposition to NATO and to effective transatlantic cooperation. If the U.S. sees or uses NATO as a tool of simple domination, this perception will be reinforced. The result will be the very outcome America — and many Europeans — most fear, a decoupling of the two sides of the Atlantic.

For the Europeans, especially those who think their continent would be a safer place without NATO or America, they need only survey the current scene — and recall the past century — to know better. Even in the absence of

a serious external threat, there are still many tasks that the Europeans remain unable or unwilling to do by themselves. For instance, to deal effectively with crises in Bosnia, Kosovo or Macedonia, American direct engagement was and is required.

For that reason, the Bush campaign threat of unilateral withdrawal from Kosovo was a much deeper shock to Europeans than realized by those who voiced such precipitous words.

A central question is whether leaders on both sides of the Atlantic are devising policies that bring the Western democracies together. Are they developing modalities of cooperation and consensus-building and seeking approaches which create positive outcomes, or are they intentionally or unintentionally trying to tear apart the fragile ties that unite?

The multiplicity of ties and interdependence demand better coordination and joint action by the U.S. and our European allies in almost every area. Every international institution — the United Nations, the World Bank, the IMF and the World Trade Organization, to name but a few — functions better whenever the advanced industrialized nations work in close partnership. We need to strengthen organizations like the International Energy Agency, the World Health Organization and other specialized U.N. agencies dealing with such specific issues as weapons proliferation, terrorism, drug trafficking, transnational crime, disease prevention and refugees.

We should also welcome a frank, alliance-wide debate about how both America and Europe should exercise leadership elsewhere in the world. European skepticism about U.S. motivations and doubts about the direction of American international policies and engagement should be put on the table. Similarly, Washington should point out that Europeans sometimes seem overly short-sighted about the

world beyond their immediate purview and slow to take on global responsibilities.

Toward this end, wise American diplomacy is vital. It will take all the skills of top officials and professionals and a willingness to seek concordant outcomes. More than ever, Europe is not a place to send amateurs and neophytes as our ambassadors.

Finally, we require a major innovative effort of public diplomacy and dialogue with the citizens of Europe, addressing their concerns honestly. The European media are airing extreme anti-American views to an unprecedented extent. This is taking place with little counter-argumentation. Some criticism reflects legitimate disenchantment with specific policies. But some of it is more fundamental — a negative cultural, emotional and intellectual reaction to America itself as symbol of what is evil in the world. Under this media barrage, and due in part to our own mistakes, key elements of Europe's society, including many of the new post-Cold War leadership generation, are growing increasingly disturbed by what they perceive America stands for. The same polls cited earlier show overwhelming majorities of Europeans seeing Bush as a unilateralist.

In the end, there are few graver dangers than the possibility of a Europe that turns inward, inexorably anti-American and protectionist. Whether we are talking about building a more secure world through arms control and non-proliferation efforts, safeguarding the world's environment, managing the transitions of China and Russia, building a more prosperous, democratic global community, or achieving a host of other goals, closer cooperation between Europe and America is essential. Fortunately, a more responsible America can provide leadership to reassure and encourage Europe to assume an active, construc-

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## BOOKS

### DOUBLE STANDARD

**Between the Alps and a Hard Place: Switzerland in World War II and the Rewriting of History**

Angelo M. Codevilla, *Regnery Publishing*, 2000, \$27.95, hardcover, 248 pages.

REVIEWED BY  
NICHOLAS EVAN SARANTAKES

Although the Second World War has long been seen as a righteous crusade, it was not until the mid-1990s that Americans suddenly "discovered" that Switzerland had been complicit in the Holocaust because it continued to trade with Germany instead of going to war. Angelo M. Codevilla, a professor at Boston University and a former FSO, has written *Between the Alps and a Hard Place: Switzerland in World War II and the Rewriting of History* to expose what he sees as this perverse distortion of history and the foreign policy process.

He begins by examining Swiss diplomacy during World War II, which he considers highly skillful. He contends that Switzerland survived the war intact despite its military vulnerability because it gave Nazi Germany an incentive to allow their country to remain independent and sovereign. Hitler's desperate need for Swiss francs to purchase raw material from neutral nations (which were under considerable pressure from the U.S. and its allies not to accept German currency or gold) gave them that leverage. Codevilla concedes that the Swiss made their currency avail-

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*Codevilla makes a compelling case that Americans are ignorant of history.*

---

able to the Germans on extremely generous terms, but points out that they had little choice since they depended on foreign trade for half their food and almost all of their fuel.

But the bulk of the book focuses on explaining how, some 50 years later, the actions of the Swiss during the war suddenly came under disproportionately intense criticism. The person Codevilla holds primarily responsible for this is Edgar Bronfman, the CEO of Seagram's and president of the World Jewish Congress. Bronfman, Codevilla claims, was more interested in raising funds for the WJC than in recovering the lost inheritances of (the relatively few) German Jews who had put their savings in Swiss banks for safekeeping. And since he, his family and his company had contributed over \$1 million to the Clinton-Gore reelection campaign, it was not hard to get the State Department to issue a formal report accusing the Swiss of being Nazi sympathizers and collaborators who profited from the Holocaust.

When that failed to compel payments from Bern, the World Jewish Congress filed a class action lawsuit against the Swiss banks that allegedly

had stolen the money half a century earlier. The Union Bank of Switzerland and the Swiss Bank Corporation eventually settled the suit for \$1.25 billion in order to get a license to merge and operate in New York. Meanwhile, similar tactics by the World Jewish Congress against German, Austrian and French companies have largely failed since their governments demanded official sanction to these agreements precluding future lawsuits, which the Clinton administration was unwilling to give.

Codevilla argues that this episode occurred both because the American people are unwilling to accept how the world actually works and because they are ignorant of history. He is half-right. The historical record offers fairly conclusive evidence that Americans are a pragmatic lot who pursue policies that they believe serve their interests, though the wisdom of these policies is sometimes a different matter. However, the idea that Americans are entitled to condemn Switzerland for remaining neutral throughout the war — particularly when the U.S. pursued the exact same policy during the first two years of the conflict — offers powerful backing for the second half of Codevilla's thesis.

---

*Nicholas Evan Sarantakes is an assistant professor of history at Texas A&M University-Commerce, where he teaches courses on U.S. diplomatic history and World War II. He is the author of Keystone: The American Occupation of Okinawa and U.S.-Japanese Relations (Texas A & M University Press, 2001).*

## RAW BUT HONEST

### Confessions of a Diplomatic Pouch Clerk

James A. Abrahamson, *Minerva Press*, 2000, \$22.95, paperback, 534 pages.

REVIEWED BY DAVID CASAVIS

Books by people in various working-class occupations have become increasingly popular in recent years. So, in principle, a view of the world from the Courier Service's perspective should be an interesting addition both to that genre and to the corpus of Foreign Service literature.

The book starts strongly enough as we meet Audball Halversen, a thinly disguised version of the author. Prior to entering the Foreign Service, Audball lives in a hotel occupied by derelicts, where he has no prospects, few friends, and no direction in life. His main ambition is to live a life of sexual indulgence in the Far East. In this ambition, at least, he succeeds: Between 1957 and 1969, he was posted to Sydney, Manila, Beirut and Tokyo.

His account of an attempt to separate him from the service in 1957 during his probationary period is the best written, and probably the most compelling, part of the book. FSOs who served during that period will empathize with his struggle — without legal representation — to overcome baseless accusations that he was both a homosexual and a communist.

Regrettably, after that promising beginning the book rapidly goes downhill. His determination to record every detail of his adventures turns the book into a series of unconnected vignettes full of casual crudities. The low point comes when he describes a toilet blockage. One wishes that his editor had advised him that while situations caused by, or events leading up to, such blockages may be noteworthy, the size of the object involved is not.

To be fair, the author is both obser-

vant and honest. He peppers his memoir with colorful descriptions of brothels and other places he trawled for prostitutes, like the Hoochy Koochy, Hasty Tasty and Typhoon Romance. His descriptions of people are no less vivid: Nympho Two-Teeth, Buffalo Girl and Ambassador Stonehead. He even includes a picture of himself bombed at a courier party.

The most regrettable flaw is a missed opportunity to show life through the eyes of a mailroom staff most FSOs notice only when they need something from them. Further elaborations on the problems of unpaid overtime and extended hours without compensation time such employees face would have been valuable. He comes no closer than throw-away lines like this: "There's a waiter at the airport who thinks I work for Pan Am. He gives me employee prices on my coffee and sandwiches."

The memoir ends abruptly when the author separates from the service (sacrificing his benefits) in Japan in 1969 to become a language teacher. When we last see Audball, he is standing by a "rented rabbit hutch" hugging a stray kitten.

Despite its flaws, this account is raw and authentic. Much has changed since Audball cavorted through the Pacific in the 1950s and 1960s. But much has not. In fact, Abrahamson's world is still much closer to the current Foreign Service experience than many would care to admit. For that reason this book would make an especially appropriate present for aspiring FSOs — at least until a more thoughtful, analytical book addressing the pouch courier's life comes along. ■

*David Casavis works for the U.S. Department of Commerce. He is posted in New York.*



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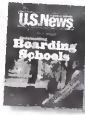
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# POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

## *Return to Seychelles*

BY DENNIS THATCHER

I was stationed at the American embassy in Victoria, Seychelles, in the early 1980s as a communications officer. Our embassy, with a total staff of four, was located in the heart of town, flag flying, ready to serve the occasional American tourist who had lost his or her passport. We were easy to find, nestled on the topmost, or fourth, floor of Victoria House (in Victoria, no building could be taller than a coconut tree), right next to a landmark clock tower, copied on a much smaller scale from Big Ben in London.

As most FSOs know, working at a small mission provides the opportunity to wear more than one hat. I relished my many duties, one of which was media reaction reporting. On return from one of his trips to Washington, our chargé d'affaires at the time said that the State Department really enjoyed receiving these reports on the media. True or not, this compliment was all I needed to hear to continue reporting everything that was written in Seychelles' socialized newspaper, *The Nation*. As for entertainment, Ford Aerospace had a tracking station, which is now closed, in the hills of La Misere which was "the place to go" — actually the only place to go — for fairly new movies and delicious Thanksgiving and Christmas dinners each year.

*Dennis Thatcher is an FSO. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."*

*Working at a small mission provides the opportunity to wear more than one hat.*



We had our share of "flash" (high precedence) messages, incoming and outgoing. No matter how small or remote your embassy may be, you will still receive and send such traffic. There were incoming messages, about Americans who were lost sailing from Victoria to Port Louis, Mauritius, who probably never made it because they sailed during typhoon season. Relatives of the Shah of Iran at the time were living on one of the Seychelles islands. Our chargé d'affaires was instructed to inform them of a change of government in Iran when we found out about it. We even had a Russian defector case. Who says that island life is always sleepy?

After I left Seychelles, our embassy in Victoria was closed, and the French became its new occupants. Now, years after being sta-

tioned in Seychelles, I was assigned to Harare, Zimbabwe, and had the chance to return to Seychelles during a vacation. In the spring of 2001 I booked a one-week package to Victoria. I found that today the country is completely ready for tourism, although it limits itself to just 150,000 tourists a year. Air Seychelles has its own jets now, not just the island-hopper planes it used to have. I did the normal things tourists do: sit on the beach, watch the spectacular sunsets, ride a "moke" (basically a golf cart) around the island, snorkel, parasail, visit neighboring islands such as La Digue, with its ox-cart taxis, and Praslin. Twenty years later, many elements of the Seychelles I knew are in place — even its president. ■

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